NEIGHBOURHOOD REVITALIZATION: THE CASE OF AUSTERVILLE, DURBAN, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

by

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"WE SHOULD NOT LEAVE THIS PLACE TO FALL VICTIM TO THE PERILS THAT MIGHT OVERWHELM IT. WE SHOULD CLAIM IT; CLAIM IT FOR PEACE, FOR HARMONY, FOR ORDER, FOR CLEANLINESS AND FOR ALL THE OTHER DESIRABLE FEATURES THAT COULD GO WITH THE MATURING OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA"

Denis Becket (The Star 2.9.94)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The problems of neighbourhood decline, neighbourhoods rife with vandalism, plagued with violence, blighted with crumbling structures and intended open spaces, are not isolated to one country or to specific cities alone. Experience has shown that neighbourhood decline has emerged both internationally and locally as an unfortunate consequence of the changing nature of urban life and in some instances the result of insensitive and inefficient housing policies. In the South Africa context, the provision of housing for marginalised communities has been devoid of any environmental quality, resulting in many bleak and sterile public housing estates, many of which are plagued with various social pathologies. Governments in their bid to stem the tide of neighbourhood deterioration, have cast about for new socially just and equitable policies, and strategies for effective revitalization activities. In the process they are allocating more of their country's housing resources to revitalization and regeneration measures.

This study examines different policy strategies adopted by governments to overcome this vexing housing problem. An analysis is made of the two contemporary theories underlying the various policy strategies, their diagnosis of the causes of decline and the prescribed remedial actions undertaken for the halting of decline.

By examining various international and local case studies against the background of these theories of revitalization, this study contributes towards a comprehensive understanding of the new orthodoxy of neighbourhood revitalization. This enables a better appreciation of the positive influences that revitalization activities will have on an emerging national housing policy for the new democratic and non-racial South Africa.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Austerville and its decline

1.2 Statement of the problem

1.3 Statement of the argument

1.4 Need for the study

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Austerville and its decline

The problems of neighbourhood decay and decline, neighbourhoods rife with vandalism, plagued with violence, blighted with crumbling structures and untended open spaces are not isolated to one country or city. Rather this phenomena of neighbourhood decay has emerged internationally as an unfortunate symbol of the changing nature of urban life. Such were the conditions in Austerville during the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Living conditions in Austerville, home to approximately 60% of the coloured[1] population of Durban during the 1980s, degenerated due to overcrowding and a lack of maintenance on the part of the State as well as the residents. Austerville displayed all the '... social pathologies and malaise associated with neighbourhood decay ...' (Wickham, 1977:237). With the introduction of the racially based tri-cameral parliamatary system in 1984, the Labour Party, being the majority party in the former House of Representatives for the coloured community in South Africa, undertook the task of redeveloping Austerville. The broad aims of the redevelopment were to upgrade and improve the quality of life of the residents by improving the infrastructural, environmental, socio-economic as well as the housing conditions of the residents. (See Chapter 4 for a summary of all the

1 This is a race classification term introduced by the former National Party government, to denote people of mixed racial origins.

objectives set by the House of Representatives Administration[2], in pursuance of its task of redevelopment and the ultimate revitalization of Austerville.)

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The thrust of this dissertation is:

i. To establish whether the objectives set by the House of Representatives (HOR) Administration were appropriate for the Austerville situation, and if not, which additional objectives should have been set for the successful completion of the project;

ii. To establish what role, if any, neighbourhood revitalization has in an emerging national housing policy for a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

1.3 Statement of the argument

The argument throughout this study will show that neighbourhood revitalization, juxtaposed with other conventional and unconventional housing delivery systems, has the potential to be an integral component of a national housing policy in South Africa. The importance of neighbourhood revitalization must be seen against the background of huge physical infrastructural, political, socio-economic and human resource investments, that have already been made in these existing residential areas, and which must continue to be gainfully used.

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2 The former National Party government devised a tri-cameral parliamentary system of which the House of Representatives was solely for the governance and administration of 'Coloured' affairs.

This study will go further to argue that revitalization brings with it, not only physical improvements but also socio-economic growth. This in turn will be seen to encourage investment, bringing new residents to the area, and thereby reverse the trend towards decline.

The broad aim is therefore to show that neighbourhood revitalization, if thoughtfully implemented and based on the principles of social justice and equity, can make a contribution towards solving the housing crisis by providing homes in an acceptable social and physical environment.

1.4 Need for the study

A particular housing focus of the National Party Government of South Africa during the years 1948-94 was primarily on the quantitative delivery of a product. This approach in the provision of public housing can be described as a 'top-down' approach, because communities made very little contribution in terms of what they considered suitable housing and an adequate housing environment to be.

The result of this one-dimensional approach to housing has been huge sterile peripheral estates of public housing throughout South Africa. Many of these housing estates have suffered from a lack of maintenance both from the state and the residents who paid scant attention to improving their living conditions. Those families who could afford better homes left these housing estates. More often than not, the new occupants were from the low income group. Thus the process of decline was set in motion. This led to the area losing its appeal as a

neighbourhood. Importantly, the area suffers from a lack of investment because financial institutions do not consider it to possess an economically viable housing market.

This study is an investigation of responses to these conditions. Austerville, as an area characterised by the above conditions, was selected by the HOR Government as a neighbourhood which could benefit from a revitalization programme. For this reason, Austerville was chosen as the case study of this investigation.

1.5 Chapter outlines

Chapter two presents the conceptual framework for this study. The literature review outlines the various processes generic to urban renewal, as well as the social and psychological dimensions of renewal. Argument will be provided that if efforts are made to counter the negative dimensions of revitalization, it can work to the advantage of the poor.

Discussions on the two dominant theoretical paradigms of revitalization will be followed by a contextual framework within which to conceptualize the study. Argument will be submitted that to effectively understand revitalization and to ensure its success, it must be based on a Neo-marxist oriented *conflict perspective,* as opposed to the *consensus oriented* economic perspective which is considered to be too restricted in its explanation of decline and the prescriptions required to reverse the process. Central to this argument will be the need to conceptualize revitalization in terms of the need for social justice.

Chapter three will indicate the methodology employed in the research process. The aim is to establish whether the area of Austerville has managed to retain its residents, especially the medium to high income earners of all age groups, and therefore be considered a stable residential area. In addition the research will set out to establish whether residents were satisfied with the revitalization of the area and whether, as a consequence, they have developed an affinity for Austerville.

Chapter four will be the actual case study. This chapter will contain an analysis of the area as it was prior to the redevelopment as well as the various activities undertaken in the upgrading of Austerville.

Chapter five will deal with an evaluation of the study in order to establish the following:

- Were the original revitalization objectives of the State achieved?
- What is the socio-demographic profile of Austerville after revitalization?
- To what degree was the community acting in partnership with the State during the revitalization of Austerville?
- Do residents regard Austerville to have become a better place in which to live?

Chapter six will consist of a brief critique in which certain shortcomings of the study will be discussed. To finally conclude the study, recommendations that are pertinent to a successful and sustainable programme of revitalization will be made. These will be based on the conclusions drawn from the preceding chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Neighbourhood decline

- Emptying-out decline
- Overcrowding decline
- Urban blight

2.2 Redevelopment policies for neighbourhood decline

- Neo-classical perspective
- Neo-Marxist perspective

2.3 Revitalization

- An acceptable definition
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Urban renewal strategies

- Place oriented
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Partnerships in revitalization

2.4 Social/psychological dimensions of revitalization

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- Incumbent upgrading
- Displacement

2.5 Project approach to revitalization

- Israel
- Canada
- South Africa

2.6 Proposed model for revitalization in Austerville

2.7 Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As indicated in the introductory chapter, the central theme of this study is to argue that revitalization, of inner city neighbourhoods or peripheral townships, have an important role to play in the housing crisis of South Africa. The present situation is that urban regeneration and revitalization policies that are geared towards finding a comprehensive set of tools to successfully deal with all the problems of urban blight and decline in these areas, have, to date, not been seriously investigated. This shortcoming, both internationally and nationally, can be attributed to the lack of a rigorous diagnosis of the causes of decline.

It is the intention of this chapter to identify the characteristics of a neighbourhood when it is in a state of decline, i.e. before the process of revitalization is commenced. Included in this chapter is an analysis of various redevelopment policies for revitalization, based on two contemporary theories of decline.

An assessment is also made of both international and local case studies of revitalization. From these experiences, guidelines for the proposed framework for this study are extrapolated. Finally, the chapter concludes with a conceptual framework that provides a context for the case study.

2.1 Neighbourhood decline

The characteristics which distinguish neighbourhoods in decline are physical deterioration, reduced social status, increased social pathologies, and a lack of certainty regarding the economic viability of the area. (Downs, 1981:61; Wickham, 1977:257). This decline is precipitated by either large scale out-migration or 'emptying-out decline' by the more affluent members of society, or by in-migration, 'over-crowding decline' by the poorer sectors of society. (Downs, 1981:61).

Austerville experienced 'overcrowding decline' as a result of the former National Party Government's decision to relocate the Coloured victims of the 1963 Group Areas Act in large numbers in the southern part of Durban. In addition to the overcrowding, the regular maintenance of this area's built environment was neglected by the State and there was a lack of economic investment by the state and private sector. These factors exacerbated the situation. The quality of the public housing stock infrastructure and the environment in Austerville progressively deteriorated over the years. This led to an area held in very low esteem which also posed health hazards for the overwhelming number of residents. Although reasons for decline are unique to each area, generally speaking decline can be attributed to a lack of economic investment, arising from social, functional and physical deficiencies.

Central to the discussion of declining residential areas is the concept of blight. According to Greer (1965:155), urban blight is 'a poetic metaphor indicating the decline of use and value in areas which were once higher on these particular scales'. Blight is therefore not so much a description of the negative changes in the

buildings and environment, but is a judgement of the degree of decline in an area. It can therefore be said that the emphasis placed on particular characteristics of a residential area that is in the process of decline, reflects one's personal values and/or ideological position. (Patricios, 1977:55)

It is argued in this study that an analysis of the factors contributing to neighbourhood decline are presently dominated by two paradigms, viz. the Neo-classical and the Neo-Marxist schools of thought.

According to the Neo-classical (market oriented) approach, housing problems and area decline are influenced by matters of economics. (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975:5). Inadequate income levels force poor and disadvantaged households to spend large proportions of their income on housing. This economic factor limits their housing options to poorer housing in undesirable neighbourhoods. In the South African context of the former Group Areas Act and current low income levels, the poor are forced to take up residence in dormitory townships far from their areas of employment. In the process excessive costs are incurred for transport. In their bid to overcome this inconvenience some of the poor have also been found to take up higher cost accommodation in the inner city (Bassett and Short, 1980:28). As a consequence, the lack of disposable income precludes households from maintaining their property or paying rentals which are high enough to allow landlords to provide an adequate level of building maintenance. Residential structures therefore deteriorate faster than would normally be the case, and contribute to the general state of decline of a residential area (Ibid.).

Also contributing to the increasing state of decline is the absence of investment in the area. Negative externalities emanating from the area, deter potential buyers from investing in the area. This decreases the number of owner/occupants and an attendant increase of rental tenants (Downs, 1981:62).

Proponents of this approach see decline taking place along a life-cycle continuum which can be classified into five stages:

- Stage 1 of this continuum sees neighbourhoods as initially being healthy, either as relatively new and thriving, or as old and stable neighbourhoods. The area has no symptoms of decline and property values are either consistent or are rising.

- In the Stage 2 the area begins to show functional obsolescence. Minor physical deficiencies in housing units are visible and density becomes higher than when the neighbourhood first came into existence. The area is then in danger of losing its appeal to outsiders. To avoid this onset, investment must be encouraged in the area. This, however, would require ongoing maintenance and remodelling. A 'flight to the suburbs' or to better-off areas occurs during stages 2 and 3.

- The neighbourhood then enters Stage 3 in which it is clearly declining. Maintenance and modernization requirements become critical. Renting tenants are nearly or fully dominant in the housing market. Changes in the social structure of the neighbourhood are evident as lower socio-economic

groups dominate the residential population. Physical defects in the housing stock are clearly discernible and overall confidence in the area is weak.

- Stage 4 sees the neighbourhood displaying conditions of accelerated decline. Disinvestment in the area continues as deteriorated housing is clearly apparent, requiring major repairs in most cases. Properties then are only marketable to the lowest socio-economic group. Subsistence level households are numerous and generally predominate among potential housing occupants. Pessimism is widespread, leading to property becoming vacant and abandoned.

- In Stage 5, the final stage of decline, the neighbourhood becomes unhealthy and non-viable. As a residential area, it declines to a point in which only those families with no other housing alternatives remain as residents. The neighbourhood is now considered undesirable and an area out of which to move. City or local authority services are, in some instances, non-existent. Where local authority services do exist, their capacities have been grossly over-extended due to the overcrowded conditions. This exacerbates the degradation and malfunctioning. At this point, rehabilitation of the area is only possible through public intervention because of the high costs of redevelopment (Downs, 1981:63; Ahlbrandt and Brophy 1975:7-9).

The stages of the life-cycle of a neighbourhood can be identified from stage 1-5 of Figure 1, below.

Figure 1: The stages of the life-cycle of a neighbourhood.

→ →

STAGE 1	STAGE 2	STAGE 3	STAGE 4	STAGE 5
Stable and viable	Minor decline	Clear decline	Heavily deteriorated	Unhealthy and non-viable

← ←

→ Decline with falling property values

← Revitalization through rising property values

(Source : Downs, 1981)

Two very important deductions can be derived from the schematic presentation of Figure 1.

i. The concept of *blight*, which has been referred to above, applies to stages 2-4 of this continuum only. During the final stage the area would have been declared a slum already (Patricios, 1977:56). It is obvious therefore that revitalization has as its prime objective the regeneration of residential areas before they deteriorate into slums (stage 5) which would require total redevelopment, i.e. demolition and comprehensive replanning of the area.

ii. Conditions in neighbourhoods can move in either direction along the life-cycle continuum, depending on the timing of the decision to renew a particular area.

An examination of the housing and environmental conditions in the area of Austerville, showed that the neighbourhood was positioned between stages 2 and 3

on the life-cycle continuum. Had the decision to refurbish the area not been taken, it is obvious that the degeneration of the area would have hastened with the passing of time and Austerville would have become a slum.

The alternative Neo-Marxist perspective on the factors contributing to decay and decline of residential areas differ from the Neo-classical explanations of decline given above.

In terms of the Neo-Marxist perspective, Holcomb and Beauregard (1981:69) argue that the built environment does not 'inexorably deteriorate, become abandoned and then undergo rehabilitation'. The deterioration of the residential fabric is related to red-lining, disinvestment and numerous other private and public actions. Smith (1981:50) is of the opinion that Neo-classical explanations, based on consumer demand, are inadequate to explain decline because they do not explain the role that government and finance play in manipulating the process of decline. Whether under the banner of triage or planned shrinkage, governments appear to direct funds away from neighbourhoods in rapid decline or which are in an advanced stage of abandonment, while the best neighbourhoods continue to receive public funding and investment (Ibid.). This view is supported by Harvey (1973:235) who states that:

> *... cities (neighbourhoods) are built forms created out of the mobilization, extraction and geographic concentration of significant quantities of the socially designated surplus product.*

Smith (1979:108) argues that neighbourhoods which are being considered for revitalization without displacement, are merely actions of governments attempting to stem social discontent and maintain a facade of legitimacy. From this

perspective, the low working class community sees government as merely wanting to solidify its hold on that neighbourhood. Decline, according to the Neo-Marxist school of thought, must therefore be attributed to political and economic forces prevalent at any given time, and not merely to market forces, as proffered by liberal Neo-classical theorists.

In the South African context of a racially based apartheid system, the decline in poorer residential areas can be attributed to a lack of political will on the part of the former White National Party government to improve such areas, as well as the lack of investment by government and private sector. Smit (1988:138-139) states that the Department of Community Development of the Whites-only House of Assembly (HOA) government, in an effort to speed up Group Area removals and relocation, consciously allowed areas to deteriorate into a state of disrepair. This was achieved by 'freezing' development and creating an environment of uncertainty for both the residents and investors. The decline of huge urban peripheral areas in South Africa such as District Six in Cape Town, Cato Manor in Durban, and Fordsburg and Mayfair in Johannesburg, can all be explained in terms of the former National Party Government's Group Area policies and the concomitant lack of investment from the private sector. Similarly, deteriorating conditions in Austerville can also be attributed to these two forces. Decline was inevitable after the government decreed in 1963 to relocate large number of households into the Austerville without providing the necessary infrastructure to cope with this influx. As the area deteriorated, it no longer presented itself as a viable housing market and issues such as red-lining and disinvestment became the order of the day. In the light of the above discussion it is felt that the alternative Neo-Marxist perspective offers a more acceptable and tangible explanation for the causes of decline in

residential areas. In the ensuing discussion on the theories of decline and prescriptions for the improvement of residential areas, this viewpoint is further entrenched.

The rationale behind this discussion is to expand on the competing theories and identify how theoretical paradigms underpin the various policy formulation strategies in existence. A critical examination will be made of two contemporary paradigms, expounding their basic tenets, their identification of the probable origin and processes of neighbourhood decline, as well as their policy prescriptions for the amelioration of decline and urban blight.

2.2 Redevelopment policies for decline

In the ensuing discussion of current redevelopment policies for the improvement of areas in decline, a critical examination will be made of redevelopment policy formulations, based on the two contemporary theories of decline, viz. the Neo-classical orthodox economic perspective and the Neo-Marxist oriented radical perspective. In the process of this analysis, an examination will be made of the assumptions of the origin of decline as well as the prescriptions for the amelioration of such conditions.

Solomon and Vandell (1982:81) argue that many urban policies, including policies for redevelopment of residential areas, have been designed to combat decline but few have enjoyed success. They state that the lack of success in this regard can be

attributed to the failure of redevelopment policies to develop an adequate theory of neighbourhood decline (Ibid.):

> *...this lack of success at developing broadly applicable programmes to combat decline can be attributed to a lack of a rigorous diagnosis of the source (or sources), of the problem. This inadequate diagnosis can in turn be traced to a lack of consensus amongst policy makers about the underlying theories which provide a framework from which decline can be understood and dealt with.*

Redevelopment policies predicated on the principles of Neo-classical orthodox economic theory, involve a purely economic calculus, emphasising concepts of market, competition, static equilibrium, and allocation of resources by price (Solomon and Vandell, 1982:82). This theory is built on the following assumptions:

i. That the housing market is inherently competitive and that capital is invested in those avenues that offer the highest returns; and

ii. That the relationship between landlord and tenant is a formal one with both having opposing interests. Those with access to the means of production such as the landlords, will attempt to maximize their profit margins, whilst consumers (tenants) will attempt to maximize utility usage, subject to their budget constraints and their market opportunities.

Orthodox economic theorists posit the viewpoint that decline begins with lowered expectations of returns.

> *In a neighbourhood investments in real estate yield a return from three major sources: (1) capital appreciation of the stocks; (2) tax*

shelters through deductions, especially depreciation; and (3) positive cash flows. In a declining neighbourhood, the returns gradually shift to cash flow alone, since capital appreciation is minimal or negative and buildings have been almost fully depreciated. Cash flows are lowered in the initial stages of decline through revenue deductions which act as indicators of softened demand or through increases in the cost of supplying housing services. (Ibid.)

At the heart of this paradigm is the fact that it attributes obsolescence of neighbourhoods to differences in supply and demand factors. On the demand side, obsolescence can be attributed to both 'push' and 'pull' factors. The 'pull' factors can be listed as voluntary relocation to new more functional housing, movement of jobs, easier accessibility to work, better shopping facilities and other much needed social amenities. Factors which contribute to people moving away from an area, i.e. the 'push' factors, may be an increase in social pathologies and the concomitant feeling of lessened safety. Environmental degradation, an intrusion of non-conforming land uses, disinvestment by local government and changes in the population profile of the area (e.g. low income groups in an area previously used exclusively by middle to higher income groups) can also be seen as reasons for moving out of an area. Reduced demand results in downward filtering, i.e. a response by the market causing unit rents to drop to those levels affordable by the poor (Alhbrandt and Brophy, 1975:15; Solomon and Vandell, 1982:83).

Supply factors which may hasten the decline process are identified as an increase in capital and operating costs which prevent the owner from servicing the property

resulting in a building that no longer has an economic life.[1] One or more of the factors from either the supply or demand side can hasten the spiral of obsolescence. Once begun, it is often difficult and at times impossible to stop. Proponents of redevelopment policies, based on orthodox economic theory, state that the major concern in this paradigm is to improve economic returns for the landlords using a number of mechanisms which include *inter alia* (Ibid.):

> *(1) various government subsidies, income transfers and or employment programmes which are designed to close the gap between the tenants ability to pay and the cost of production of standard housing, (2) governmental investments in services and infrastructure to improve the prospects of capital appreciation, and (3) the encouragement of tenancy by higher income occupants who are capable of keeping the market stable without subsidies*

Nourse (1973), Ahlbrandt, in Solomon and Vandell (1982) state that, despite the mechanisms posited above, decline will not be completely eliminated by either one of the demand or supply side factors on its own. This is because they are merely palliative in nature and because a combination of both supply and demand side responses will be needed to reverse obsolescence of neighbourhoods. On the supply side the economic theorists see the reduction of financing from property taxes, insurance, maintenance and management costs, as possible policy remedies.

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1 The real economic life of a building can be considered as the period of time over which the capital value of the building exceeds the capital value of the cleared site. Buildings will not be demolished as long as BE > SN (Couch, 1990: 9).
BE = capital value of real property. Cleared value of site (SN) is determined as follows:
SN=YN-CN-ON-DE;
YN=present capital value of the expected earnings from the replacement building;
CN=cost of constructing replace building;
ON=operating costs of new building;

On the demand side, policy remedies focus upon issues affecting tenant demand, viz., income and tastes. A 'housing allowance' programme needs to be considered to increase the rent capabilities of lower income households. Secondly the issue of blockbusting is identified as a major reason for obsolescence. Property speculators, using scare tactics, are known to influence middle to higher income families to leave an area for fear of being swamped by other allegedly socially inferior (in terms of race and/or income) residents. As a consequence owners sell their properties cheaply to speculators, with the resultant degeneration of property and urban environment. What is suggested is that human relations programmes should be held with different groups to reduce the threat of block busting. Thirdly, Government must be seen to invest in facilities and services in the declining areas. These developments will affect standards of living and will lead to increased property demand and negate the trend towards decline.

The major failing of the orthodox economic perspective is that it attributes the causes of decline to a single set of comprehensive economic factors alone (Pacione, 1990:116). Critics of this approach to redevelopment are of the opinion that the theory on which these policies is based is limited in its ability to explain and predict decline because the various economic factors within this theory interact with each other and make it difficult to identify a primal cause of decline. Solomon and Vandell (1982:85) argue that when decline is clearly underway demand and supply will continue to mutually reinforce each other in establishing a downward trend in neighbourhood conditions without being able to unravel the cause and effect relationship. 'Empirically the problem becomes one of correlation without a firmly established basis for causation' (Ibid.). The nett result of this approach to

the reversal of decline are policies that are so wide in scope that they undercut resources and generally only address the symptoms of decline. Furthermore, the inability of advocates of the economic perspective to formulate revitalization strategies, without causing gentrification and the ultimate displacement of the disadvantaged, also makes this theory unacceptable as a basis for formulating successful redevelopment policies for revitalization. In response to these policy limitations, an alternative perspective has emerged as a possible solution to the causes of decline and the formulation of a more acceptable redevelopment policy.

The alternative perspective (to the orthodox economic paradigm discussed above) is premised on the tenets of Neo-Marxist radical theory which came to the fore during the 1970s, and is increasingly gaining support from community organisations and certain State institutions. This perspective has its origins in Neo-Marxism. Roweis and Scott (cited in Smit and McCarthy 1984:139) state that it is a move away from the development of abstract normative theory to explain reality. Proponents of this paradigm attempt to explain reality in terms of observable social phenomena. (Smit and McCarthy, 1984:39). Simply put, the radical perspective attempts to explain why certain phenomena or conditions have developed initially, and why planning and solutions have taken the form they have (Castells, Roweis, in Smit and McCarthy 1984:141).

Solomon and Vandell (1982:86) state that the theory focuses on:

> *... concepts of (1) class conflict between landlords and tenants; (2) control of capital in the hands of landlords and financial institutions and (3) the distribution of political power, which creates the rules of the economic market place and is skewed in favour of the*

capitalist class". This theory which has a political-economic foundation does not believe that market behaviour can be separated from the institutional or class environment within which it operates.

For the radical theorist, the situation is essentially one of class conflict. The conflictual relationship between the landlord and tenant is the main focus of the radical theorist's policies of revitalization. Thus, relationship in the housing market is not characterised by reciprocity and impersonal forces, but rather is one of exploitation in which rich landlords extract surplus value from tenants' rentals far in excess of the competitive level (Ibid.). Those tenants that are exploited are generally members of lower income groups, minorities and/or groups with very little political influence. Included among the exploited are also the aged. The 'exploiters', on the other hand, are property owners, commonly as absentee landlords, who mercilessly 'milk' the unfortunate tenants. Radical theorists therefore strongly deny the existence of a competitive housing market, contending rather that the low income market is one of monopoly, created by large tenement landlords and financial institutions. The radical theorists also maintain that Government is the only player in the low-income market which is capable of taxing surplus rents and ensuring capital flows in accordance with social priorities. However, governments of a capitalistic mode are considered to be mechanisms that support and facilitate capital accumulation and are therefore unlikely to effect the desired taxation and reallocation of resources (Ibid.).

The radical theorists attribute the origin of the decline to the driving force of 'power elites' and capitalists as they maximize their share of productive surplus, thereby preserving the existing power relationship between classes. Within this scenario, an alliance of common interests exists between property owners and

financial institutions in the ongoing exploitation of disadvantaged groups. Capitalists, in a bid to ensure the continuity of existing power relations, are said to go to any lengths to quell or discourage emerging tenant organisations. Evictions are frequently used as a mechanism to deter tenants from challenging their landlords. This leads to continuing disunity among tenants and ensures the perpetuation of power in the hands of the propertied class (Ibid.).

Radical theorists are also sceptical of the Government's role in redevelopment projects. They see the authorities as generally being in partnership with the capitalist classes for reasons of mutual interest: profit accumulation and the retention of power relations (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:23; Solomon and Vandell, 1982:91). The following analysis (Solomon and Vandell, 1982:88) sums up this argument:

> *The city Government which is considered to be controlled by local capitalists, further encourages turnover and decline in order to perpetuate the low-income housing shortage and encourage new development. It does this by raising property taxes, strictly enforcing codes, lowering service levels and rezoning to allow mixed usages. Since the "prisoners dilemma" situation created by multiple ownership prevents large scale redevelopment by individual interests, the city steps in as a partner of local capitalist, using its urban renewal and eminent domain powers for land assembly.*

To reverse the process of decline, radical theorists have recommended policies that feature a major realignment of the existing power relationships with a concomitant transfer of power from landlords and financial institutions to strong representative

community organisations. Governments having to contend with neighbourhoods in a state of decline, would need to restructure their ways of working in order to eliminate the status quo partnerships and alter class relations. In such a restructuring process, the following are crucial points of focus:

i. The creation of strong tenants' organisations to ensure the practice of their rights;

ii. The creation of a legal framework to strengthen tenants' bargaining rights. Components of this proposed structure would be (a) housing as a 'merit good', (b) legalization of rent strikes, (c) rent purchase options, (d) establishment of a housing court to adjudicate in landlord-tenant disputes, and (e) restructuring of the lease agreements in the form of a contract between the tenant and the landlord;

iii. Rent control;

iv. The transfer of control or ownership of local real estate to community non-profit organizations, such as community development corporations (Ibid.).

In assessing what would be accepted as the most appropriate redevelopment policy for areas in decline, it is arguable that the economic theorists' approach to revitalization of residential areas, such as Austerville, is considered too narrow in scope to ensure both sustainable and replicable policies for revitalization. Policies for effective revitalization must take into account the following important factors:

i. Society consists of a plurality of groups with different interests and values, and whose relationships are characterized by patterns of conflict and domination (Zeitlin, in Patricios, 1977:63).

ii. Given the conflict generated by pluralism, society will be characterised by an unequal balance of power among the various groups; and

iii. For meaningful and sustainable change to take place, it is essential that conflict is managed rather than being suppressed (Ibid.).

The position adopted in this study is that which is advocated by the radical theorists, and which is seen to be in direct contradiction to the consensus oriented neo-classical economic theory. The latter paradigm functions on the principle that society functions by and large on a consensual basis. In so far as residential revitalization is concerned, the neo-classical theorists would argue that there will always be consensus concerning the need for urban revitalization. Unless steps are taken to improve conditions of urban atrophy, residential areas will degenerate into slums (Downs, 1981:163).

Radical theorists, on the other hand, suggest that the position is not as simple as that which is advocated by the economic theorists. According to the radical school of thought, the decision to revitalize residential areas is based on value judgements (Patricios, 1976:63). These theorists explain that within society there are people with different values. Consequently what is regarded as inadequate and inappropriate housing by one group, could in fact be accepted as adequate and suitable by another group (Ibid.). It is therefore incumbent on the State to recognise that conditions of conflict exist among various housing groups and that there are various interest groupings in society (Bassett and Short, 1980:45). According to Castells (1977:271), 'urban and social movements' are undoubtedly the most efficient instruments of major social charge and consequently have a significant role to play in successful neighbourhood revitalization, in partnership with the State. The emphasis that the radical theorists place on change in society also brings into focus the increasing polarization of the peripheral settlement communities that are poor, from the privileged classes. If revitalization in

Austerville, and any other blighted neighbourhoods, is to be a success, it is essential that development policies should be appropriately geared to reintegrate the affected communities back into the mainstream of city living (Hindson et al, 1992).

Following this discussion, the study will proceed to analyse the concept of revitalization and its contribution to the amelioration of problems related to urban blight and decline.

2.3 Revitalization

An acceptable definition: Revitalization in this study is defined as a comprehensive approach to the restructuring of the living environment as well as the socio-economic circumstances prevalent in a residential area. In its broadest form it consists of the following constituent elements:

i. Urban renewal, within which the following processes are found: redevelopment, conservation and rehabilitation, each with its own specific objectives and overlapping ideas;
ii. Programmes for socio-economic development;

The term, urban renewal, is frequently interpreted to be a euphemism and polite expression for 'slum clearance'. In the United States of America it acquired a negative connotation because it was seen as the process that favoured more advantaged communities and worked against those who were socially disadvantaged. For example, the derogatory term 'Nigger clearance' is associated

with the notion of urban renewal, and has given rise to conflict and polarization among communities. Urban renewal has, however, evolved in time, to the stage that such processes are no longer viewed with suspicion.

Urban renewal, as it presently functions, is a multi functional and complex process that requires subtlety in responses (Balls, 1992:16). It is a term that is widely used and having a myriad of definitions, all generally loose or blurred. In many instances it is used in a generic sense, to encompass all aspects of intervention. Renewal action may take several forms in order to address urban problems. These actions may remove blight with a view to regenerating deprived urban communities, neighbourhood renewal schemes, and assembly, reclamation and redevelopment of land (Ibid.). A particular feature of urban renewal is that it frequently brings about change in the use, intensity of development, or occupancy of urban land and buildings. This is accompanied by changes in where, how and under what conditions people live, work and take their recreation (Gibson and Langstaff, 1982:93). Urban renewal is also about rehabilitating or redeveloping older parts of the city and neighbourhoods, without necessarily increasing the density of the area concerned or occupancy of the buildings. This interpretation is particularly relevant in Austerville, where the aim of urban renewal was to ensure that occupants were living in an acceptable environment without necessarily increasing the population density. It is pertinent that urban renewal covers an extremely wide variety of activities. For purposes of this study the following working definition (Olivier, 1981:4) will initially be used to define the term:

> *Urban renewal is a process indicating a comprehensive approach to the problems of decayed and deteriorating urban environment.*

The comprehensive approach to urban renewal can therefore be seen as the '...process of infusing vitality into areas judged to be, in some way, substandard' (Patricios, 1977:55). Gibson and Langstaff (1982:14) state that renewal in its present format is all about:

> *'... planned intervention in economic regeneration and employment provision as well as the long established pre-occupation with housing and environmental conditions'.*

Processes within revitalization: Urban renewal has within it the following processes:

i. Redevelopment, as a process within urban renewal, regenerates deprived urban communities through the reclamation and redevelopment of land. Redevelopment in itself is a wider process than mere physical renewal. This is a process whereby the State and/or private sector bring back investment, employment and consumption, to enhance the quality of life within the physical structure of existing urban areas (Couch, 1990:1). When examining the proposed objectives set for the redevelopment of Austerville, many of the State's objectives appear to be guided by the ideals set out above. As the cost of new construction rises and distances from the central business district (CBD) increase, the renewal of inner city and peripheral settlements is likely to become more economically viable, especially given the ever present limitations on resources.

Redevelopment, as an element of revitalization, is the process whereby there is a selective clearance of buildings, ostensibly those without an economic life, and a re-use of land that is cleared through the building of new structures

which often involve new layout and new land uses. The aims of redevelopment are, inter alia, to eliminate blight and slums, mitigate poverty, provide decent housing in a suitable environment, revive inner-city areas, attract middle income families from the suburbs to the city and enhance the budget balance of local authorities (Rottenberg, 1970).

ii. Conservation entails preserving the quality of a built-up area. It has been found to be most effective in neighbourhoods or areas that are still in an acceptable condition. The aim of conservation is to retain the cultural or historical significance of a place. Conservation methods are best effected by strict enforcement by local authority officials of code standards, land use zonings and adequate and regular maintenance of all communal facilities (Olivier, 1976:4). One of the world's foremost projects involving conservation is found in Bologna, Italy. Similar projects are also found in countries such as the United States, where large buildings with aesthetic value are converted into apartment blocks for medium to high income groups.

The guiding principles of the renewal of Bologna was that 'slum removal was people removal' and that residential areas had to grow qualitatively rather than quantitatively.

The Bologna project addressed itself primarily to the problems of social and environmental quality. Where previously there had been large scale demolition, the new strategy opted for conservation and rehabilitation of the beautiful older parts of the city, as well as the retention of the existing inhabitants. The council of Bologna financed the restoration of buildings and run down streets itself, a trend that was soon to be followed by involvement of the private sector

(Venutte, 1976:137). Renewal in Bologna was predicated on humanist principles, in contrast to the previous technocratic approach, and this is seen as reinforcing the spirit of revitalization.

iii. Rehabilitation is the process by which existing buildings and layouts are renewed and become workable. Renewal is effected largely by the modernization and repair of buildings and an improvement of community facilities. Rehabilitation is not redevelopment in totality, however, revitalization, as an activity, is inclusive of all the processes discussed above.

One can therefore conclude that revitalization means to restore vitality and animation to an area. It implies growth, progress and the introduction of new activities into a stagnant part of the city or a neighbourhood that appears not to attract investors or new residents. Typically, urban revitalization also involves an investment to remodel or rebuild a part of the urban environment. In the case of Austerville, it involved all the elements contained in the process of revitalization discussed thus far.

Evolution of urban renewal policies strategies. Urban renewal, as a process and policy strategy within revitalization, has evolved with the passing of time as a result of prevailing conditions and needs. It is important to note that various theoretical expositions of the causes of social and urban decline have given rise to differing policy approaches to urban renewal within revitalization. Two different paradigms appear to have been paramount in influencing post-war British and American urban policy: firstly, environmental determinism, and secondly, the cycle of disadvantage thesis (Carley, 1990:23).

Proponents of the environmental determinism school of thought, such as Kirk (1951 and 1963) and Lowenthal, in Short and Bassett (1980), state that the control and manipulation of the physical environment has a direct and determinate effect on social behaviour. Environmental determinism implies a process in which the physical environment is the independent variable, and human behaviour the dependent variable. The consequences of this school of thought in terms of renewal has been the wide-spread demolition of the built form of areas and their replacement with huge council housing schemes or other uses. Families were generally decanted to peripheral settlements and townships, as a consequence of such policies. Apartheid planning and the spatial ordering of society in South Africa is a good example of this type of renewal. Reference may be made here to Cato Manor and Block AK in Durban and District Six in Cape Town.

Policies that are structured on the principles of environmental determinism have been classified as 'place policies', as a consequence of the emphasis on physical development and the top-down approach to planning. Renewal of this type is by nature exclusionary because individuals affected by the renewal decision are given little opportunity to make any contribution to development decisions (Kaplan, 1991:31).

Cycles of Disadvantage Thesis. The failure of environmental intervention to solve social problems gave rise to a more complex examination of the reasons why society was locked in recurring cycles of poverty and increasing social problems. The basic premise of this approach was that the origins or the culture of poverty can be found in the inadequacy of individuals and families who live in deprived

environments (Carley, 1990:28). Physical, economic and social handicaps were seen to reinforce one another and perpetuate life-cycles of inter-generational deprivation for the urban poor (Ibid.).

Advocates of this school of social thought, particularly the Chicago school of sociologists, Parks and Burgess, developed programmes such as the Model Cities programme of the United States of America during the 1940s. These programmes sought to empower individuals so that they would take charge of their own destiny and not be locked in recurring cycles of poverty and deprivation (Ibid.). This school of thought was extended by the works of Oscar Lewis (1966) which later gave rise to the process of 'advocacy planning' (Checkoway, 1994:139). Such people policies, or enabling policies, were structured to drive programmes of renewal in pursuance of these ideals. Policies of this type are inclusionary by nature and operate on a 'bottom-up' principle. Characteristics of 'people' or 'enabling policies' are:

i. Encouragement of local initiative with the relevant community;
ii. Stress on the importance of participation by voluntary urban social movements in renewal;
iii. Stress on the importance of residents becoming equal partners in the renewal process;
iv. Importance of total environmental improvement in which housing is seen as more than the provision of bricks and mortar;
v. Recognition that the magnitude of the task and the limitations on public sector resources, both human and financial, urgently necessitates the involvement of the private sector as a resource of finance and expertise (Ibid.);

vi. Urban renewal must be based on the principles of equity and social justice, within the total process of revitalization. Kaplan (1991:32) argues that policies of this type lead to the empowerment of people. It is assumed that by permitting the poor to influence the planning of their neighbourhood, there will be a better correlation between expenditure and need, thus reducing a key variable that leads to poverty and neglect: the lack of capacity among poorer residents to control their own fate. Because this approach is closely linked to the objectives of urban revitalization, it appears to co-incide with the proposed approach to renewal by the radical theorists.

For successful revitalization to occur, it is imperative that a combination of both top-down and bottom-up approaches be used. This will ensure the success of renewal. Through this combined approach government and private sector would be the responsibility for providing the necessary resources and expertise, while the community will contribute ideas concerning the most appropriate and relevant form of redevelopment for their needs.

Partnerships in Revitalization. As mentioned above, the community forms an important partnership with government in the process of revitalization. Given the magnitude of the need for renewal in South Africa, financial institutions and development companies in the private sector have the potential to also be important partners, especially as sources of finance and expertise. Co-operation between the public and private sector in the field of revitalization in Great Britain and the United States of America and other developed countries, is not a new phenomena and has been responsible for many successful renewal projects.

LOCAL INDUSTRY ENGEN

One of the more prominent public-sector/private sector partnerships of present time is the London Docklands Development Corporation which was established in 1980, and which has been responsible for the revitalization of the London Docklands (Ward, 1986:117).

For the private sector to become involved in urban renewal, it is essential that the psychology of the private sector be altered (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975:34). To do this it is necessary for the public sector to intervene through higher levels of investment and improved service delivery (Carley, 1990:62; Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975:34). In addition, it is also necessary for the public sector to institute certain financial guarantees in order to lower the risks to financial institutions when they extend credit in low-income areas needing revitalization.

Initial public sector involvement in renewal is an important prerequisite because this is will provide the private sector with certainty concerning the future of a residential area. The ultimate objective of public sector involvement is to reverse the disinvestment process by creating conditions conducive for investment by the private sector.

While the private sector forms an important part of the tripartite alliance necessary for successful revitalization of areas in decline, it regrettably also brings with it certain negative effects. The ensuing section will attempt to highlight these problems.

2.4 Social / psychological dimensions of revitalisation

Revitalization of areas in decline by the private sector and, to a lesser extent, by the public sector, have given rise to many untenable consequences, which have led to the value of revitalization being seriously questioned. What follows here is merely a broad 'brush-stroke' introduction to these phenomena and their link to revitalization, because many of these issues have already been the focus of studies on their own elsewhere.

Gentrification refers to the process in the private housing market whereby working class and derelict property is rehabilitated by higher income groups, with the resulting displacement of many of the original residents (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975:72). Four major consequences of the gentrification process are: (1) a significant rise in the price of both renovated and unrenovated property in the area; (2) a reduction in nett occupancy rate and density as individual households replace multiple occupation; (3) an alteration in the socio-economic structure of the community; and (4) the progressive transfer of housing from rental to the owner occupied sector (Ibid.). In the United States, studies during the 1970s (e.g. Boston's North End and Queen Village in Philadelphia) also evidenced an ethnic transition from black to white. This generated a high degree of social conflict (Smith and Williams, 1986:186; Checkoway, 1994:140; Laska and Spain, 1979).

The process of gentrification is aided by the actions of various role players, each pursuing a particular set of objectives. Government's involvement can be both direct and indirect. Central government policies to assist home ownership by catering for subsidised mortgage payments, can facilitate gentrification. In studies

done in North America, local government has been seen to promote gentrification by middle class consumers with a view to increasing their tax-base. This is done in the following manner: (i) neighbourhoods believed to have gentrification potential are advertised; (2) tax incentives for upgrading are provided; (3) codes are enforced on existing tenants; and (4) services are reduced thereby hastening decline (Pacione, 1990:117). Such strategies are assisted by the private sector when developers buy up property in these areas and then collaborate with financial institutions to make finance available for investment by the middle class.

Reaction to gentrification in the process of renewal has been varied. To some, the process of gentrification has been the driving force of revitalization (Sumpka, 1979:483) while others such as Hartman (1979) have pilloried gentrification as the chief cause of displacement of the poor and working class.

For the purpose of this study it will be argued that revitalization can in fact take place without gentrification and the displacement of low income tenants and owners. This will be clarified in the section dealing with the various international and local case studies.

Incumbent Upgrading. Urban neighbourhoods may also be revitalized in a second manner, that is, by way of incumbent upgrading. Characteristics of areas revitalized by incumbent upgrading are (1) housing stock that is starting to show signs of decline, and (2) area that is occupied by moderate income households (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:46). During the process of incumbent upgrading, local residents undertake to improve their properties themselves. The area experiences no changes in the socio-economic status of the population (Clay,

1979:35). Unlike gentrification which causes a large scale removal of people, incumbent upgrading allows residents to stay in the area.

Conditions necessary for effective incumbent upgrading are the following:

i. Financial institutions are amenable to making mortgage funds available and 'red-lining' is not a consideration. A sudden influx of very low-income households into an area being revitalized will tend to make lending institutions nervous about investing in the area;
ii. The presence of a stable moderate income residential population;
iii. The existence of reasonably sound housing, needing minimal upgrading;
iv. A sense of community among residents;

For incumbent upgrading to be successful, people need to be able to organize themselves in order to pressure government and financial institutions to finance their upgrading (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:48).

Incumbent upgrading has important implications for social equity. By pressurising lending institutions into making funds available for upgrading,

> *'... it equalizes investment and reinvestment across space and thus weakens the institutional mechanisms perpetuating a strong correspondence between socio-economic position and environmental quality'* (Ibid.).

In the case study, the period after the completion of State-led upgrading of homes is investigated. The study will attempt to establish whether, with the advent of

home-ownership, residents had the necessary leverage to access funds from financial institutions and consequently upgrade their homes even further.

Displacement. The problem of displacement of residents is a social consequence of both public clearance, rehabilitation programmes and 'free-market' gentrification. This phenomena is said to reflect the weak position of the poor in society and the housing market in particular (Pacione, 1990:17). Housing entrepreneurs, in search of redevelopment areas formerly occupied by the poor, see low income groups as standing in the path of progress of private enterprise and their attempts to procure greater profits. Gibson and Langstaff (1982:12) state that

> *In practice urban renewal has often meant the displacement of an existing low income population creating space for more profitable office, commercial and luxury residential development.*

Displacement, as a result of the 'superheating' of the market through gentrification, can therefore take place in the following ways: (i) eviction of low income residents from structures earmarked for upper income residences; (ii) involuntary departure of long term families or the aged due to their inability to pay higher rents; (iii) inability of newly wed children to acquire accommodation in the area they traditionally regard as home; (iv) reluctant migration due to loss of friends or supportive social religious or economic institutions (Gibson and Langstaff, 1982: 12-14; Pacione 1990:118, Holcomb and Beauregard 1981:44).

In assessing the impact of displacement on the residents of Austerville during the upgrading, emphasis will be given to the 'Theory of Place' and how best to argue against the indiscriminate relocation of people. Fried (in Wilson, 1966)

investigated the reactions of people whose homes were expropriated in Boston and who were subsequently relocated. He found that many had a emotional response that could be described as grief, including a sense of loss, a sense of helplessness and a tendency to idealize the lost place.

The study of 'place' is relevant to this study and future programmes of revitalization because there has been a propensity by the previous government of South Africa to indiscriminately move people out of redevelopment areas. These relocations have disregarded the community's feeling of helplessness caused by the disruption of supportive social networks and the untenable distances from their working place. The case study will try to establish the degree to which relocation of the poor took place.

The analysis of the issues highlighted above and the impact they have on revitalization programmes, has highlighted how gentrification and relocation impacts negatively on the poor and disadvantaged. It is generally the poor who lose their properties through gentrification, are displaced from their homes and suffer the sense of loss when they are decanted to unknown areas.

Studies have shown that many of these families' living conditions deteriorate even further when they have to pay more for their accommodation and transport costs. Communities have had negligible control over their destiny because the approach to the total spectrum of urban planning has generally been one of top-down. Revitalization has, in this scenario, become an exclusionary process. The process is controlled by a small group of people and organizations, and becomes a middle class activity.

There is a need therefore to move to a more egalitarian and democratic process-driven approach to revitalization. There must be a pursuit for the ideals of social justice. It is the intention of the author to elaborate further in this regard in the proposed framework for revitalization at the end of this chapter.

2.5 Project approach to revitalization

Despite the negative connotation of residential revitalization as a result of the processes discussed above, there are projects that have been successful. A brief summary of the projects concerned will be given, and guiding principles extrapolated for use during the evaluation of the case study.

Project Renewal, established in 1976 by Israel's Labour Party, flourished from 1977 to 1984 under the Likud (rightist) government. The project began in 11 sites and grew to encompass 70 neighbourhoods and approximately 500,000 persons, i.e. approximately 13% of Israel's population (Alderman, 1990:217). At its zenith, the project offered comprehensive programmes in housing and infrastructural improvement, educational, welfare, and health programmes, and later modest beginnings of economic development. The first major goal of Project Renewal was to reduce social disparities between the 'more privileged' and the 'less privileged', by improving physical and social living conditions, by improving the residents' chances for social mobility without encouraging out-migration, and by empowering residents to take control over their own lives. The second major goal was to

improve the image of the project's neighbourhoods and prevent future deterioration (Carmon and Hill, 1988:471).

The methodology employed that enabled the success of the project is as follows (Ibid.):

- It operated on the principle of establishing as much tenurial security as possible and avoiding relocation of residents and demolition of buildings. Positive features of old neighbourhoods such as extended families and religious groups were retained at all costs. It was found that destruction of support networks aggravated existing social problems.
- It adopted an integrated social and physical rehabilitation programme. It was argued that decline was caused by both social and physical factors and as such remedies for the problems should also involve these dimensions.
- Resident participation was based on both decentralisation ideas and practical considerations. People living in a democracy had the right to make decisions about their lives, and if they participated in the decision making of the project, it was more likely that they would have been satisfied with the outcome of the project.
- The project worked towards a specific time schedule, a lesson learned from the American Model Cities programme of the period 1960-1970. Specific projects were given a period of 5 years to enjoy State assistance and thereafter it was envisaged that the project would be self-funding.
- A reliance on existing agencies for service delivery, instead of creating a new bureaucracy.

- A good working relationship with the local authority for the necessary support services.

Generally speaking the nett results of the renewal programme was the stabilization of the various neighbourhoods and the reversal of out-migration trends. The projects large monetary investments, physical infrastructure, public amenities, public services and home improvements, enhanced the quality of life in the renewal neighbourhoods and, to a greater degree, attachment to the neighbourhoods (Spiro, 1980:174).

When examining the reasons for the success of the project, it is clearly seen that the project was very much a people oriented revitalization scheme, fashioned on the social theory of people helping themselves out of their cycle of poverty and permitting the poor to drive their own improvement programme. This is in line with the radical theorists' approach to improving areas in decline and the concept of social justice, in which emphasis is placed on community control of the process of revitalization. The need for a people driven revitalization programme was predicated on the belief that while the bureaucracy had a role to play in revitalization, much more effective change was likely to be experienced if the process was driven, outside the State's apparatus, through the agency of urban social movements. This opinion also shared by Castells (1977, 270-272).

A further example of extensive neighbourhood revitalization, very similar to the experience in Israel, was in False Creek, Canada. This scheme was initially a railway town founded in 1886 and which was later developed into a port serving the local timber mills, fish canneries and metal works (Cybriwsky et al, 1986:106). With a changing economy from tertiary to quartenary activities, the area rapidly

declined into a zone of transition, evidencing high levels of pollution. As a consequence the town was declared a health risk by local authorities who wanted to turn the entire central district into an industrial area without any residential component within the central business district. An urban social movement called The Electors Action Movement (TEAM), was totally opposed to the idea of retaining False Creek as a predominantly industrial area. TEAM called for a complete transformation of False Creek from a purely industrial district to a combined area for residential, recreational and clean industrial uses. The local authority's pre-occupation with economic issues, such as an increased tax base, was vehemently challenged in preference for '...a truly living community where people's well being is considered more important than raising land values' (Ibid.). In addition there was also a demand for a diversified supply of housing, suitable for all types of families and households (Ibid.).

To further their cause, TEAM won a majority in the local authority elections, thereby putting them in a position to promote their ideals of diversified development. The immediate challenge was to create '... a landscape in harmony with the physical environment and sensitive to social needs' (Ibid.). In pursuance of these ideals, a social strategy was devised to ensure a landscape that '...embraced the mixing of life-styles, income groups and tenure-types' (Ibid.).

Cybriwsky et al, (1986:116) states that the '...degree of social mixing was so marked, that False Creek could be seen as almost a celebration of diversity'. The design concept assumed that a heterogeneous and diversified community was a healthy community. In opposition to the previous local authority's low cost housing ghetto, which tended to segregate people, TEAM promoted the principle

of protecting the various subcultures by providing '...small circular housing enclaves, each constructed to both shelter homogeneity and to serve as building blocks towards a broader pattern of heterogeneity' (Ibid.). Spatial strategies were adopted to create a neighbourhood character and sense of communal identity which was regarded as socially desirable.

The success of this revitalization project was build around principles that will later be seen to have important implications for the Austerville case study: (i) the importance of community involvement in revitalization programmes; Had there been no involvement by the community in the revitalizing of False Creek, the sterile redevelopment proposals of the former local authority would have become a 'fait accompli'; (ii) the expressed belief that a truly living community resides with people's wellbeing, is considered more important than raising land values (technocratism vs. humanism); (iii) the recognition that there is a need for diversity in housing supply; and (iv) the creation of a housing environment sensitive to social needs.

The ensuing discussion will focus on an analysis of revitalization in Cape Town, South Africa, whereafter certain commonalities will be identified in the case studies. These commonalities will be used as guidelines for the conceptual framework model for the revitalization of Austerville.

Revitalization in South Africa

Revitalization and the process of urban regeneration have up until recently been an entirely government-led activity and have been associated with apartheid ideology. To carry out a particular project of renewal, the permission of the then Department

of Community Development had to be obtained, before any planning could be done. This department, in terms of the Community Development Act of 1966, was empowered to acquire and expropriate property and land and in the process freeze land for urban renewal (Smit, 1989:136). The objectives of this Act were to give effect to the Group Areas Act and implement renewal with a view to improving the living conditions of the already privileged white group (Ibid.). As mentioned previously in this study, South African urban planning history abounds with examples of these actions, the most prominent being District Six in Cape Town, and Cato Manor and Block AK in Durban.

Urban renewal was also used as an instrument for removing Blacks from particular residential areas. It was also used to enforce ethnic autonomy by enforcing segregation, for example at Westbury-Newclare in Johannesburg (Ibid.). Given the rather limited scope and politically oriented nature of renewal, the whole process was nothing more than a slum clearance programmes with ethnic overtones (Smit, 1989). When renewal did take place, it was very environmentally deterministic in approach and place-oriented, embracing the top-down approach to planning.

With the demise of the apartheid era, the private-sector has become a partner with the State in urban renewal programmes. For example, in 1987, a tripartite alliance was formed between the private sector, community and the Cape Town City Council, with the intention of revitalizing the proximate inner city areas of Woodstock and Salt River (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991:117). The objectives of the project were threefold: to demonstrate the functional utility of an open city without the Group Areas Act; to restructure the South African city with a view to

capturing the qualities of a city as opposed to simply building housing areas; and to maximize the potential of the site as a vibrant high density mixed use area.

In contrast to the top-down approach to decision-making, the planning and renewal strategy adopted by the Headstart project team (Headstart Developments, n.d.) was a people oriented, bottom-up approach, with the emphasis on getting people out of their recurring cycle of poverty, by creating opportunities for self-improvement, employment and easy accessibility to employment. The project team were aware that the recurring cycle of disadvantage was often reinforced by institutional arrangements such as the use of poorly planned housing areas, poor education, health and other social facilities. These institutional arrangements were known to heighten the isolation and stigmatization of poor neighbourhoods (Ibid.).

To operationalize their plan for the renewal of the area, the project team used both an environmental deterministic approach as well as the cycles of disadvantage thesis approach. In adopting elements of the former approach, the project team stressed the importance of the environment. No one, however poor or disadvantaged, enjoys living in squalor and a run-down neighbourhood. By introducing elements of the latter approach, they showed a humanist perspective in their planning strategy as well as their desire to achieve social justice in the renewal of the area. In the quest for social justice, the following guiding principles (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:67; Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991) applied:

i. Elimination of poverty;
ii. Provision of some degree of economic security;
iii. Elimination of racial and gender discrimination;
iv. Democratic decision making;

v. Provision of employment within the project or ease of accessibility to employment so as to enhance self worth;

The hitherto exclusionary nature of revitalization, which had previously made the poor bear the costs of revitalization, was reversed. The redevelopment of the area was process-driven, which involved as many members of the community as possible.

This project is, at this juncture, on-going and has enjoyed a relatively high degree of success. As a model for the evaluation of the Austerville case-study, the Woodstock and Salt River project has important contributions to make, particularly with regard to an inclusionary approach to revitalization.

2.6 Proposed model for revitalization in Austerville

Before providing a model for the evaluation of the renewal programme of Austerville, it is essential to revisit the aim of urban renewal and indicate what this study intends to submit as the ideal format for revitalization (Mehra, 1991:66):

> *...(T)he aim of urban renewal is to energise and revitalize the urban environment by injecting into it such elements as are necessary for its proper functioning. The process ultimately involves the whole pattern of population distribution and functional organization of the urban area, including a well planned and co-ordinated layout and expansion of the city. It is thus not only a physical operation but a major socio-economic one involving the people, their ways of life and*

encompassing the political, social and economic aspirations of the community.

The first and most important prerequisite for revitalization is social justice. As a result of its exclusionary nature, revitalization has required a negative connotation (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:69). It is essential that this stigma be removed. Initiatives must be taken to reverse the exclusionary processes of revitalization which are antithetical to the democratic (and therefore inclusionary) principle of social justice (Ibid.). Social justice also has a spatial component. For example, even after revitalization, the poor continue to reside in areas that are close to decline. For revitalization to be effective, it is essential to consider the following suggestions (Hindson et.al., 1992;):

i. Improve the quality of the public spatial environment;
ii. Strategically insert affordable higher density houses for the poor in areas being revitalized;
iii. Promote greening programmes alongside new housing;

Hindson et.al. (1992) accept that the kind of actions and programmes required to restructure a given area are in most cases context specific. There are however certain principles that would apply generally to all cases of revitalization, viz.,

i. The cellular nature of townships and residential neighbourhoods needs to be countered. Spine roads or main channels of movement must be encouraged, in which all the important social and cultural facilities will be situated;
ii. Development controls and building standards need to be re-examined with the objective of relaxing the planning and land use regulations for multi-model land use patterns rather than mono-model patterns (Ibid.).

The second prerequisite for revitalization is that it must ensure that an integrated approach of both place and people oriented policies are put in place.

Thirdly, and closely related to the principle of social justice, is the need for revitalization to be a process which includes democratic procedures. This can be ensured through:

i. The input of working class organizations;
ii. Building the capacity of working class organizations to monitor developmental activities and processes as they occur in their neighbourhood. (It must be noted that this was one of the successes achieved by TEAM in the upgrading of False Creek, Canada.)

Despite this motivation concerning the need for community participation, it is imperative that the notion of community involvement should not be romanticised. Poor communities in areas that need revitalization often lack experience and have limited perspectives of long-term and/or broader social objectives. The inevitable conflict generated by local short-term objectives and the long-term interests of the State can harm projects immeasurably (Rapkin, 1980:191).

The fourth prerequisite is that the costs of revitalization, such as gentrification and displacement, must be minimized. This will enable revitalization to be inclusionary. Where possible, strategies have to be devised to ensure that gentrification and displacement do not take place, because the nett costs of lost social networks will invariably accrue only to the poor (Hartman, 1979:489).

Urban renewal invariably takes place in a turbulent and conflictual environment (Kaufman, 1990:304). Thus the fifth prerequisite is that common purpose can be better served by articulating the conflict, than by searching for consensus and a pattern of government where co-ordination comes from the continuous arbitration of conflicting interests (Patricios, 1977:65). Non-resolution of conflict in a housing/residential environment will eventually crystallize into distrust and violence which may prove to be more costly to repair than an area's physical conditions (Ibid.).

Finally, with the advent of public sector/private sector partnerships, government must exercise greater social control over redevelopment, and thereby ensure that the benefits of revitalization accrue to the whole community and not only certain groups (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:71).

It is essential to exercise caution over the transferability of programmes between countries. Nevertheless, valuable lessons can be learnt from the various experiences of these countries, by studying neighbourhood regeneration in terms of the relationship between four important set of variables: (i) contextual variables; (ii) programme characteristics; (iii) implementation characteristics; and (iv) types and degrees of outputs and outcomes (Alterman, 1991a:211).

2.7 Conclusion

The dominant paradigm proposed for the evaluation of the revitalization of Austerville is the Neo-Marxist oriented conflict perspective. This position is

adopted because of the shortcomings of the orthodox-economic approach to urban regeneration. Policies predicated on the latter approach have regrettably failed the poor and have been seen to further disadvantage them by the exclusionary nature of that approach and by eschewing an analysis of the costs of renewal based on this theory (Ibid.) The conflict based perspective appears to be more humanistic in approach because it focuses on the community as a whole rather than the privileged few who control capital.

Finally, it is recognised that, based on the above analysis, the preferred approach is not the definitive answer to all problems of neighbourhood decay and revitalization. However, the discussion must be seen as an academic investigation which provides a platform for further research efforts, policy formulation and debate.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.2 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY AREA

3.3 HYPOTHESES

3.4 DATA SOURCES

3.5 SAMPLING FRAME

3.6 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN AND FORMAT

3.7 INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES AND PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED

3.8 CONCLUSION

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In the most recently published Housing accord: housing the nation, the new non-racial and democratic Government of National Unity (GNU) of South Africa made the following statement (Department of Housing, c1994:[n.p.]):

> *Housing is defined as a variety of processes, through which habitable stable and sustainable public and private residential environments are created for viable households and communities. This recognises that the environment within which a house is situated in is as important as the house itself in satisfying the needs and requirements of the occupant.*

This chapter sets out to establish:

i. The demographic profile of the community, with a view to further establishing whether there is stability in the area since the commencement of the redevelopment project;

ii. Whether the residents are satisfied with the revitalization of Austerville and as a consequence have developed an affinity and attachment to the area.

3.2 Outline of the study area

Austerville, is situated approximately 11 kilometres to the south of the central business district (CBD) of Durban. The study area is bounded by the Durban city council-managed Merewent residential area to the south, Quality Street (Happy Valley Nature Reserve) to the north, Tara Road (Genref Oil Refinery) to the east and the industrial area of Jacobs to the west. The area is ideally situated in terms of access from and egress into the city, by being situated on a major bus route and served by a commuter railway line not more than a half a kilometre from Austerville (Jacobs Station). In addition, the area is also bounded by the Southern Freeway to the west of the area, which provides the residents with good road access to the major employment and commercial areas of the city. Figure 2 indicates the prime location of Austerville in relation to the greater metropolitan area of Durban.

Austerville is, in the main, a residential area with a total number of 3988 housing units. For purposes of this study, the focus will be on the 1474 residential units in public ownership. These largely consist of two and three storey walk-up detached and semi-detached barrack units. Other land uses in the area make provision for educational (pre-primary, primary and secondary schools) and commercial usage.

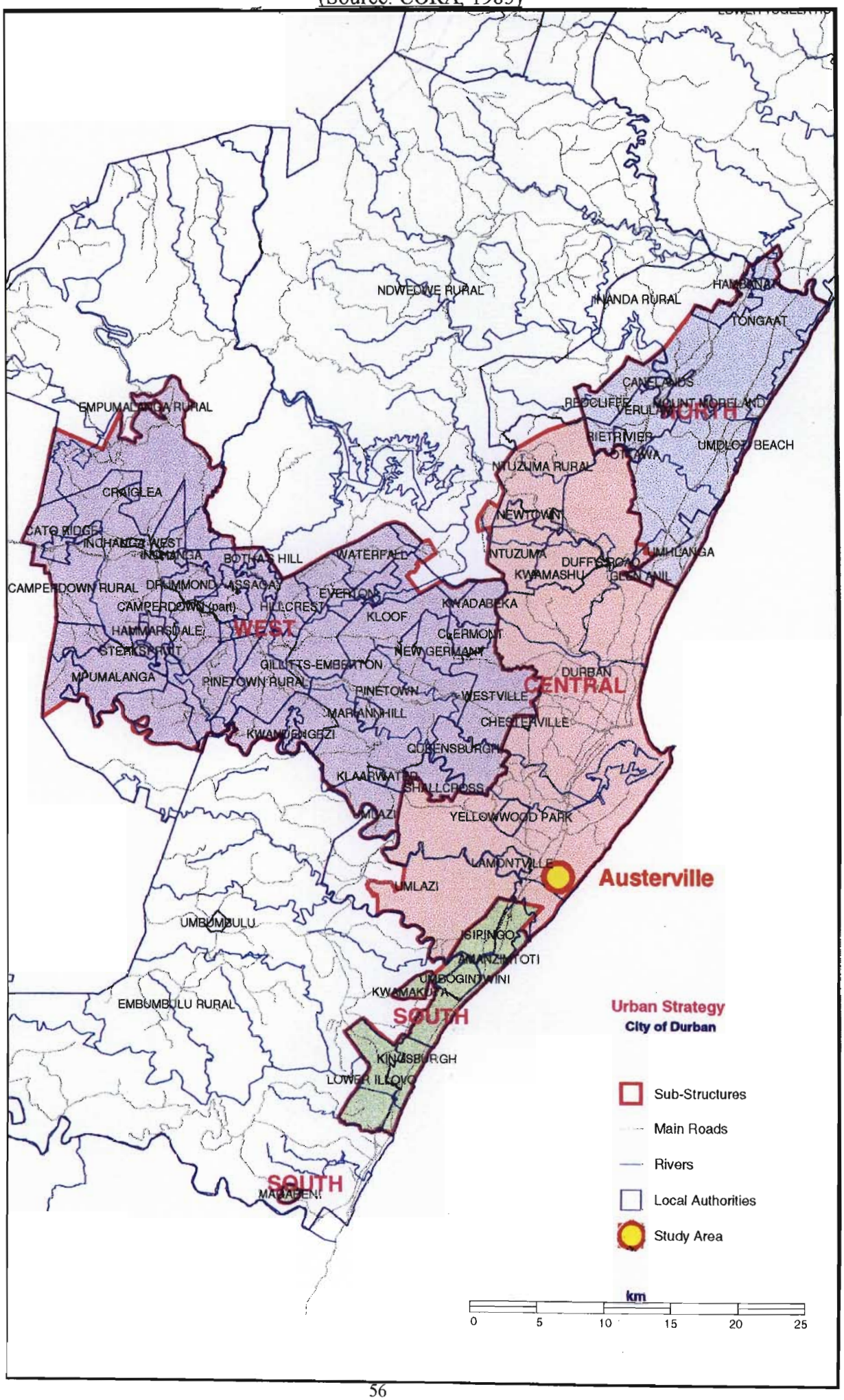
Geographically, Austerville is divided into three distinct zones (Figure 3), viz.,

i. City council housing to the south (40ha), also known as Merewent;

ii. Quality Street with private housing (32ha);

iii. Austerville government village (140ha);

Figure 2: Project area in relation to the metropolitan area of Durban
(Source: CORA, 1985)



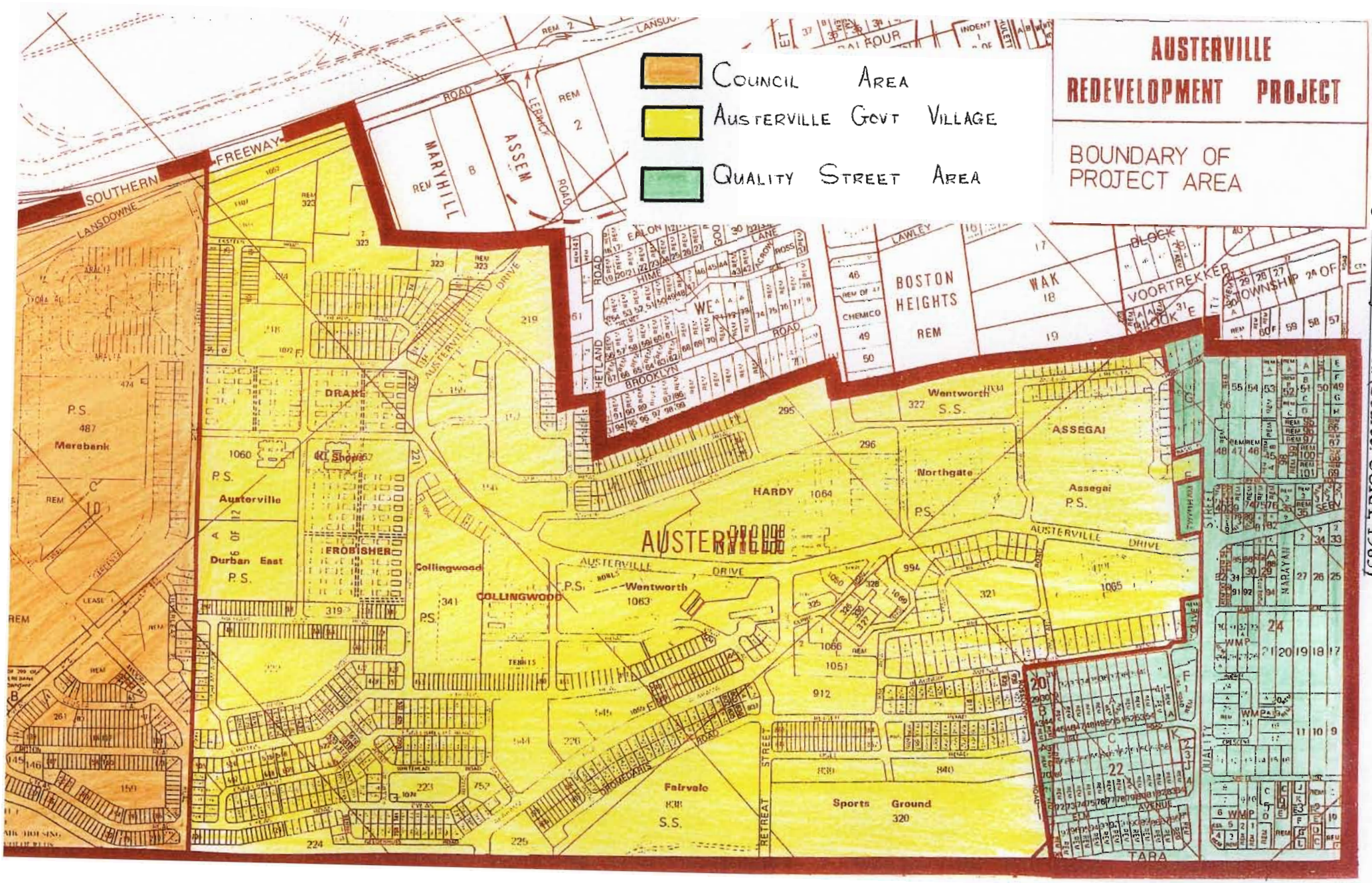


Figure 3: Project area (Source: CORA, 1985)

The latter area, which now falls under the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Administration (KZNPA), that is the focus of this study.

3.3 Hypotheses

The hypotheses presented in this study have been formulated on the basis of the background provided in the literature review relating to residential/neighbourhood revitalization.

The following hypotheses are advanced; That:

i. A successful programme of neighbourhood revitalization will contribute to the transformation of Austerville into a decent socially acceptable neighbourhood, with a viable housing market;

ii. If the community of Austerville is totally involved in the processes of renewal, revitalization will lead to increased community empowerment;

iii. If Government refrains from demolition-led renewal, it will ensure the retention of the neighbourhood social fabric in Austerville;

iv. Efficient land management will increase the availability of land for additional housing;

v. Successful neighbourhood revitalization programmes are predicated on a combination of social and physical programmes;

vi. If affected communities are given the opportunity to physically take responsibility for the upgrading of the area, revitalization will contribute to the economic advancement of that community;

vii. If Government works within the bounds of what is affordable for the community, the likelihood of the area becoming gentrified will be obviated, and displacement of the poor will be unnecessary;

3.4 Data sources

The main source of data for this study is a questionnaire survey. In opting for an interview-based questionnaire, the interviewer intended to maximise the interaction between interviewer and respondent, as opposed to impersonal postal questionnaires. Moser and Kalton (1975:271) describe an interview as being like a conversation between the interviewer and respondent, with the purpose of illiciting certain information from the respondent. In addition, the Austerville Redevelopment Project. Report No. 1. (1986) provided contextual background data for this study. The report contained an analysis of conditions, a redevelopment plan, a land use plan, and an objectives plan.

Further data was also obtained by accessing archival records of both the Durban City Council and the HOR Administration. These were used to establish the contents of certain joint operational and developmental decisions taken by these two parties. In addition, wherever possible, interviews were arranged with officials of both of these authorities, project managers and consultants who were involved in the project. These interviews were required to establish the 'vision' which had driven the upgrading of Austerville and led to the problems experienced during the process.

Finally a comprehensive literature survey was also undertaken in order to develop a conceptual framework for this study.

3.5 Sampling frame

Although there are 3988 housing units in Austerville, this study will concern itself only with the 1474 public housing units that were upgraded by the State. The remaining units are all in private ownership and were not considered for upgrading.

A 10 % sample is normally considered significant at the 95 % confidence level (Moser and Kalton; 1975:147). However, given the relative homogeneity of the community of Austerville, a 5% sample of 72 households was considered adequate for this study. The systematic random sampling technique was employed.

3.6 Questionnaire design and format

The design and format of the questionnaire was influenced by the aims and objectives of this study. Almost 8 years after having set out to upgrade Austerville, the State had not undertaken any tests to establish the degree to which the residents of Austerville had benefitted from the project. Therefore, it was anticipated that the questionnaire would provide answers to the following questions:

i. In what way has the upgrading of Austerville contributed to the provision of adequate and affordable housing for the poor and to an improved housing environment?

ii. To what extent has the environmental quality of the area been improved?

iii. To what extent did the project facilitate home ownership?

iv. To what extent was the community involved in the upgrading of Austerville?

v. To what extent have competing and conflicting civic interests hampered the upgrading of Austerville?

vi. To what extent has the upgrading contributed to the economic well being of the residents of Austerville?

vii. Has the upgrading of Austerville shown a drop in social pathologies.

In the formulation of these research questions it is acknowledged that the researcher's moral philosophy of upgrading and revitalization has, to a very large extent, influenced the problems selected for analysis (Buttines, and Stotdard, in Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981).

The basic unit of the study was the household, which Dlepu (1992; 20) defines as follows:

> *This can consist of one or more families or a group of one or more persons dependent on a common or pooled income who are usually living in the same house. Its members need not be related by blood or marriage. Persons who usually eat or sleep under the same roof and have economic ties, usually constitute a household.*

The questionnaire was designed by the author with the assistance of Craig Clark of the Centre for Development Studies, attached to the University of Natal, Durban. All questions were confined to fit on an A4 size page for simplicity of management and easy implementation (see Appendix 1).

Although the majority of the questions were structured, provision was made for certain open-ended responses. Close-ended or structured questions were used for sensitive questions and to facilitate the codification of demographic information. Combinations of both structured and open ended questions were used in other sections of the questionnaire to enable the interviewees to express their own personal sentiments about issues raised in the questionnaire. The questions pertaining to the issues under investigation were arranged in sequential order, in a manner that would facilitate administration of the questionnaire during the interview. The questionnaire was divided into the following sections:

i. Demographic Information

Variables included in this section included sex, age, level of education, marital status, occupation and place of employment of household members, household size and number of income earners.

ii. Residential History

Issues examined in this section included year of occupation of present dwelling, previous place of residence, reasons for last residential move, reasons for present residential location and reasons that precluded the household from moving out of area.

Included in this section was information pertaining to home ownership and the potential market value of the house.

iii. Renovations (Investment in Unit)

Barracks

Information relating to renovations was requested in this section. Renovations were defined as structural changes and/or additions in the area of the main dwelling, outbuilding and other improvements such as pre-cast fencing or conventional walling on the perimeter of the property.

iv. Attitude to upgrading of personal housing unit and the area in general. It was hoped that information gathered from this section would assist the researcher to establish whether there was an enhanced attachment to the area as a result of the upgrading.

v. Neighbourhood organization and participation

Information about membership and active participation in organizations and the degree of awareness of such organizations was sought in this section, the rationale being that these are indicators of improving neighbourhoods.

3.7 Interview techniques and problems experienced

In the administration of the questionnaire, the researcher was assisted by colleagues of the former HOR Administration, in the Durban Regional Office. Interviewers were carefully instructed with regard to the aims and objectives of the

study, the sample design and a possible bias in interview situations. Briefing sessions were held with the interviewers prior to the commencement of the field work. In addition, detailed instructions were provided on the questionnaire itself. Fieldwork was conducted during the month of May 1995 and each interviewer was given a specific area to work in. Fieldworkers were specifically instructed to interview only the head of the household to obtain the information required. Interviews were conducted generally during the day and, where absolutely necessary, follow-up visits were made either in the evenings or on the week-end.

Problems Experienced

Although no major obstacles were encountered during the fieldwork and administration of the questionnaire, the following problems are of interest:

- Although the confidential and academic nature of the study was emphasised during the interview, interviewers still found that respondents were hesitant or refused to provide information about income and the number of residents in a house;
- As the interviewers were all State employees, the survey was at times regarded as an exercise by the State to pry out information from the various households. To obviate this problem interviewers were forced to disclose the academic aims and objectives of the study to respondents.
- Certain respondents were concerned about how their homes had been selected from among the neighbours. An effort was then made to explain the machinations of random sampling and the fact that to interview all households in the public housing units would be both expensive and time consuming.

- It was necessary to stress to respondents that the research was being conducted in the hope that this would improve the redevelopment process in Austerville. In this regard respondents became most helpful.
- To ensure optimum co-operation, it was necessary to ensure that the least number of interviews took place over week-ends and during prime television viewing time.

3.8 Conclusion

The general response to the questionnaire was satisfactory and there was a 100 per cent return. When necessary, call-backs were arranged to suit the respondents. The questionnaire took an average of 45 - 60 minutes to complete which was a little longer than expected. Despite the length of the questionnaire, respondents were generally found to be sincere and frank about their perceptions of the revitalization processes in Austerville.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY REVITALIZATION OF AUSTERVILLE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.2 AUSTERVILLE PRIOR TO THE REVITALIZATION PROCESS

4.3 AUSTERVILLE SUBSEQUENT TO REVITALIZATION

Improved Urban Design

Improved Bulk Infrastructure

Upgrading of Residential Structures

Improved Land Usage / Infill Housing

Environmental Upgrading

Provision of Community Facilities

Socio-economic improvements: sale of land

- Residential Sites
- Commercial/Light Industrial Sites
- Promotion of Home Ownership
- Sale of Business Outlets
- Employment Generation and Community Participation

4.4 CONCLUSION

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY REVITALIZATION OF AUSTERVILLE

4.1 Introduction

To facilitate the redevelopment of Austerville with a view to its ultimate revitalization, the State proposed the following strategy (Van Wyk and Louw Inc, 1994) in pursuance of this objective:

- Improve and maintain the public environment;
- Promoting and facilitating home ownership;
- Upgrading existing services;
- Alleviation of social pathologies;
- Creation of employment and development of skills;
- Co-ordination of the activities of various organizations in Austerville
- Ensuring that the benefits of the project were realized by all income groups.

(See Appendix 1 for a detailed list of the objectives of the Austerville Redevelopment Project.)

To fully appreciate the rationale behind the decision to revitalize Austerville, it was essential to make a detailed analysis of conditions and problems prior to the commencement of the project. This was considered imperative for this study as these conditions formed important variables in the formulation of a redevelopment strategy for Austerville.

4.2 Austerville prior to the revitalization process[1]

Housing units in Austerville comprise the following types:

- Converted naval barracks;
- Single and double-storey semi-detached units;
- Detached houses;
- Various old and newer flats;

The number of dwelling units totalled 3988, of which 40% were detached houses and semi-detached units; 15% were converted barrack units whilst the various kinds of flats made up 45% of the housing units.

There were two notable features of the existing housing stock at the time. Firstly, home ownership during 1985/86 comprised only 32% of the total housing stock. Secondly, flats made up 45% of the total housing stock. This is a very high proportion by comparison with many other Durban housing schemes which were planned to have a maximum of 20% flat units.

It was found that home-owners showed more pride in their properties than tenants. This was evident from the better standards of maintenance and upkeep of the immediate environs around the privately owned homes..

Flats, were in public ownership and varied in quality and style. The oldest blocks of flats in the area, in Woodville Road (Figure 4), indicated signs of extremely poor maintenance over a long period of time. Although the more recently built

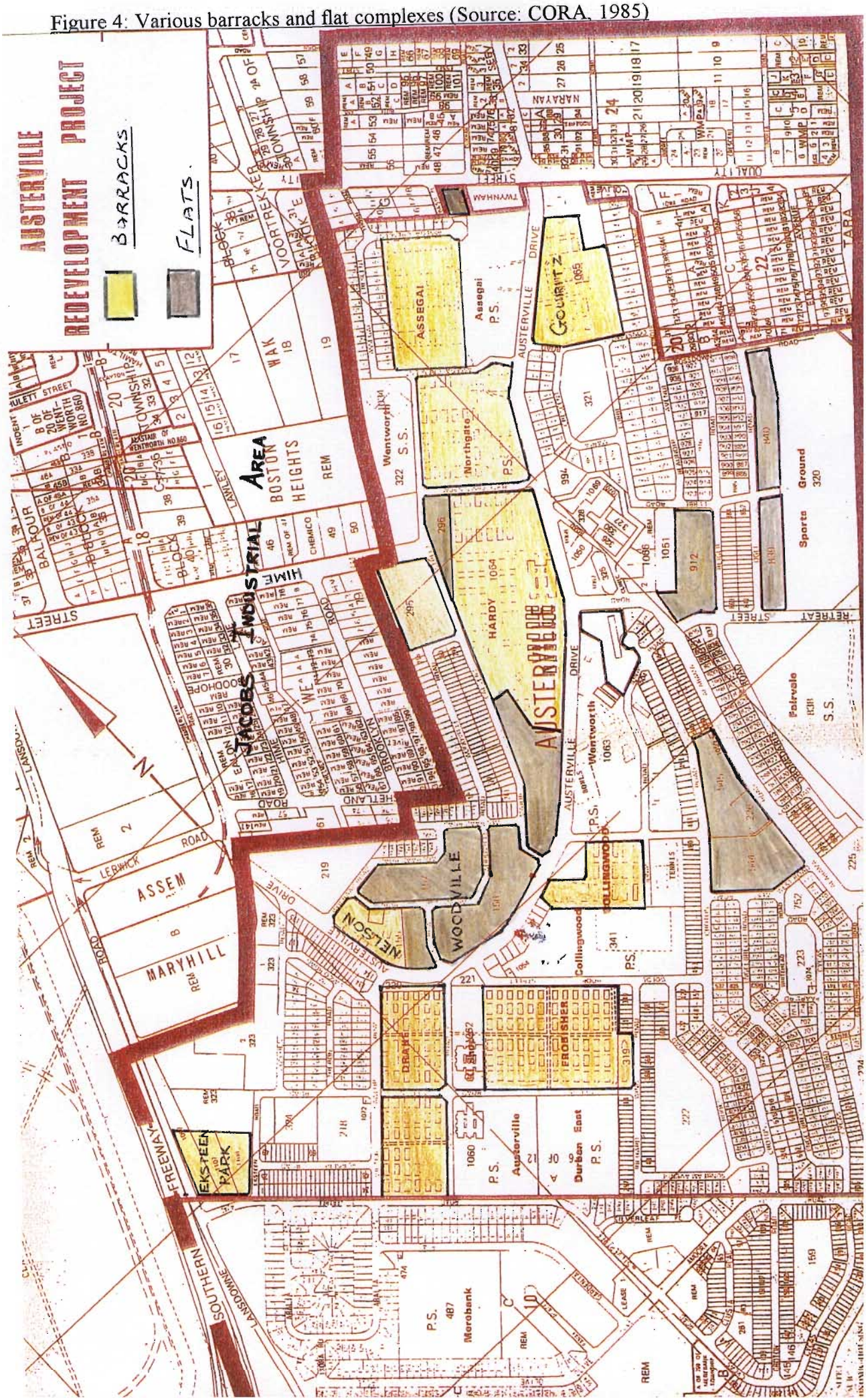
1 The information provided in this section has been taken from CORA, (1985). *Austerville redevelopment project report 1: analysis of conditions.*

flats were structurally sounder than the Woodville Road flats, their immediate environs were visually depressing.

No consideration was given to planting and landscaping, and some tenants' response to these conditions were to leave derelict vehicles and litter in these complexes. In terms of a suitable living environment, no consideration had been given to aesthetics. The close grouping of flats led to visual interfusion of dwellings and noise disturbances. A lack of private or semi-private space, proper play areas, adequate laundry facilities and minimal-maintenance by the State all contributed to the depressing physical living conditions. A study by Graser and Rankin (1983) found that the majority of incidents involving vandalism, violence and crime were associated with the flat complexes. One of the reasons for this assertion was the open and 'public' character of the 'defensible spaces' (Newman, 1973:78) and the ease of movement by undesirable elements of the community through the area.

In Assegai, Hardy and the Gouritz barrack areas, the housing quality of the flats were found to be poor. In Assegai, the positioning of units were such that, with imaginative planning, much of the unkempt open spaces could have been put to better use. Although occupied by the medium-low to middle income group, the area was still relatively bleak and sterile. This was due to a lack of proper maintenance and the presence of narrow alleys between units which allowed for the penetration of the area by undesirable elements. Similar conditions were found in the Collingwood area (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: Various barracks and flat complexes (Source: CORA, 1985)



In comparison with the other barrack areas, the environment of the Drake and Frobisher blocks was found to be very bad. As well as being virtually 'cheek to jowl', some of the barrack blocks were divided into three dwelling units, each of no more than 25^{m2}. No satisfactory access or drainage existed in the area and narrow unkempt walk-ways existed between the housing units. These alleys were found to be gathering places for undesirable elements, both from the area and from the adjoining flat complexes. The barracks, were also serviced with electricity, albeit on a bulk meter. No internal toilets and washing facilities were provided for these units and families had to contend with external grouped ablution facilities. Seen together with the network of unkempt walk-ways (see Plate 1), which invariably passed close to the grouped ablution facilities, the safety of residents was always at risk. This was understandably an issue of great community concern. Similar conditions were found in the remaining barrack area of Nelson, with the exception of the external ablution facilities.

Plate 1: Orthophoto of barrack area and maze of informal pathways

Occupancy rate in dwellings

Surveys conducted in 1984 by the Durban City Council (CORA,1985), revealed a wide range of occupancy rates. An occupancy rate of 3 to 7 persons per dwelling unit was most commonly encountered. Given the number of units in the area at the time (3988) and an estimated population of 24000 persons, the average number of persons per unit for Austerville was therefore 6 persons per dwelling, 2 above the average Coloured family size of 4.3 people (CORA, 1985). This suggests that the average dwelling unit was home to 2 individuals in excess of the conventional nuclear family in the Coloured community. While there were different ranges of occupancy rates per dwelling, observations made by the former HOR Administration indicate that the occupancy rate per room varied between 1 to 16 people. It was anticipated that Newman's findings (1973:7) that severe overcrowding is a significant contributory cause of social and personal problems in hidden and 'internal slums' would obtain in Austerville.

The main focus of this study is on the barrack units and the infill units, totalling 632, and the 552 flats in public ownership. Although there were 419 semi-detached units being used as rental stock, plans were a foot during 1985 to encourage the purchase of these units by the incumbent tenants, in terms of the State's sales campaign. These semi-detached units were therefore omitted from the study.

Infrastructure

Responsibility for the maintenance of the services infrastructure was shared between the City Council Durban and the HOR Administration. Generally

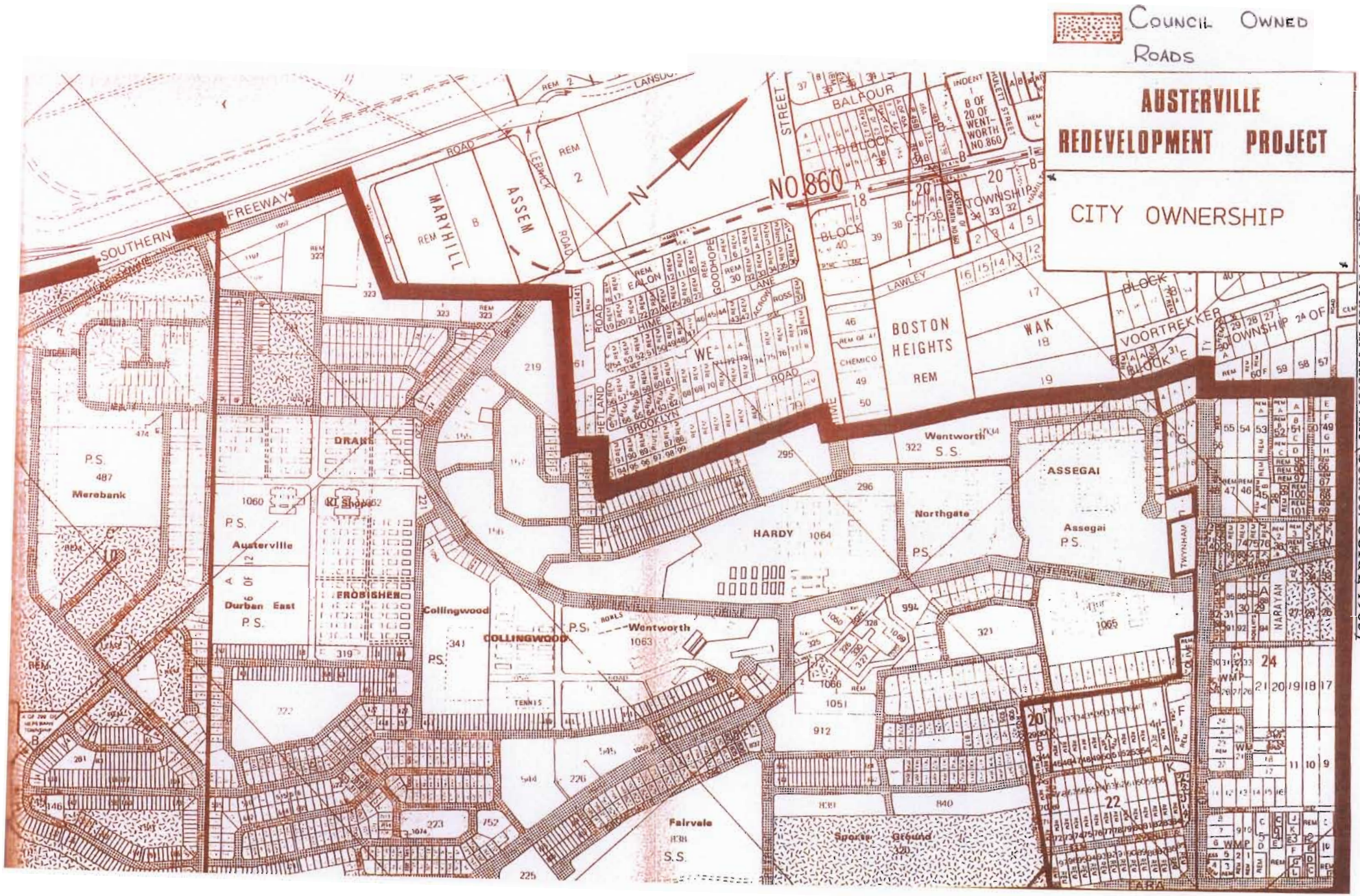


Figure 5: Roads in Austerville (Source: CORA, 1985)

speaking, all underground services in the control of the HOR, were in very poor condition and subject to frequent failure. Much of the road network in Austerville was Durban City Council owned and maintained and considered to be in a fair condition (see Figure 5). However, roads under the control of the HOR were poor and did not conform to local authority standards.

Street and public lighting

Street lighting in roads owned by the City Council were installed by the Council and maintained, albeit on an irregular basis. Lighting in all other areas and roads and more specifically in the barrack and flat complexes were non existent, adding further to conditions conducive to endemic deviant behaviour.

Street Cleaning and Maintenance of Public areas

Litter, unkempt open spaces and overgrown verges were all features of Austerville. These conditions along the spine road (Austerville Drive), which potential buyers in the area immediately encountered on entering Austerville, contributed largely to the depressed housing market . The HOR Administration also did not show a desire or capacity to maintain areas under their jurisdiction at that juncture.

Public amenities

i. Education facilities: There was a growing need for the replacement of the existing derelict pre-fabricated secondary school which reflected poorly on the intentions and efforts of the educational authorities. In addition, there was an urgent need for another secondary school in the area because many pupils were being bussed by the State to attend schools in other areas (649 pupils, excluding those using private transport). Some of the existing

primary schools were housed in buildings built for other purposes, such as disused workshops. These were in urgent need of replacement. The majority of the school sites in Austerville were below the norm of 2.5 hectares, the grounds, in general, being poorly maintained and unsuitable for school sporting activities.

ii. Community centres and facilities for the aged: No facilities existed in the area for the active and frail aged of the community. There was an urgent need to encourage the clustering of public and community facilities at a selected centralized location because existing facilities were inconveniently scattered. Clustering would also diminish the cellular or partitioned nature of the area (Hindson, et al, 1992).

iii. Commercial facilities: The two most popular commercial trading facilities were situated in buildings leased from the State. These were in a very poor condition and were doing not encouraging patronage. A lack of maintenance on the part of the State and the traders, as lessees, contributed to the condition of these premises. Secondary trading facilities were found in Quality Street, Silvertree Road and Beaunoir Avenue. These facilities were privately owned and in very good condition.

Recreational Open Space

The area was under-provided by the 30ha of open space set aside for recreational purposes although this complied with the existing local authority requirements. This under-provision is illustrated by an analysis of reported road accidents in Austerville. During 1984-86, half the 14 % pedestrian-related accidents involved children who were playing on the road or verges (Mikula, 1986). This was due to a lack of protected play lots and active playing areas for children.

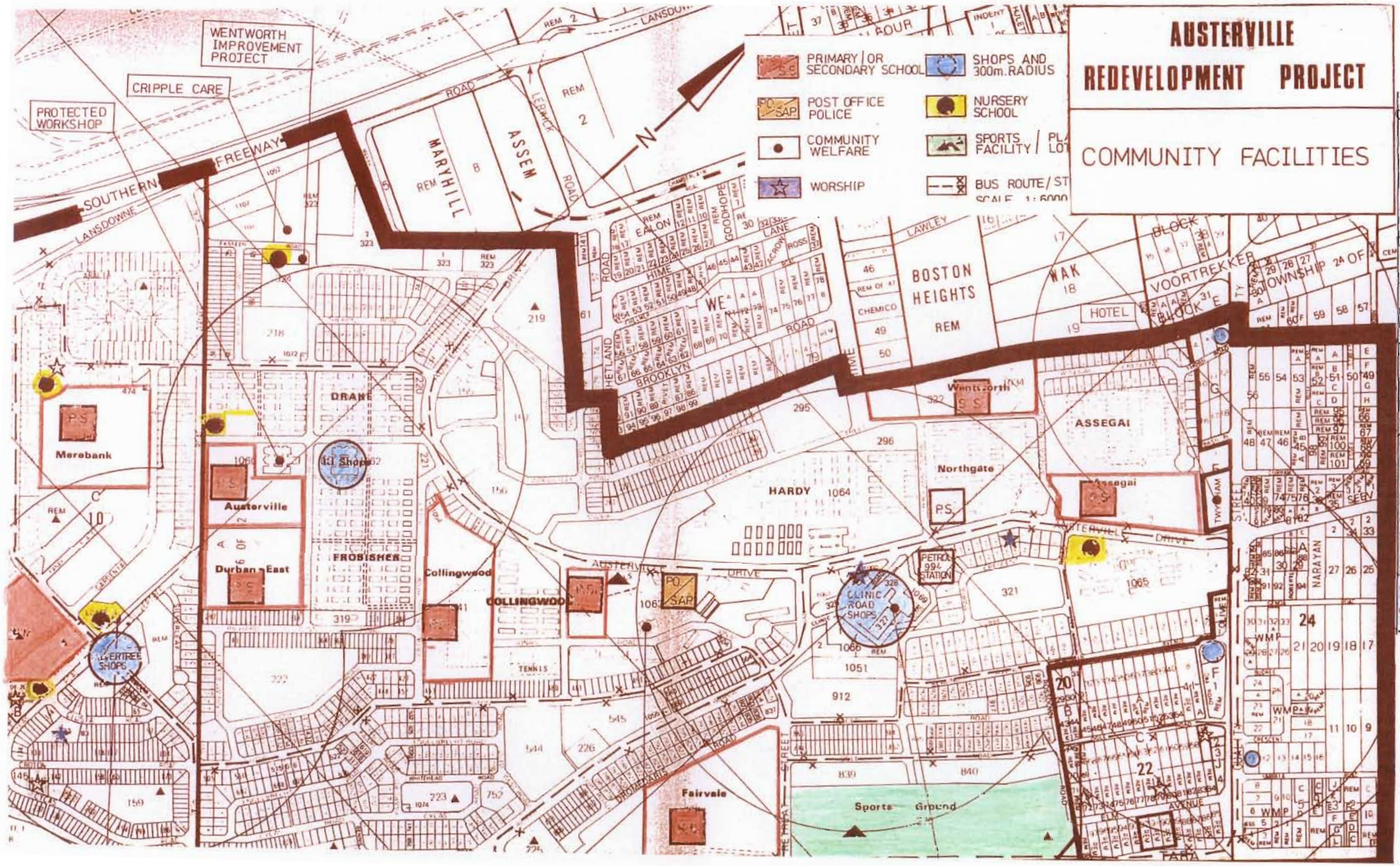


Figure 6: Existing community facilities (Source: CORA, 1985)

Although the above are not the full range of community facilities available in the area, they are the most important and popularly used community facilities. (See Figure 6 for the siting of the existing community facilities in the area.)

Environment

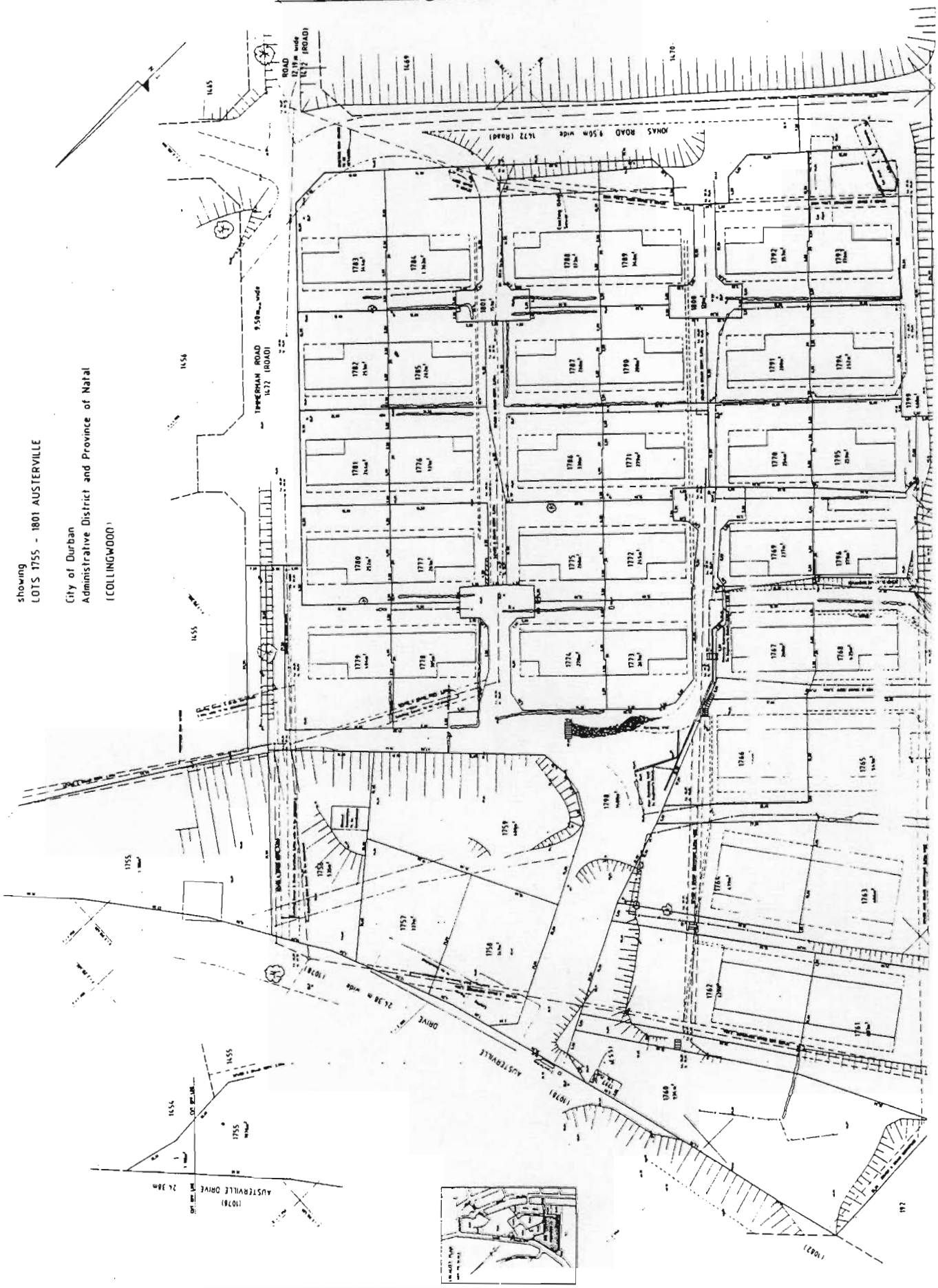
Much of the environs of Austerville was unsightly. Litter and dumping, poorly maintained public areas, vacant overgrown lots and noises from nearby industries, were all common environmental features. Noise disturbances were created by aircraft approaching and taking-off from the Durban airport nearby. Air pollution was also related largely to sulphurous emissions from both the Mobil Refinery and the SAPREF refinery to the south of Austerville.

Social Problems

Austerville, home to 40% of Durban's Coloured population, contained a complete spectrum of Coloured social groups. Like other Coloured communities in Durban, it had a high proportion of low-income earners. Although it is difficult to establish a simple cause-and-effect relationship between the various social pathologies and the physical and social conditions in Austerville, the prevalence of crime, violence and vandalism constituted a serious threat to the social wellbeing of the majority of the residents of Austerville.

It was against this rather stark and dismal background that the redevelopment of Austerville was undertaken; with a view to facilitating the renaissance of the area.

Figure 7: Physical lay-out of Collingwood barrack area
(Source: O'Donoghue and Cato)



4.3 Austerville subsequent to revitalization

Improved urban design

An examination of conditions in Austerville, in the areas set aside for barrack housing, or barracks[2] as they are commonly called, showed that very little urban design and town planning existed. The only routes of movement within the barrack areas were a series of informal footpaths that meandered between the various barracks. The intention of the State to ensure that all the single and semi-detached simplexes be made available for sale, necessitated the appropriate sub-divisioning of land (see Appendix 1: Objective 4). In addition, to facilitate the sale of housing stock in the barrack areas, the general security and safety of the residents was also imperative. These intentions were significant because, since the inception of the area, the only subdivisioning of land had occured in areas with privately owned housing stock. The process of sub-dividing the various areas into individual sites was complicated by the fact that the areas were already fully developed, and that a decision had been taken by the State to limit the demolition of units to the minimum. Thus, subdivisioning of land had to occur within this constraint being observed.

Simon Vines (pers.comm. Durban, 2 June 1995), the urban and regional planner initially responsible for the townplanning of the project, stated that the following guiding principles were adopted for the layout and subdivision of land in the various barrack areas:

---

2 The barrack areas named after English admiralty and ships were Assegai, Gouritz, Nelson, Frobisher, Drake, Hardy and Collingwood. Each of these areas has an identity of its own and can be viewed as a micro neighbourhood unit.

i. The design process should be a means to restructure a residential environment of micro neighbourhoods and ensure that they become liveable and controlled by the community sharing the area.

The previous absence of any definitive physical form was seen as the most cogent ally of persons bent on mischief and crime (Newman, 1973:2) and had to be viewed as a significant factor contributing to criminality in Austerville.

ii. Where possible, layouts should be designed to ensure clustering of housing units and thereby reinforce '...associations of mutual benefit by providing opportunities for visual surveillance by all tenants' (Joyner and Webb, 1991:27). This is evident in the lay-out of the Collingwood barrack area (see Figure 7).

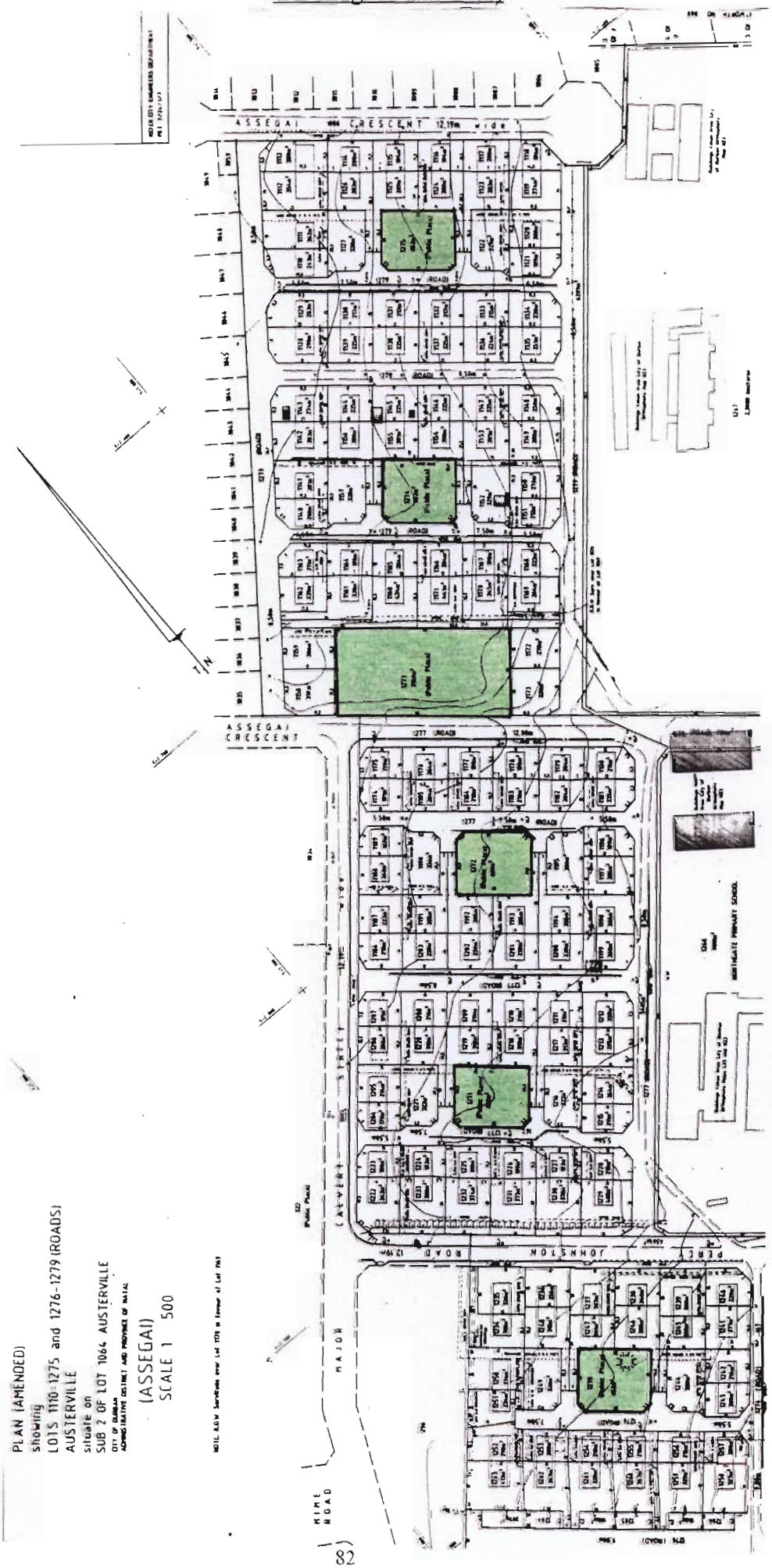
iii. Housing units should be grouped into small recognisable enclaves as a surveillance mechanism (Joyner and Webb, 1991:28; Newman, 1973:2).

iv. Road access to the various neighbourhoods should be limited to avoid creating through traffic. Roads should be designed to the minimum width permissable (carriage-way 4.5m) to ensure safe vehicular movement within the neighbourhoods.

v. Pedestrian routes, wherever provided, should be positioned to be contiguous to the roadways. Every effort should be made to ensure that pedestrian walk-ways do not create a set of through routes to other areas, which would facilitate access out of the area for criminals.

vi. In all the layouts prepared for the barrack areas, roadways should be positioned to ensure that existing houses are oriented to face the road from either side of the road, ensuring further surveillance measures.

Figure 8: Position of play lots in relation to the existing lay-outs (Source: O'Donoghue and Cato)



vii. Areas set aside for passive recreation areas should be positioned at the entrance to the various housing enclaves rather than in the area. In this regard, Figure 8 shows the layout of Assegai. Although Joyner and Webb (1991) contend that the positioning of houses facing onto a recreational area should be avoided, it is arguable that recreational areas, such as play lots for toddlers and young children, are best supervised by houses facing the play lots.

Plot sizes varied between a minimum size of 160^{m2}, to the larger sites of 600^{m2} in Hardy. Despite extensive negotiation with the Durban City Town Planning Division to relax the regulations for the town planning scheme in Austerville with regard to building lines, rear and side spaces, and plot area ratios, the Town Planning Division were adamant that the existing standards could not be compromised. Plot area ratios were set at 50 % for the smallest sites, with side spaces of 3.0m and rear space of 5.0m and a building line of 4.5m (Simon Vines, pers. comm. Durban, 2 June 1995).

In the past, car-owners were precluded from parking their vehicles in their yards because there was no formal access to their yards. In the redevelopment scheme, each site was provided with formal vehicular access and was permitted parking on hardstandings within the curtilage of the house, not closer than 3.0m from the street line.

Flat Complexes

Limited urban design work was done to the various flat complexes, other than emphasising existing pedestrian ways and facilitating vehicular access to the

complexes. This was to ensure safe parking of vehicles and to minimize theft of and from vehicles. Of singular importance to the Hime Street flat complex was the closing off of Hime street to through traffic from the neighbouring industrial area of Jacobs. The use of Hime Street was thereafter limited to residential traffic only, and ensured that Hime Street would no longer be used by heavy transport rigs to and from Jacobs. (See Figure 4 for the location of Hime Street, and the Jacobs industrial area in relation to the study area.)

In short, the security of residents and the creation of enclaves of residents sharing common areas, were the two predominant guiding principles in the urban design and town planning for Austerville. Where residents previously had to contend with inroads into their safety, the town planning principles that were adopted ensured that this was a concern of the past. The redevelopment measures created a system of defensible spaces which inhibited crime by 'creating the physical expression of a social fabric that defended itself' (Newman, 1973:3).

Improved bulk infrastructure

An examination of the condition of the minimal infrastructure available in the barrack areas, showed that, aside from the initial investment in infrastructure by the State, very little had been invested in the maintenance of these installations. As a result, many of these installations were in disrepair and constituted a health hazard to the residents. As the barrack units also had no stormwater drainage, the foundations of houses were being exposed by stormwater, and the areas were subjected to washaways during heavy storms.

According to Röhm (Innova, 1990), a supervising civil engineer for the HOR in Cape Town, 'the upgrading of services in an established neighbourhood was an extremely difficult exercise and in fact proved to be more expensive than providing the same level of services in an undeveloped area'.

After discussions with the various communities in the individual neighbourhoods, it was decided to replace the existing services rather than to upgrade and repair the various installations. This was in line with the thinking of officials from the Durban City Engineering Department, which, according to the agreement, would take over the new services one year after installation. The take over of services by the Durban City Engineers' Department was considered advisable in view of their greater capacity to maintain these services (CORA, 1985). The State had regrettably shown, since the inception of the area, that it did not have the capacity to maintain the underground services as well as the roads in the various neighbourhoods. Services and roads under the control of the State were generally in a state of disrepair, much to the chagrin of local residents.

The range of new services provided by the State and the City Council were: (i) new stormwater and sewer reticulation systems, and (ii) the provision of new electrical and freshwater reticulation systems, as well as street lighting. In view of the fact that the provision of potable water and electricity was regarded as 'trading services', the Durban City Council accepted responsibility for the installation costs of the freshwater and electricity reticulation systems (CORA, 1985). To facilitate the sale of the various housing units, provision was made for individual connection points for water and electricity to each unit. Whereas previously units were served

off bulk meters, after redevelopment every unit had its own metreage point. This was regarded as an important prerequisite for sale purposes.

The installation of new services into a built-up environment and the attendant interruptions in the existing services, was an extremely trying experience which often generated acrimony from the residents. In the case in Austerville, there were no records available of the location of existing services. This created further delays for both the community and the contractors trying to complete the projects. Under these difficult conditions, the ability of the project manager to liaise with the community was severely tested. This confirmed the argument that upgrading of residential areas inevitably operates in an atmosphere of turbulence and conflict (Kaufman, in Patricios, 1977). (See Plate 2a and 2b overleaf.)

As the various flat complexes were erected much later than the barrack units, the level of servicing was found to be of a much higher standard. The only additional service provided to the various flat complexes was lighting to the outside of the flats which would ensure the safety of tenants at night. The exception was the Woodville Road flat complex where services were found to be very poor. Both the sewer system and the fresh water supply were ineffective due to numerous blockages and breakages. These were ascribed to the ineffectual maintenance by the State. Without an effective stormwater system, foundations of flats were also being seriously undermined, resulting in unsafe living conditions.

Plate 2a and 2b: Installation of new services and roads in built-up barrack areas.

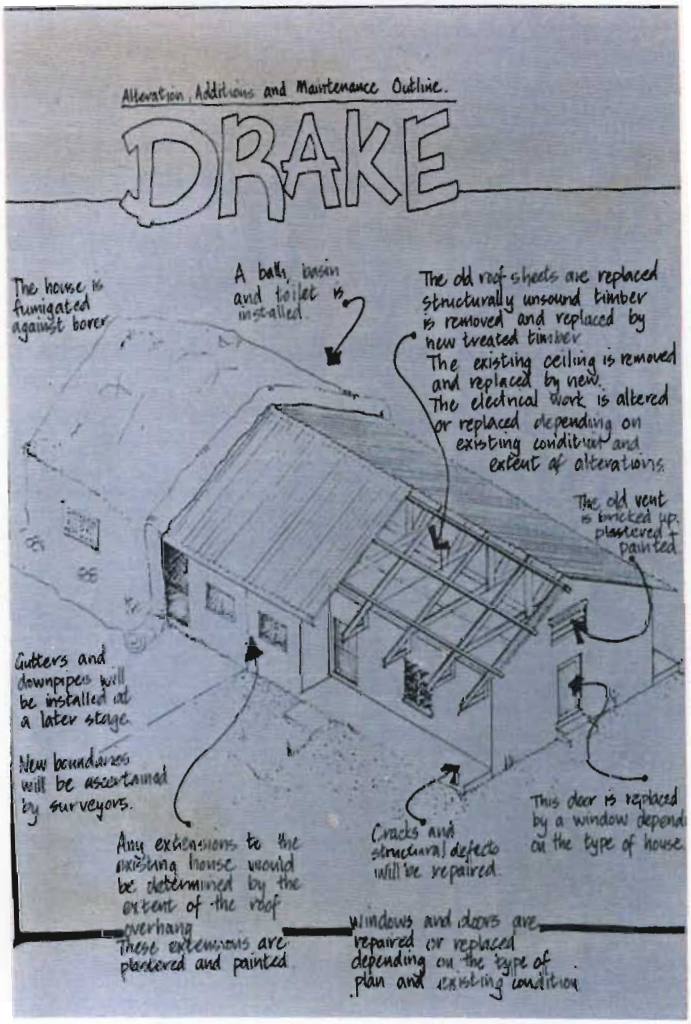
At the present time, the Woodville complex is the only project that has not been addressed meaningfully. This can be attributed to various reasons, which will be dealt with below.

Upgrading of residential structures

Due to a lack of regular maintenance, the existing barrack units in Austerville were in a total state of disrepair (See Plate 3). In pursuance of the redevelopment plan for the area, the following upgrading of the individual barrack units in all the various neighbourhoods was undertaken: (i) replacing old roof sheets, ii) replacing all unsound timber, (iii) electrical boards and circuits altered or replaced, (iv) cracks and structural defects repaired (i.e. in walls, floor and apron of each house), (v) defective and borer infested window and door frames were replaced, (vi) houses were fumigated against borer, and (vii) the interior of all units were painted (Mikula, 1989: Interim Report).

Plate 3: Existing barrack prior to upgrading.

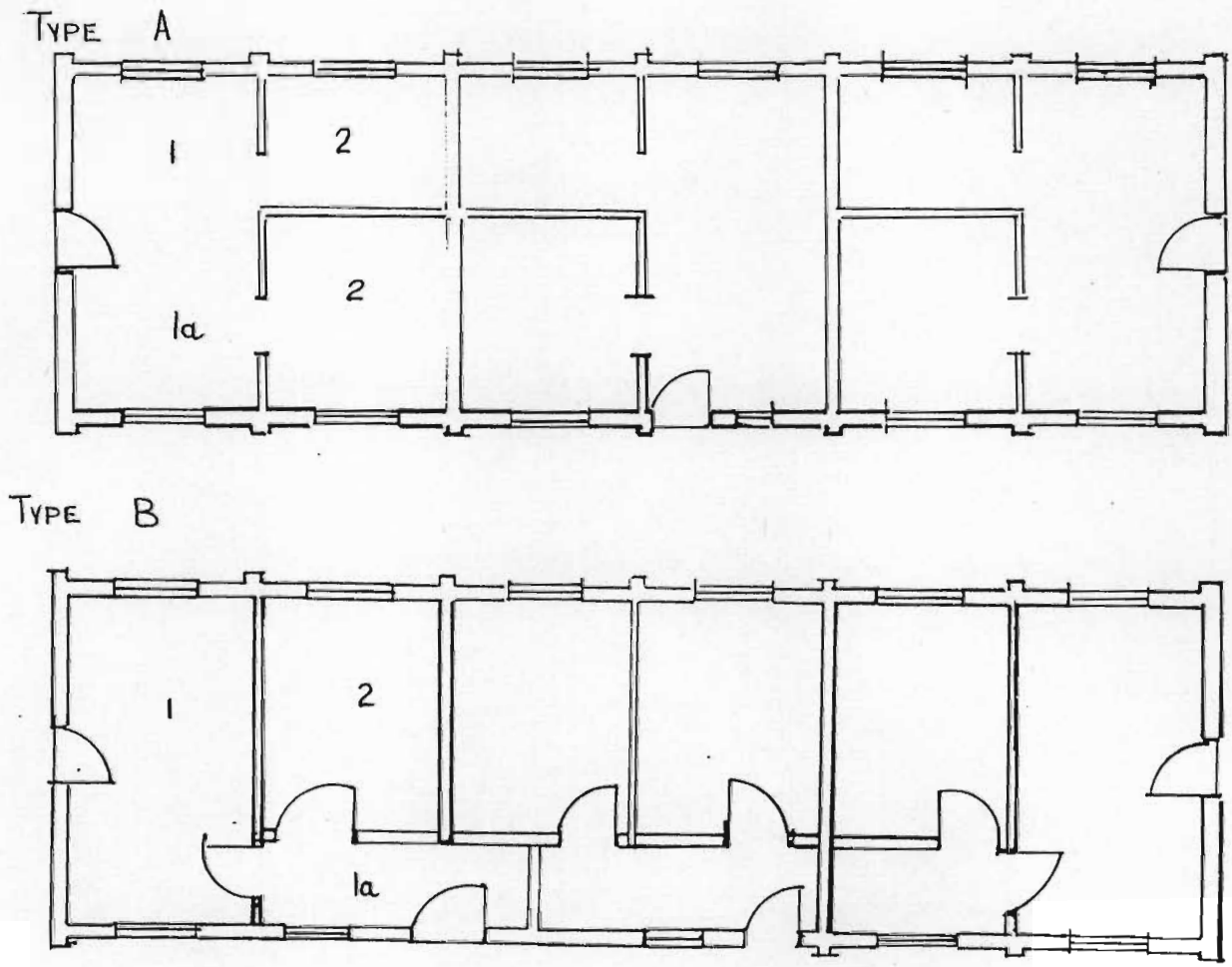
Plate 4: A graphic description of renovation done to simplex units in Drake and other barrack areas in Austerville.



The items of work described above were carried out to all the barrack units and were not included in the price structure of the units. The rationale behind this decision was the tacit admission that the State had not maintained the units as well as they ought to have over the 40 years of their existence. This financial arrangement was made applicable to all the barrack neighbourhoods. The new work carried out at the various neighbourhoods will be indicated separately below.

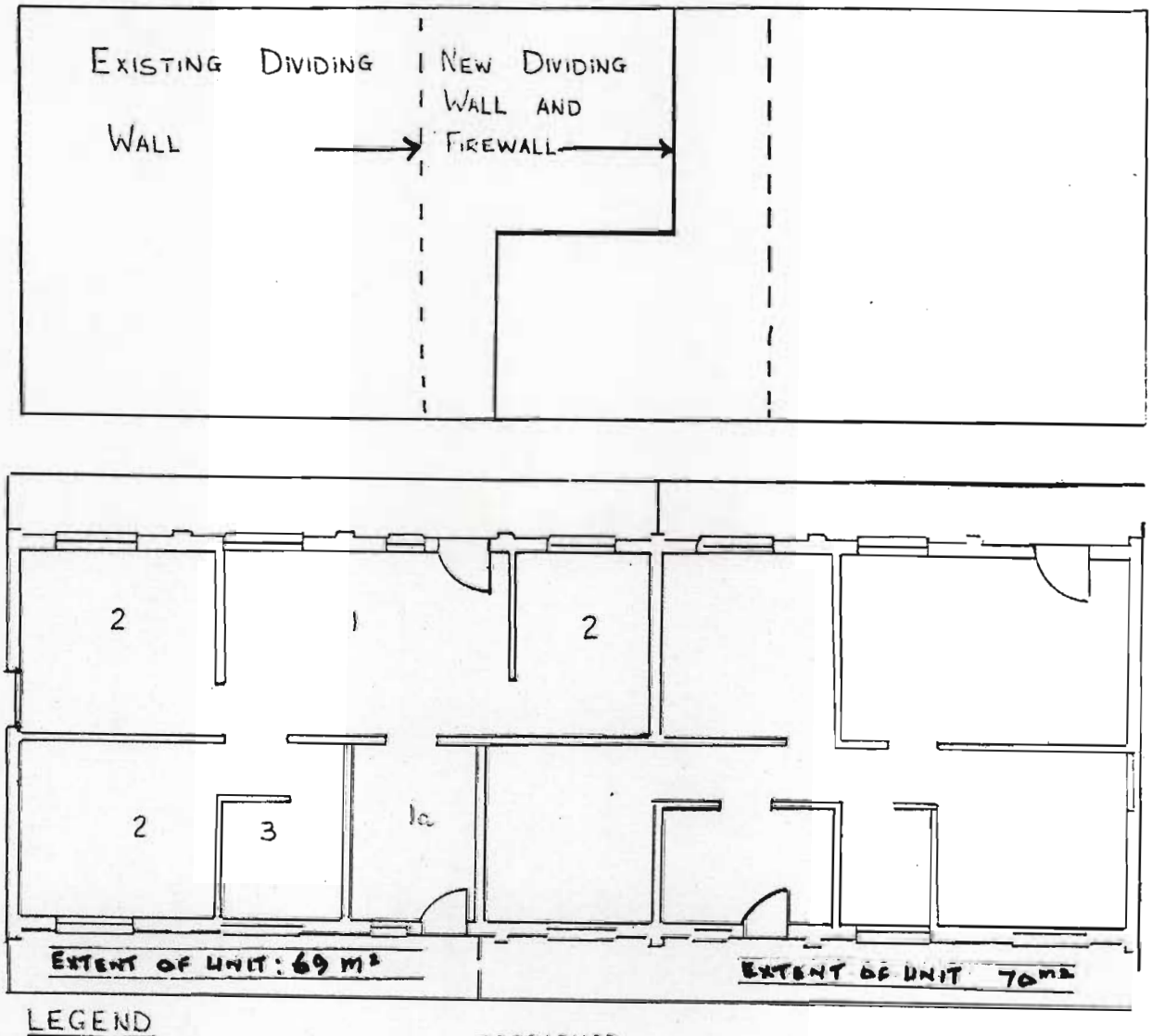
In the Frobisher barrack area, new kitchens, internal bathrooms and toilets were added to all units. In addition the units were provided with a hotwater system and additional electricity plug points. Three-in-one units of 25^{m2} each were converted into two units. Gulleys and down pipes were installed and water directed out of the

Figure 9a. Plans of existing 3-in-1 unit prior to conversion and subsequent to conversion (Frobischer) (Source: CORA, 1985)



LEGEND
1 - LOUNGE
1a - KITCHEN
2 - BEDROOM

Figure 9b: Plans of existing 3-in-1 unit prior to conversion and subsequent to conversion (Frobischer) (Source: CORA, 1985)

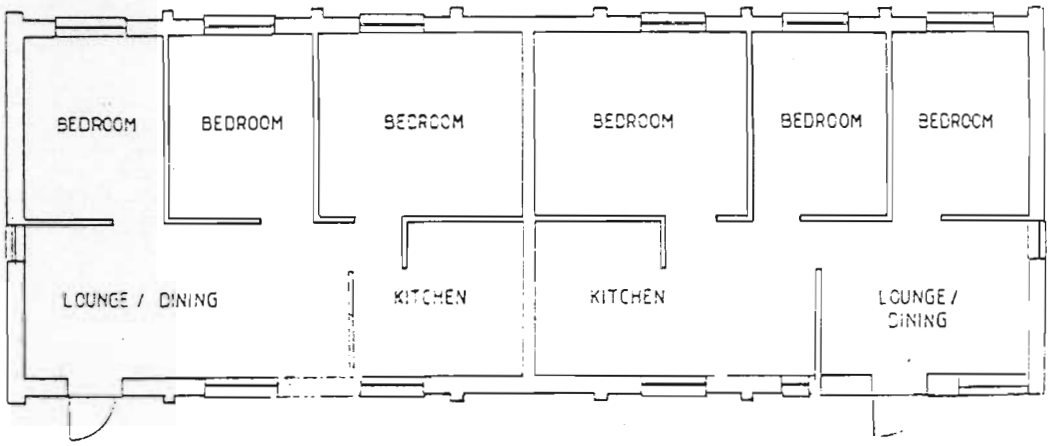


LEGEND

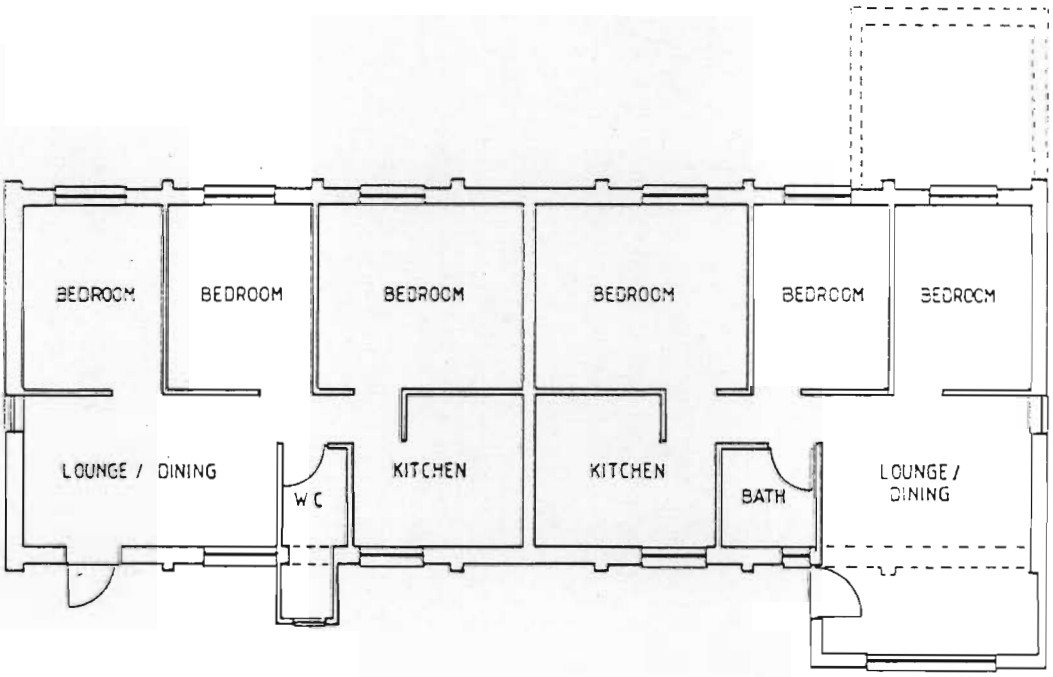
1 – LOUNGE
1a – KITCHEN
2 – BEDROOM
3 – BATHROOM + W.C.

FROBISHER
(Conversion of 3-unit barrack into 2-unit barrack)

Figure 10: Plans of existing and extended unit in Frobischer
(Source: CORA, 1985)



TYPICAL UNIT PRIOR TO UPGRADING



FROBISHER
(Typical unit with lounge / dining extension)

SCALE : 0 1 2 3 m

yards to be collected at the newly installed stormwater system in the roadways. Plans of the extended units, as well as the converted three-in-one units, are shown as Figures 9 and 10.

In the barrack area known as Drake, a kitchen and internal bathroom and toilet was added to each unit. In addition, a new hotwater system, bath and handwash basin were provided. As in the case of Frobisher, gutters and downpipes were also added and stormwater allowed to flow out onto the road to be gathered at specific points in the new stormwater system in the roadways. A graphic description of the type of maintenance and new work undertaken in Drake and the other barrack areas in Austerville is shown in Plate 4.

Plate 5a: Barrack areas after upgrading by the State

Plate 5b: Barrack areas after upgrading by the State

Conditions in the remaining barrack areas were found to be a lot better than in Frobisher and Drake. As the units in those remaining areas were considered to be of optimum size and had all the necessary facilities such as internal bathrooms and toilets, no new work was undertaken. However, rainwater gutters and downpipes were installed where they did not to exist. Similar maintenance work, as in the case of Frobisher and Drake, was also carried out in these barrack areas. Plate 5 illustrates the condition of housing units after the State-led upgrading.

Flats

All State-owned blocks of flats were being upgraded to Durban City standards with a view to transferring the renovated flats to the Durban City Council for administration. As in the take-over of the utilities (mentioned above), the Council

was considered much more capable of administering these housing units. Upgrading work on the various flats were grouped into internal and external works. A very brief summary of the work done to the flats follows.

Internal work included the provision of new asbestos roofs, ceilings and doors, glazing and new sanitaryware, replacement of all galvanized pipework with copper, new electrical fittings, new plasterwork on external face containing waterproof additives, new handrails and new floor finishes where none existed.

The external work included the provision of water at bin areas, new washing lines and paving under the lines, new handrails along staircases going up embankments, new postboxes, new bin areas, repair of manholes and stormwater channels as well as the provision of a new drive-way through complex (Van Wyk and Louw Inc, 1994).

Improved land usage / infill housing

To enable the conversion of the very small three-in-one units in Frobisher, 20 subdivisions were created on Lot 319 for the erection of 20 town houses, and 12 subdivisions on the Rem of Lot 1062 for the erection of 10 infill houses in Drake.

As further subdivisional plans were finalized, Lots 1469 and 1470 (ex Collingwood tennis courts) also became available. The present status of this land is that it has been serviced for 19 individual residential lots. The intention of the State is either to sell sites at a market related price or to give first option to residents of

Woodville to purchase these sites. This is intended to reduce the density in Woodville.

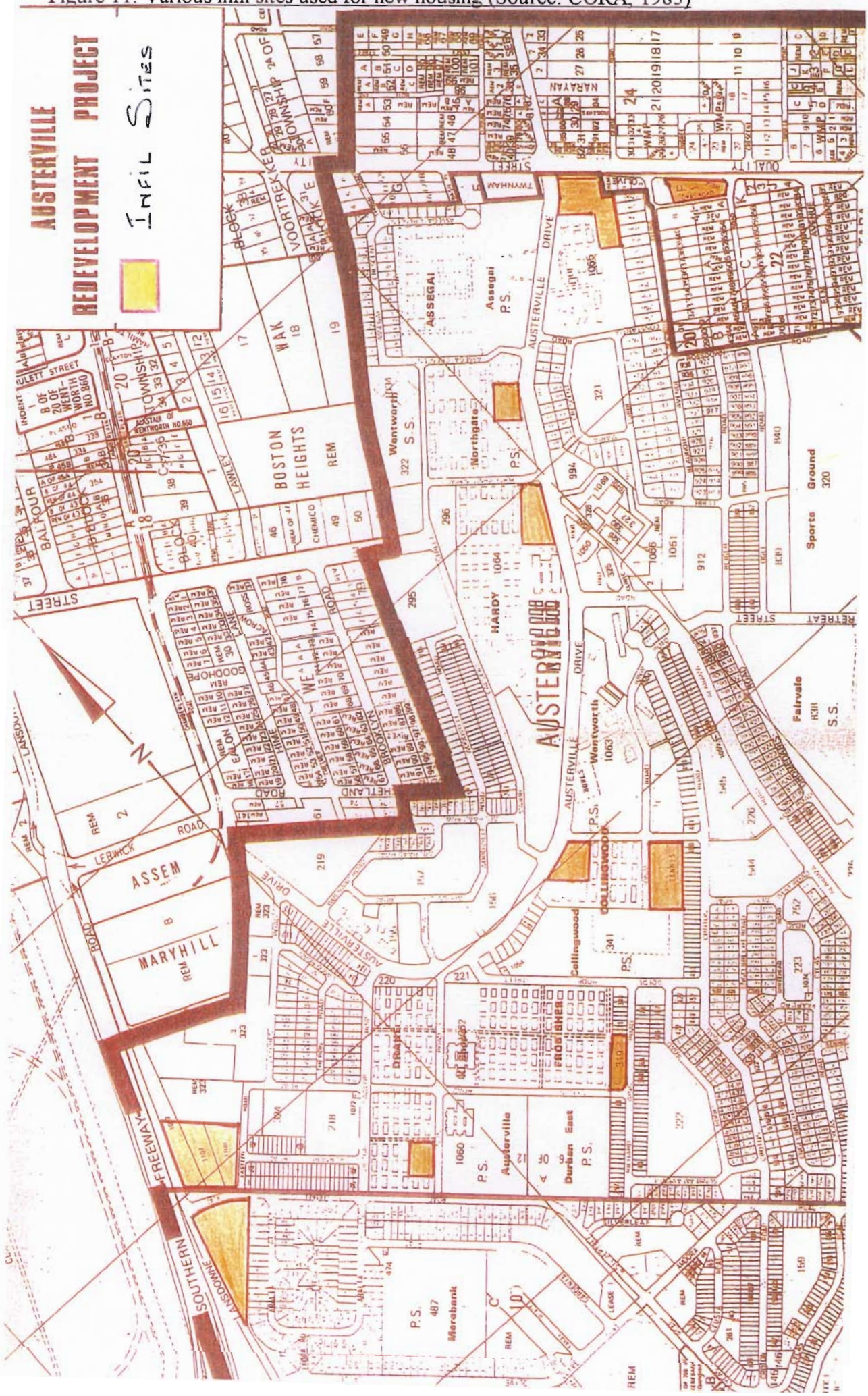
Rem of Lot 10 to Rem of Lot 18 (Landsdowne Road) has been planned to provide 28 sites of approximately 300^{m2} each. At this stage no services have been installed, however, the intention is to relocate families out of the very dense Woodville flat complex so as to facilitate the redevelopment of this area.

The present status of Collingwood Lots 1756 - 1760 is that they have been zoned into 5 residential sites of approximately 350^{m2} each. All five sites have been serviced and the intention is to offer the sites for sale to those residents of Woodville who can afford private finance to build the top structure.

Rem of Lot 1268 and Lot 1269, situated along the Spine Road of Austerville, are presently overgrown. Lying contiguous to the new erected community hall and opposite the main shopping centre of Austerville, it provides the opportunity for planners to focus all the public facilities along this road and to 'celebrate this public space' of Austerville (Dewar and Uytenbogoardt, 1991:55).

Rem of Lot 323. (Eksteen Park) was subdivided into 29 townhouse sites and sold to residents of Woodville. This was intended to facilitate the redevelopment of Woodville by allowing some of the old units to be demolished in Woodville after residents had moved into the townhouses.

Figure 11: Various infil sites used for new housing (Source: CORA, 1985)



Rem of Lot 1065 (Gouritz), situated immediately at the entrance to the residential area of Austerville, was subdivided into 11 sites of approximately 400^{m2} each and sold to residents of Austerville who could finance the building of their own homes, either by way of their own finance or by raising funds from a financial institution (Van Wyk and Louw Inc, 1994).

Rem of I of F. Austerville was subdivided into 5 sites and sold to residents of Austerville.

Every effort has been made to put vacant residential land to optimal use by the residents of Austerville and those most in need of housing. A further feature of the use of land in Austerville has been its diversified usage, making provision for both low and middle to high income earners. As in the case study of False Creek, Canada, there was an appreciation of the fact that a diversified community is a healthy community (Cybriwsky et. al., in Smith and Williams, 1986). In the allocation of sites, preference was given to residents from Austerville who were in a position to develop the land, thereby decreasing densities in existing units.

Evironmental upgrading

Provision has been made for the following public spaces, under the control of the Durban City Council's Department of Parks, Beaches and Recreation:

Lot 219	Wolraad Park
Lot 222	Rooks Park
Lot 321	Maria Crescent Park

Lot 1051	Clinic Road Park
Lot 1063	Collingwood Park
Lot 320	Ogle Road Sports Complex
Lot 1 of 522	Hime Park
Lot 324	Tiflin Park
Lot 1803	Petingo Park
Lot 225	Alabama Park
Lot 223	Cycas Park (Fig. 12)

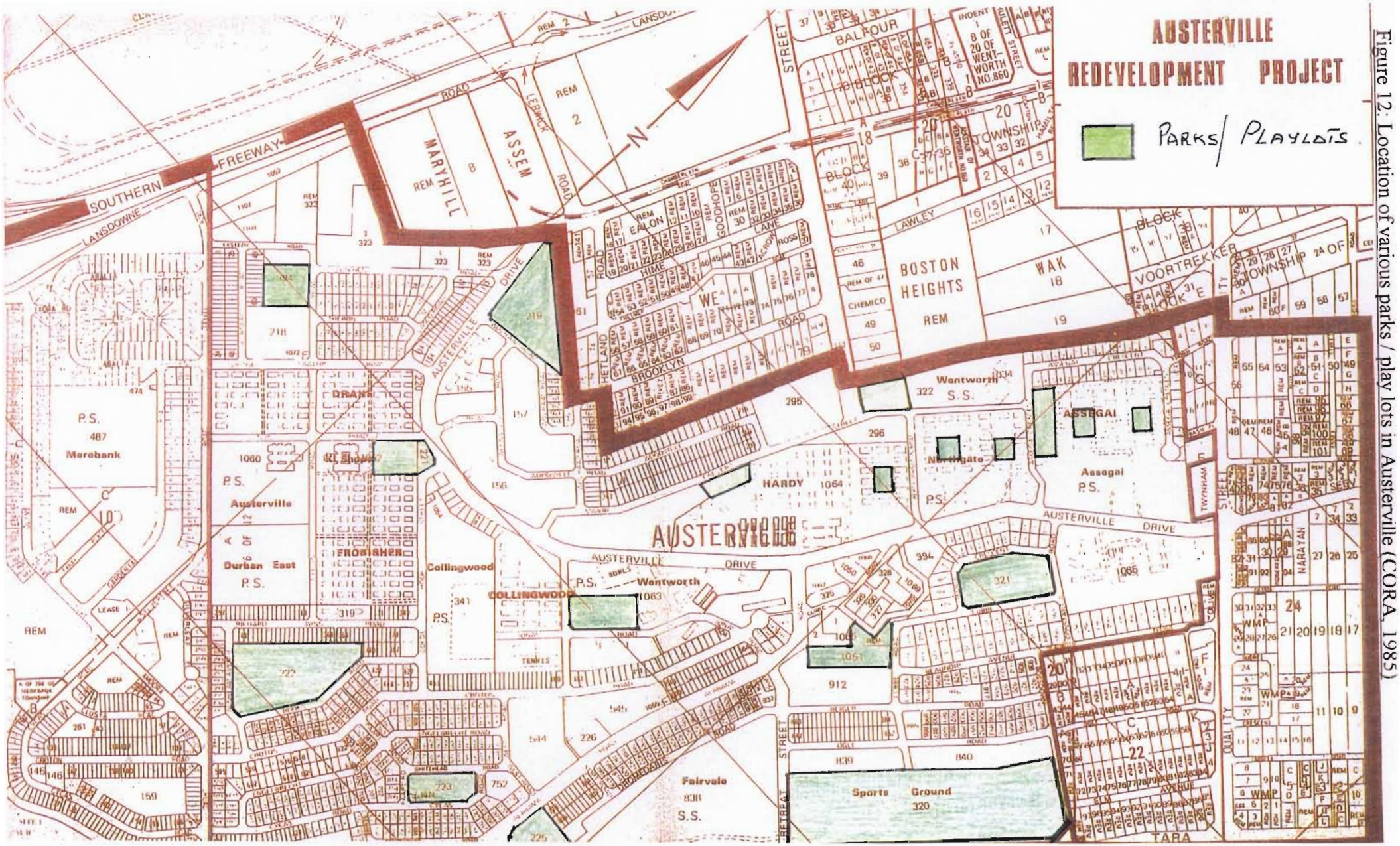
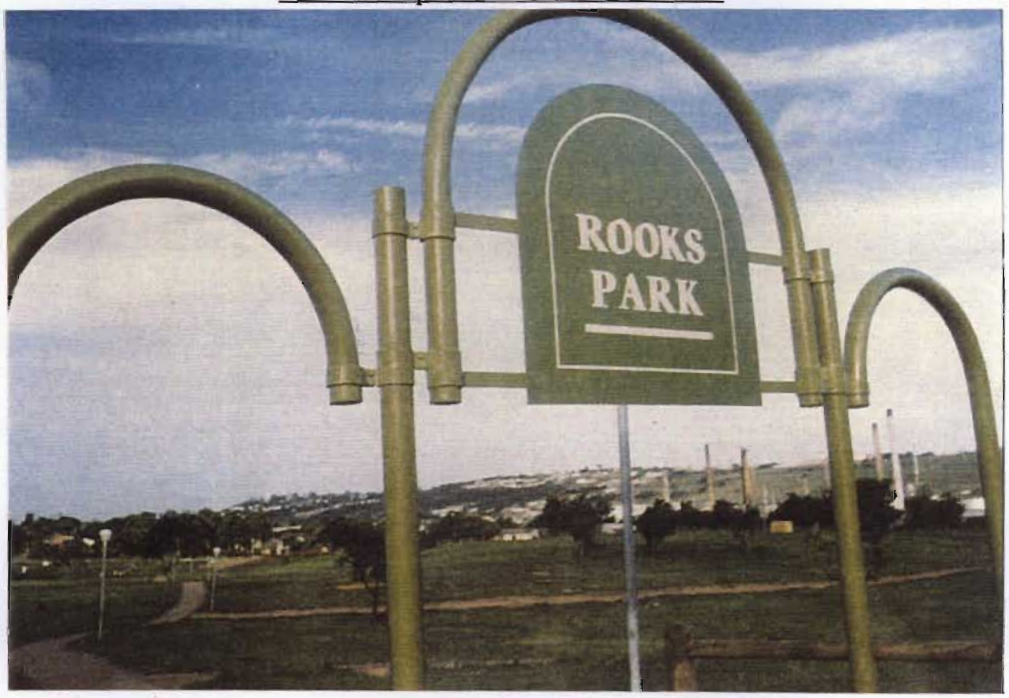


Figure 12: Location of various parks / play lots in Austerville (CORA, 1985)

Plate 6: Former dumping grounds which have been reclaimed and developed as active and passive recreation areas.



Rem. of lot 1062, also known as KI park, is presently being developed and will also subsequently be transferred to the Department of Park, Beaches and Recreation of the Durban City Council. In view of the density of the area and the demand for more housing there is very little likelihood of the present number of active recreational areas being increased.

In addition to these active recreational areas, passive recreational areas, in the form of play lots, have also been provided in Assegai under the control of the Durban City Council. The total amount spent in Austerville on the development of the parks is R533 000 by the State and R125 000 by the Durban City Council. An important consequence of the new layouts of the various barrack areas has been the elimination of dumping sites within the various neighbourhoods. Aside from incorporating vacant areas into the various new subdivisions, former dumping sites have also been put to good use by creating play lots for toddlers, as well as the various active recreational areas such as parks (see Plate 6).

The environment, however, between the flats remains unpleasant. Although the State has made efforts to maintain these areas, these are below the standard of maintenance provided by the Durban City Council. Road verges belonging to the Durban City Council are cut three times a year. Despite this, unkempt growth along the main roads is still a common feature. Little attention has been given to landscaping and the provision of street furniture along Austerville Drive, as a further effort to 'celebrate' this area.

In addition to the street lighting provided along the newly created roads of the barrack neighbourhoods, all blocks of flats have been provided with security lighting to both the front and back of the buildings. This has improved the safety of residents at night.

Provision of community facilities

Austerville is presently served by 3 secondary schools and 6 primary schools. Together, the schools have a capacity for 8000 pupils but are presently only being utilized by 6639 pupils. The norm for a secondary school is 6.5ha, whilst that for a primary school is 2.5ha. (Messrs. Dorkin and du Plooy, pers.comm., Durban, 4 July, 1994). With the exception of Fairvale Secondary School and the Assegai Primary School, all the remaining schools have been underprovided in terms of a regular school site. This anomalous situation can be attributed to the large number of residential structures built in the area. Whatever land was left over was therefore utilized, amongst other purposes, for educational needs.

In addition to the various educational facilities, provision was also made for a frail aged home, sited along Austerville Drive and Gouritz Crescent (Sub 27 of Lot 1067). This institution is currently managed by the community of Austerville and The Association for the Aged. A combined community centre and library has been erected along Austerville Drive on the Rem of Lot 1628 at a cost of R2 697 587 (HOR: Admininistration, 1992). The erection of the new community centre and library during 1992-93 was the product of extensive negotiations between the State, and the Auswent Civic Association and Austerville Residents Co-ordinating Forum, the two dominant civic bodies in Austerville. These residents' association

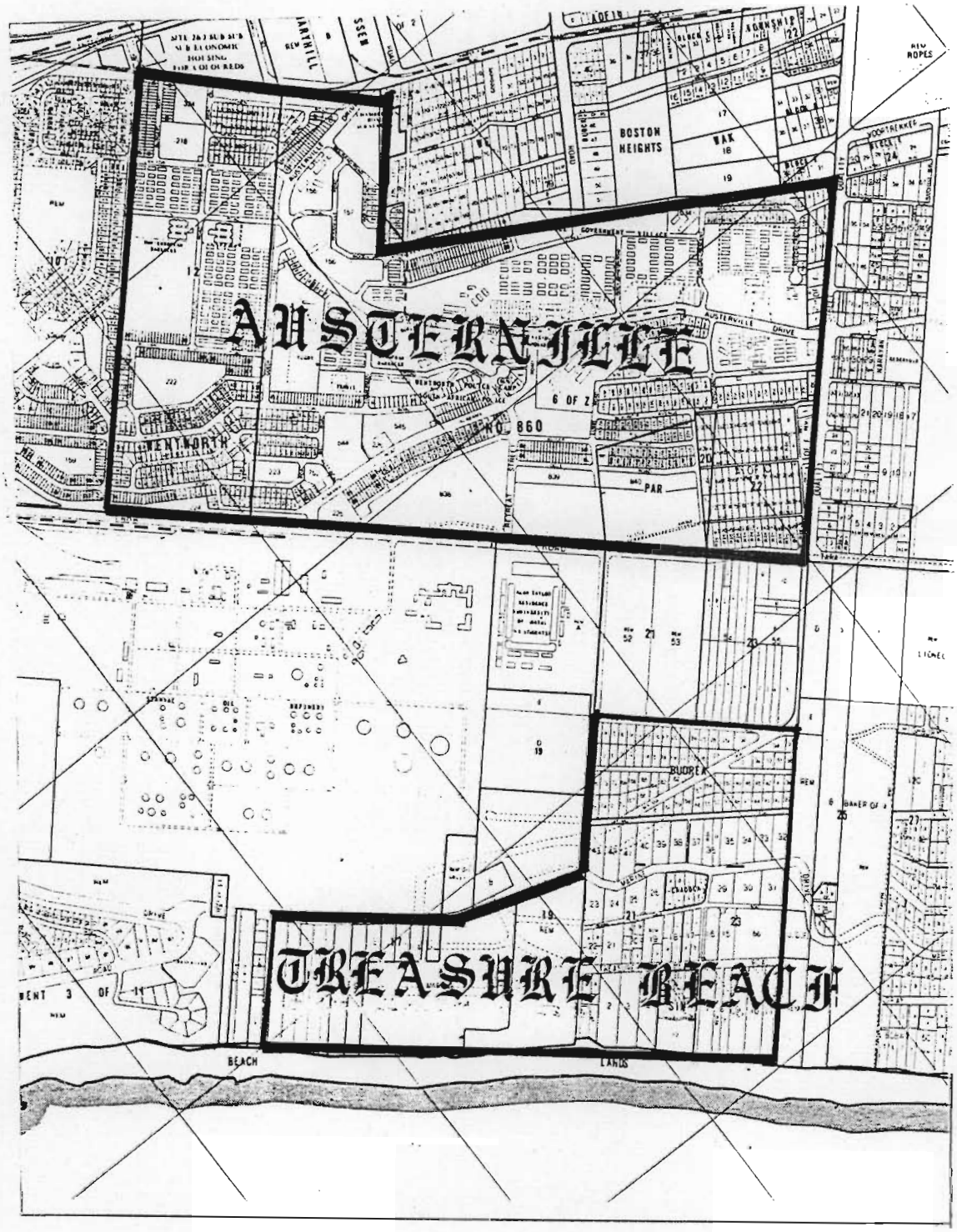
made important contributions to the needs assessment for this project, and is evidence of the effectiveness of a community-driven approach to redevelopment. In addition to these institutional usages of land, provision has also been made for daycare creche facilities.

Socio-economic improvements: sale of land

Residential Sales

Situated within half a kilometre from Austerville, is Treasure Beach (Figure 13) which, prior to the abolition of the Group Areas Act of 1963, was declared a Coloured residential area. The land in this area was almost entirely State owned and regarded as prestigious because it is entirely sea facing and within walking distance of a bathing area. In keeping with the objectives (see Appendix 1) of the State regarding the redevelopment of Austerville, i.e. to procure as much land as possible for housing purposes both in Austerville and the greater metropolitan area of Durban, these sites, in total 135, initially were made available exclusively for sale to residents of Austerville. The first 98 sites were sold by the State in 1986 and 1988 at a fixed price of R10 per m^2, with the proviso that the purchaser had to provide the State with vacant occupation of their State owned dwelling and be a first time home owner. The rationale behind this decision was to ensure that persons on the waiting lists kept by the State would be assisted in a sequential order with housing and that it would obviate property speculation in view of the very low purchase price. Site sizes varied between $500m^2$ to $1000m^2$. These sites were, in the main, taken up by residents in the middle to high income group who could afford raising their own finance to construct their homes. As a consequence of the above arrangement, a voluntary form of relocation took place that was

Figure 13: Position of Treasure Beach in relation to Austerville (Source: CORA, 1985)



beneficial to both the relocatees and the State as it facilitated the 'de-densification' process in Austerville, and afforded the relocatees a form of upward mobility in terms of their housing standards.

After residents of Austerville who were in a position to acquire land, had availed themselves of the opportunity to purchase land, the remaining 39 sites were made available to the general public at the increased price of R50m^2. The increased price was ascribed to the increased cost of servicing the land in 1992-93.[3]

Together with the development of other coloured residential areas, i.e. Mariannridge and Newlands East, the sale of land at Treasure Beach aided in reducing the overcrowded conditions in Austerville.

In addition, other sites created as a result of subdivisional planning in Austerville proper, were made available to the residents of Austerville. These were priced at R10 per m^2. Finally, in Genoa Road and Sub-Genria in Quality Street, a further 206 sites were made available. These sites were privately developed by purchasers, many of whom were former residents from the barrack and flat complexes (CORA, 1985).

The objectives of the State in accessing additional land for housing primarily for the residents of Austerville, was to ensure a process of de-densification of the existing units, as well as a concomitant increase in home ownership. To assist in this process, the State refrained from charging a market related price of land, but

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3 In 1992, the Development Board Administration: HOR reduced the price of land in Treasure Beach by 30 % from the original sale price because the State felt that land prices in Coloured areas during the apartheid years were inflated due to the paucity of land.

based their selling prices on historical acquisition and servicing costs. In total, 465 additional areas were made available for sale during this period.

Commercial / light industrial sites

Primarily a dormitory township with emphasis on providing housing for the population, Austerville had two sites immediately abutting the Jacobs industrial area which had been zoned light industrial in terms of the town planning scheme for the area. One of the sites was made available to an undertaker who, previously, had been conducting his business adjacent to a butchery, from the KI shopping complex. In discussion with residents and other shopkeepers, it was considered appropriate that the undertaker be relocated. This decision was based largely on health reasons. To facilitate the move, the Development Board of the HOR Administration approved the expenditure of R119 261 for the erection of premises which were subsequently sold to the undertaker. The total selling price of this development was R82 192, with construction and land costs payable over a period of 30 years (HOR: Administration, 1990). The remaining piece of land was sold by public tender to a resident of Treasure Beach who was trading in Austerville as a panel beater. The highest tender of R95 000 was accepted by the State (HOR: Administration, 1993).

Promotion of home-ownership

The State's fourth redevelopment objective was to 'improve the public environment ... and to facilitate home ownership'. To this end, the following programmes were started.

Sectional title sale of flats in Eksteen Road: This complex, consisting of two and three bedroomed flats of the economic type, were sold to the tenants for R14 045 (two bedroom units) and R16 165 (three bedroom unit), presectional title. Approval of the sale was granted by the Development Board in Resolution no. UK0059/90 (HOR Administration, 1990).

Central government sales campaign: A further step in the programme of promoting home-ownership in Austerville, was the sale of freestanding and semi-detached units. These units, totalling 419, were sold in terms of the central government's national sales campaign of all saleable simplexes which had previously been used as rental stock. The selling prices were heavily discounted and most of the units fetched a selling price of R1 047, payable in cash. An example of a sale of a unit is: Selling price including cost of land = R2 907

Discounts: 5% for residence exceeding 5 years in the unit.

5% for purchase within the sales campaign period.

29% discount for structural defects in the unit.

25% if purchaser bought for cash.

The selling price of R2 907, minus various discounts, was reduced to a cash purchase price of R1 047. The rationale behind the various categories of discount was to facilitate the sale of the units by making them as affordable as possible. In total 398 units have been sold. Many of the units were subsequently upgraded by the tenants themselves or by applying to the State for a further 90% housing loan in the event of the purchaser having paid cash for his/her home. The purchase of these units also provided tenants with the much needed collateral needed to raise a mortgage with private sector financial institutions (HOR: Administration, 1988).

Sale of Barrack Units: Once all the necessary subdivisional work and the upgrading of units were completed, the various barrack units were made available for sale to the tenants. The sale of units was restricted to bona fide tenants, to prevent property speculation. A pre-emptive period of 5 years was attached to the sale.

The basic sale price was calculated as follows:

i. Area of house x R50 per m^2 (historical building costs);

ii. Area of land:

First 180^{m2} was sold for R50;

Land in excess of the first 180^{m2} was sold at $R10^{m2}$;

iii. Services per plot R3 000;

Service costs in excess of R3 000 were subsidised by the State.

If a unit was free standing, an additional R1 000 was added to the selling price. Semi-detached units were sold without any further discounts, whilst units which were attached on both sides, were offered a discount of R500 on the purchase price.

Purchase of a unit could be by way of one of the following:

- Cash purchase;
- Minimum deposit of R300, balance payable over a maximum of 30 years;
- Where tenants had a good record of rental payment, a purchase could be made without the payment of a deposit;
- To facilitate the building up of a deposit, tenants were allowed the facility of increasing their monthly rental until the minimum deposit of R300 had been saved, whereafter a Deed of sale would be entered into;

The sale of the various infill units in Drake, Frobisher and Eksteen Park were sold on similar principles. In the HOR Circular Minute no.4 (HOR: Administration, 1985), the total number of saleable units was 622, of which 599 have already been sold.[4]

The non-market related prices set for the purchase price of land and the upgraded barracks, highlights the 'market welfare' approach to housing adopted by the State in disposing of their assets in Austerville.[5] Attendant with that approach, land and housing stock were being sold in Austerville at prices greatly reduced in relation to the private market. The rationale behind this approach relates to improving the personal welfare of the residents of Austerville, by putting them in a position to further improve their housing conditions after the initial upgrading by the State had been completed.

Woodville flat complex: The entire Woodville complex consisted initially of 49 blocks of flats comprising 320 residential units. Initially built during 1964 for pensioners, the shortage of housing for Coloureds soon overtook all plans for the area, with units later being used as family units under extremely cramped conditions. During 1989, two residential blocks providing accommodation for families, were demolished and replaced with eight infill simplexes. This was done with a view to starting the redevelopment of the area. However, recessionary conditions at the beginning of the 1990s stopped the project, until 1993 when a further 3 blocks were demolished and 29 families relocated to the area known as

4 The sale price of the dwelling units were discounted further by an amount of R7 500 for those individuals who qualified for the discount in terms of the Central Government's recently introduced Capital Subsidy Scheme.

5 Although extensive debate exists concerning the ethics of the State in selling-off property to the public from which they have generated revenue over the years, that debate is not within the scope of this study.

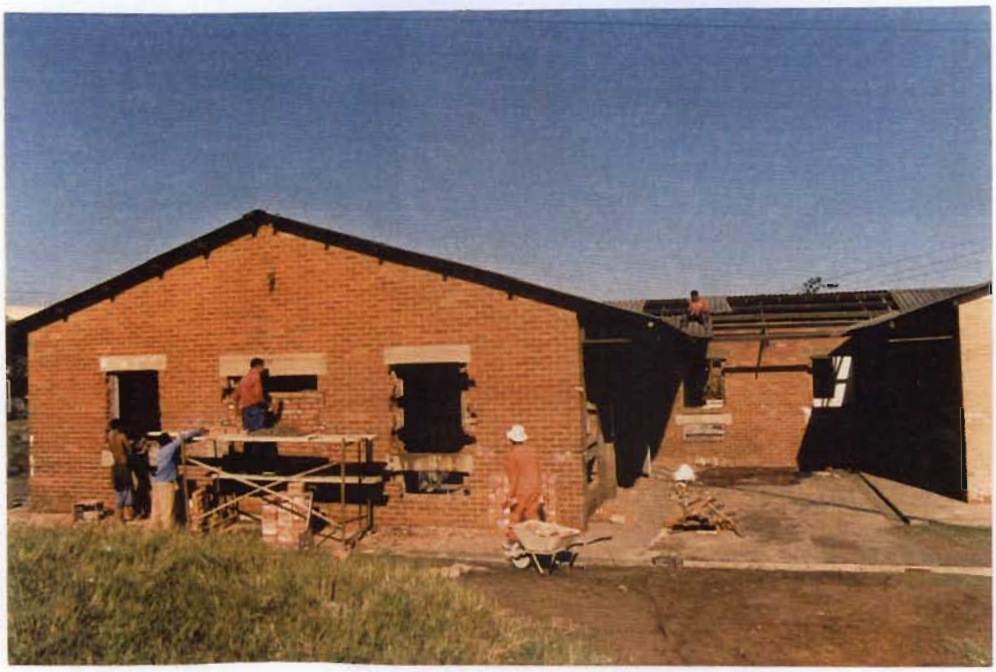
Eksteen Park. The remaining 44 blocks are undoubtedly in a very poor condition. At present, the blockwork of the individual flat complexes has perished to the extent that it no longer provides a waterproof membrane and roofs leak badly during heavy rainfall. Structurally, the residential blocks are also unsafe. The immediate environs within the various blocks of flats leaves much to be desired, evidencing signs of neglect from over the years. Political developments in South Africa have since seen the demise of the House of Representatives and the area now resorts under the new KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Administration. All further renewal of the area is the responsibility of this new Administration. Although the upgrading of Woodville forms an important element in the total evaluation of the revitalization project of Austerville, its impact will only be felt once the new Administration decides on the form of physical redevelopment that will take place.

Sale of Business Outlets

After extensive upgrading costing R838 554, the KI shopping complex (seePlate 7) was sold to a consortium of three businessmen trading in the centre. Other tenants trading in the centre are now tenants of the new owners. The basic principle in the sale of the complex was cost recovery. Therefore, an amount of R46 700 was deducted from the selling price, regarded as being in lieu of long overdue maintenance work undertaken by the State.

In discussions with some of the owners of the complex, it was established that their businesses had improved since the upgrading of the complex with improved trading facilities (Messrs. Adams and Wessels, pers.comm. Durban, 19 June 1995).

Plate 7a and b: Former barracks converted into shopping facilities



Unlike the KI shopping complex, the shopkeepers in Clinic Road decided to buy the complex in an 'as-is' condition. A consortium of shopkeepers was formed and the complex was purchased for the sum of R325 000. Renovations are now being carried out by individual shopowners who are also responsible for the maintenance of the complex and its environs.

Employment Generation and Community Participation

As lessees were most times eager to purchase their homes, many of them requested to undertake upgrading work themselves. To provide for this system in both the flats and the barrack units, a system of contract management was established. Under this system sub-contractors from Austerville were allowed to tender for jobs, and work under supervision of a project manager. Up to this stage of completion of the project, 60 % of the labour input has come from the community of Austerville. Besides financial advantages this system also provided employment and training opportunities, having a positive effect on the community (Mikula, 1989; Van Wyk and Louw Inc, 1994). At the commencement of the project, a committee known as the Committee for the Redevelopment of Austerville (CORA) was put in place by the Department responsible for the project. This committee comprised State officials, councillors from the Durban City Council, a Coloured Member of Parliament (HOR) and members of the Durban Coloured Local Affairs Committee. CORA was the body responsible for making policy decisions regarding the project (CORA, 1985).

This particular decision-making structure stayed in place until 1990 when the advent of the civic movement in Austerville led to a demand for the dissolution of the CORA. This demand was premised on the belief that the CORA was not truly

representative of the community and that its members served on it purely to advance their political party interests (Auswent Civic Association, 1990). The initial civic body responsible for this demand was the Auswent Civic Association. Later, this Association split into two opposing camps, viz., Auswent Civic Association and the Austerville Residents' Co-ordinating Forum (ARCOF). Each of these bodies had its own constituencies garnering support from the various micro-neighbourhoods and flats complexes.

Resulting from these developments, CORA was disbanded in 1991 and discussions regarding the revitalization of the area were brought down to area committee level. At this level representatives of a particular area spoke ostensibly on behalf of the residents affected by the redevelopment project. Examples of such committees were: (1) Tuin Road Flat Committee, Woodville Residents'Committee, Major Calvert North and South Committees, and various other area committees. It was at this stage of the project that the revitalization programme of Austerville became totally driven by the community, in consultation with local department officials.

As mentioned above, the only project that did not receive any meaningful attention was the Woodville flat complex. A synopsis of conditions in Woodville, as it presently exists, is given hereunder.

4.4 Conclusion

The revitalization programme of Austerville has run for a period of 8 years: 1986-1994, during which time a sum of R34 758 116 was approved by the State for the

project. Actual expenditure incurred, amounted to the sum of R33 794 168 (Buys and Pretorius, 1995). Many physical changes were brought about in the area due to the revitalization programme. Simultaneously, this programme made an effort to promote the socio-economic development of the residents of Austerville.

The following chapter will include an indepth analysis of attitudes and perceptions of the residents to the revitalisation programme, as well as an evaluation as to whether the State achieved its objectives for this project.

CHAPTER FIVE

EVALUATION OF THE AUSTERVILLE PROJECT

5.1 INTRODUCTION

5.2 WERE STATE OBJECTIVES ACHIEVED?

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5.6 TESTING OF HYPOTHESES

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CHAPTER FIVE

EVALUATION OF THE AUSTERVILLE PROJECT

5.1 Introduction

Prevailing social conditions in South Africa, assessed in the light of the plight of residents living in peripheral townships or other areas of concentrated disadvantage, can best be characterised by a number of features borne of years of seemingly deliberate and planned neglect. These features are sub-standard living conditions as reflected in the parlous state of township housing, unemployment resulting in poverty and destitution, infrastructural deficiencies resulting in a gross lack of adequate public amenities such as education, social and health facilities. All these features are symtomatic of neighbourhoods in a state of decline. It is within this context that the revitalization of Austerville must be evaluated, to establish whether it was successful or not.

5.2 Were State objectives achieved?

Objectives 1 to 3 of the State's proclaimed intentions (see Appendix 1) for this project involved: (i) the full development of the housing potential of all existing 'Coloured' group areas, (ii) the provision of more land for housing in the Durban metropolitan area, (iii) the need to develop a dynamic long term perspective to regional housing problems. These objectives were not directly related to the revitalization of Austerville. Efforts were, however, made by the State to pursue

these objectives simultaneously with the revitalization of Austerville.

In assessing how effectively Objective 4 had been attained, i.e. increased homeownship and improved public environment, the survey findings indicated that of a sample of 42 saleable barrack units, 38 had been purchased by the resident tenants, while the remaining four tenants had indicated a desire to purchase as and when their financial positions improved. The increased homeownership in the area also showed an increased investment by the new owners in the form of increased maintenance, additions and alterations to their homes (see Plate 8). As a corollary to the latter statement, it is relevant that 78% of the respondents interviewed in barrack areas, indicated that they now estimated the market value of their houses to range between R50 000 and R150 000. This also indicates that there were varying degrees of investment by the new homeowners in their homes.

Public environment: In response to the question whether the neighbourhood had improved, i.e. the general housing environment; a majority of 85.9% responded in the affirmative, while only 14.1% were of the opinion that the environment had not improved.

Services Infrastructure: Given the fact that the services infrastructure had been upgraded almost in entirety, an overwhelming majority of 92.9% respondents were of the opinion that Objective 5 had contributed to an improved lifestyle. Only 7.1% of residents offered a negative response. The most common reasons submitted for the positive response to Objective 5 were: (i) provision of water inside houses, (ii) toilets in houses, (iii) safety and convenience, and (iv) improved hygienic conditions compared to the former communal ablution facilities.

Decrease in Social Pathologies: In response to the question related to Objective 6, i.e. whether there had been a decrease in socially deviant behaviour as a result of the revitalization, 60.5% answered positively, while 34.9% were of the opinion that it had made no difference to the area. There were 4.55% of the respondents who did not respond or want to venture an answer. The fact that the physical upgrading had, to an extent, improved the social character of the area, must be regarded as co-incidental because the programme in Austerville was oriented primarily to the physical environment and did not have a social component running in tandem with the project. A lesser degree of satisfaction was expressed among flat dwellers than the barrack dwellers. This suggests that there is still a higher degree of socially deviant behaviour in the more densely populated flat complexes and that Objective 6 had only partially been attained.

Public amenities and their maintenance: The majority, i.e. 61.6%, of the respondents were of the opinion that adequate public amenities had been provided by the project. However, 38.4% were of the opinion that there were insufficient public amenities. The most sought after public amenity amongst the respondents, was the development of active recreational areas for children, especially amongst those respondents living in the densely populated flat complexes. In response to the question about the upkeep of public amenities such as schools, parks, and play lots, 67.2% of the respondents were of the opinion that these were not adequately maintained. This finding is significant for the eventual success of this project.

The goal of Objective 9 is the ongoing co-ordination of development activity by all agencies operating in the area. In this regard it was established that much of the developmental activities in the area were co-ordinated at the operational level

by an appointed project management team, while at the policy and decision making level, a steering committee comprising State and City officials, as well as State-nominated individuals, were responsible for the co-ordination of activities and decisions regarding the project. In response to the survey question, 45% of the sample were satisfied that there was sufficient co-ordination and 43% answered negatively, while the remaining 12% were not prepared to venture a response regarding the degree of development co-ordination because they felt they could not truthfully give an answer.

Redistributive Nature of Project: Underpinning Objective 10 was the philosophy that the community of Austerville were to be the primary beneficiaries of the project and that the benefits should be distributed among all income groups within this community. In this respect, policies adopted in the project were essentially of a redistributive nature, on the basis of an equitable distribution of benefits which would ensure that even the poorest of Austerville's residents could afford a home through the States' generous subsidy scheme. Besides the already established fact that virtually 95% of the simplex units are now privately owned as a result of the various sales campaigns, the project was also geared to be local labour intensive and thus further ensure the redistribution of financial benefits within the community.

Local labour intensive: Although the community at large (71% in favour of local labour usage) subscribed to the local labour intensive approach, it is disquieting that 54% of the total survey sample expressed their dissatisfaction with the standard of workmanship provided by the local labour force. This has implications for the project and suggests that if this approach is continued, there will have to

be an improved standard of supervision by project management staff. Of central importance is the necessity to determine education and training needs for the community so as to ensure an acceptable standard of workmanship.

While ensuring the retention of the individual characteristics of the various micro-neighbourhoods, the redevelopment pattern nevertheless guaranteed the presence of a rich heterogeneous community; a distinct move away from the homogenised communities of first world revitalization schemes.

5.3 Socio-demographic profile after revitalization

Before assessing the impact of the revitalization programme on the socio-demographic profile of the community it is essential to establish (i) why residents had to move from their previous addresses, and (ii) the reasons they gave for selecting a house in Austerville. In giving reasons for the move from their last residential address, 58% of the respondents indicated that they moved as a result of their former addresses being affected by the Group Areas Act, while the remaining reasons were marriage (9%), high rent (2%), house too small (22%), and family ties (9%). (see Table 1 below.)

Table 1: Reasons for last residential move

Reasons	Percentage per housing type		Average % per housing type
	Barracks	Flats	
Marriage	10	7	9
High rent	5		2
Evicted by landlord			
Group Areas Act	52	63	58
House too small	27	17	22
No alternative accommodation			
Family ties	6	13	9
Total %	100	100	100

Reasons given for chosing Austerville as a place of residence varied. The majority of the respondents (53%), indicated that they had no choice but to relocate to Austerville, while the remaining reasons were low rent (2%), improved accommodation (24%), shortage of alternative accommodation (9.5%), closer to work (5%), closer to relatives (2%). The remaining 5% comprised respondents who refused to divulge their reasons for relocating to Austerville (see Table 2).

Table 2: Reasons for moving to Austerville

Responses	% Frequency per housing type		Total %
	Barracks	Flats	
Low rent	2.4		2
Improved accommodation	38.0	10	24
Shortage of alternative	12	7	9
Recommendation	35.7	70	53
Had no choice			
Better neighbourhood	7.1	5	5
Closer to work	4.8		2
Closer to relatives		10	5.0
Other			
Total	100	100	100

The data above indicates that the majority of residents in the sample were compelled by a decision related to the Group Areas Act, to move from their last place of abode. However, the greater percentage of respondents had no alternative but to move to Austerville because it was the only alternative accommodation offered by the State. Contrary to the outcome of many other projects of revitalization in developed countries, the community of Austerville appears to have remained stable with minimal out-migration from the area.

Table 3 indicates that almost 66% of the respondents have been living in the area for 20 to 40 years, and 21% for a period of up to 15 years. The remaining 13% had been living in the area for a minimum period of 4½ years. It was also established during the interviews that while some family members and friends had moved out of the area to the more prestigious neighbouring areas of Treasure Beach and the Bluff, they still maintained social links with Austerville. Their move from Austerville can be viewed as a form of upward mobility in terms of satisfying their housing needs.

Table 3: Period of tenure in Austerville

Years	No. of households per house type		% households
	Barracks	Flats	
1950 - 1968	12	0	16
1969 - 1979	17	19	50
1980 - 1990	7	8	2
1991 - 1995	6	3	1
Total	42	30	100

Age distribution of respondents

When determining the general age characteristics of the population sample, it was established (see Table 4) that in both the barracks and the flat complexes, residents between the age group of 21 - 40 years made up 40.09% (barracks) and 41.17% (flats) of the population sample interviewed. Considering that many young couples, who generally fall within this age group, are prone to be the first to leave an area which is in decline, these figures represent a pattern of stability among the younger households of Austerville.

Table 4: Age of respondents

	No. of persons per age group			
	Barrack residents		Flat residents	
Response (years)	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
0 - 10	33	15.94%	28	16.47
11 - 20	40	19.32%	34	20.00
21 - 30	43	20.77%	54	31.76
31 - 40	32	15.46%	16	9.41
41 - 50	8	3.86%	20	11.76
51 - 60	22	10.63%	12	7.05
>60	29	14.00%	6	3.55
Total	207	100.0	170	100.0

Further characteristics of the age distribution of the respondents were (i) 16.21% of the sample population were in the age group 0-10 years; 19.66% in the category 11-20 years; 7.81% in the age group 41-50 years; 8.84% in age group 51-60 years, while the remaining category of 60 years and older made up 8.7% of the sample population.

Finally, the survey also shows that there is a slightly larger percentage of older and more established households living in the barrack units. This can be ascribed

to the fact that the barracks were the units initially put to use as public housing units during the early 1960s. There also appeared to be a preference among the older residents of Austerville to live in the barrack units rather than in the more crowded flat complexes.

Average household size

Austerville, unlike many other predominately low income areas, has (i) a relatively acceptable average household size and a fairly literate population. Table 5 shows that there is a slight difference in occupancy rates between the barrack units (4.92 persons per unit) and the flats (5.6 persons per unit).

Table 5: Occupancy rate per unit

Housing	Sample population	No. of households	Average number of persons per unit type
Barracks	207	42	4.92
Flats	170	30	5.6
TOTAL	377	72	

Average occupancy for total sample = 5.2 per unit.

When determining the various rates of occupancy in the barrack units, it was established that the largest household contained 10 members, while the smallest had 2 members. Similarly the highest occupancy rate per unit in the flat complexes was 11 household members per unit, with the lowest occupancy rate per flat being 3 household members. Collectively, the average household size for the sample population was found to be 5.2 persons, which is 1 above the average for a 'Coloured' nuclear family (CORA, 1985).

Closely associated with the average occupancy rate per unit, is the average m^2 per individual per unit type. In the upgraded barracks ranging in floor areas from $56m^2$ to $95m^2$ per unit, the average m^2 per individual varied between $11m^2$ to $19m^2$ per individual. When comparing the previous m^2 per individual in Frobisher, where extensions and conversions to barracks were undertaken, the present floor area per individual is seen to be much more acceptable, subsequent to upgrading, as indicated below. Frobisher; prior to the upgrading of 3-in-1 barrack units of $25m^2$, each had an occupancy rate of 4.9 persons per unit, i.e. $5.00m^2$ per individual. Units subsequent to conversion, at $69m^2$ and $70m^2$ respectively, now offer an average of $14.00m^2$ per individual per unit. As no extensions or conversions to the flats were undertaken, the floor area per unit remained constant. The average m^2 per flat unit, taking into account the average occupancy rate, also varied between $9m^2$ per person (smallest flat $47m^2$) to $13m^2$ (largest flat $73m^2$).

When considering that this m^2 per individual is considered a fair norm for assisted housing, the average occupancy rate and floor area per individual in Austerville can be considered to be adequate. These findings can however not be transposed to the Woodville complex, where conditions are such that families generally live in overcrowded conditions, i.e. 5-10 people in 1-2 bedroomed flats, varying in floor areas of $25m^2$ - $40m^2$ each.

Educational status

A significant feature of this part of the survey was the fact that 56 of the respondents, out of a total sample of 377, categorically refused to provide information of their educational status. Of those who did respond, 73% had a formal education (Sub Std A to post matric) (see Table 6).

Table 6: Levels of education

	Levels of education per person per house type		
Response	Barracks	Flats	%
No formal	9	7	4
education	24	12	9
Pre-school	42	60	28
Sub A to Std 6	71	86	42
Std 7 to Std 10	5	5	3
Post Matric	56	0	14
No response			
Total	207	170	100

Unlike housing, in which a direct link between inputs and outcomes can be observed in a revitalization project, there is a more tenuous link between inputs and outcomes in so far as education is concerned. An evaluation of the revitalization of Austerville does, however, indicate that there was a distinct improvement of educational facilities, and therefore the improved achievement levels among the school going population could be ascribed to this development.

Income groupings

This facet of the survey proved to be the most difficult to manage. Many respondents refused point blank to divulge information concerning their household income or to confirm their employment. This proved difficult to comprehend despite the assurances given that the survey had nothing to do with a State enquiry into non-payment of rental. Austerville is currently experiencing an extensive 'non-payment of rental campaign'. Despite these problems, the survey provided the following information.

Table 7: Monthly income of income earners

Responses	Barracks	Flats	Total
<R500	12	13	25
R501-R1000	10	10	20
R1001-R1500	6	3	9
R1501-R2000	4	3	7
R2001-R3000	6	3	9
Total	38	32	70

It must be noted that 70 income earners, out of a sample of 72 households, does not accurately reflect the total number of employed persons, because certain households appeared to have multiple income earners, but were not prepared to divulge information concerning employment and income. This has proved to be a handicap for the study as it has prevented the author from establishing the true income patterns for the area.

In summary, therefore, the socio-economic survey has served to provide access to the demographic profile of the community of Austerville as well as providing insight into the social structure of the community.

5.4 Community partnership in project

In response to the question whether the respondents were aware of any community or neighbourhood organizations, 61% of the respondents answered in the affirmative, while 39% indicated that they were not aware of any organizations. Table 8 reflects the organisations mentioned by respondents.

Table 8: Civic organisations in Austerville

	Frequency per housing type		
Responses	Barracks	Flats	Total
Austerville Residents Col-ordinating forum	9	10	19
Auswent Civic Association	14	15	29
Wentworth Dev. Forum	1	16	17
Wentworth Arts & Culture Organizations	1	0	1
Wings of Love Care Group	1	1	2
Total	26	42	68

While certain respondents indicated no knowledge of community organizations, other respondents were able to provide information on more than one community organisation. An important observation made during the survey was the fact that there was much greater awareness of the various active civic organisations among the tenants of flats than the barrack units (see Table 8). This could be ascribed to the fact that the advent of the civic movement in the area was during the period when the flats were upgraded. This would have exposed people more to the impact of the various micro-political groups and their involvement in the revitalization project.

Woolever (1992:99) argues that the degree of community involvement in a redevelopment project is not only indicative of the presence of a consultative process, but is also a valuable indicator of community attachment to the area, and consequently can be used as a composite measure of the success or failure of a project. In an effort to establish to what degree the community of Austerville where involved in community organizations a question concerning organisational

membership was directed at respondents. After analysing the responses it was established that 10% of the sample from the barracks and 34% of the sample from the flats were actively involved in community organizations. Notwithstanding the large difference in responses between the two sub-samples, Woolever (1992) argues that a response of 10% or higher constitutes a satisfactory level of community involvement in neighbourhood organizations and has a direct bearing on levels of attachment to the area. In this respect, Austerville appears to have a satisfactory level of community involvement in civic matters.

An effort was also made to establish whether the community was satisfied that the leadership of the community organizations were truly representative of the all sectors of the neighbourhood. An analysis of the responses indicated different perceptions and attitudes to the leadership structures in the community. In the barracks, 26.0% were of the opinion that the leadership was truly representative, while 40% responded negatively. The remaining 33.3% indicated that they did not know.

In the sub-sample pertaining to flat dwellers, 67% answered in the affirmative, while 33% were of the opinion that the leadership structures were not truly representative. The conclusion that can be drawn from these differing responses confirms the perception that there appeared to be a greater appreciation of civic involvement among the flat dwellers than the barrack residents, as well as a higher degree of satisfaction apropos civic matters (see Table 5). However, the largest percentage of residents in the flats were between the age group 20-40, and this group is likely to be involved in civic matters (see Table 4).

The findings of the question regarding sufficient consultation between the various levels of Government and the community over the revitalization of Austerville, is presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Satisfaction levels regarding community participation

	Levels of satisfaction per household type (%)		
Responses	Barracks	Flats	Average%
Satisfied	30	60	45
Not satisfied	50	36	43
Do not know	20	4	12
Total	100	100	

Despite the 45% positive response, the findings above have important ramifications for this study. For true success in any project of revitalization it is essential that the process be predominantly community driven.

Finally, Table 10 reflects the responses to the question of perceptions whether civic organizations that were involved in the development process had been synomonous i.e. similar intentions, in their desire to promote development, or whether conflicting interests had hampered the project.

Table 10: Conflictual interests among civic groupings

	Frequency (%)		
Responses	Barracks	Flats	Total (%)
Did hamper project	33	80	59
Did not hamper project	20	10	15
Do not know	42	10	26
Total	100	100	100

In analysing the overwhelming negative response, the following reasons were found to be the most commonly held views in both sub-samples: (i) different

groups appeared to have had different objectives, which slowed down the progress of many projects (11%), (ii) various civic groups appeared to have their own political agendas which served their own parochial interests (20%), (iii) civic groups were not prepared to consider opposing viewpoints (8%) and, (iv) too much time and energy appeared to be spent on discrediting each other at the cost to the project (20%).

The findings above support the view that while community participation is valuable for the success of redevelopment, the process needs to be both structured and disciplined. It is essential for there to be a rational approach to the process to enable the poor to engage with the multi-disciplinary activities of redevelopment.

5.5 Community perceptions of Austerville after revitalization

The residents of redevelopment areas are in most instances the best judges of the impact of a revitalization project. In this respect, attachment to a neighbourhood by residents is probably the most significant indicator of success of a project. Guest and Lee (in Woolever, 1992:99) pose two models of neighbourhood attachment: neighbourhood as a community of limited liability, and neighbourhood as a natural community. While the former model assumes a neighbourhood of very little interaction, the latter model suggests a high degree of social interaction and integration amongst the area residents. In attempting to classify the study area as one of the two types of communities, it will be argued that Austerville as a neighbourhood is a natural community because the community was found to have a high degree of inter-neighbourhood interaction.

Positive attachment to an area, it is further argued, is often reflected in positive relationships with neighbours, social cohesion and confidence in the neighbourhood (Woolever, 1992). Based on the assumptions made above, the following questions were levelled at residents in the redevelopment area, to enable certain deductions to be made regarding attachment to the area.

(a) How do you rate your neighbourhood as a place to live in?

In response, 95% and 76% of the sub-samples (respectively barracks and flats) indicated that they considered the area as either excellent, good or satisfactory, while the remaining 5% and 24% were of the opinion that the area was poor to live in (Table 11).

Table 11: Neigbourhood as an area to live in

	Levels of satisfaction per housing type (%)		
Responses	Barracks	Flats	Average %
Excellent	95	76	85
Good	95	76	85
Satisfactory	95	76	85
Poor	5	2	14
Total	100	100	100

Amongst the reasons advanced for the positive attitude towards the redeveloped Austerville were: residents were (i) surrounded by socially acceptable neighbours, (ii) get on well with neighbours, (iii) appreciate the upgraded community amenities, (iv) now living a quiet and friendly neighbourhood, (v) feeling safer because the alleyways had been removed and people no longer walked through the yards, (vi) better able to walk at night as a result of improved street lighting, and (vii) live within 5 minutes from the nearest public and private transport pick-up point. Some of the negative comments made about Austerville were that (i)

social problems have not been resolved, (ii) illegal dumping continued and there was a lack of environmental awareness amongst residents, and (iii) poor workmanship meant that housing units were not really acceptable.

In analysing the responses from the two sub-samples the following conclusions were made:

i. There appears to be a higher degree of satisfaction and attachment to the area among the barrack dwellers than among the flat dwellers;

ii. The higher degree of dissatisfaction among flat dwellers can be attributed to the density in the various flat areas, as well as the fact that there still remains a fair amount of environmental upgrading to be done to complete the work in the flat complexes; and

iii. In the less denser barrack units, households appear to have found it much easier to develop a spirit of community and social cohesiveness.

(b) How do you rate your house/flat as a place to live in?

Residents were asked to rate their flat or house for living in since it had been upgraded. In response, 89% of the respondents indicated that their homes were now good or excellent to live in, while 11.06% of the respondents indicated that they were not entirely satisfied with their homes. The main reason submitted for their negative response was largely attributed to what residents considered to be an unacceptable level of workmanship produced by the local labour force employed in the project. The concern expressed by these tenants is significant for this study and will be addressed in the following chapter.

(c) Has the new physical layout of the area contributed to an improved sense

of neighbourhood cohesiveness?

This question was addressed at the barrack residents only, in view of the fact that these areas were the only beneficiaries of the new physical layouts. In this regard 88.0% of the respondents indicated that they were satisfied with the new physical layouts. The following reasons were given: the new physical layouts (i) provided vehicular access to property which had previously not been available, (ii) eliminated unsafe alleyways, (iii) provided homes with much needed privacy, (iv) made the area safer to live in, and (v) allowed ownership of properties.

The remaining 12% of the respondents cited the following reasons as the rationale for their dissatisfaction: (i) new roads in the barrack areas were being used as speed tracks, and (ii) road ways were inadequately provided with sidewalks and were therefore unsafe to use. In analysing the data above, the conclusion reached is that the new physical layouts of the various barrack areas have, more than any other reason, contributed to an increased attachment to the area.

(d) What renovations, if any, have you done to your home?

Personal investment in housing in a redevelopment project is generally seen as an indicator of attachment to an area (Spiro, 1980:172), and in this regard Austerville proved no exception. This question was also addressed only to the barrack residents in view of the fact that flat dwellers were not in a position to do any renovations to their housing unit. Out of a sample of 42 residents, 33 (78%) of the new homeowners indicated that they had renovated their homes. Renovations undertaken included, (i) totally demolishing the unit to rebuild a new dwelling, (ii) adding precast fencing, (iii) paving, (iv) floor tiling, (v) carports and garages, (vi) plastering the unit, and (vi) building additional bedrooms.

Reasons given for the renovations were: increase in family size (8%), prefer to live in Austerville (13%), no alternative accommodation (13%), cheaper to renovate than to move (8%), to improve the design and security (39%), and as a long term investment (17%). The fact that respondents chose to renovate their new homes and some saw it as a form of long term investment, is a further indicator of attachment to the redeveloped area (Ibid.).

Plate 8: Incumbent upgrading by new homeowners

As a corollary to the above question, an attempt was also made to establish whether homeowners had experienced problems having plans approved by the local authority. The response from the sub-sample showed that where approval of a plan was in fact needed, local authority approval was readily acquired and that no inordinately long delays were experienced by the residents.

5.6 Testing of hypotheses

What finally remains to be done is to establish whether the hypotheses formulated to guide this study were in fact correct and whether the project had attained all it had set out to achieve.

Hypothesis 1 - The genuine attachment to the area by the overwhelming number of respondents does indicate that Austerville has been transformed into a socially acceptable neighbourhood. Although no real active housing market exists at the present time, conditions necessary for such a market have been effectively created. What does remain a problem and a cause for concern is the apparent lack of attention to public spaces.

Hypothesis 2 - Although the process was initially a top-down driven process, the project did, in the latter stages, become more community driven, particularly with the advent of civic organisations in the area. While contributing to the empowerment and capacity building of the community, the fractious relationship between civics, and between civics and the State, did contribute to many delays in the project and can be posited as one of the main reasons why the project is still

incomplete.

Hypothesis 3 - This hypothesis has been fully vindicated as there was minimal relocation of families in Austerville. Where relocation was necessary, it was done in consultation with the relocatee concerned, and conditions were created for their relocation which avoided an absolute breakdown of their former social networks. The area to which the family were relocated was in all cases not more than 200 metres from their original home and friends.

Notwithstanding the minimal amount of relocation experienced in Austeville, relocation in other densely populated peripheral townships, would however pose a problem for successful revitalization, given the fact that many of the original tenants living in these townships invariably sublet part of their property for the erection of backyard structures and/or shacks.

Hypothesis 4 - The cost of vacant land in Austerville has, during the course of this project, been put to effective use. This has resulted in many additional housing units being made available for the community of Austerville. An important consideration in the use of infill sites is that every effort appears to have been made to ensure the mixed use of land by all income groups so as to ensure a rich heterogeneous community, as propagated by redevelopers in the False Creek, Canada and District Six in Cape Town.

Hypothesis 5 - Closely related to hypothesis 3, the revitalization of Austerville can only be termed an unqualified success if efforts are made to ensure an ongoing social programme to ensure the minimisation of social pathologies in the area. It

would seem that the revitalization of Austerville has in fact achieved more in terms of social objectives than some critics are willing to admit, but understandably a little less than the ambitious goals declared at the inception of the project. While ensuring the retention of social networks amongst residents, a particular weakness of this project has been the massive investment in physical infrastructure, public amenities and home improvement, without a concurrent investment in an ongoing social programme to ensure the elimination of all social pathologies. Despite the flatteringly positive attitude to the decrease of crime among the respondents, the area still abounds with many social problems such as drug abuse and alcoholism, both of which are a contributing factor to the decline in satisfaction and self-image among some residents of Austerville.

Hypothesis 6 - Despite efforts to ensure an extensive investment in local labour, the project did not entirely resolve the problem of unemployment in the area. At its zenith, the project had a 60% investment in local labour, while the more skilled trades were contracted out to qualified tradesmen from areas outside of the project boundaries. Notwithstanding the investment in local labour, the community had strong reservations about this continued practice. Much of their opposition was based on their concern for the quality of work being produced by the local labour. It was commonly felt that while the principle was acceptable, much more effort had to be put into training and supervision of staff, to ensure an acceptable standard of workmanship.

A further dimension to the economic advancement of the community was the sales strategy adopted by the State for the promotion of homeownership, and the transfer of ownership of businesses premises in the area. In this way the State

actively encouraged the commercial development of small business interests in the area. Policies adopted in this regard have contributed to the retention of the existing character of Austerville, discussed in the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 7 - The fact that Austerville, unlike many private sector revitalization schemes did not gentrify and lead to the massive displacement of households, must be attributed in the main to the State's generous subsidy policies that assisted many residents to acquire home-owner status. Studies of the phenomena of gentrification does, however, suggest that it is unlikely that public housing estates, such as Austerville, will easily gentrify. Cameron and Dooling (1994:1216) suggest that social conditions and social reputations among the tenants of public housing estates, make these areas less desirable to live in. Despite the governments stated intention of promoting private home ownership in public housing estates, and the right to sell, the built form and the environment of such housing estates makes them particularly unsusceptible to gentrification through simple market mechanisms.

5.7 Conclusion

The revitalization of Austerville appears to have achieved varying degrees of success. However, if residential revitalization is to continue to make a qualitative contribution to the resolution of the South African housing crisis, it is essential that certain modifications be made to the approach of 'revitalization' in South Africa. The final chapter of this study will, therefore, present recommendations considered to be essential for the success of revitalization programmes in South Africa.

CHAPTER SIX

RECONCEPTUALIZING REVITALIZATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

6.2 CRITICISMS AND SHORTCOMINGS

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL REVITALIZATION

6.4 CONCLUSION

CHAPTER SIX

RECONCEPTUALIZING REVITALIZATION

6.1 Introduction

Residential revitalization has regrettably over the years acquired a very negative connotation. This negative disposition towards revitalization has been largely as a result of the fact that the poor have in many revitalization schemes in both developed and developing countries, invariably had to bear the social and spatial costs of this approach to housing. Characteristics of such programmes have been the gentrification of housing areas previously inhabited by the poor, and the subsequent large scale displacement of the poor from such areas, invariably to experience greater hardships in their new area of abode. The main theme of this study has been, therefore, to argue that if revitalization of residential areas is predicated on principles espoused by the radical theorists, viz., a socially oriented approach to housing which has as its fundamental tenets social justice and equity, it can make both a quantitative and qualitative contribution to the resolution of the current housing crisis facing South Africa.

6.2 Criticisms and shortcomings

The non-availability of demographic information pertaining to Austerville as a whole, prior to the commencement of the revitalization programme, made it difficult to make a comparative study of the socio-demographic profile of the

community prior, and subsequent to, revitalization. This weakness in the study has been further compounded by the fact that during the survey the community were strongly opposed to providing information pertaining to income, employment and levels of education. Despite repeated assurances that the study was purely an academic one, most residents steadfastly refused to divulge such information. This must be seen as a general weakness of the study, as certain assumptions had to be made in the absence of a comparative analysis.

As this study concentrated largely on public housing estates under the aegis of central government, provincial and local government, an attempt was made to concentrate on similar studies elsewhere, with a view to comparing them with achievements in the case study. Regrettably much of the contemporary literature concentrates on private sector-led revitalization schemes, with very little being written on the type of revitalization that is the focus of this study. This paucity of literature on the revitalization of public-sector housing estates has made a comparative study all that more difficult.

Lastly, to establish a definitive picture about the viability of residential revitalization, it would have been imperative to do a cost benefit analysis of the project. In this way a 'true' picture would have been obtained, in so far as the real success or failure of the project in terms of money spent on the project as a whole, and in terms of the per capita expenditure incurred in relation to the achievements of the project. This, regrettably, was not possible within the scope of this study.

6.3 Recommendations for successful revitalization

The recommendations that follow are premised on various shortcomings emanating from the evaluation of the case study. While these recommendations are not considered to be a panacea to all the shortcomings of residential revitalization, they are seen as contributing to a process which would be more socially oriented and sustainable.

Community Participation: For the success of any housing endeavour involving revitalization, it is essential that such projects be run *with* the community and not *for* the community. To satisfy the needs of the community involved, and to ensure an improved quality of life, the project must virtually be driven by the community. In a true democracy, the poor should have a significant influence over what happens to them, and be entitled to know why certain policies and strategies, which have an impact on their life, have been adopted (Muller, 1992:29). It must be understood that true community participation does not involve working with a few deserving poor in a form of consultation and therby adopt a 'top-down' approach. Rather, the very essence of community participation begins with a 'bottom-up' approach to development. Implementing this principle is the first step towards social development, given the fact that the poor are living in areas of concentrated disadvantage and are generally in a situation where they are mostly overwhelmed by life's circumstances (Coit, in Schuman, 1987).

While community participation is seen as the axis around which successful revitalization will revolve, it is also imperative to sound a warning about overly romanticising the 'bottom-up' process. The poor, all too often, lack experience

and vision in many matters relating to revitalization. In this regard the input from technocrats is essential to keep a project going. A combination therefore of both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches, depending on the context in which the revitalization project is taking place, will be necessary to ensure the ongoing momentum of a project (Balls, 1991:16).

A further note of concern regarding community participation is the propensity for small but powerful groups within a community, to impose their will on a project, ostensibly in the interest of the community (Davoudi and Healey, 1995:82). To avoid this dilemma it is essential that a 'social compact' of all stakeholders in the area should be brought together to drive the process, thereby ensuring that the interests of an elitist minority is not placed above that of the community. Therefore, with regard to the incomplete Woodville project, it is essential that as a first step, a 'social compact' be formed to lead the redevelopment process. Having reached this stage, the social compact can then decide on the physical and social content of the revitalization programme specific to Woodville.

In summary therefore it must be mentioned that if the process of community participation is seen to (i) further democratic values, (ii) ensure planning attuned to community preferences, (iii) provide some form of 'education' so that the participants recognise the need to compromise and consider constraints, (iv) bring about social change in the form of increased involvement and development of leadership, and (vi) legitimize the actions of the government in the project, then the success of a revitalization project is all but ensured.

Relocation Policy: While minimal displacement and relocation of families was

experienced in Austerville, it is almost sure that in the more densely populated public housing estates of South Africa, a certain amount of dislocation will take place as a result of the granting of tenurial security and the strong likelihood of the original tenant or new owner embarking on extensions to the original property. New layouts may also result in backyard shacks having to be demolished to establish finite boundaries for each property. It is worth mentioning that in many of the larger peripheral townships, the letting of backyard shacks is one of the major sources of accommodation and income to the residents of such areas. Should the revitalization of townships result in the demolition of such structures and therefore the inevitable displacement of affected families, it is essential that the State have an acceptable relocation policy. Such a policy must strive to ensure that:

(i) relocation does not result in increased living costs as a result of higher rentals and longer distances travelled to work;

(ii) positive features of existing neighbourhoods such as extended families and other social networks are retained as far as possible;

(iii) where relocation does bring about an increase in living costs, the State considers subsidizing the difference between what was spent on living expenses before and what is being spent in the new area of abode. Such expenses could be subsidized for a short period, for example 6 - 12 months. In the process the State will facilitate the relocation process, as well as enhancing its image in the eyes of the affected communities (Carmon and Hill, 1988:471; Gans, 1991:208-210).

Celebration of Public Spaces: Dewar (1993:23) argues that the quality of public spaces is of great importance in a positively performing residential environment,

because they are the places within which people experience their residential area and engage both formally and informally in its collective life. In Austerville, very little effort appeared to have been made to emphasise the importance of public spaces. The general experience in most peripheral townships, in which the poor predominate, is that the '... individual dwelling has become the locus of the poor's limited resources' (Ibid.). In this respect Austerville has proved to be no exception. However, if public spaces are properly made and celebrated '... they will give dignity and a sense of permanence to environments' (Ibid.). They can in the process become the place where all collective social experiences are played out and in the process seen as extensions of the individual dwelling units (Dewar, 1993:23 and Dewar, 1991:57-58).

Environmental Education: As a result of the strong emphasis being placed on the physical aspects of renewal, an important aspect of revitalization that has been virtually forgotten, i.e. education about environmental sanitation. In the Austerville project, very little emphasis was placed on community involvement and education in the upkeep of the housing environment. Despite having spent approximately R35m on the project, environmental care both by the State and the residents has been very poor. Therefore, the possibility exists that the area could once again, over a period of time, degenerate into a slum. Badly maintained open spaces, and the dumping of derelict cars and home appliances are all common features in certain sections of the case study area. To avoid this deleterious situation occurring in all future projects of revitalization, it is essential that the physical upgrading be combined with a comprehensive education programme in environmental sanitation for the community.

Post - Revitalization Maintenance Programme: There is no automatic assurance that the provision of a newlyy refurbished neighbourhood will guarantee respect for home and environment. Rapkin's surveys (1980:190), conducted in the USA, have indicated in numerous instances, that the condition and appearance of post-renewal housing after a time was little better than it was before the costly process of refurbishment. This phenomena is apparently more prevalent in public housing units, than in privately owned units. This is presently the situation in Austerville as well. To avoid this wasteful reversal, it is recommended that the maintenance of both public housing stock and the environment be made the responsibility of private enterprise within the area of renewal. If the revitalization of Austerville is to promote the inclusion of its residents into the economic mainstream and lead to their empowerment, it is essential that opportunities should be created for jobs in the locality. The creation of private companies to undertake remedial and maintenance work will also be in line with the State's new Reconstruction and Development Programme, which seeks to promote the economic empowerment of small contractors in the disadvantaged sectors of South African society.

6.4 Conclusion

We have come a long way in understanding revitalization, its advantages and disadvantages. The process of keeping in touch with what is best for disadvantaged communities will, however, be an ongoing process. The following quotation from the work of T.S. Eliot aptly sums up the past and the future of the efforts that we must make to ensure that all the citizens of South Africa are adequately housed:

'What we call the beginning is often the end and to make an end is to make a beginning. The end is where we start from. We shall not cease from exploration and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time'.

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APPENDIX ONE:

OBJECTIVES OF THE AUSTERVILLE REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Objective 1:

To facilitate the full development of the housing potential of existing Coloured group areas and to alleviate housing shortages in the short term. Housing development should be directed to match peoples needs, particularly for the lower income group.

Objective 2:

To expedite the provision of more land and housing for Coloured people in the metropolitan region.

Objective 3:

To encourage awareness of the need for a dynamic and long term perspective to regional housing problems.

Objective 4:

To improve the public environment in and around the flat complexes and the barrack areas and to facilitate home-ownership.

Objective 5:

To upgrade the services infrastructure to a standard acceptable for transfer into city control and to facilitate such transfer.

Objective 6:

To alleviate social problems by combining selected physical improvements with action-oriented community-based social programmes.

Objective 7:

To plan and assist the development of public amenities to serve the needs of residents, with emphasis on those facilities which will benefit the young, the aged and the disadvantaged and amenities which will serve the greatest number of residents.

Objective 8:

To improve and ensure adequate maintenance of the public environment.

Objective 9:

To ensure the ongoing co-ordination of development activity by all agencies operating in the area.

Objective 10:

To undertake development in terms of identified priorities, making efficient use of resources and to ensure that benefits go to all income groups.

(Source : Former Administration : House of Representatives).

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL, DURBAN
DEPT. OF ARCHITECTURE AND ALLIED DISCIPLINES
URBAN RENEWAL SURVEY - AUSTERVILLE

Survey Number:_____

Survey On
(Circle the study area)

A. Single and Semi-detached dwelling units

1. Assegai
2. Gouritz
3. Hardy
4. Collingwood
5. Nelson
6. Drake
7. Frobisher
8. Eksteen Rd/Park
9. Richard Winn Rd

B. Flat complexes

10. Reiger/Ogle Rd
11. Croton/Alabama/Wiest Rd
12. Major Calvert (North & South)
13. Hime Street
14. Woodville Rd
15. Quality Street
16. Jonas Rd
17. Eksteen Rd
18. Tuin Road

Module A - Survey Information
Module A must be completed by the interviewer prior to interview

A.1. Field worker's name

A.2. Date YY MM DD
95

A.3. Survey Area

A.4. Dwelling type (circle appropriate type)
1. Single standing unit
2. Semi-detached unit
3. Flat
4. Row house
5. Other - specify

Survey Number:_____

A.5. Distance in time from public transport pick-up point
1. 0-5 minutes
2. 5-10 minutes

Instructions to fieldworker

Read the following to the person you are interviewing

(A) THIS IS A STUDY OF THE UPGRADING OF AUSTERVILLE AND THE CONSEQUENCES THEREOF. THE STUDY WILL ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH WHETHER THERE HAS BEEN A MEANINGFUL CHANGE IN THE SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF AUSTERVILLE AS WELL AS THE LESSONS WHICH HAVE BEEN LEARNT FROM THE UPGRADING OF AUSTERVILLE FOR FUTURE PROJECTS OF SIMILAR NATURE. THE INTENTION IS ALSO TO ESTABLISH WHAT THE COMMUNITY ASPIRATIONS ARE INSOFAR AS THE UPGRADING OF AUSTERVILLE IS CONCERNED.

(B) THE INFORMATION WE COLLECT IS CONFIDENTIAL AND NO INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANISATION WILL BE IDENTIFIED IN OUR REPORT. WHATEVER IS TOLD TO US BY PEOPLE LIKE YOURSELVES WE PUT TOGETHER WITH WHAT IS SAID BY OTHERS, SO THAT WE REPORT ON WHAT IS SAID BY MANY PEOPLE

I want you to find out about all people who belong to this household. They may be:-
(i) Members of the household who sleep here every night;
(ii) Members of the household who sleep here only occasionally eg: on weekends; or
(iii) Members of the household who only sleep here sometimes during the year.

NOW ENTER THE NAMES OF EACH PERSON ON THE PERSON LIST - DETACH BACK PAGE

Survey Number:_____

DEMOGRAPHY; Occupation, Education

Res. No.	Age (Yrs)	Sex		Marital Status	Res. Status	Occupation	Income Last Month	Education (15-specify)
		M	F					
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								

MARITAL STATUS	
1.	Never Married
2.	Married - Formal
3.	Married - Informal
4.	Divorced/Separated
5.	Widowed
6.	Unknown

RESIDENTIAL STATUS
1. At home
2. Away from Home

Survey Number:_____

OCCUPATION (Incl. those studying elsewhere)	
1.	Child under 6 - not at school
2.	Child under 6 - pre-primary
3.	Child under 16 - not at school
4.	Child under 16 - at school
5.	Pupil/Student 16 or over
6.	Housewife
7.	Unemployed 16 or over - seeking work
8.	Unemployed 16 or over -NOT seeking
9.	Employed - FORMAL (UIF/SITE/PAYE)
10.	Employed - INFORMAL

EDUCATION		9.	Standard 9
1.	Standard 1	10.	Standard 10
2.	Standard 2	11.	Primary Sub A/B
3.	Standard 3	12.	Special School
4.	Standard 4	13.	Diploma
5.	Standard 5	14.	Degree
6.	Standard 6	15.	Other
7.	Standard 7	16.	Unknown
8.	Standard 8	17.	Nil

Survey Number:_____

Where are you presently employed?

Austerville
Isipingo/Prospecton
Elawood/Rossburgh
Durban Central
Pinetown
Other (State)_____

Module C
Residential History

1. **Year in which you took occupation of present dwelling**

1950-1968	1
1969-1979	2
1980-1990	3
1991-1995	4

2. **Previous place of residence**

Merebank	1
Sydenham	2
Central Durban	3
Newlands East	4
Greenwood Park/Red Hill	5
Marianridge	6
Transkei	7
Other (Specify)_____	8
_____	

Survey Number:_____

3. **Reasons for last residential move**

Marriage	1
High rent	2
Evicted by land lord	3
Displaced by Group Areas Act	4
House too small	5
No alternative accommodation	6
Family ties	7
Other (Specify)_____	8
----------	

4. **Reasons for moving to present location**

Low rent	1
Improved accommodation	2
Shortage of alternative accommodation	3
Had no choice	4
Better neighbourhood	5
Closer to work	6
Closer to relatives	7
Other (Specify)_____	8

Survey Number:_____

5. **Have you desired to change residence since moving here?**

Yes	1
No	2

6. **If you desired to change residence, what has prevented you from moving?**

Shortage of good quality housing	1
Shortage of housing closer to work place	2
Too costly to buy another house	3
Loans not readily available	4
Personal attachment to area/house	5
Less disruptive than moving	6
Cheaper to renovate	7
Other (Specify)	8
----------	9

7. **Have you purchased the home you presently occupy?**

Yes	1
No	2

8. **What is the market value of your dwelling?**

Less than R50 000	1
R50 000 - R100 000	2
R101 000 - R150 000	3

Survey Number:_____

R151 000 and above	4
Don't know	5

9. **Present rateable value of dwelling**

R50 000 - R60 000	1
R60 000 - R80 000	2
R80 000 - R90 000	3
R90 000 - R100 000	4
R100 000 and above	5
Don't know	6

Module D
Renovations

Renovations are defined as structural changes/additions in the area of the main dwellings, outbuildings and other improvements such as pre-cast fencing or conventional walling on perimeter of property.

1. **Subsequent to the formal upgrading done by the State what additional renovations were undertaken by the household**

	(A)Additions 1=Yes 2=No	(B)Alterations 1=Yes 2=No	(C)Approximate Costs R
Master Bedroom			
Other bedroom			
Diningroom			
Lounge			
Kitchen			
Bathroom			
Total Reconstruction			
Fencing/Walling			
Other			
_____		_____	_____
_____		_____	_____
_____		_____	_____

Survey Number:_____

2. **Reasons for renovation** (Rank in order of importance)

	1	2	3
1. Increase in family size			
2. Prefer to live in Austerville			
3. Shortage of suitable alternative accommodation			
4. Cheaper to renovate than to move			
5. Improved appearance/design of building			
6. Wanted a long term investment			
7. Other (Specify)			
_____			
_____			

3. **Who undertook renovations?**

Building Contractor	1
Owner Builder	2
Other_____	3

4. **How did you finance your extensions to your property?**

1. Personal savings	
2. Loan from bank	
3. Loan from relatives	
4. Loan from employer	
5. Private savings club	

Survey Number:_____

6. Credit facilities with suppliers ☐
7. Income from letting out accommodation ☐
8. Other (Specify) ☐

_____
_____

5. **Did you experience any difficulty in having plans approved by Local Authority?**

Yes ☐

No ☐

Don't know ☐

If problems were experienced please elaborate

_____
_____
_____

Module E
Attitudes

1. **Since the completion of the upgrading in your area would you say that your neighbourhood has**

Improved (in other words money well spent) 1

Remained the same 2

Declined 3

Why do you say this?

_____
_____
_____

Survey Number:_____

2. **How would you rate your neighbourhood as a place to live in?**

Excellent	1
Good	2
Satisfactory	3
Poor	4

Why do you say this?

---

3. **Given the amount of upgrading done to the house by both yourself and the State, how would you rate the house as a place to live in?**

Excellent	1
Good	2
Satisfactory	3
Poor	4

Why do you say this?

---

4. **In your opinion, do your think that the upgrading of the area has been well received by the community?**

Yes	1
No	2

Survey Number:_____

Why do you say this?

---

5. **Has the physical layout of the area (new roads etc) contributed to an improved sense of neighbourhood cohesiveness as well as the safety of residents?**

Yes	1
No	2

Why do you say this?

---

6. **Do you believe that the provision of an improved infrastructure (roads, sanitation, water) has contributed to an improved quality of life for the residents of Austerville?**

Yes	1
No	2

Why do you say this?

---

7. **Has crime and other socially deviant behaviour declined since the upgrading?**

Yes	1
No	2

Survey Number:_____

Why do you say this?

---

8 (a). **Has the upgrading of Austerville provided the area with an increased number of public amenities?** (parks, playlots, sportsfields)

Yes	1
No	2

8 (b) **If "Yes" are such amenities adequately maintained by the appropriate authorities?**

Yes	1
No	2

9. **Were you happy with the fact that much of the work was done by local contractors?**

Yes	1
No	2

Why do you say this?

---

10. **Did you find the standard of workmanship acceptable?**

Yes	1
No	2

Survey Number:_____

Why do you say this?

Module F
Neighbourhood Organisations & Participation

Are you aware of any neighbourhood organisations?

Yes	
No	

If "Yes" identify them

Austerville Residents Forum	1
Austerville Civic Association	2
Other (Specify) _____	3

Have you ever belonged to an organization attempting to improve conditions in your neighbourhood?

Yes	1
No	2

Do you believe that community organizations are truly representative of all sectors of the Austerville community?

Yes	1
No	2

Survey Number:_____

Why do you say this?

Have you ever attended meetings to discuss problems in your neighbourhood?

Yes	1
No	2

Why do you say this?

Have various organizations in Austerville been synonymous in their desire to improve Austerville? In other words do these organisations share the same ideals insofar as the upgrading of Austerville is concerned?

Yes	1
No	2

Why do you say this?

In your opinion has competing conflicting interests amongst community groups hampered the upgrading of Austerville?

Yes	1
No	2

Explain

Survey Number:_____

Do you believe that there was sufficient consultation between the various levels of government and the community in the upgrading of Austerville?

Yes	1
No	2

Explain

Do you believe that sufficient cognizance/attention has been given to gender (womens rights & concerns) in the upgrading of Austerville?

Yes	1
No	2

Explain