

**UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
(Durban)**

**A CLOSER LOOK AT RESIDENTIAL REGENERATION EFFORTS IN
CLAIRWOOD**

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A Closer Look at Residential Regeneration in Clairwood

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

- CDB - Community Development Board
- CHESS - Community Health and Social services
- CRRA - Clairwood Residents and Ratepayer's Association
- DCC - Durban City Council
- DRA - Data Research Africa
- KZNPA - Natal Provincial Administration
- RDP - Reconstruction and Development Programme

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1.1 Introduction

This is a study of the efforts involved in the process of residential regeneration in the case of Clairwood. The dimension of town and regional planning that led to me undertake this study is the process of decay inherent in neighbourhoods and the efforts in the reconstruction and development of these residential centres. In a manner, I wish to create an awareness of the situation.

Clairwoods' rich residential heritage, dating back to earlier times (i.e. late 1880s), make this kind of study extremely useful in understanding the process of the rise and fall of residential areas as well as the nature, context and dimensions of residential regeneration. The case of Clairwood, therefore, makes a study of regeneration efforts in decay and reconstruction very important. This study also takes into account the various aspects of the neighbourhood to emphasise the crucial role played by every stage in the reconstruction process.

1.2 Study Area

Clairwood lies about 9km to the south of the Central Durban Business District. Figure 1 illustrates the study area in relation to the city centre. It is bounded by South Coast Road to the west and the Umhlatuzana Canal in the north, with the Clairwood Boys School and Blamey/Jacobs Roads forming the southern boundary. The eastern boundary is provided by Flower and Ganesh Roads (see figure 2). This forms an area of approximately 100 hectares (Lilleby, 1995). Basically, the study area encompasses the residential settlement east of the southern freeway.

1.3 Background to Problem

In 1930, the municipal authorities gained control over an area south of Durban in an attempt to create the whole area as an industrial space through incorporating it into the greater Borough of Durban. By 1931, a programme of engineering works, initiated by the municipal authorities, commenced to facilitate industrial growth south of Durban. Clairwood was "formally incorporated into the Borough of Durban in 1932 (Lilleby, 1995 and Scott, 1992). The municipal authorities then proposed for the expropriation of private property, community built facilities, religious spaces and people living in the area (Scott, 1992).

In 1943, the Durban Town Council (that was later to be known as the Durban City Council) initiated plans for industrial development in Clairwood and it was zoned this purpose in 1954. These proposals or plans were rejected by the residents living in the area. Clairwood was then marginalised and excluded by the Durban City Council (DCC), in terms of the provision of proper services and maintenance of existing ones. This area then suffered problems of decay and physical deterioration, as well as social deprivation (Scott, 1992).

After objections were lodged by the residents, the Town Planning Scheme was amended by the DCC to zone the area for Special Residential purposes. In 1957, it was decided by the DCC that light industrial uses would be allowed by special consent. In 1959, the DCC adopted a resolution to highlight the "unsuitability of Clairwood as a

Residential Regeneration Efforts

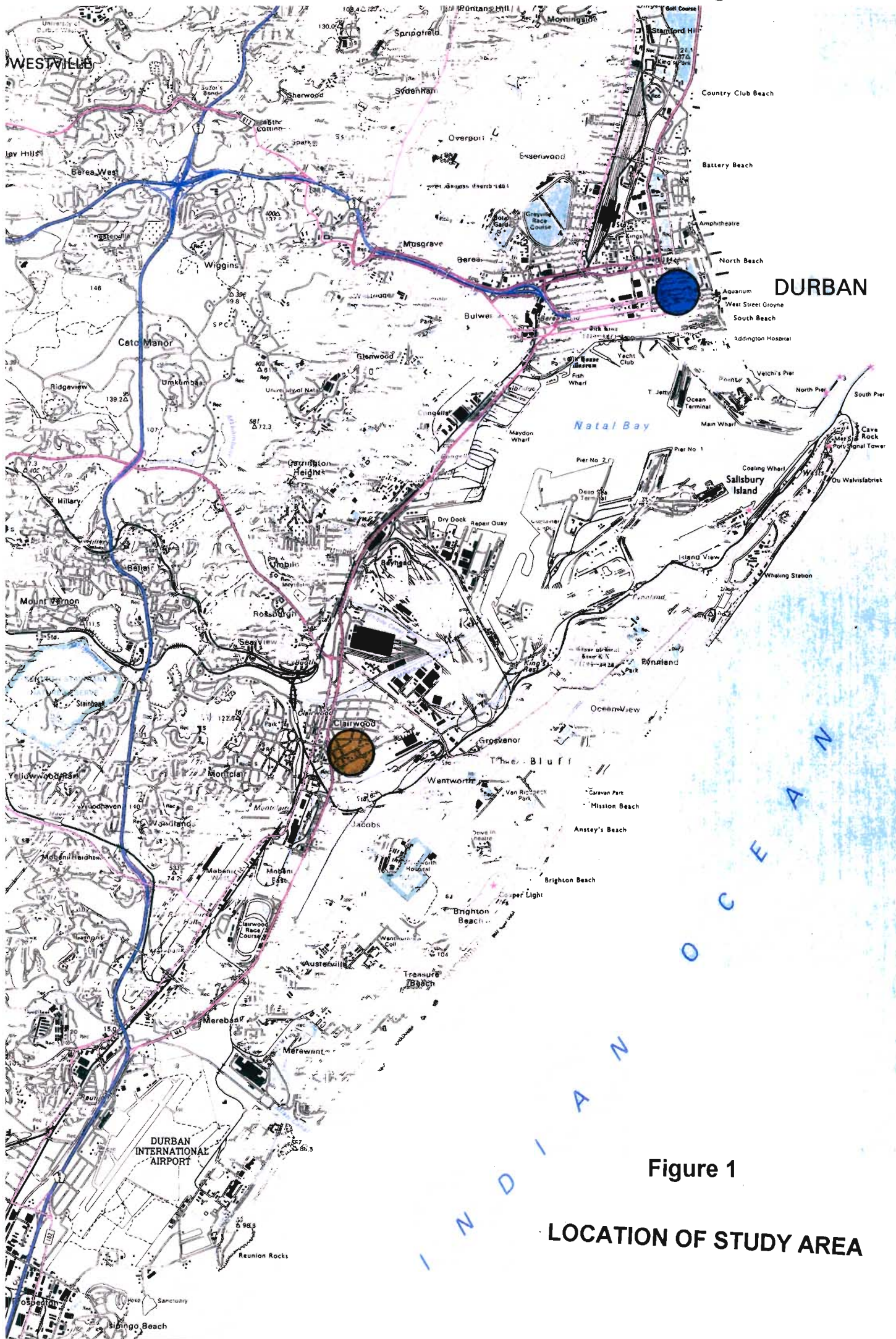
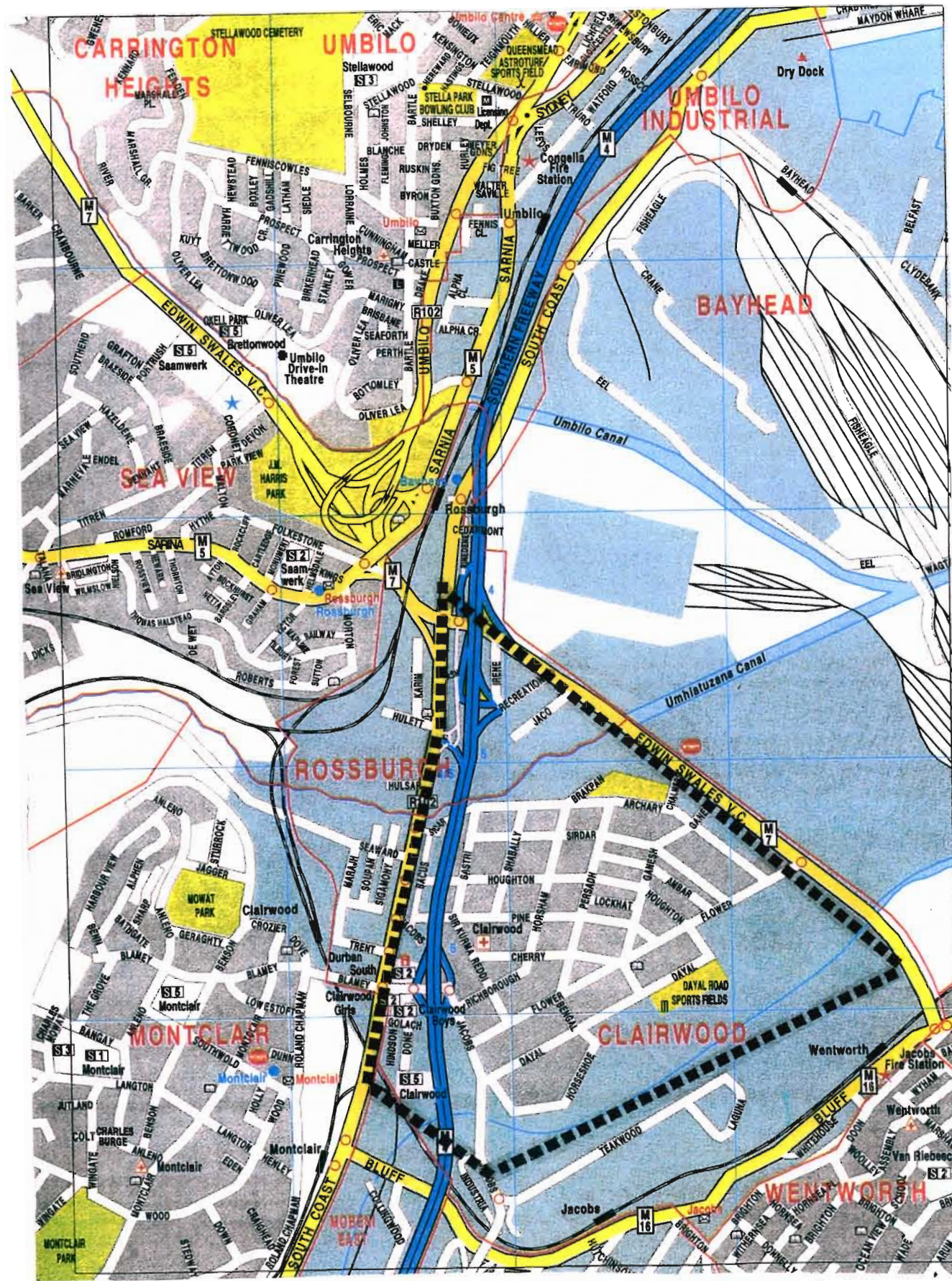


Figure 1

LOCATION OF STUDY AREA



LOCALITY PLAN

Explanation of Map Symbols

COMMUNITY SERVICES			
Community Service	Parking	Major Shopping Centre	Place of Worship
Library	Refuse Site	Public Phone	Taxi Rank
Police Station	Emergency Service	Traffic Department	Wimpy Restaurant
Post Office	Mail Collection Point	Animal Welfare	Tourist Information
Theatre	Law / Magistrates Court	Embassy	Consulate
Recreation Centre	Municipal Office	Hall / Community Centre	Government Office
Cinemas / Drive-In			

GENERAL SYMBOLS			
Airport	Airfield	Heli Pad	Caravan Park
Hotel	One-Way	Start / End of One-Way	Bank
Building Society	Light House	Spot Height	Station
Traffic Light	Entrance / Access	Toll Plaza	Bridge

SPORTS SYMBOLS			
Bowls	Cricket	Hockey	Rugby
Soccer	Squash	Swimming	Tennis
Golf	Shooting	Polo	Athletics
Basket Ball			

EDUCATION SYMBOLS			
Lower / Junior Primary	Primary	Higher / Senior Primary	Preparatory
Secondary	College	Technical	Tertiary
Special	Convent		

PLACES OF INTEREST			
Place of Interest	National / Historical Monument	Museums, Art Galleries and Exhibitions	Motoring Organisation
Bird Sanctuary	Natural Reserve	Waterfall	Shipwreck

MEDICAL SYMBOLS			
Provincial Hospital with casualty service	Provincial Hospital / Clinic	Municipal Clinic	Private Hospital / Clinic
Private Hospital / Clinic with casualty service			

ROUTEMARKERS ? - Route Number			
National	Major	Minor	Metropolitan
Metropolitan THROUGH ROUTE	Metropolitan FREEWAY		

LINE STYLES			
Freeways & National Routes	Van Riebeeck St.	Freeway under Construction	Main Through Route
Through Route under Construction	Suburb Boundary	Municipal Boundary	Nature Trail

0 0.5 1
Kilometres SCALE 1 : 20 000

residential zone and for the entire zoning matter to be clarified (DCC, c1992/3 in Lilleby, 1995). The Town and Regional Planning Commission and the residents (in the form of the Indian Affairs Advisory Committee with the Clairwood and District Residents and Ratepayers Association) reached an agreement after a long period of discussion and conflict at a public meeting on the 28 February 1982 that Clairwood be developed as a residential area. On the 8 March 1986, it was formally stated by the Tricameral Parliament that Clairwood would remain a residential area and was to be replanned by the DCC (Lilleby, 1995). The municipal authorities in consultation with the residents engaged in replanning, physical reconstruction and the provision of civic amenities. By 1990, the installation of waterborne sewerage had commenced.

Unfortunately, in spite of an interest in restoring the glory of the area and which resulted in the promulgation of plans for the purpose, living conditions have progressively deteriorated. The area is still characterised by poor amenities and an intermingling of incompatible and differentiated land use activities. It is a long standing area of marginality, with a reputation of informal economic activities. It still suffers an all round deterioration in all aspects of its civic life. This area is under the threat of becoming a slum due to the dilapidated condition of its buildings. A number of buildings used as dwelling places are unfit and unhealthy for human inhabitants. Furthermore, there is a number of vacant land sites which remain as illegal dumping sites and any attempts to improvement are thwarted.

This naturally gives rise to the questions of *why, even after years of interest, the problems of the area have multiplied rather than being minimised? What are the obstacles in the way of solving these problems?* The significance of vacant sites has been an important consideration in this study of residential regeneration efforts in Clairwood, because they remain dumping sites and are prone to squatter invasion.

1.4 Objectives

This is an exploratory study not meant to strengthen or disprove any theory. However, there is a broader underlying hypothesis, which the researcher intends to prove. The underlying hypothesis, as the foregoing discussion clearly will bring out, is that, *the long existence of vacant sites and the reluctance to developing these sites will slow (and hinder) the process and success of residential regeneration efforts in Clairwood.* This study does not proceed with a normative view of residential regeneration nor is it intended to be prescriptive about its nature. Therefore, any temptation to be normative about the impact of any activity whether good or bad, or whether it is positive or negative in nature, is not the concern of this dissertation. This whole exploratory exercise is intended to discover actors and forces in the area in the specific context of residential regeneration and the way in which they affect this process.

Recognising that there is a need to regenerate an old decaying area like Clairwood, and presuming that there are efforts of regenerating the neighbourhood, this study seeks to explore certain questions related to the role players. Thus the objectives of the study are to:

- ⇒ investigate the reasons of the private site owners for not developing their sites and the logic for leaving them vacant
- ⇒ understand the perceptions of the residents with regards to the regeneration of the area

- ⇒ identify the plans and proposals to develop the area
- ⇒ make some recommendations on what might be desirable for the area

The ultimate objective is to provide a broader analysis of the residential regeneration processes in Clairwood.

1.5 Definition of Residential Regeneration

According to Couch(1990:18), residential regeneration is whereby a local community seeks to bring back investment, employment, consumption and enhance the quality of life within an area. The main issue, is the rejuvenescence of the area. In physical terms, it means the rehabilitation of the existing structures or pulling down old structures and rebuilding new ones or developing vacant plots of land as part of residential regeneration. Closely related to the improvement of the physical structures would be the provision of better amenities; rehabilitating the residents and relocating certain incompatible activities from the area. In terms of the cultural atmosphere, it would mean the restoration of parks, churches and so on. Couch (1990) notes that issues such as determining the character of the area as well as the nature and extent of other land uses to be permitted or addressing the question of squatter invasion onto open space can also be taken into account as part of regeneration.

1.6 Structure of the Document

The dissertation has six chapters. The first chapter outlines the reason, methodology and purpose of the study whilst the second provides a literature review. Chapter three sketches a broad contextual background to Clairwood with respect to its current structure and takes a more in depth look at the study area itself. In chapter four, an explanation of the key structuring elements of the plans, including the key aims and objectives for each of the structuring elements is given. Chapter five outlines the findings of the quantitative surveys, with the questionnaires included as an appendix. The final chapter of the study consists of conclusions as well as recommendations.

1.7 Research Methodology

1.7.1 Secondary Sources

The main secondary sources used in this study have been the reviewing of existing research studies, documentation and other relevant data and a provision of a synthesis of these. These sources are kept in the libraries. The accuracy and validity of information contained in these sources has been ascertained through an analysis and comparison of how the topic has been approached.

1.7.2 Primary Sources

The main primary sources have been divided into three categories of role players that are involved in the regeneration process (see appendix for questionnaires). These include a sample of the residents, vacant site owners, a local leader (Mr Ishwar Maharaj) and an official member planning for Clairwood in the Physical Environment section (i.e. Statutory Planning) of the DCC (Mr Ian MacKintosh).

The residents were divided into segments. This means that an effort was made to interview people of different socio-economic and varying occupational status. The intention has been to interview them separately with different interview schedules, to study and analyse the differences in their perception about problems and their understanding of regeneration efforts in the area. A sample of 50 respondents has been randomly selected. Responses to certain questions have been subject to statistical tabulation. The difficulty arose from the fact that most of the residents were not willing to be interviewed and or were reluctant to express their views. They were also fed up of surveys and surveyors who *'keep coming and asking questions about our problems, but never do anything to solve them'*. They were not prepared to provide discussions that are useful to reveal the nature of regeneration efforts in the area.

The main respondents in the study are the private vacant site owners (referred to in this document as site owners). There are three vacant lots immediately adjacent to the commercial cum commercial spine (i.e. South Coast Road); three vacant lots on one block on either side of the commercial cum industrial spine (i.e. Edwin Swales Drive); and 92 vacant lots at the core of the study area (see figure 3: land use plan). Based on the above mentioned spatial distribution of the vacant sites, the site owners were subjected to stratified sampling. A sample of 10% of the total potential respondents has been selected. The responses to certain questions have been subject to statistical tabulation. Most of the site owners interviewed did not live in the area, and as a result information pertaining to their current address was obtained from the DCCs Rates and Real Estate section. These respondents have been subject to telephone interviews. The reluctance of site owners is difficult to explain but an enormous amount of time was wasted in running after them, many of whom, finally, could not be interviewed.

Open ended structured interview schedules have been conducted with each of the focused groups. The inferences have been drawn from their statements and judged in terms of their background and interest. The interview schedules have been used more as interview guides, thus a number of questions have been asked which have not been listed initially. The researchers intention has been to conduct the interview like an informal conversation. Other sources of information have been the census, site visits, observation and key inputs by specialists in the field.

1.8 Scope and Assumptions

The efforts involved in residential regeneration in Clairwood include everyone in the area: individual residents, local business, local leaders, the DCC, the landlords and various interest groups. A combination of their interest constitute the efforts involved in the process of regenerating the neighbourhood. However, it has been assumed by this study that the site owners play a crucial role in the process. They remain the central element because vacant sites are a fundamental subject of land use and regulation and are important for restructuring an area. In the case of Clairwood they remain vacant after a decade of the approval of regeneration in the area.

CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to provide a critical review of literature relevant to the study. It is an attempt at understanding the issue, its nature, context, dimensions, its boundaries and what it is really about. Residential regeneration is a consequence of a number of distinct but processes. The following discussion provides an understanding of these processes.

2.2 Evolution of Residential Regeneration

Residential regeneration started to occurred after the industrial revolution. Firstly, various parts of urban areas were constantly changing and needed to be reconstructed in order to maintain the efficiency of the capitalist system. This meant that markets were maintained in order to provide adequate goods and services. The capitalists improved the efficiency of the transport system and refined the way land was parcelled and exchanged. They improved the efficiency of the built environment so as to minimise waste in the production process (Couch, 1990:47). Reconstruction and development industries sought new markets for their products, thus demanding an increased investment in the built environment, the reconstruction of existing built up areas and an increase in building productivity.

Secondly, there was a struggle between labour and capital over the distribution of resources. This relates to the distribution of surplus as wages or profits, for instance, the amount individuals have to spend on the consumption of housing. regeneration was also manifest in the struggle over collective consumption, for instance, money to spend on environmental improvements and social infrastructure rather than investment to meet the needs of capital. However, sometimes the needs of capital coincided with the demands for collective consumption (Couch, 1990). Collective consumption of non profit making social infrastructure (i.e. housing, health and welfare facilities) tends to fluctuate according to the changing relative strengths of capital and labour in the bargaining process.

2.3 Economic Perspectives

To discuss residential regeneration processes from an economic viewpoint requires contributions from a number of different strands. It is therefore pertinent to examine the demand and supply of reconstruction, the economic life of the built up area, the economics of land vacancy, state intervention and overview of the economics of residential regeneration.

2.3.1 Demand for Reconstruction

The demand for reconstruction can either occur as an investment good or as a consumption good. Most reconstruction work is regarded as capital investment in

that its purpose is to contribute to the production process (Couch, 1990). For example, the transport infrastructure is provided to reduce the costs of transporting raw materials and finished products. The demand for investment goods is derived demand as opposed to that of the consumption goods. This means that, it is a function of the level of demand for the final product or service that is produced. The demand for investment goods is influenced by an 'accelerator principle'. This means that as the demand for any consumption good increases or decreases, then the demand for investment goods (i.e. fixed capital) used in its production will increase or decrease at a greater rate (Couch, 1990).

The nature of demand varies depending on the rate of replacement as the existing built environment is composed of structures of varying age, quality, suitability and adaptability. Furthermore, the demand for different consumption goods fluctuates at different times and by different amounts. However, at times of rising consumption, there is a need for an initial sharp rise in demand for reconstruction whereas in times of falling consumption, there is a need for greater reductions in reconstruction demand (Ball, 1988:5).

The public sector plays a major role for much fixed capital investment such as roads, utility networks, land reclamation and so on. It does not always time or locate such investment in accordance with market criteria. For example, the public sector may use a change in its own fixed capital investment as a tool of economic policy. It is attractive for the public sector to use reconstruction as a local regulator. The public sector encourages house building and permits redevelopment sites in residential areas in urban areas. It is difficult to identify spatial locations, but such activities are associated with other forms of reconstruction such as development infrastructure, roads, sewers, schools, and welfare facilities. However, both the private and public sector are the subject of major regeneration programmes of housing built on cleared sites and increases in built environment revitalisation. The role of the public sector is discussed in detail in the later sections.

Insurance companies dominate property investment, as their funds continue to be swollen by public sector policies encouraging private insurance and pension schemes (Couch, 1990). Owner occupiers are dependent on the profitability of property capital. Property values grow and ensure the stability of the financial system and that the buildings are required to be tradable and standardised commodities, this has implications for residential regeneration. Property investments of these financial institutions are already concentrated into standard types of property. Less favoured locations and unconventional types of property are left to find alternative funding sources. On the other side, market activity and public sector support will be under pressure to ensure maintenance of property values in favoured locations. This is done through the provision and maintenance of the physical and social infrastructure and amenities. Given limited resources, this will be at the expense of support for infrastructure and amenities in less favoured locations. Thus, it is often expected that there will be more public sector investment in regeneration of the built environment in some places than in others.

2.3.2 Demand for Housing

The level of demand for consumption of goods and services depends upon the relative power of labour versus capital in the struggle over the distribution of surplus within place and time (Couch, 1990). Skilled workers are able to sustain a rising level of housing demand whereas unskilled workers who are in surplus supply are unable to sustain such rising demand, instead they provide a cheap source of construction labour. Both public and private housing are alternative mechanisms of responses to labour demand for better housing.

There are factors that mould the character of housing demand in terms of certain tenures, locations and dwelling types include price, income and preferences. The extent of demand depends upon the relative price (i.e. price is the total selling price of an owner occupied dwelling)(Couch, 1990:57). However, for identical dwellings commanding the same value, the price could vary. These circumstances indicate the amount of equity and the financial security enjoyed by owner as well their ability to undertake building maintenance. The perceived price of a dwelling may also reflect such factors as the cost of transport to work, which is a necessary element of housing costs for employed people. Price may also be assessed against the levels of amenity and the character of that particular residential area.

However, prices may be distorted by inflation, subsidies, demand and local rates. The effect of rent control can be done through reducing the housing supply and increasing demand through reducing the housing supply and increasing demand through requiring landlords to subsidies tenants. These distortions have implications for regeneration. This happens as a result of both private rented sector and local authorities have not thought it economic or have run short of funds to undertake an adequate level of housing maintenance. Housing then falls into a state of decay where major renovation or demolition become the only solutions. Without such distortions in the market, the level of housing maintenance might be higher, there might be less decay in the stock and there might not be a problem of an acute housing crisis.

The demand for housing may also be influenced by population. Demands upon the size and growth rate of the total population. However, this is modified through a series of adjustments that take account of age structure, income levels and lifestyles to give household size and structure, which in turn determine the number and types of dwellings that will be demanded by any given population. The elderly and the childless demand conversions or redevelopment of large properties into small manageable flats. On the other side, young families will tend to demand houses with gardens and safe local environments for children (Couch, 1990).

2.3.3 Construction Industry and Supply of Regeneration

Residential regeneration is produced through the construction industry. Certain features of the construction and the regeneration market influence supply. Much of the market for regeneration is under the control or influence of the public sector.

Although regeneration is negotiated between the private and public sectors, the private sector is limited by the public sector in terms of the location and scale of project they can undertake. But the project must be profitable for the private sector to undertake it.

2.3.4 Economic Life of Built Up Area and Timing

Couch(1990) argues that the heart of understanding regeneration is the idea of understanding the economic life of the built environment, timing and the nature of the decisions made to regenerate an area. The public sector makes the decisions and initiates some kind of regeneration, with a modification to the existing structure. However, the lifespan of a built up area is determined by economic imperatives of the market or social intervention, and outside of this context there is no definable physical life of a built up area (Couch, 1990:62). There is no predeterminable physical lifespan for an area outside of the economic and social context in which it exists. The possibility of an area being regenerated depends upon it yielding not only a positive return or profit but also as least as much profit as the alternative possibilities available to potential investors.

The relative attractions of different forms and locations of property investment are sensitive to changes in the local rent levels, building costs, interest rates, fee levies and land values. The market tends to develop the most profitable areas. However, this is not only true for private sector projects but also for the public sector because they are funded from different sources.

2.3.5 Economics of Land Vacancy

There are different classifications of the causes of vacant land problems. However, there is a lack of a consistent approach to investigating the causes of land vacancy (Cameron et al, 1988:120). Land may remain vacant for frictional reasons, demand efficiency, structural change in demand or technological conditions. In general terms, time lags in the reuse of premises results from a variety of causes such as poor marketing, slow decision making procedures and so on. Policies aimed at reducing friction in the land market will only work to the extent that there exists a potential demand for the premises which can be turned into effective demand. However, some land will remain vacant because it faces a low level of demand in the land market. Structural changes occur when there is a long term change in the nature of demand or technological conditions.

Cameron et al (1988:120) suggests that there is a shift in demand favouring different areas of the land market. For example, some parts of the land market become preferred locations and other areas are seen as inappropriate. The marginal effect is a persistent underutilisation of land available for use in specific locations. Vacancy is also a result of changes in locational preferences, for example, the rejection of site size, buildings of awkward shape or lacking in certain characteristics.

2.3.6 State Intervention

There is a potential for unsatisfactory outcomes in regeneration if the state does not intervene. The state incurs social expenses to achieve and maintain social order as well social capital for infrastructure upon which the capitalist system of production exists. State intervention is necessary for social consumption (i.e. goods and services collectively consumed such as health services etc.) and social investment (i.e. education, transportation and utility networks etc.)(Couch, 1990). It is also important in the social and human capital investment for expenditure on training schemes for the long term unemployed. The state also provides merit which as a result of political value judgements are made that certain groups of people should have goods and services regardless of their ability to pay. The state intervenes in order to redress imbalances created historically. Social expenses are required to maintain social harmony and social investment in human capital, also known as the production of the labour force.

The state can intervene through rules and regulations, for example, planning permissions, landscaping procedures, zoning and so on. It can intervene through expenditure and capital and revenue spending, for example, the purchase of fixed assets, subsidies and taxes, grants for building restoration and so on. Local authorities can also build houses. The local authorities can be financed these buildings or subsidise the private sector buildings through the use of derelict grants. The state can also regulate local economies through taxation and the pricing of state services. The pricing of goods and services sold by the state has an effect on demand and markets. The increases in public housing rents encourages purchases by sitting tenants and promotes the owner occupied market. The state can also extend its power through advocacy, for example, through propaganda, publicity, persuasion or through offering strategic guidance in the preparation of development plans (Kraushaar, 1988:93).

2.3.7 Overview of the Economics

In terms of the Concise Oxford Dictionary, to regenerate is to bring into existence to produce or to evolve. To regenerate is to bring or come into renewed existence. Regeneration is more than renewal -reuse and reinvestment in the physical structure of existing urban locations. Regeneration is an economic process that increases what has decreased. It is about increasing investment where it has declined, or increasing employment, consumer expenditure and population. In essence, it is about the economic of an area. Although the processes of regeneration are a result of the interplay of economic forces, they are dependent on locational decisions. For example, regeneration has an effect on relocating demand. However, the nature, scale and location of demand depend upon local costs and trends in the final demand for goods and services. The state is influenced by the consumer. Construction activity then is an outcome of an ageing built stock.

Regeneration is encouraged through enhanced subsidies and managerial changes to promote development of obsolete urban fabric. As society is dependent upon the

maintenance of property values for its financial, it is clear that the property market is focused upon standardised tradable commodities. This then has implications that only conventional developments in favoured locations will attract institutional funding.

2.4 Social Aspects

The essential characteristic of regeneration is that it brings about change in the use or occupancy of land and buildings and therefore results in changes in where, how and under what conditions people live. These changes are thought to be bringing improvements in living conditions, bettering peoples lives, reducing poverty and past imbalances. The regeneration process leads to a dramatic increase in the population (Hall and Hay, 1980). It occurs due to mass housing improvements, private housing investment opportunities, the local economic conditions and the spatial impact and the natural change in birth and death rates within a local population.

There is an increase in the number of young people whilst the elderly remain in their existing homes. Population increase is a symbol that regeneration is achieving its aims and objectives. An area that is being regenerated is likely to have attract more people into the area. Like wise, a decline in population is a sign that an area is declining. As population increases, the number of households. Regeneration does not affect socially cohesive communities (Knox, 1982:47). Mergenhausen and Lee (1984) contend that population and housing can be used to detect neighbourhood change. Sustainable regeneration processes are sensitive and aware of racial aspects and its implications. The management of regeneration is a complex activity involving a number of agencies with different objectives. Moreover, consultation is an important element of the regeneration process.

2.5 Contextual Factors

The contextual variables that have been used for this study are factors such as the political structure and ideology; geographic location; the neighbourhood• age and planning controls.

2.5.1 Political Structure and Ideology

Throughout the world, there is a wide band of legal institutional structures, political regimes, and ideologies. For example, in the USA, with its predominantly private sector concern, housing is a private responsibility. Canada, though similar to the USA, has a positive attitude toward government intervention. The UK promotes privatisation and an intolerance of local government in housing and other spheres. In Germany and France, the private sector in housing is dominant. In the Netherlands and Sweden, social housing is the overriding norm despite steps taken toward privatisation. In Israel's mixed economy, the public sector resumes a major direct role in housing and neighbourhood regeneration policies (Alterman, 1995:752).

2.5.2 Demographics and Demand for Housing

Large scale immigration is likely to have major effects, both positive and negative, in neighbourhoods in distress. For example, neighbourhood regeneration programs may be partly be redirected to focus on the integration problems of new immigrants in poorer, existing neighbourhoods. There would need to be an increase in housing construction in response to the mass immigration crisis. This might then become the recipe for future neighbourhoods in distress. However, Alterman (1995) notes that mechanisms of diversity and quality control can be built into publicly driven and subsidised, but privately financed and constructed, housing program. The new housing stock need to be indistinguishable from regular housing and is offered to any buyer, rather than to new immigrants alone, so as to ensure integrated neighbourhoods.

A demand for housing results from poor housing built in the past, an inefficient construction sector that leads to the rising expectations for better standards. The emphasis on quantity o production over housing and neighbourhoods will decline in future years, as economic and social conditions improve. Regenerating existing neighbourhoods may hold a lower priority than housing production. In Hungary, the emphasis is on basics such as installation of in-house toilets, kitchen modernisation, and amelioration of problems dampness and structural soundness (Alterman, 1995:754).

2.5.3 Geographic Location

A common misconception about distressed neighbourhoods is that they are located largely in old and dilapidated city cores. This may have been so in the past, but today, the city's historic core has returned, or is in process of returning, to being prime real estate. Regeneration is often through gentrification. Alterman (1995) notes that many distressed neighbourhoods in the nonhistoric outer areas of cities - the outer estates or peripheral estates. Only in the USA and Canada have urban neighbourhood programs been tailored mostly to neighbourhoods within or near city centres, because American cities have a shorter range history, notions of historic preservation hold less sway (Carter, 1991). In Canada, programs predominantly served small, semi-rural towns, where core and periphery have no relevance. In the UK, many neighbourhoods targeted for regeneration programs are located in the inner city.

2.5.4 Neighbourhood Age

Many European neighbourhoods targeted for regeneration are relatively new (i.e. constructed in the immediate post-war years in the late 1940s and 1950s, and in the 1960s and even the 1970s). Most of these neighbourhoods were originally construct through direct public initiative, either by local government or quasi public housing associations or national government. By contrast, in the USA and Canada, where public sector housing has traditionally been on a smaller scale than in Europe, almost all the distressed neighbourhoods were built by private developers. Most of

Europe's distressed neighbourhoods were built to meet acute housing shortages of the time (i.e. post war period, 1960s and 1970s). Their initiators emphasised scale and speed. These estates were typically built on the outskirts of large cities and towns because land assembly was easier there. Either land was already in public hands or special land use tools were available to appropriate private land for public sector housing on the peripheries of cities.

In some cases, these projects were hastily constructed, and prefabrication techniques that had not yet been perfected were often used. Usually, these projects exhibited either a high degree of architectural uniformity or an experimentation with unusual architectural style. Invariably, they restricted consumer choice. Alterman (1995) notes that, although these projects were under public control, public services, such as transportation education, sports, culture, and access to shopping, were inadequate. Planners typically allocated generous tracts of land for public (including commercial) services, but the financial resources to build them never came. Neighbourhoods with many apartments were left with gaping vacant tracts of land in their midst that worsened the already acute problem of accessibility and exacerbated neighbourhood blight.

Alterman (1995) notes that publicly initiated housing projects run into problems which are normally technical and physical. Residents with more resources move out leaving behind social problems. Government involvement in the design and construction of neighbourhoods has a blighting hand. Only under exceptional effort can the dangers of uniformity, poor services, isolation, and reduced consumer choice be successfully avoided in public sector development.

2.5.5 Planning Controls

Priemus (1991) notes that land use planning institutions and laws intended to regulate land development, use, and maintenance are unsuccessful in preventing neighbourhood decline or in regenerating neighbourhoods. Regeneration needs a specially designed program and set of laws to undo what the regular land use laws either exacerbated or have not succeeded in preventing.

2.6 Characteristics of Regeneration

2.6.1 Comprehensiveness

Priemus (1991) notes that most European countries are unisectoral and focuses on the physical renovation of housing and infrastructure. Multi sectoral programs are not part of a national program or widespread effort but are experimental showcase on load initiatives at a few select sites. National comprehensive approaches linking together social, educational, economic, cultural, and citizen empowerment policies are rare.

In other countries, national policies ensure a multi-sectoral approach though particular programs are packaged locally and vary in degree of comprehensiveness.

In other countries, such as Canada, the national framework is multi sectoral, with the degree of comprehensiveness varying among cities and programs. In the USA, national comprehensive programs emphasises social services and economic development in the past.

The dominance of physical improvement programs is enigmatic where, neighbourhood regeneration requires a co-ordinated social, economic, educational, and physically inadequate and the economy is struggling. In these countries, scarce resources are not devoted to luxury items as community development, social interaction, and local cultural activities (Alterman, 1995:757)

2.6.2 Population Relocation and Stabilisation.

Some countries are unconcerned with whether regeneration caused demographic change, the focus is on the housing stock more than on the residents. In the USA and in European countries, the negative lessons learned from regeneration about the dislocation of residents led to policy makers in the 1980s to attempt to maintain the social fabric of the neighbourhood. However, some countries rejected population turnover as a main goal, but do have ancillary socio-demographic aims that involve some displacement. Other countries limit the entry of large families into declining neighbourhoods, thereby improving or maintaining its socio-demographic composition (Priemus, 1991). In some other countries, like Sweden, the policy is to move problem families out of the neighbourhood temporarily or permanently. Carlen and Cars (1991) note that this policy does not constitute a desirable outcome, because evicted household simply relocate in neighbouring housing areas, displacing the problem rather than solving it.

2.6.3 Levels of Government

Neighbourhood regeneration programs rely on central government to some extent. Differences can be the stage at which central government turns over the responsibility for implementation to local authorities and the degree of control that remains at the central level. However, in most countries, central government involvement has become less direct; in others, it is still paramount. Although the form taken by local government differs from one country to another - as does its relationship with higher levels of government and specialised agencies, and the division of resources and responsibility among them - it remains the level of government from which the cheapest, most effective public initiatives to tackle problems can be launched.

City or municipal authorities have legal and institutional responsibility for the planning and maintenance of the urban area under their jurisdiction and for ensuring that those living there are provided with services and facilities: water, sanitation, disposal of solid wastes, electricity, drainage, paved roads and pathways, etc. They are responsible for providing schools, hospitals, health care centres, and so on. They are entrusted with the control of new residential development, ensuring, for instance, that the buildings meet safety standards. Local government are best

equipped to assess and understand local needs and mobilise local resources to deal with such needs (WHO, 1988).

A lack of resources is forcing local authorities either to cut down on the provision (or maintenance) of services. One cost effective approach for government action is an alliance between local government and neighbourhood organisations. Williams (1991) notes that the major role that local governments played in housing and neighbourhood regeneration in the past has been reduced in favour of privatisation. In some countries, various incentives, such as improved subsidies and loans, have been provided by central government to encourage private owners and renters to improve their dwellings. In other countries, the responsibility for determining the goals, structure, and financing of the neighbourhood project remains with central government. In countries such as Israel, even though the regeneration project is initiated and orchestrated by central , that program becomes a model for demonstrating how a nationally budgeted and co-ordinated program can allow a large degree of local determination (Alterman, 1988). However, other countries show a more direct central control over regeneration projects.

In many countries, control and administration are dispersed. Hallett and Williams (1988) note that a German experience shows that the states and municipalities have a large degree of autonomy in residential policy making. Incentives such as subsidies, rebates and tax breaks are employed by the state governments to encourage privately owned housing companies to undertake renovation projects. In some countries, such as Canada, provinces have control over the actual planning and implementation (Carter, 1991). Carter (1991) notes that most countries such as the USA have shown an instance where the involvement of state government in housing and neighbourhood issues has declined.

2.6.4 Scale of Program

Most regeneration programs (i.e. comprehensiveness) are relatively large. However, the scale is determined by population size. A program undergoes a process of gradual transformation in response to the challenge of immigrant absorption and expansion into communities. Alterman (1991) points out that comprehensive programs require a co-ordinated effort of agencies not accustomed to working together, these programs depend on a form of institutionalisation to mandate or facilitate multi agency co-ordination, budget sharing, and joint oversight of field personnel. In many countries, comprehensive programs have national status and are large in scale. Unisectoral, mainly physical regeneration programs in some countries also cover a large number of neighbourhoods, but in other countries, such programs may be small in scale because they do not require organisation on the national level.

2.6.5 Community Participation

Some writers link the success of regeneration to community participation but many writers hardly mention public participation. This may reflect the fact that participation

is well institutionalised in western countries, and does not need a boost from neighbourhood regeneration programs (Alterman, 1995). Yet, in view of the large number of immigrants in many neighbourhoods, one is left to wonder about the role of public participation as an empowerment mechanism. Public participation is a major feature of several programs (Kaplan, 1991).

However, community participation is by no means as yet an inalienable norm of public policy in Western countries. In other countries, where government administration modes are usually non participatory, public participation has been explicit goal. They encourage the formation of co-operative groups of community representatives and local authorities to administer local programs. However, community participation is an innovation and becomes an important precedent for public policies (Alterman, 1991). Furthermore, consultation is an important element of the regeneration process.

2.7 Urban Design and the Image of an Area

Urban design is a process of responding to decisions about the location and physical manifestations of investment in the built environment. According to Lynch (1959), perceptions of the area as a physical entity are conditioned by and interpreted through the existence of paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks (in Couch, 1990). Paths are those channels the observer moves as elements of their image. People observe the area while moving through it, and along these paths, how the environmental elements are arranged. The edges are the linear elements that do not appear as paths to the observer. They are boundaries between two phases or linear breaks in continuity, for instance, edges of development.

Districts are sections of the area conceived of having a two dimensional extent, which the observer enters and is recognisable. It is an area within an area which is identifiable as sharing certain similar characteristics. Nodes are strategic points or spots in an area into which the observer enters and acts as foci of his or her travelling in the are, for instance, nodes may be junctions, places of transportation breaks, convergence of paths, moments of shifts between structures and so on. They may be concentrations, condensation of uses or certain physical characteristics. Landmarks are points of reference not entered by the observer. It is an identifiable element. It may be distant but seen from all angles or locally visible in restricted localities. The size of landmarks is not important. They may include a statue, a corner building or even a tree.

People need paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks in order to identify with their area. There are other important ways in which peoples visual reaction to the built environment is stimulated. Cullen (1961) refers to three concepts which include ☺serial vision, the idea of place and the content of places (in Couch, 1990:117). Certain local authorities improve the quality of building design and townscape awareness through design guidance and development control. They emphasise the physical and visual criteria in order to create responsive environments. However, what is important is that people should understand the physical structure of their

area, to find their way around, to get to know and enjoy the area. Any regeneration decisions that removes such principles is doing disservice to the community making it more difficult for people to relate to the area and increasing their alienation from it. Decisions increasing legibility of an area increases peoples understanding, appreciated and enjoyment of the are as a physical entity.

2.8 Overview and Conclusion

It is clear from the above discussion that the aim of residential regeneration is to energise and revitalise the built environment by injecting into it such elements as are necessary for its proper functioning. It is not just 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. Hence, the process involves a chain of interconnected efforts, making appropriate and balanced provision of the rehabilitation of people and other activities. The term regeneration is taken to mean a process which makes people in general better off by increasing their command over goods and services and by increasing the choices open to them. Accordingly, it is important that any regeneration effort be of a nature which generates opportunities for positive participation.

McConnachie and McGregor (1995) notes that the success of a regeneration process can be viewed in terms of the success of whether there has been investment in the quality of housing, the environment or training and employment opportunities generated, whether local residents are involved in the process and raises peoples economic prospects. In effect, the key elements are to give people the capacity to earn incomes to maintain their homes and their immediate environments and to provide a renewed housing stock and improve public and private services which will make them to remain in the area. Any one element that is left places the process in threat (Fordham, 1995).

McConnachie and McGregor (1995) argue that regeneration programmes go through a series of stages. They begin with physical rehabilitation. This includes refurbishment of housing, upgrading of the environment and so on. It then moves on to create training programmes linked either to the wider labour market or to the investment in the physical renewal of the area. And eventually, it begins to consider the need to build strategies for the education of people prior to labour market entry. In these processes the most important issue is to engage the private sector as a co-investor in the regeneration of the area. Residential regeneration, in many countries, has been successful due to their objectives which attempt to co-ordinate and encourage investment from constituent members, for instance, the city council: to improve the image of the area and enhance inward investment; to stimulate non-local organisation; to create a political and institutional climate and restructuring the areas economy (Lawless, 1994:1304).

3.1 Introduction

Clairwood has been identified here as a locality or 'place' where the status of the social environment is product of the interaction between individual and group capacities and macro-scale social structures (i.e. economic, political and cultural) in this specific location. It is in this specific location, where a resident community lies adjacent to industries, that the people living in this community experiences severe problems which impact on their quality of life. It is these experiences that this area as a result of historical factors that have been brought to bear in a specific way in this place of Clairwood.

3.2 Historical Background

The history of Clairwood is a history of intervention by the Durban Town Council (DTC) and later the Durban City Council (DCC) to create an industrial zone. The goal was to transform a 'disorderly' living space to an 'orderly' racially segregated and industrially efficient space (Scott, 1992). Removals of Indian families from Clairwood south to Merebank were enabled via Group Areas legislation and the funding of the large scale Indian townships (i.e. Chatsworth) as destinations for those removed. In these cases, where the DCC owned land, the eviction of tenants who had established shacks on this land, was a relatively easy process since the resistance to removals was virtually non-existent (Scott and Risdale, 1997).

The major problem was funding alternative accommodation for the displaced populations. In those cases where infrastructural developments necessitated the expropriation of privately owned Indian land, resistance was much more vociferous and the actions of the DCC challenged through the media, resistance campaigns and the courts (Bagwandeem, 1983).

It is this legacy that needs to be addressed in any future plans for the region. Clairwood, a formerly Indian area with land invasions of informal settlements onto vacant sites, is highly degraded due to many decades of attempted industrialisation by the DCC. A Structure Plan is in place to upgrade the area (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). Clairwood is the product of segregatory policies of the DTC in the pre-apartheid era spatial planning. It is a low income housing area located adjacent to industry and experiencing problems like pollution. There is a legacy of bitterness about the spatial arrangement of living environment (Scott and Risdale, 1997).

3.3 Decline and Decay

The process of deterioration of civic life in Clairwood is reflected in the process of an attempted transition of the area from being residential to being industrial. This is a process which can be seen in any area with an intermingling of incompatible landuses. It is true that a general deterioration generally takes place. The well-off section moves out of the area and only those remain, who have a strong economic or cultural bond with it or those who come to live elsewhere or in other areas. This leads to further decline in the civic amenities. The problems of the decay of Clairwood, will have viewed this process.

The recovery of the area has been slow and has not come back to 'normal'. The existence of undeveloped sites has resulted in a further decline of living conditions in the area. The area today is a picture of physical obsolescence. In fact, the extent of decay is so acute and obvious that 'no' statistical data is required to prove it. One only has to walk down the streets of the area to get the available data that would confirm what is obviously visible to any visitor to the area.

The space that is vacant is used for dumping of waste or squatter invasion. Alterations made in the structures to suite certain needs are most of the time in contravention of the municipal building by laws (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). Clairwood is gradually moving towards a state where it may be beyond redemption. This is the impression one gets while visiting the area. Its problems, its woes, its suffering are multi-fold. There is an all round deterioration in all aspects of its civic life. That it needs drastic measures and careful surgery to cure it of its ailments would be stating the obvious.

3.4 Social Demography

3.4.1 Population and Population Density

The table below illustrates the area in square kilometres, as well as the total populations for 1991 and 1995, and population density, of the area. According to Lilleby (1995), 6% of the lots in Clairwood are medium density, 1% high density and 93% low density.

Table 1: Total Population and Density (1991 and 1995)

Area Square Kilometres	1991 Total Population	1991 Population Density	1995 Total Population
153	3798	25	4198

Clairwood shows an increase in population over the years (confirmed by Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997).

3.4.2 Racial Structure

Since the legacy of apartheid still exists, it is useful to differentiate the population by race. Due to the systematic underdevelopment of the Black populations, it is an area where these people live that exhibit lower levels of quality of life (Scott and Risdale, 1997). It is apparent that a degree of mixing of races is occurring and since the removal of the Group Areas in 1991, the process of integration is continuing.

Table 2: Racial Structure of the Population

Race	Number	Percentage
White	15	0.4%
Coloured	319	8.4%
Indian	3069	80.8%
African	395	10.4%
TOTAL	3798	100%

(Source: 1991 Census)

The Indian population appears to constitute the largest population grouping (80.8% - 3069). The Coloured population is the smallest population group in the area. The following table depicts the population in the formal and informal categories.

Table 3: Formal and Informal Population Statistics

Total Population	Formal Population	Informal Population
4198	3512	685

(Population figures based on 1995 Urban Strategy Statistics, pers. com. D. Scott).

There appears to be more females than males with females making up 52% of the total population and males 48%.

Table 4: Gender Structure

Total Population	Males (%)	Females (%)
4198	1841 (48)	1957 (52)

(Source: 1991 Census)

3.4.3 Age Structure

Of the total population, 62% is in the 18-64 year old bracket, followed by 11% in the under 6 age group, followed by 23% in the 6 to 17 age group, and finally 4% in the 65 to 99 age group.

3.4.4 Levels of Literacy

Literacy is defined here as functional literacy which means that a person passed the grade 7 examination (i.e. standard five)(Krige et al, 1995). detailed literacy data (i.e. the percentage of literate persons as a percentage of the total adults) are not available.

In Clairwood, there has been a history of Indian community schools from the early 20th century where education has been prioritised (Scott, 1995). The main schools (i.e. two primary schools and a high school) - these the Durban South Girls' Primary Schools, the Clairwood Boys' Primary School and the Clairwood High School in the south of the study area. The residents were responsible for building many of the communal facilities and institutions (Lilleby, 1995). The Clairwood Boys School was built in 1903 by the school children appear to walk between school and home. Only the smaller *Madrassa* (i.e. state funded school) is located within the residential area, in Shabally Road.

However, in Clairwood, there are small pockets of informal settlements. It is then assumed that literacy levels are low. Literacy levels are key indicators of a populations' ability to access jobs and income, to engage in a wider forum of negotiation regarding the impacts of industry, and to fulfil cultural and social needs. It is therefore strategic to define the community where literacy levels are the lowest, and where poverty, low incomes and other disabilities are likely to occur as a result. It is this community which is likely to be at risk as it is likely to be able to respond to problems that further degrade its environment. The quality of school buildings and the provision of services to schools makes all the schools in Clairwood to be in good or excellent condition, as they are.

3.4.5.1 Income and Employment

Income and employment data can reveal the status of people living therein. Perhaps this might be an indicator of the growing decay in the area.

Table 5: Economically Active People

Population Economically Active	%	Population not Economically Active	%
1555	41%	2243	59%

(Source: 1991 Census)

The area has a large percentage of people who are not economically active.

3.4.5.2 Dependency Ratio

The dependency ratio is the number of economically active people in relation to those not employed (i.e. children, old people and the disabled)(Scott and Risdale, 1997). The dependency rate can therefore be defined as the number of people supported by a single member of the labour force, excluding him or her (SAIRR, 1994a). Clairwood displays a high ratio (1.442) where large numbers of household members are dependent on fewer salaries.

Table 6: Per Capita Income and Dependency Ratio

Per Capita Income (rand p.a.)	Dependency Ratio
4492	1.442

(Source: 1991 Census Data) pers. com. Scott and Risdale(1997)

3.4.5.3 Occupations

The major occupations in the area are as follows (in broad categories) are: professional, managerial, clerical, transport, service, farming, artisan and production). Scott and Risdale (1997) indicate that the occupations in Clairwood are largely in the production, clerical and service categories which are unskilled and semi skilled jobs with lower levels of remuneration. The majority of workers from the African community work in production, the Indian and Coloured workers are of the service and clerical sectors. There is a concern that jobs in the area be reserved for workers from the local community (based on an informal conversation with a resident). However, 40% of the people work within the area itself and this indicates a strong link between place of work and place of residence for people living the area (Lilleby, 1995). The Durban South Career Centre (not located in Clairwood) provides career training and skills training. However, this facility is not fully utilised. Having to pass through different gang territories to reach the centre is a barrier to its use (ibid.).

3.5 Built Environment

3.5.1 Land Uses

There is a wide variety and diversity of land uses within the residential area (see figure 3: land use map and table 7). The Clairwood area as a whole is a natural focus for industrial and 'non - people' economic activities. The land use map indicates that there are retail/commercial based activities, wholesale/distributitional activities, light industrial/manufacturing and mixed uses. There are a number of shops and general retail outlets which are mixed with residential usage.



-  Low Density Residential
-  Medium Density Residential
-  Informal Residential
-  Mixed Uses
-  Commerce Based Activities
-  Offices/Bulk Activities
-  Light Industrial
-  Education
-  Religious
-  Transport Related Uses
-  Open Space
-  Municipal Land/Building
-  Infrastructure
-  Vacant Site

Figure 3

LAND USES

Table 9: Distribution of Sites

Land Use Category	Number of Sites	%
Light Manufacturing	50.5	12
Bulk	26.2	6
Retail	42.0	10
Vacant	86.0	20
Open Space	3.0	1
Low Density - Residential	150	35
Medium Density - Residential	9.0	2
Mixed Use	56.0	13
Other	6.0	1
TOTAL	429.0	100

(Source: Lilleby, 1995)

3.5.1.1 Retail Activities

Clairwood represents a rich, diverse mix of formal and informal retail activities (see table 10 below). These include small clothing factories and motor spares (new and used) dealers. Ownership is predominantly of the Indian community.

Table 10: Business Types in 1993

Business Type	%
Motor Trade	43
Commerce	24
Building Trade	11
Clothing	6
Industry	4
Other	13
TOTAL	100

(Source: Lilleby, 1995)

According to Lilleby (1995), where retail land uses have occurred, there have been no problems. When the land uses which are placed amongst the residences are of an industrial nature, then problems are created. High levels of noise and traffic are generated. The traffic consists mainly of heavy vehicles which jeopardises the residential amenity and safety of the area. Most of the land uses are of light and service industrial nature. The retail and service activities include panel beaters, sales of parts, repairs, scrap yards and generally disruptive activities which involve heavy traffic. The community, however, enjoys a coherent whole and higher level of service within their area. The residents shop in the area because there are relatively cheap goods and it is convenient. The zoning in the area has had an influence on the dynamics within the area itself (see figure 4: Zoning).

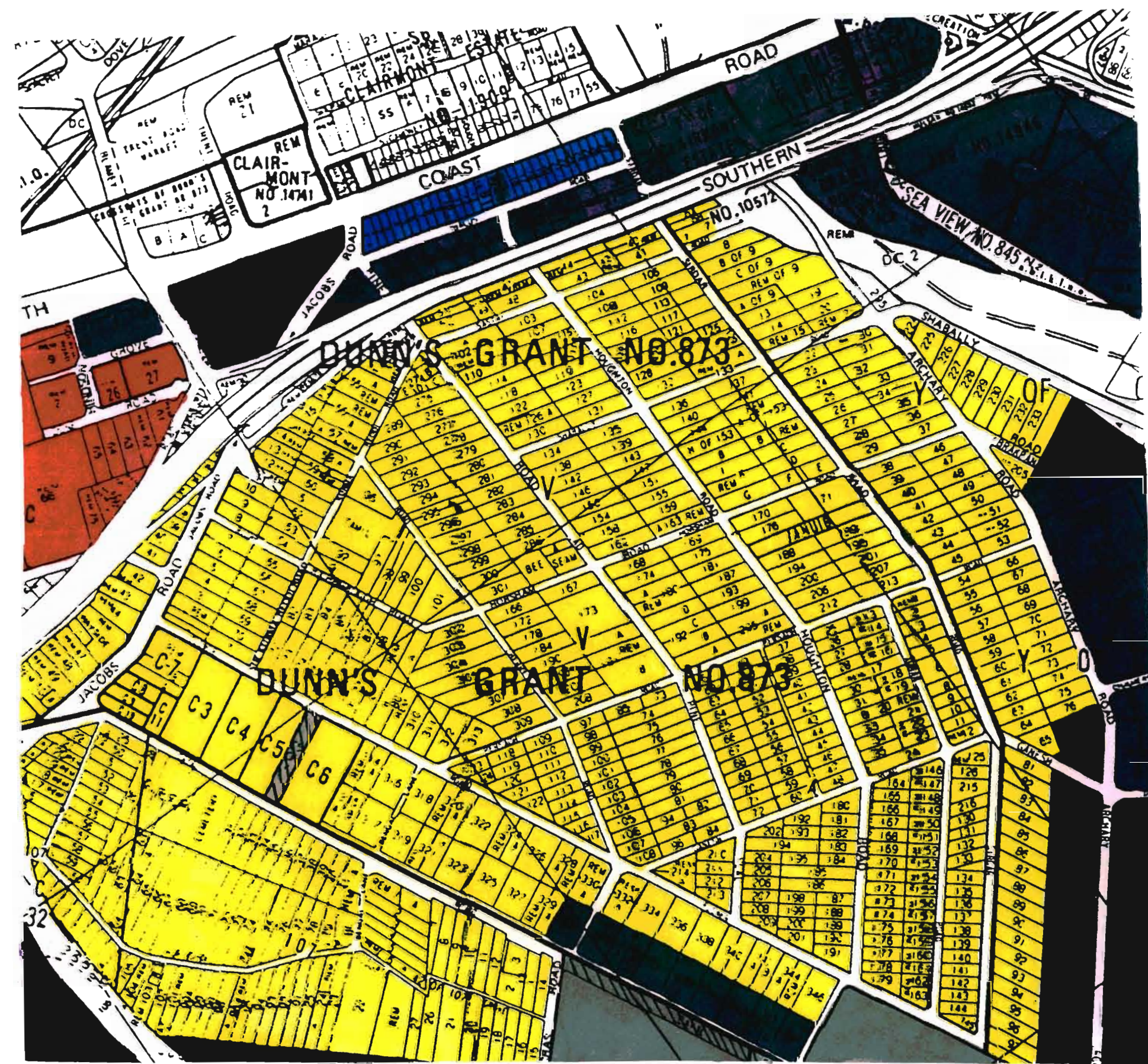


Figure 4

3.5.1.2 Housing

An important indicator of the decay of an area is the condition of its housing. The total structures of the area are in a poor condition and had outlived their utility, although some are in a fair condition, they need improvement to make them serve a little longer. Some houses have deteriorated while others have either been repaired by the owners, or altered to suit other requirements. But many of them continue in their dilapidated condition or have deteriorated further. Of the total housing in the area, 79% is formal housing with some backyard informal dwellings, whilst 21% is informal dwellings displaying infill and backyard informal dwellings. There has been an intrusion of pockets of informal structures.

Table 11: Dwelling Types

Total Number of Dwellings	Number of Formal Dwellings	Number of Informal Dwellings
1007	799	20

(Source: Urban Strategy, 1995)

The informal dwellings, in the absence of access to services such as water, electricity and refuse removal, will have major implications for the area in future.

Table 12: Population Residing in Dwelling Types

Total Population	Population in Formal Dwellings	Population in Informal Dwellings
4198	3512	685

(Source: Scott and Risdale, 1997)

It appears as if there is not such a 'housing crisis' in the area. However, housing is poorly constructed and inadequately serviced. The informal dwellings are also in dire need of upgrading and servicing. Large investments need to be made in order to improve the quality of the living environment. The density is approximately 30 people per hectare. The majority of the residential units are single dwellings. The 'higher' densities consist of a few simplex developments and two storey block of flats. The density is further lowered by the high number of vacant sites in the area (refer to table 9). The squatter settlements provide small agglomeration of higher densities, but these do not influence density patterns (Lilleby, 1995). However, a number of new houses have been developed recently (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997 and Ishwar Maharaj, 3/4/1997).

3.5.1.3 Services

The Strategic Environmental Assessment (1997) report details the volumes of domestic waste generated by the residential area and concludes that there is inadequate service to dispose of these wastes efficiently. The inability of the

community to pay for waste disposal provides a further problem and there is a lack of local disposal sites (i.e. solid waste in the form of litter and illegal dumping on industrial waste). General waste collection and transportation services are provided by Durban Solid Waste, on a weekly basis.

Table 13; Volumes of General Waste Produced

Volume of Waste Produced (m3/annum)			Mass of Waste Produced (kg/annum)		
Formal Sector	Informal Sector	TOTAL	Formal Sector	Informal Sector	TOTAL
2835	137	2972	0.6E+6	0.3E+5	0.6E+6

(Source: SEA, 1997)

Table 13 depicts the volumes of general waste produced by the formal and informal sector in the area. Disposal of domestic waste presents a major problem. Vacant sites are under severe pressure as they currently accommodate much of the domestic and low hazardous waste generated by industry. The effect is that waste management practices in Clairwood are not sustainable which will present major obstacles for future development.

3.5.1.4 Roads

There is not much traffic within the area - most of the movement seems to occur on foot. The design of the streets themselves would not normally encourage pedestrian activity. Very few roads have adequate pavements - only Pine, Houghton and Sirdar Roads have proper pavements. The pavements that exist are generally overgrown and in a very poor condition. The problem is with the heavy vehicles which often make full use of the road and the pavements when turning a corner. The pavements also provide additional parking space for business activities. However, there is more heavy traffic than would be the case in a residential district.

3.5.1.5 Other Land Uses

Of the total sites in the area, 20% are vacant. Religious facilities, education or other uses occupy 1%. There is a relatively low percentage of purely residential uses in the area itself. The mixture of activities within the area is not compatible with residential land uses as they generate problems such as traffic, noise and pollution (see table 14 below). Furthermore, there has been a major influx of squatters into the area recently. Unfortunately, in the absence of data on the scale of informal settlements in the area, an objective analysis is difficult to attempt, but has actually increased (based on the researchers interview with residents). The squatter settlements are concentrated in three areas. The Cherry Road settlement is the largest consisting of at least four sites and having a relatively high density of dwelling units. The Ganesh Road settlement is smaller

<i>Land-Use Category</i>	<i>Lots Immediately Adjacent to the Spine</i>		<i>Lots on One Block on either Side of the Spine</i>		<i>Lots Within Residential Area</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Light Manufacturing	5.5	8%	21	18%	89.5	16%
Bulk	0.0	0%	0	0%	27.5	5%
Retail	33.5	46%	51.5	44%	93.5	16%
SUB-TOTAL-Economic	39	54%	72.5	62%	210.5	37%
#Vacant	3.0	4%	3.0	3%	92.0	16%
Open Space	0.0	0%	1.0	1%	4.0	1%
Residential	0.0	0%	1.0	1%	160.0	28%
Other	4.0	5%	9.0	8%	19	3%
Mixed	27.0	37%	31.0	26%	87	15%
TOTAL	73.0	100%	117.5	100%	572.0	100%

(Source, Lilleby, 1995)

Table 14: Land use Categories for Sites in Clairwood

as it only consists of three sites. One of these sites has a derelict house existing on it which appears to provide water to the shacks on the other two sites. It also serves as a shebeen. The settlement on the corner of Flower and Sir Kurma Reddi Roads only consists of two sites and few dwellings. There are also temples located in the area. These include the Clairwood Tamil Institute in Sir Kurma Reddi which represents both a religious as well as a residential node. There is also a very small temple in the garden of one of the dwelling units in Richborough Road.

3.6 Conclusion

The Indian community makes up the majority of the population in Clairwood and have long standing connections with the area and with each other. Years of conflict with the DCC has led to a tightly bound community. Lilleby (1995) notes that this has been established by the political struggles that have also increased the level of security of the area. While the concentration of industries in an area is bad enough, the location of noxious and nuisance industries within the area makes life hazardous for its residents. All these industries operate from premises highly inadequate for their safe and efficient functioning.

However, Clairwood requires an infrastructure upgrade and the provision of services. The aged infrastructure and buildings in the area, create opportunities for residential regeneration strategies which could facilitate the upgrading of the area for a range of uses, as well as considerably improving the general aesthetics of the area. The DCC would need to take a proactive role in this regard, in partnership with landlords and industry in the area.

CHAPTER FOUR - PLANS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to review the plans for residential regeneration in Clairwood. The DCC was mandated with a task to plan for Clairwood in 1986, but the plans have not yet reached full, implementation (except for the development plan which attempted and fell short of funds). This section goes into the details of the plans and the planning process one by one. The plans were a result of the primary concern at the deteriorating conditions in the area.

Clairwood falls within that of the Town Planning Scheme area known as the "Remainder of the City" (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). This scheme area comprises those parts of the city for which specific town planning schemes have not as yet been prepared. The central part of Clairwood is currently zoned as Special Residential with a minimum plot size of 400 sqm, and is enclosed on three sides by a predominantly Noxious Industrial Zone (see figure 4: Zoning Map).

4.2 Background to Plans

For the past few decades, the area and community of Clairwood in Durban has been plagued by uncertainty over its status. Essentially the purpose of the plans was to examine the residential element of Clairwood with a view to determine its suitability for upgrading, taking into account the various physical and social constraints on development and the effect of the existing industrial activities in the area. The planning process took into account the views of residents and property owners and discussions were held with key interest groups, the CRRA and the Community Development Board being among them (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). Extensive research, according to MacKintosh (1997), was also undertaken into the physical and social aspects of the area. This all resulted in the advent of a report entitled the Clairwood socio-economic Survey dated April 1988.

Based on the above mentioned discussions and research a Concept Plan was approved in principle in May 1988 by the DCC with the requirements that:

- ⇒ the City Engineer liaise with key interest groups to ascertain their views on the broad principles contained in the Concept Plan, and
- ⇒ the City Engineer proceed to prepare a package of plans comprising a Structure Plan, Development Plan and a Town Planning Scheme (DCC, 28/07/1997)

In October 1988, the DCC having considered a report on all representations received, was satisfied that the Concept Plan was acceptable to the majority of property owners and residents, and that the various issues could be

addressed (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). It was thereupon resolved to prepared a Structure Plan for the redevelopment of Clairwood. In terms of the requirements of section 44 of the Town Planning Scheme Ordinance No. 27 of 1949, this resolution was submitted to the administrator and approved in February 1989 (DCC, 28/07/1997).

4.3 Structure Plan

In view of the extensive ground work undertaken in the preparation of the Structure Plan. Prior to its adoption by the DCC this plan was referred to as the "Clairwood Draft Structure Plan" (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). After the Draft Structure Plan was approved in principle by the Management Committee in October 1989 it was advertised in terms of the Town Planning Ordinance No. 27 of 1949 (DCC, 28/07/1997). The plan itself was widely publicised (Ishwar Maharaj, 03/04/1997). All property owners and residents were notified. Copies of the report were made available to the public and a display of the proposals was exhibited at the City Engineer's Department. Further, a public meeting was held in Clairwood to present the plan to residents and property owners, in order to give them the opportunity to discuss the proposals with representatives of the department.

In response to the advertisement 36 representations were received. Once these had been addressed, an Objection Report was submitted and considered by the Management Committee who re-affirmed its approval in principal for the Clairwood Draft Structure Plan. On the 14 January 1991, the Administrator approved the plan subject to certain conditions relating to the Dayal - Flower Roads link, the preparation of a Development Plan, and to the reviewing of the Town Planning Scheme pertaining to the Structure Plan area. Finally, on the 18 March 1991, the DCC adopted the Draft Structure Plan, now referred to as the Clairwood Structure Plan.

4.4 Town Planning Scheme

At the adoption of the Clairwood Structure Plan, the DCC recommended that the Town Planning Scheme pertaining to the Structure Plan area be reviewed and, as and where necessary, it be amended in order to bring it into conformity with the objectives of the Structure Plan. According to the DCC (28/07/1997) the principle objectives of the review were:

- ⇒ to assess each of the land use elements identified in the Structure Plan in terms of their existing development potential and analyse the development that has taken place in terms of the existing scheme
- ⇒ to propose suitable amendments to the scheme and the existing Town Planning Controls, based on the investigations undertaken and the broad policies outlined in the Structure Plan report in order to bring into line the Structure Plan map
- ⇒ to identify issues or opportunities that require action and to recommend appropriate action where necessary

The boundary of the proposed scheme review remain roughly unaltered to that of the Structure Plan, except for a marginal adjustment to the Edwin Swales VC Drive boundary, which was considered necessary to rationalise zoning amendments. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, Clairwood is at present under the "Remainder of the City" in terms of the Durban Town Planning Scheme. The zoning applicable to Clairwood is of a "blanket" type which does not distinguish the level of detail shown by the conventional zoning of the more recent scheme areas. Currently, the majority of the Clairwood area is zoned for residential purposes with a minimum plot size of 400 sqm (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). The residential zone is enclosed on three sides by Noxious and general Industrial zones (see figure 4: Zoning Map). It is proposed that the following new zones be incorporated in the forthcoming Town Planning scheme.

4.4.1 Mixed Residential

The policy of the Clairwood Structure Plan stated that the existing residential area should retain its architectural heritage, although it was important to achieve a more intensive type of development in the form of low rise medium density type of zoning that is flexible with regard to form and layout so as to encourage residential development. However, although a higher density per site should be allowed, it should not exceed a maximum potential density of 50 units per hectare or one dwelling unit for every 200 sqm. The existing Special Residential zoning was therefore used as a guide in order to accommodate this basic policy (DCC, 28/07/1997). The objectives of this proposed zone are:

- ⇒ to allow flexibility with regard to form and layout of residential development
- ⇒ to make provision for a higher density form of development, like this, maximum of one dwelling unit per 200 sqm being permitted to accommodate the need for housing in the Durban area
- ⇒ to retain the relatively low rise character prominent in the area
- ⇒ to reserve the area for residential uses while making provision for a number of residentially compatible uses to be allowed by Special Consent
- ⇒ to introduce a zone that may be successfully implemented in other parts of the City where required

In terms of the proposed residential densities, the projected population for Clairwood would be approximately 9000 persons which is more than double the existing residential population.

4.4.2 Business Interface Zone

This proposed new zone is an existing city wide Interface Zone to Clairwood needs. The purpose of this control is to minimise impact between incompatible uses by residential and industrial nodes, where more sensitive control of non-residential uses can be exercised. It is proposed that this interface will be situated on three sides of the residential component where

industry predominates. After consideration and scrutiny of the varied interface areas proposed in the Structure Plan, it is intended to introduce a new control which will be in the form of a conventional Town Planning zone and will be known as a Business Interface Zone. This zone, which will be in conformity to the Structure Plan, will incorporate a number of standards and conditions that area found in the current controlled interface regulations that at the same time permitting a mixture of landuses that may be permitted in other zones. It will however ensure that the uses permitted are not in conflict with the residential core (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). The Noxious Industrial Zone therefore be replaced by a General Zone. (see Figure 4: Zoning Map).

4.4.3 Controlled Interface

In addition to the above Business Interface Zone a variation of the aforementioned Controlled Interface area will be applied to the more sensitive portions of the area set down as interface on the Structure Plan. The prohibition of shops in existing controlled interface areas will be relaxed in the Clairwood District of the town planning scheme. The proposed area will be known as "Controlled Interface (Clairwood)". The balance of the area is made up of existing zones which are:

4.4.3.1 Education 1

In an assessment of educational requirements for Clairwood based on the projected population of 9000 persons, with an anticipated school-going population of 2200 pupils it was adjudged that two primary schools would be required to satisfy the educational needs of the community. In consultation with the Department of Education and Culture (DEC), it was felt that this requirement was best suited by the provision of a "super-school", a combination of the two required primary schools. As the proposed school is located adjacent to the proposed sports facilities, the area necessary for such a school could be reduced from approximately 5-7 hectares to 3 hectares. The existing secondary school, which comprises normal academic educational facilities as well as specialised technical training facilities, will be able to accommodate the increased number of secondary school pupils. (DCC, 28/07/1997).

4.4.3.2 General and Light Industrial

Apart from 4700m² of land reclaimed from the recent canalisation of the Umhlatuzana river, the majority of the areas proposed for an industrial zone is that where industry is already in existence. Although most of these industrial areas are currently zoned for Noxious Industrial purposes, the proximity of such a zone to residential node is not desirable. A closer inspection of these areas has revealed that even though many of these properties are irreversibly committed to an industrial use, the majority of developments are of a General Industrial nature and in principle are not considered to be noxious activities (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). The

Noxious Industrial Zone therefore be replaced by a General Zone (see Figure 4: Zoning Map)..

Where a land-use type was considered too commercially advanced for an interface area a Light Industrial Zone was deemed to be appropriate. The existing industries in the Clairwood are which do not conform to the uses permitted in a Light Industrial Zone will remain as non-conforming with "existing user" status. In this manner a better control can be obtained over future development there by offering nearby residential properties greater from intrusion by these industrial uses.

4.4.3.3 Public Open Space Reservation

An adequate provision of functional recreational space, comprising of active sports facilities and children's playgrounds has been provided for in the scheme (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). An active sports area lying in the southern portion of Clairwood has already, as part of residential regeneration, been levelled, grassed and fenced (Ishwar Maharaj, 03/04/1997). This area is capable of yielding four soccer fields and a number of smaller facilities. A clubhouse/change room is in the final stages of completion. Four play lots/kick about areas have been planned on vacant DCC land, three of which are complete. Table 13a and 13b shows the number of vacant sites owned by the DCC.

Table 13: DCC Owned Land: Proposed for Alienation

Within Residential Area (No. of Lots)	Within Structure Plan Boundary (i.e. Outside Residential Area) (No. of Lots)
29	33

(Source: Clairwood Structure Plan)

Table 14: Other DCC Owned Land: Not to be Alienated (i.e. May be Required for DCC Use)

Within Residential Area (No. of Lots)	Within Structure Plan Boundary (i.e. Outside Residential Area) (No. of Lots)
25	26

(Source: Clairwood Structure Plan)

Other vacant pieces of land have been identified as:

- DCC road areas: proposed for Deproclamation
- DCC road area: proposed for Deproclamation not to be alienated (i.e. proposed for DCC use)
- Private road areas: to be Deproclaimed
- Land required for future road proposals not to be alienated

DCC owned land not indicated for alienation will be re-examined on finalisation of the Clairwood Town Planning Scheme. It is proposed that most of the land north of the Amanzimnyama Canal will continue to be zoned for residential purposes.

4.4.3.4 Arterial (New Street Reservation)

The long term requirement for major east - west traffic route through Clairwood was clearly recognised in the Structure Plan. This proposed route will link and improve access to the Bayhead Harbour area, the Bulk Sales Market, the South Coast Road and Jacobs industrial areas and the Southern Freeway. The main impetus of this route will run along the Amanzimnyama Canal in the south and will be separated from the residential core by the school and sports facilities area. However, with this route linking Jacobs Road and the Southern Freeway it will affect a number of properties fronting onto the north - east side of Jacobs Road. "A closer assessment of the road requirements of this arterial reveal that approximately 70% of the properties are vacant and in DCC ownership. As some of the remaining properties are State owned it is considered that the impact on privately owned property and acquisition thereof is minimal. However, there are a number of people who claiming back their land, as part of land reform strategies, to redress past imbalances" (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997).

4.4.3.5 Government and Municipal Reservation

The Bulk Sales Market located in the area is to be proposed as Government and Municipal Reservation.

4.4.3.6 Cemetery

The two existing cemeteries will be set down as Cemetery Zone. As is evident from the above, the proposed Clairwood Town Planning Scheme and Plan are in advanced stages of completion and are to be submitted shortly to the Town Planning, Transportation Planning and Environment Committee for approval in principal to proceed with the rezoning of the Clairwood area (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997).

4.5 The Development Plan

In addition to the Structure Plan and the proposed Clairwood Town Planning Scheme a Development Plan which completes the " package of plans" has been implemented (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997).

On the 1 July 1992, the Durban Functional Region (DFR) Account of the City Council approved R17 000 000 for the upgrading of Clairwood, which was subsequently increased to 18 700 000. An additional R300 000 was allocated through the Physical Environment Service Unit for the Clairwood Freeway Underpass (DCC, 28/07/1997). The work undertaken included the

realignment of and construction of Flower/Dayal Roads to reduce the movement of heavy traffic through the residential areas; the upgrading of residential roads; improvements to the stormwater system, including extensions to a major culvert and the provision of a detention pond (in the Dayal Road area) to limit any possible flooding; the provision of large sport fields with change room facilities and playlots, and the improvement to the pedestrian underpass under the Southern Freeway. Because of the engineering need to develop Flower/Dayal Roads and improve the stormwater drainage, not all the internal residential roads could be upgraded. Attempts to source a further R13 000 000 to complete the upgrading of the remaining roads via the Joint Services Board (JSB) and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) were unsuccessful.

4.6 Perspectives

The first major difficulty arose in ascertaining the character of the area. As explained earlier, an area built mainly as residential in character has been extensively intermingled with other land-uses. The industrialisation lobby grew in strength over the years. Its political linkages were very strong. This made it difficult to declare the area purely residential and shifting industry out. At the same time it was not easy to declare the area purely industrial because there was, and still is, a strong lobby of residents who would like to retain not only the residential but also the historical character of the area. The ambivalence in deciding the character is clearly visible among those who, as residents, would like Clairwood to be a quiet residential area that it had been, but as industries would also like their industry to continue there, probably a mixed character would be the answer.

Plans have failed to deal with the character of the area. The area is still characterised by vacant sites and an intermingling of incompatible land-uses. The plans failed in their objectives because the decisions about its character have not been taken at the highest level (i.e. enforcement). The pertinent fact, nevertheless is, that unless these knotty problems are untied, planning for reconstruction of Clairwood is likely to remain a riddle.

4.7 Overview

If the plans are running into trouble, then the dissatisfaction of the residents is, therefore, natural and genuine. No progress is made in the implementation of the Town Planning Scheme. The idea of reconstruction is, probably, not presented so systematically. The will to implement and enforce seems to be lacking probably because of limited aims of authorities and, the vacant site owners and their preferences and priorities are taken for granted.

The main considerations in evolving the Clairwood Town Planning Scheme proposals should include:

⇒ weeding out the industries from the residential neighbourhood

- ⇒ keeping the extent and position of the religious buildings as per the existing plan due to sentimental attachment of the people
- ⇒ rehabilitating the people within the scope of the scheme
- ⇒ providing necessary community facilities for the projected population
- ⇒ to ease the movement of heavy vehicular traffic and pedestrian movement
- ⇒ utilising as far as possible properties, vacant sites, land occupied by non-conforming uses and plots under poor structures for the provision of community facilities.

In sum, the recommended measures are:

- ⇒ shifting of noxious and hazardous industries and delimitation of non-residential activity
- ⇒ upgrading of physical and social infrastructure
- ⇒ public transportation, management, if necessary
- ⇒ conservation and restoration of historical buildings; and finally
- ⇒ revitalisation of the whole area.

However, the approval of the Structure Plan, the upgrading of the area in line with the Development Plan and the pending Town Planning Scheme has given rise to a new sense of confidence in Clairwood. Renovations to existing buildings and the development of new residential dwellings has commenced (Ishwar Maharaj, 03/04/1997). This along with the upgrading of much of the internal road structure and the laying of services has produced a vibrancy in an area that was once decaying due to uncertainty of the preceding years.

This vibrancy is however being threatened by the influx of illegal businesses and squatters into the development area, especially within the residential node (Ishwar Maharaj, 03/04/1997). The main perpetrators are those of the trucking and bussing industry. These heavy duty vehicles are not only being parked and serviced/repaired on sites set aside for residential development but are inflicting damage to the newly upgraded residential road system. Other unwanted uses are those of panel beating and the open storage of various products. While a number of prosecutions are in progress, this process is laborious and ponderous and is treated with a certain amount of contempt by the illegal operators. To the Clairwood residents, however, it appears that no action is being taken by the DCC, while it is also the cause of much frustration on the part of DCC officials working in the area (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997).

5.1 Introduction

Part of this study has been to conduct a residents perception survey amongst the following:

- a random selection of people in the area;
- a stratified sample of individual private vacant site owners (see appendix 3);
- an interview with a member concerned with Clairwood from the DCC
- and a member of the CRRA.

However, the main aim has been to assess the awareness of general issues and development prevalent in Clairwood. Part of this study, therefore, has been an investigation into various issues, for example, social, development and general issues.

5.2 Residents - Perception and Explanations

Morphological changes involved in residential regeneration make it imperative to ensure popular co-operation, which would be difficult to secure unless people's perception and planner's views of problems and solutions have common meeting ground. To study whether the regeneration of Clairwood has been a victim of this meeting ground, a cross section of the neighbourhood's residents were interviewed. The residents interviewed were either household heads or spouses of household heads. This section presents an analysis of their responses.

5.2.1 Answers

Has Clairwood Changed

The respondents were asked whether Clairwood had changed from the way they knew it. In its years of history, Clairwood has changed beyond recognition. Each stage in its history has brought about changes in the structure of the area, though its spirit has lived on. But the changes have affected its spirit as well. 100% of the respondents noted this point.

Most of the respondents look back nostalgically to the olden days when Clairwood had not lost its cultural flavour and fervour. When people (i.e. invaders) from outside did not come in such large numbers and pollute its atmosphere, both physical and cultural. These changes in the area are visible to all the residents. The changes, they feel, have crept into all aspects of the areas of life - social, political, economic, civic, cultural and morphological. They have witnessed the area gradually adapting itself to the new ways of life.

Some of the respondents felt that the existing communal harmony had given way to suspicion. The settlement of a growing number of squatters is keeping this suspicion alive. This has changed the character of the area, but so far Clairwood is essentially a residential area. Although other land-use activities catered essentially to the people of the area, they are certainly not the character of the area. New developments are being appreciated by the people. The consequent squatter invasion has also affected the law and order situation. There has been incidences of petty thefts, chain snatching, pick pocketing, and even robbery and murder has gone up.

Problems Existing in the Area

Respondents were asked problems that existed in the area.

Table 15: Problems existing in the Area

Problem	No. of Respondents	%
Squatter Problems	24	48
Cleaning of the Area	3	6
Housing Shortages	11	22
Lack of Security (i.e. Crime)	3	6
Employment	2	4
Pollution	1	2
Insecurity Regarding Tenure	6	12
TOTAL	50	100%

Squatter invasions is the most commonly chosen answer to this question. More than one in four respondents recorded it as a problem that existed in the area. The other issue that scored very highly was that of housing. Almost one in nine respondents noted it as a problem.

Important Issue That Need to be Addressed

Respondents were asked to hone down on the three issues that they considered to being most important to their community. Not suprisingly, the most commonly chosen issue was squatter invasions. The other issue was housing shortage. However, dumping waste, unemployment and refuse removal were listed as a first or second most important issue by almost three quarters of the respondents. Pollution and heavy traffic were the least most important issues. Crime, high rates, insect infestation (i.e. there is an existence of mosquitoes as a result of the dampness of the area) and the lack of recreation facilities were also perceived as unimportant issues (see table 16 below).

Table 16: Issues that need to be addressed

Issue	Number of Respondents		
	Issue No. 1(%)	Issue No. 2(%)	Issue No. 3(%)
Squatter Invasions	16(34)	16(32)	11(22)
Crime	3(6)	4(8)	6(12)
Unemployment	3(6)	2(4)	4(8)
Pollution	4(8)	1(2)	3(6)
Insect Infestation	0(0)	0(0)	1(2)
Housing Shortages	13(26)	14(28)	11(22)
High Rates	0(0)	0(0)	1(2)
Dumping Waste	5(10)	4(8)	3(6)
Refuse Removal	2(4)	3(6)	4(8)
Recreation	1(2)	2(4)	1(2)
Heavy Traffic	3(6)	4(8)	5(10)
TOTAL	50(100)	50(100)	50(100)

Confidence in Representatives and Authorities

Respondents were asked whom they would have most confidence in taking up these issues on their behalf. Responses varied across the area and the different issues identified.

Table 17: Confidence in Representatives and Authorities

Choice	%	No. of Respondents
Elected Representatives	8%	4
DCC Officials	16%	8
CRRA	22%	11
Volunteer Groups (i.e. Church, environmental etc.)	4%	2
*CHESS	12%	6
Women's Circle	6%	3
African National Congress	4%	2
No Organisation	28%	14
TOTAL	100%	50

*CHESS (Community Health and Social Services)

Almost 30% of those interviewed did not favour any organisation in Clairwood. The CRRA thus is the most popular organisation despite the fact that its support could be considered very low.

Level of Services

Respondents were asked to rate the level of services in the area.

Table 18: Level of Municipal Services

Level	No. of Respondents	%
Good	4	8%
Adequate	31	52%
Poor	15	40%
TOTAL	50	100%

The nature of the question was highly specific and therefore needed a direct response. Nevertheless this information gives us an indication of how people feel about the area.

Measure to Solve Problem in Respondents Capacity

If people have problems they must have perceived solutions to the problems. So, the respondents were asked what steps they would suggest to make the area a worthwhile place to live in. The responses showed that the respondents had a basic understanding of the problems of Clairwood. Some of them sounded idealistic by only suggesting that the area should be made beautiful, while some others expressed their incapability to suggest any measures.

They thought it was the job of the DCC and the planners to solve the problems. The important measure suggested was to put a check on the influx of squatters. Though most of them were not sure what steps should be taken to check them, some felt that they should be accommodated, while other wanted legal sanctions against such people. Some of the respondents were beyond the issue of squatter invasions and suggested some concrete measures to improve living conditions in Clairwood. The respondents also wanted sufficient checks on industries who turned vacant sites into pits by dumping their storage.

While a majority of the respondents were against mushrooming of shacks, most of them believed that they were 'here to stay'. Some of them, therefore, wanted the planners to take 'social' needs into account in preparing and executing any regeneration plan for the area. It is for this reason that some of the respondents insisted on involvement of people in the entire regeneration process.

There were some respondents who thought that if basic amenities were ensured, if proper measures were taken, if proper arrangements could be made, if the proliferation of informal housing was checked, the area would have no problems. No extra effort, therefore, according to them, was required

to improve living conditions in the area. Only strict administration and proper enforcement of the existing rules could solve the problems of Clairwood. A sizeable section of the respondents felt that the 'flavour' (i.e. historical character) should be retained, though many of them were not sure what flavour they were talking about. They did not suggest any specific measures but wanted the historical character of the area preserved.

Why Has it not Been Done

The respondents suggested measures to improve living conditions in Clairwood or to make Clairwood a worthwhile place to live in. Like this:

- improve effectiveness to enforce existing rules and ensure better management of neighbourhood affairs
- a well co-ordinated planning for regeneration

The respondents, it shows, had a fair idea of the problem. Therefore, they were asked why these measures, so easy to implement, had not been undertaken.

An overwhelming majority of the respondents felt that no development or improvement could take place in Clairwood, because the DCC is unable to implement plans properly. Some respondents felt that the DCC was not very serious about implementing the regeneration plans for reasons best known to them. Referring to bad maintenance of the area by the municipality, some people felt that it was because of the lethargy of the municipality who found it difficult to keep the area clean because may be they did not have sufficient staff.

Advantages of Living in the Area

The respondents were asked to list the advantages for residents for living in this particular community. Generally, good location is listed by respondents as the primary advantage for residing in the neighbourhood. Proximity to shops and schools were the next two most frequently cited issues. The respondents also refer to their neighbourhood and social environment as an important reason for residing in the neighbourhood. Access to transportation, which is often referred to as being an important reason for locating residents in an area, did not feature much amongst respondents in this study. See table 19 below.

Table 19: Advantages to Living in the Area

Advantage	%	No. of Respondents
Keep Cultural ID	4%	2
Beauty	2%	1
Quiet	2%	1
Low Crime Levels	2%	1
Good Location	38%	19
Close to Shops	22%	11
Good Public Transport	2%	1
Facilities	4%	2
Close to schools	22%	11
TOTAL	98%	49

Disadvantages of Living in the Area

Respondents were asked to list the disadvantages for residents who live in their community.

Table 20: Disadvantages to Living in the Area

Disadvantage	%	No. of Respondents
Pollution	16%	8
Litter	10%	5
Waste Dumping	16%	8
Crime	8%	4
Noise	10%	5
Informal Settlers	38%	19
No Entertainment	2%	1
TOTAL	100%	50

Generally, informal settlers was listed, by residents, as one of the main disadvantages for living in the area. Waste dumping and pollution were the next two disadvantages most frequently listed by residents.

Positive Aspects of the Social, Economic and Other Aspects

Respondents were asked to list what some of the positive aspects of their community's social, economic and other aspects are. It is pertinent to note that these sets of questions were very poorly answered. On average a fraction under half of all respondents did not offer a reply to first positive aspect whilst almost two thirds did not do so for the second positive aspect. It is usually the case that when presenting such data the 'don't know' responses should be eliminated and the balance of responses re-aggregated to reflect their correct proportions. It was, however, decided not to do this because the

new re-aggregated responses would have been significantly higher than at present, therefore misleading the reader. The following tables, illustrates their replies:

Table 21: Positive Aspects of the Social Environment

Positive Aspect	%	No. of Respondents
Strong Community	42%	21
Cultural Community	24%	12
Religion/Church	4%	2
Friendly	14%	7
Socially Quiet	6%	3
Sports Facilities	10%	5
TOTAL	100%	50

The above table shows that the perception of a strong community and the cultural identity of the community as being the two most important positive social aspects .

Table 22: Positive Aspect of the Economic Environment

Positive Aspect	%	No. of Respondents
Employment	41%	20
Cheap/Good Shops	36%	18
Near Industry	14%	7
Close to City	10%	5
TOTAL	100%	50

Access to employment opportunities was the most positive economic aspect to be listed. The latter listed is cheap/good shops as being the second most important economic aspect of their location.

Table 23: Other Positive Aspects in the Area

Other Positive Aspect	%	No. of Respondents
Flat Land	88%	44
TOTAL	88%	44

The fact that land was flat in Clairwood was perceived to be an advantage to the area.

Community effectiveness in Addressing Collective Issues

Respondents were then asked how the community could become more effective in terms of addressing collective issues of concern to all residents in the area (i.e. how they could best help development within their community). The most common response to this question was to join a community based organisation.

Table 24: Means of Development and Addressing Collective Issues

Answer	%	No. of Respondents
Join CBO	32%	16
Approach DCC	22%	11
Form Alliance With Other Communities	28%	14
Negotiate Social Compact With DCC and Industry	18%	9
TOTAL	100%	50

Just over two fifths of all respondents answered that to form an alliance between communities as a means to becoming more effective in terms of addressing collective issues of concern. Other residents differed from the rest in that they felt that it would be more effective to negotiate a social compact with the DCC and industry.

Uses for Open Spaces

Respondents were asked what they felt open spaces in the area should be used for. The following table illustrates their responses.

Table 25: Uses for Open Spaces

Use of Open Space	%	No. of Respondents
Housing	54%	27
Recreation	38%	19
Parks/Picnic Areas	6%	3
Conservation	2%	1
TOTAL	100%	50

The most frequent response to this question is that open spaces should be used for housing which was followed by recreation. Recreation usually meant leisure or swimming.

Land-uses to be Developed on the Vacant Sites

Respondents were asked to suggest land-uses that could be developed on the vacant sites. The following table illustrates their responses.

Table 26: Land-Uses on Vacant Sites

Land-Use	%	No. of Respondents
Housing	64%	32
Light Industries	18%	9
Employment Generation	10%	5
Sports/Recreation	2%	1
Conservation	2%	1
Shopping Purposes	4%	2
Don't Know	0%	0
TOTAL	100%	50

A large variety of responses were solicited but two dominated the list. They were that the land be used for housing or light industries. These responses were dominant for the area. Some other respondents gave a common response and suggested that of employment generation. The use of the vacant sites for sports and recreation, conservation and shopping purposes was also raised. Other residents recommended the use of these sites for market gardens.

Living in Clairwood and Reasons for Living in Area for the Length of Years Mentioned

Popular opinion carries the impression that the residents of Clairwood are not prepared to move out of the area. This impression is not entirely unfounded. There are a large number of people who would not like to move out of the area either because of emotional or economic reasons. But the other side of the coin has been almost completely ignored. There are an equal number of those who would not mind, moving out, if the alternative accommodation offered met their specifications. The respondents were asked the reasons of living in Clairwood the length for time they had mentioned.

Table 27: Years to Living in the Area

No. of Years	%	No. of Respondents
0-2 years	2%	1
2-5 years	4%	2
5-10 years	16%	8
10 and more	74%	37
Don't Know	4%	2
TOTAL	100%	50

Some of the respondents felt that the place had all the basic amenities of life. The place had a self-sufficient shopping area nearby. It was well-connected through public transport with other areas. Some of the respondents insisted that their places of work were nearby. In Clairwood, they pointed out since they did not have to go far for work, they were not dependent on public transport. They could just walk down to their place of work every morning. It saved them time, energy and money. Others were satisfied, apart from the daily necessities, the area is open, has schools for children and is inhabited by educated and cultured people.

The respondents expressed a number of reasons. Some gave economic reasons. Most of them had their business or jobs as well as their own houses within the area. Those who did not have their own business or house raised the reason that their income was small and they did not expect better occupations or cheaper houses outside. In Clairwood, the cost of living was not too high and they did not have to spend money on transportation. Besides, they felt that all the necessities of life were available in the area.

Apart from economic reasons, some of the respondents mentioned emotional grounds. Others said that they had stayed in the area for generations, they themselves had spent a major part of their lives there. Others said they enjoyed the social life in Clairwood. A number of respondents noted family ties while a number of respondents noted habit/history.

Will Clairwood Improve in the Near Future

The respondents were asked whether they believed that Clairwood would improve in the near future.

Table 28: Improvement in Clairwood

Answer	%	No. of Respondents
Yes	36%	18
No	46%	23
Don't Know	18%	9
TOTAL	100%	50

Some of the respondents very bluntly said that they did not think any improvement work was done in the area by the DCC. The area remained as dirty as it was. In fact, in their opinion, there had been deterioration rather than improvement. There were others who felt that apart from routine undertaken in the functions, no significant improvement work had been undertaken so far. Even the routine maintenance was not done properly or regularly. A number of respondents referred to laying of sewage as improvement works that have been undertaken. A despite major or minor improvement work, respondents have expressed dissatisfaction. They questioned the integrity and the intentions of the officials implementing the plans.

Awareness of Plans/Development Initiatives

Respondents were asked whether they are aware of any current initiatives to develop Clairwood.

Table 29: Awareness of Plans/Development Initiatives

Initiatives	% Awareness	No. of Respondents
SEA	6%	3
SDI	2%	1
Spatial Development Plan	2%	1
Development Plan	22%	11
Structure Plan	6%	3
Town Planning Scheme	4%	2
Don't Know	58%	29
TOTAL	100%	50

As illustrated, in the above table, there are many people who did not know much about any development initiatives. A minority of our respondents affirmed that they knew that plans had been drawn up from time to time to improve living conditions of the people in Clairwood. They were not aware of larger plans. Some of the respondents, however, referred to regular improvement and maintenance work as regeneration plans. They do not know part of the broader plan. But those who referred to it know the basic features of the plans.

The responses on the awareness on any part of the plans were mixed. The respondents showed rather limited knowledge and awareness in this respect. Some of them were vague in their responses. This is a good reflection of what people think about the DCC efforts and why they are not succeeding.

Issues for Residential Regeneration to Focus on

The respondents were asked which issues are important which residential regeneration should focus on. The table below illustrates their responses:

Table 30: Issues for Residential Regeneration to Focus on

Issue	%	No. of Respondents
Housing	64%	32
Cleaning the area	14%	7
Employment	14%	7
Pollution	8%	4
TOTAL	100%	50

Housing ranked highest amongst all respondents as the most important issue that the residential regeneration efforts should focus on.

Instruments to be Used in Residential Regeneration

The respondents were asked which were the best instruments that could be used for residential regeneration efforts.

Table 31: Instrument for Residential Regeneration

Instrument	%	No. of Respondents
Self-help Projects	4%	2
Research/Surveys	34%	17
Consult Community	10%	5
Communal Meetings	32%	16
Education	10%	5
Newspapers	10%	5
TOTAL	100%	50

As can be seen from the table, research/surveys was noted as the favoured instruments to elicit information from communities. Caution, however, should

prevail when considering this response for the methodology in collecting this information was a research survey therefore biasing response. Information transfer of development issues to community through meetings, or via the newspapers or other methods were noted. However, the majority of respondents favoured community meetings as a means to relate information.

Support for Relocation of Certain Activities

Respondents were then asked whether they supported the relocation of certain activities in the area.

Table 32: Support for Relocation of Certain Activities

Yes	No	Don't Know	TOTAL	No. of Respondents
56%	26%	18%	100%	50

Those who said yes, supported the relocation of industries. The support for certain activities remain exceeded that for it being relocated. Residents were not aware of future plans for business development in the area, and their discontent was manifest in strong objections against them 'moving' in.

Support/Oppose Plans to Develop Area

The respondents were asked whether they supported or opposed any plans to develop the area. All (100%) of the residents interviewed supported plans to revitalise the area.

Are People Happy with Clairwood

I asked the respondents whether they were happy that Clairwood is what it is. It proved a good barometer to judge their reaction. A majority of them replied in the negative (63%). But some others gave a mixed kind of response (27%).

Respondents' Image of an Ideal Clairwood

The respondents' image of an ideal Clairwood correspond with their responses on the problems and its solutions. They looked at an ideal Clairwood only as an area free of the problems they had mentioned. The respondents reacted to the question 'ideally what would you like Clairwood to be like' at the level of the historical character and at level of civic problems. It was squatter invasions into the area that bothered them. They felt that it destroyed the culture of the area. Some respondents thought that squatter invasions had only accentuated the problems of the residents. So, in the ideal Clairwood that they perceived, they recommended the removal of these squatters. This they thought would also solve the housing problem to a great extent.

The residents thought that Clairwood was losing its historical character which, they forcefully argued, should be preserved along with the old

atmosphere. The respondents felt that the squatters destroyed its culture, and thought that the solution lay in checking them. New houses should be constructed like the old ones at the level of people's behaviour and architecture. The respondents who had earlier pointed out that Clairwood people still lend their shoulders even to unknown persons felt that this humane should be preserved. They also pleaded for preserving the vernacular architecture of Clairwood. Clairwood would lose its character. Some of the respondents who talked about the historical past of the area also complained about the utter negligence on the part of the CRRA. The respondents were equally vocal about cleanliness in the area.

To sum up, the Clairwood of the respondents dream should be clean with all the basic amenities, basically residential, free of shacks and as elegant and beautiful as it could be.

5.2.2 Overview and Conclusion

The immediate issue, therefore, according to the perceptions of the residents, was not just residential regeneration of the area, but of making it a worthwhile place to live in. Some development initiatives may have been undertaken to achieve this purpose, but they cannot be an end in themselves. Solutions to immediate problems are part of the larger problem, and the respondents were aware of this, but they could not really see why the DCC could not solve the problems which were part of their routine work. Cleaning the area or checking the proliferation of squatter invasions are problems, questioned the respondents, how is the DCC thinking of managing the complex task of residential regeneration.

This is a question which the DCC must answer before any attempt at residential regeneration continues. There is a strong suspicion towards DCC plans. It will be difficult to implement any plan unless this suspicion is removed. Most of the respondents were not against planned change. Some of their concerns also showed that there was something common about their problems. Most of them, for example, displayed concern about the growing squatters in the area, as well as the indifferent attitude of the DCC towards the problems of the area.

Clairwood is not a unified community with a single identity. This point was quite obviously demonstrated in the varied response to a number of issues that were raised with the community. The survey was ostensibly concerned with the perception of residential regeneration issues and efforts, and it could be said, that residents prioritised social which were secondary to economic and environmental issues. Housing and cleaning the area were also singled out as issues that needed to be addressed. With regards to open land-use options, opinions varied across different social and economic backgrounds. The preferred use of open space, however, was for housing. The protection of open spaces was not always consistent. The social concerns shifted according to the area's existing squatter invasion problems and the relative need for housing.

Although three alternative land-use were identified for the development of vacant sites, two dominated: namely housing followed light industry. The creation of employment opportunities which is linked to the two options, was also raised as an alternative. The residents felt that the inability to afford to relocate coupled with the location advantage of the area out-weighed or contributed to the fact that they remained within the area. The people of Clairwood previously attributed the best advantage of their area to its strong cultural identity and have reacted negatively to the proliferation of informal settlements in their community.

Generally, there is a relatively low awareness level of development initiatives and plans. The residents had particular grievances with waste disposal, illegal dumping and squatting on the vacant sites in the area. Most importantly they commented on poor drainage systems (especially that of stormwater). Poor refuse removal which resulted in excessive debris in the streets and the perceived associated squatter problems (more specifically crime, littering and so on). Interestingly, while some of the respondents identified cleaning of the area as an important issue, an equal number believed that the issue was being addressed by the authorities. The respondents surveyed reflected CRRA as the preferred representative.

5.3 Site Owners Survey

Having analysed the empirical data (i.e. residents' perceptions' and explanations') to study the efforts of residential regeneration in Clairwood, we can go a step further in this section. It is necessary to clarify at the outset that the data in this section pertains mainly to the individual private vacant site owners (referred to as vacant site owners). Either the vacant site owners were living in the area or had lived in the area long ago and are now living elsewhere. A few who had never lived in the area had been associated with the civic bodies in the area. Some of the vacant site owners included in the sample lived in the area, while others had business interest.

The next issue of importance that therefore presents itself is the question of what exactly should be the role of the vacant site owners? Since they appear to be a core of well organised people who have considerable economic power, this is a factor that cannot and should not be ignored. They are powerful and relatively well organised than the tenants/residents and should not be approached from the premise that they are on an equal footing. It is therefore necessary to illustrate their responses.

5.3.1 Main Section - Answers

Age of Respondent

Respondents were asked to state the age category they were in. All respondents, answered the age question.

Table 33: Age of Respondents

Age Category	%
under 21	0%
21-40	36%
41-60	41%
over 60	18%
TOTAL	100%

Most of the respondents are middle aged.

Current Occupational Status

The respondents were asked to state their current occupational status. Statistics relating to the occupational status amongst respondents can not be treated as being representative of the population at large. This is due to the way that the respondents were selected. Indeed, attempts were made by the interviewer to ensure a reasonable spread of respondents across all demographic criteria.

Table 34: Current Occupational Status Amongst Respondents

Occupational Status	%
Employed in Formal Sector	40%
Employed in Informal Sector	27%
Retired	18%
Unemployed	0%
Self-employed (i.e. own business)	9%
TOTAL	100%

Total Earnings Per Month

The respondents were asked to state how much total earnings do they accumulate per month. The overall non-response rate was almost one quarter of the entire sample. The table below gives a breakdown of total earnings for the respondents. Please note that non-responses have been eliminated from the sample base therefore the answers represent only information only collected from respondents who gave affirmative answers. They could have been receiving a wage, other non-business incomes, business incomes or incomes derived from maintenance grants, pensions remittances and rental payments amongst other sources.

Table 34: Average Monthly Incomes Received

Total Earnings	%
under R1 000	0%
R1 001-R2 500	20%
R2 501-R5 000	18%
R5 001-R10 000	34%
above R10 000	7%
TOTAL	79%

From the above table it is quite clear that the respondents are financially stable, thus there seems to be an ability to develop. A total of 8% have total earnings of over R10 000 per month.

Length of Time Owning Site

In order to ascertain the stability of owning patterns of respondents were requested to note the length of time they had owned the site. Almost three quarters of all respondents had owned their sites for 10 years or more. On average the site owners had owned the vacant sites for 18 years. Patterns between respondents varied. Indeed, there were respondents who had owned the sites for 27 years. Generally it can be said that private vacant site ownership is fairly stable. According to a survey conducted by DRA(1995), the average length of site ownership in Clairwood was 13,8 years and the median time was 4 years. The site owners living in the area had lived longer than the resident tenants. Approximately 80% of the respondents interviewed lived out of the area. The remaining 20% were living in Clairwood. However, all of those who live elsewhere claimed to visit the occasionally to attend community meetings and visit their relatives.

Size of Site

The respondents were asked to state the size of their sites. Almost all of the sites were approximated to range between 300 - 500 sqm. However, the average site-size is approximately 400 sqm.

How Acquired Site

The respondents were asked how they had acquired their sites. Of the total respondents, 38% said that they had inherited their sites from their parents. The other 36% said they had bought their sites. A further 26% did not answer this question. The respondents interviewed own at least one site in the area

Awareness of Land-use Controls Pertaining to Development of Sites

The respondents were asked whether they were aware of any land-use controls pertaining to the development of their sites. All (100%) the respondents were aware of the land-use controls pertaining to the development of their sites.

Kind of Developments Occurring in Vacant Sites Adjacent to Site and Neighbourhood

The respondents were asked to state the kind of development occurring in the vacant sites adjacent to their site and in the neighbourhood at large in order to establish whether they were concerned about development in the area. The following table illustrates their answers.

Table 35: Developments Occurring in Area

Kind of Development	%
Selling Sites	0%
Developing Sites	5%
Squatter Invasions	70%
Waste Dumping	25%
Don't Know	0%
TOTAL	100%

Awareness of Plans

The respondents were asked whether they were aware of any plans to develop Clairwood, and whether they had an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the plans. The following table illustrates their answers.

Table 36: Awareness of Plans

Awareness	%
Yes	44%
No	56%
TOTAL	100%

Of the respondents interviewed 56% claimed not to be aware of current plans to develop Clairwood. Those who were well informed (44%) knew of the plans to redevelop Clairwood. However, caution has to be taken when viewing their answers. Perhaps their answers reflected on what is already occurring and not the awareness of proposed plans. In this case they may have misjudged the question which required the awareness of current as well as proposed developments. The 44% of the respondents that answered claimed to have an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the plans (i.e. that the Clairwood Town Planning Scheme was in place).

Support or Oppose Plans to Develop Area

The respondents were asked whether they supported or opposed any plans to develop the area. All (100%) of the respondents interviewed said that they supported plans and development initiatives in the area.

Availability of Resources to Develop Site

The respondents were asked whether they had the necessary resources to develop their sites. 50% claimed that they could afford to develop (i.e. build a house and service the site). It is interesting that 50% of the respondents said that they could not afford to do so.

About the Development Issues in Clairwood

The respondents were asked to give an account of development issues in Clairwood (i.e. who they went to in the case they wanted to get some thing done in terms of building or erection a building on their sites; whether they felt that the CRRA and the DCC were effectively enforcing rules and ensuring better management of area affairs; whether they believe there is improvement in Clairwood in terms of development; and what were the problems about the development process and how they could be solved). Of the total respondents 8% thought that the CRRA should be responsible for developing Clairwood. The bulk of respondents favoured the DCC and/or government as the agencies which should be responsible for developing Clairwood. Much smaller percentages of respondents thought that other agencies/organisations should be responsible for developing Clairwood.

Once development was underway in Clairwood, 48% of respondents said that the they should be responsible for decision making. Just over 20% said that CRRA/Chairman/Mr Maharaj/Mr Jacobs should be responsible for development related decisions, once development projects were underway. It is suprising that the DCC/Municipality, RDP and NPA received a low percentage support. The respondents said that they need to be involved in the process of regeneration of the area from the outset.

Future Development Intention

The respondents were asked what they intended to develop on their sites in the future. The following table illustrates this point.

Table 37: Future Development Intention

Intended Development	%
Construct a House	18%
Establish a Light Industry	14%
Sell the Site	12%
Develop a Market Garden	10%
Don't Know	46%
TOTAL	100%

Respondents Image of an Ideal Clairwood

Finally, the respondents were asked the question, ideally, *what would you like Clairwood to be like in the future?* An almost even proportion of respondents

said that they would like to see Clairwood develop as just a residential area or with just a small retail and manufacturing sector. The development of a business sector within area would be essential for the site owners.

3.2 Overview and Conclusion

Vacant land is a fundamental subject of land-use and regulation and to restructure an area. Residential regeneration is directly linked to the roles of vacant site owners and the interest groups (i.e. DCC and CRRA). The way regeneration decisions are taken is in the sense usually a result of bargaining and mediation between interest groups (including vacant site owners). The importance of vacant site owners cannot be discounted as a crucial factor for residential regeneration of Clairwood.

Similarly, implementation of the regeneration plans is dependent upon the relationship between the DCC and the vacant site owners. The question of mediation and bargaining then arises. If this is not answered then regeneration plans or any other plans are likely to drag on. How vacant site owners could thwart any regeneration plan would be clear from the subsequent discussion.

Vacant site owners influence regeneration considerably and assumes even greater importance in the case of Clairwood. In the absence of an effective relationships, issues like residential regeneration plans tend to suffer. Only those plans or policies get successfully implemented which are considered expedient. It may also result, at times, in misplaced priorities. In the Clairwood situation, depending upon the will of the vacant site owners, an issue like residential regeneration attains low priority, because they have not devoted as much attention to the problem as the local residents would. This has hampered the way of regeneration.

The process of decay could be checked if they are part of the planning process. Perhaps residential regeneration cannot be pushed through while public opinion is throttled. To some extent, therefore, they have impeded regeneration efforts in Clairwood. It seems negotiations between the CRRA and the DCC is a 'talk-shop', that can debate, deliberate and criticise, but does not solve a problem. If the DCC is not too preoccupied with maintenance operations, then it is too ineffective to take up an issue like regeneration, if it does not come to a community that has high stakes in stalling regeneration. Then plans are drowned unless it can acquire some sites under the scheme. Whatever might have been the rationale, the fact remains that the existence of privately owned vacant sites is hampering the implementation of plans for regeneration or is an effort confined to a few individuals, in their personal capacity.

It must clear that regeneration is an attempt at an integrated development plan which includes measures to check any possibility of decay in the future. Perhaps they (the vacant site owners) prefer to watch implementation with cautious optimism or maybe the scheme to rejuvenate the area is not strong

enough or maybe one section is not likely to be benefited by the regeneration efforts. Maybe minor improvement here and there make regeneration more difficult. Any programme of change is likely to be viewed with suspicion. Another reason why residential regeneration has not been able to take a firm stand is the long-term nature of the plans. The plans are not likely to show positive and constructive results in few years. In fact, initially the plans would not accrue any immediate benefit to the people. This has resulted in the owners of the vacant sites exploiting the situation.

There are two interesting groups in Clairwood which have had considerable impact in the area. The DCC has been instrumental in the decay of the area, but has also been able to plan for regeneration. Their capacity to influence is considerable. However, regeneration of Clairwood is dependent, to a greater extent, on the private site owners. It is the DCC that decided the character of the area to be residential. It therefore lies with the DCC to create an ideal situation by providing proper facilities.

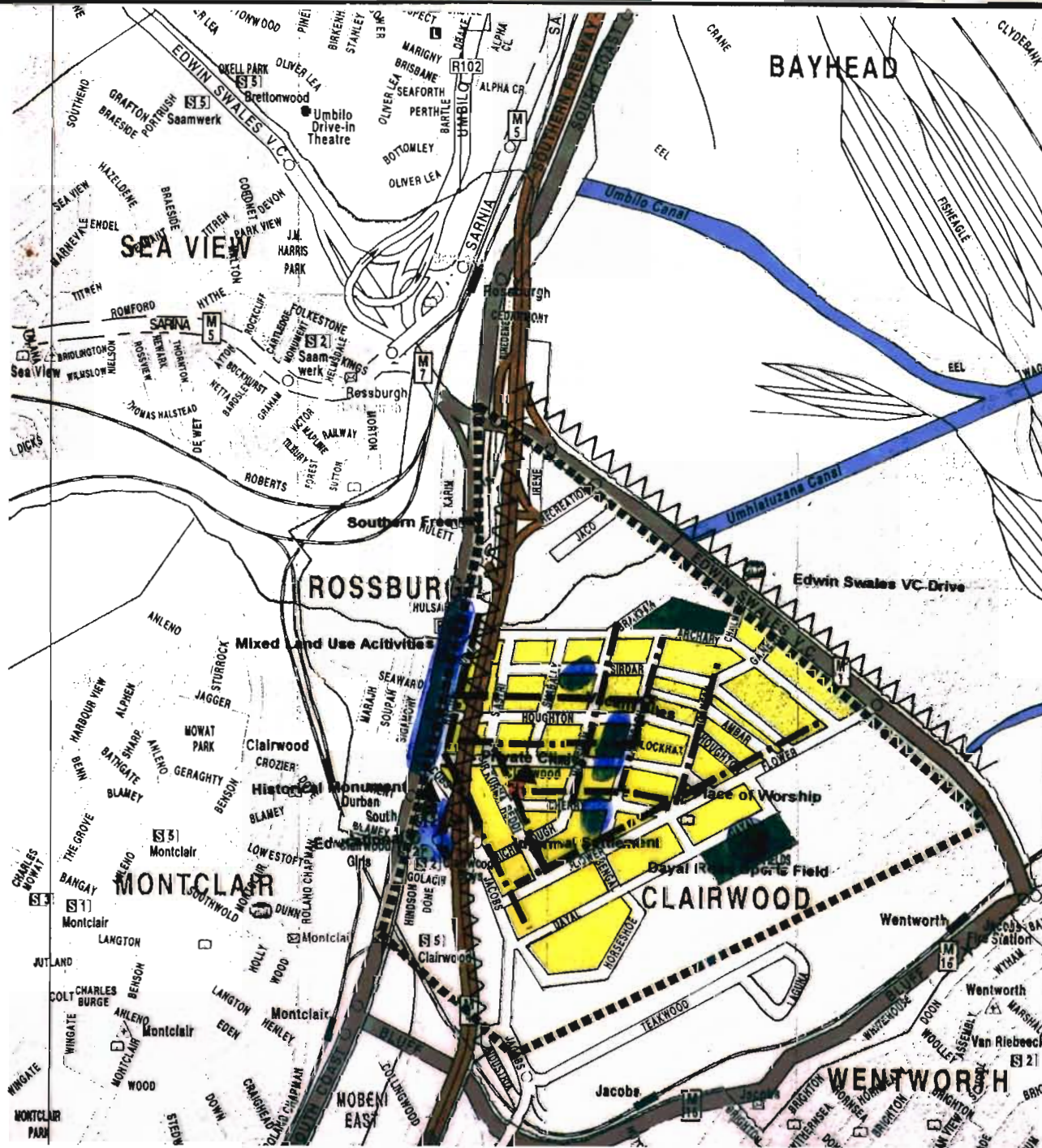
Were the vacant site owners aware of the plans and schemes prepared for the regeneration of the area? Here again the extent of information among the site owners differs. Most of them had sketchy information based more or less on hearsay or gossip. None of them, except a minuscule minority had made an effort to study the plans. By comparing both the samples we can say that the cross-section of the residents had greater awareness than the site owners, though in most cases awareness was based less on systematic study and more on hearsay of course, this excludes a few well-informed in the vacant site owner sample who had not only studied the plans but were making individual effort to build public opinion. For example, very few know about the Clairwood Town Planning Schemes. Some of them mentioned plans for regeneration. The site owners had a low degree of awareness of plans of the DCC's regeneration efforts.

The site owners generally were apathetic to this problem. Their apathy became even more pronounced when we asked them whether they made any effort to solve these problems. Even those who had taken active interest in this problem at some time or the other, the rest were evasive about this question. Apathy is so transparent in their replies. None of them, it shows, ever made any organised effort towards solving the problems of the area.

The DCC is the most visible target of attack for both, the site owners and the residents. The vacant site owners have never seriously involved themselves in the issues of the area. Their involvement has either been for personal gains or due to their larger involvement with efforts. Since their awareness was relatively lower, solutions suggested by the vacant site owners were also superficial. Moreover, the site owners seemed to have used the issues for gains. The non-serious attitude of the private vacant site owners was further confirmed by their perfunctory knowledge about the redevelopment plans. It clearly showed that they never had time to study the problems seriously and work for solutions.

This brings us to the question, '*what has kept the vacant site owners from being seriously involved with the regeneration efforts*'? There could be various reasons. However, their weakness to be influenced by interest groups is one easily identifiable reason. If organised interest could influence the development of vacant sites as a part of regeneration, the vacant site owners are not likely to ignore their interests after being won. Unless, this happens, this has been and will continue to be a serious impediment in the regeneration efforts. It is quite likely that in spite of whatever might be said to win support, each group protects its own interests first.

That most of the municipal bodies in the country are starved for funds is common knowledge. This is one of the major handicaps of the DCC as well. Because of this the DCC could not take the initiative for regeneration. *But what about the funds available with them for maintenance work? Were they utilised properly?* Those who have been associated with this body defended it. But the businessmen and the vacant site owners were critical of its functioning. One of the leaders, however, pointed out to this handicap. Funds in the DCC were earmarked under different functional heads and not area wise. The area of Clairwood being smaller than the rest of Durban, the expenditure was much less in Clairwood. There was also a tendency, he pointed, to ignore this historical area (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). The existence of squatters, and a consequent use of non-conforming activities (i.e. noxious industries) has created a steady factor impeding regeneration of Clairwood. Though these certainly are factors, it is not as big an impediment as the willingness of vacant site owners to development.



- Path
- Landmark
- District
- Node
- Edge

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is an attempt at providing an analysis that describe the characteristics of Clairwood and the 'facts' that contribute towards the understanding of residential regeneration efforts in the area. This component of the study forms an essential part of the process of understanding the processes at play in this area. A thorough knowledge of the dynamics in action gives an insight into the key issues, potentials and limitations for the future direction and development potential of Clairwood. The analysis is a process of arriving at appropriate conclusions and recommendations. It forms the basis for the recommendations which are contained in the last chapter of this document. These findings are synthesized using economic perspectives, social aspects, contextual factors, characteristics, urban design and peoples perceptions about the area. The analysis does not discuss all of the data, but rather tries to draw some key themes.

6.2 Economic Perspectives

Demand for Reconstruction and Housing

The residents survey indicates that there is a demand for reconstruction and housing in the area. The need for housing features high in most of the questions that are related to this issue. Of the total number of respondents, 22% noted housing shortages as a problem; 54% preferred housing as a land use for open spaces; 64% suggested housing as an option for the development of publicly owned vacant sites and that residential regeneration should focus on this issue.

Given the fact that there is a large percentage of people not economically active (59%); the per capita income is low and the dependency ratio is high, reconstruction and housing may best occur as a consumption good than an investment good, because the level of demand for consumption of goods and services depends upon the relative power of labour versus capital. However, both public and private housing are alternative mechanisms of responding to the demand for housing. Most of the private site owners seem to be in good occupational statuses and financial backgrounds. Of the total owners interviewed, 40% are employed by the formal sector, thus they have access to subsidies and loans. Furthermore, none of those interviewed earn less than R1000-00 per month. This is a clear indication that housing can be provided as an investment good as well.

One of the failures of this study has been that it has not investigated the nature of real estate to ascertain whether there is a demand for land or property. However, the existence of vacant sites shows that the demand is not very high. The implications for regeneration in Clairwood are clear, the provision of housing, both public and private, would need to accommodate both middle and lower income groups. Thus the character of housing demand will depend on certain tenures, price, income and preferences. In the case of Clairwood, the core of the residential area is suitable and becomes less as one moves outwards towards the fringes of the area where there is a reputation of

commercial and industrial activities. However, the demand for housing is a phenomena which needs to be proactively dealt with, because of the increase in the number of informal settlements in the area. The demand for housing in Clairwood is also influenced by the increase in the population over the years.

In sum, the implications for residential regeneration in Clairwood in terms of the demand for reconstruction and housing are as follows:

- C the public sector needs to play a role because the area is characterised by a number of people in the lower income group
- C the level of suitability for housing decipates from the core outwards
- C the site owners are fairly stable financially
- C the increase in population exacerbates the demand for housing

Land Vacancy

It is common knowledge that most of the vacant sites remain as they are for frictional reasons. In general terms, premises remain underutilised as a result of slow decision making procedures and a low level of demand in the land market. Due to the character of the area, it is a less preferred location. However, the response of the residents suggests that they are happy living in the area (63%) and their enthusiasm to see the area better one day suggests that a new approach to solving the problem of land vacancy. Although some of the site owners are not sure of their future development intention (46%), most of them had an intention to erect something on their sites such as a house, a light industry and even a market garden. This suggests that the public sector should engage with the private sector in order to pursue the task of regenerating the area. The public sector should speed up the processes of decision making and inject such elements that will market the area thus increasing the level of demand in the land market and attract potential investors. Progress needs to be made in the completion of the Town Planning Scheme. Funds need to be raised in order to complete the intentions of the Development Plan.

Site Ownership Patterns

The problem of the availability of land for development and for infill purposes is exacerbated by the patterns of site ownership. There are complicated issues surrounding site ownership. However, the desperate need for basic services and sanitation highlights the urgency of implementing a policy of formalising settlement and of creating new sites to accommodate new development at acceptable densities and to establish a better standard of living. There is also a perception amongst the residents that public lands should be used for such.

State Intervention

There is a potential for unsatisfactory outcomes in residential regeneration if the public sector does not intervene. Though the DCC has intervened through the provision of the package of plans and zoning, it is pertinent that it moves further through enforcing the existing rules and regulations, permissions, landscaping procedures etc. Furthermore, it has been noted that it fell short of funds in implementing the fully Development Plan, it is still important that it raise funds for the process, because it must incur social expenses and capital for the provision of the infrastructure, facilities and other basic

amenities.

Employment and Income

The relatively low per capita incomes, low percentages of population economically active, high dependency ratio and high unemployment percentage in Clairwood show the urgent need for economic growth and development in the area. Economic development and the maximisation of economic potential should be a priority for Clairwood, both formally and informally. The concept of local economic development should begin to capitalise on its locational advantages. Income and employment data reveals the status of people living in the area and is an indicator of the growing decay in the area. There is a large percentage of people who are not economically active.

6.3 Social Aspects

It has been argued that the essential characteristics of regeneration that it brings about change in the use or occupancy of land and buildings and therefore results in changes in where, how and under what conditions people live. Apparently, regeneration efforts in Clairwood have not brought improvements in the living conditions of the people living in the area. The increase in population has not occurred due to housing improvements, investment opportunities, or the improvement of local economic conditions; thus the area is characterised by informal and incompatible land use activities. The vacant sites remain used for dumping waste. Population increase is not a symbol that regeneration is achieving its aims and objectives.

Population characteristics and associated trends are a vital component for planning. The population dynamics and associated growth trends are required to begin to assess the demand for land and other resources. Population estimates provide guidelines on the type of growth that should be considered in planning the development of the area. Clairwood shows an increase in population over the years. Hence there is a demand for infrastructure and amenities. The education levels are relatively low. Literacy levels are key indicators of populations ability to access jobs and income, to engage in a wider forum of negotiation regarding the impacts of industry, and to fulfill cultural and social needs.

Approximately 98% of the dwelling units in Clairwood are characterised by relatively low densities. There is an opportunity to increase the densities. The dependency ratio measures the number of population of non-working age that have to be supported economically by the population of working age. High values produces a high percentage of the population aged under 18. The dependency ratio is thus a good indicator of the burden placed by population growth on the economically active population and the economy generally . Clairwood displays a high ratio (1.442) where large numbers of household members are dependent on fewer salaries. The income levels themselves are fairly low

6.4 Contextual Factors

Political Structure and Ideology

It has been noted that throughout the world, there is a wide band of legal institutional structures, political regimes and ideologies. This has implications for residential regeneration. In South Africa, residential development is a responsibility for both the private and the public sector. However, the public sector plays a major role, especially in areas that have a reputation such as Clairwood. This is evident in the DCCs attempt at the implementation of the "package of plans". Thus it is the responsibility for the DCC to state the condition of what should be and what should not be in place in the context of residential regeneration. The public sector resumes a major direct role in regeneration policies.

Institutional Structure and Issues

The following section provides a picture of the institutions that are currently in place at the local level. The institutional components of Clairwood at the local scale are briefly detailed as follows:

DCC: The multiple functions of Council are contained in the Local Authorities Act (25, 1974). These may be reduced to the following primary functions which including policy formulation, budgeting, levy of rates and taxes, service delivery, financial issues, tenders, by-laws and tariffs, staff, town planning and amenities, legal issues, co-ordinating, development and electoral aspects. It is responsible for reviewing different aspects of development within the area.

CRRA is operative in the area. Historically, this structure dealt with issues relating to the administration and acted as a pressure and advisory group to Council over the delivery of services and the development of the area. The **R.D.P.** is a policy and funding organisation aimed at restructuring government policies and allocation of funds, in order to address the developmental imbalances.

Local Government Income and Expenditure

The implications are clear. As the DCC lacks funds for services and infrastructure provision, there will be increasing financial difficulties unless support is received from provincial or central government.

Local Government Finance

The DCC authorities have a crucial role to play in regeneration process. The upgrading of the area will require substantial resources at the third level of government. There is a need for additional infrastructure, amenities and services. The problem is that local government does not have a strong enough local economic and financial base to tackle the task alone. Substantial funding will have to be made available in the form of intergovernmental grants, transfers and subsidies. The DCC may have some capacity to take on additional debt but is limited and insufficient to meet the capital expenditure required in Clairwood. Much of the funding required for infrastructure will have to come from a combination of local funding and intergovernmental grants (i.e. RDP funding). There is a fiscal imbalance in the sense that there are urgent basic needs which must

be met but the income base of local government is very inadequate and assistance from provincial and central government is needed. The problem will be exacerbated by the inability of the community to pay for municipal services.

Provision of Public Facilities

In terms of the provision and distribution of public facilities, Clairwood lacks adequate provision of public facilities, and access to the higher order elements. The facilities are poorly structured and spartan. Many local facilities are embedded within the community and are thus 'privatised' by them. The structure of public facilities does not enhance the opportunities for focus onto places of meeting and interaction. The provision and quality of schools is fairly optimal.

Demographics and Demand for Housing

It has been noted that immigration has effects, both positive and negative. Regeneration programs then may focus on integrating the problems caused by immigrants into the existing neighbourhood. This could be done through the provision of housing. This has not been the case in Clairwood. No housing has been provided on a large scale, hence there is evidence of public and private vacant sites, informal settlement and dilapidated houses. The positive aspects about immigration is that it increases thresholds and the demand for various forms of housing.

Clairwood is experiencing an increase in the number of people wishing to settle in the area. Ad hoc land invasions have occurred periodically in the area and have affected the overall pattern of settlement, increasing its haphazardness. The demand for land and housing is a phenomenon which needs to be proactively dealt with. The rate of population growth in this area, coupled with generally low levels of income, indicates the priority needs to be given to identifying appropriate land for accommodating these housing needs. Clairwood is likely to experience mounting pressures for the release of well located publicly owned residential land in future, especially for the lower income sector of its people.

Geographic Location

Most regeneration programs occur in old and dilapidated city cores around the world. However, some programs do occur on the outer areas of cities. In the case of Durban, major regeneration programs are currently occurring in the inner city (i.e. Greater Warwick and Grey Street Urban Renewal Project, Point Waterfront Development Project etc.). Clairwood being on the outer parts of the city is not a favoured location and as a result is receiving the necessary input.

Neighbourhood Age

Many neighbourhoods targeted for regeneration around the world are relatively new. They were built through public initiatives, to meet housing shortages of the time. These neighbourhoods were built on the outskirts of cities on public land. Clairwood is an old neighbourhood dating back to the early 1900s. The Indian Community occupied land and built houses. Public facilities were built by the community (Scott, 1992) Public facilities were hastily constructed and prefabrication techniques were not perfected. It is evident that these houses are running into problems that are normally physical.

Historically, the neighbourhood was under the control of the community, time went by and the DCC assumed the responsibility. Thus the DCCs involvement in the area has had a blighted hand.

Planning Controls

According to Priemus (1991), land use planning institutions and laws intended to regulate land development, use, and maintenance are unsuccessful in preventing decline and in regeneration. Perhaps Clairwood has been a victim of such a phenomena. It is noted that residential regeneration needs specially designed programs and a set of laws to undo what the regular land use laws either exacerbated or have not succeeded in preventing. In Clairwood, the existing laws have not been enforced. As a result, most of the buildings in the area are in contravention with municipal by laws. Low lying areas of land represent constraints to future residential development in Clairwood. These constraints take the form of an environmental hazard such as dampness, health issues, quality of life and expense of development. Low lying areas of land are more suitable to alternative developments such as light industrial purposes which support an extension of services.

Formal and Informal Settlement

The overall pattern of settlement has been influenced by natural factors, political imperatives and land issues. Informal development refers to structures erected on land with or without official permission and usually not constructed to prevailing official standards. This practice of extensive informal shack farming at high densities with no basic services is a form of housing available to people. A number of informal settlement of different sizes exist in the wider study area. The largest is the one along Flower Road. Many of these settlements have been in existence for five years and almost all of them are devoid of any basic services, including pure drinking water and adequate levels of sanitation.

Informal settlement and ad hoc land invasions is by no means a new or strange phenomena in Clairwood. They have been in existence for many years. Recently, however, vacant sites of land in the area have fallen victim to land invasion. In general, the issue of informal settlement is a sensitive one, inextricably linked to land and land ownership, power and powerlessness. One of the major challenges facing Clairwood, is the whole question of unlocking the problems which enshroud land and housing. The formal settlement patterns the area is generally evident with overcrowding in some instances. The Group Areas Act was a piece of legislation that enabled Indian people to settle in the area.

Form of Development

The area is characteristically disjointed and is indicative of a serious problem. The historical development of the area has perpetuate this disjointed nature. The structure of the area is not well integrated, and as a result, great social and financial costs are experienced by its people. The performance of Clairwood in terms of promoting liveable environments which engender a wide range of opportunities and choices for its people, is not good. There are major discrepancies that exist in the area.

6.5 Characteristics

Comprehensiveness

Priemus (1991) argues that in most countries, residential regeneration is unisectoral and focuses on the physical renovation of housing and infrastructure. In other countries they assume a multi sectoral approach emphasizing social services and economic development. In Clairwood, the program has been unisectoral focusing on the renovation to existing buildings, the development of new residential dwellings, the upgrading of the residential/internal road structure/system, the laying of services, and the provision of recreational facilities. However, the degree of comprehensiveness is less because the effort does not co-ordinate social, economic, educational and physical programs. Due to scarce resource, the DCC has not devoted to such items as community development, social interaction and local cultural activities.

Population Relocation and Stabilisation

Regeneration causes demographic change. In some countries, residents are dislocated. However, the dislocation of residents has negative impacts. In some countries, residents are dislocated to avoid population turnover, but the relocation of residents does not eliminate the problem, instead it takes it elsewhere. This has not been the case in Clairwood. Of the total residents respondents interviewed, 42% attributed a strong community as being a positive aspect of the social environment in the area. This has been followed by the importance attached to a cultural community which some of the residents felt was an aspects in the area. Residents have not been relocated, this means that the social fabric of the neighbourhood is still maintained.

Levels of Government

The degree of control with respect to regeneration programs varies from country to country in terms of whether the central or the local government assumes responsibility. However, regeneration programs rely to some extent on central government. Furthermore, municipal authorities have legal and institutional responsibilities for planning and maintenance, and for ensuring that residents are provided with the control of new residential development. Local governments are best equipped to assess and understand local needs and mobilise local resources to deal with needs.

Residential regeneration has been partially funded by the RDP, a national fund and partially by the DCC. As mentioned above, the DCC is responsible for planning and maintenance. However, the lack of resources has forced the DCC to cut down on the provision of services. The provision of these services has not been reduced to privatisation. The state of housing in the area does not prove that the authorities have provided residents and land owners with subsidies, loans or other incentives to encourage them to improve their dwellings, whether by the central or national government.

Scale of Program

Most regeneration programs occur on a large scale depending on population size. Regeneration is influenced by immigration and expansion. This in turn requires a co-

ordinated effort of interest groups not accustomed to working together. However, residential regeneration in Clairwood has been small in scale and does not have national status.

Community Participation

Community participation is an important mechanism for empowerment. The DCC claims to involve the community in the process. However, it is surprising to note that 58% of the total residents interviewed were not aware of any plans or development initiatives. Only 22% were aware of the Development Plan. The level of awareness of plans in general is low.

6.6 Planning and Design

Designing and creating an image for an area depends on the decisions about the location and physical manifestations of investment in the built environment. It has been noted that any planning design should create perceptions of the area as a physical entity which is conditioned by and interpreted through the existence of paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks (see figure 5: Overlay). The construction of the internal road system has created a node and certain pedestrian paths. In terms of paths, most movement in the area is done by foot, hence almost all the roads act as major paths. Some of them do not have pavements hence people walk in the middle of the road. Furthermore, there is a major pedestrian path that links the residential area to the South Coast Road commercial spine. There are districts of vacant sites, mixed land use activities, informal settlements and educational institutions. However, it is important to note that vacant sites and informal settlement are acceptable to condition people's perception about an area. Edwin Swales VC Drive and the Southern Freeway act as edges. The Dayal Sports Field acts as a node as well as the various schools that exist in the area. The Clairwood private Clinic along Cherry Road and the historical monument along Done Road act as landmarks in the area.

Movement Structure

Transportation and movement is an important structuring element which provides access to economic, social and recreational opportunities, as well as providing the means to travel. The people of Clairwood make use of buses, vehicles, mini bus taxis, train and bicycles and foot for their transportation needs. However, they are more reliant on public modes of transport or foot travel for movement. Clairwood is based on the grid pattern which arises as the focus of concentration for these different movement routes. Clairwood is well placed in relation to a hierarchy of movement systems which render it highly accessible.

Road Transport

In many instances, trucks and other road users tend to use Clairwood. This has a danger to pedestrians and especially school children. In general, the area is well located with a network of roads and footpaths. Higher order roads receive regular maintenance although most minor roads, are in poor condition. The shortcomings are the inability to provide evidence about the amount of heavy vehicles.

Accessibility

The overall issue relating to the movement structure is that in those parts of Clairwood when individual car ownership is high, the movement system works well, but in those parts where roads become inaccessible and are poorly maintained, movement and access is severely limited. Although Clairwoods location is highly visible and accessible, its internal movement system does not benefit all of its people. The people of Clairwood in particular, are disadvantaged in terms of maintenance of roads and movement networks. Pedestrians have to walk on the roads, because they do not have pavements in some roads. Many routes in the area should be upgraded and properly maintained in order to enhance access, especially for emergency services. Roads safety is also an important consideration.

6.7 Overview

Overall, the analysis provides a detailed understanding of the efforts in residential regeneration of Clairwood. The picture that emerges shows that it not just the site owners who impede regeneration in the area, but a number of factors have also acted as stumbling blocks, thus making the process a complicated one. Though the site owners do play a major role in the process, but to accuse them for the responsibility is not convincing if one understands the dynamics or at least the factors operating in that particular area. The analysis reveals that the following factors are a hurdle in the way of residential regeneration efforts in Clairwood:

- land use friction
- slow decision making processes
- low level of demand in the land market
- the character makes it a less preferred location
- lack of funds to implement plans, because the DCCs financial base is weak
- land invasions
- low lying area posing threat to residential development
- blighted area were most buildings are in contravention to municipal bylaws
- the area is disjointed (i.e. structure not integrated)
- the area is inappropriately sited
- the plans have not coordinated social, economic, educational and physical problems'no community development in the proces of regeneration

6.8 Implications for Regeneration

Limitations

- uncertainty over the future of the area
- poorly defined relations between existing civil society structures and DCC functions
- lack of resources and capacity in DCC (i.e. financial) to deal with limitations to development in the area
- limited access among disadvantaged residents to financial institutions owing to insecure tenure arrangements

Potentials

- identification of and investment in key projects to enable LED with a focus on residents
- seeking opportunities for gearing investment finance through partnerships between developers, local people and government. This can be explored on a project by project basis, for example, housing, infrastructure, small business, etc.
- unlock development potentials for local people in terms of securing tenure, loan finance, protection of property rights and land use control

The conclusions which may be drawn from the analysis of residential regeneration efforts in Clairwood would require release of strategic parcels of public land and infrastructural development as well as promotion of upgrading and improving the skills level of the workforce.

CHAPTER SEVEN - SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

Earlier chapters have assessed the nature and extent of residential regeneration. They have shown how it has evolved and the stages it goes through. This has been applied in the case of Clairwood. Clairwood is an area whereby efforts have been made towards regenerating the area. Unfortunately, these efforts have not achieved best results. The area is still viewed as having a poor residential character. The purpose of this dissertation has been to establish the obstacles in the way of development in this area. The purpose of this chapter is to provide concluding remarks and recommendations.

7.2 Concluding Remarks

Vacant land is a fundamental subject of land use and regulation and to restructure an area. Residential regeneration is directly linked to the role of landlords and the interest groups, such as the City Council or the Residents and Ratepayers Association. The way regeneration decisions are taken is usually a result of bargaining and mediation between landlords and these interest groups. The importance of landlords cannot be discounted as a crucial factor because the implementation of plans is partly dependent upon the relationship between the City Council, the landlords and other interested parties. In the absence of an effective relationship, plans will suffer and only those plans or policies get successful which are considered expedient. In the Clairwood situation, the issue of regeneration at the moment amongst landlords receives low priority, because they have not devoted as much attention to the problems of the area as local residents would. This then has hampered the way of regeneration. The process of decay could be checked if they are part of the planning process.

One can confidently conclude that residential regeneration cannot be pushed through if public opinion is throttled. To some extent this will impede regeneration efforts. Assuming the responsibility to be that of the DCC to redevelop the area, it is too ineffective to take up an issue like regeneration, if it fails to reach a consensus with a community that has high stakes in stalling regeneration. The plans will drown unless an agreement has been made that all the vacant sites will fall under a development scheme. It must clear that regeneration is an attempt at an integrated development plan which includes measures to check any possibility of decay in the future. Perhaps, the landlords prefer to watch implementation with cautious optimism or maybe the plan to rejuvenate the area is not strong enough or maybe a certain section is not likely to be benefited by these efforts. Maybe minor improvement here and there make regeneration more difficult.

The case of Clairwood reveals that any programmes of change are likely to be viewed with suspicion. This is exacerbated by the long term nature of the plans. The plans have failed to show positive and constructive results in few years. This has resulted in the owners of the vacant sites exploiting the situation, and have been very apathetic about any attempts to develop the area and have never seriously

involved themselves in the issue. Some of them have involved themselves for personal gains (i.e. shack lording). The non serious attitude of the landlords was further confirmed by their perfunctory knowledge about the redevelopment plans.

The City Council is the most visible target of attack for both the residents and the site owners. That most of the municipal bodies in the country are starved for funds is common knowledge. Perhaps this is one of the major handicaps of the DCC as well. Because of this it cannot take the initiative for regeneration. But what about the funds available with them for maintenance work/ Were they utilised properly? Those who have been associated with this body defended it. But the residents are critical of its functioning.

However, one of the leaders pointed out to this handicap. Funds in the DCC were earmarked under different functional heads and not area wise. The area of Clairwood being smaller than the rest of Durban, the expenditure was much less in Clairwood. There is a tendency to ignore this historical area (Ian MacKintosh, 14/11/1997). It is evident that the character of the area has been affected by a number of actions. Firstly, the attempt to industrialise the area. Secondly, the intermingling of land use in the area. Thirdly, the illegal use of vacant sites for dumping. And lastly, the proliferation of informal dwellings. All these factors have created a steady factor impeding regeneration over the years. However, though these certainly are factors, they are not as big impediment as the willingness of landlords to development and regeneration.

7.3 Recommendations

7.3.1 Targeting Services and Support

The local government authorities must identify those that are in need of services and support. They must design and implement action geared to the particular housing problems of the people in the area. The resident - tenants will figure prominently as those most in need of special measures and programmes in virtually all instances. The authorities should seek to make the best use of limited resources for improving the area, and to target help to those most in need.

7.3.2 Co-ordination of Action

Effective action demands co-ordinated programmes from different interest groups and stakeholders. With limited resources, the DCC alone can achieve only limited improvement results and can have little impact, if nothing is done at the same time by other groups. Action needs to be taken on all fronts. There is a need to co-ordinate action by other than those directly concerned with residential regeneration. Co-ordinated action at different levels between different sectors of the interest groups can make the best use of limited resources. There are innovative approaches that can significantly improve the area at far lower cost. These approaches require co-ordinated multi-sectoral action by both private and public agencies. They require architects, planners, engineers, and all agencies with some role in designing, planning, building, or maintaining the built environment to become

aware of all they can do to improve the people, and of how their action can help reduce decay in the area. Finally, they often imply public action defined, co-ordinated, and assisted by the community organisations.

For community organisations to be effective, they need to receive financial support and technical assistance from local government. Zoning is based on sound planning, but public authorities need to modify the norms, codes and standards. Instead of demanding certain standards and the use of building materials that few people can afford, they must provide advice centres that will assist the residents in developing themselves and the area at large. They must work with the community to identify the most pressing problems and act on them. They must review with the community the possibility of interim measures to deal with most problems. The community can become a powerful and effective force in tackling residential problems. The right kind of support and technical assistance from municipal/city authorities can greatly increase their effectiveness. This alliance between the community and local government authorities can force for the improvement of the area.

7.3.3 Key Role of the City Council

Local government should be responsible for planning and co-ordinating action, for instance, building roads, providing services etc. within the area. However, local government authorities are often so weak and ineffective that they have virtually no capacity for investment in infrastructure are not equipped to co-ordinate the work. Local government action must also respond to and support the demands of organised groups representing the community. Local government should become an intermediary between community organisations and the central and/or state government. Local government authorities must have the power and resources to ensure that the most urgent interventions, such as the provision of basic infrastructure and services, cheap legal land sites for new housing, and technical advice on improving housing conditions, will represent a direct or indirect improvement of the local inhabitants. In sum, the DCC should pander to principles of efficient use of infrastructure, equitable access to opportunity and to; eliminate conflicts and rationalise conflict resolution processes; and establish more efficient and responsive urban management institutions.

7.3.4 National Government

The government must build up or strengthen legal and institutional structures to facilitate implementation. The responsibility of the national government is not so much to provide basic amenities, services etc., as to build up the legal and institutional structures of government or city level to permit urban authorities to carry out these tasks; and to ensure that the authorities have access to the trained personnel, capital and revenue required for this purpose, and for the necessary basic urban infrastructure.

The implementation of the measures just noted would require the allocation of a higher proportion of resources to the improvement of living conditions and the

provision of basic services. These activities are currently given low priority at the national level and hence a low proportion of public funds. One critical area for national government is increased funding. As already noted, it is possible, at relatively low cost, greatly to increase the number of households on public land with access to safe and sufficient amenities. Indeed, the per capita cost for new systems can often be fully recovered by charges to the users, which would still be lower than the sums currently paid for inadequate services people. As has been shown, costs can be reduced very considerably if government agencies work in liaison with community organisations. Aid agencies must channel more funds, credits for building and improving housing.

7.3.5 Community Participation

Community organisations are generally more active wherever city and municipal authorities and resource to deal with problems are readily forthcoming. They can set priorities and join with local authorities in surveys to identify the main problems and the action needed to deal with them in the shape of built environment problems. This can mean major savings in time and money. For instance, if access roads are to be introduced in an area, and this means that some houses have to be moved, the whole neighbourhood may be strongly opposed to the scheme. But the full involvement of community organisations in determining priorities for improvement - including the introduction of access roads - has been shown to minimise opposition to the measures proposed (Markewicz, English, 1998). In some cases, the professional staff taking part have recognised that neighbourhood organisations have actually improved on their site plans.

This alliance can be a most powerful force for the improvement of Clairwood. Experience has shown that such an alliance is effective only if the authorities at the neighbourhood, city, and national levels can provide the needed support and guidance. Members of low income settlements, such as Clairwood, generally have very limited amounts of free time to devote to communal activities. They will not devote time to regeneration unless they can be assured of genuine results.

7.4 Overview

Rehabilitation of site owners is an important aspect of residential regeneration efforts, because they can become a big hurdle in the way of regeneration. In the case of Clairwood, this has become a major factor. It has resulted in neglect and will lead to blockage of various development initiatives and plans, as well as violation of the regulations. No regeneration is possible in such an atmosphere. The site owners capacity to influence redevelopment through contribution has sustained them and will prevent morphological transformation of the area.

The forces coming in the way of regeneration have already been identified in the study. Their personal interests have been an important factor impeding regeneration.

The DCC has been so firmly tied up with metropolitan events and their importance have overtaken those of regeneration plans. But in spite of this, the importance of the issue itself, and its implications for implementation of plans add a new dimension to the efforts. Moreover, because of the nature and dimension of the problem which required enormous funds, rehabilitation and reconstruction, the involvement of the DCC becomes essential. This sets it aside, to some extent, from other aspects of residential neighbourhood regeneration.

Issues of land availability and infrastructure loom large as the potential building blocks of any residential regeneration effort. Decent homes and effective means of assessing the full range of neighbourhood opportunities, are necessary starting points for a vision. The first stage of such a vision would be to identify vacant sites (both public and private). There is a large amount of land settled at low densities and is suitable for absorption of an additional population.

Clairwood requires housing and community facilities. The aged infrastructure and buildings in the area create opportunities for residential regeneration strategies which could facilitate the upgrading of the area for a range of uses, as well as considerably improving the general aesthetics of the area. The DCC would need to take a proactive role in this regard, in partnership with private site owners and industry within Clairwood. The focus should be on rehabilitating existing settlement. Of course, rehabilitation alone cannot meet all the needs. In this regard, a new source of concern is that the apparent sufficient inventories of vacant sites are, ironically, under threat of depletion by squatter invasions.

This is occurring at the moment in Clairwood, and has potentially catastrophic consequences, as land identified as vacant becomes occupied, with what planning has been agreed to for the area being placed in jeopardy. As land becomes illegally occupied, the means whereby it becomes developed necessarily changes. This entails a very different approach, with substantial community negotiations, community participation in development plans, and so on.

The longer it takes for public vacant land to made ready for development, the greater is the change that it will be occupied by squatters before it becomes ready. This is a major flaw in all inventories of vacant land and their application, as they are often acted upon months, if not years, after their completion, by which time there is a fair chance that they are no longer vacant. Therefore, the emphasis should be providing public land for low income families and provide infrastructure.

To strategically insert higher density affordable new housing onto public under-used land in these areas there is a need to:

- allow more people to gain access to the superior location of these area
- improve the levels of social and commercial service
- make maximum use of historical investments in social and utility infrastructure by redeveloping them
- use new housing to bolster confidence in blighted areas

- promote mixed-use development and to use the cross subsidisation possibilities made available by this
- use development process to improve the quality of the public spatial environment
- promote greening programmes together with new housing
- release parcels of land

Land intensive forms of regeneration can ensure affordability, access to infrastructure and facilities. There is a need for intensive residential land-use. This could be accompanied by some positive incentive to approach intensification of land-use more favourably. The first step towards overcoming impasses and initiate positive programmes for regeneration of the built environment is reapproachment between different sector and groups previously divided and in conflict under Apartheid. This process needs to take place in a complementary way at local level in the first instance through the creation of multi-sector forums within which the major sectors with an interest in regeneration can come together.

Greater care needs to be taken in the construction of negotiation and development forums that all parties with a major interest in development or with the capacity to undermine, stall or disrupt development initiatives are drawn into the process. The existing ones are weak. Capacity building as a means of facilitating reconstruction should be conceived as continuing process whereby individuals and the community are empowered to participate in negotiation and policy formulation through to management and technical involvement. Increasingly there will be a need for a more systematic and co-ordinated approach which gives place to and ensures complementarity between the private, public and service organisations in the regeneration field.

There should increase public and private sector investment in the built environment; provide a high level of servicing, infrastructure and facilities. Developable vacant land is a critical resource for transforming poorly performing area by promoting new development aimed at intensive job creation and high density housing opportunities (Williamson and Ferreira, 1993). Vacant land can provide opportunities for linking disadvantaged area with economic opportunities and social facilities. Such areas can provide people with access to work opportunities, social facilities and recreation amenities. Land is a basic resource for development. The municipal government needs an ability to manage to some degree the ownership and use of land and the taxes and fees which may be drawn from it.

The menu of services should be widened on public land to include economic facilities (i.e. public markets and workshops, employment advice centres, training centres, information and communication centres, building material supply centres and so on). Public facilities, in order to be highly accessible, must not be buried inside the residential area, but must be located in relation to public transport routes and corridors of commercial and industrial activity.

The achievement of both efficiency and equity in residential development will depend at least partly upon efforts to increase land-use and residential densities, promote 'infill development' in under-utilised land and rehabilitate the existing

housing stock. Residential development should promote greater spatial integration between places of residences and work, mixed and complementary land-use and functional interdependence within area. Regeneration programmes need to be taken within a framework in which their social and economic returns can be weighed.

Hindson et al (1993) note that where land controls are more lax, there is a tendency of squatting on vacant land. The first task is to rebuild deteriorated homes, community facilities and infrastructure, and locate populations before moving on to the larger task of new housing and infrastructure development. Policies should be aimed at:

- directing new development to unused or underused land
- developing high efficiency in terms of use of land
- creating open spaces for them to play a useful role in people's lives
- providing community and other public facilities
- identifying developable land

To solve the vacant site problem there is a need to identify. Small parcels of well located land must also be identified for development. The system of "performance zoning" (in terms of which almost any land-use is allowed as long as it does not infringe visual, audible or nuisance norms) has been used with some success in a number of USA residential area, and the possibility of introducing the system (or a version of it) here requires investigation.

In summary, there is a need to use vacant and under used, well-located sites for housing; facilities should focus on public transport; need to encourage a mix of land-uses and high density development on land inefficiently used. Policy formulation which affects the provision of services should take cognisance of the fact that needs and priorities will vary greatly across the area. The achievement of a more equitable residential area will depend on regeneration at both the scale of the whole area and at a scale of its different parts. A greater proportion of spending should be directed to public facilities which can assist in wide scale economic and social improvement to ensure residential regeneration efforts in Clairwood receive a proven success!

7.5 Failures of the Study and Submission

The purpose of this study has been a closer look at residential regeneration efforts in Clairwood. The main argument has been that the individual private vacant site owners are hindering the process of residential regeneration in Clairwood. The amount of information received in this study might not be representative of the entire influence of private site ownership in the area. It has been established that there is a number of large group/authorities of vacant site owners (referred to as landowners in the area) which have not been researched in this study. Perhaps if they had been surveyed they would have given a better understanding of the efforts involved in residential regeneration in Clairwood and their roles in the process.

However, the DRA (1995) conducted a large survey concerning development in Clairwood with the landowners and produced similar results to this study (i.e. that

siteowners are unconcerned about development at this stage in the process). In keeping with the principle of consultation, DRA was commissioned to conduct two separate workshops with the resident tenants and the and landlord communities of Clairwood respectively. While the workshop held with the resident tenants provided a great deal of insight into the dynamics of the situation, it must be noted that the workshop that was scheduled for the landowners did not materialise, as only two landlords out of a total of 16 expected participants attended. This was in spite of the fact that all known landowners had been contacted by DRA, both by letter and telephonically, well in advance of the scheduled date. The result was that the meeting of 02/07/1995 had to be cancelled.

Attempts were then made to try and convene a second meeting with the landowners. This meeting was scheduled to take place a week later on 09/07/1995. Again, all 16 known landowners were contacted, telephonically and via hand delivered written invitations, told about the new meeting. In spite of this, not a single landowner arrived for the rescheduled workshop. In summary, it is submitted that a closer look at residential regeneration efforts in Clairwood reveal that they can only be a success if the following broad principles are followed:

- the efforts involved in the residential regeneration process must be viewed in the light of Clairwood's socio-political history
- the broad principles of nation-building as laid out in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) must be followed
- a tripartite relationship between the DCC, resident-tenants and private site owners should be forged. This relationship should also be manifest in the formation of a working committee comprising all three role players
- there should be principles and policies that are central tools in ensuring sustainability of the various regeneration projects to be established in the area. This should take the form of education around the issues of regeneration as well as job creation initiatives in the actual regeneration strategy
- the type of regeneration that should be followed must be a mixture of low cost and middle income housing followed by the development of a small retail sector

Finally, in conjunction with these proposed guidelines, the need to gain a practicable understanding of people's values and behaviour is essential to any effective regeneration work. Thus, consultation at all levels of the regeneration and implementation process is crucial for without it, all efforts will be futile.

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Focused Groups Interviews:

Maharaj, Mr Ishwar (03/04/97): *Member of Clairwood Ratepayers and Residents Association (CRRA)*

Mackintosh, Mr Ian (14/11/97): *Statutory Planning Division: City Engineers Department, Department of Physical Environment*

APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL Department of Town and Regional Planning

A STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL REGENERATION IN EFFORTS IN CLAIRWOOD

A SURVEY OF VACANT SITE OWNERS

Please assist the student by filling the accompanying questionnaire. The information you provide shall be treated with absolute confidentiality.

Mark your answer(s) with an X (where appropriate).

1. Which age category are you?

Under 21	<input type="checkbox"/>
21 - 40	<input type="checkbox"/>
41 - 60	<input type="checkbox"/>
Over 60	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. What is your current occupational status?

Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Voluntarily Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Retired	<input type="checkbox"/>
Employed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Self Employed	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Approximately, how much are your total earnings per month?

Under R1 000	<input type="checkbox"/>
R1001 - R2 500	<input type="checkbox"/>
R2501 - R5 000	<input type="checkbox"/>
Above R10 000	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. What are your highest educational qualifications ?

With Matric	
Without Matric	
With Diploma/Degree	

5. How long have you owned your site ?

6. Do you presently live in Clairwood ?

Yes	
No	

7. If no, do you normally visit the area ?

Yes	
No	

8. What is the size of your site ?

9. How did you acquire your site ?

Bought the Site	
Inherited the Site	

10. Do you own any other site in the area ?

Yes	
No	

11. Are aware of any land-use controls pertaining to the development of your site?

Yes	
No	

12. What kind of developments are occurring in the vacant sites adjacent to your site and in the neighbourhood in general?

People are selling their sites	
Developing their sites	
Squatter invasions are occurring	
Don't know	

13. If yes, do you have an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the plans ?

Yes	
No	

14. Do you support or oppose any plans or development initiatives in the area ?

15. Do you have the necessary resources (i.e. labour and money) to develop your site ?

16. Who do you go to in case you need to get something done (I. e. you want to build or to erect a building on your site) ?

Durban City Council	
Civic Organisation	
Don't know	

17. Do you feel the Clairwood Residents and Ratepayers Association and the Durban City Council are effectively enforcing rules and ensuring better management of neighbourhood affairs ?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

18. Do you believe that there has been an improvement to Clairwood in terms of development ?

To a certain extent	
No improvement	

19. What are the problems about development process and how can they be solved ?

20. How do you intend developing your site in the future ?

Construct a house	
Establish a light industry	
Sell the site	
Develop a market garden	
Don't know	

21. Ideally, what would you like Clairwood to be like ?

-END OF QUESTIONNAIRE-
Thank you for your co-operation

APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
Department of Town and Regional Planning

A STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL REGENERATION IN EFFORTS IN CLAIRWOOD

A SURVEY OF VACANT SITE OWNERS

Please assist the student by filling the accompanying questionnaire. The information you provide shall be treated with absolute confidentiality.

Mark your answer(s) with an X (where appropriate).

1. Has Clairwood changed from the way you know it?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. What are the problems existing in the area?

3. What are the important issues that need to be addressed?

4. Are these issues addressed by the authorities?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Which representatives/authorities do you have confidence in?

Elected representatives	
Council Officials	
Civic Association	
Volunteer groups	

6. How can you rate the level of municipal services?

Good	
Adequate	
Poor	

7. In your capacity, what measures would you like to take to solve the problems you mentioned?

8. Why have you not done it?

9. Is the Clairwood Residents and Ratepayers Association and the Durban City Council effectively enforcing existing rules and ensuring better management of neighbourhood affairs?

Yes	
No	
To a certain extent	

10. What are the advantages of living in the area?

11. What are the disadvantages of living in the area?

12. What are the positive aspects of the social, economic and natural environment?

12.1 Social aspects

12.2 Economic aspects

12.3 Other aspects

13. How could the community become more effective in terms of addressing collective issues of concern to all residents in the area?

14. What should the open spaces be used for?

15. What land uses should be developed on the vacant sites?

16. Will you be living in Clairwood for the next.....years?

0 -2	
2 -5	
5 -10	
Don't know	

17. What will make you live in the area for the length of years you have mentioned?

18. Do you think that Clairwood will improve in the near future?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

19. Are you aware of any plans or development initiatives in the area?

Yes	
No	

20. What issues should residential regeneration focus on in the area?

21. What can be done to encourage residential improvement in the area?

22. Would you support the relocation of certain activities in the area?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

23. If yes, which activity would be most important to relocate and why?

24. Do you support or oppose any plans to develop the area?

Yes	
No	

25. If yes, which development do you support or oppose?

26. In general, do you feel happy living in Clairwood?

Yes	
No	
Not sure	

27. Ideally what would you like Clairwood to look like in the future?

-END OF QUESTIONNAIRE- Thank you for your co-operation

APPENDIX 3
List of Land Owners Interviewed

Name of Site Owner	Property Address	Property Description	Road
FS Horn	136	95	Houghton
R Ghirao	129	132	Sirdar
L Singh	201	658	Sirdar
S Kissoon	140	309	Houghton
El NB Sayed	170	604	Houghton
Jaindrain	141	*	Houghton
BD Bhawanipersod	113	5	Cherry
M Mahabeer	152	*	Houghton
S Gownden	*	*	*
Rajkmukar	53	*	*
SH Mahomed	*	*	*
N Govender	139	1 of 314	Houghton
AB: T Ibrahim	*	*	Dayel
Soo Bramoney	312	1 of 444	Flower
E Bates	85	324	Pine
S Mohanlall	109	10 of 9 of 248	Houghton
ST Balgabind	101	408	Cherry
Jacob	134	*	Houghton
Rajamma	114	1 of 395	Cherry
Baran, Sewbarum	143	*	Houghton
Roapanand, Singh	53	*	*
S Gounden	86	*	Pine
Raguen, Naidu, Raj, Naidoo, Paro	85	129	Archary

* Not Known

(Source: *Clearwood Structure Plan*)