

**A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO HOUSING:
A SOCIAL WORK PERSPECTIVE**

BISINI NAIDOO

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DECLARATION

This study is entirely my original work. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

BISINI NAIDOO

University of Natal, Durban

July 1999

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my late parents, Appama and Bungaree Appanah Naidoo, in appreciation of their love, and in acknowledgement of their contribution to the upliftment of the community.

ABSTRACT

The study focused on the extent to which large scale housing projects, undertaken by the state in South Africa over the past three decades, were planned, designed and implemented to promote the widest interests and welfare of families and communities which had to be resettled and relocated.

The literature study, which provided the background and basis for the study, covered a wide field. It included various definitions of housing, the current backlog in housing, changes in approaches to the provision of large scale housing, and various options and alternatives to conventional housing examined as a solution to the national housing problem. It extended further to include techniques and designs of the newtown concept, the developmental and holistic approaches and the latest policy initiatives of the state to address sociological problems, such as poverty and unemployment, through large scale housing development.

To test the relevance and practical application of these holistic and developmental concepts and approaches, a mass housing project, promoted in terms of state legislation on the newtown concept, Phoenix Newtown, a major housing project started by the Durban City Council in 1970, was selected for intensive study.

The research examined steps taken by the City Council in the planning of Phoenix Newtown, the nature of statistical and other data on which the concept and design were determined and the extent to which basic town planning principles and procedures were followed in the execution of the Master Plan. The results and conclusions reached in the study are included together with recommendations for future reference in the planning and promotion of proposed large scale housing projects, in the light of the country's new housing policy and legislation.

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CHAPTER ONE

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INTRODUCTION

The study focussed on housing as an instrument for the enhancement of the quality of people's lives. It concerned itself with the planning, design and development of large-scale or mass housing projects. In South Africa, in the past, a top-down approach to the planning and provision of housing was used. The development and implementation of a national housing policy was seen as a state responsibility. The housing policy was consistent with the broader social policy, designed to ensure the maintenance of the apartheid system.

With the change of government has come a recognition of the need for social development, the provision of housing being central to this process. This notion was embraced in the following guiding principles of the Housing Act No. 107 of 1997 (cited by Sarjoo, Griffiths, Pirrie, Jones and Griffiths, 1998). Housing fulfils a basic human need and is both a product and a process. It is a product of human endeavour and enterprise, and a vital part of integrated developmental planning which is integral to the socio-economic well-being of the nation. Consequently, housing is no longer seen merely as a physical resource. Rather, the provision of housing is seen as an important part of development processes which need to be guided by community development principles, such as the involvement of communities and consultation with civic leaders in the determination of their housing

needs and in the planning, design and construction of housing units. Thus the provision of housing is seen as a multifaceted development process which requires multidisciplinary input to ensure that all aspects of a community's development are taken into account. For example, engineers play a role in the construction of access roads and water systems vital to housing development programmes, while architects assist in the design of the housing units and the housing scheme as a whole, and social or community development workers facilitate the formation of community action groups through which the community articulates and prioritises its needs. This multidisciplinary approach is encapsulated in the notion of the "built environment" as distinct from the natural environment in which people live.

The "built environment" is the structural context which needs to be developed in a holistic, planned manner ensuring a balance of developed and open spaces, the provision of resources and amenities and the design of living units within easy access to schools, hospitals, clinics, shops and sporting facilities, all of which are essential to people's effective social functioning. At the same time, infrastructural development should protect and enhance the natural environment. Energy and water resources are crucial factors in environmental protection since without these resources people deplete the environment, cut down trees and pollute rivers to meet these essential needs. Housing programmes which have not been planned and developed holistically, for example, have resulted in the destruction of fencing erected for boundary demarcation purposes because the split poles were needed for energy. Electrification must proceed in tandem with other infrastructural development.

Problem statement

There is a severe shortage of housing in South Africa. Apartheid policy has contributed to the creation of serious backlogs in housing for low income communities. The government White Paper on Housing (1994) estimated an urban backlog of 1,5 million housing units.

In spite of considerable housing development undertaken by the private sector, the central government and the local authorities during the past decade, in 1994 the Durban City Council (now known as the Durban Metropolitan Council) estimated from their waiting lists the current backlog in the Durban Functional Region to be over 19 000, made up of 11 304 for coloured, white and Indian families and 8 406 for the black population. However, in order to accommodate growth and new household formation, 240 000 housing opportunities have been estimated for the next ten years in the Durban Metro Region. Emerging low-income households are forced to continue living with family, rent, build a shack within an informal settlement or invade unprotected private land. This creates a growth in health and safety problems as well as structural social conflict between private land owners and the urban poor (Baskin, 1998). This situation has particular relevance to this study as there are indications that major plans are being formulated to meet the urgent and growing housing problem prevalent in this region.

To cope with this backlog, the present government recognises the need to involve the private sector and local communities in housing provision. There is a need to

develop intervention strategies to inform development processes designed to correct the injustices and inequalities of the past.

Further, housing is regarded as a critical component in addressing the challenges facing many countries throughout the world. The United Nations has reported that approximately 500 million people are either homeless or living in unfit housing that is life-threatening. The prognosis, according to the global report on human settlements, *An Urbanising World*, is likely to worsen since the population in urban areas is expected to double to five billion by the year 2025. The growth of cities and the urbanisation of rural areas are now irreversible due to the global shift to technological, industrial and service-based economies. Few countries are able to handle the rapid increase in population growth, which is likely to create problems on an unprecedented scale, from a lack of clean water to the spread of disease. The United Nations added that 10 million people were dying annually in densely populated urban areas from conditions produced by unfit housing and poor sanitation. Homelessness and poor housing conditions are at the root of all social and economic problems. The Secretary-General of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, N' Dow, is certain that urban areas have the resources to solve housing problems but waste and mismanagement cripple the effort. N' Dow foresees the twenty-first century as being the first urban century, but many countries are not prepared for this (United Nations, 1995). With 54,4% of South Africa's population becoming urbanised, the country needs to find a way of spreading urban service interventions as widely as possible.

The problems facing the housing sector, therefore, are those that affect housing delivery and those that impact on urban quality. Strategic responses need to be formulated and implemented in addressing several crucial challenges relating to housing. Ways need to be found to:

1. Respond quickly to people's needs.
2. Maintain and build capacity.
3. Access and secure more funds for housing.
4. Improve the quality of homes and the housing environment, to improve people's lives (Baskin, 1998).

Rationale for the study

There is a direct relationship between the incidence of social problems, such as violence, alcoholism, child abuse and unemployment, and the "built-environment" in which people live. In her practice as a social worker working in the Chatsworth and Shallcross communities, the researcher noted the effects of poor planning on the large-scale housing schemes in which these communities were housed. The Chatsworth Housing Scheme was planned and developed by the Durban City Council with funding from the National Housing Commission. The scheme, when initiated in 1959, made provision for 22 000 houses for an estimated population of 250 000. The Shallcross Housing Scheme, on the other hand, was undertaken by the Development Services Board. Development on this project, to provide 960 houses, began in 1967. Both these schemes, together with the one at Merebank for 4 000 houses, were, at first, planned to cater for the accumulated backlog in Indian housing within the Durban/Pinetown economic region. But in the mid-sixties, the state

accelerated the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 as a result of which additional housing had to be found for those displaced in terms of proclamations issued. The Newlands-Phoenix housing projects were then embarked upon to provide 10 443 flats and duplexes and 15 100 single and semi-detached houses, that is, a total of 30 000 housing units to accommodate an estimated population of 150 000. These housing projects had to take into account and provide for rapid growth in the Indian population of the Metropolitan Durban area, which was projected at 236 890 for 1960 and 606 700 for 1990.

In the large-scale mass housing schemes hitherto promoted by municipal and state authorities, the emphasis was on the provision of housing. Adequate provision was not made for services and amenities, and for the promotion of educational, religious, cultural, sporting and other pursuits of the residents. No provision was made for certain basic needs and the nature of the planning resulted in the spatial separation of the different socio-economic groups in the population. Avenues for interaction and social mixing were limited. Several of these features were brought to the attention of the planning authorities but little attention was paid to the comments and recommendations which were offered.

Despite previous separatist, top-down housing policy, certain communities have achieved infrastructural development with minimal government resource provision largely through their own effort. Phoenix, the community under study, is one such community. Although poverty remains a major problem, it was believed that a study of the development of this particular community would yield qualitative data which

might be used to inform future housing development programmes in the Durban Functional Region.

Purpose of the study.

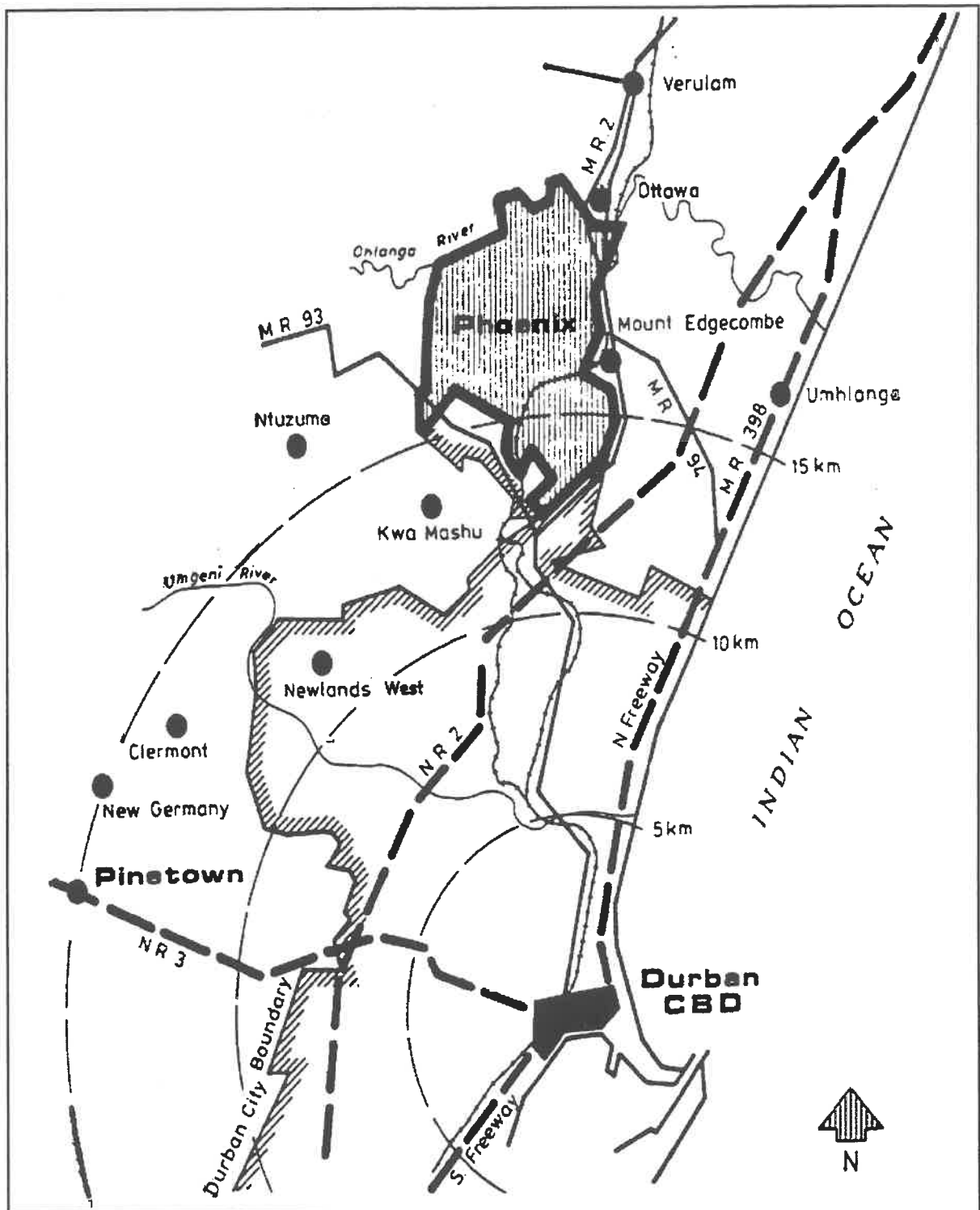
The study examined the development and implementation of housing policy and its effect on a specific government housing scheme in Phoenix where its stated aim was the establishment of a "self-contained and balanced community" (Symes, 1989). It aimed to:

1. Examine past efforts to see what lessons could be learnt in order to improve the effectiveness of future housing development.
2. Determine intervention strategies for future community development around housing needs, wherein much of the contribution by social work and other disciplines lay.

The origin of Phoenix

The Phoenix - Mount Edgecombe area was originally a sugar estate situated in a Group Area to the north of Durban, outside the boundaries of the city. The area was part of the land which belonged to a company known as Natal Estates. After a great deal of protracted negotiations, it was bought by the Durban City Council to establish a township in order to accommodate the excessive Indian population as part of the Council's apartheid housing and relocation strategy (Bailey, 1987). The Phoenix Indian Newtown (hereafter referred to as Phoenix or Phoenix Newtown) was thus named after the Phoenix sugar estate on which the township was established. Map 1 shows the regional location of Phoenix in KwaZulu Natal.

MAP 1: REGIONAL LOCATION OF PHOENIX IN KWAZULU NATAL



(City Engineer's Department, 1982)

Assumptions or theoretical framework guiding the research

The study was based on the following working assumptions:

1. The promotion of human welfare rests on the creation of a wholesome living environment.
2. Due to the current changes in housing policy and the enormous backlog there is a need for a change in the country's approach to the provision of future housing developments.
3. A bottom-up approach is more effective in the planning and implementation of housing.
4. Community participation can be sustained if the developmental approach to housing is adopted.
5. Housing should be viewed as a system of interrelated parts which requires multidisciplinary input in its planning and implementation.
6. Holistic, systems theories provide a useful framework to assist in understanding the developmental approach to housing.

Definition of terms

1. Housing

"Housing is defined as a variety of processes through which habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments are created for viable households and communities. This recognises that the environment within which a house is situated is as important as the house itself in satisfying the needs and requirements of the occupants" (White Paper on Housing, 1994, para. 4.2, p. 21).

2. House

A house is defined as “any form of shelter which may or may not have some of the basic necessities, such as *inter alia* water, electricity and a sewerage system. It is an individual physical artefact ..., could be a shack, a hostel or an unsanitary or unelectrified dwelling place” (Botha, cited in Reddy, 1993, p. 403).

3. Home

“A home can be defined as an expression of the political, economic and cultural values of a society. It is concerned about its social, physical and economic environment, as well as its contribution to the reproduction of the entire society” (Botha, cited in Reddy, 1993, p. 403).

4. Environment

Environment has been defined as “the aggregate of all the external conditions and influences affecting the life and development of an organism - in this case, man in his natural and cultural setting” (Herskovits, 1967, p. 154).

5. Community Participation

Community participation is a potential vehicle for the correct identification of housing needs, for ensuring quality, for establishing priorities and implementing housing programmes (United Nations, 1977).

6. Social Work

“Social work is concerned with the interactions between people and their social environment which affect the ability of people to accomplish their life tasks, alleviate distress and realise their aspirations and values. The purpose of social work therefore is to (1) enhance the problem-solving and coping

capacities of people, (2) link people with systems that provide them with resources, services and opportunities, (3) promote the effective and humane operation of these systems, and (4) contribute to the development and improvement of social policy” (Pincus and Minahan, 1975, p. 9).

Theories guiding the study

The study was guided by the systems theory and its holistic approach. “The holistic approach assumes that the whole is understood as a complex system that is greater than the sum of its parts” (Patton, 1990, p. 49). The holist is interested in studying a “whole system” and, therefore, assumes that a description and understanding of a person’s social environment or an organisation (political, structure, context) is essential for an overall understanding (Patton, 1990; Reason and Rowan, 1981). Holistic thinking is central to a systems perspective. A system is a whole that is both greater than and different from its parts. The parts are interconnected and interrelated (Patton, 1990). According to Ghageadaghi and Ackoff (in Patton, 1990), a system as a whole cannot be understood by analysis of separate parts or in isolation. The function and meaning of the parts are lost when separated from the whole.

The systems perspective is important in understanding real-world complexities and views issues as whole entities embedded in larger wholes. Thus, in housing, the systems theory is important to understanding the effects of the micro, immediate and macro environments on the individual and the community. These characteristics pinpoint important elements of the holistic approach: it involves teamwork; is

interdisciplinary, comprehensive, instructive and exploratory, leading to a process and developmental orientation.

The holistic approach and systems perspective depends heavily on qualitative enquiry which, in turn, facilitates a depth in human understanding of purposeful systems (Ackoff and Emery, in Patton, 1990). Thus comprehensive data on all aspects of systems functioning is needed.

Presentation of the Report

Chapter one provided an introduction to the nature of the study, the need, rationale and purpose for such a study in South Africa, as well as the problem facing the rest of the world. An overview was given of systems theory and the holistic approach on which the study was based, and concepts central to the study were defined.

In chapter two, the theory of housing is reviewed. This includes issues and problems related to housing, the changing needs and priorities in housing provision, alternatives to meeting the housing challenge, the role players involved in the provision of housing and finally, the main focus of the study, the holistic developmental approach to housing which encompasses the populist, quality of life and multidisciplinary models.

Chapter three gives an overview of housing legislation and policies during three eras: first, legislation prior to the establishment of Phoenix Newtown; secondly, the

legislation which was effective at the time of the establishment of Phoenix; and, thirdly the housing legislation and policies in the post-apartheid period.

Chapter four traces briefly the origin of the newtown concept and the principles on which it is based. It proceeds with the importation of newtown planning into South Africa and the adoption of blueprint planning for Phoenix. The Master Plan for Phoenix, which was compiled by the City Engineers' Department, is then analysed.

Chapter five describes the sampling and data collection techniques employed in the research process to find answers to research questions guiding the study, to evaluate whether the objectives of the Master Plan were met and in order to compile the present community profile of Phoenix Newtown. Attempts to overcome limitations and to ensure the validity and reliability of the study are also presented.

Chapter six includes the analysis, presentation and discussion of the findings in relation to the literature review in chapters two, three and four. Chapter seven draws conclusion to the study and, together with the new housing policy, recommendations are made to guide the future housing delivery process.

CHAPTER TWO

HOUSING THEORY

Housing is defined as "a variety of processes through which habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments are created for viable households and communities" (White Paper on Housing, 1994, p.21). Botha (1992) added that housing is not merely a physical artifact, but is also an expression of the political, economic and cultural values of a society.

Housing lower-income groups on the outer periphery of the major cities in South Africa has caused numerous problems. The need to commute long distances to work and to the city centre where most services are located has had an effect on family life and continues to contribute to the increase in violence, low productivity and absenteeism (Kruger, 1992). The housing problem needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency, for, as Fraser (1992) mentioned, "another delay, whilst the homeless suffer and overcrowding of unacceptable shelter leads to further disintegration of family life, increasing frustration and inevitably crime" (p.32). Due to the low and progressively decreasing rate in the provision of formal and informal housing in South Africa, a massive increase in the number of households forced to seek accommodation in informal settlements, backyard shacks and in overcrowded conditions in existing formal housing has resulted (White Paper on Housing, 1994). These conditions could deteriorate into slums, being further aggravated by a

continuous influx of migrants into urban centres, exerting stress on basic amenities. The Minister of Land Affairs, Derek Hanekom, visited India in 1995. He was astonished by the extent of homelessness in that country. In the city of Bangalore there were 401 slums. The streets of Bombay had makeshift homes, some of which were forty years old (Angamuthu, 1995). It was estimated that nearly 40 million people (that is, the equivalent of the entire population of South Africa) would be without a home in India by the year 2000 (Sampathkumar, 1993).

ISSUES AND PROBLEMS RELATED TO HOUSING

1. Emerging Slums

Most urban planners emphasised the physical aspects of housing. Haroy (1987) reversed this trend by adopting a humane approach to the problem of housing the poor, drawing on his wide knowledge of the political, economic, cultural and social factors affecting low-income groups throughout the world. Haroy (1987) claimed that the poor rarely had the luxury of choice. Therefore they had to build their houses close to their sources of income, taking whatever land was available to them. Often the land was ill-suited to habitation. Cities, such as Bombay, Bangkok and Delhi, were prone to periodic floods, while Rio de Janeiro experienced landslides, and barren deserts were found on the fringes of cities like Lima and Khartoum. Most new housing in third world cities like these was constructed in a chaotic and haphazard manner, accommodating the poor in squalor, filth and degradation. Accidents caused by overcrowding (especially burns and scalds) plus poor hygiene and malnutrition were the killers that plagued the homeless. They had no option but to live in housing

characterised by overcrowding, where there was no piped water and no provision for the removal of household and human waste. In addition, the poor unwittingly broke many laws either through ignorance or lack of understanding. They needed constant guidance and advice on how standards should be maintained (Haroy, 1987).

Green and Panton (1990) suggested that slums developed in decaying and abandoned middle-class housing in central areas due to the increased growth in the urban population and the demand for cheap labour. In cities like London and Birmingham, improvements in public housing have caused middle-class people to leave the rapidly decaying municipal council housing estates.

Ford (1979) aptly defined a slum as "a residential area in which the housing is so deteriorated so substandard or so unwholesome as to be a menace to the health, safety, morality and welfare of the occupants" (p.4). Obudho and Mblanga (1988) found that in African countries, slums served as reception areas for single migrants since they offered relatively cheap accommodation and were centrally situated.

In South Africa, many of the township houses lack certain basic facilities, such as electricity, water and proper sewerage systems. The situation is worse in the squatter camps or settlement areas, which are characterised by high population densities, poor sewerage and drainage systems, inadequate lighting and health hazards. This situation is exacerbated by the continuing influx of people from the rural to metropolitan areas. According to Naidoo (1977), in the 1960s, owing to a serious backlog in Indian housing at most major urban centres, thousands of Indian families

were compelled to live in squalid, overcrowded, unsanitary and poor housing conditions. Shacks, shanties, garages, hovels and backyards served as housing for a very large population of urban Indian families over a long period. They endured years of hardship and inconvenience and consequent rent racketeering. Adler (1993) argued that the structure and the social character of the South African inner city was both a creation of apartheid and a creature of the post-apartheid era. Created through massive changes in demography, the abolition of legislated racial zoning and the economic forces, which have simultaneously led to the repopulation of the inner city and the flight to the suburbs, the inner city reflects both the problems and challenges of a changing South Africa. Lack of affordable accommodation, overcrowding, social and racial tension, degrading residential stock and community facilities, in short, the creation of inner city ghettos, are a very real threat to the substantial existing social and economic structure in the downtown areas of our cities (Adler, 1993).

2. Forced removals

The Group Areas Act (1950) had a major influence on peoples' perception of whether forced removal had improved their quality of life (Moodley, 1993; Naidoo, 1977; Subramony, 1993).

1. People who were rehoused or relocated were never consulted about their housing requirements. Emphasis was on the provision of mass-produced standardised dwellings. This resulted in the varying needs of households not being met, nor was special provision made for the requirements of the aged

and physically challenged. Fridjhon, Fulford and Partners (1979) reported similar findings in Phoenix.

2. Residents had no choice in the type of dwelling allocated to them. This indicated the "powerlessness of public housing tenants" (Moodley, 1993, p. 856). Moodley (1993) found that 'flat residents' had a lower quality of life as compared to semi-detached and single-cottage dwellers, who lived in a more favourable environment.
3. Relocation was traumatic, resulting in loss of a sense of community and frustrations associated with feelings of enforced movement, dispossession of property, dissatisfaction over compensation granted, and grievances associated with accepting a house in an officially promoted scheme (Naidoo, 1977). "Stable communities were uprooted from dwellings which they could afford in locations that were convenient in terms of access to jobs, amenities and the central city" (Moodley, 1993, p. 856). In addition, residents had to pay high rentals and transport costs, since a large number worked in the city centre. This caused a heavy burden on meagre resources (Subramony, 1993).
4. A significant aspect was that the sense of community that had prevailed in previous locations was lost. Moodley (1993) rightfully pointed out that although the housing provided in the relocated areas was relatively better, the delivery of public housing made a false assumption that people were insensitive to their surroundings and would welcome the idea of improved housing. According to Corbett (1980), some effort was made to keep families

together but this was not always possible. Once social and community networks were destroyed, they were difficult to replace (Cowans, 1993).

5. The new area only made provision for nuclear families which resulted in the physical breakup of the extended Indian family (Subramony, 1993). The upliftment of deteriorating areas was preferred to the destruction and removal of families to totally new environments (Corbett, 1980). Cowans (1993) found that in Britain, where efforts were made to keep existing communities together by carefully phased demolition and redevelopment, there were fewer problems in managing the schemes and there were fewer eventual problems in the new estates. Those Indians who were forced by the Group Areas Act (1950) to move from habitable homes were bitter and resentful. Given a choice, they would have preferred the upgrading of their existing areas (Subramony, 1993).
6. There was a great deal of concern about transport and employment opportunities. For physical, economic and political reasons the residential areas of low-income communities were moved further and further away from employment opportunities. In addition to transport costs, there were direct and indirect social costs. Long commuting times resulted in loss of leisure time, a reduction of social activities, less time for parent-child contact and a lack of parental supervision. "Maintaining a balance between housing and employment is imperative if one wants to cut back the need to commute and avoid building new 'dormitory towns'" (Goursolas, 1980, p. 577).

3. Poor health

Data have been assembled which indicate that over half the diseases of the metropolitan areas are found within the so-called "slum districts" of cities. The incidence of tuberculosis bears a close relationship to the degree of crowding in the dwellings. In some major cities, pneumonia and influenza have been found. The incidence of pneumonia and rickets was highest in areas of poverty and poor housing, and diseases spread by rats and vermin were found primarily in sub-standard housing areas. In many such areas the highest incidence of domestic accidents was also observed (WHO, 1964).

Further, inadequate utility services had serious effects on the health of a community. During the 1994-1995 period, two hospitals in Durban reported treating several patients for a sweeping dysentery epidemic. Patients subsequently died or remained in a critical condition. Doctors attributed the cause to the lack of clean water and thus to the difficulty in maintaining personal hygiene (Weir, 1995).

* Overcrowding, particularly in conjunction with poverty and inadequate facilities, has been shown to increase the transmission rates of communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis, pneumonia, bronchitis and gastro-intestinal infections. Persons sleeping in close proximity in poorly ventilated rooms were more exposed to the spread of airborne infections, including meningococcal meningitis, rheumatic fever, influenza, the common cold, measles, rubella, and pertussis (Mayet and van Rensburg, in the report by the Department of Community Health, 1995; WHO, 1964). Wilner and associates (cited in Friedlander and Apte, 1980) reviewed forty studies conducted in

the United States and Europe and found a clear correlation between inadequate housing, poor health and social adjustment. Generalising the results of the study, they concluded that many preventable illnesses could be attributed to poor housing. These included tuberculosis, pneumonia, acute respiratory infections, infectious diseases such as measles, chicken pox and whooping cough, infectious and non-infectious skin diseases and digestive diseases such as typhoid, dysentery and gastro-enteritis (Friedlander and Apte, 1980).

According to Lowry (1991), living in cold, damp conditions affected peoples' social and physical well-being. At low temperatures, cardiovascular problems occurred and the risk of hypothermia rose. Less severe cold conditions encouraged condensation and more respiratory problems were reported if children lived in damp houses. This resulted in increased morbidity in children and certainly in an increased amount of stress on their parents.

4. Poor housing design and quality

Several studies on the impact of shelter revealed that inadequacies in housing design affected the quality of life of individuals and families (Phoenix: Durban City Engineer's Department, 1977; Fridjon et al, 1979; Chatsworth: Moodley, 1993; Subramony, 1993; Soweto: Kuzwayo, 1975; Motherwell: Frescura, 1988; Pietermaritzburg and Durban: Butler-Adam and Venter, 1984. The following results emerged from these studies:

1. The internal housing design did not suit the occupants, whose lives were already difficult due to low income and social problems.

2. Physical design problems resulted in residents experiencing a lack of privacy, overcrowding and noise (from inside and outside the dwellings).
3. Residents did not favour flat-life, especially the idea of sharing communal facilities and the lack of garden space and playing areas for children.

There is evidence that the quality of homes provided for low-income groups has caused a great deal of inconvenience and dissatisfaction. The Department of Construction Economics and Management at the University of Cape Town was requested to investigate claims into poor construction of houses. The types of problems identified were: water penetration; cracks in walls; malfunction of fittings and services, and poor surface quality, alignment and levelling, resulting from a lack of compliance with building specifications. These defects were attributed to inadequate supervision, shoddy workmanship, poor design and wrongful use of materials (Hindle, 1990). Similar problems were revealed by studies carried out in Chatsworth (Corbett, 1980; Moodley, 1993; Subramony, 1993), Orange Farm (De Beer, 1993), Phoenix (Fridjhon et al, 1979; City Engineer's Department, 1977), Motherwell (Frescura, 1988) and Soweto (Kuzwayo, 1975). In an attempt to provide affordable homes to 'a million in need', the emphasis was on quantity at the expense of quality. Most affected were poor communities, where expenditure on basic needs, like food, shelter, energy, transport and education demanded a monumental effort (De Beer, 1993).

5. Absence of ownership rights and housing choice

Security of tenure has a profound effect on satisfaction, psychological health and the degree to which housing could be used as an economic asset (Dewar, 1993). The absence of rights of ownership often implied insecurity of some sort. People were simply not willing to make changes to, or investments in, buildings they might eventually lose. The Minister of Housing, Mthembu-Mahanyele (1997) announced that security of tenure needed to be emphasised as a policy objective. The Durban Metropolitan Council has encouraged tenants in areas like Chatsworth, Phoenix and Wentworth to buy their houses at a state discount (Padayachee, 1995).

Choosing a home plays an important part in most people's lives. In the apartheid decades characterised by the Group Areas policy and forced removals, people were robbed of any choice in housing. People should, at the very least, be offered a choice in relation to:

1. Security of tenure, location and services.
2. The kind of shelter provided by housing authorities and basic space provisions.
3. The degree of aesthetic resolution both within and without the housing unit (Dewar and Ellis, 1979).

Housing projects should offer the potential to develop into rich, total living environments catering for the upward mobility of families as their size and financial status increased. Further, subsidy measures should be flexible so as to respond to differential housing needs (Dewar and Ellis, 1979).

6. Neglect of the wider environment and community facilities

Over the past few decades, low-income housing has been defined narrowly as the provision of dwelling units which resulted in the creation of monotonous and sterile environments (Dewar, 1993). In an open letter to a previous Minister of Housing, Louis Shill and the members of the National Housing Forum, Dewar (1993) stated that emphasis should be placed on improving the quality of public spatial environments. In public spaces people experienced the city and engaged in collective life. Regardless of the quality or design of individual buildings, the creation of enclosed social space contributed to a positive environment. This was particularly important to the poor whose range of family needs had to be met within the individual home due to limited resources. Application of thought and creativity to public spaces gave dignity and a sense of permanence to environments. This included the provision of essential community facilities which needed to:

1. Become an integrated part of community life.
2. Be multifunctional and shared to obtain maximum benefit, for example, sharing of halls, libraries and playing fields between schools and communities.
3. Be located within easy reach of public transportation systems to make them as accessible and convenient as possible.

For social facilities to have an impact on the lives of the poor, they should be regarded as an essential part of housing programmes (Dewar, 1993; Dewar and Ellis, 1979). Studies conducted on public housing programmes showed that residents were highly inconvenienced by poorly located and ill-equipped public facilities (City Treasurer, 1975; City Engineer's Department, 1977; Kuzwayo, 1975; Subramony, 1993).

In conclusion, poor housing programmes have led to the creation of improvised communities. Retief (cited in Dewar and Ellis, 1979, p. 242) stated that African townships or 'locations' as they came to be known:

Were badly sited and squeezed into unattractive and unsuitable corners of the city. There was no room for their healthy expansion and development and as a result of much confusion and disharmony, they developed into repulsive areas. These areas were characterised by adverse social conditions such as poverty, a housing shortage, overcrowding, unemployment, limited educational opportunities and poor recreational and leisure facilities. Both external circumstances and individual factors contributed to the continuation of these unsatisfactory conditions... (which) brought about a collapse of social control... typical of most criminal or delinquency areas... (and which were) directly related to the crime rate among the urban Bantu people.

Dewar and Ellis (1979) analysed case histories brought to the attention of social workers at the Groote Schuur Hospital, the Red Cross War Memorial Children's Hospital, the Cape Town Health Department, the South African Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders, and Child Welfare. These studies showed that problems such as lack of privacy, marital breakdown, child neglect, violent and criminal behaviour, and poor health (including tuberculosis, cardiac and physical problems) were either aggravated by inadequate accommodation or there was a direct correlation between the problem and poor housing conditions and environmental stresses.

THE CHANGING NEEDS AND PRIORITIES IN HOUSING PROVISION

In addressing priorities in housing provision in South Africa, there were many factors that indicated the need for change, among them, the following:

1. The rapid growth of the low and middle income sectors of the population.
2. The reversal of apartheid policies, the removal of influx control and the Group Areas Act (1950). This resulted in areas once again becoming available for

development giving further momentum to the movement of lower income people to the urban areas.

3. The subsidisation of housing for the lower income groups and specific categories of people in need of shelter which created an increased demand for housing (Brand, 1992).
4. The general acceptance, at the policy level, that low-income housing projects, in addition to providing shelter, should have developmental objectives, such as the creation of jobs, the facilitation of community decision-making and the strengthening of social structures (Boaden, 1993).

According to the White Paper on Housing (1994), 66% of South Africa's population was functionally urbanised and a large proportion of the 34%, who lived in rural areas, spent part of their working lives in the urban areas. Du Plooy (1993) estimated that 80% of South Africa's population would be urbanised by the year 2000.

The dismantling of the apartheid system was a very progressive step but it has led to a deterioration in the housing dilemma (Hardy, 1992). The failure of apartheid housing policies has resulted in new trends, goals and delivery options which encourage ownership and a focus on the total living environment. In keeping with these changes, Storey and Viljoen (1993) and Walker (1993) identified several goals for the restructuring of housing delivery systems:

1. The achievement of a high level of density in urban development.
2. The location of housing developments within close proximity to employment opportunities which form part of the existing urban fabric.

3. The containment of urban sprawl by a process of densification within existing urban areas.
4. The maintenance of costs within affordability limits of target communities while still providing housing in quality environments.
5. A broadening of the range of housing delivery options available to people.
6. The promotion of viable and sustainable approaches to housing delivery.
7. A focus on responding to the needs of the disadvantaged and on eliminating racial, gender and class inequalities.
8. The delivery of housing in a developmental way, that is, as a process which contributed to the cultural, economic, social and ideological development of society as a whole.
9. The provision of housing in a manner that furthered the reconstruction and development of South African cities.

Harms (in Walker, 1993) identified four housing delivery options, namely unaided self-help, supported self-help, project initiated self-help, and conventional housing, a discussion of which follows.

1. Unaided self-help

These were user-initiated housing actions which fell largely outside the regulatory and housing policy frameworks and legal systems. Within this system, a number of different subsystems might be identified:

1. **Informal settlements:** These were settlements in which land was occupied through illegal invasion, followed by the erection of structures, which were

incrementally improved. Over time, the inhabitants of the settlement might engage in collective action designed to improve the level of service and infrastructure provision in their settlement.

2. **Illegal sub-divisions:** These occurred when land owners illegally sub-divided their property and sold or rented it to willing occupants.
3. **Floating squatters:** This referred to groups of people who did not necessarily have dwelling units but who occupied privately or publicly owned space which they defined and used as their own. Examples were street children, pavement people and vagrants who slept in parks and on beaches.
4. **Backyard shacks:** These were informal houses constructed on the properties of formal houses.

2. Supported self-help

This involved the upgrading of the above-mentioned informal settlements and illegal sub-divisions. It might involve the regularisation of land tenure, provision of services and infrastructure, and possibly a housing structure. Within this system the following sub-systems were identified:

1. **Emergency services:** comprised essential services provided by the state to informal settlements while the future of the settlement was being resolved.
2. **"Roll-over" upgrading:** This involved dismantling existing housing and rehousing people in temporary accommodation while services and infrastructures were introduced. Thereafter, households were resettled on the upgraded sites.

3. Community sensitive *insitu* upgrading: This referred to the upgrading of informal settlements by an external agent such as a utility company or local authority. A conscious attempt was made to minimise the displacement of people and there were varying degrees of community consultation and participation.
4. Community-initiated *insitu* upgrading: The community "owned" and "drove" the upgrading process. It might enlist the assistance of service organisations and private sector consultants to provide technical support.

3. Project-initiated self-help

This referred to the provision of a serviced site and securing of tenure preceding the occupation of the site and the construction of the dwelling unit. These were commonly referred to as site and service schemes, implemented by the state and private sector. These schemes were often located on the urban periphery.

4. Conventional housing

These are completed dwelling units built to a standard which conformed with nationally and locally defined building and town planning regulations. The form of housing provided either by the state or private sector could range from free-standing to semi-detached houses and multi-storey blocks of flats.

There are several examples of successful formal and informal housing developments. In Eastern Europe, innovative ideas are being employed to modernise thousands of housing estates in the form of high-rise apartments (Hopkins, 1992).

Saaiman (1993) argued that despite the social stigma attached to high-density development, this option was a viable alternative for the future. He felt that the family was the most important building block for any healthy society. Home owners should not be restricted, as in the case of Turkey, from building multi-storey units to accommodate extended families. On the contrary, Cowans (1993) found that the Birmingham City Council had built high-rise and deck-access blocks to replace slum housing. Subsequently, it was found that both forms of housing were difficult and expensive to manage.

They depended upon large areas of unprotected and non-defensible space between blocks and estates which created the need for comprehensive management arrangements that, typically, were not available so that the environment declined rapidly, once the blocks were occupied. Many such estates are affected by high levels of crime, lack of community facilities, problems of vandalism, rubbish accumulation, noise nuisance and inadequate or defective services (Cowans, 1993, p. 1099).

A study conducted by Butler-Adam and Venter (1984) in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg areas revealed that 96% of the residents preferred houses to flats. In Birmingham and Glasgow, top storeys were now being removed and unused urban spaces were being used for the construction of additional dwellings (Cowans, 1993).

In an attempt to resolve the housing crisis in South Africa, the Urban Foundation (1990) undertook an investigation into conventional public housing programmes across the world. The investigation revealed clearly that there were limitations to state provided housing programmes due to prohibitive costs. Thus ambitious targets were rarely met. More importantly, government housing units were unpopular due to the stigma attached to them and to their reputation for being dull and monotonous expanses (Marans, 1979). Maintenance was an ongoing expense. If a government

did not provide for participation and maintenance, then tenants had little incentive to maintain the housing structure since it was not their responsibility. Furthermore, blocks of flats needed maintenance beyond the scope of the individual household (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1981). In the few countries, like Cuba, Sweden and Singapore, where government housing had proved popular, housing was viewed as a universal human right. However, the situation in these wealthy countries was different from that facing South Africa (Urban Foundation, 1990). Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1981) suggested that it was worth examining Singapore's successful housing programmes. In so doing, they identified three unique characteristics as follows:

1. Immigration to the city was very slow: Singapore had very little rural land and thus few poor rural households migrated to the city in search of a better life.
2. There was a rapidly growing economic base: Singapore had relatively few unemployment problems and, with growing purchasing power among much of the population, public and private funds for housing were mobilised more easily than in South Africa.
3. The Singapore government owned extensive tracts of land close to the city centre: Public housing estates could be built without involving the government in land expropriation procedures. Further, with low-income groups situated close to major employment opportunities, which provided good wage earning prospects, the more intractable problems with public housing projects for low-income families were removed.

The Urban Foundation (1991) also found that informal housing was a worldwide phenomenon. It was the most common type of housing in urban areas in many countries of the developing world. According to Bolen and Turkoglu (1993), more than half the population of Istanbul lived in squatter settlements. In the early sixties, building a *gecekondu* was a joint effort of family members without outside assistance. By the late seventies, the process of squatting became entirely commercialised and private firms took over the responsibility of securing land, designing projects and constructing the units. Numerous examples of informal settlements in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been documented (Urban Foundation, 1991).

Many countries throughout the world were so attracted to South Africa's former House of Representative's self-help programme, that South Africa's former director in the House of Representatives, John Hopkins, was invited to present the programme to the World Congress on Housing, held in Birmingham in 1992. His department pioneered a self-help concept of housing construction which combined indigenous building methods with modern technology. Participants were given loans in the form of building materials for the housing plan of their choice. Community involvement (partnership) was the prime requirement. Free advice and project management services, a step-by-step building manual, training programmes, audio-visual aids, as well as on-site training, were provided by the department (Africa, 1993). Despite the fact that these were informal townships, planning and layout took place according to the same principles as formal housing, in that community facilities received priority (Hopkins, 1992). The objective of this social plan/programme was to ensure that, in addition to the mere construction of houses, it unlocked a great

wealth of resources, by creating employment opportunities and promoting socio-economic upliftment. Africa (1993) and Hopkins (1992) believed that self-help programmes had far reaching benefits for the wider society and they contained elements which were the driving forces for social stability.

ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

van der Ross (1992) believed that large-scale, formal housing developments for the poor were a thing of the past with bodies like the Independent Development Trust subsidising the provision of serviced sites. However, site and service developments alone cannot solve South Africa's housing crisis. Alternatives such as densification programmes, the recreation of newtowns and activity corridor development need to be explored. These are discussed below.

1. Densification

Densification refers to the creation of suitable housing opportunities, provided with expert planning, in areas close to job opportunities and major facilities. In an attempt to reverse the dispersed nature of South African cities, with their segregated land use and 'inside-out' cities, inner city densification was recommended as a way to address the housing backlog by King (1995) and Symon and Gilbert (1993). This involved the development of land within inner city areas for high-density housing, such as in District Six in Cape Town and Cato Manor in Durban (van der Ross, 1992). Dewar and Ellis (1979) believed that an infill programme would result in a number of benefits:

1. The growing population could be accommodated without aggravating sprawl.
2. Densities could be increased over the area as a whole. This would increase thresholds and generate trading and commercial activity, making a range of social services financially viable.
3. The programme could be used to improve many of the environmental conditions in under-used areas and to restructure these areas so that more services and facilities could be supported.
4. The programme could be used to integrate many pieces of development into the metropolitan area and, thus, provide residents with the benefits of living in an urban environment.

One of the problems with existing high-density residential areas is the perception that population density produces negative sociological factors. High densities do not necessarily mean low-quality environments. There are many examples of successful high-density cities, where emphasis is placed on design, incorporating the provision, proper use, maintenance and management of public spaces and facilities (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996). van Eck (cited in King, 1995) argued that high-density areas should be carefully and 'holistically' planned. King (1995) added that it was possible to densify inner cities while, at the same time, restoring them to better living environments. Following international trends, Johannesburg is an example of meeting the housing challenge through inner city densification (Symon and Gilbert, 1993; Taitz, 1993). A study carried out by the Cape Town City Council in 1993 on the perception and opinions of tenants in high-density housing, listed improved convenience, especially with regard to facilities and services, as being a major

benefit when compared to previous accommodation (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996). The Durban Metropolitan Council has been exploring the possibility of selling approximately 1 000 infill sites in Phoenix, that is, vacant plots between existing municipal council-built homes, to encourage people to build their own homes with the help of subsidies (Padayachee, 1995).

2. Re-creation of newtowns

Architects have turned their attention to the development of well-planned newtowns created for economic and social, rather than for political reasons (Architects on Housing, 1995). Rodrigues and Milne (in Lewis, 1995) suggested the establishment of newtowns in areas of high unemployment since they believed that the essence of a newtown was "the provision of a complete urban environment and the establishment of a connection between architectural systems and other systems such as technology, sport and recreation (and) community facilities... for complete interaction at all levels" (p. 17). Jordan (in Lewis, 1995) felt that an attempt should be made to develop a sustainable urban structure through a mix of land use and consideration for environmental quality. He suggested the creation of accessible residential developments which reflected the real needs of the community. With a change in the legislation, town planners felt that they could inform decision-makers of sound town-planning principles and perform the role they were meant to play within the total development spectrum. The Draft Bill for Development and Planning, and environmental management policy for the Gauteng region, has provided for a provincial development planning commission to ensure the environmental sustainability of newtowns (Lewis, 1995).

3. Activity corridor development

The activity corridor development model is based on the notion of an 'activity spine' defined as a multifunctional linear strip for intensive business, commercial, community, and supportive residential use. In response to the problems of the separation of people and activities, urban sprawl, low densities, poor layout and design of townships, the prioritisation of private over public transport, and the lack of co-ordinated management, the need to integrate the urban areas through mixed-use or activity corridor development has become paramount. The promotion and development of activity corridors is seen to have the following anticipated benefits:

1. Activities, including social and cultural activities, would stand the best chance of survival along these routes since flows would be concentrated in a confined area.
2. Over time the activities would generate more movement and growth.
3. A linear pattern of activity could reach a greater number of people than a more exclusively node-based form of development and, therefore, would be effective in improving convenience and reducing the cost of living.
4. The linear nature of development would give a variety of economic activities an opportunity to thrive on high levels of passing trade, easy access and visual exposure.
5. The linear arms would generate a spontaneous restructuring of many of the local areas which were sterile, boring and totally lacking in opportunity. Future growth could be used to improve living conditions.
6. The linear system would make the best possible use of infrastructure and other facilities because they would be accessible by foot. This would avoid

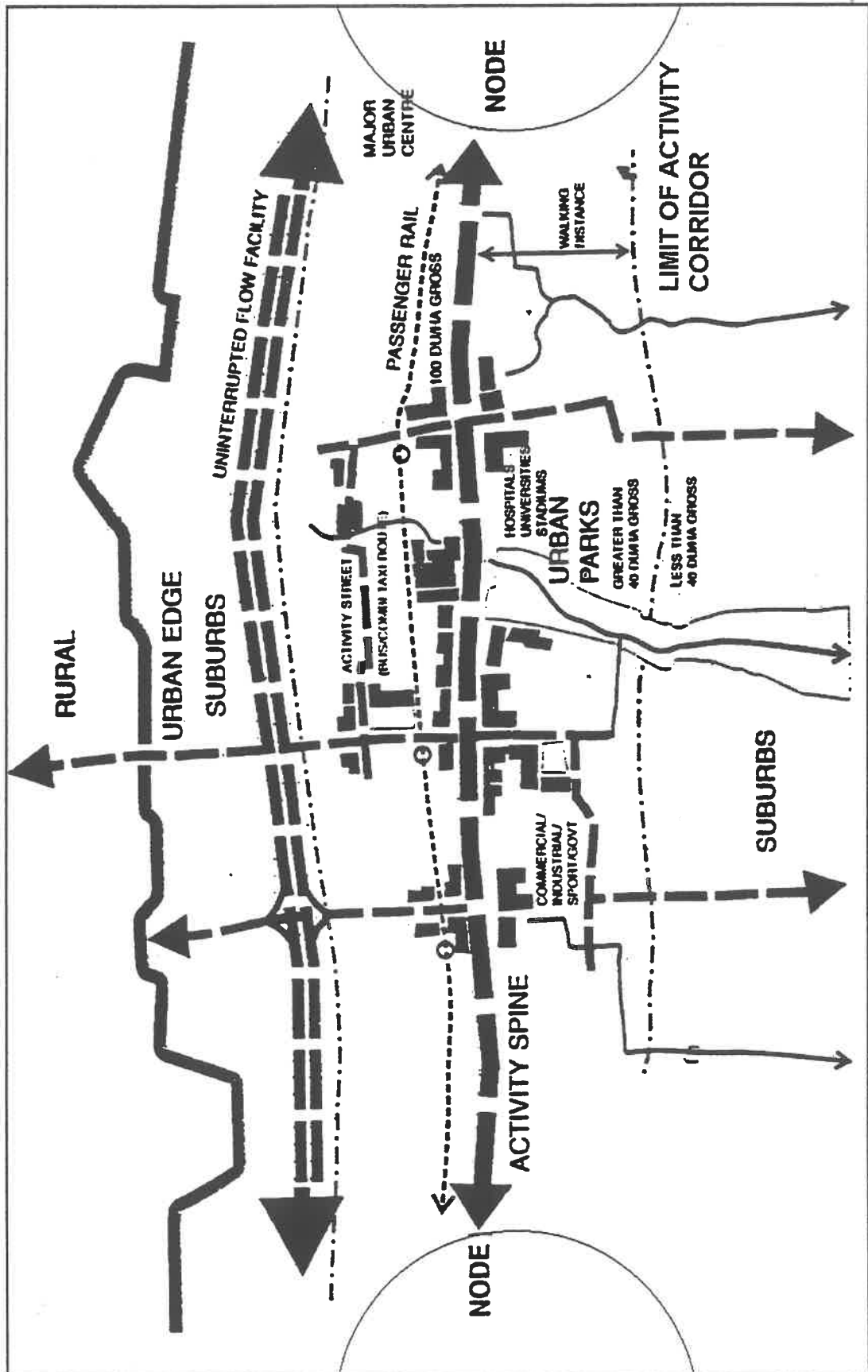
dependence on public transport, thus resulting in substantial saving of time and cost on the part of residents. Figure 1 provides an example of activity corridor development (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996; Dewar and Ellis, 1979).

According to this model, it is important to create a network of open space within cities and towns (Metropolitan Open Space System) to complement the built fabric of the urban area. This would provide the urban environment with variety, character and a sense of visual relief. Such a system would give urban residents and employees a chance to enjoy open spaces and nature without having to travel long distances (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996).

ROLE-PLAYERS IN THE PROVISION OF HOUSING

From its inception in 1920, the state's housing policy, reinforced by legislation, provided for all levels of government, local, provincial and national to be involved in the provision of housing. At first, there was no separate department of housing and the National Housing Commission was a structure under the purview of the Department of Health. The formulation of housing policy, the determination of standards and the financing of approved housing projects were centralised in the state even in the extended, consolidated legislation of 1966. The roles of the provincial administrations were confined to the location and physical planning of individual housing projects for which state funds were required. The local authorities undertook the actual delivery of housing and the provision of essential services and

FIGURE 1: ACTIVITY CORRIDOR DEVELOPMENT



(Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996)

amenities. In the course of time, housing became a major means by which the state pursued its policy of apartheid or separate development.

The abolition of the Race Classification Act, the Group Areas Act and the laws relating to influx control, and the introduction of the new constitution in 1994 paved the way for a completely new housing policy. The changes were spelt out fully in the White Paper on Housing which was published by the Department of Housing in 1994. This Department was established in terms of the Housing Arrangements Act, No. 155 of 1993. The White Paper on Housing (1994) set out in detail the respective functions of the central government, the provincial government and the local, rural and metropolitan governments. The new policy also provided for the concept of a broad partnership between the state and the private sectors at the following levels of government:

1. The national level

The National Ministry and Department of Housing is envisaged as fulfilling functions relating to the setting of broad national delivery goals, and determining national housing policy in consultation with provincial governments. It is further assigned the role of adopting or promoting legislation to establish a framework for funding housing projects, and working with the provincial governments to ensure that housing needs and targets are met. Since the provincial legislatures have the power to legislate within the policies of the national government, the new policy permits "that appropriate housing functions and powers should be devolved to the maximum possible extent to the provincial level" (White Paper on Housing, 1994, p. 357).

2. The provincial level

The provincial government has the critical role of ensuring effective and sustained housing delivery. To fulfil this role, provincial governments are required to undertake a wide range of functions. These functions include the setting of goals for housing delivery; determining provincial housing policy; priorities, programmes and standards; and urban and rural restructuring and development. It also includes liaison with the National Ministry and Department over fiscal transfers to meet provincial needs.

3. The local level

The local, rural and metropolitan government is required to play a role in "the physical processes of planning and housing" (White Paper on Housing, 1994, para. 5.2.3 p. 39.). In fulfilment of this role, a wide range of functions is assigned to local, rural and metropolitan government structures. These include setting goals for housing delivery, identification of land, regulation of safety and health standards, and the promotion of appropriate housing environments. The functions also include facilitative support to housing-delivery agencies and matters relating to funding. These roles and functions will be undertaken by the National Housing Board at central government level and the Provincial Housing Boards which serve as agents of the National Housing Board (White Paper on Housing, 1994).

With regard to private sector involvement, certain approaches are envisaged in which the construction industry, the suppliers of materials and services, the financial sector, employers, the community, civil society and non-governmental organisations, such as the National Housing Forum, the Provincial Housing Forums and non-governmental service organisations or NGOs, are expected to play a supplementary

role. Scheepers (1995) argued that the social compact ("a process commencing with the application; involving all role-players and stakeholders in deciding on every aspect of the proposed project", p. 29) presented an opportunity for the development of new partnerships between the government and private sectors. This could only be achieved if role-players trusted one another. Without trust, an honest willingness and true commitment to a common cause, there could be no co-operation, no sharing of knowledge, or skills and resources, and there would be no co-operation in ensuring a better future for all. A dynamic partnership between the government and the private sector could transform South Africa. Africa (1993) believed that the involvement of the private sector was essential to cope with the housing backlog.

The Independent Development Trust (IDT) implemented a capital subsidy scheme to deliver 110 000 serviced sites to poor people in South Africa in 1992. The scheme introduced new methods of funding for housing and of involving communities in the housing process. The scheme has succeeded in re-orientating housing policy, in promoting "social compacts" and in introducing new ways of providing ongoing support for the housing process. By March 1993, agreements had been reached on 96 projects, 12 projects had been completed and 65 were under construction. "Social compacts" were used successfully, even in the most strife torn areas of Boipatong, and projects were completed despite the conflict. The IDT scheme has proved to be an effective way of providing housing for low-income groups and has provided a base of experience for new, participative housing initiatives (Appleton and Palmer, 1993).

A HOLISTIC-DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH TO HOUSING

The holistic approach to housing is universally advocated (Hopkins, 1992). It holds that housing cannot be seen in isolation and that every aspect of an individual's functioning needs to be taken into account when planning a housing development. Viljoen (1992) advocated that holistic housing development comprise the following:

1. Socio-economic upliftment.
2. Human development.
3. Community participation and development.
4. Enhancement of the environment.

In recommending an alternate approach to housing delivery, Walker (1993) suggested that housing should be seen as a process which contributed to the cultural, economic, social and ideological development of a society as a whole. Korten (cited in Walker, 1993) argued that development was a process by which members of a society increased "their personal and institutional capacities to mobilise and manage resources to produce substantial and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations" (p. 55). The implications, therefore, are that the holistic-developmental approach would be the most suitable approach to effective housing delivery. It encompasses the following:

1. Populist models.
2. Improvement in the quality of people's lives.
3. Multidisciplinary input.

1. Populist models

Populist models emphasise the importance of community involvement in determining housing needs, and in making decisions regarding housing provision through the implementation of housing development. The United Nations (1977) saw community participation as a potential vehicle for the correct identification of housing needs, for ensuring quality, establishing priorities and implementing housing programmes. Proponents of the popular participation approach believe that social development goals can best be attained if ordinary people are mobilised to establish projects that serve their local communities (Midgley, 1995). The National Building Research Institute believed that a high correlation existed between the degree to which members of a community were actively involved in problem identification and decision-making and the stability and contentment of that community (Finlayson, 1976).

Throughout the world, housing decisions are being made in close consultation with communities. Hopkins (1992) believed that, when the Directorate of Housing set out to improve the quality of life of the communities which it served, it resolved to do so in partnership with the people. The United Nations (1977) resolved that it was important to involve people in housing decisions that affected their lives for the following reasons:

1. Housing programmes were more likely to succeed if the intended communities took part in their design and implementation.
2. Architects, planners and administrators would be more effective if they were educated on the low-income group's insights and outlook on life, and on the

importance of popular participation in rectifying planning errors by enabling communities to point out what would work and what would not.

3. Popular participation emanated from guarantees cited in most national constitutions of the world. The right of citizens to express their views and to share, especially in decisions that affected them, was a mark of modern society (United Nations, 1977). If genuinely mass-based, through consultation, education, job creation and empowerment, popular participation could build up the self-enabling character and co-operative spirit of the community.
4. When members of a community interacted as equals with technicians, managers and government officials, they grappled with technological problems and complex bureaucratic structures, and solved problems of direct importance to housing development.

Muller (1993) stated emphatically that it was the prerogative of any community to participate in decision making processes which affected the lives of their residents. "This is particularly pertinent to disadvantaged or vulnerable communities who have been systematically deprived of involvement and who should now be empowered to engage in negotiation processes" (Muller, 1993, p.333). In South Africa, one of the consequences of decades of apartheid is that oppressed communities have been denied the right to participate in decisions that affected their daily lives and the right to exercise choice in addressing their housing needs (Walker and Foster, 1991). In the past, decision making procedures favoured autocratic, top-down approaches which reduced community involvement to tokenism (Muller, 1993; Zar, 1993). Knotze

(1993) added that in the apartheid era proposals were forced upon communities but this was no longer acceptable.

To prevent token participation, Muller (1993) suggested the use of the phenomenological approach which facilitated community involvement in decision-making. MacGillivray (1993) pointed to the need for a systematic, logical, step-by-step approach or what Muller (1993) called a "strategic choice model" (p. 343).

A consultative approach which reached people and established their needs would alleviate unrealistic expectations and time delays (van der Ross, 1992). Working with civic structures and development forums facilitated this approach, which Shaw (1995) referred to as a "social compact". He emphasised the importance of regular workshops and meetings for ongoing feedback and the achievement of agreement by all relevant parties which, after all, was the democratic way (Knotze, 1993). However, the approach required that consultants had a firm commitment to the community's vision and avoided behaving like the arrogant expert which has spelt the end of many development initiatives. Even if the community's vision were unaffordable and inappropriate, enthusiasm could be nurtured and used to generate more realistic expectations (Viljoen, 1992). De Beer (1993) described a study conducted in Orange Farm which examined people's experience and perception of owning their own homes. He attributed existing deep-seated dissatisfaction to the housing-delivery system which he described as "a typical example of a paternalistic top-down approach to development" (p. 706).

Likewise, the British experience provides examples of the consequences of failing to involve residents in decision-making: "It is broadly accepted today that these types of housing would not have been built if the people who were to live in them were consulted first" (Cowans, 1993, p. 110). Architects, planners and managers, convinced that professional and technical views were paramount, approached the task of eradicating the slums in Britain with evangelistic zeal, convinced that they were building for communities of the future as though they knew best what the people wanted (Chinn, in Cowans, 1993).

This, then, presents a major challenge to our present government. It must avoid the pitfalls of previous practices where housing was seen as a commodity which communities passively received. Current policy should create opportunities for the involvement of a wide variety of groups in housing provision. Empowerment and redistribution will only result if people have real control over the development process. Walker and Foster (1991) believed that empowerment comprised three elements:

1. The growth of critical consciousness.
2. The development of people's capacity to transform their environment and the strengthening of organised efforts of marginalised groups.
3. Increased control over the resources and institutions which impacted daily on people's lives.

There is a direct relationship between popular participation and empowerment. The spectrum of community participation extends from cost-sharing, to improving project

efficiency and effectiveness, to capacity building, and to the empowerment of the beneficiary community (Paul, in Moser, 1989). This participative consultative approach involves people in all activities along the spectrum, so as to achieve a shift in the significance of the delivery agency and a transfer of the ultimate responsibility for delivery from external agents to the community (Gounden and Merrifield, 1994; Merrifield, van Horen and Taylor, 1993). Hill Kaplan Scot reported on positive responses where communities accepted such responsibility with enthusiasm (Robertson and Witthuhn, 1993).

However, one of the preconditions of an empowering, consultative approach is a democratic society, where housing is a major government priority within an overall policy of social development. "No government, particularly local government, is likely to respond effectively to the diverse needs of the disadvantaged unless there are effective channels for citizens to influence government policies and priorities" (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, cited in Walker and Foster, 1991, p. 43). In Singapore 'town councils' were established to provide for local community involvement and self-determination in the management of public housing. Their function was to manage and maintain common areas of residential and commercial properties. In this way, the government gave ordinary people the opportunity to participate in decision-making and planning processes, thereby enabling them to effectively influence policies and programmes which affected their lives (Choo Kian-Koon, 1993).

By its very nature, development means empowering the community to increase its capacity to deal with social issues (Walker and Foster, 1991). Additionally, in housing

development, there is an urgent need for technical skills relating to planning, construction and service provision. There is also the need for housing finance for low-income communities (Boaden, 1993). Thus community participation must be accompanied by technical and economic support.

The Fabfin Development Foundation became involved in addressing the housing backlog by adopting a bottom-up, community orientated approach (van Zanten, 1992). This approach was found to be financially, socially and constitutionally acceptable. Service stands were provided by local authorities, houses were affordable and other facilities, such as clinics, schools and community centres, were provided as important services to total communities. Local labour was used on housing projects. The Foundation donated its profits to the community for needed community facilities.

Robertson and Witthuhn (1993) were of the view that, if a development were finally to succeed, then community participation should not be limited to the initial planning process. It should be extended throughout the implementation, construction, operation, management, and maintenance stages.

2. Quality of life models

Numerous models have been formulated to explain methods by which quality of life could be assessed. The most popular of the quality of life models was the basic needs approach which sought to mobilise resources for social development (Midgley, 1995). The basic needs approach advocated a more or less consistent set of criteria

for the development of third world societies (Carter, 1995). Max-Neef, Elizade and Hopenhayn (cited in Botha, 1993) proposed the 'need fulfilment theory' based on a systems view of human needs as inter-related and interactive. With the exception of the need for survival, they believed that no hierarchies existed within the system of needs. They saw quality of life as multifaceted, multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary in nature (Lewis, 1979; Moodley, 1993). A common theme in various quality of life models, such as those just mentioned, is the emphasis on domain satisfaction and deficits within domains (Andrews and Withey, cited in Moodley, 1993; Morris and Winter, 1978). Two basic ingredients need to be considered simultaneously in operationalising quality of life: the psychological and the environmental (Wish, in Carter, 1995).

Housing is one of the most important domains affecting the quality of peoples' lives. Drawing on the systems perspective, the physical or structural efficiency of a dwelling on its own becomes an inadequate measure of its habitability. Physical features have to be seen in relation to the total living environment. The measurement of environment must be seen in relation to other objective indicators and should include subjective indicators such as social psychological components. The residential environment could be seen as comprising three levels, namely, the proximate (housing unit), the immediate (neighbourhood) and macro (community in which the housing unit is located) levels (Naidoo, 1977; van Wyk, in Carter, 1995).

Within this broad view, housing has an impact on almost all dimensions of an individual's and family's social functioning. Widespread conditions of inadequate

housing contribute significantly to social instability and to attitudes of despair and desocialisation (Dewar, 1993). In obtaining a 'dwelling space', the individual gains access to a number of different 'products'. The following criteria can be used to assess the quality of people's housing environment. They are summarised in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1: SUMMARY OF QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS

Indicator	Area of concern
Location	Access to economic, social, commercial, cultural and recreational opportunities
Basic infrastructure, utilities and services: * Potable water * Sewerage * Electricity	Effects on health Levels of comfort
Adequate shelter	Design of home Quality of home Quantity of homes Security of tenure Effects on: * Physical health (adequate air circulation, space and dampness) * Psychological health (privacy) * Economic health (cost of maintaining the home) * Social conditioning (space for positive social interaction)
Good quality total living environment	Quality of public spaces Availability of community facilities

1. **Location:** It is generally agreed that households need easy access to economic, social, commercial, cultural and recreational opportunities which

significantly affect their sense of satisfaction and their cost of living (Dewar, 1993; Goursolas, 1980).

2. **Basic infrastructure, utilities and services:** Access to utility services, including potable water, energy, sewerage, stormwater and garbage removal, significantly affects health and levels of comfort. "These services can be supplied in a variety of forms and levels, utilising different technologies, and the range of effective options available is affected by natural conditions such as climate, soils and drainage" (Dewar, 1993). In fulfilling their mission to improve the quality of life of all residents in their region, the Lowveld and Escarpment Regional Services Councils focused on the provision of services, such as adequate water and sewerage systems, stormwater drainage, decent roads and electricity. The Councils were not involved in the direct provision of housing, but felt that the creation of infrastructure and basic services was essential for the establishment of housing projects (van Scalkwyk, 1994). Appalraju (1991) suggested that:

Communities need personnel, knowledgeable and skilled in specialist areas of infrastructure provision, co-operation and maintenance able to advise communities and direct service facility improvement at neighbourhood level. They must be able to negotiate with utility companies and other service providers, and reform community responses to service delivery features which are at present dictated by the providing organisations of government and large non-governmental organisations like the Urban Foundation (p. 69).

3. **Adequate shelter:** The nature of the dwelling unit affects physical health (adequate air, circulation, space, dampness, temperature extremes and adequate safety from fire and attack); psychological health (via, overcrowding and a lack of privacy); social conditioning (through adequate privacy and

space for positive social interaction); economic health (the extent to which the cost of maintaining the shelter represents an unaffordable drain on family resources, its effects on education and learning and the degree to which it may be used as a locus for economic activity); and its effects, by its design and the amount of space available, and the extent to which the unit facilitates and enriches household activities (Dewar, 1993).

4. **Good quality total living environment:** Every home (dwelling unit) is affected by and contributes to the broader environment within which it is located. The quality of the environment affects the level of satisfaction of the family to a considerable extent.

From a societal perspective, the central issue relating to the external environment is that of community: access to a reinforcing and stable social environment. This is a critical dimension of housing choice (in any low-income situation), where time and monetary constraints are tight, institutional backup is limited and informal social reinforcement is almost the only type of help that people can obtain (Dewar, 1993, p. 6).

This is particularly relevant to South Africa where application of the Group Areas Act shattered community ties and where tentative new social bonds have taken time to re-emerge (Dewar, 1993).

3. **Multidisciplinary models**

Multidisciplinary models emphasise the involvement of all stakeholders or roleplayers in housing development. The Urban Foundation refers to this as the "1 000 actors approach". It is based on the belief that housing is a subject which is multi-faceted. It is an inter-disciplinary field of study which inevitably draws upon a wide range of subjects and touches on a range of academic fields and disciplines and, therefore,

effective housing results (Dewar, 1993; Garnett and Williams, 1987; Mackay and Paris, 1997; Robertson and Witthuhn, 1993; Roelvert, 1992; Strelitz, 1992).

Although various authors imply the importance of a multidisciplinary approach, none of the literature reviewed gave an indication of the involvement of a broad range of disciplines in any housing development. There are those who are very narrow in their definition of the concept. For instance, Lewis (1995) interviewed consulting engineers who were involved in the development of housing and they described their field as being diverse giving rise to a number of disciplines. These included civil, structural, electrical, mechanical and geotechnical engineering; project management; transportation; heating, and ventilation. They believed that they were "committed to improving the quality of life for all South Africans through the promotion of superior engineering knowledge and skills and their application to projects with professional integrity, independence of judgement, and sympathetic consideration of the environment" (p. 40).

From the literature reviewed, the model that involved the widest range of disciplines in the planning of housing developments was that suggested by Robertson and Witthuhn (1993) shown in Table 2.2. They believed that the aim should be to "produce an integrated and co-ordinated and socially stimulating development plan with the accommodation of a community within existing financial and other constraints" (Robertson and Witthuhn, 1993, p. 426).

TABLE 2.2: ROLE-PLAYERS IN THE PLANNING OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

1970s	ADDED FROM 1980s
Client Engineer - Civil Services - Electrical Services (Town Planner) Land Surveyor Local/Other Authority	Community Engineer - Geotechnical - Traffic - Environmental - Hydrological - Housing Sociologist Financier Economist Lawyer Communications Specialist Other Specialists - Agriculture - Industry - Architect - Quantity Surveyor

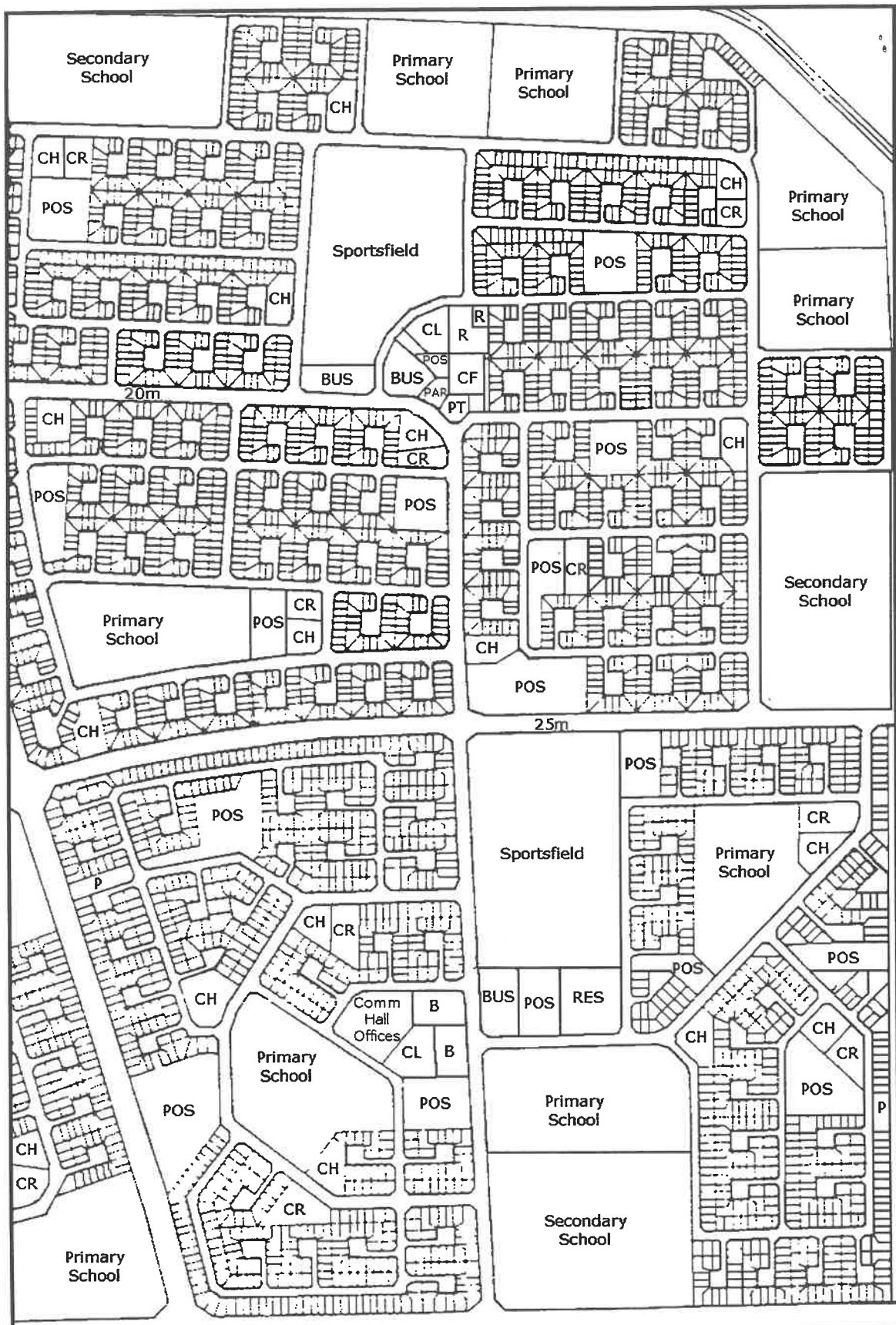
(Robertson and Witthuhn, 1993)

To illustrate the value of their multidisciplinary model which should be used with community participation, Figure 2 shows an example of 'conventional' planning while Figure 3 indicates the value of planning with the community. Lack of community participation in the planning process produced an environment which was bland, uninteresting, depressing and remote from schools, churches, shopping centres, other social infrastructure and also from employment opportunities. By introducing the element of community liaison, the needs and aspirations of the community were incorporated. It was therefore possible to identify essential social facilities, necessary to produce an integrated and socially stimulating development (Robertson and Witthuhn, 1993).

FIGURE 2: EXAMPLE OF "CONVENTIONAL" PLANNING

(Robertson and Witthuhn, 1993)

FIGURE 3: EXAMPLE OF PLANNING INVOLVING THE COMMUNITY



(Robertson and Witthuhn, 1993)

Important roles and activities within the multidisciplinary model are as follows:

1. **Development contractor:** van Staden (1993) used the holistic model to enhance contractor development. He felt that the 'holistic approach' went hand-in-hand with national development strategies as well as with the broader community development model. However, he also confined the role-players in any housing development project to involve the following: the client; community; consultant body, seen as a "group of professionals (who) ensured appropriate design specifications, proper and understandable documentation and attitudes based on inherent belief in the potential of people to learn" (van Staden, 1993, p. 582); and the contractor.
2. **Social planner:** The first development in South Africa to be modelled on the newtown concept was built at Delft, in Cape Town, near the D.F. Malan Airport by the House of Representatives' Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture. They appointed a social planner with appropriate academic qualifications to oversee the project's development, whose role, defined by Africa (1993), appeared to overlap with that of process facilitator described by van Staden (1993). For those community participants who were unable to articulate their views, needs and aspirations clearly, these were elucidated by means of carefully phrased probing, using open-ended questions compiled by a psychologist or a trained community researcher (Long, 1993).
3. **Information systems analyst:** A relatively new role within the multidisciplinary approach to housing is that of information systems analyst. Jacobs and Gooch (1993) emphasised that large scale housing development was a complex process involving a wide spectrum of professionals, state and private

developers, and financial institutions. Prior models of first world housing provision were inadequate to meet the challenge of housing impoverished communities in need of social upliftment. Competition for limited resources and social pressures accompanying rapid urbanisation increased the pressure for highly cost-efficient solutions involving a wide range of professionals at different stages of project development. In order to cope with the demands of fast-track development, it has become essential to integrate and co-ordinate the information requirements of all phases from initial project conception, through design and construction, to the completion of a fully functional urban community. Concentration of service functions into dedicated information centres (one-stop-shops) reduces duplication of effort and allows for more effective planning of development priorities. Thus, the South African Housing Advisory Council proposed the formation of a National Housing Department with a single Housing Finance Corporation to act as the primary funding channel. Jacobs and Gooch (1993) suggested that, if a comprehensive national housing data base were to be established, then it must provide the impetus to restructure and extend national computer-based facilities for housing development. The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), the largest technology-based organisation on the African continent, has combined services related to low-cost housing, primary health care, job creation, water supply, and effluent disposal into multidisciplinary packages. One of its missions is to provide technological solutions to improve the quality of life in urban and rural developing communities. Corporate programmers in the CSIR act primarily as co-ordinators across organisations to bind different

disciplines together to provide an integrated multidisciplinary approach (Meese, Breytenbach and Huma, 1993).

4. **Engineer:** The introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Programme in South Africa led professionals in the housing field to redefine their roles. Consequently, engineers have enlarged their field of concern to include a wider range of issues such as human resource development, community capacity building and job creation. "With the future development of housing in mind, our company has taken up the challenge and has begun the process of restructuring to enable an effective mix of disciplines capable of dynamically interacting to achieve a holistic approach" (Wright, cited in Lewis, 1995, p. 43). Engineering consultancies have responded to the challenge by re-orienting themselves for effective involvement with communities and their development.
5. **Architects:** Architects also wanted to be seen as integral to the development process. "Through a holistic approach to this development challenge, we could help to create environments and communities that are economically independent and viable" (Erasmus, cited in Lewis, 1995, p. 17).
6. **Development planners:** The Development Planning Association of South Africa (DPASA) believed that development planners had a fundamental responsibility and obligation to promote the empowerment and human development of disadvantaged communities. "The previous fragmentation of

planning needs to be overcome, placing greater emphasis on multidisciplinary approaches such as the integration of economic and fiscal planning with sectoral and spatial approaches" (Olver, cited in DPASA, 1995, p. 85).

7. **Health experts:** For many years health experts have recognised the importance of environmental factors to the well-being of the community, the role of good housing in the prevention of the spread of disease and the need to provide living conditions which assured the optimum development of the community. Thus, Lowry (1991) claimed that decreased mortality rates from infectious diseases, like cholera and typhoid and, to some extent, tuberculosis, owed more to improved standards of housing than to knowledge of microbiology and the development of antibiotics. If an optimum healthy living environment is to be achieved in future housing developments, it is necessary to engage in several key areas of consultation with health specialists (Lowry, 1991; Mackay and Paris, 1997; World Health Organisation, 1964 and 1989). These are shown in Table 2.3.

Boaden (1993) questioned whether project managers in South Africa had the necessary training and experience to address the broad developmental requirements of low-income housing projects. He suggested that universities could play a leading role in meeting this need by providing appropriate syllabi, introducing multidisciplinary degrees and training professional development managers. He argued that a civil

TABLE 2.3: THE ROLE OF HEALTH PRACTITIONERS IN THE PLANNING OF HOUSING PROGRAMMES

Area for consultation	Role of health practitioner
1. Protection against communicable diseases	To ensure that adequate housing provided protection against exposure to agents and vectors of communicable diseases through: • Safe and adequate water supply. • Proper sewerage and waste disposal facilities. • Drainage of surface water.
2. Protection against accident hazards and chronic diseases	Special attention should be paid to: • Structural features of the home. • Indoor air quality.
3. Reduction of psychological and social stresses	To ensure the provision of: • Adequate living space. • Proper ventilation and light. • Freedom from noise and unnecessary disturbance. • A sense of personal and family security, reinforced by community structure. • Space for children's play and sports and recreation. • Various community facilities and amenities and easy access to these.
4. Protection of groups at special risk	To protect: • Street children. • Communities who live in substandard housing like urban slums and squatter settlements. • Homeless. • The aged, chronically ill and disabled.
5. Building Codes	To develop and improve building codes. It is essential that adequate building codes are adopted and vigorously enforced, if the community is not to develop with poorly constructed and maintained dwellings below minimum levels of health and safety.
6. Zoning	To ensure that adequate provision is made for the location of the various types of land use: residential, commercial, industrial and public. The enforcement of the zoning ordinance can do a great deal towards providing assurance of proper protection of housing areas from those factors detrimental to the community.

engineering degree did not equip graduates with the social skills necessary to meet the goal of community participation and empowerment; nor did town planning curricula deal with budget preparation and cost control. Further, building management graduates did not have any knowledge of the environmental impact of housing projects. He concluded that there was not a single degree or discipline which provided comprehensive skills for the management of low-income housing projects and recommended that "a body of knowledge ... be assembled around the management issue" (Boaden, 1993, p. 681). In response, Kwabena Amankwak-Ayeh (in DPASA, 1995) confirmed that the development planning field was becoming increasingly multidisciplinary and those attending the post-graduate course at the University of Witwatersrand were from a range of different backgrounds, including sociology, political science, journalism, economics, and geography.

Social workers involvement in housing

Social workers have had an enduring tradition of concern about people's most basic needs (Reamer, 1989; Towle, 1973). As far back as the nineteenth century, Octavia Hill, a noted British voluntary welfare worker, and other social reformers, took leadership in organising special housing for multiproblem families. In the early part of this century, social workers in settlement houses were concerned about the abysmal living conditions of immigrants and sought to have housing codes enforced by local authorities and landlords. However, after World War I, the major social work emphasis was on providing casework services for families caught in impoverished living conditions. This trend has persisted, notwithstanding some development of social work interest in social policy and planning around housing needs. It has

become increasingly clear to the profession that other types of social work intervention might have even more important consequences for those trapped in the decaying, unsanitary and overcrowded slums of our great cities. Of highest priority are those professional interventions that should bring about significant changes in the quality of the environment itself and that could weaken those factors blocking positive community change. Therefore, the social worker's major focus should be increasingly on environmental change, using community development techniques to involve residents in obtaining a secure, satisfying and resourceful milieu (Friedlander and Apte, 1980; Mackay and Paris, 1997). However, a total range of social work methods is applicable to the field of housing and urban change, including casework, group work, community organisation, research and administration. These methods can be used in an integrated way as shown in Table 2.4 A and Table 2.4 B. Social workers have a valuable role to perform in the housing team due to their training in the social sciences and their skills in working with individuals, groups and communities. Carter (1995) believed that they were ideally suited to:

1. Assist communities to determine their own housing needs.
2. Empower communities to help themselves.
3. Negotiate with housing authorities for additional land and housing.
4. Improve housing infrastructure.
5. Establish community facilities for the upliftment of the quality of life of communities through advocacy and policy-making processes.

TABLE 2.4A: INTEGRATED SOCIAL WORK INTERVENTION

Nature of intervention	Area of focus
1. Individualised services are indicated in the following areas: • Housing applications e.g. physically challenged persons and clients who warrant priority housing. • Referral of clients who require transfer of accommodation or reside in overcrowded housing. • Debts due to poverty, unemployment, high rental and fuel bills. • Family or marital breakdown which has resulted from poor housing. • Clients discharged from prison or mental health facilities.	• Negotiation with housing departments. • Negotiation with welfare agencies. • Crisis intervention. • Networking skills between clients and potential supporters e.g. relatives. • Provision of material resources. • Advice/information on access to housing.
2. Groupwork Purpose of groups are to: • Assist residents to adjust to their new environment (especially those from informal settlements). • Prevent delinquent and criminal activities in the community.	Plan the following types of groups: • Education about budgeting. • Socialisation. • Therapeutic groups. • Activity groups for the aged, housewives, teenagers and children.
3. Social planning with regard to: • Quality of housing and the urban environment of the poor and minority groups. • Homelessness.	Liason with town planners. • Evaluation of quality of services in meeting initial project goals. • Feedback to those responsible for the administration of services, so that improvements, alterations and additions are made where necessary. Design affordable housing programmes to meet the needs of the homeless through: • Preservation of low-income housing stock. • Production of new multi-family housing. • Schemes to assist low and moderate-income individuals buy homes. • A flexible family shelter treatment programme which emanates from the ecological and systems perspective - human problems are involved in the transactions that occur between people and their environments. Thus resources are relocated and interventions developed to facilitate social change in community systems which provide services to children and their families.
4. Social Policy	Project concern for individual well-being and environmental factors by: • Supporting family and community empowerment. • Preventing building deterioration. • Translating clients' private troubles into public issues by engaging in advocacy, public debate and policy formulation that are essential for the provision of adequate housing.
5. Research	• Data-gathering and analysis. • Projection of trends. • Estimation of community needs. • Analysis of policy issues.

TABLE 2.4B: SOCIAL WORK INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Nature of intervention	Area of focus
Community development Upliftment with regard to the following: • Shortage of land. • Need for a specific type of housing or land. • Overcrowding. • Affordability. • Environmental conditions. • Lack or shortage of community facilities. • Need to upgrade housing projects or informal settlements. • Homelessness. • Relocation, resettlement and urban renewal. • Tenant organisations. • Social and personal pathologies.	Compilation of community profiles. Initiation of community development processes. • Meeting with community members. • Comprehensive diagnostic survey for the identification between the residents' needs and the availability of social services in order to determine the extent of the unmet need. • Prioritising of needs. • Taking the necessary action to achieve these needs. Empowering communities to actively participate in the solution of their problems/needs, e.g. approaching relevant housing authorities like town planners and regional and national housing boards. Community work roles: • Consultant - identifies and diagnoses the community's needs and interprets the course of action to be taken in meeting these needs. • Guide - assists the community to establish and reach its own goals. • Enabler - awakens and focuses discontent on housing, facilitates its expression and translates it into aspirations and "needs". • Expert - provides information and advice on housing. • Therapist - assists community leaders to achieve self-understanding as a way of relieving tensions and blockages. • Catalyst - creates a climate for introspection and learning, improves communication, encourages belief in possibility of change and stimulates awareness of housing problems. • Implementer - builds new power centres, develops programmes and uses legal authority to produce change. • Researcher - contributes to the development of skills and knowledge of the profession. • Broker - is involved in placing the community in touch with community resources. • Advocate - provides leadership and negotiation roles. His expertise is available exclusively to serve the community. • Social Activist - is engaged in planned effort to alter some aspect of the social or physical environment of the community. Integrated social work intervention to ensure a smooth transition in the moving process. Social rehabilitation through the establishment of an inter-agency committee to co-ordinate services. Comprehensive planning so that people being forced out will not recreate the same anomic and exploitative social environment from which they are being moved. Outreach, case management and development of drop-in centres. Services to providers: training, support, consultation and crisis backup.

Adapted from Andipatin (1988); Carter (1994); Cohen and Phillips (1997); Friedlander and Apte (1993); Reamer (1989); Stewart and Stewart (1988).

SUMMARY

It is clear that housing is not just a logistical and technical matter. It has to do with responding to people's needs, with community development and with promotion of self-sustaining, viable communities. The creation of good housing alone cannot achieve this. Concentrating on all aspects of community life and focusing on the quality of life of residents is an effective route to success (Cowans, 1993). To achieve this, a multidisciplinary, holistic, developmental approach to housing is essential. In this chapter, changing needs and priorities in housing provision were discussed along with alternatives for low-income communities. Work of this nature would entail a network of interlocking roles and activities by specialists in participation with local communities. In addition the co-operation of national, provincial and local government with private sector partners was prerequisite. In short, the chapter has conveyed the complexity of housing development which is intrinsically linked to social improvement and to the creation of a just society in which all people are provided with the basic needs to lead a full and satisfying life. In the next chapter, housing policy and legislation in South Africa is reviewed.

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF LEGISLATION AND HOUSING POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

For the purposes of this study, legislation and housing policy in South Africa is reviewed in three periods: 1920 - 1966, 1967 -1990, and 1991 - 1997. The first section provides a background to the circumstances which originally prompted the state in South Africa to introduce legislation for housing provision. It reviews legislation which had both a direct and indirect bearing on matters pertaining to housing. The principles and policies which determined the state's response to the country's growing housing needs are discussed. In addition, structures for housing delivery at the three tiers of government, namely, the central government through its various departments, provincial administrations and local authorities, are outlined.

PERIOD 1920-1966: EMERGING ROLE OF THE STATE IN HOUSING PROVISION

The factors which prompted the South African government, shortly after the first World War, to intervene in matters relating to the provision of housing, were not unlike those which influenced housing policies in many industrialised and developed countries. These factors included population growth, an increased demand for housing, population density around industrial and urban centres, the development

of slums, and the economic inability of working class families to provide suitable housing for themselves.

In 1919, a housing crisis in various towns in the country prompted the Minister of Public Works to appoint a committee of enquiry. Its task was to consider and report on "whether it was advisable for the government to give financial assistance to local authorities and others in providing housing accommodation in urban areas for persons of limited means, including Coloured persons and Natives and if so, the best method of doing so" (Government Notice 976, 1919).

Following a nation-wide investigation, the committee submitted its report the following year (Report of the Housing Committee, 1920). Attention was drawn to the "shocking conditions" under which the poorer sections, especially the coloured and native populations, were living. It estimated an immediate need for 10 500 houses for those in smaller centres and for between 11 000 and 12 000 for those in the larger centres. These figures did not account for the unmet housing needs of public servants; neither did they allow for future population growth. The committee recommended that "the responsibility of supplementing private enterprise in the erection of houses should be borne by the town councils or other local authorities, but that, as the matter was of national importance, the government should come to the assistance of local authorities with information and advice as to the best methods to be adopted, and also give them financial assistance" (Cape Times, 18 June 1920, p. 184). Based largely on the recommendations of this committee of enquiry, the first Housing Bill was introduced in the House of Assembly on 17 June 1920.

Housing Act No. 35 of 1920

The purpose of the Act, as stated in the preamble, was "to provide for loans of public moneys for the construction of dwellings, to confer further powers upon local authorities in respect of the construction of dwellings and to make provision in other respects for facilitating such construction" (Housing Act No. 35, 1920). The Act incorporated several important provisions. For the first time, the state acknowledged responsibility for the provision of housing; it empowered local authorities to borrow money for the purpose of establishing housing schemes; and it assisted individuals and companies to erect homes. Its major feature was the establishment of a housing fund in each province from funds voted by Parliament and controlled by the housing administration. It also empowered local authorities to acquire land for housing purposes by negotiation and by compulsory expropriation, if necessary. It went further by prescribing that in areas where there was scarcity of labour and materials, priority must be given to the building of houses. However, it only provided for economic housing and not for sub-economic or assisted housing for the lower income groups.

In terms of the South Africa Act, the functions of the Housing Act could be assigned to provincial councils. In view of the widespread nature of the housing problem and its national importance, in effect the Act empowered the state not only to assist local authorities but also to exercise some measure of control over them and to ensure that they fulfilled their responsibilities with respect to housing. The Act was amended several times. The major changes were:

1. In 1930, in addition to financing "economic" housing schemes, provision was made for local authorities to obtain funds for sub-economic housing at rates of interest for the erection of dwellings for letting (but not for sale).
2. In 1944, the Housing Amendment Act was passed and the major change was the replacement of the Central Housing Board with the National Housing and Planning Commission. In addition to the investigatory and advisory powers and functions of the Board, the commission was given powers to:
 1. Establish a housing loan fund from which advances could be made to local authorities to construct buildings.
 2. Erect houses in consultation with the local authority concerned.
 3. Establish a National Housing Council to advise the Minister of Social Welfare on matters relating to housing.

However, the Act was repealed and replaced by the Housing Act No.10 of 1957.

Housing Act No. 10 of 1957

The Housing Act No. 10 of 1957 provided for "the construction of dwellings and carrying out of housing schemes and to that end to create a national housing fund and to establish a National Housing Commission to confer certain powers upon local authorities in carrying out housing schemes" (Housing Act No. 10 of 1957, preamble).

The Act was essentially a new consolidating measure to make increased provision for the housing needs of all sectors of the country's population to ensure uniformity of policy nationally. It entrenched the principle that the "provision of housing for the lower income groups was the joint responsibility of the local authorities and the State" (Hansard, 1957, col. 766). It proclaimed the state's right to carry out its own housing

schemes and to control housing trends. It affirmed the state's power to ensure that available funds were used to accommodate as many people as possible. To this end, provision was made for the establishment of one central National Housing Fund which had direct control over the allocation of housing funds. It emphasised the principle of home ownership in response to the economic realities at the time. In effect, it entrenched the principle of centralised control embodied in previous housing legislation.

In 1965 several amendments were made to the Act, the major change being a provision to exempt the National Housing Commission from "the provisions of any by-laws or regulation of a local authority and the conditions of establishment of a township prescribed by the Administrator or township board" (Housing Amendment Act No. 49 of 1965, Section 5). This gave the National Housing Commission overriding powers over all conditions governing the establishment of townships which, until then, were held by local authorities and provincial administrations, including "the type of dwelling to be constructed or the material to be used in the construction thereof" (Housing Amendment Act No. 49 of 1965, Section 7).

Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950

The various legislative measures to enforce the policy of racial separation or segregation which were in force at the time were replaced by the introduction of the Group Areas Act in 1950. This Act was intended to "extend the principle of exclusive racial areas so as to provide for exclusively European areas" (Union Government Summary of Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950, p. 6). It was enacted "to provide for

the establishment of group areas, for the control of the acquisition of immovable property and the occupation of land and premises, and for matters incidental thereto" (Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950, preamble).

In 1955, the Group Areas Development Act No. 69 of 1955 was introduced to "provide for the control of the disposal and the acquisition of immovable property in group areas and other areas defined under the Group Areas Act, 1950 and for the proper development of such areas, and for the said purposes to establish a Board and to define its functions and to provide for matters incidental thereto" (Group Areas Development Act No. 69 of 1955, preamble). The board referred to in the preamble was named the Group Areas Development Board. Its main function was to assist persons belonging to racial groups, other than the race for which the group area was proclaimed, to dispose of their properties and to re-establish themselves elsewhere, and "on its (the Board's) own initiative or in co-operation with local authorities, to develop new townships for displaced groups" (Horrel, 1966, p. 6). In this way the state became directly involved in property transactions and in the establishment of housing schemes as defined in the Housing Act No. 10 of 1957. After being amended several times, the Group Areas Act was re-enacted in consolidated form in 1957 (Act No. 77 of 1957). The provisions of this Act imposed control throughout South Africa over inter-racial changes in residential occupation. The Group Areas Board was assigned the responsibility to report to the Minister responsible (at first the Minister of Interior; from 1962, the Minister of Community Development; and from 1965, the Minister of Planning) on the allocation of areas for members of the different racial groups. In 1965, the Group Areas Development Act No. 69 of 1955 was

repealed and replaced by the Community Development Act No. 44 of 1965. The provisions of this Act with particular relevance to housing were as follows:

1. The Group Areas Development Board was renamed the Community Development Board, its major function being to assist disqualified persons (or persons no longer entitled to live in a certain area) to dispose of their properties and, in co-operation with local authorities, to develop new townships for disqualified groups.
2. The function of the Board included the provision of housing, slum clearance and urban renewal.
3. The Board was exempted from the provisions of by-laws and other requirements relating to the establishment of townships, the type of buildings to be erected and the materials to be used (Horrel, 1966).

In effect, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and its subsequent amendments, resulted in a major shift in the housing situation in the country. It gave the state the right to remove and resettle families in the name of development.

The Amendment Bills of 1965

Early in the 1965 session of Parliament, three important bills which had direct relevance to housing were introduced. All three were meant to consolidate existing legislation and to redefine the functions of the state departments responsible for housing. They were:

1. The Community Development Amendment Bill (24 February 1965) which resulted in the Community Development Act No. 3 of 1966.

2. The Housing Amendment Bill (15 March 1965) which resulted in the Housing Act No. 4 of 1966.
3. The Group Areas Amendment Bill (18 March 1965) which resulted in the Group Areas Act No. 36 of 1966.

In terms of the reorganisation entailed, the Department of Community Development was assigned functions based on the above three statutes and four others, namely:

1. The Slums Act No. 53 of 1934.
2. The Government Villages Act No. 44 of 1973.
3. The Rent Control Act No. 80 of 1976.
4. The Finance Act No. 67 of 1955 (Housing Code, 1969).

It was these Acts of Parliament introduced in 1966 which gave the state the right to remove, relocate and resettle people in the name of community development. The Department of Community Development was established to give effect to the government's unified housing policy, to promote its policy of separate development embodied in the Group Areas Act No. 36 of 1966 and to administer all the statutory bodies created by these statutes, namely:

1. The National Housing Commission.
2. The Board for housing blacks.
3. The Community Development Board (CDB).
4. The Slum Clearance Courts.
5. The Rent Control Board.

Extensive powers were granted to the Secretary for Community Development of the CDB. Regional offices of the Department of Community Development were established in nine major centres. They had complete control over housing matters.

It was their task to implement the state's separate development policies in all fields including housing, trade, group areas and local government.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN HOUSING PROVISION

1. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

In 1964 major adjustments were made in the role of various state departments in the field of public housing. The functions of the Department of Housing were extended to include the implementation of the Group Areas Development Act No. 44 of 1965. The objectives of the newly constituted Department of Community Development were broadened and centralised. Measures were taken "to ensure that all population groups were properly settled and housed and would develop into healthy communities, and that adverse conditions which hampered community development would be removed, for example, by slum clearance and urban renewal" (Hansard, 24 February 1965, col. 1713/1714).

All of these measures were incorporated in the Community Development Act No. 3 of 1966. Extensive statutory powers, duties and functions were entrusted to the Minister of Community Development in terms of the following related legislation:

1. The Housing Act No. 4 of 1966 established the National Housing Commission.
2. The Group Areas Act No. 36 of 1966 gave the Group Areas Development Boards the responsibility for the development of proclaimed group areas.
3. The Rents Act No. 43 of 1950, as amended (in 1964) introduced rent-controlled accommodation. (This Act was later replaced by the Rent Control Act No. 80 of 1976).

4. The Government Villages Act No. 28 of 1950 (which was replaced by the Government Villages Act No. 44 of 1973).
5. The Slums Act No. 53 of 1934 promoted slum clearance.
6. Section 3 of the Finance Act No. 67 of 1955 (Housing Code, 1969; Hansard, 24 February 1965, col. 1712-1714).

A discussion of the functions fulfilled by the Department of Community Development in terms of each of these statutes follows.

Housing Act, No. 4 of 1966

The Act and the regulations promulgated thereunder conferred upon the Department the statutory power to fulfil its main function, namely, the provision of housing for all sections of the country's population. The two important components through which its functions were fulfilled were:

1. The National Housing Commission.
2. The National Housing Fund.

Through these structures, the Department was empowered and assigned the responsibility to:

1. Provide housing by undertaking housing projects.
2. Assist individuals either by means of direct or indirect loans through local authorities and building societies.
3. Advance funds to local authorities for the purchase of land, for housing schemes, for the establishment of townships, for the provision of services, and for the construction of dwellings.

4. Make funds available through local authorities to utility companies for the provision of housing and to registered welfare organisations serving the aged and children for non-residential and residential facilities.

Community Development Act, No. 3 of 1966

This Act gave the Community Development Board and the Community Development Fund the authority to:

1. Assist persons in affected properties (under the Group Areas Act) to dispose of such properties.
2. Enable persons to acquire immovable property in group areas where they were entitled to own and occupy property.
3. Acquire properties from owners in affected areas and to improve or develop such properties for sale or letting.

The Slums Act, No. 53 of 1934

This Act placed the responsibility on local authorities for the prevention of housing nuisances, remedying such nuisances, reporting such nuisances to the slums clearance courts and taking action for non compliance with such notices. The Act further empowered the local authorities to acquire properties declared as slums and to develop them by providing suitable housing for their inhabitants.

The Group Areas Act, No. 36 of 1966

This Act provided, among other things, for the proclamation of group areas for the different population groups, for the control and acquisition of immovable property and

for the occupation of land and premises, except for blacks. It entitled the Group Areas Board to make recommendations to the Minister of Planning. When a group area was proclaimed, it became the function of the Group Areas Development Board to develop such areas using housing funds.

2. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATIONS

The provincial councils were not assigned any specific functions in the direct provision of public housing. Their role in housing derived from their responsibilities in relation to the functions of local authorities, in particular, town and regional planning. In practice, therefore, when a local authority embarked on a housing project, it was required to obtain approval from the relevant authority in the provincial administration before applying to the National Housing Commission for the approval of the scheme and to the National Housing Fund for financial advances. Figure 4 gives an overview of the financing of housing projects.

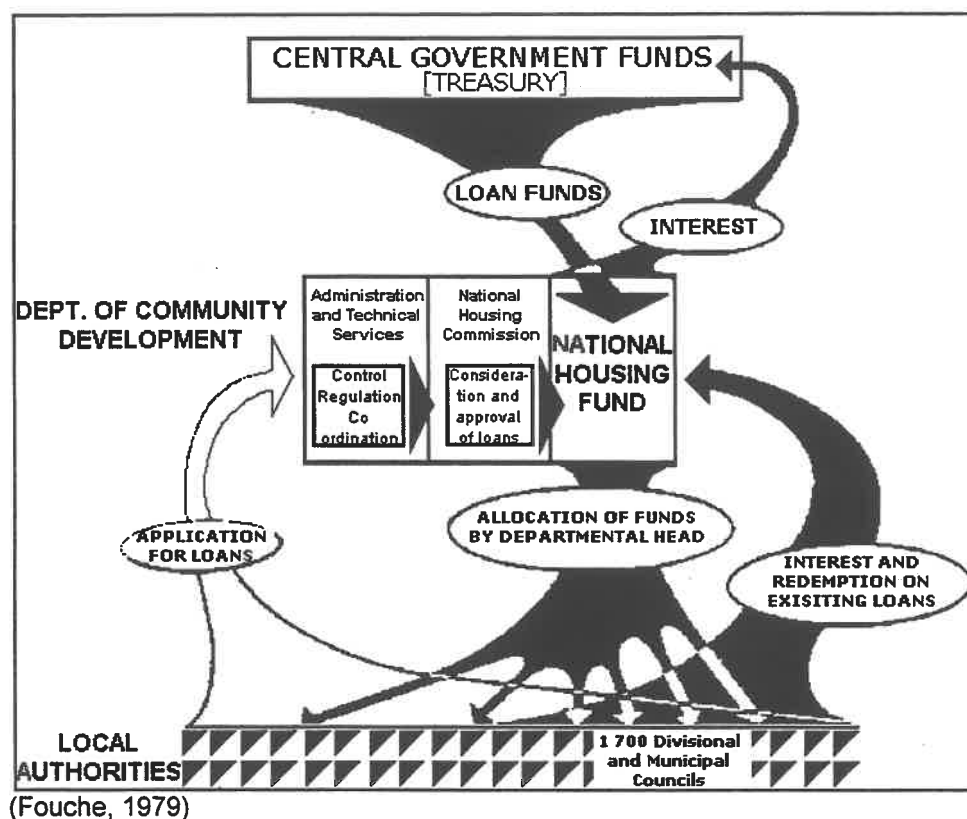
3. LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The duties and powers of local authorities in the field of public housing were defined in Chapter VIII of the Housing Act No. 4 of 1966. They were elaborated further in Chapter VI of the Housing Code.

1. Under the Slums Act No. 53 of 1934 it was the duty of the local authority to ensure that slum conditions did not exist in its area of jurisdiction and where they did exist to:
 1. Take steps to eliminate such conditions.

2. Ensure that notices issued by the slum clearance court were carried into effect.
3. Acquire land for housing purposes.
4. Provide the necessary housing in terms of the Housing Act, No. 4 of 1966.

FIGURE 4: FINANCING OF HOUSING PROJECTS



2. Under the Housing Act No. 4 of 1966, it was the responsibility of local authorities to provide suitable housing for their inhabitants and for those who were unable, on account of low income or other reasons, to seek the assistance available in terms of the Act to provide the necessary housing. Local authorities were empowered to acquire land for the construction of

housing schemes either by negotiation or by expropriation. They were also responsible for the provision of essential services, such as water, electricity, refuse removal, sewerage and sanitation.

In summary, as early as 1920, the state recognised the existence of a crisis in the housing situation and acknowledged its responsibility for providing suitable housing through local authorities. A central housing fund was created by the state and the local authorities were granted powers to borrow money and to acquire land, either by purchase or by expropriation, for housing development.

The original policy of assisting families who could afford "economic" housing was later changed to include sub-economic or assisted housing for families with very low incomes. The principle was accepted that housing was a joint responsibility of the state and private enterprise. Progressively, however, the state acquired increasing power and control over matters pertaining to housing and prescribed detailed requirements for compliance by the local authorities in establishing housing schemes. It also legislated for powers to carry out the functions originally undertaken by local authorities and for measures to be adopted in cases where the local authorities failed or refused to co-operate in carrying out their obligations. In effect, therefore, the local authorities and the provincial administrations became the agents of the central government in providing housing, within the framework of national policy, principles and purposes determined by the central government. It ensured compliance by prescribing the procedural, administrative and other requirements with which local authorities and provincial administrations had to comply. The state offered no room

for individual choice or preference except to utilise the expertise and administrative machinery of the local authorities in carrying out its housing functions. It was, in effect, a top-down authoritarian and prescriptive system in terms of which the government maintained total control over housing development. The legislation developed during this period remained in force when Phoenix Newtown was developed, as discussed in the next section on the period 1967-1990.

PERIOD 1967-1990: SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRICAMERAL SYSTEM

At the time when Phoenix Newtown was promoted, the consolidated legislation of 1966, namely, the Housing Act, 1966 (Act No.4 of 1966), the Community Development Act, 1966 (Act No.3 of 1966) and the Group Areas Act, 1966 (Act No.33 of 1966) were the main laws governing the provision of housing. Several major housing projects or townships were developed, namely, Chatsworth and Phoenix for Indians near Durban, Mitchell's Plain and Atlantis for coloureds near Cape Town, and Lenasia and Lenasia South for Indians near Johannesburg.

The introduction of a new constitution, the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No.110 of 1983) provided for the formation of three houses of parliament, namely, the House of Assembly for whites, the House of Representatives for coloureds and the House of Delegates for Indians. In terms of section 14 of the Act, housing was declared a matter of "own affairs" which meant that each House had to take responsibility for the housing of its own people, thereby entrenching fully the

concept of separate development and the policy of apartheid. This policy was promoted further in 1987 by the establishment of a Housing Development Board and a Housing Development Fund for the development of townships and their administration by the respective Ministers of Housing in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates as from 27 March 1987. Under this arrangement, no major new projects were promoted. Instead, extensions to existing schemes were carried out by housing funds being diverted to private institutions, such as banks and building societies, in which private contractors undertook the construction of houses.

PERIOD 1991 - 1994: EMERGENCE OF POST-APARTHEID HOUSING POLICY

In preparation for the introduction of a new housing policy and strategy to meet the needs and demands for housing, the Ministers of Local Government, National Housing and Public Works appointed a task group in 1990 to investigate all aspects of housing and land reform with a view to the development of a national housing policy. This task group (referred to as the De Loor Committee) submitted its report in April 1992. One of the important recommendations of the commission was that community participation should be ensured and that the community should form an integral part of the formulation of housing policy and strategy in the future (Dewar, 1993). However, in view of the changed political and socio-economic situation in the country and the move towards an interim, democratic government, the De Loor Report was treated as a discussion paper.

In 1991 the Population Registration Repeal Act (Act No.114 of 1991) was introduced whereby the Population Registration Act, 1950 was repealed along with certain other laws "to abolish the distinction made between persons belonging to different races and population groups". This Act was followed by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act (Act No.108 of 1991) whereby restrictions on the acquisition or utilisation of rights to land, based on race, were abolished. This Act also provided for the establishment of a commission, the Housing Commission of Land Allocation, whose main objectives were the identification, planning and development of land owned by the state and the acquisition of rural land for the establishment of rural settlements.

These laws of 1991 resulted in two major changes, namely, the abolition of group areas and influx control leading to the movement of families to urban areas and the unprecedented need and demand for housing. The intention of the earlier laws was to retain the central complexes of the urban areas for white occupation and ownership by providing housing for people of colour in areas unrelated to main work or employment centres, industry and transport. During the transition to democracy, 1991-1994, "housing" became an issue of major national concern and several measures were introduced. These were embodied in the government white paper entitled "A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa", which was released on 23 December 1994.

The National Housing Forum was established in 1992. Its main task was to create the conditions necessary for a national consensus on housing. Out of this consensus

came the National Housing Summit in Botshabelo on 27 October 1994 at which the Housing Accord was signed. Several other structures were also established to consider various aspects of housing. It was a commitment by a wide range of role-players to work towards solving the country's housing problem. It included representatives of the homeless, communities and civil society, national and provincial government, builders, the building materials industry, the financial community, and the industrial sector (Slovo, 1994).

To give effect to the various proposals and recommendations, in November 1993 the Housing Arrangements Act, No.155 of 1993 was passed after extensive negotiations between the Department of Housing and the National Housing Forum. This Act made unity in housing possible by eliminating the racially based and fragmented structures of the past (Molobi,1993). It was aimed at ensuring that housing provision could proceed in the interim phase, while detailed future policy was being developed and implemented. The main provisions of the Act included:

1. The abolition of the National Housing Commission by the repeal of section 5 (1) of the Housing Act, 1966.
2. The establishment of a National Housing Board with representation from various suppliers, consumers and regulators to advise the government on issues of national policy.
3. The establishment of regional housing boards in the four (previous) provinces to adjudicate the allocation of fiscal resources to projects at the provincial level. This was later changed by the Housing Amendment Act, No. 8 of 1994 to nine Provincial Housing Boards.

4. The amalgamation and joint operation of housing funds and certain institutions of the old "own affairs" administration.

In May 1994, the Department of Housing and the National Housing Forum agreed to establish eight joint technical committees to develop policy on specific priority areas for a future housing strategy. Eight such areas were identified, representing an extremely comprehensive grouping of skills and interests, centred exclusively around the housing issue (Munday, 1993). All key housing policy recommendations were then referred to the National Housing Forum and National Housing Board for comment. Substantive proposals thus developed formed the basis of the Draft White Paper on Housing (1994).

The White Paper on Housing

The White Paper for a new Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa was formally adopted by the cabinet on 7 December 1994 and released for public comment on 23 December 1994. It was a comprehensive document which highlighted the magnitude of the housing problem. It emphasised that housing was pivotal to the macro-economic situation in the country. The strategy was formulated around seven key functions all of which had policy implications and were believed to enable the delivery of a million houses in the ensuing five years (1995 - 2000). These functions were:

1. Stabilisation of the housing environment.
2. Creation of housing support structures.
3. Mobilisation of credit and savings.

4. Creation of capital subsidy programmes.
5. Demarcation of functions between the central (national), provincial and metropolitan (local) government levels.
6. Identification of issues pertaining to land and services.
7. Co-ordination of public funds and development of activities between the various arms of government.

The significant changes of policy revolved around several key principles:

1. Housing was a right within a democratic form of government.
2. It was a means of promoting people-centred development.
3. Effective housing delivery relied on a partnership between the government, non-governmental organisations and private enterprise.
4. The participation and involvement of civil society was essential to housing development.
5. The government was responsible for co-ordinating its various sectors involved in housing development.
6. Housing development was a means to the solution of socio-economic problems, such as unemployment.
7. Housing was a means to the equitable distribution of resources and to the creation of a stable political climate.

Financing of housing projects

An essential component of the new national housing policy was the granting of a capital subsidy to qualifying beneficiaries to assist them in meeting their housing needs. The government's primary aim with the introduction of the new subsidy structure was to provide security of tenure and access to basic services and possibly

a rudimentary “starter” formal structure to the very poor. To this end, the government made funds available to Provincial Housing Boards established under the Housing Arrangements Act, No. 155 of 1994, for allocation to qualifying beneficiaries. Figure 5 gives an overview of the housing subsidy scheme (Tshikini, 1998; White Paper on Housing, 1994).

FIGURE 5: HOUSING SUBSIDY STRUCTURE

PROVINCIAL HOUSING BOARD SUBSIDIES									
People qualify for a subsidy if:									
*	they are South African citizens or have a permanent residence permit								
*	they are married or living with a long term partner								
*	they and their spouse do not own and have never owned any property								
*	they or their spouse have not received housing assistance from the government to buy a property								
*	their monthly household income is R3 500 or less								
*	they are single with dependants and 21 years or older								
The amount of subsidy varies depending on total monthly household income.									
Monthly Household Income	Subsidy Amount								
Up to R1 500	R15 000								
R1 501-R2 500	R 9 500								
R2 500-R3 500	R 5 000								
(Adjustable by up to 15% on an area at the discretion of the relevant Provincial Housing Board, for locational, topographical or geotechnical reasons).									
There are a number of different subsidies that may apply. These include:									
*	<table> <tr> <td>Project linked subsidies</td><td>These apply to housing projects which may be initiated by communities, government or private developers.</td></tr> <tr> <td>Individual subsidies</td><td>Apply to sites or houses outside of a housing project and are allocated to individuals.</td></tr> <tr> <td>Consolidation subsidies</td><td>These are only available on a project basis to people who have received a serviced site as part of the previous government's housing programmes or from the IDT schemes.</td></tr> <tr> <td>Institutional subsidies</td><td>These subsidies need to be applied for by an institution which will be responsible for the project and provide rental and ownership options. As an incentive to promote social housing the state has adjusted the subsidy so that all income groups under R3 500 qualify for a R15 00 subsidy.</td></tr> </table>	Project linked subsidies	These apply to housing projects which may be initiated by communities, government or private developers.	Individual subsidies	Apply to sites or houses outside of a housing project and are allocated to individuals.	Consolidation subsidies	These are only available on a project basis to people who have received a serviced site as part of the previous government's housing programmes or from the IDT schemes.	Institutional subsidies	These subsidies need to be applied for by an institution which will be responsible for the project and provide rental and ownership options. As an incentive to promote social housing the state has adjusted the subsidy so that all income groups under R3 500 qualify for a R15 00 subsidy.
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The government also has a Discount Benefit Scheme for tenants to buy state financed rental houses. This scheme gives a discount of R7 500 towards the cost of buying the house.									

(Tshikini, 1998; White Paper on Housing, 1994)

Since South Africa's security and well-being depends on the creation of healthy housing environments, alternatives need to be found to complement the present subsidisation structure so as to enable all sectors of the community to house themselves adequately. Financial institutions do not provide credit to the unemployed and underemployed who make up a significant percentage of the population. It is therefore important that finances and initiatives other than subsidies are mobilised. These could include:

1. Saving clubs for short term loans and investments.
2. Funds accessed from micro-lenders.
3. Individual savings to augment the residual from the subsidy.
4. Utilisation of household or community labour to decrease the labour costs of building a home.
5. The creation of housing institutions to provide access to credit for low-income families. These associations are also perceived as a means of managing the marketing, construction and credit risk of housing development in such a way as to gear up public with private sector funds (Mkhize, 1998; Smit and Chalton, 1998; Tshikini, 1998).

The Housing Act No. 107 of 1997

The Act further outlines the functions of the three tiers of government. In addition to the broad parameters for the Housing Strategic Plan, contained in the White Paper on Housing (1995), the following general principles are included in the Act for the facilitation of a sustainable housing development process:

1. Priorities should be given to the housing needs of the poor.

2. Housing developments should provide a wide choice of housing and tenure options; be economically, fiscally, socially and financially affordable and sustainable; be based on integrated development planning; be administered in a transparent, accountable and equitable manner, and uphold the practice of good governance.
3. Housing development should promote the empowerment of communities; create conditions in which all role-players meet their obligations in respect of housing development; ensure healthy living conditions so that slums are prevented and eliminated; provide measures to prohibit discrimination on the grounds of gender and other forms of unfair discrimination in the housing delivery process; ensure the optimal use of land and services for higher density housing development; meet special housing needs, including those of the physically and mentally-challenged; provide community and recreational facilities in residential areas; and express the cultural identity and diversity of the population.

SUMMARY

This review of legislation and housing policy indicates the circumstances which originally prompted the state to introduce legislation for the provision of financial assistance to enable families to acquire their own properties to serve their housing needs. Subsequently, the scheme was extended to include families with low incomes to be assisted financially by a form of subsidisation to meet their housing requirements. The state provided funds to local authorities through provincial

administrations for the provision of low cost housing of both the economic and sub-economic nature.

In 1950 the Group Areas Act was introduced. The policy of racial separation in residential development resulted in large-scale relocation and resettlement of families necessitating the establishment of large-scale housing schemes to provide for these families. With a view to these housing schemes becoming as self-contained as possible, the state's assistance was extended to the provision of essential facilities and amenities and the concept of community development was introduced as being the official policy of the state. To ensure compliance with the state's policy of apartheid, the central government acquired legislative power to undertake the provision of housing and the related services and amenities where the local authorities either failed or declined to implement the policy of separate development. The various laws pertaining to housing and their administration were consolidated and revised in 1966. They embodied other legislative requirements to ensure compliance with the state's policy of separate development. In 1983, changes in the country's constitution resulted in the establishment of three houses of parliament. The tricameral policy was further entrenched by the appointment of ministers of state and housing boards to cater for the different races.

In 1991, however, laws pertaining to the policy of racial exclusiveness were abolished and revised legislation was introduced, pending the formation of a government of national unity and the introduction of a new constitution. With the introduction of the new constitution embodying a Bill of Rights, the White Paper on

Housing, entitled "A New Housing Policy and Strategies for South Africa" was adopted by the cabinet in December 1994.

In the declaration signed at the National Housing Summit in 1994, the government and other bodies involved in housing development committed themselves to establishing a sustainable system of housing provision. The declaration was intended to enable all South Africans to secure housing within a safe and healthy environment and within viable communities in a manner which contributed positively to an integrated society. The Red Book on Housing (National Housing Board, 1994) and the Housing Accord indicated that the developers had committed themselves to a holistic developmental approach to housing. The government envisaged a "structured approach to inter-sectoral co-ordination (which was) likely to provide one of the most significant contributions in (its) attempts to redevelop our society" (White Paper on Housing, 1994, p. 32).

In this chapter, the policy in force at the time was reviewed. In chapter four, the case study of Phoenix Newtown is presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NEWTOWN DEVELOPMENT AND A CASE STUDY: PHOENIX NEWTOWN

In response to the urban ills which accompanied rapid industrialisation in England towards the end of the nineteenth century, Ebenezer Howard proposed the creation of garden cities. The garden city was planned to be a self-contained and socially balanced town surrounded by a green belt. The aim was to develop these garden towns in such a way as to prevent the movement and contamination of major cities (Symes, 1989). Thus the newtown concept was born. Since then it has come to have different meanings in various places around the world (Merlin, in Symes, 1989). However, some common threads have remained in the "master plans" aimed at creating new complete communities that provided housing, employment and leisure facilities built on the neighbourhood principle. Each neighbourhood contained a variety of housing types, from one to five-bedroom houses, with shopping and community facilities. In addition, all houses were built away from the streets, facing onto green areas so that pedestrians could be separated from vehicular traffic. The concept of social balance and self-containment featured prominently in the newtown movement (Thorns, 1976). Newtown planning principles were later adopted in France and the United States of America.

"Although the 'newtown' concept has proved to be, and still is, one of the most challenging and interesting concepts pursued in town planning, its main failure is its limited success in creating self-contained and balanced communities capable of controlling metropolitan growth" (Symes, 1989 p. 18). However, Choo Kian-Koon (1993) pointed to Singapore's success in housing 88% of the country's 2,8 million population in green, communal living, public housing programmes. Hence "newtown" developments have enjoyed some measure of success.

NEWTOWN PLANNING IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, towards the early twentieth century, there was a need to control the use of land. There were problems relating to overcrowding, ethnic and income differences, class struggles over job opportunities and poor sanitation in the growing cities of Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. Town planning principles in South Africa were imported from abroad but applied differently for several reasons. First, planners were forced to work within the provisions of the Group Areas Act (1950) which led to the forced removal of blacks to the urban periphery, away from the white metropolitan core. The emphasis was not on creating ideal communities but on keeping blacks out of the cities. Blacks were prevented from owning land in the city centre. The government would have preferred to accommodate all blacks in homelands but cheap labour was needed in the cities. Secondly, due to the growth in the black population, adequate employment could not be provided in the "newtowns" or "townships", as they came to be known, and thus mass commuting occurred to the metropolitan core from the outlying "group areas". Thirdly, limited

resources were allocated to satellite "newtowns". In addition, programmes were developed as mass housing schemes for low-income residents who were not given access to finance. Hence, the South African "newtown" programme did little more than house people, mainly because of the policy of apartheid (Symes, 1989).

The Phoenix Indian Newtown

The decision to make use of "newtown" planning techniques in Phoenix, the area under study, was made by the Durban City Engineer's Department following a study of the literature on mass housing obtained from England, and from impressions gained on visits to townships, such as Chatsworth to the south of Durban and Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town (Vinton, in Bailey, 1987). The Phoenix housing development project, situated twenty kilometres north of Durban, began in 1972 and the first houses were occupied in 1976. The majority of the residents were those relocated, in terms of the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Slum Clearance Act (1934), from well established communities such as Springfield, Sydenham, Cato Manor, Riverside, Avoca, Clairwood, Chatsworth, and Redhill. However, due to the disastrous effects of the Umgeni River floods on the shack dwellers living on its banks, a number of families were relocated to Phoenix prematurely in 1976, without the provision of basic facilities.

Phoenix comprises twenty-five neighbourhood communities, twenty-three of which were part of the original plan (Phoenix Child and Family Welfare Society, 1987). In planning Phoenix, the main aim of the town planners was to overcome the inhumane features of areas in Chatsworth, where houses were built in linear style. At the time

of planning Chatsworth in the 1960s there was no legal provision for a Master Plan. The Master Plan of Phoenix indicated that the goals of the City Council were based on "newtown" principles. An important implicit goal was that "planning should begin with the people" (Bailey, 1987, p.149). However, in reality, there was a total absence of consultation with future residents. A "top down" approach was adopted. The needs of the people were determined by town planners using information from academics and colleagues from the research unit of the City Engineer's Department.

Master Plan: Phoenix Indian Newtown

The Phoenix Indian Newtown housing scheme was approved by the National Housing Commission in terms of paragraph (d) (i) of Section 42 (1) of the Housing Act No. 4 of 1966. The scheme was promoted by the Durban City Council in 1969. The Act stipulated that the development by a local authority required a Master Plan. The Master Plan was meant to outline the anticipated development of the whole residential complex and its relationship to adjacent existing townships. The purpose of a Master Plan, then, was to ensure the "planning of balanced townships and the elimination of fragmented planning" (Housing Code, 1969, p. 36). In the process of its preparation, attention had to be paid to community needs according to the social stratification and income-groups of residents. Communal facilities, including administrative, recreational, service and industrial sites, also had to be included. The details required in the Master Plan were as follows:

1. Zoning of residential areas and residential density.
2. The situation of the central business area in relation to the city centre.
3. Schools shown diagrammatically.

4. Parks and recreation sites.
5. Major municipal services.
6. Main roads.
7. The progressive development of the areas in the proposed township (Hansard, 22 February 1965, columns 1712 and 1713; Housing Code, 1969).

The Master Plan for the Newlands and Phoenix Indian Newtowns was a comprehensive document of some sixty-one pages with accompanying appendices, diagrams and maps. The information which was presented in its thirteen chapters complied with the requirements of the Housing Code (1969).

1. Information sources

The Master Plan was prepared on the basis of studies carried out by the Durban City Engineer's Department on the housing needs of the Indian people, the existing road systems of the region, the neighbouring townships, and the geological and physical features of the land on which these townships were to be established. For demographic information it relied on:

1. Information gathered by the Research Unit of the City Engineer's Department.
2. A socio-economic survey carried out on behalf of the City Council in 1965/1966 by the Department of Economics at the University of Natal.

The City Engineer's Department also consulted with other municipal departments (Health, Parks and Gardens, and the City Treasury) and with certain state departments, such as the Division of Education of the Department of Indian Affairs and the Department of Hospital Services of the Natal Provincial Administration. On the basis of the information available, the Master Plan for Phoenix Newtown provided

for 22 050 planned housing units and related services and amenities for an estimated population of 150 000.

2. The planning approach

The Master Plan conformed to prevailing "blue-print" planning policies favoured in South Africa at the time. Its preparation was regarded by town planners as essential for large-scale housing schemes, especially those aimed at overcoming the depressing military appearance of areas, such as Wentworth and Chatsworth, which were planned and built by the Durban City Council in the 1960s on the linear style (rows of houses), without a Master Plan (Vinton, in Bailey, 1987).

3. Goals of the Master Plan

The goals of the Master Plan for Phoenix Newtown were to:

1. Provide affordable housing for low-income households as rapidly as possible.
2. Establish an attractive environment with a full range of social facilities parallel with the housing programme.
3. Assure high levels of accessibility to other areas within the City of Durban.
4. Keep pedestrian and vehicular conflict to a minimum by carefully routing traffic away from housing areas.
5. Plan flexibly for future aspirations of residents and to reduce the uncertainties of long term planning (Master Plan, City Engineer's Department, 1982).

On the basis of the Master Plan, the Durban City Council was granted approval in terms of the Housing Act, No. 4 of 1966 by the Department of Planning and the

Department of Community Development to proceed with the establishment of Phoenix. The scheme envisaged the provision of homes for 150 000 Indians in a fully integrated community. In keeping with the concepts and principles which were adopted, the plan attempted to create residential groups or cluster neighbourhoods to enable people to enjoy their home life and, at the same time, to encourage and promote close bonds and social intercourse at all levels. This approach was in line with the policy of the Department of Community Development at the time (Hansard, 24 February 1965, columns 1712 and 1713).

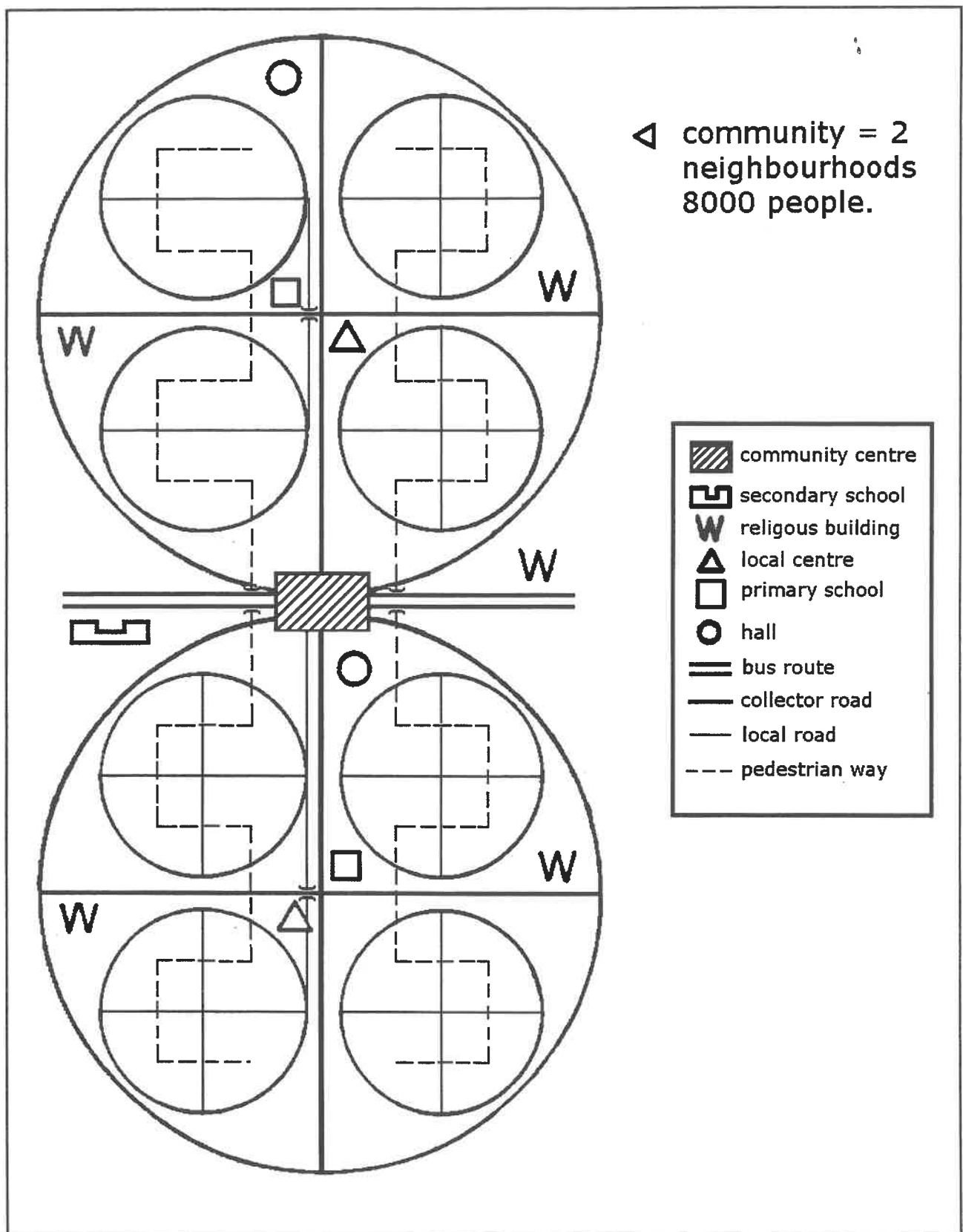
4. Design and structure of Phoenix Newtown

The total area of Phoenix Newtown was divided into twenty-five communities as shown in Map 2. Each planned to cater for a population ranging from 8 000 to 12 000. Each community, in turn, was divided into two neighbourhoods (see Figure 6). The services and amenities for which provision was made in each community were intended to render them self-sufficient and self-contained as far as certain social and public amenities were concerned. Provision for other needs, such as major shopping centres, civic amenities, hospital, industrial and commercial enterprises, was made on a regional or central basis (see Figure 7).

The key components of each community, as set out in the Master Plan, included five types of housing units, namely, semi-detached houses, duplex units, flats, and, in some areas, single or detached houses, and "better class" houses. In addition, provision was made for the following:

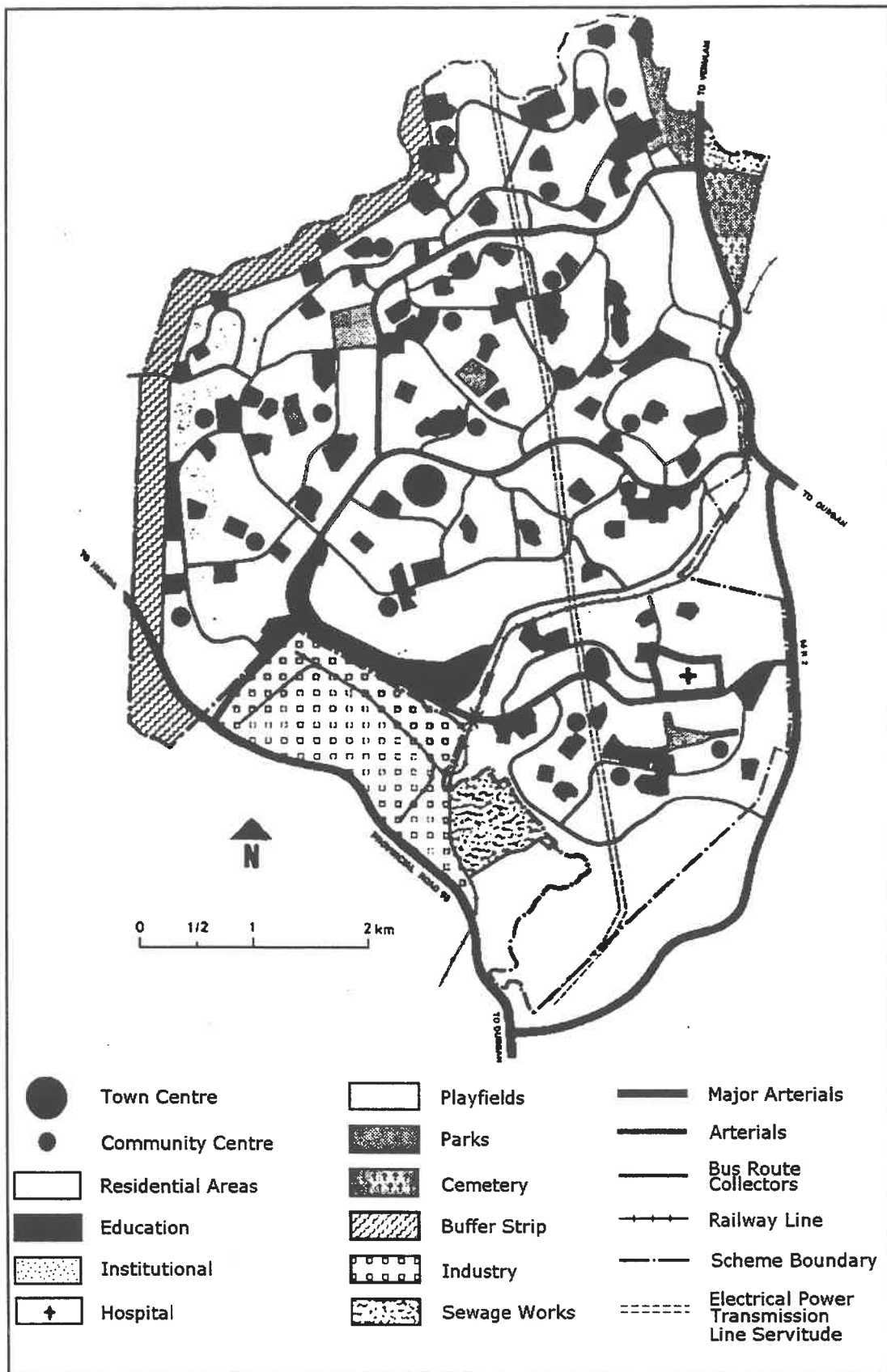


FIGURE 6: THE COMMUNITY STRUCTURE



(City Engineer's Department, 1969)

FIGURE 7: THE PHOENIX MASTER PLAN



(City Engineer's Department, 1982)

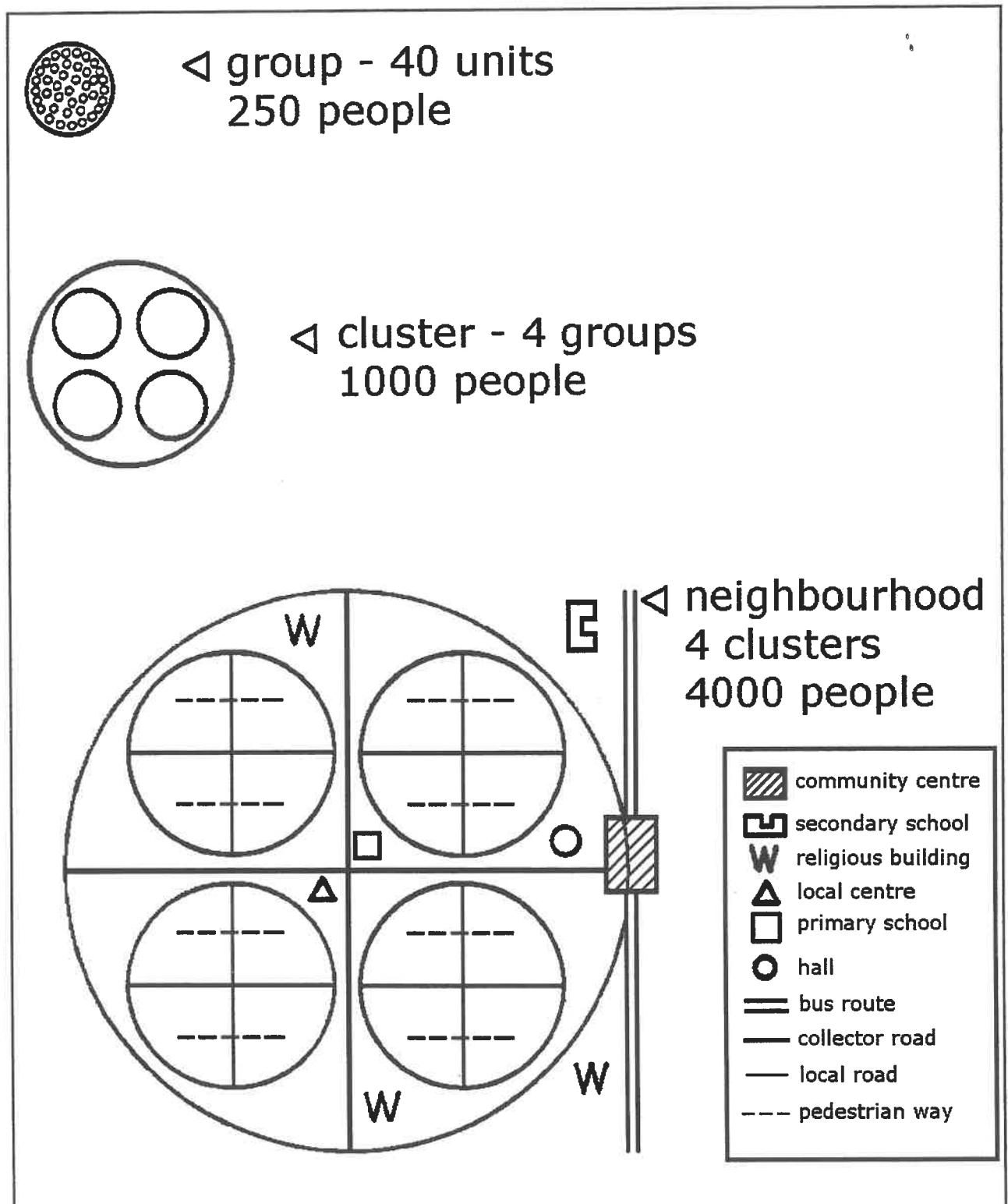
1. A community centre.
2. A secondary school.
3. Five religious sites (two for each neighbourhood and one outside).
4. Two primary schools (one in each neighbourhood).
5. Two local centres (one for each neighbourhood).
6. Two halls (one in each neighbourhood).
7. A bus route.
8. A local road and a pedestrian way.

Apart from its neighbourhood and community ethos, the planning incorporated features of "cluster housing", that is, the clustering of a collection of housing units, each accommodating 250 people, linked together around an open space, with access via walk ways. Four such groups would comprise a "cluster" of 1 000 people (see Figure 8). These concepts of group, cluster, neighbourhood and community living became the norm in determining the number of housing units for each area and for the facilities and amenities to be provided.

5. Objectives for major services and amenities

The Durban City Engineer's Department set certain objectives for the more important items embodied in the Master Plan (1969). These included housing, education, health, community facilities, shops and transport.

FIGURE 8: THE NEIGHBOURHOOD STRUCTURE



(City Engineer's Department, 1969)

1. The housing programme

On receiving approval for the housing scheme and the allocation of funds, the objective of the Department was to complete 22 050 housing units in twenty-three community areas by 1985. A programme of housing development over a fifteen year period, beginning in 1971, was included in the Master Plan. The housing allocation was planned with the objective of providing a wide range of housing units to serve the needs of all categories - from a single person to the large family household. Four-storey blocks of flats and special homes for the aged were to be provided. Duplex units, semi-detached cottages, single-detached cottages, terraced housing, and flats all formed part of the Master Plan. A limit was placed on four bedrooms as the maximum for any housing unit. Valuable lessons learnt from the experience of establishing the Chatsworth Housing Scheme were taken into account. These included the opinions of residents regarding certain features, such as the external appearance of the buildings. This approach was supported by the Department of Community Development.

2. Education

The City Engineer's Department carried out a study in order to project age groupings of Indian school children. Requirements and standards were determined in consultation with the Director of Indian Education. With a sixteen year minimum school-leaving age and a six year commencing age, the objective was to provide two infant-cum-primary schools comprising twenty classrooms for 800 children per 4 000 population and a secondary school

comprising thirty classrooms for 1 000 children per 8 000 population in each community area. Combining infant and primary schools was thought to be economically and administratively convenient. There was also general agreement with the Director of Education that, wherever possible, schools should make use of public playing fields.

3. Health

In consultation with the Directorate of Hospital Services, and in pursuance of the policy of centralisation of hospital services, provision was made in the Master Plan for one hospital situated in Phoenix to serve the Newlands area as well, and for four municipal clinics based on a standard of one per 40 000 population. One of these clinics would be located in the municipal centre. No separate site was reserved for a polyclinic since it was anticipated that, by its very nature, it could be "sited within the hospital precinct" (Master Plan, 1969, p. 42).

4. Recreation and social facilities

In the absence of a study on the recreational needs of the Indian people, the objectives set were to provide each community unit with a full range of sportsfields, playgrounds, parks and public gardens; build a central sports area which would serve as a stadium for athletics, football and cricket; and reserve a site for an 18 hole golf course.

5. Community facilities

In attempting to provide an opportunity for moulding social relationships and meeting the divergent needs of the population, the objectives were to provide a public telephone booth, a post box and a creche or nursery school for each cluster of 1 000 persons. Also included was a small hall, three religious sites and a petrol filling-station in each neighbourhood of 4 000 persons. A site was allocated for a branch library, a cinema and a community hall catering for 25 000 people. A community centre was to be reserved for social and cultural uses, a site for a large mosque or temple, a community hall, petrol station and post office facilities. There would be a Town Centre which would comprise civic and public sector buildings from which the functions of the local authority and central government administration, justice and police, and municipal services would be carried out. Zones for religious, cultural and educational services, as well as commercial buildings, hotels, high-density flats and an entertainment area were allocated. Finally, it included a plan to develop forty acres of land into a cemetery and crematorium.

6. Shopping

There was no clear planning for shopping facilities, although provision appeared to be made for a number of local shops.

7. Transport and communication

Since sixty percent of the economic working force residing in Phoenix were likely to be travelling by either car, bus or train, the objectives in the Master

Plan were to provide: a good suburban rail service and, for those served by bus, a good arterial road system; a well-integrated public transport service operating within a network of roads and pedestrian ways, designed to ensure adequate and safe movement of its users; a well-planned road structure, for public transport, commercial vehicles and private cars; and a carefully planned footpath system with facilities for safe crossing of the road network.

SUMMARY

Given the size of the housing project, the population to be accommodated and the number of housing units to be provided, the Master Plan included provision for a wide range of facilities and amenities to serve the multifarious human needs of residents. The physical planning was designed to facilitate easy access to services and amenities and to encourage social interaction with the ultimate objective of creating wholesome, balanced communities. However, while the ideal is presented above, the reality (the subject of the research) is presented in chapter six.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY

The study's overall purpose was to ascertain whether the objectives of the Master Plan for Phoenix Newtown were achieved and to make recommendations for future planning of large scale housing developments. Further, the study aimed to evaluate whether the Phoenix experience in planning and establishing large-scale public housing projects, ostensibly designed to create self-contained and balanced communities and to promote the state's policy of community development, had been successful. To gain a holistic understanding of housing, the methodology employed thus entailed three stages:

1. The formulation of research questions.
2. Analysis of the Master Plan.
3. Study of Phoenix Newtown.

Stage 1: Research Questions

Broad research questions to guide the study were formulated. The rationale for these questions is summarised in Table 5.1 (Janesick, 1994). These questions were derived from a general knowledge of the research literature and theory, observations, the researcher's practical knowledge and dilemmas about housing (Marshall and Rossman, 1989).

TABLE 5.1: RESEARCH QUESTIONS GUIDING THE STUDY

Question	Purpose of the Question
1. On what demographic and other factual information was the planning based?	To ascertain whether the planners had sufficient and accurate knowledge about the community for which they were planning.
2. Was there consultation with professionals from various fields, and who were the role-players involved in the planning of Phoenix?	To assess whether there was multidisciplinary input into the planning of Phoenix.
3. For what range of services and amenities was provision made in the planning of Phoenix?	To ensure that there was a multifaceted development of the housing scheme.
4. What strategies were used to assess the needs of the community in the planning of Phoenix?	To ascertain whether and how future community residents and leaders were involved in the planning process.
5. What services were rendered to assist families with the relocation and resettlement process?	To ascertain whether measures were taken to ensure the smooth transition of the residents into the community to minimise the effects of relocation.
6. Was provision made for the upward mobility of future residents?	To assess whether accurate future projections were made.
7. What was the rationale for the choice of the newtown / cluster housing concept?	To examine the appropriateness of the newtown model and to draw conclusions and make suggestions for future housing programmes.
8. What implications does the Phoenix Newtown experiment have for future housing development?	To examine the implications for current policy initiatives relating to: 1. housing, and 2. social development.

Stage 2: Analysis of the Master Plan

The analysis of the Master Plan covered various aspects of the scheme as a whole but the study focussed more specifically on Stonebridge as the target area for intensive study. The analysis of the Master Plan and questions derived therefrom aimed to:

1. Assess whether the objectives of the Master Plan were achieved and the future needs correctly anticipated.
2. Plan correctly for the future.

Table 5.2 summarises the questions which arose when analysing the Master Plan and the likely sources of data in finding answers to these questions.

Stage 3: Research Questions - Community Profile of Phoenix Newtown

The central purpose of the research questions, as shown in Table 5.3, was to obtain statistical and other information to formulate a community profile of Phoenix Indian Newtown. The objective was to assess the extent to which the provisions made in the Master Plan were, in fact, implemented and to assess whether the stated objectives were attained.

SAMPLING STRATEGY

A sample is a selection, hopefully representative, of the total population that one desires to study (Bailey, 1982). Therefore, the process of sampling is a means of determining the subjects of the study (Marlow, 1993). There are two major ways in which sampling methods can be classified: probability and non-probability. Probability sampling is one in which each element in the population has a known and equal chance of being selected. This type of sampling increases the representativeness, which is a desired quality in a sample. However, probability sampling is often difficult because it requires a sampling frame, which is not always feasible. Non-probability

TABLE 5.2: ANALYSIS OF THE MASTER PLAN

Stated Objective in the Master Plan	Question/s	Source of Information	Purpose of the Question/s
1. To ensure that the first "move in" takes place simultaneously with the provision of essential amenities.	1. When did the first "move in" take place? 2. Were the essential amenities established by this time?	1. Planners 2. Residents	To ascertain whether this objective was achieved in the case of Stonebridge.
2. To ensure the early availability of shops, schools and recreational areas.	1. When was the first shop and school opened in Stonebridge? 2. What recreational amenities were ready for use at the time of the first "move in"?	1. Professionals 2. Town planning technician 3. Manager of the Phoenix Housing Department 4. Residents	To assess whether these essential facilities were available and to establish the time period for which residents had to depend on external resources for their needs.
3. To achieve programme co-ordination between municipal departments, government authorities, shops, schools and hospital services.	1. Was this co-ordination achieved? 2. Who was involved?	1. Planners 2. Manager of the Phoenix Housing Department	To assess whether there was planned co-ordination in the provision of housing and services and amenities.
4. To comply with pre-construction requirements, gain approval for the Master Plan and for the requisite funds for commencement of construction.	1. What was the time lag between the submission of the Master Plan, the commencement of construction and the "move in" of families into Stonebridge?	1. Planners	To determine whether the information on which the planning was based became outdated by the time the first "move in" took place.
5. To plan for the range of needs of households in the Indian community.	1. What was the range of housing styles in Stonebridge? 2. What were the income groups of the families accommodated?	1.Planners 2.Town planning technician 3.Residents	To determine whether a range of housing styles was offered in Stonebridge?
6. To set target dates for completion of each phase of the housing construction programme.	1. Were the target dates achieved?	1.Planners 2.Town planning technician	To assess whether the projections were accurate and the consequences of missing target dates.
7.To meet the needs of the Indian community as reported in "Future Indian Housing Requirements" (Hands, 1965).	1. Was this achieved? 2. Who was involved in the needs study? 3. Was this needs study accurate?	1.Researchers from the Housing Department 2.Planners	To assess the authenticity of information sources used for planning and for future projections.
8.To establish the needs of the Indian community (Dept. of Economics, 1966).	1. What were the terms of the agreement under which this study was undertaken? 2. What was the composition of the team that designed the study? 3. Was the study carried out to provide housing, or, for the establishment of a self-contained, balanced newtown?	1.Head of the research team 2.Planners	To assess whether the university understood the purpose of the survey and whether the research team was representative of the various disciplines.

TABLE 5.3: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SOURCES OF DATA

Objective of Master Plan	Question/s Addressed	Source of Information
1. Housing programme: To provide 22 050 units beginning in 1971 with a completion date of 1985.	1. How did the programme proceed in actual implementation?	1. Town Planning Technician
2. Housing types: To provide five types of housing.	1. What is the breakdown of the number of housing types in each of the twenty-two community areas?	1. Town Planning Technician
3. Housing classification: To make provision for four income- categories to accommodate a cross-section of the population in the newtown. Sub-economic - 55% Lower-economic - 30% Economic - 11% Higher-economic- 4%	1. What is the breakdown in each community area of the percentage in each income group?	1. Town Planning Technician
4. Provision for mobility: To make provision for the extension of homes.	1. How many homes were involved? 2. Nature of improvement/ extension? 3. Factors prompting improvement.	1. Residents 2. Researcher's visits of observation to the area
5. Choice of home: To allow the residents some choice in the type of home.	1. Were the residents given a choice in the selection of their homes?	1. Residents
6. Housing by household size: To allocate homes according to family size.	1. What is the size of the family in relation to the home?	1. Residents
7. Special needs of community: To provide special homes for the aged and physically challenged.	1. Have the homes been designed and allocated to cater for the special needs of the residents?	1. Residents
8. Population projections: 1. To cater for the growth in population according to the estimated projections between 1960-2000. 2. Average household size estimated for 1965, 1985 and 1995.	1. How do these figures compare with other projections on population growth? 2. How do other estimations on family size compare?	1. Census reports- Department of Statistics
9. Employment: To create employment opportunities away from the Durban metropolitan area and closer to Phoenix.	1. How many residents are employed within Phoenix and the surrounding areas? 2. How many residents are employed outside Phoenix?	1. Residents
10. Education: To provide in total forty four infant/primary and twenty two secondary schools.	1. Were these schools built as planned? 2. What is the present primary and secondary school population? 3. What other educational institutions have been established?	1. School principals 2. Head of the Teacher's Centre
11. Community facilities: Provision was made for various facilities in the planning.	1. Which of these facilities were provided on occupation of the homes? 2. What facilities are now available?	1. Manager of the Parks and Recreation Department 2. Town Planning Technician 3. Residents
12. Town centre: To establish services and civic amenities for the entire population of Phoenix.	1. Which of these services and amenities have been established and the dates? 2. What services are still to be provided?	1. The relevant heads of municipal departments 2. Town Planning Technician
13. Transport: To provide for: 1. Internal and external transport 2. Motor-car ownership.	1. What facilities are available? 2. Which of these are more popular? 3. When were they provided?	1. Residents 2. Department of Transport

sampling, on the other hand, is limited in terms of sample representativeness in that the probability of inclusion in the sample is unknown and usually different from each respondent or unit in the sample. As this was an exploratory, descriptive study, non-probability sampling was chosen for two primary reasons: the researcher was interested in obtaining as much unique data on the research questions as possible; and the sampling units represented people who were in key positions and who had the information which this study required.

Purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling procedure, was primarily used in this study since "the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research" (Patton, 1990, p 169). The other sampling procedures used in the study were:

1. Snowball sampling: Here respondents initially chosen for the sample are used as informants to locate other information-rich, key respondents.
2. Purposive cluster sampling: This involves selecting clusters (groups) from a larger unit containing "elements" of interest and then, from these clusters, sampling the respondents to be included in the final sample.
3. Quota and stratified purposive sampling: In this procedure one first selects necessary strata (which would constitute a fairly homogenous sample), then gathers a specific quota of cases in each strata.
4. Triangulation of data sources is intended to validate the findings of the study (Bailey, 1982; Marlow, 1983; Patton, 1990; Seaberg, 1993).

Selection of a Site

Janesick (1994) suggested that "the qualitative researcher needs to select a site according to some rationale" (p. 211). In this study, Stonebridge was selected for two reasons:

1. It was the first of twenty-two community areas (units) in which the Phoenix newtown was divided.
2. Stonebridge had a mixture of housing types, thus making provision for different socio-economic groups.

Sample One

Sample one comprised four planners and one researcher who had been involved in the planning and development of Phoenix. They were purposively chosen because of their in-depth knowledge which the researcher felt would "illuminate" the questions under study (Patton, 1990). Marshall and Rossman (1989) referred to this group of respondents as elite because they were well-informed people who could report on their organisations, policies, past histories and future plans. One of the identified respondents who could have made a meaningful contribution to this study was the head of the Research Unit of the City Council at the time of planning Phoenix. However, he was unable to recall the research carried out at the time nor were any documented studies available.

Sample Two

Sample two comprised professionals from the health, welfare and educational fields. They were purposively chosen because of their in-depth knowledge of the Phoenix

township and, in most cases, particularly the Stonebridge community area. They were also selected on the basis of their expertise in areas relevant to the study (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). One professional from the health field, who had time constraints, volunteered to make his comments in writing. The other professional whom the researcher felt could have made a valuable contribution to the study, the superintendent of the only provincial hospital in Phoenix, declined an interview as she did not see the relationship between health and housing. After persuasion, she eventually settled for providing the researcher with a disease profile of the area.

Sample Three

Sample three consisted of residents from the Stonebridge community area, some of whom were community and civic leaders. Non-probability sampling techniques were chosen for this sample because the researcher's intention was to interview residents from specific housing types. Three clusters were purposively identified since each strata had a homogeneous range of housing units and thus variations in the socio-economic groups of the population could be captured (Patton, 1990). Each cluster was broken into categories of units, using quota sampling to set proportions representative of each of the housing types. Marlow (1993), Bailey (1982) and Seaberg (1993) define quota sampling as the inclusion of certain segments in the study which are in proportion to the entire population and have preset or specific characteristics. Table 5.4 shows the breakdown of this sample.

TABLE 5.4: BREAKDOWN OF THE RESIDENTS INTERVIEWED IN PROPORTION TO THE STONEBRIDGE POPULATION

Type of house	No. of units	% of units	Sample (n)	Sample (%)
1. Flats	275	27	10	25
2. Duplexes	336	33	11	26
3. Terraced	14	1	3	7
4. Semi-detached	372	37	16	38
5. Single	21	2	2	4
Total	1019	100	42	100

Snowball sampling was then conducted in stages, similar to those mentioned by Bailey (1982). In the first stage, community leaders who had the requisite characteristics were identified and interviewed. These respondents were used as contact persons to identify others who qualified for inclusion in the sample, for example, friends and neighbours. The second stage involved interviewing these respondents who, in turn, led to still more respondents who were interviewed in the third stage, and so on. In this study, snowball sampling was a useful strategy to adopt since the researcher was interested in a very special population of limited size to provide rich information, and only a handful of appropriate respondents were initially known from the Stonebridge/Phoenix area (Marlow, 1994; Patton, 1990; Seaberg, 1993).

Sample Four

Sample Four comprised managers and heads of organisations and institutions:

1. The Manager of the Parks and Recreation Department of City Services (Phoenix Branch Office).
2. The Financial Manager: City Treasurer's Department.
3. The Allocations Manager: City Treasurer's Department.
4. The Finance and Administration Manager: City Treasurer's Department.
5. The Manager of the Housing Department (Phoenix Branch).
6. The Head of the Consolidating Billing Department (Phoenix Branch).
7. The Postmaster: Phoenix Post Office.
8. The Principal of the Teacher's Centre (Phoenix Branch).
9. The Town Planning Technician: City Engineer's Department.

This sample was purposefully chosen because they were considered to be influential, prominent or well-informed about the Phoenix township. They were also selected because it was anticipated that valuable information could be gained because of the positions they held either in social, political, financial or administrative realms. They were more likely than other informants to be familiar with the legal, financial and overall structures of their organisations and institutions (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). Table 5.5 gives a summary of the various types of sampling used in the study and their purpose.

TABLE 5.5: SAMPLING STRATEGIES

Type	Purpose	Sample to, which applicable
Purposive sampling	Selects information-rich cases for in-depth study.	One, two and four
Purposive cluster sampling	Increases confidence in making generalisations to particular subgroups or areas.	Three
Quota and stratified purposive sampling	Illustrates characteristics of particular sub-groups of interest and facilitates comparisons.	Three
Snowball sampling	Identifies cases of interest from respondents who know "people", who know what cases are information-rich, that is, good examples for study and good interview respondents.	Three
Mixed purposive sampling	Triangulation, meets multiple interests and needs.	Three

DATA COLLECTION

Qualitative design lends itself to the in-depth study of selected issues (Janesick, 1994; Marshall and Rossman, 1989; Patton, 1990). Qualitative research practitioners are sensitive to the value of the multi-method approach to data collection (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). In this study, a primary method and various supplementary methods of data collection were triangulated as follows:

1. Primary Method of Data Collection: The interviews

The primary method of data collection was the interviews held with respondents from four sample categories.

The Research Instrument

An interview is described as a method of data collection that involves an interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, with the purpose of obtaining valid and reliable information (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). As opposed to mailed survey questionnaires, in-depth interviewing through face-to-face and verbal interaction was considered essential in order to tap into the experience of the respondents, and to understand their perceptions, feelings and knowledge (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 1990).

The Semi-Structured Interview

Since this was an exploratory, descriptive study, the semi-structured interview, with a combination of open and closed ended questions, or the interview guide approach as it is better known, was used. Bailey (1992) defined the semi-structured interview as "an interview in which the topic is decided in advance, but the interviewer has some leeway in deciding which questions to ask and what sort of answer categories to use" (p. 471). Patton (1990) identified the following strengths of the semi-structured interview:

1. The outline increases the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection somewhat systematic for each respondent.
2. Logical gaps in the data can be anticipated and closed.
3. Interviews remain fairly conversational and situational.

Interview schedules administered to the experts are attached as Appendix A.

Sample One

The respondents in sample one were contacted telephonically. The purpose of the interview was explained and a suitable time for the interview was arranged. Prior permission was sought for the interview to be tape recorded. The tape recorder proved to be indispensable due to the qualitative, in-depth nature of the enquiry (Patton, 1990). Three interviews were held in the respondent's offices. These venues were ideal in terms of environmental conditions, such as privacy, lighting and seating arrangements (Gochros, 1993). A letter was written to the respondent in Cape Town explaining the purpose of the study and requesting his contribution. His willingness was expressed by a very prompt response. A block time which was convenient for the respondent was set aside for the interview (Reid and Smith, 1981). The duration of each interview was approximately eighty minutes, except for the telephonic interview which lasted approximately forty minutes. Each interview was summarised, written in duplicate and sent to the respondent for verification. This served as a reflection of the authenticity of the information which was provided during the interview. The summary carried a letter of appreciation (see Appendix B). The respondent was requested to make the necessary comments or changes, keep one copy for his records and have the edited version returned to the researcher. Sample copies of the summaries are included as Appendix C. A letter was written to the researcher in the Indian Housing study, requesting the information required (see Appendix D). The information obtained is included in the analysis of the findings in chapter six.

Sample Two

Some of the respondents in sample two were contacted directly and the purpose of the interview was explained, permission to conduct the interview was sought and a convenient time and venue was arranged. In cases where institutions or organisations were involved, the researcher had to go "through a chain of command" (Gochros, 1993, p. 284). A letter was written to the head of the organisation or institution on the University's letterhead which endorsed the study and encouraged the respondent's participation (Gochros, 1993). Sample copies of the letters are included as Appendix E. The head of the organisation identified the most suitable person to be interviewed for the study. Arrangements for the interview were subsequently made directly with the respondent. The interviews, which lasted for approximately one hour, were held at the respondents' offices. Although prior permission was sought to use a tape recorder, some respondents were concerned about whether they would be represented accurately. This doubt was dispelled when the researcher assured them that two summaries of the interview would be forwarded to them, one copy to be retained by the respondent and the edited copy to be returned to the researcher. The summaries were accompanied by a letter of appreciation for their contribution to the study (see Appendix F for summaries).

Sample Three

The respondents in sample three, mainly heads of households, were contacted telephonically. The nature of the study was explained, their

willingness to be interviewed was secured and a suitable appointment was arranged. Except for one interview which was held at the respondent's business premises, the rest were held at the respondents' homes. At the beginning of the interview the researcher handed over a letter written on the University's letterhead to the respondent (see Appendix G). This helped to endorse the nature of the study and encouraged the respondent's co-operation. Fontana and Frey (1994) and Patton (1990) stressed that, for ethical reasons, one of the issues in qualitative research was the consent of the respondent. The respondent was assured of the confidentiality of the information furnished and the benefits anticipated from the study were explained. Each interview lasted between sixty to ninety minutes; in some cases, they were as long as two hours. Some respondents used the interview as a form of catharsis for the bitterness they experienced after having been relocated. The researcher, therefore, had to extend her listening skills. The questions were not asked in the same order in the case of each respondent. They varied according to the flow of the interview. Semi-structured interviews were held, with some specific questions trying to yield both qualitative and quantitative data (see Appendix H for interview guide schedule). Notes were taken on the questions that warranted quantitative data. The rest of the notes consisted primarily of key phases and major points made by the respondent. Detailed notes were completed soon after the interview (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 1990). This enabled the interview to proceed in a free-flowing way. A tape recorder was not used for this sample, as it was felt that it would be intrusive and the respondents would find the device threatening. At the

end of the interviews, the respondents were thanked for their participation and contribution to the study.

Sample Four

Respondents in sample four, from whom detailed information was required, were contacted telephonically, the purpose of the study was explained and a suitable date and time was identified for the interview. Questions for the interview were derived largely from the analysis of the Master Plan. The length of the interview varied according to the type of information required for the community profile and the time needed to assess whether the objectives of the Master Plan had been achieved. Interviews were held in the respondents' offices. The conducive environment was probably attributable to the positions they held. In order to supplement the information provided, some respondents furnished the researcher with documents containing valuable information. In instances where statistical information or less-depthful information was required, the respondents were contacted telephonically. Keynotes were taken during the course of the interview. One respondent was requested to verify the information that he had provided due to its in-depth nature. A copy of the summary of this interview is included as Appendix I. The respondents were thanked for their contribution to the study.

Table 5.6 summarises the various samples, sampling techniques, research instruments, and the purpose for selecting the particular sample, that is, the data collection process.

TABLE 5.6: SUMMARY OF THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

Sample	Sampling techniques	Research instruments	Purpose for sample selection
Sample One Planners and Reseacher (n = 5)	1.Purposive sampling	1.Semi- structured interviews 2.Written correspondence	To determine: 1.How the name Phoenix Indian Newtown came into being. 2.Which disciplines were involved in the survey designed to establish the needs of the Indian community. 3.Considerations which prompted the adoption of the newtown/cluster housing principles. 4.Reason for the choice in the designing of the homes. 5.Effects of the state policy at the time on the planning, and what implication would the current policy have on future planning. 6.Lessons that can be learnt from Phoenix in the planning of future housing projects.
Sample Two: Professionals (n = 8) 1.Doctor: General Practitioner 2.Doctor: Head of Department of Community Health - UND 3.Professional Nurse 4.Social Worker: Phoenix Child & Family Welfare Society 5.Social Worker: Department of Housing- Durban Metro Council 6. Social Worker: Department of Welfare - KZNPA 7.Principal: Primary School 8.Principal: Secondary School	1.Purposive sampling	1.Semi- structured interviews	To determine: 1.Whether the objectives in respect of the various services were adequate and whether they were achieved. 2.The problems attributed to the shortcomings in the planning of Phoenix. 3.The needs of the community. 4.The changes envisaged in future planning. 5.The role of professionals in the planning of future housing.
Sample Three Residents (n = 42)	1.Purposive cluster sampling 2.Quota and stratified purposive sampling 3.Snowball sampling	1.Semi- structured interviews	To determine: 1.Whether provision had been made for special needs and changes in family circumstances in the planning of Phoenix (e.g. the aged and physically challenged, extended families, increase in family size and upward mobility). 2.Whether the objective of providing for different socio- economic groups was met. 3.Whether relocation services were rendered and the nature of the services. 4.The availability and convenience of resources, amenities and facilities. 5.Future intervention strategies for community development around housing needs by allowing residents to reflect and evaluate their experiences of living in Phoenix
Sample Four Managers and Heads of Organisations and Institutions (n = 9)	1.Purposive sampling	1.Semi- structured interviews 2.Telephonic interviews	1.To determine whether the objectives for the housing programme, facilities and amenities as set out in the Master Plan were achieved and whether they were adequate. 2.To compile a community profile of Phoenix Newtown.

2. Supplementary Data Collection Techniques

In addition to the primary data gathering techniques discussed above, other supplementary techniques were relied upon in the study.

1. Observation

In this study observation was used as a technique, integrated with the primary methods of data collection, although Patton (1990) argued that "observation of the phenomenon of interest may be the best research method" (p. 25). Observation was used to supplement or confirm data obtained from the literature review, analysis of documents and interviews. Marshall (1989) claimed that interviews, combined with observation, allowed the researcher to check description against fact. The researcher was able to observe among other things, the following:

1. The practical use of the cluster housing concept in Phoenix, access roads, narrow pathways and the like.
2. The poor structural design and quality of homes which was revealed in the interviews and previous studies.
3. The unhygienic environmental conditions resulting from dumping in the open spaces.

As suggested by Guba and Lincoln (1994), important observation notes were made during the course of interviewing and while walking around the area. This gave the researcher insight into the issues and concerns that were most sensitive to respondents. Patton (1990) emphasised that such understanding of the field was essential to a holistic perspective.

2. Use of Available Records

Much of the available data, including file records, has been included in the literature study in chapter two. Due to subsequent changes in the structure of local government, and perhaps lack of proper recording, it was difficult to retrieve some important documentation. Documents utilised in the study included minutes of meetings held by the City Council at the time and inter-office memoranda. Other documents included:

1. Research that was carried out either by the City Council itself or by private companies prior to the establishment of Phoenix to assess needs, to "look into the complaints of the tenants" (Fridjon et al, 1979) or to evaluate the success of the cluster housing concept with a view to using the results for planning purposes.
2. Printed mass media, specifically newspapers, magazines, journals and newsletters.

Although Bailey (1982) identified disadvantages, such as selective survival and incompleteness, documentation study has several advantages. It enables accessibility to otherwise inaccessible subjects. For example, in this study, some of the planners involved in the planning of Phoenix were deceased. It also allows for non-reactivity and longitudinal analysis in cases where running records are available.

3. Photographs

Photographs were used in the study to show the structure and design of the various types of homes provided in Stonebridge. They were also used to reinforce the data gathered from the primary data collection methods, namely, the literature review and the interviews, to show the environmental conditions and the extension of ownership homes, indicating upward mobility.

4. Maps and Diagrams

Maps were useful in showing, for example, the location of Phoenix in relation to the wider Durban region and the location of Stonebridge in relation to other community areas. Figures were used, among other things, to illustrate the design and principles of the cluster housing concept, and the proposed planning structures for future housing development.

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Marshall and Rossman (1989) defined data analysis as "the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data" (p. 112). Interpretation involves explaining the findings, attaching significance to particular results and putting patterns into an analytic framework (Patton, 1990). In this study, the data collected were analysed somewhat similarly to the descriptive accounts suggested by Patton (1990) for the construction of case studies, and the sub-processes suggested by Huberman and Miles (1994).

The data collected from the interviews, observational notes and documents were assembled. This was followed by summarising, finding themes and clustering the data, using the research questions, the literature and interview guides as a focus for the analysis (Janesick, 1994; Patton, 1990). The data was then condensed into a manageable package by organising, classifying and editing. Data, both qualitative and quantitative, were displayed in structured, organised, descriptive summaries with the use of diagrams and tables. Guba and Lincoln (1994), Marshall and Rossman (1989) and Reid and Smith (1981) regarded these displays as important in organising the verbal information in a succinct, structured form, so that essential ideas, relationships and linkages could be discerned readily.

The data was integrated and viewed holistically. Meaning and conclusions were drawn with the intent of providing recommendations. This interpretation of the displayed data involved comparison and contrast with previous studies and literature, analysis of patterns and themes, and clustering and triangulation of the various data sources.

VALIDITY AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A potential limitation of qualitative methodology is bias resulting from dependence on the researcher's subjective interpretations of data. Qualitative methodologists have been giving increasing attention to ways of controlling investigator bias. Essentially, methods of control follow the general principle of reliability, validity and credibility testing in which multiple checks are used to evaluate data (Reid and Smith, 1981).

Table 5.7 summarises the methods used to control validity as identified by Denzin and Lincoln (1994); Fontana and Frey (1994); Guba and Lincoln (1994); Janesick (1994); Marlow (1993); Marshall and Rossman (1989); Morse (1994); Patton (1990); Reid and Smith (1981) and the attempts made by the researcher to control validity in this study.

TABLE 5.7: METHODS OF CONTROLLING VALIDITY AND ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE VALIDITY IN THE STUDY

Methods of controlling validity	Attempts to achieve validity in study
Verification of study	Cross-checked information with respondents.
Triangulation	Qualitative data augmented with quantification. Use of multiple sources which provided concurring and confirming data. The use of interviews supplemented by observation, maps, diagrams and photographs as data collection methods to gain a holistic view of the setting.
Design of research sample Appropriateness of study	Purposive selection of samples Information selected according to theoretical needs.
Adequacy of data	Sufficient data collected until saturation was ensured.
Ensuring the credibility of the researcher	Field experience with issues identified in study which assisted in gaining the co-operation of respondents. Professional qualifications to conduct research appropriately. Interviewing experience which helped to ensure confidentiality, flexibility, build trust, confidence and show empathy towards respondents. Attempted to analyse and interpret data with intellectual rigour and professional integrity. Consideration of ethical issues by guarding against personal, intellectual and professional biases during the study.
Documentation of the development of the study by which the researcher reached her conclusions (Audit trail)	Sufficient evidence of sampling, process notes, data collection instruments, data reduction and analysis have been provided for the reconstruction of the study.
Phenomenon recognition	Use of qualitative methods, inductive analysis, holistic, systems and interdisciplinary thinking.

Although the researcher has recognised inherent limitations in the study and attempted to achieve validity, one of the significant limitations which could not be overcome was the time lag between the planning and development of Phoenix and the time at which the study was undertaken. The implications were that, firstly, a few of those who could have been key informants on the background to the planning and development of Phoenix, for example, the chief architect and engineer, were deceased. However, those planners interviewed also had first hand knowledge of the planning of Phoenix and had been involved in its development. Secondly, the major focus at the time of the study was the transformation of the housing department. Thus, some of the secondary sources of material, for example, the report of the study conducted by the City Engineer's Department into the needs of the Indian community and important diagrams showing the structure of the City Council at the time, could not be traced in the archives through the human resources department.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the research process and the stages entailed in analysing the Master Plan and the study of Phoenix Newtown were outlined. Qualitative data was obtained through the triangulation of data sources and the primary use of semi-structured interviews and purposive sampling techniques. Through the in-depth case study and the various measures taken to control validity, the aim of recommending whether "blueprint" planning should be adopted for future housing programmes was made feasible. The results obtained from the data collection and analysis methods described in this chapter are presented in chapter six.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

The data presented in this chapter were evaluated against the Master Plan presented in Chapter Four. Respondents (identified at the beginning of each section) were asked to comment on their evaluation of the implementation of the plan and on the quality of the living environment in Phoenix Newtown with particular reference to Stonebridge (Community Area 4). The data are presented in two sections:

1. The Experts' View
2. The Residents' View

Due to the triangulation of data sources, and the various dimensions of housing covered in the study, there was overlapping on certain information obtained.

THE EXPERTS' VIEW

Information on the planning of Phoenix, with regard to the housing programme and the provision of services and amenities, was gathered from a range of experts through the medium of structured interview schedules and telephonic interviews. Experts were asked to give their views and opinions on the feasibility of the objectives of the Master Plan and the extent to which they had been achieved. They were also invited to provide suggestions for corrective planning. The following areas were covered:

1. The planning process
2. The housing programme, services and amenities
3. Education
4. Health and medical services
5. Social welfare services

The planning process

The professionals responsible for the planning of Phoenix Newtown included town planners, town planning technicians, engineers, architects and surveyors. No other professionals were involved in the planning. Although there was good liaison between the engineers and town planners, the professionals involved did not function as part of a team. Each of them carried out their respective assignments allocated by the head of the Town Planning Branch who, in turn, was accountable to the City Engineer. Table 6.1 shows the experts who provided information with regard to the planning of Phoenix Newtown. One expert was involved in the research and the others were involved in the planning and/or the development of Phoenix Newtown.

TABLE 6.1: EXPERTS CONSULTED ON THE PLANNING OF PHOENIX

Experts interviewed	Current position
1. Mr Robb Kirby	Town Planner (now in private practice)
2. Mr Chris Sullivan	Director of Town Planning for the Cape Metropolitan Council
3. Mr Jelle Meintsma	Manager of Transport and Systems Planning in the Physical Environment Unit
4. Mr Brian Widdowson	Acting Director of the Town Planning Division for the Durban Metropolitan Council
5. Prof Gavin Maasdorp (written communication)	Director: Economic Research Unit, University of Natal, Durban

Demographic and related information furnished by the Research Team in the City Engineer's Department formed the basis for the planning of Phoenix. The information was derived largely from census reports and waiting lists of applications for housing. Further, a socio-economic study by the Department of Economics at the University of Natal in 1966, entitled *A Survey of Indian Housing in Durban*, was commissioned by the City Council for the specific purpose of planning housing projects for the Indian people. The team consisted largely of economists. The only other professionals involved as consultants were the Director of Hospital Services of the Natal Provincial Administration and the Director of Education of the Department of Indian Affairs. Consultation with future residents, community leaders and other organisations was not encouraged. Finally, the planners drew on current theory on newtowns or garden cities proposed by Ebenezer Howard. These town planning principles were adopted for Phoenix with a view to:

1. Creating a healthy and balanced social environment for the residents.
2. Making the newtown self-contained and self-sufficient.
3. Facilitating interaction between the various social and economic groups among the residents.

From these various sources the Master Plan was drawn up, a blueprint for the development of Phoenix which had to conform with the directives of the City Council and the requirements of the National Housing Commission whose main pre-occupation was the rapid production of housing units to expedite the implementation of the Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950. The delays encountered in respect of the approval of plans and the release of funds, therefore, were minimal.

The respondents pointed to several shortcomings in the planning of Phoenix Newtown. First, Phoenix was located a distance away from the places where most residents were employed. This situation was aggravated by the design of the road system for both vehicular and pedestrian traffic, which was based on the assumption that motor car ownership would be minimal. It was envisaged that most residents would use the railway service. However, access to the only railway station was inconvenient and the majority of residents were not used to using trains since they came from areas where there was no train service. Thus, use of the railway system proved difficult for them. In addition, the transport/traffic engineer underestimated the number of cars owned by the residents (Traffic and Transportation Department, 1995). Therefore, the communal car parks were unable to meet the parking needs of the residents. Also, they were plagued by crime. Secondly, the co-ordination envisaged in the Master Plan was not achieved. Desired co-ordination between municipal departments and with related state departments was lacking. This prevented the provision of services and amenities in keeping with the pace of the development of the housing programme. Thirdly, all the planners felt that the absence of consultation with prospective residents, community leaders and organisations was a serious omission. Choice, which Dewar and Ellis (1979) described as a key to handling complexity and change, did not exist. A large number of residents were forced into the rental system. Little provision was made for their upward socio-economic mobility in relation to family growth, motor car ownership and increases in their financial status. Finally, building materials used in the first phase of the housing development were of poor quality resulting in maintenance problems later on.

There were lessons to be learnt from these problems in planning. Community involvement in all phases of housing development was essential (Robertson and Witthuhn, 1993). If representative community organisations and future residents had been consulted, and a comprehensive diagnostic survey completed, unnecessary expenses would not have accrued from locating this housing project for lower-income working class families so far from industry and the central city complex and a planning model more appropriate to the community's culture and needs would have resulted. Further, follow-up services were needed to assist residents to adjust to their new environment and to link them with available resources and amenities which needed to be provided concurrently with the housing development.

Housing, services and amenities

Table 6.2 shows the information sources on the housing programme and the development of services and amenities in Phoenix. The respondents represented the following organisations or authorities:

1. Municipality of Durban: The City Council.
2. Central Government Departments.
3. Natal Provincial Administration.
4. Community enterprise or non-governmental organisations.

The housing programme

The City Council, being an agent of the state, loaned money from the government for the construction of housing projects. In October 1986, 22 120 housing units had been completed by the City Council. Subsequently, the number of units built rose to

26 248. Although the original plan of the Council was to build 22 050 units in twenty-three community areas, the total number of community areas eventually established was twenty-five. This included the Town Centre (CA 16), Southgate (CA 1) which was developed by the Natal Building Society and Woodview (CA 22), which consisted of self-help housing, developed by Innova Homes. The objective to provide a wide range of housing units to serve the needs of all categories of residents materialised up to Community Area 18. Thereafter, when objections were raised against flats, more semi-detached and self-help housing was provided.

TABLE 6.2: INFORMATION SOURCES ON HOUSING, SERVICES AND AMENITIES

Interviewees	Current position
1. Mr A. Nadasen	Manager of the Parks and Recreation Department: Durban Metro Council-Phoenix Branch
2. Mr K. Naidoo	Manager of the Housing Department-Durban Metro Council
3. Mr S. Naidoo	Principal of the Phoenix Teachers' Centre
4. Mr V. Moodley	Financial Manager-City Treasurer's Department
5. Mr R. Dyer	Town Planning Technician: Durban Metro Council
6. Mr R. Govender	Postmaster: Phoenix Post Office
7. Mr K. Shunmugam	Supervisor (Second-in-Charge: Consolidated Billing Department)
8. Mr P. Babudayal	Finance and Administration Manager
9. Mr R. Richardson	Allocations Manager
10. Phoenix Police Community Liaison Forum (The Peoples' Friends). Showing details of organisations in the area.	

Each community area was designed to cater for 4 000 people. However, in 1980 the population of Stonebridge, for example, was 6 106, and that of Greenbury was 9 248.

In 1991 the population of Stonebridge dropped to 5 411, while Whetstone had a population of 6 752 (Central Statistics Service, 1980 and 1991). These figures showed that population projections were incorrect and that the population figures in these community areas still significantly exceeded the numbers for which the development was planned.

Although there were certain categories of homes that were offered for purchase from the onset, for example, single cottages and terraced housing, home ownership of the rental stock was introduced in December 1992. However, before the duplexes and flats could be offered for home ownership, they needed upgrading to meet with:

1. Town planning principles and requirements.
2. The Sectional Title Act.

In addition, technical work on the bulk infrastructure, such as storm water drainage and electrical connections, also needed to be completed. Homes were sold at a price which enabled the City Council to recover building costs. Hence the selling price of homes varied according to the type of housing and the community areas in which they were situated. Loans were granted at an interest rate of 7.5%. In some instances, the loan adequately covered the cost of the home, while financial and social issues were problems for other prospective homeowners. Other issues, such as capacity building, still needed to be addressed either by the City Council itself or by engaging body corporates before the entire rental stock was sold to the community.

The provision of services and amenities

Services and amenities were provided by the municipality, central government and the provincial administration as well as non-governmental organisations.

1. Services provided by the municipality

The municipal services were funded either by National Housing Commission loans or from the Community Services Fund from levies paid by the residents for the provision of amenities, such as sports and playing fields, community halls, libraries and parks. The fund was administered by the City Council and utilised for special purposes, following approval by the National Housing Commission. Some municipal services, such as consolidated billing, health services, housing matters and libraries, were controlled by the relevant departments operating in the city with branch offices or depots in the township. Others, such as the fire brigade, protection services and City Police, were controlled and provided for by the central department. In May 1996, the following municipal services and amenities were available to the residents of Phoenix: one branch office of the City Treasurer's Department for the payment of rent, water and electricity accounts; three community halls in Greenbury, Stonebridge and Redfern; three municipal clinics in Stonebridge, Caneside and Grovend; a health inspectorate service; an emergency fire service; one central and 23 sub-offices for housing matters which rendered a landlord service to tenants; three libraries in Stanmore, Stonebridge and Whetstone; sports fields which were in use but none with functional change rooms (the change rooms were used for storing equipment); four turf and five synthetic cricket pitches; one three-court netball field in Woodview; one

athletic track in Longcroft; four parks (without lights) and one swimming pool in Rainham to cater for the entire population of Phoenix (approximately 147 382 people).

2. Services provided by central government

Services provided by central government included schools, police stations, post offices, law courts, health clinics, and welfare services. Phoenix had forty-two primary schools, two of which catered for the physically and mentally challenged and twenty-three secondary schools, including one technical high school. The police station was established in 1990. The community was served by the Mount Edgecombe post office which was some fifteen kilometres away, until 1989 when a post office was opened in Phoenix. A branch office of the Department of Health and Welfare in the House of Delegates opened in 1990 and was subsequently taken over by the Division of Social Work Services of the Department of Welfare: KwaZulu Natal Provincial Administration. A branch of the law courts of the magisterial district of Lower Inanda was opened in 1995.

3. Services provided by the KwaZulu Natal Provincial Administration (KZNPA)

KZNPA was mainly responsible for the provision of health services. A Community Health Centre opened in 1986 and a polyclinic providing psychiatric and pharmacy services, operating twice-a-week, was established

in Starwood in 1995. The Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Hospital has functioned as a day hospital since 1996.

4. Services rendered by non-governmental (voluntary) organisations

Over the past twenty years, the residents of Phoenix have felt the need to organise themselves to meet their various needs and address pressing issues in their community. Social welfare agencies (see section on social welfare services in Phoenix) and other organisations, including a civic or ratepayer's association, sporting clubs and associations, political party offices, educational councils and centres, religious and cultural organisations, and neighbourhood watch groups were established.

Education

Two school principals who had a great deal of experience in the profession were interviewed with regard to educational norms, the education available to the children of Stonebridge, the effects of socio-economic circumstances and, in particular, the effects of housing conditions on the school situation and their suggestions for the future planning of housing programmes. Table 6.3 indicates the experts who were interviewed with regard to education.

TABLE 6.3: EDUCATION EXPERTS

Interviewees: Education experts	Current position
Mr Y.A. Akbar	Principal of Stonebridge Primary School
Mrs D.E. Bissessor	Principal of Phoenix Secondary School

The first primary school in Stonebridge was opened in 1978, two years after the first families moved into their new homes. The school was built with cement blocks, unsuitable for the Durban weather, both in winter and summer.

Educational norms did not conform to the Master Plan. The norm for a junior primary school, as set out in the Master Plan, was to accommodate 800 children in 20 classrooms with a pupil-teacher ratio of 40:1 (40 children to a teacher). This was regarded as educationally unsound, especially for children from socially and economically disadvantaged families. This situation was aggravated by the admission of children from outside the community of Stonebridge. A similar view was expressed in respect of the plan for the secondary school which was to serve both Stonebridge and Clayfield. The norm for a school of 1 000 children in 30 classrooms was considered unrealistic. The existing secondary school had a pupil enrolment of 1 350 in 36 classrooms since it was forced to admit children from outside the area for which it was established. This was due to inadequate educational facilities in adjoining areas. In addition, the implementation of the new educational policy meant the increase in the pupil:teacher ratio. In order to retain the existing number of teachers the principals readily accepted pupils from adjoining areas. One of the respondents was of the view that combining junior and senior primary school children was not a good arrangement as the special needs of the children in the respective age groups were very different. Both respondents felt strongly that there was a lack of provision for pre-primary or nursery schools in the planning of Phoenix. They considered pre-primary education to be an absolute necessity, especially for children

from economically and environmentally disadvantaged communities, such as Phoenix.

Socio-economic problems had an impact on education. There were high drop-out levels due to early entry into employment in order to augment family income. This, however, aggravated the high incidence of unemployment in the area because of the saturation in the labour market. Due to financial need, both parents were forced to work and this resulted in a lack of parental supervision and control giving rise to deviant behaviour, instability in family life and poor parent-child relationships. Poverty, illiteracy and consequent poor living standards for the majority of families were constant problems.

Poor housing conditions affected education in various ways. Firstly, payments of rent, water, electricity and services, were a severe drain on the low income of many heads of families, causing arrears in school fee payments and poor health standards. According to the literature, adequate shelter as a quality of life indicator, is concerned with economic health, that is, the extent to which the cost of maintaining the shelter represents an affordable drain on family resources and its effects on education and learning. Secondly, levels of mothers in employment were high, resulting in absence of both parents from home and consequent lack of supervision for children after school, aggravated by the absence of after-care and child-minding services. Thirdly, anti-social behaviour among youth, especially from families in the flats, was common. Conditions were not conducive to study and learning due to poverty and overcrowding in the home and surrounding environment. Finally, the social

infrastructure was lacking. Outdoor recreational and sporting facilities were inadequate. There was a shortage of sporting bodies to organise and promote sport among youth. The municipal libraries were not suitably equipped and consequently not optimally utilised.

Having had the experience of teaching in Phoenix for many years, the respondents made several suggestions with regard to the planning of future housing programmes. A better balance in the socio-economic distribution of families in each neighbourhood would provide positive interaction. In low-cost housing for lower income families, flat-type accommodation should not be provided due to the anti-social behaviour that it perpetuated. A larger number of single cottages, with adequate yard and garden space, would help to provide a better environment and also prevent friction and conflict between neighbours. Extensive consultation should be held with a range of interested groups and professionals in the fields of health, welfare, education and religion to determine needs and preferences. The co-operation and support of organisations should be enlisted in promoting activities for individual, family and community empowerment.

Health and Medical Services

Table 6.4 indicates the medical personnel who were interviewed and documents consulted with regard to medical and health services in Phoenix. With regard to the planning of health and medical services, the respondents differed in their viewpoints on the adequacy of one centralised hospital to serve both the Phoenix and Newlands newtowns. On the question of siting a polyclinic within the precinct of a major

hospital, those who favoured the idea did so on grounds of its convenience for the referral of patients from one service to another. Others were opposed to such an arrangement on principle because they felt that a polyclinic should be located on hospital premises. Although a site was provided for a hospital and polyclinic in the Master Plan, the hospital was only opened in 1996 (almost 20 years after the township was started) and, equally important, it provided only a daycare service. There was no in-patient service, no laboratory and no X-ray facilities, although it was designed for all these services. The norm of one medical clinic per 40 000 people was thought to be acceptable but the range of services provided did not meet the needs of the population.

TABLE 6.4: INFORMATION SOURCES ON HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES

Interviewee: Health experts	Current Position
1. Sr P. Marimuthu	Professional Nurse: Durban City Health Department
2. Dr K. Naidoo	Medical Practitioner: Stonebridge
3. Dr C.C. Jinabhai (written communication)	Head of Department of Community Health: Faculty of Medicine, University of Natal
4. Annual Report of the Friends of the Sick Association (1996)	
5. Disease Profile of the Phoenix Community Health Centre (March 1995)	

Hence, consequent dependance on private medical practitioners for medical and health care services was a drain on the income of the lower socio-economic groups. The first municipal clinic (which offered preventative services) was opened in 1976,

the next in 1984 and the third in 1991. A polyclinic cum Health Care Centre (which provided curative services) was opened in 1986 and a second polyclinic was established in 1995. The two polyclinics were unable to cope with the patient load. The clinics only operated two or three times a week. Due to the short operating hours and the staggered establishment of these services, health services were inadequate.

Medical services were rendered for various types of illnesses but certain major health problems were prevalent in the Phoenix community. There was a marked incidence of infectious respiratory diseases due to poor nutrition resulting in low resistance, aggravated by inadequate living conditions, such as dampness, cold floors and overcrowding. Sixty-seven percent of the children treated at the Phoenix Community Health Clinic suffered from otorhinolaryngological and respiratory disorders (Phoenix Community Health Centre, March 1995). Degenerative illnesses, such as hypertension, diabetes and cardiac problems, were prevalent. As a result of the poor socio-economic circumstances, malnutrition and underweight, especially among children, was common. There was also a high incidence of tuberculosis. By March 1996, 706 cases of tuberculosis were encountered and treated and dealt with by FOSA (Friends of the Sick Association). This constituted forty-four percent of the cases dealt with by FOSA in the entire KwaZulu Natal region.

According to the respondents, there was a relationship between housing conditions and the nature and incidence of disease. Poor social conditions, such as overcrowding, especially in the flats; cement floors, damp walls and the absence of

ceilings; inadequate play and outdoor facilities; unsettled family life in a poor environment; and high accommodation costs which drained meagre incomes, aggravated family health. Studies conducted by Mayet and van Rensburg (in Dept. of Community Health, 1995), the WHO (1964), Wilner (in Friedlander and Apte, 1980), as well as other related literature, also revealed that there was a relationship between housing and the nature and incidence of illness. Similar findings were found in the present study.

Having had the experience of working in the community over the years, the respondents recognised the effects of social and economic factors on health and thus made various suggestions for corrective planning in the future. Single dwellings with adequate space for privacy were highly recommended, as this had a psychological impact on the individual and the family and a positive effect on the quality of life. Flats for low-income families were undesirable because they could not maintain them and this led to health problems. The road system needed to be designed appropriately to cater for pedestrians, traffic and motor car ownership. Prior to the planning of future housing programmes, wide-range consultations with prospective residents and professionals in all fields were necessary. It was imperative that the provision of health and medical services be balanced with housing development and the inflow of residents into the township. It was recommended, too, that residential areas be located away from industrial complexes in order to avoid health hazards.

Social welfare services

Table 6.5 shows the experts who provided information on social welfare services and the relationship between housing and social problems in Phoenix. Two of the respondents rendered generic social work services to the Phoenix community while the third respondent offered specialised services in housing from the central housing department. Social work services rendered to the Phoenix community were divided into three categories, namely, voluntary organisations, state departments and the housing department.

TABLE 6.5: INFORMATION SOURCES ON SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES IN PHOENIX

Interviewees	Current Position
1. Ms B. Coetzee	Social work co-ordinator: Durban Metropolitan Council
2. Mrs V. Moodley	Social worker: Phoenix Child and Family Welfare Society
3. Mrs R. Naidoo	Social worker: Department of Welfare: KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Administration

Seven voluntary organisations served the community in the fields of child and family welfare, the aged, mental health, alcoholism and drug dependance, marriage guidance, crime and rehabilitation, and FOSA. Three of these organisations operated from premises either rented or purchased from the City Council and the remainder were situated in the city. No sites had been allocated for welfare services in the Master Plan (1969). A regional office of the state department was opened in Phoenix in 1990. It also served the townships of Verulam and Tongaat. The services provided by the Department were primarily statutory, including foster and

institutional care, committal to rehabilitation centres for drug and alcohol dependance, casework with children over ten years of age experiencing behaviour problems, and probation services. Since Phoenix was a scheme implemented by the Durban City Council, social workers employed by the housing department rendered casework, group work, community work, and administrative services to the community.

The respondents identified several problems prevalent in Phoenix, many of which were related to the socio-economic status of the population. These problems included alcoholism, drug dependancy, drug peddling and illicit alcohol dealings (shebeens); crime and juvenile delinquency; marital discord and domestic violence; child neglect and abuse; prostitution and sexual promiscuity; truancy, abscondment and aggressive behaviour in juveniles; psychiatric illness; and unemployment, poverty and dependance on state grants and pensions. Statistics indicated that 62% of the population of Stonebridge was economically inactive (Central Statistics Service, September, 1996). These problems were similar to those found in the case studies analysed by Dewar and Ellis (1979) which showed that there was a correlation between social problems and poor housing and environmental conditions.

However, poor housing conditions, in particular, were regarded as the major contributory factor to these problems. Relocation was traumatic for the residents, especially since there were no counselling services to help families adjust to their new environment and to link them with resources and amenities in or adjacent to the township. Overcrowding within the homes, and lack of privacy in relation to

neighbours, did not leave the individual with much 'space'. Residents found it difficult to adapt to communal living and this led to friction over shared facilities in the flats. The homes had a drab appearance and the environment was depressing. This, coupled with the lack of ownership rights, led to residents' apathy and lack of pride in their homes. Lack of good public space and inadequate community facilities for the residents prevented them from diverting their energies positively, since it was not possible for all their needs to be met within the home (Dewar, 1993).

With their in-depth knowledge of the social sciences, these respondents had several suggestions to make for future housing programmes and preventative measures against further social problems. They advocated extensive consultations, at the planning stage, with prospective residents, organisations and professionals serving in various fields, such as medical, paramedical, nursing, social, education, and law. To plan appropriately, research should focus on the lifestyles and special needs and preferences of prospective residents. Detached homes, suitably spaced with adequate gardens, were preferred to flats for low-income families as it was felt that space had an impact on the individual's psychological well-being, and families would invest their energies in private gardens. In designing homes, emphasis on aesthetics and allowance for self-expression were required as this would give individuals a sense of pride and dignity in their homes. In addition, adequate sites for all forms of social activities, including sport and recreation, religion and culture, and civic activities were necessary. Special provision had to be made for the aged and physically challenged within the home. Counselling services to assist families to settle-in and adjust to their new environment so as to ensure a smooth transition in

the moving process were also suggested (Friedlander and Apte, 1980). Finally cluster housing was favoured to linear style development since the cluster design facilitated social interaction.

THE RESIDENTS' VIEWS

Visits of observation and information gathered on a selected sample of families residing in the community of Stonebridge obtained through the medium of a structured interview schedule was divided into the following areas:

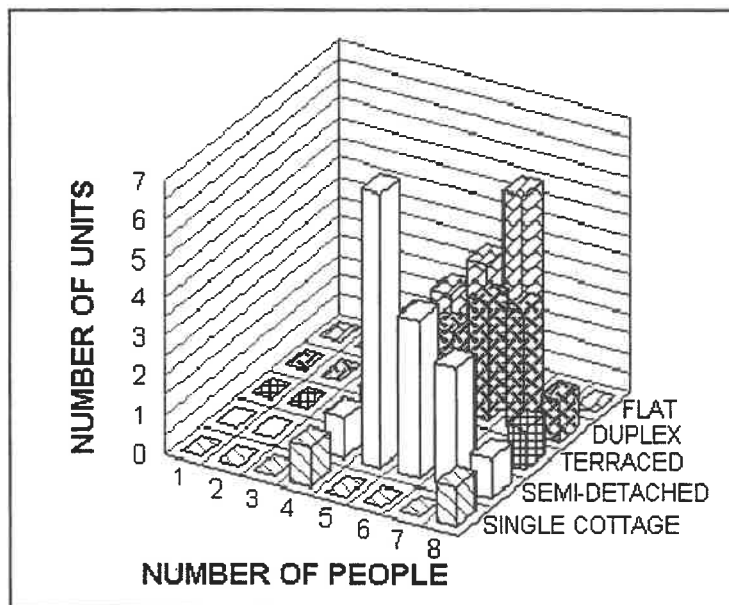
1. Personal and socio-economic data.
2. Past and present housing.
3. Experiences of living in Phoenix Newtown.

Personal and socio-economic data

Data was gathered on family patterns, family size, income and present places of employment. Three types of families were identified, namely: nuclear families with husband, wife and their children; extended families comprising father, mother and their children with one grandparent (widow or widower); and extended families comprising father, mother, their children and paternal grandparents. There were few joint or extended families in the sample. In some cases, where the adult sons had married since taking up residence in Phoenix, they had moved to settle away from the family home on account of limited available accommodation. Most significantly, the housing at Phoenix did not provide for joint or extended family arrangements which were part of the residents' culture.

The number of persons living as a family in each household ranged from three (in one family) to eight (in four families). The highest concentration was, however, among families of five and six persons (60% of the sample). When related to bedroom space, the analysis reflected that under 40% of the sample lived in two bedroom units. In certain cases it was found that as many as five persons lived in a one bedroom flat. Figure 9 shows family size in relation to the type of dwelling. Symes (1989) conducted a study in Phoenix in the Whetstone and Greenbury communities and found that the average family size was five, but in some cases there were as many as ten persons living in each unit.

FIGURE 9 : FAMILY SIZE

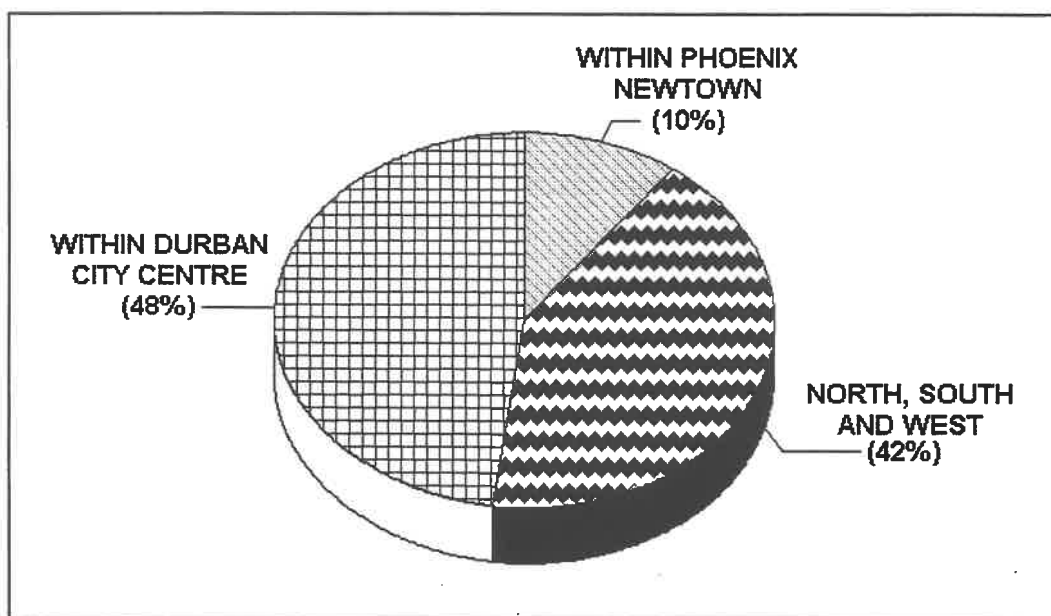


A few respondents declined to disclose their income, especially those who were self employed. Income ranged from under R 500 per month (mainly pensioners) to over R 7000 per month for those owning their own business. The concentration, however,

was among families where the joint income was between R 1000 and R 3000 per month (40%). In the majority of families there were two or more wage earners, in some cases there were as many as three or four, including those receiving pensions. The research indicated that these families lived on their pooled income.

The present places of employment ranged from the Durban city centre (48%), industrial complexes to the north (Tongaat and Verulam), south (Prospecton, Moberi and Jacobs) and west (Pinetown, Westville and New Germany) (42%), and a small percentage (10%) within Phoenix as shown in Figure 10.

FIGURE 10: PRESENT PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT



In understanding the performance of Phoenix as a planned satellite newtown, Symes (1989) concluded that there was an insignificant link between employment and housing in Phoenix, as opposed to British and French newtown planning

experiences. Similar to the findings of this study, Symes (1989) found that there were strong commuting patterns to Durban and its surrounding areas.

Past and present housing

The types of dwelling units in the Stonebridge community, as set out in the Master Plan, included flats, single and semi-detached cottages, duplexes and terraced housing. Some of the residents had previously lived in rented accommodation in out-buildings, single cottages or in informal housing as in the case of "Tin Town" (30%). The majority of the residents (35%) had been affected by the Group Areas Act, 1950. They came from a very wide range of areas prior to moving to Stonebridge, including Clairwood, Mayville, Springfield and Clare Estate. They had owned properties which they were forced to leave. A small number of families previously lived in more spacious accommodation (with more bedrooms) than they had in Phoenix. In all cases, the families had previously paid less for housing than in Stonebridge. Figure 11 indicates their reasons for moving. Symes (1989) found that 58,4% of the respondents in her study had been relocated as a result of state intervention and legislation as compared to 65% in the study conducted by Butler-Adam and Venter (1984) in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg district.

Lack of consultation with the future residents on any aspect pertaining to their housing needs and preferences, or to their special circumstances, such as disability of family members due to age or other factors was regarded as a serious omission. Similar to the residents in Greenbury (Community Area 2), many of the residents were not happy with the type of house allocated to them (Fridjhon, et al, 1979). Families able to afford larger units when joint family income was pooled were denied this option.

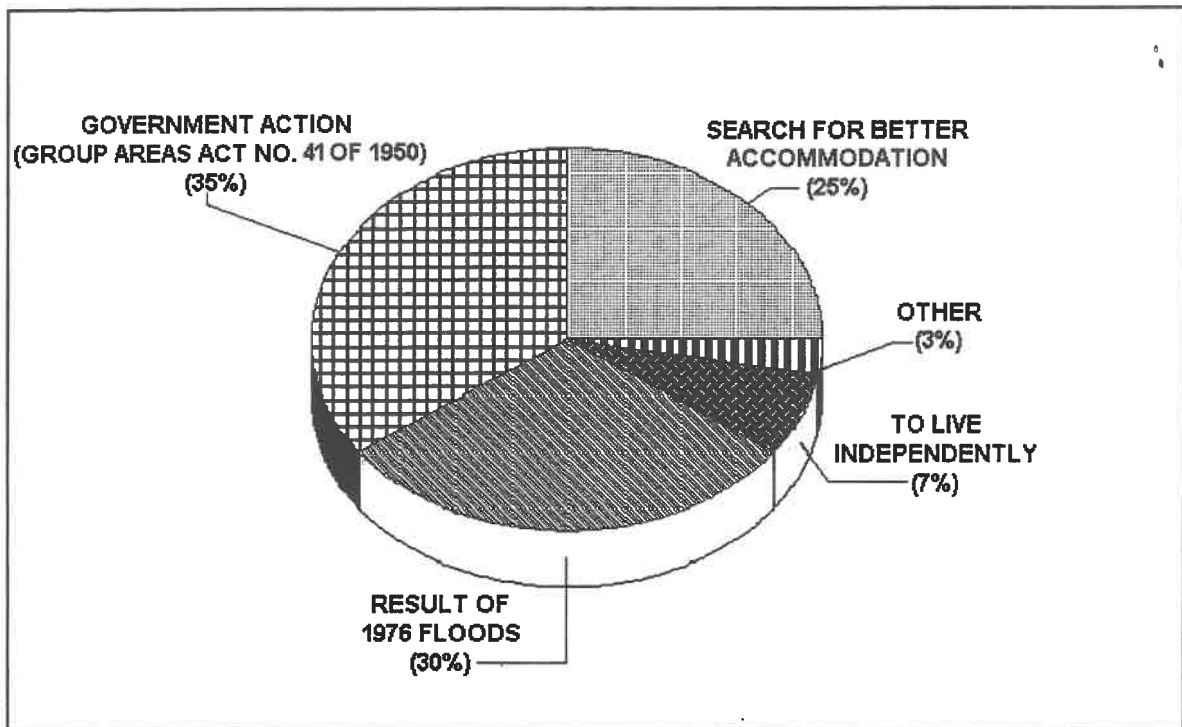
FIGURE 11: REASONS FOR MOVING TO PHOENIX

Table 6.6 shows that over fifty percent of the families in the sample had two or more wage earners. The income of the head of the family was the only criterion used in determining the type of housing unit allocated. This, and many other aspects pertaining to low-cost housing, which they were forced to accept, was the cause of much dissatisfaction among residents, aggravated by many other problems and difficulties encountered by the families when they took occupation of their homes in Stonebridge in 1976. Ninety-five per cent of the residents indicated that they would have preferred single cottages had they been given a choice. De Beer (1993) described similar deep seated dissatisfaction among residents in Orange Farm which was attributed to the paternalistic top-down approach to development.

TABLE 6.6: THE NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS PER FAMILY

No. of wage earners	No. of families	%
1	20	48
2	12	28,5
3	6	14
4	4	9,5
Total	42	100

The majority of families seeking state sponsored housing had no option but to be relocated or resettled in a new area. The residents were not offered any assistance, financial or social, to move to Phoenix, except for those affected by the "Tin Town" floods who were compensated with furniture to the value of R 500 from the Mayor's Relief Fund. None of the residents were informed of the nature of available facilities and amenities, such as transport, schools, shopping, religious and medical services. The Group Areas Act, No. 4 of 1950 shattered community ties. Until the residents took occupation of the homes allocated to them, they had no idea who their neighbour or co-occupant would be (Dewar, 1993). Only one respondent reported having received assistance from a family welfare agency of which she was a client.

Apart from the design and construction features of the dwelling units with which the residents were dissatisfied, the hardships, inconveniences and problems encountered by the residents on moving into Phoenix, especially in the early stages, centred around the absence of community facilities and amenities to which they were accustomed in their previous places of residence. Studies show that the majority of

these residents were relocated from stable, settled communities. The residents also had difficulty in adjusting to cluster housing which proved to be more expensive than their previous accommodation. In moving into Phoenix, payment towards housing (rents or instalments) and water and electricity charges, together with transport, were much higher than those formerly paid, leaving less for food and other essential requirements. The poorer families, especially those depending on state grants, were most adversely affected. Poverty was therefore aggravated by these housing conditions.

Problems with cluster housing revolved around three issues. Firstly, communal pathways, which also served as surface drainage, made maintaining cleanliness of the yard and walls very difficult. Secondly, communal parking areas provided common ground for theft and vandalism of cars and served as breeding areas for criminals. The absence of direct access to homes was a great inconvenience compounded by the distance of the houses from the parking areas. Finally, communal areas in the centre of the cluster development which could have been turned into good public spaces through thought and creativity were used by the residents as "dumping" grounds (Dewar, 1993). This created an unpleasant sight and posed a health hazard. In 1975, prior to the establishment of Phoenix, the Health and Housing Committee of the Durban City Council resolved that a pilot study would be conducted on the residents' views on the cluster housing concept in Unit 11, Chatsworth. There is, however, no evidence of the complaints or the recommendations from that study being acceded to, since the concerns that were expressed in the pilot study over features of the cluster housing pattern adopted in

Phoenix Newtown were the same as those expressed by the respondents in Chatsworth. Criticisms against 'cluster planning' have also emerged in other parts of the world. For example, at Chandigarh in India, there were criticisms that planning was "idealistic" assuming, for example, that an area coloured green on the Master Plan would result in a delightful parkland. "The design was also criticised for its numerous scattered buildings and wasted ground; movement along the footpaths was affected by having to cross the major east-west roads which separated the sectors; and the city epitomised the Master Plan which was self-contained, authoritative and inflexible" (Gethin, in Bailey, 1986, p. 177).

Further, investigation of community services and facilities revealed that initially there was only one shop in Stonebridge serving the community of 6 106 residents. The residents depended largely on mobile vans for their regular supplies of groceries, vegetables, dairy products, poultry and meat. As an economic response, many residents, including those without their own transport, preferred to shop outside Phoenix where the range of commodities was better and the prices lower. The only form of public transport was the train. The nearest railway station was some distance away, and the trains did not run as frequently as the residents had hoped they would. This caused considerable hardship to workers in particular, and in cases of emergency. The first schools in Phoenix, in temporary prefabricated structures, were only erected two years after the first residents took occupation of their homes in Stonebridge, in 1978. The children were "bussed" to schools in Springfield and Clare Estate, some twenty five kilometres away.

There was also a high incidence of vandalism in the early days of Stonebridge. The nearest police station was at Mount Edgecombe, some fifteen kilometres away. It was not geared to cope with the huge population influx into Phoenix. Complaints and reports made were not attended to promptly. The absence of telephones and transport services aggravated the plight of the residents. The first municipal clinic, which was primarily a "baby" clinic at the time, opened in 1976. The first medical private practitioner started his practice in 1985 and the proposed provincial hospital, which presently caters for day patients only, was built in 1996. The residents, therefore, depended on services available in the city centre and in Chatsworth which was approximately forty kilometres away. There were no recreational facilities in the area. Soccer, which appeared to be a popular sport, was played in Verulam, some ten kilometres away. The major roads were only constructed four years after the residents moved into Stonebridge. Residents created their own roads. The other roads were built as recently as 1996, but in a haphazard manner. Poor workmanship was also evident in the infrastructure. Water meters laid on the roads were often knocked down and stormwater drainage was extremely poor.

Over the twenty years of its existence, there has been a gradual development of services and community facilities in Stonebridge, some as recently as 1996. The majority of the residents found that the recent development of services and community facilities fairly adequate and convenient except for the lack of recreation and sporting facilities, overcrowded schools, an overburdened police station, the absence of a cemetery and crematorium, and a fully functional hospital. Symes (1989) attributed the lack of facilities in Phoenix to the pressure placed on the

planners by the state to provide housing for the increasing black population groups. "This has resulted in State money being channelled into housing programmes first, and facilities later" (Symes, 1989, p. 61). The lack of facilities was also income-related in that the low income communities did not have the economic resources to provide these facilities themselves, through the community levy funds. Although the majority of the residents were of the view that the facilities and organisations were adequate, only a few were members of organisations or made use of community facilities. According to the literature, such apathy was prevalent when there was no consultation or when communities were not encouraged to participate in decision-making. However, almost all the residents in the sample belonged to a religious organisation or attended a place of worship. Those who were actively involved with the building of places of worship had experienced problems with gaining the City Council's approval for the use of these sites due to excessive "red tape".

Experiences of living in Phoenix

Several social, economic, physical and psychological issues were raised with regard to the experiences of living in Phoenix.

1. Socio-economic mix

Having undergone the experience of living in Stonebridge for twenty years, the majority of the residents (63%) felt that uniform housing should be provided. Thus a socio-economic mix of housing types was not favoured. Almost all the residents in this study disapproved of flats. Similar findings were made in the study carried out by Butler-Adam and Venter (1994) in which ninety-one percent of respondents showed disapproval of flats.

Respondents felt that housing should be confined primarily to single units. The flats and, to some extent, duplexes were seen as unsuitable for several reasons. Due to communal living and sharing of facilities, flats did not allow for privacy and independent living. Interference from neighbours and high noise levels led to conflict. Further, respondents claimed that flats were physically unattractive and had poor aesthetic value. They were regarded as potential slums as it was obvious that the City Council was unable to provide comprehensive maintenance arrangements and, similar to international experience, high-rise blocks were found to be difficult and expensive to manage. The absence of ownership caused a feeling of insecurity and there was no incentive for residents to take pride in their homes. Further, the Council placed restrictions on improvements, such as plastering or painting or fixtures such as wall-hangings. Finally, residents in sub-economic homes felt prejudiced by the higher-income groups as there was a tendency for competition between the lower and higher-income groups. The reasons in favour of a mix (27%) was that it encouraged positive interaction between various socio-economic groups. It also added variety and relieved the monotony of single-type homes.

2. Quality of homes

Various studies revealed that a great deal of dissatisfaction had been expressed by residents with regard to the quality and finish of the homes provided for low-income groups in South Africa. The majority of the respondents (88%) rated the quality as either poor or average. Table 6.7 gives a breakdown of the respondents' view of the quality of homes in relation to the type of dwelling. Common problems included: poor workmanship, for example, poorly fitted windows which leaked in the rain, uneven walls and

rough bagwashing; poor quality materials used for building - most homes were built of hollow blocks, and cracked walls resulting in dampness during rainy weather. Problems specific to the semi-detached cottages, duplexes and flats were: unplastered walls, cement floors and lack of ceilings resulting in discomfort during extreme weather conditions, the filtering of dust into the homes from the nearby sugar cane plantations and leakage from the ceiling when it rained; walls were not soundproof; there were no geysers; bathrooms and kitchens were not tiled; properties were not fenced and there were no retaining walls; galvanised pipes used for plumbing rotted easily because of the molasses from the sugar cane, and only two plug points were provided per unit. Although the intention, when planning Phoenix, was to bear in mind valuable lessons learned from the mistakes made in Chatsworth, this did not materialise. Homes in Phoenix were the same as those in Chatsworth: "spartan with unplastered walls, exposed electrical conduits, no hot water and so on" (Corbett, cited in Moodley, 1993, p. 842,).

TABLE 6.7: RESPONDENTS' RATING OF THE QUALITY OF HOMES

Type of dwelling	Good	Average	Poor
Flat		1	9
Semi-detached	1	3	12
Duplexes	1	5	5
Terraced	2	1	
Single	1		1
Total (n = 42)	5 (12%)	10 (24%)	27 (64%)

3. Design of home

Design was regarded as extremely important. However, the respondents identified several physical, social, economic and health problems emanating from the poor design of the homes. Communal pathways in flats and duplexes, catering for eight to twelve families, posed the biggest problem. Residents complained of the lack of privacy. There were problems with drainage when neighbours washed their pathways at different times, for example, the dirt got washed into the neighbour's path soon after she had already cleaned her own pathway. This led to a great deal of conflict between neighbours. As in the case of Greenbury, CA 2, (Fulford et al, 1979) and Unit 11, Chatsworth (City Engineer's Department, 1975), staircases were too narrow, as a result residents had to bear the costs of dismantling their furniture to take it up to their bedrooms. Accidents were also caused to children and elderly people. In the H - block flats, the kitchen windows were too close to the opposite wall leading to a lack of visual privacy. To counteract this, residents had to keep their kitchen curtains drawn. Except in single cottages, lack of space (congestion) was a common problem. The bedrooms and kitchens were too small. Residents in the single cottages would have preferred a separate dining-room. Seventy-six percent of residents in the terraced and semi-detached units had extended their homes to create more living space, despite the already limited size of the yard. Others intended to extend, but were unable to do so because the sewer pipes were laid across their property. The majority of the residents in the semi-detached houses removed unnecessary interleading doors and built archways leading from the lounge and kitchen into the bedrooms, to separate the kitchen, lounge and bedroom areas for privacy. Similar to the findings of Butler-Adam and Venter

(1984), residents would have preferred separate toilet and bathroom facilities with wash-basins. Residents with physically challenged or stroke patients preferred to have showers instead of bathtubs. There were no verandahs or balconies for protection from the rain or relaxation in the warm weather or for outdoor entertaining neither were there proper driveways or parking facilities. Besides being grim, the architecture was very poor. In the majority of cases, the main entrance was in the rear. There was no access road in front. Post-boxes were at the rear of the houses and, in the cases of flats, in one corner which resulted in constant tampering with mail by hooligans and naughty children. This was aggravated by the absence of fencing. The majority of the residents had erected their own fencing but, in the case of flats, the property was left open, which served as a breeding ground for criminals, gangsters and vandals. Communal washing facilities and clothes lines were a serious problem. Due to the constant conflict between residents, the City Council disconnected the taps forcing residents to do their washing indoors, which caused a great deal of inconvenience. The lighting was not effective since lights were fitted onto the walls. The staircases did not have any lighting which posed a safety problem.

4. Safety of the area

Initially, when Phoenix was undeveloped, it was very unsafe. Car theft and vandalism was rife. After its development, the area became relatively safe. However, other security problems prevailed, for example, mail in postboxes was tampered with; cars were broken into and stolen from parking areas (in space allocated for children's playgrounds); clothes were stolen from the washing lines (especially in the flats); burglaries were common in the ground floor flats; flats were not regarded as private property due to the absence of

walls or fencing; open spaces were used for shebeens and violence prevailed in those which operated from homes, and poor traffic speed control posed a danger to pedestrians, particularly children.

5. Proximity to friends and relatives

Residents torn away from their extended family system because of the Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950, were very bitter that their relatives lived in different places. Once community networks were destroyed, they were difficult to replace (Cowans, 1993). The majority of the respondents felt that it was advantageous to live closer to relatives for assistance and support, while others felt that, over the twenty years, new social bonds had been formed. While some of the residents had relatives in other parts of Phoenix, others travelled to the northern and southern suburbs of Durban to visit their extended families.

6. Privacy

Studies show that privacy has posed a serious problem to residents in many housing programmes. In this study, privacy varied according to dwelling type. With a few exceptions, residents from the semi-detached, single and terraced houses felt that they had adequate privacy. The advantage was that walls could be raised. The residents from the flats and duplexes felt that they had absolutely no privacy. Flats and duplex units were situated too close to one another. As a result of the design of the flats, residents had a complete view of the neighbour's kitchen. Walls were not soundproof so noise and loud music became intolerable. There was no private space or balcony for entertainment. Flats were not fenced so it was common for hooligans to loiter there. Communal pathways resulted in a frequent flow of people. Residents,

especially from the flats, had a tendency to borrow basic commodities from their neighbours and to be dependent on those who had their own transport.

7. Child rearing

While some residents felt that the area was conducive to the rearing of children, the majority felt that there were various factors which made the task of rearing children very difficult and challenging. Firstly, children from the flats were regarded as being a "bad influence" on other children because of their use of bad language and their poor discipline. Children were exposed to drugs and alcohol abuse on the staircases of flats. Parents had to protect children constantly from criminal elements which resulted in children being confined indoors. Secondly, children from upper levels of the flats had no space in which to play because the residents on the ground floor objected to their playing in the area they retained for their personal use. The same concerns were expressed by residents in Greenbury, CA 2 (Fridjhon et al, 1979). Thirdly, recreational grounds were not properly maintained. Fourthly, residents were not allowed to keep pets in their flats. Fifthly, some residents in the higher-income groups sent their children to schools in Durban because of the lack of stimulation from their peers locally. Finally, mothers were forced to work because of high rentals, and inadequate creches and play-centres added to the parents' stress.

8. Garden space

Generally the response varied according to the dwelling type. The majority of the residents in the single and semi-detached cottages felt that they had adequate space. Some would have liked more space to enable them to extend their homes, do more gardening and hold functions. Those who had the space could not do any gardening because of the rock and shale.

Residents from the flats, duplexes and terraced-homes, either had no garden space or space that was inadequate; there was no room for parking, for their children to play or for their relaxation. Residents in flats who occupied the ground level had the benefit of garden and parking space. Residents who conducted their businesses from home, panel beaters particularly, needed more yard space.

9. Quality of life

"Homes are starting points and ends in our experiences. Their quality and qualities affect our human lives. Homes and the quality of life are inseparable in more ways than one" (Butler-Adam and Venter, 1984 p. 100). Residents from flats were more negative about their neighbourhood than other respondents. All the flat residents (100%), as compared to 28% from the semi-detached houses and 56% from the duplexes, felt that they had experienced a poor quality of life in relation to the environment. Similar findings were reported by Butler-Adam and Venter (1984) in Durban and Pietermaritzburg and Moodley (1993) in Chatsworth. There were several reasons for their dissatisfaction. Firstly, the flats were so congested that there was inadequate living space. Secondly, those affected by the Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950, were removed from comfortable, spacious homes with big gardens in which they could relax and have pets. Thirdly, residents would have preferred a quiet, peaceful and safe area where they could take a walk without being in danger. Fourthly, communal living did not give much opportunity for independence and thus conflict between neighbours arose. Finally, residents found it too expensive to live in Phoenix because of the high rental and transport costs. This caused financial stress and a consequent lack of enjoyment in family life. A large number of respondents indicated that

they would like to buy or build homes elsewhere. Those who indicated that they had a good or satisfactory quality of life felt that, after twenty years, they had been forced to adapt to the area. In situations such as this, people who were apathetic and powerless might have a reduced sensitivity to deficits and therefore might show a reduced tendency to dissatisfaction (Morris and Winter, cited in Moodley, 1993).

SUMMARY

Several shortcomings were identified in the provision of housing, services and amenities. It was evident from those interviewed that the housing programme did not proceed as planned. Houses were built and people moved in as early as 1976 while most services and amenities were provided much later and some, such as the post office and police station, were built as late as 1990, with the first hospital the most recent addition in 1996. A major omission was the absence of consultation with prospective residents and community organisations. The authorities failed to enlist community participation and involvement from sporting, cultural, religious and other organisations. The most critical issue was the lack of co-ordination between housing development and the provision of essential services such as health clinics, hospitals, schools, police stations and postal services. Table 6.8 gives an overview of the findings of this study.

The conclusions reached in this study are highlighted in the following chapter. Recommendations for corrective planning of future housing developments are included.

TABLE 6.8: OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

Data sources	Purpose for selection of data source	Summary of findings
Sample One: 1. Planners 2. Researcher	To determine: 1. Which disciplines were involved in the survey designed to establish the needs of the Indian community and in the planning of Phoenix. 2. Whether future residents and community organisations were consulted in the planning of the township. 3. Considerations which prompted the adoption of the newtown/cluster housing principles. 4. Reason for the choice in the designing of the homes. 5. Effects of the state policy at the time of the planning, and implication of the current policy for future planning. 6. Lessons that can be learnt from Phoenix for planning of future housing projects.	1. The disciplines used in the planning were confined to town planners and engineers. Other disciplines were not involved. The survey "Indian Housing in Durban" was conducted largely by economists. 2. Prospective residents and community organisations were not consulted on aspects such as the design, size and layout of the housing programme provided. 3. The paying capacity of the occupants was a major factor in the designing of the homes. 4. Some negative features noted in other large-scale housing projects prompted the use of newtown/cluster housing principles in the planning of Phoenix Newtown. 5. The financial constraints placed by the state had implications for the materials used and the quality of housing and the related amenities and services. 6. Extensive research and consultation involving all related disciplines and future residents in the planning of large-scale housing projects is a prerequisite.
Sample Two: Experts - Professionals 1. G.P. 2. Doctor: H.O.D. Community Health: UND 3. Nurse 4. Social worker: Phoenix CWS 5. Social worker: Housing Dept. Durban Metro Council 6. Social Worker Dept of Social Welfare – KZNPA 7. Principal: Primary school 8. Principal: Secondary school	1. To ascertain whether the objectives in respect of the various services were adequate and whether they were achieved. 2. To establish the problems attributed to the shortcomings in the planning of Phoenix. 3. To determine the needs of the community. 4. To determine the role of professionals in planning of future housing.	1. The design in town planning incorporating newtown and cluster housing concepts did not attain the planners intended objectives. 2. The absence of such essential services as schools, clinics, shops and transport, when the families moved in, caused much dissatisfaction and inconvenience. 3. The norms used in such matters as schools and clinics were unrelated to the needs of the families, which belonged to the lower socio-economic strata. 4. Many of the socio-economic and health problems were attributed to the poor and unsuitable housing conditions under which the people lived. 5. The results of scientific surveys and a team approach involving all related disciplines were the basis of planning new townships, especially where forced removal and relocation were involved. 6. Advisory, counselling and developmentally oriented services were necessary for families moving into a new environment. Moving families into new housing alone does not help in enhancing their quality of life.
Sample Three: Residents	1. Determine whether provision had been made for special needs and changes in family circumstances in the planning of Phoenix for e.g. the aged and physically challenged, extended families, increase in family size and upward mobility. 2. Determine whether the objective of providing for different socio-economic groups was met. 3. Ascertain whether relocation services were rendered and the nature of the service. 4. Determine the availability and convenience of resources, amenities and facilities. 5. Allow the residents to reflect and evaluate their experiences of living in Phoenix so that future intervention strategies for community development around housing needs can be determined.	1. The responses highlighted a wide range of negatives (felt and experienced) by the residents relating to planning of the housing scheme and quality and design of the homes. 2. Little or no provision was made for the special needs of the aged, extended families, family sizes or financial status. 3. No relocation or resettlement services were provided. Residents had to find their own way in the totally new environment. 4. The aggregation of low-income families into flats appeared to intensify certain problems rather than improve the quality of life of the underprivileged. 5. Housing development out of balance and co-ordination with essential amenities and services caused discontentment and bitterness as in the case of a large number of residents in Stonebridge. It generated a feeling of being "dumped" rather than "being provided for". 6. With few positives the housing programme gave the impression of a failure in meeting the anticipated objectives.
Sample Four: Managers and heads of Organisations and Institutions	1. To determine whether the objectives for the housing programme, facilities and amenities as set out in the Master Plan were achieved and whether they were adequate. 2. To compile a community profile of Phoenix.	1. The objectives for the housing programme, facilities and amenities as set out in the Master Plan were not achieved. The present facilities were inadequate. 2. The lack of balance between the housing programme and the provision of essential services was a serious shortcoming. 3. Lack of consultation and community participation in sporting, religious and cultural spheres was a serious omission. 4. Considerable information appropriate for compiling a community profile emanated from the interviews.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The development of the Chatsworth housing scheme was still in progress when the Durban City Council began to plan the establishment of another major scheme to the north of Durban. The areas contemplated for this purpose included land in Newlands and in the Phoenix-Mount Edgecombe complex. Tentative submissions to this effect were made to the Town and Regional Planning Commission as early as 1964.

While the project was being examined and investigated by the City Council, important changes were made to legislation governing the provision of state sponsored housing. The most important of these was the Community Development Act, No.3 of 1966 and the Housing Act, No. 4 of 1966. The concept of community development was introduced "to ensure that all population groups were properly housed and would develop into healthy communities". The primary objective was "to give expression to the processes by which the attempts by the community itself are joined with those of the authorities to improve the social, economic and cultural conditions of those communities" (Hansard, 24 February 1965, columns 1711-1714).

In terms of the provisions of the consolidated Housing Act of 1966, local authorities were required to prepare a Master Plan to ensure the development of "balanced townships". This was a requirement for state funding. The legislation prescribed the detail required in the Master Plan. It included provision for services and amenities as well as details of housing design and infrastructural development. To give effect

to the principles and concepts of the new policy of community development and to comply with related requirements under the Housing Code, the City Engineer's Department in Durban created a special Town Planning Division employing professional town planners.

The decision to establish two newtowns for Indians, at Newlands and Phoenix, was taken by the Durban City Council on 29 August 1966. The Master Plan was compiled and completed by the City Engineer's Department in August 1969. It conformed to the principles and concepts of community development contained in the Community Development Bill introduced in Parliament by the Minister of Community Development on 24 February 1965. There was agreement regarding the concepts and principles associated with a holistic-developmental approach to housing. Therefore, it was logical to assume that both the range of steps to be taken and their nature would be geared towards the fulfilment of set objectives in the establishment of these two newtowns.

The study focused on the implementation of the Master Plan and the extent to which its objectives had been achieved in the establishment of Phoenix Newtown. It was envisaged that the findings of the study would yield recommendations for the future planning of housing programmes. This study was conducted shortly after the new government came into power, at a time when changes to apartheid housing policies and legislation were being made and implemented. The study's recommendations are, therefore, advanced in the light of past experiences, current practice and predictions for the future. Table 7.1 gives an overview of the conclusions reached in this study and recommendations for future planning.

TABLE 7.1: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ARISING FROM THE STUDY

Conclusions	Recommendations for future planning
Housing seen as a product (took the form of handouts).	Housing should be viewed as a holistic, developmental process.
Blueprint planning of the Phoenix housing scheme.	Consultative approaches are desirable.
Housing projects used primarily to implement the apartheid policy.	The needs and interests of future residents should be the motivating factor in designing housing programmes.
Housing scheme located far from social and economic opportunities, on periphery of city.	Housing projects should be established closer to social and economic opportunities. Peripheries should now be restructured to bring resources to residents. Activity-corridor development and an increase in suburb and inner city densification are necessary.
Bureaucratically established mass, conventional housing scheme. Poor quality, old design of homes.	Self-help housing should be encouraged. It is desirable to formulate and implement appropriate strategic responses to the housing solution within the state subsidy and other sources of funding.
Administration and maintenance rendered by state department.	Decision making, management and maintenance of housing projects should be the responsibility of the community.
Limited private sector and community involvement.	There is a need for the private sector, CBOs, NGOs and the state to enter into a partnership.
Lack of choice with regard to housing type and location. Home allocated according to income of head. High accommodation costs.	Flexibility in housing design and choice should be offered with different levels of subsidies to meet the social and economic needs of the family. Special provision should be made for the aged and physically-challenged.
Absence of co-ordination in the planning and provision of housing, services and amenities.	Integrated housing programmes should be delivered.
Existence of a number of racially fragmented housing institutions resulting in duplication of structures. Primary powers vested in central government.	There should be a clear definition of the roles and responsibilities of different tiers of government, a devolution of powers to lower levels of government and an acceleration of amalgamation of various housing structures.
Absence of consultation with prospective residents. Top-down approach to planning.	Bottom-up, participatory approaches to housing delivery are important.
Allocation of resources on a racial basis.	Equal distribution of resources is essential.
Planning and implementation of housing carried out by a few state professionals.	All stakeholders have to be involved in planning and implementation. Multi-disciplinary input is essential. Well-informed and qualified individuals should be appointed to housing boards.
Relocation and removal programmes fostered.	Upgrading of existing dwellings and informal settlements should be tackled.
Home rentals for the masses.	Home ownership should be encouraged.
Creation of drab, monotonous and sterile environment.	Provisions should be made for a rich, enabling and stimulating environment.
Little provision for social and economic upward mobility.	Incremental housing should be designed so that improvements can be made as the family size and financial status increases.
Primary powers vested in central government.	Powers should be devolved to the local sphere of government.
Poor quality and design of homes.	It is essential to formulate and implement appropriate strategic responses to the housing solution within the state subsidy and other sources of funding.
Planning based on official reports and limited research. Lack of recognition of cultural identity and diversification in housing development.	Extensive research is required for the planning of housing programmes with regard to services and amenities, norms and standards, and, needs and preferences of future residents.

CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusions have been drawn as follows:

1. Housing policy, political ideology and housing structures.
2. Low-income housing.
3. Housing as a developmental issue.
4. Research on which planning was based.
5. The new housing policy.
6. Financing housing development.

1. Housing policy, political ideology and housing structures

In apartheid South Africa, urban development was constrained by racist policies. Urban problems arose not by chance, but by serving the interests of whites at the expense of blacks. In the name of community development, state planning pretended to allocate resources fairly between the race groups. In practice, this policy worked against the interests of the powerless, that is, disenfranchised black people. Housing in South Africa was used as a powerful political weapon: first, housing was used as an instrument of influx control, preventing blacks from entering 'white' urban areas, except on a controlled or temporary basis to meet labour requirements of industry and commerce; and secondly, housing within cities was controlled by the Group Areas Act, 1950 (Bailey, 1986; Rankin and Tichmann, 1986). Thus, the major overriding factor which prompted the Durban City Council to embark on the establishment of massive housing projects, including one for the Indian people to the north of the city, in Phoenix, was to implement the Group Areas Act, 1950. In

developing Phoenix Newtown the City Council worked in collaboration with the Department of Community Development and the Department of Housing since the permission and sanction of these departments was required for the proposed housing development.

At the time of the development of the low-cost housing project at Phoenix Newtown, the state had the power to control where and how people lived. The state acquired the land, financed the development, undertook the planning and engineering work, and made use of its own construction teams (which were largely white-owned companies) to implement the projects. The emphasis was on mass production with costs being kept as low as possible. The type and design of homes was determined by a team of professionals employed by the state housing department. Homes were allocated to people on housing waiting lists according to bureaucratically-defined criteria. In the case of rented accommodation, the state was responsible for the administration and maintenance of the dwelling. In the second phase of the project, after disapproval was shown towards the state provided housing in Phoenix, private sector developers were engaged to cater for people who could afford housing on a market-related basis, in a few community areas.

When almost all Indian-owned and occupied areas, including those in the city centre, were proclaimed for white occupation and ownership, it became necessary to move the Indian population outside the city boundaries. Hence the location of Phoenix Newtown, a long distance from the urban centre, away from services, facilities and employment opportunities. No consideration was given to additional travelling costs which would seriously affect living standards and family life. Parents were required

to spend more time travelling to work, in overcrowded, uncomfortable and unsafe public transport facilities. The result was increased stress; delinquency arising from inadequate parental supervision and a lack of recreational facilities; and declining labour productivity, through increasing lateness, tiredness and absenteeism. Further, the location of these urban dwellers so far from the city centre to which they were unaccustomed, led to problems of poverty as their spending power was substantially reduced by new costs, such as that of transport, discussed above. At the same time, the cost of housing increased for most of the relocated families (Dewar and Ellis, 1979).

The planning and development of the Phoenix housing programme depended on the co-operation and interaction between different levels of government as well as cross-sectoral co-ordination. However, although the provision of sites for most services and amenities was made in the Master Plan, many failed to materialise due to the absence of such co-ordination. The consequence was the establishment of a monoclasse, dormitory suburb with dull and monotonous expanses. Several reasons for the fragmentation and problems associated with the housing delivery in Phoenix, as well as projects undertaken subsequently by the state, have been advanced. First, was the centralised hierarchy and the time-consuming process involved in the submission of projects for approval and development finance. Second, came the poor definition of the roles and responsibilities of the different tiers of government. In addition, the range of delivery institutions, with varying and contradictory objectives under the tricameral constitution, produced administrative structures incapable of implementing a coherent housing policy. The consequence was unequal housing provision for the different race groups. Thirdly, housing development for the low-

income groups was not approached in a logical manner owing to the uneven institutional capacity of the state. Some black local authorities lacked expertise and managerial capacity and could not enlist the help of those developers who had the capacity to deliver housing efficiently and effectively because of the boundaries within which they had to operate. Consequently, development took place in a piecemeal fashion, as shown in Table 7.2, in response to the whims and fancies of politicians who had their own agendas. For the most part, delivery was managed on a crisis basis. Fourthly, the local authority had to administer low-income housing within resource constraints, on a cost recovery basis. Conditions were aggravated by rent boycotts which resulted in a decline in services. Finally, the duplication of housing structures along racial lines was extremely costly (Gounden and Merrifield, 1994; Walker, 1993).

Despite the changes to housing policy, implementation remains a problem as was the case when Phoenix Newtown was developed. The Master Plan (1969) stated that “planning begins with the people and every aspect of the planning is concerned with the people and the obvious starting point should be the home needs and the environment” (p. 28). Yet, the Indian community was bypassed in the preparation of the Master Plan, which introduced the concept of ‘cluster planning’ for Phoenix, so, there was a total absence of consultation with prospective residents and community organisations. Thus “this experimental approach to planning converged with the central state apartheid housing strategy while it conveniently avoided consultation with the future recipients of this expertise” (Bailey, 1987, p183). The

TABLE 7.2: CHRONOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT IN PHOENIX NEWTOWN

Date	Development
1964	Plan to establish Phoenix contemplated.
1966	Decision taken to establish Phoenix.
1969	Master Plan completed.
1976	First families moved into Stonebridge.
1976	First municipal clinic.
1978	First school built.
1984	Second municipal clinic.
1985	First private medical practitioner.
1986	Community Health Centre and polyclinic.
1989	Post office.
1990	Police station.
1990	Regional office of state welfare department.
1991	Third municipal clinic.
1995	Second polyclinic opened.
1995	Branch of law courts opened in the Inanda region.
1996	First hospital-Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Hospital (day hospital)

* Double line denotes services which came in after the completion of homes and therefore shows non-compliance with the Master Plan.

study found that this was viewed as a serious omission both by the experts and residents interviewed. "A climate had been created where the Council had no obligation to consult with the Indian community and with power being entrenched in the hand of the bureaucracy, the town planners had a relatively free reign in choosing the design of Phoenix" (Bailey, 1987, p. 177). The top-down approach to housing delivery adopted by the state authorities and their unwillingness to consult with community organisations had a severe impact on the implementation process. Residents were very suspicious of local government authorities and there was no trust, even when officials made concerted attempts to win the confidence and co-operation of the community. Negotiations proved difficult because officials were

regarded as puppets of the apartheid government who, in fact, had limited decision-making power and even less control over resources.

2. Low-income housing development

South African housing policy prior to 1990 was shaped by the ideology of apartheid. The state played a major role in housing provision, maintaining control over the initiation, production, allocation and administration of housing. It reinforced the community's role as the recipient of bureaucratically administered largesse and encouraged dependence as people sat back and waited for 'handouts' from the state (Walker, 1993). The result was the production of mass housing in the shortest possible time, using the cheapest method so as to keep costs as low as possible. Studies on these mass housing projects have shown their shortcomings in terms of size, inflexibility in design, poor cost recovery and the social stigma attached to state housing (Corbett, 1980; Fridjhon et al, 1979; Moodley, 1993; Naidoo, 1977; Soobramoney, 1995)

In the past, as a result of the Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950 and the Slum Clearance Act, No. 53 of 1934, South Africa had been actively involved in relocation and removal programmes. Internationally, these programmes have come under attack in recent years. It is clear from the Phoenix Newtown example that relocated populations seldom flourish in their new accommodation (see Cowans, 1993). Residents in this study remained bitter and frustrated. There were no measures, such as counselling services, to help families adjust to their new environment or to link them with services and amenities. In reality, removal programmes reduced the

housing stock, added more families to the waiting list for accommodation and destroyed community networks (Butler-Adam and Venter, 1984). While in some cases the new accommodation might have been an improvement on the old, the location of housing schemes away from industrial and employment opportunities and transport systems mitigated against this advantage.

In the past, the state took major responsibility for low-income housing. By implementing the apartheid policy, the state had the power to control where and how people lived (Walker, 1993). Gradually, private sector involvement by property developers and financial institutions increased. However, critics like Botha and Kaplinsky (1989), were of the view that huge mortgage rates exacerbated the housing problem of low-income groups and therefore felt that the role of the private sector in the delivery of housing should be regulated by the state.

3. Housing as a developmental issue

Housing is an ongoing developmental issue and must be guided primarily by the goal of fostering human development and improving the quality of life (Dewar and Ellis, 1979). An analysis of the planning and implementation of Phoenix Newtown revealed that the housing project did not succeed in creating a healthy and balanced social life for its residents. The conclusions reached were similar to those of studies conducted on formal housing schemes implemented by the state (e.g. Dewar, 1993; Dewar and Ellis, 1979; Rankin and Tichmann, 1986; Urban Foundation, 1990). The bureaucratic, centralised delivery of capital intensive rather than labour intensive methods stultified self-actualisation and self-reliance. As a result, the scheme took

the form of a “handout” from the state with limited housing choice and flexibility to meet the social needs of the family or to create one’s own privacy. The mass approach was designed by a few state professionals who determined the needs and preferences of future residents. The inevitable result was vast areas of sameness, sterility and monotony, a problem which was aggravated by the dominant uniform building design. The planner’s idea and definition of housing was narrow and therefore was lacking in terms of urbanity and process. There was a failure to recognise the developmental significance of housing in terms of the total living environment (Dewar and Ellis, 1979; Walker, 1993).

Emphasis was placed on producing dwellings in order to further apartheid policy designed to segregate the races. The result was the creation of drab, sterile and monotonous residential areas with inadequate use of public spaces. No provision was made for individual creativity. Lack of social, recreational and cultural facilities could also be attributed to the fact that the community had to fund some of these facilities themselves and, being a low-income area, resources were lacking. In addition, financial constraints were incurred by high accommodation and transport costs, and the expensive maintenance of poor quality homes. Poverty, therefore, has been exacerbated by mass low-cost housing developments such as that in Phoenix. Community participation which is vital to development was lacking in Phoenix. Lack of participation could be attributed to two causes: first, inadequate spending power, since participation means time and money, and secondly, the bitterness and mistrust in state authorities who recognised the consequences of autocratic planning too late to remedy them.

4. Research on which planning was based

Demographic and related information which served as the basis for planning the number of housing units required, the range of amenities and services necessary to serve the needs of residents at progressive stages of the township development and the lifestyles, cultural and other aspects relevant to the design of the dwellings was very limited in the case of Phoenix. The information was obtained or derived almost exclusively from official sources and limited research. Consultations with residents, organisations and bodies serving the communities to be rehoused were neither included as sources of information nor encouraged.

5. The New Housing Policy

The Housing Act No. 107 of 1997 and the White Paper on Housing (1995) provided for the creation of a sustainable housing development process and abolished all the apartheid housing legislation of the past (Nxumalo-Nhlapo, 1998). The establishment of a single, non-racial Ministry of Housing was a step in the right direction. The introduction of a National Housing Board was proposed as a means of ensuring that there was:

1. State discipline.
2. Sound management of the activities of public authorities.
3. Clearly defined roles for different tiers of government.
4. Elimination of duplication and wastage of resources prevalent during the apartheid era.
5. Accountability, legitimacy and transparency in government.

However, this transitional phase posed challenges for all involved in housing delivery, not least the amalgamation of various apartheid housing structures which led to a great deal of administrative confusion and impeded the process of institutional integration. This became a constraint in housing delivery, especially at the local and provincial level, which led to criticism of the ability of local and provincial government to implement policy made at the national level. In an attempt to find a solution to the problem of housing delivery, the National Minister indicated her intention to replace existing provincial housing boards with consultative councils and development boards. This was seen as a premature move since existing structures had had insufficient opportunity to prove their competence. Some thought the Minister's action would set back the housing delivery process (van Eck, 1997).

South Africa has undergone a process of democratisation. In housing this implied transparency, openness and a different style of interaction between government bodies and community groups. It meant that the state recognised the principle that functions should be devolved to the local sphere of government and that particularly the lower tiers of government would:

1. Play a more active role in facilitating the provision of housing.
2. Democratically integrate and rebuild local communities.
3. Adopt a bottom-up approach.
4. Use participatory approaches in delivering goods and services.
5. Increase cross-sectoral co-ordination (Walker, 1993; Tshikini, 1998).

Positive changes have been noted in the government's housing policies: first, the sale of rented accommodation; secondly, the fostering of self-help practices; and thirdly, provision of a range of accommodation, at different degrees of completeness and cost [based on the notion that "people with little or no finance can only add value to their property at a pace dictated by their affordability" (Mkhize, 1998, p. 3)].

Finally, the Housing Act, No.107 of 1997 and other related policies identify the need to create opportunities for previously excluded communities which are closer to work opportunities, economic activities and public facilities as well as to generate a more efficient spatial, economic structure that is conducive to holistic community development (Tshikini, 1998).

6. Financing housing development

"The government housing policy has undergone a fundamental shift in the post-apartheid era. The policy has shifted from an approach based on state provided rental housing to the allocation of a once-off capital subsidy as a contribution towards meeting the housing needs of qualifying beneficiaries" (Tshikini, 1998, p. 3). However, even with the 15% geotechnical allowance, housing boards felt that the subsidy was totally inadequate. While the housing delivery has recently been impressive, a host of challenges face the low-income housing sector. These relate to firstly, the concern regarding the pace of delivery and secondly, the quality of the urban environment. The present subsidy is not only inadequate to meet the needs of both a well-serviced site and a fully built house, but its value also declines with inflation. Chairman of the KwaZulu Natal Provincial Housing Board, Charles van Eck,

was of the view that R28 000 would have been a more realistic subsidy. A further shortcoming was that some provincial boards had deviated from the country's national incremental housing plan in favour of building larger houses on larger stands (Hartley, 1995). KwaZulu Natal adhered to the plan and took the lead in the initiation of a fast track national housing project in Cato Manor. The intention of the province was to provide incremental housing for 40 000 low-income families and it had hoped to be a model RDP project (Bennett, 1995). However, since the province had tried to keep within the national budget "and stick to the rules", this has resulted in the national government decreasing the housing allocation for KwaZulu Natal from R 924 million to R 494 million for 1997, while those provinces which did not keep within the budget had their allocations increased. The end result has been that those communities desperately in need of housing in KwaZulu Natal have been further disadvantaged (van Eck, 1997).

In the past, banks and private developers were cautious and lacked confidence about going into the so-called "red line districts" which had been riddled by bond boycotts, ungovernability and crime coupled with other factors, such as low profit margins in low-income housing delivery (Smit and Chalton, 1998). Changes were made by the previous Minister of Housing, Slovo, who enticed banks and building societies to enter into the financing of low-income housing by underwriting their financial commitment in the form of the Mortgage Indemnity Guarantee Scheme Fund. Thus banks came to view the low-income market as the fastest growing banking market in the years to come. The Council of South African Banks is committed to lending money to areas which demonstrate social, political and economic stability and where

local government is operating effectively. However, only one third of the population will realistically be able to support a mortgage bond themselves, so the state will have to provide support by way of subsidised ownership by encouraging the provision of rented accommodation for the rest (Angamuthu, 1996; Brennan, 1995; Cole, 1997; Walkerley and Olivier, 1995). Seventy percent of the subsidies approved by the KwaZulu Natal Housing Board have targeted families with monthly incomes below R 800 as it was felt that this was where the greatest need existed, but there appears to be uncertainty as to whether these individuals would be considered for loans from banks and building societies. Thus, although these subsidies have been approved, developers have not been successful to date due to the restrictions imposed by subsidy policies (Angamuthu, 1996; van Eck, 1997).

In terms of the Housing Act No. 107 of 1997, all National Housing Commission loans have been cancelled, which means that the local councils and provincial boards need not repay these loans to the National Government. However, these loans have not been written off as far as the end-user is concerned, so arrangements would have to be made for the collection of these funds (Godliman, 1998). It is imperative that the collection of the funds from the National Housing Commission be strictly managed, as this would be the main source of income for the housing fund that the local councils are to create for future housing delivery. "The ability of the local council to collect this revenue and the manner in which it applies the funds, will have a great influence as to whether the Housing Board can approve of further projects in that area" (Godliman, 1998, p. 15).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PRACTICE

It would appear that from the discussion thus far and the findings of the study, several recommendations can be made with regard to future housing provision in South Africa:

1. Restructuring the peripheries

In 1990, the Group Areas and Influx Control Acts were repealed but Phoenix Newtown stands as a legacy of apartheid policy, along with similar low-cost residential areas on the periphery of cities where poverty is rife. "Far too much investment has gone into these areas in terms of housing, infrastructure and the like for them to be abandoned. Consequently, the problem of the low-income peripheries must be acknowledged and tackled" (Dewar and Ellis, 1979, p. 58). The only way that these problems can be resolved is by restructuring the city's peripheries. This would entail economic, commercial, social and cultural development in these low income areas. While post-apartheid housing policy focuses on housing previously disadvantaged people closer to the economic hub of the city, the restructuring of the peripheries should also be an important priority.

2. Greater reliance on self-help models

Like most developing countries, South Africa needs to place greater reliance on a self-help housing policy in order to meet the housing crisis. The underlying principle in self-help is the meaningful role of the community in the decision-making and management of the project and the role of the state as an enabler and facilitator in the housing delivery process. Further, self-help is a mechanism through which socio-

economic upliftment and a fair distribution of resources can be ensured and, in addition, it contains elements which are the driving forces to stability (see Africa 1993; Hopkins, 1992). The implications, therefore, are that South Africa should pay heed to those who advocate a move away from completed housing units with grand planning schemes, such as the blueprint Master Plan for Phoenix Newtown (Turner, 1976; Peattie, 1979; Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989). Self-help should not be equated with squatting and seen as a mechanism for the state to avoid its responsibility for housing the poor (Dewar and Ellis, 1979; Rankin and Tichmann, 1982). In the last decade, two forms of self-help, that is, site and service and squatter upgrading, have represented one of the most important reforms in the housing policies of developing countries (Doebele and Peattie, in Gilbert and Gugler, 1992). These two housing delivery systems promise to channel more resources directly to the poor, and to give them greater security of tenure on their land.

“The poor have demonstrated throughout history that they have an inherent capacity to house themselves” (Mkhize, 1998, p. 11). A process orientated self-help approach is based on the premise that people want to improve their situation and they have the ability to manage their own affairs. In effect then, communities must organise and administer their own housing programmes. In supporting community initiatives, the local authorities can ensure the creation of a path for self-reliance. According to the literature (e.g. Robert and Witthuhn, 1993), experience has shown that communities respond to the challenge with responsibility and enthusiasm. The establishment of community companies to deal with issues such as the acquisition of land, access to finance and negotiations with builders would have social and economic benefits

(Dewar and Ellis, 1979; Walker, 1993). A unique feature of the Cato Manor project is the concept of housing clubs which allow families to choose their neighbours, which bodes well for stability and unity in the community. It is envisaged that the residents would work on a group basis to pool their resources and start group savings schemes or buy material in bulk (Bennett, 1995). "It is imperative to note that supporting the people's process is essentially about redefining the power relations, that is, recognising the ability of the people to manage their development and complementing their efforts" (Mkhize, 1998, p. 8).

1. Site-and-service programmes

A site and service programme would offer a family a plot of land, gradual servicing, access to credit, advice on construction and materials, all at a price within the family budget. The security offered to the family would allow consolidation to take place and community action programmes to be introduced (Ghur, 1983; Gilbert and Gugler, 1992; Rankin and Tichmann, 1986).

2. Squatter upgrading

In reaction against removal policy, current solutions focus on upgrading informal settlements and refurbishing existing dwellings. In this way, existing economic opportunities are maintained and community life is preserved (Martin, 1983). Literature records failures of self-help schemes due to poor administration, the lack of enthusiasm of local authorities and a general reluctance to lower standards. However, low-cost does not necessarily mean poor quality. There are examples of new building systems, such as that using

a special profile of sheet metals, which have proved to be stronger and cheaper than brick or block homes (Ngubane, 1995).

3. Consultative approaches

Consultative approaches to large scale housing development are deemed preferable to “blueprint” approaches such as that used in Phoenix Newtown.

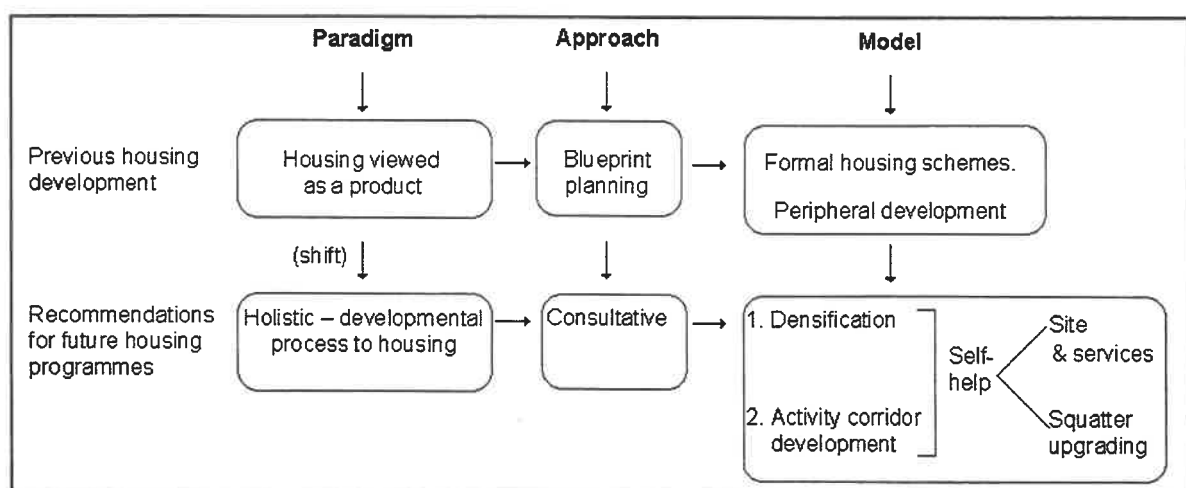
4. Densification and activity corridor development

Currently, densification of major cities and activity-corridor development are the preferable intervention strategies for housing development. There is a need to promote the social and spatial integration of the city through maximising opportunities for the identification and development of vacant and under-utilised land closer to the city for a mix of income groups and uses (Makhathini and Bedford, 1998; Tshikini, 1998). In this way greater spatial and economic efficiencies will be promoted which will assist in overcoming historical imbalances with regard to racially defined access to the city. The development of activity nodes and corridors will provide housing, employment, social and related opportunities. There is an urgent need to link the townships on the periphery with the economic opportunities existing in the city along the major public transport routes. There is a further need to densify both the suburbs and the inner cities. Residential densities can be increased by reassessing restrictions pertaining to building laws and regulations. Densification of the inner cities would meet the needs of the lowest income groups and “bring life back” into the city after office hours, thus generating further economic opportunities to meet the need of the new inner city residents (Makhathini and Bedford, 1998). In order to make more efficient use of existing resources, the Durban Metropolitan Council had planned to develop approximately 1000 infill sites to increase densification between

existing municipal-built homes in Phoenix (Padayachee, 1995). However, local councils need to take the necessary precautions, since, during the course of this study, it was revealed that the residents of Phoenix showed resistance to this infill programme. With the country's history of racial segregation and the fact that after twenty years of existence close community bonds have been formed, the reluctance for surrounding residents to accept 'newcomers' in such close proximity to their homes, can be understood. Consultation and collaboration with surrounding residents is therefore essential.

The recommendations arising from the study thus far are encompassed in Figure 12 showing a shift in paradigm from housing being viewed as a product to a holistic-developmental process. Blueprint planning should now be replaced with consultative approaches and the ideal model would be a move from formal, peripheral development to activity corridor and densification of the cities through self-help programmes.

FIGURE 12: RECOMMENDED HOUSING MODEL



5. Provision of bulk infrastructure

The state's decision to take national responsibility, together with the provincial and local authorities, for the bulk infrastructure would alleviate the longstanding problems of the poor. The system of recovering costs from the communities within a tariff structure is a positive one. Other forms of infrastructure, services and amenities should be provided by the developer, as in Luganda and Cato Manor. Since it has been recognised that housing does not only refer to the product, but to the total living environment, it is therefore essential that community services and amenities be provided in tandem with housing units in order to prevent the formation of slums. The development of housing institutions could be encouraged as a means of socially managing housing environments through the establishment of social and recreational facilities, thereby addressing the issues of quality, which would help reduce high levels of crime and other social pathologies in the community (Smit and Chalton, 1998).

6. Partnership in housing development

Since the state does not possess the resources to drive the housing process on its own, the capacity of the private sector, where uncertainty prevails, needs to be recognised and addressed. Similarly, the contributions of NGOs and CBOs to the delivery process needs to be acknowledged. "Development is about forming partnerships with various role-players. The basis of the partnership should be that of recognising all role-players as equals in terms of managing development" (Mkhize, 1998, p. 10). The roles of all players need to be clarified to avoid unfair competition and conflict (Smit and Chalton, 1998). Social compacts serve as a useful vehicle to

enable the community to interact with other role-players (stakeholders) in the housing process to make their own contribution to housing design, construction and management and to take responsibility for their housing. This implies that future residents would have greater flexibility in designing their own homes according to their financial priorities, personal requirements, as well as social and economic upward mobility.

7. Choice of home and tenure options

A wide range of choices should be offered to families in terms of housing, location and security of tenure which would enhance self-actualisation, and economic and community growth. Housing associations could be established as a means of widening and managing tenure options, where the site and core approach or home ownership is not an appropriate form of housing delivery (Smit and Chalton, 1998). The problem of maintenance could be alleviated by ownership rights since the individual would be willing to invest time and money once consolidation has taken place. This would reduce a sense of dependency and encourage self-involvement (Dewar and Ellis, 1979). By implication, maintenance secured through consolidation would serve as a means for ensuring that these will still be stimulating environments in decades hence.

8. Housing as a process of community development

In order for a community to survive and flourish, a sense of community is essential. This sense of community is critical in preventing housing deterioration and substandard school performance and serves as the foundation for healthy families.

Community development should therefore have a dual focus, that is, on strengthening families and on building communities. Services should be directed to enhancing residents' capacities for change, developing and building on their own integrated view of themselves in relation to their community. This enhancement of a sense of community is a way of ensuring that housing remains stable and secure (Cohen and Phillip, 1997). Morrison (cited in Cohen and Phillips, 1997) added that "community development services (were) among the most cost-effective routes to housing preservation" (p. 478).

9. Routes to community empowerment

The shift from the construction of massive projects built through industrialised building systems to small labour intensive firms would alleviate the problem of inequality and create opportunities for the community to grow and prosper. Avenues for employment, capacity building and empowerment should be created. Emphasis should be placed on entrepreneurial development of the historically disadvantaged companies. Black contractors have alleged that they have been kept out of low cost housing programmes due to their administrative and financial constraints (Lunsche, 1994). This problem needs to be addressed.

Education and training form an important part of empowerment and development. First, communities need to be informed about aspects such as tenure options, the various delivery systems available and the government's new subsidisation schemes. Secondly, desperate homeless people need to be enlightened about exploitation from unscrupulous operators and those who turn development into a contest for

political influence (White Paper on Housing, 1994). Thirdly, in order to generate sustainable jobs, ongoing trainee programmes and institutional building is required through the transfer and upgrading of technical skills and support on an on-site basis. The provision of a step by step manual, audio-visual aids on building and, for example, the South African Timber Millers Association's Timber Manual, which shows how to help reduce building costs, would be useful (Gounden and Merrifield, 1994; Sithole, 1995). This community-based approach would be meaningful as people would acquire sound management skills (Mkhize, 1998).

Since the White Paper on Local Government (1998) sees local government as developmental and stresses the need for community consultation, the local government must develop plans for the short to medium term by addressing the current status of its community and then determining needs in consultation with them (Tshikini, 1998). Those critics who are of the notion that popular participation is a constraining factor in housing delivery because it is costly and time-consuming should bear in mind that greater developmental benefits would be reaped in the long term. Perhaps, Muller's (1993) 'strategic choice model' mentioned in the literature review should be implemented. Finally, interaction between the various actors in the new approach to housing would serve as a means of educating each other of their roles and responsibilities. "Equally, all the actors in the housing process would benefit considerably from a greater awareness of one and another's problems, perspectives and fears" (Butler-Adam and Venter, 1984).

10. The need for research

Extensive research should be undertaken on the needs, preferences, culture and social practices of future residents, prior to the planning of a housing programme. This would ensure that aspects such as the design of the homes and the norms and standards for the provision of essential services, such as schools, clinics, child-minding services and sports and recreation were adequately planned. Community based organisations, as well as professionals from various fields, could be involved in the research process with the use of individual interviews and participatory groups.

11. Financing of housing programmes

A balance between an appropriate housing solution and level of services needs to be struck within subsidy constraints. "Either the level of services is reduced to be affordable within the subsidy constraints or the local authority considers the long term maintenance implications of such a policy and chooses to capitalise such long term costs upfront in the form of an investment in urban services" (Baskin, 1998, p. 7). An additional suggestion would be to introduce a top-up loan/subsidy programme provided by the local authorities, in addition to the provincial housing board subsidies, for the creation of additional accommodation. In this way the issue of quality is addressed, as well as the creation of a balance between the need to achieve a high level of service by the local government so that long-term maintenance costs are reduced. Further, the central government needs to articulate lower servicing norms and standards so that a more complete unit is possible (Smit and Chalton, 1998).

12. Funding alternative initiatives

An important contribution to the overall housing performance could be to make strategic funds available (possibly from the local authorities) for the following initiatives:

1. Consolidation
2. Research
3. Training and education
4. Community development
5. Small-contractor training programmes
6. Highly innovative projects (Smit and Chalton, 1998).

13. The need for a multidisciplinary approach

Finally, the study has revealed that housing is a complex developmental issue, which is multi-faceted, multi-dimensional and inter-disciplinary. Therefore, in order to prevent fragmentation and to ensure co-ordinated, balanced and holistic planning, professionals from various fields should be consulted and involved through all stages of the housing process. Training institutions could play an important role in this respect. Further, in order to guide the housing delivery process and to make the necessary amendments to housing policy, well-informed and qualified individuals should be appointed to existing housing boards. "The net result will be a more enabling total environmental condition, a more sensitive use of the process of housing to foster the aims of development, and greater environmental richness, diversity and choice which results from the involvement of many people in the making of a place" (Dewar and Ellis, 1979, p.208).

SUMMARY

The results of the study showed that the objectives of the Master Plan for Phoenix Newtown were not achieved. The research indicated that the housing project did not succeed in creating a healthy and balanced social life for the residents nor did it measure up to the goal of community development to ensure that all population groups were properly housed and that they would develop into healthy communities. The conclusions reached indicated the need for a completely new approach to housing from that adopted in the establishment of Phoenix Newtown.

The recommendations arising from this study focused on housing as a developmental tool. Having moved into a new political dispensation, South Africa has committed itself to changing past policies and to addressing existing inequalities. The new government acknowledged the need to address developmental issues, as contained in the White Paper on Housing (1994) and the Housing Act No. 107 of 1997. Through the vision set out in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (ANC, 1994), all stakeholders have acquired the opportunity and commitment to improve the quality of life of the lower socio-economic groups through the housing process.

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APPENDIX A

Interview guide schedules for planners and professionals

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE ADMINISTERED TO PLANNERS WHO WERE INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF PHOENIX

With relevance to the planning and establishment of the Phoenix Newtown:

1.
 - (a) Was the planning undertaken by a team?
 - (b) If so, what was your role in the team?
 - (c) What other professions (for example engineers and architects) were involved in the planning of aspects such as the layout of the township and design of the homes?
2. What considerations determined the adoption of the newtown/cluster housing concepts/principles in the planning of Phoenix?
3. Was there any written directive issued to the Town Planning Division by the City Council to undertake the planning?
4.
 - (a) On what sources of the demographic and other population statistics was the planning based?
 - (b) Reference is made in the Master Plan to the Research Unit in the City Engineer's Department. Who (in terms of professionals) made up the unit?
 - (c) Except for the Director of Education and the Director of Hospital Services no reference is made in the Master Plan to consultations with outside bodies or future residents in the planning. Was there any reason for this?
5. What would you identify as the progressive steps or stages involved in the planning process?
6.
 - (a) To what extent were the planners restricted by the requirements prescribed by the National Housing Commission?
 - (b) Did the planners have any say in the relaxation of some of the restrictions or requirements?
 - (c) Were there any major changes made by the National Housing Commission to the plans (for example lay-out and design of housing units) submitted by the City Council?
 - (d) Was the emphasis on "low cost housing" a serious limiting factor in balanced planning?
7. What would you say the time-lag between the submission of the plans and the approval for construction have had on the fulfilment of the desired objectives of the scheme?
8. One of the objectives of the Master Plan was to co-ordinate programmes between the various municipal departments and governmental authorities responsible for essential amenities such as shops, schools and hospital services. Was this co-ordination achieved?
9. If you were now involved in planning a new township of the dimensions of Phoenix, what major changes would you advocate?

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE ADMINISTERED TO PROFESSIONALS IN THE FIELD OF HEALTH

1. What are your views on:
 1. "Centralisation" of hospital services?
 2. One hospital to serve a population of 200 000?
 3. The norm of one municipal clinic per 40 000 population?
 4. A polyclinic within the precinct of a hospital?
2. In relation to health services (hospital, municipal clinics and polyclinics):
 1. Which of these are in existence at present?
 2. When (approximate date) were each of these established?
 3. What services are available at each of them?
 4. Is the hospital and the clinics coping to meet the demands for service made on them?
If not, what would you consider to be the cause?
 5. What municipal/provincial medical and health services are not available within the township of Phoenix?
 6. On what outside sources do the residents of Phoenix depend for such services?
3. In your experience what are the major health problems or illnesses prevalent in Phoenix?
Are these in any way related to the socio-economic status of the patient population?
4. During the course of your work what problems have you encountered which may be attributed directly to shortcomings in the planning of Phoenix Newtown?
5. If you were consulted by the town planners, as a professional, on the planning of a massive township such as Phoenix, what are some of the aspects on which you would offer your views and suggestions?
6. What other organisations/institutions/professionals outside state (municipal, provincial and central) departments would you suggest the planners should in future consult on aspects relating to:
 1. The need and nature of hospital and health services for which provision should be made?
 2. Housing?

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE ADMINISTERED TO PROFESSIONALS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

1. When was your school established?
2. Which area/s does your school cater for?
3. What are your views on:
 1. A 20 classroom infant/primary school to cater for 800 children?
 2. A 30 classroom secondary school to cater for 1 000 children?
4. What is your total pupil enrolment?
How many classrooms do you have?
What is the average number of pupils in each class?
5. For each community area with a population of 8 000, provision was made for two infant/primary schools and one secondary school.
Do you consider this adequate?
6. What are your views on combining the infant and primary school with classes 1-2 to standards 1-5 into one, and a secondary school to cater for standards 6-10?
7. The idea of combining infant and primary schools was felt to be economically and administratively convenient.
Do you consider this to be educationally sound?
What, if any, are the advantages and disadvantages of such a combination?
8. Does your school have its own playing field or do you use the public playing field?
9. No reference is made in the Master Plan for the provision of nursery/pre-primary schools.
Would you regard this as a serious omission?
Do you have a pre-primary school?
10. In the light of your direct involvement in the provision of educational services in Phoenix, can you identify any problems and difficulties encountered in the provision of educational services which may be attributed to shortcomings in the planning of Phoenix Newtown?
11. If you were consulted on the planning of a future housing development what would your views and recommendations be?

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE ADMINISTERED TO SOCIAL WORKERS WITH REGARD TO SOCIAL WORK SERVICES FOR PHOENIX NEWTOWN

1. PRESENT SOCIAL WORK / WELFARE SERVICES

1. Name of Organisation/Department.
2. Which other organisations are presently rendering social work/welfare services to the residents of Phoenix?
3. Which of these organisations are based in Phoenix?
(Others may be based in the city but are rendering services in Phoenix).
4. When (approximate date) did these organisations start operating in Phoenix?
5. How many main/sub-offices does your organisation have?
What are their physical addresses?
6. Is the office accommodation owned by your organisation, or rented?
If leased or rented, from whom?
7. Did your organisation experience an office accommodation problem?
If yes, how was the problem resolved?

2. SOCIAL PROBLEMS / PATHOLOGIES

1. In relation to the services rendered by your organisation what are some of the major social problems prevalent in Phoenix?
2. Would you say that these problems/pathologies are related to the socio-economic status of the resident population?
3. What features or provisions in the planning of the township could have helped to reduce the incidence of these problems?
4. Are there any features in the nature of the housing and/or in the planning of the township which may be regarded as contributory factors to the prevalence of some of these social problems?

3. RELOCATION AND RE-SETTLEMENT SERVICES

1. As the majority of the residents in Phoenix were families which were being relocated in a new mass housing scheme, what kind of social work/welfare services of a developmental nature would you have considered relevant to assist these families in adjusting to a new environment?
2. Were any such services rendered to families moving into Phoenix?
If yes, by whom?
If no, who do you suggest should have rendered such services?

4. FUTURE PLANNING

1. If you were consulted by the town planners as a professional on the planning of a massive township such as Phoenix, what are some of the aspects on which you would offer your views and suggestions?
2. What other organisations/bodies/professionals (excluding social work agencies and state departments of welfare) would you say should be consulted by the planners on aspects relating to:
 1. Welfare services?
 2. Housing?

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE ADMINISTERED TO THE SOCIAL WORKER EMPLOYED BY THE DURBAN CITY COUNCIL WITH REGARD TO SOCIAL WORK SERVICES FOR PHOENIX NEWTOWN

1. INTRODUCTION

1. Name of person interviewed.
2. Qualifications.
3. Previous experience.
4. Designation.
5. Job description (briefly)
6. How many main / sub-offices does your department have?
What are their physical addresses?

2. SOCIAL PROBLEMS / PATHOLOGIES

1. In relation to the services rendered by your organisation what are some of the major social problems prevalent in Phoenix?
2. Would you say that these problems/pathologies are related to the socio-economic status of the resident population?
3. Are there any features in the nature of the housing and/or in the planning of the township which may be regarded as contributory factors to the prevalence of some of these social problems?
4. What features or provisions in the planning of the township could have helped to reduce the incidence of these problems?

3. RELOCATION AND RE-SETTLEMENT SERVICES

1. As the majority of the residents in Phoenix were families which were being relocated in a new mass housing scheme, what kind of social work/welfare services of a developmental nature are rendered to assist families moving into Phoenix?

4. GENERAL

1. Has provision been made for suitable housing for residents with special needs for example, the aged and the physically handicapped:
 1. Within the home?
 2. Within the community?
2. Are applicants asked whether they do have special needs (on the housing application form)?
3. From your experience would you say that it is beneficial to mix socio-economic groups?
4. What range of social work services are rendered to the community in terms of housing: (casework, groupwork, community organisation and administration)?
e.g.
 1. Inter-agency liaison and co-ordination of services.
 2. Acting as an advocate or consultant or forming tenant or civic organisations.
 3. Social rehabilitation.
 4. Social and physical planning.
 5. Social policy.
 6. Research - planning around housing needs.

5. FUTURE PLANNING

1. If you were consulted by the town planners as a professional on the planning of a massive township such as Phoenix, what are some of the aspects on which you would offer your views and suggestions?
2. What other organisations/bodies/professionals (excluding social work agencies and state departments of welfare) would you say should be consulted by the planners on aspects relating to:
 1. Welfare services?
 2. Housing?

APPENDIX B

Letters to experts

(written on the University's letterhead).

(Date)

(Title) (Initial) (Surname)

(Address 1)

(Address 2)

(Address 3)

(Address 4)

Dear (Title) (Surname)

I wish to express to you again my sincere thanks and appreciation for granting me the interview on (Date) 1996, for the time you devoted to the discussion and for the valuable information furnished on aspects pertaining to the planning and the establishment of Phoenix Newtown.

In order to derive the maximum benefit from this valuable discussion, I have prepared a structured summary around the main points covered in the interview. I am attaching two copies of the report to this letter. You may retain the other copy for your records.

I would be most grateful if you could make corrections or changes as appropriate, on one of the copies in order to ensure the accuracy of the information you so kindly furnished and the views you expressed on the planning and establishment of Phoenix Newtown.

Your contribution to the study will be acknowledged in the dissertation.

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)

P.S. Please forward the edited copy of the report to the following address:

11 – 36th Avenue
Umhlatazana
Durban
4092

Fax: (031) 418691

(Date)

(Title) (Initial) (Surname)

(Address 1)

(Address 2)

(Address 3)

(Address 4)

Dear (Title) (Surname)

I wish to express to you again my sincere thanks and appreciation for granting me the interview on (Date), for the time you devoted to the discussion and for the valuable information furnished on aspects pertaining to health services in Phoenix.

In order to derive the maximum benefit from this valuable discussion, I have prepared a structured summary around the main points covered in the interview. I am attaching two copies of the report to this letter.

I would be most grateful if you could make corrections or changes, as appropriate, on one of the copies in order to ensure the accuracy of the information you so kindly furnished and the views you expressed. You may retain the other copy for your records.

Your contribution to the study will be acknowledged in the dissertation.

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)

P.S. Please forward the edited copy of the report to the following address:

11 – 36th Avenue
Umhlatazana
Durban
4092

Fax: (031) 418691

(Date)

(Title) (Initial) (Surname)

(Address 1)

(Address 2)

(Address 3)

(Address 4)

Dear (Title) (Surname)

I wish to express to you again my sincere thanks and appreciation for granting me the interview on (Date) 1996, for the time you devoted to the discussion and for the valuable information furnished on aspects pertaining to educational facilities in Phoenix.

In order to derive the maximum benefit from this valuable discussion, I have prepared a structured summary around the main points covered in the interview. I am attaching two copies of the report to this letter.

I would be most grateful if you could make corrections or changes, as appropriate, on one of the copies in order to ensure the accuracy of the information you so kindly furnished and the views you expressed. You may retain the other copy for your records.

Your contribution to the study will be acknowledged in the dissertation.

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)

P.S. Please forward the edited copy of the report to the following address:

11 – 36th Avenue
Umhlatazana
Durban
4092

Fax: (031) 418691

(Date)

(Title) (Initial) (Surname)

(Name of organisation)

(Address 1)

(Address 2)

(Address 3)

(Address 4)

Dear (Title) (Surname)

I wish to express to you again my sincere thanks and appreciation for granting me the interview on (Date) 1996, for the time you devoted to the discussion and for the valuable information furnished on aspects pertaining to welfare services in Phoenix.

In order to derive the maximum benefit from this valuable discussion, I have prepared a structured summary around the main points covered in the interview. I am attaching two copies of the report to this letter.

I would be most grateful if you could make corrections or changes, as appropriate, on one of the copies in order to ensure the accuracy of the information you so kindly furnished and the views you expressed. You may retain the other copy for your records.

Your contribution to the study will be acknowledged in the dissertation.

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)

P.S. Please forward the edited copy of the report to the following address:

11 – 36th Avenue
Umhlatazana
Durban
4092

Fax: (031) 418691

(Date)

Mr Adhi Nadasen

Department of Parks and Recreation

Phoenix

Dear Mr Nadasen

I wish to express to you again my sincere thanks and appreciation for granting me the interview on (Date), for the time you devoted to the discussion and for the valuable information furnished on aspects pertaining to services and amenities in Phoenix Newtown.

Enclosed please find a summary of the interview for your records.

Your contribution to the study will be acknowledged in the dissertation.

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)

APPENDIX C

Summaries of interviews with planners

SUMMARY OF TELEPHONIC INTERVIEW HELD ON 23 MAY 1996 WITH MR. J. C. SULLIVAN, B.A. (GEOGRAPHY AND SOCIOLOGY), WHO WAS ATTACHED TO THE TOWN PLANNING DIVISION OF THE CITY ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT DURING THE 1970-1975 PERIOD.

1. INTRODUCTION

Mr. Sullivan first entered the service of the Durban City Engineer's Department in 1966 as a junior town planning assistant. On completion of his degree in 1970 he was employed as a Town Planning Assistant. He is presently the Director of Town Planning for the Cape Metropolitan Council.

2. PROFESSIONALS INVOLVED IN THE PLANNING OF PHOENIX

The professionals amongst others responsible for, and involved in, the planning included:

Overall Control	:	Mr. Howard (Engineer/Planner)
Engineer	:	Mr. B. Widdowson
Planners	:	Mr. J. Meintsma Mr. J.C. Sullivan
Architect	:	Mr. P. Hoal
Researcher	:	Mr. P. Johnston

Mr. Sullivan's specific role was the preparation of the detailed planning and design of certain of the community areas of Phoenix Newtown. No other professionals from outside the Durban City Engineer's Department were involved in the planning.

3. PLANNING DESIGN AND CONCEPT

1. Newtown Principles (Based on the Garden Cities Movement)

Following the writings of William Whyte on the planned unit concept and of Ebenezer Howard on the principles of planning garden cities and the application of these in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America, the planning of Phoenix Newtown was based on the ideas derived from these sources.

In relation to the adoption of this design, the following comments were offered:

1. Newtowns were an international trend at the time, that is, the mid 1960's and early 1970's.
2. It was based on the principle of creating healthy and balanced social life and on the philosophy of making newtowns self-contained and self-sufficient as attempted in the British Mark I and Mark II Newtowns.
3. The intentions of the planners in following these models were good, but later research proved the principle of self-containment was not valid in that it is relative rather than absolute.

2. Cluster Housing Concept

Within the broad base of the newtown design, the cluster housing concept was adopted in the planning. It was anticipated that by using this concept, two desired objectives would be attained, namely:

1. Creating a mix among residents of varying socio-economic status.

2. Facilitating interaction among them by providing neighbourhood services and facilities.

The comments on this concept as applied in Phoenix were:

1. In principle it is a good concept but to achieve desired results, it should be used in an open flexible manner taking into account the context in which it is applied.
2. It was applied in an ideal form which proved to be inappropriate for Phoenix.
3. The provision of communal parking areas proved a failure - the concept should have been adapted to allow for vehicular access to individual sites with provision for parking arrangements.
4. Account should have been taken of the operational and maintenance costs of the public open spaces within the cluster complexes. The extent of the public open spaces should have been considerably reduced.

4. BASIS FOR PLANNING

Two major sources of demographic and related information on which the original planning was based were:

1. The latest available census figures.
2. The details furnished by applicants for municipal housing.

Later, during the mid 1970s, to test user reaction, two major surveys were conducted as follows:

1. The first was conducted in Neighbourhood Unit 11 (NU 11), Chatsworth, where the cluster concept was utilised. This study was undertaken by the City Treasurer in collaboration with the City Medical Officer of Health in terms of a resolution of the Health and Housing Committee taken on 18 September 1975. The purpose of the investigation was to "report on the views of the tenants towards cluster housing development in NU 11, Chatsworth".
2. The second was conducted in February/March of 1977 in Community Area No. 4 of Phoenix by the City Engineer's Department "in order to determine their (residents) views on the housing development and to obtain suggestions for improvement of the housing scheme in its future stages".

At the planning stage no consultations were held either with prospective residents or with representative organisations and bodies serving the community. In fact, any research which planners desired to conduct to test views and preferences of prospective residents was discouraged.

5. PRESCRIBED REQUIREMENTS FOR APPROVAL

The planners had to work within the directives prescribed by the City Council and in compliance with the requirements of the National Housing Commission as set out in the Housing Code. The city engineer was accountable to the City Council and its committees, especially the Health and Housing committees and the planners, in turn, were accountable to the City Engineer as head of the department. There was little room for manoeuvring or

scope for originality. As formality, the plans were also open for comment by the North Durban Indian Local Affairs Committee.

The City Council's main pre-occupation was with the provision of low-cost housing and the rapid production of housing units.

6. CO-ORDINATION WITH RELATED STATE AUTHORITIES

It was extremely difficult to achieve desired co-ordination with other state authorities and bodies which were responsible for the provision of services and amenities. For example, the Department of Indian Affairs had its own programme and priorities in the building of schools; and the Natal Provincial Administration in providing hospital and related health services. Desired co-ordination within the other municipal departments responsible for such requirements as roads, parks and gardens, clinics and sporting fields was achieved to a limited extent. Budgets were prepared departmentally with little or no integration.

7. FOR FUTURE PLANNING : SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

For the planning of future townships with the dimensions of Phoenix Newtown to cater for a population of over 150 000, Mr Sullivan offered the following suggestions:

1. Integration of new development with the existing urban areas in the region in accordance with the principle of a compact city.
2. Adoption of more open structures in an attempt to equalise accessibility throughout the development.
3. Adoption of a new model based on corridor development such as the "activity streets" concept.
4. Encouragement of mixed use development by moving away from the single or mono-use zones.
5. Increased housing density.
6. Improvement in public transport.
7. Creation of a better balance in terms of housing mix.
8. Enlist greater community involvement from the inception of the project.
9. Employment of an integrated multi-disciplinary team of dedicated workers to undertake the task of planning.

SUMMARY OF THE INTERVIEW HELD ON 09 MAY 1996 WITH MR BRIAN WIDDOWSON, B.Sc.(ENG.), M.Sc.(TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING), DIP. IN BUSINESS MANAGEMENT, ACTING DIRECTOR OF TOWN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT CONTROL, ATTACHED TO THE TOWN PLANNING DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT UNIT.

1. INTRODUCTION

Mr. Widdowson joined the City Engineer's Department as an engineer in 1975. In his work in Kwa Mashu, he realised that building only houses created a very desolate environment. It was "soul destroying". He realised that there was more to the development of a housing project than the mere provision of housing units. This prompted him to read for a masters degree in town planning.

2. PROFESSIONALS INVOLVED IN PLANNING

The Town Planning Branch within the City Engineer's Department included:

1. Head of the Division.
2. Town Planners.
3. Senior Town Planning Technicians.
4. Town Planning Technicians.

The various divisions or branches involved in the planning of townships were not housed under one roof. The town planning, architectural, engineering and finance divisions worked independently. Based on his experience as an engineer, Mr Widdowson encouraged liaison between the town planners and engineers.

3. SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND STATISTICAL BASIS FOR PLANNING

Planning was based on demographic data from census reports and furnished by applicants on the waiting lists for municipal housing. The size of the housing units and the range of different types of houses were determined by the size of the families and their income levels.

Provision for facilities and amenities was based on primary research conducted in Chatsworth and on the socio-economic survey conducted by the Department of Economics of the University of Natal. It was presumed that the results of these studies would be representative of the prospective residents of Phoenix as their culture and lifestyles were similar. The number of schools in the township were based on demographic projections. Commercial sites were allocated and designed on the basis of consumer practices and working experience. In addition, commercial organisations were consulted.

Sites for petrol service stations were distributed at appropriate points in the township generally away from the housing units as an amenity measure. This arrangement seems to have proved successful. The Association for the Aged was consulted on special provision for the aged but due to a lack of funds specialist homes were never built instead former farmhouses were converted. The sites for religious purposes were offered at low prices and although they were readily taken up, not all of them have been developed. The provision of libraries which is a municipal responsibility is an ongoing programme of the City Council. The planning provided for a community centre in each community area within which there was potential for commercial development and community facilities. Provision was made for creches based upon population figures but very few were developed. Provision was made for sports fields, only eight of which were developed. The provision for facilities and amenities simultaneously with the building programme was not achieved on account of financial constraints and red tape. Emphasis was placed on the building of houses.

The planners took it upon themselves to carry out an unofficial survey, among the residents of Stonebridge, to ascertain where they had gone wrong. Models and a questionnaire were used. The results showed some of the preferences of the residents. For example, they preferred two large bedrooms to three small bedrooms and single cottages to semi-detached ones. However, the enthusiasm of the planners to learn from practical experience and to modify designs was not encouraged. They were restricted to planning for low-cost housing. Consulting with the residents or outside sources was not favoured.

4. PLANNING PRINCIPLES AND CONCEPTS

Some of the adverse comments on the planning of Chatsworth were taken into account, in particular the linear style resulting in long monotonous rows of similar houses, the separation of the various socio-economic groups in the resident population and inappropriate road systems. To address these problems, the planning of Phoenix was based on the Radburne theory which was being taught at the University at the time. Features from the garden city concept were incorporated in the planning. Attempts were made to provide for a mix in housing types, integration of the various socio-economic groups, separation of pedestrian from vehicular traffic, provision for parking in close proximity to the houses and houses built in circular clusters around open spaces. The proposal of the planners to provide for garages was not accepted by the authorities. Initially, the residents expressed satisfaction with these features. Being of the lower economic group, they depended on public transport. They took pride in their gardens and in maintaining the adjacent footpaths. As the residents moved in and the hardships and inconveniences of the inadequate public transport system were encountered, motorcar ownership increased rapidly. In time, those who owned motorcars were not prepared to park their vehicles in the communal parking areas because of theft and vandalism. They drove their cars to their houses across the open spaces destroying the footpaths. The open spaces became a liability to maintain. It was obvious to the planners that the Radburne theory, the communal parking and other concepts had proved to be a failure. Consequently, the planning design adopted in Phoenix North was changed. Short distance roads were created with turning spaces around a cluster of houses. The garden-city features were lost – the only greenery being around the sports fields, and the natural streams and watercourses. This was more cost effective in so far as maintenance and land utilisation was concerned.

5. LESSONS FOR FUTURE PLANNING

Several important lessons were learnt from the planning designs and concepts adopted at Phoenix. Some of these are as follows:

1. Suitable provision for existing and anticipated motorcar ownership in relation to the road system, access to the houses, garage provision and adequate provision for service stations.
2. Provision for social and economic upward mobility of families, especially when grown-up children become wage earners.
3. Choice of a design model compatible with the culture of the people to be housed.
4. Relevant research as a basis for planning, including wide range consultation, with all interested parties.
5. The concurrent provision of services and amenities with housing development.
6. Follow-up services to assist families to adjust to a new environment and to introduce them to the available services and facilities.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW HELD ON 18 APRIL 1996 WITH MR JELLE MEINTSMA, B.A.(GEOGRAPHY), DIPLOMA IN TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING, GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN ENGINEERING, WHO WAS ATTACHED TO THE TOWN PLANNING DIVISION OF THE CITY ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT BETWEEN 1971-1975.

1. INTRODUCTION

Mr Meintsma entered the services of the City Engineer's Department first as a student in training. On completing the Diploma in Town Planning he was employed as a Town Planning Technician. He is presently the Manager of Transportation Systems Planning, in the Physical Environment Unit's Traffic and Transportation Department, Durban City Council. Having been involved from an early stage in the planning and establishment of Phoenix Newtown, the following emerged from the interview held with him.

2. MASTER PLAN

By the time Mr Meintsma joined the Town Planning Division of the then City Engineer's Department, the Master Plan which served as a basis for the planning of Phoenix Newtown had been completed. The principle of adopting the newtown-cluster-housing concept was already decided upon. This concept was chosen on the basis of its support gained in Britain and also on the basis of an experiment carried out in a section of Unit 11 of the Chatsworth Housing Scheme. It was believed that the cluster of housing units around open spaces would facilitate and promote interaction between residents, would make the sharing and utilisation of services and amenities more easily accessible, and thereby create a sense of neighbourliness.

3. STATISTICAL AND OTHER BASIS FOR THE PLANNING

The overall planning of the whole township and of the neighbourhood and community complexes was based on statistical and other details derived from three principle sources, namely:

1. Demographic and related information furnished by the Research Team in the City Engineer's Department and on the results of a survey conducted by the City Engineer on Indian housing needs in Durban. The relevant information was embodied in a report entitled "Indian Housing Requirements". The contents of this report also served the Department's purpose in its application for approval of the National Housing Commission to undertake this housing project.
2. A socio-economic study conducted by the Department of Economics of the University of Natal. This survey was commissioned by the Durban City Council for the specific purpose of planning housing projects for the Indian people. Its report entitled "A survey of Indian Housing in Durban" was published in 1966.
3. Consultations with certain provincial and state departments with special reference to the provision of hospital services and educational needs. There were no planned consultations with organisations and bodies serving the interests of the Indian people.

4. PLANNING

1. Lay-out Plans

The initial planning of each neighbourhood area began in 1970. The planning and design was carried out by town planners, architects and engineers in the City

Engineer's Department. The town planners and engineers worked in close liaison, on a basis of regular consultation. Draft plans were adjusted or amended in the light of these consultations.

2. Facilities and Services

The provision for facilities was made in each neighbourhood in terms of the norms and other details embodied in the Master Plan. The sites for schools were determined by the terrain of the land and the space required. The internal road system was planned around and between the open spaces and the communal parking areas in relation to the housing units in the cluster. The planners were allowed considerable discretion in the provision and determination of the location of sites intended for services and amenities. They were, however, accountable to the PPO(H), Principal Planning Officer (Housing) and ultimately to the City Engineer to ensure conformity with the Master Plan.

3. Approval of Plans

Plans prepared by town planners, architects and engineers were finally submitted to the PPO(H) who acted as a project coordinator. There was no undue delay in the approval of plans internally or by the National Housing Commission. Invariably, construction work on housing units was undertaken within six months of the submission of the plans to the Commission.

5. OBJECTIVES OF THE CLUSTER - NEIGHBOURHOOD - COMMUNITY CONCEPT

The objective to create a mix of the socio-economic groups among the residents was achieved in that in each community area, provision was made for a range of housing units according to the size of the family and its economic status. Except for the schools, the other services and amenities were only developed some time after the families took occupation of the housing units. The religious sites were sold on application by religious organisations.

6. SHORTCOMINGS OF THE SCHEME

Although much thought and care was taken by the planners to ensure the success of the scheme and to create viable and wholesome community living, certain unforeseen problems were encountered in the realisation of this objective. The major aspects included:

1. The design of the road system, for both vehicular and pedestrian traffic, was based on the assumption that the majority of the residents would use the available railway service. This proved incorrect. Travel by train was not popular for two reasons: Firstly, inconvenient access to the only railway station and secondly the majority of the residents came from areas where there was no train service.
2. Access to Phoenix from the Durban CBD and semi-industrialised areas is extremely poor - the accessibility to the Pinetown/New Germany area is even worse.
3. The aim to create a balanced self-sufficient township at Phoenix did not materialize largely because the provision of essential services and facilities did not keep pace with the housing development. Although provision was made in the overall plan for a major industrial area, it took a long time before any development got under way. The establishment of the major shopping centres was another case in point.
4. The choice of the location of the Phoenix Newtown to serve essentially as a residential township to relocate a large population, essentially of the working class, was made on account of the availability of undeveloped land. The most important aspect of its relation to the places of employment of the residents and the availability

of employment within the township were not given the consideration which they merited. Consequently, there was a great deal of daily commuting into and out of the township, aggravated by the inadequate public transport services and the belated development of the arterial road leading out to the south and north of the central complex of Phoenix.

5. Appropriate forms of consultation with prospective residents, community organisations serving in the fields of health, welfare, education, religion, sport, and interest groups in commerce, industry and transport may have helped the planners in determining their needs, choices and preferences. In the absence of such consultation, features which the planners considered necessary and desirable, such as communal parking areas and open spaces in the clusters, failed to serve their intended purposes.
6. The extent of motorcar ownership by the residents was not anticipated by the transportation/traffic engineer. Consequently, this factor was not taken into account in the design of the internal road system or in the siting of the individual housing units and the effect of Phoenix on the metropolitan road system.
7. In a township of such dimensions as Phoenix, there was no provision made for the upward socio-economic mobility of the resident population. To serve expanding needs and enhanced lifestyles, outlets had to be found outside the township or by extending and improving existing homes.

7. LESSONS FOR FUTURE REFERENCE

Three important lessons emerged from the planning and establishment of Phoenix Newtown, namely:

1. It is not desirable to locate residential townships to serve essentially working class families of low economic status at long distances from their places of employment. Apart from the additional burden of travelling costs, the time and inconvenience entailed in commuting to and from places of employment, it also has its impact on family life, a desired objective in the provision of suitable housing.
2. The newtown concept cannot succeed where the majority of job opportunities are far away in the city centres and in developed commercial and industrial areas. Such a situation is not conducive to the cultivation of self-contained and self-sufficient garden cities as was envisaged in the case of Phoenix.
3. Very heavy dependence on motor transport (for passenger or commercial purposes) result in serious traffic problems. A possible solution may be to provide for working class families in high-density housing in close proximity of the city centre and the industrial complexes; and for more affluent families in residential settings away from inner city areas.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW HELD ON 15 APRIL 1996 WITH MR ROBB KIRBY, DIPLOMA IN TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING, M.Sc. (TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING), WHO WAS ATTACHED TO THE TOWN PLANNING DIVISION OF THE DURBAN CITY ENGINEER'S DEPARTMENT BETWEEN 1972 – 1984.

With respect to the planning and establishment of the Phoenix Newtown, the following information was gathered:

1. PLANNING

The professionals responsible for the planning of the township included town planners, architects, surveyors and engineers. They did not function as a multi-disciplinary team but carried out their respective assignments allocated by the City Engineer who was the head of the City Engineer's Department of the Durban Corporation. There was good liaison with engineers but very poor liaison and co-operation from architects.

Mr. Kirby was attached to the Town Planning Division of the Department at the time when Phoenix Newtown was planned and being developed.

2. DESIGN AND CONCEPT

The layout and planning of Phoenix followed the concepts of the newtown/garden-city principles adopted in Britain together with the cluster housing design with a view to facilitating desired interaction between various social and economic groups of residents.

A sample survey carried out sometime after families had moved into Stonebridge indicated dissatisfaction with the cluster arrangement of the housing units and the communal group garaging of motor vehicles on account of their exposure to vandalism and theft.

The residents also preferred single cottages to semi-detached units and flats.

3. STATISTICAL AND OTHER BASIS FOR PLANNING

The planning was based primarily on data provided to the planners by the Research Unit within the City Engineer's Department. This entailed largely analysis of statistics from census reports, information supplied by applicants for municipal housing and such other sources. No scientific studies to assess the needs and preferences of the prospective occupants were carried out. The Department was also averse to consultations with representative organisations and bodies in the community. The town planners, however, considered consultations with community organisations and leaders as being essential and wherever this was done, it was informal and "off-the-record" and not permitted within working hours.

4. DIRECTIVES FOR THE PLANNING ARRANGEMENTS

The directives to the planners were issued by the City Engineer through the heads of the various sub-structures within the City Engineer's Department. The plans prepared by the different sections were submitted to him for finalisation and onward submission to the National Housing Commission. Provision in the planning for sites for community purposes (play-lots, religious institutions, schools and sporting fields) were left to the discretion of the

planners. Financial provision for the housing programme was allocated adequately. There were no undue delays in the submission of plans and their approval by the National Housing Commission.

5. OBJECTIVES

The central objective of adopting the newtown concept and the cluster housing design in the planning was to create an environment which would facilitate interaction between different socio-economic groupings among the residents. Provision was made accordingly for a range of social and economic categories among the families in each cluster and in the neighbourhood complex.

The aim to make the township of Phoenix self-contained and self-sufficient was not attained due to the slow development of the industrial area and the inadequate provision for community resources, amenities and facilities.

6. SHORTCOMINGS OF THE SCHEME

1. There was poor co-ordination between the provision of essential services and amenities and other community resources and the provision of housing. Thus, the houses were built, families moved in, but the services and amenities came later. The provision of an integrated public transport service is a good example. In fact certain of the services and amenities are still in the process of being developed.
2. The absence of consultation with representative community organisations and prospective residents may be cited as a major shortcoming. Such consultation, among other things, may have ensured community participation in the development and meaningful utilisation of resources and some understanding and tolerance of inconveniences encountered in moving into a new environment.
3. The building materials used in the first phase of the development were of a poor standard. There was a marked improvement in this regard in the latter phases, especially in the housing development of the complex known as Phoenix North.

7. FOR FUTURE REFERENCE

To achieve the desired objectives in establishing future housing development it was strongly recommended that:

1. There should have been adequate consultation with representative community organisations and future residents. Planned workshops may have been one means of determining community needs and preferences and of enlisting co-operation.
2. High-density housing development to serve lower-income working class families should have been located closer to the central city to alleviate problems associated with travelling to and from places of employment and utilising facilities and amenities which could only be provided centrally.
3. A scheme should have been devised in which the state provided the housing and the maintenance was left to the residents.

APPENDIX D

Letter to researcher
(written on the University's letterhead).

(Date)

Professor Gavin Maasdorp
Department of Economics
University of Natal
Private Bag X10
DALBRIDGE
4014

Dear Professor Maasdorp,

I am a Master's student in the Department of Social Work at the University of Natal. I am undertaking a study entitled "A Holistic Approach to Housing".

In the library of the City Engineer's Department I came across a report entitled "A Survey of Indian Housing in Durban". This study was undertaken by the Department of Economics of the University of Natal in 1966, in terms of an agreement with the Durban City Council. Under the heading "Research Workers and Authorship", reference is made to the persons who played a key role in this study.

As a contributor to this research, I would appreciate your assistance in obtaining information on each of the participants, such as their particular field of study, the role each of them played in the study, research experience and any other considerations which were taken into account for inclusion in the research team.

An indication of help in regard to the above would be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)
(Student No. 951059714)

Tel. No. (031) 418691
Fax. No. (031) 418691

APPENDIX E

**Sample copies of letters to heads of institutions and
organisations**

(written on the University's letterhead).

(Date)

(The Head)
(Name of Organisation/Institution)
(Address 1)
(Address 2)
(Address 3)
(Address 4)

Dear Sir,

For Attention: (Title) (Initials) (Surname)

I am a Master's student in the Department of Social Work at the University of Natal. I am undertaking a study entitled "A Holistic Approach to Housing : A Social Work Perspective". The study focuses on housing as an instrument for the enhancement of the quality of people's lives. It examines the development and implementation of housing policy and its effect on a major housing project, namely, the Phoenix Newtown which was planned as a self-contained township with the objective of creating a balanced community.

In order to assess the extent to which this objective was achieved, I am obtaining information and views from a range of sources, especially from those directly involved in the provision of essential services, such as medical and health services, welfare services, educational services and sporting and recreational activities, which would throw some light on the manner in which the provision of these services has impacted on personal, family and community life among the residents of Phoenix.

Professionals in health care services have often attributed the incidence of certain ailments and health problems to the socio-economic status of the patient population and the environmental conditions in which they live. I would presume that through the nature of services offered at the municipal clinics, the nurse practitioners identify the relevance of the presenting health problems or ailments of the patients with the general living standards and conditions under which they live.

On this account, I have chosen to seek your Department's assistance in my study by requesting information on various aspects of health services available to the residents of Phoenix. By suitable arrangement, I would like to interview one of the professional nurse practitioners of your Department, preferably someone who is familiar with the overall health services available to the residents of Phoenix and the Stonebridge community area in particular.

I can assure you that the information furnished and the views expressed by your Department will be duly acknowledged in the dissertation.

I can be contacted on telephone numbers (031) 418691 / (031) 431868 and facsimile number (031) 418691.

Thanking you in anticipation of your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)

P.S. An annexure entitled: PHOENIX NEWTOWN MASTER PLAN (1969) is attached.

PHOENIX NEWTOWN MASTER PLAN (1969) - HEALTH SERVICES

A comprehensive Master Plan compiled by the City Engineer of Durban served as the basis for the planning of the Phoenix Newtown. This included not only the physical (lay-out) planning of the township but also the provision of services, amenities and facilities for the residents.

The Master Plan was based on demographic and related statistical data compiled by the Research Unit within the City Engineer's Department and the results of a socio-economic survey conducted for this purpose by the Department of Economics of the University of Natal. The Master Plan was completed in 1969 and subsequently approved by the National Housing Commission. Development work began in 1970 and the first families moved into the Stonebridge area in 1976.

In so far as health and hospital services are concerned, in consultation with the Directorate of the Natal Provincial Hospital Services, and in pursuance of the policy of centralisation of hospital services, provision was made in the Master Plan for:

1. One hospital situated in Phoenix to serve both Phoenix Newtown with a population of 120 000 and Newlands with a population of 80 000.
2. Four municipal clinics based on a norm of one per 40 000 population. No separate site was reserved for a polyclinic since "it can by its very nature be sited within the hospital precinct" (Master Plan, 1969 para.7, p.42).

(Date)

The Head
Department of Community Health
Faculty of Medicine-University of Natal
733 Umbilo Road
Congella
Durban
4013

Dear Dr. Jinabhai,

For Attention: Dr. C.C. Jinabhai

I am a Master's student in the Department of Social Work at the University of Natal. I am undertaking a study entitled "A Holistic Approach to Housing : A Social Work Perspective". The study focuses on housing as an instrument for the enhancement of the quality of people's lives. It examines the development and implementation of housing policy and its effect on a major housing project, namely, the Phoenix Newtown which was planned as a self-contained township with the objective of creating a balanced community. A copy of an extract from the Phoenix Newtown Master Plan (1969) is attached.

In order to assess the extent to which this objective was achieved, I am obtaining information and views from a range of sources, especially from those directly involved in the provision of essential services, such as medical and health services, welfare services, educational services and sporting and recreational activities, which would throw some light on the manner in which the provision of these services has impacted on personal, family and community life among the residents of Phoenix.

Professionals in health care services have often attributed the incidence of certain ailments and health problems to the socio-economic status of the patient population and the environmental conditions in which they live. I would presume that through the nature of services offered at the hospital, polyclinic and municipal clinics in Phoenix the medical practitioners and other professionals identify the relevance of the presenting health problems or ailments of the patients with the general living standards and conditions under which they live.

I am aware of your active involvement in the Phoenix Child and Family Welfare Society and your consequent concern for the welfare and interests of the community of that township. On this account, I have chosen to seek your assistance in my study by requesting information on various aspects of health services available to the residents of Phoenix.

I am mindful of the fact that you are not directly involved in the provision of medical services to the residents of Phoenix, but there are some aspects (as set out in the attached schedule) on which I would appreciate your views and comments. For this purpose, I would be grateful if I can have the opportunity, by prior arrangement, to call on you for an interview to record the information which you may be pleased to offer.

I can assure you that the information furnished and the views expressed by you will be duly acknowledged in the dissertation.

I can be contacted on telephone numbers (031) 418691 / (031) 431868 and facsimile number (031) 418691.

Thanking you in anticipation of your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)

(Date)

(The Head)
(Name of Organisation/Institution)
(Address 1)
(Address 2)
(Address 3)
(Address 4)

Dear Sir,

For Attention: (Title) (Initials) (Surname)

I am a Master's student in the Department of Social Work at the University of Natal. I am undertaking a study entitled "A Holistic Approach to Housing : A Social Work Perspective". The study focuses on housing as an instrument for the enhancement of the quality of people's lives. It examines the development and implementation of housing policy and its effect on a major housing project, namely, the Phoenix Newtown which was planned as a self-contained township with the objective of creating a balanced community.

In order to assess the extent to which this objective was achieved, I am obtaining information and views from a range of sources, especially from those directly involved in the provision of essential services, such as medical and health services, welfare services, educational services and sporting and recreational activities, which would throw some light on the manner in which the provision of these services has impacted on personal, family and community life among the residents of Phoenix.

Social workers and social welfare agencies have often attributed the incidence of certain social problems to the nature of housing conditions prevalent in their areas of operation. They have accordingly campaigned for suitable housing and the related essential services and amenities as being imperative for the promotion of wholesome personal, family and community life.

I am aware that the Phoenix Child and Family Welfare Society was the first autonomous welfare organisation to be established in Phoenix and that at present it is the major welfare agency rendering a wide range of services to the population of this vast township.

Accordingly, I have chosen to seek your Society's assistance in my study by requesting information on various aspects of social work / welfare services in Phoenix. In order to indicate the nature of information I am seeking, I prepared an interview guide schedule, a copy of which I am attaching to this letter. By suitable arrangement, I would like to interview a social worker from your agency.

I can assure you that the information furnished and the views expressed by your Society will be duly acknowledged in the dissertation, a copy of which will be made available to you on completion of the study.

I can be contacted on telephone numbers (031) 418691 / (031) 431868 and facsimile number (031) 418691.

Thanking you in anticipation of your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)

P.S. An annexure entitled: PHOENIX NEWTOWN MASTER PLAN (1969) is also attached.

PHOENIX NEWTOWN MASTER PLAN (1969): SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

A comprehensive Master Plan compiled by the City Engineer of Durban served as the basis for the planning of the Phoenix Newtown. This included not only the physical (lay-out) planning of the township but also the provision of services, amenities and facilities for the residents.

The Master Plan was based on demographic and related statistical data compiled by the Research Unit within the City Engineer's Department and the results of a socio-economic survey conducted for this purpose by the Department of Economics of the University of Natal. The Master Plan was completed in 1969 and subsequently approved by the National Housing Commission. Development work began in 1970 and the first families moved into the Stonebridge area in 1976.

In relation to provision for social welfare services in the Master Plan, two aspects stand out, namely:

1. There is no evidence of any provision (such as community centres, sites for office accommodation, service centres for the aged and children's homes); and
2. There is also no evidence of consultation with the state departments of welfare or voluntary welfare organisations (local or national) on the nature of provision for these needs in the planning of the township.

APPENDIX F

Summaries of interviews with professionals

- social workers**
- medical personnel**
- educators**

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW HELD ON 8 JULY 1996 WITH MRS VASANTHA MOODLEY, B.A. (SOCIAL WORK) WHO WAS ATTACHED TO THE PHOENIX CHILD AND FAMILY WELFARE SOCIETY ON ASPECTS OF WELFARE SERVICES IN PHOENIX NEWTOWN.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Phoenix Child and Family Welfare Society, the major welfare organisation serving the population of Phoenix was established in 1980. It provided a wide range of child and family welfare services. Included in its staff were twenty-two professional social workers, two child care workers and fourteen clerical or administrative workers.

The respondent has been in the service of the Society as a social worker for the past six years. During this period she has served families in communities of Longcroft, Westham, Stonebridge, Greenbury, Rockford and Whetstone.

In relation to certain aspects of welfare services in Phoenix, the following information was elicited at the interview.

2. OFFICE AND OTHER PREMISES OCCUPIED BY THE SOCIETY

No provision was made for office accommodation for voluntary welfare organisations in the planning of the township of Phoenix. The Society therefore had to operate from premises rented from the City Council. At first it occupied cottages in Stonebridge and in Sunford and moved later to premises owned by a church. Presently it occupied premises at 217 Clayfield Drive which were rented from the Natal Provincial Administration. This building was previously occupied by the Department of Health and Welfare: Administration in the House of Delegates. The building was shared with TAFTA, a voluntary welfare organisation serving the aged. These premises were centrally located and conveniently accessible to the residents as they were situated on a major bus and taxi route. The Society did not operate from any decentralised offices. The Society has a child therapy unit which is called The Guiding Lantern Centre. They also offer services to abused women, and a crisis centre for abused women, called the Sahara, which was established in 1994. In addition to direct services to clients, its community based services were conducted from this centre. It also housed the Society's Child Abuse Treatment Unit and was the base for its Crisis Shelter for Abused Women which was situated in rented premises in Sunford community area.

3. MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The major social problems dealt with by the Society relate to:

1. Drug abuse and drug peddling.
2. Family violence.
3. Child abuse.

These problems were prevalent largely among families in the lower income group and those where the breadwinner was unemployed. Unemployment was a major problem in the township.

4. RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS TO HOUSING CONDITIONS

The respondent felt that there was a close relationship between the socio-economic status of residents and the nature of social problems prevalent in the client population served by her

Society. The type of housing occupied by the majority of these families and the incidence of the problems was clearly evident. They included:

1. Overcrowding within the family home especially where the families were large with first, second and third generation members living together.
2. Lack of privacy within the home and in relation to neighbours due to the close proximity of the dwellings.
3. Inter-family conflict over sharing communal washing and drying areas and using common stair cases among flat dwellers.
4. Children using the streets as the only outlet for play activity.

These and related problems were seen as part of the poor planning of the housing units and the nature of the neighbourhood environment created in the housing complexes. The fact that most of the housing was of low-cost nature to cater for sub-economic and low economic families was not taken fully into account in the planning. In addition, recreational facilities and amenities were not adequately provided.

Although she supported the idea of socio-economic mix among the residents as one form of uplifting families of poor standards and styles of life, there were problems associated with this. In Phoenix, her Society found that families, especially those allocated flats did not adjust to living in close-knit neighbourhoods and differences with better placed families showed up markedly. This was evident among the children in their play and other social relationships.

5. RELOCATION AND RESETTLEMENT SERVICES

The respondent felt that in resettling and relocating large numbers of families in new townships various measures and services were necessary to assist families to adjust to their new environment and to the cultivation of improved standards of living. Among these she cited:

1. Orientation to adjustments in a new environment, especially with regard to the consequences of moving into a new residential area.
2. Introduction to the amenities and facilities available in the area and their positive utilisation.
3. Introduction of activities whereby the various social groupings in the area could meet, and by pursuing activities of common interest, develop positive relations and identify with one another.
4. Counselling services, guidance and assistance to cultivate understanding and tolerance among families in neighbourhood living and to avert potential differences and conflict.
5. Provision of supportive services to cushion the effects of relocation and integration into new community relationships.

She believed that these ought to be seen as essential services in the process of resettlement of families, especially working class families of poor socio-economic status. Many of the problems prevalent in Phoenix could have been averted or minimised if such services were provided as part of the relocation process, before and after movement into the area.

6. FUTURE PLANNING

With regard to planning of future mass housing projects especially for low income families, the respondent offered the following suggestions:

1. The housing units should have ample space between and around them to allow for privacy and to avoid friction between families.
2. Liberal provision should be made for recreational activities and for creches, play centres and nursery schools. She emphasised in particular sites for religious purposes, as religion played an important role in the lives of the residents.
3. Extensive consultations should be held with a wide range of organisations and bodies which could provide not only information and views to determine needs for which provision should be made in the planning but also views indicating priorities and preferences of prospective residents. These should include:
 1. Prospective residents.
 2. Non-governmental organisations undertaking work relevant to the community.
 3. Educators and professional organisations in the field of education.
 4. Social welfare organisations, especially those rendering services to physically and the mentally challenged and the aged with a view to making provision for their special needs and also in the planning and designing of homes with features to serve their purposes.
 5. Individuals and organisations in other service professions, such as social workers, psychologists and criminologists.

7. CONCLUSION

As a concluding thought, the respondent acknowledged that in the planning of large-scale housing projects, a wide range of considerations have to be taken into account, but in the case of Phoenix, adequate attention was not given to the life-styles, practices and special needs of the families to be accommodated. Many of the social problems in the township could have been avoided if the planning was based on the results of inclusive, specialised research.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW HELD ON 26 JULY 1996 WITH MRS RANI NAIDOO, B.A. (S.W.), OF THE PHOENIX BRANCH OF THE DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE IN THE NATAL PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION ON ASPECTS OF WELFARE SERVICES IN PHOENIX NEWTOWN

1. INTRODUCTION

The respondent had been attached to the Phoenix Branch of the Department of Welfare, Natal Provincial Administration for the past six years. During this period she served the communities of Stonebridge, Rainham, Centenary Park, Clayfield and Greenbury. The following information emerged from this interview.

2. WELFARE AGENCIES RENDERING SERVICES IN PHOENIX

The following registered welfare organisations amongst others were presently rendering welfare services to the residents of Phoenix:

1. Phoenix Child and Family Welfare Society.
2. Durban Association for the Aged.
3. Durban Mental Health Society.
4. The South African National Council for Alcoholism and Drug Dependence.
5. FAMSA.
6. NACROD.
7. NICRO.

In addition to the welfare organisations, the State Department of Social Welfare had been operating from a sub-office in Phoenix since 1990. This office belonged to the Natal Provincial Administration. This decentralised office of the Department also served the townships of Verulam and Tongaat. Prior to this, services were rendered from a central office in Durban.

3. NATURE OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS PREVALENT IN PHOENIX

The respondent listed the following as the major social problems prevalent in Phoenix, the majority of which were related to the socio-economic status of the resident population:

1. Unemployment, poverty and dependence on state grants and pensions.
2. Alcohol, drug dependence, drug peddling and shebeens.
3. Crime and juvenile delinquency.
4. Marital discord and domestic violence.
5. Child neglect and abuse.
6. Prostitution and sexual promiscuity.
7. Behavioural problems among juveniles and school-going children: truancy, abscondment and aggression.

The prevalence of many of these problems was accentuated by the poor quality of family life due to poverty, the absence of both parents in employment, poor support systems in nuclear families and inadequate outlets for leisure, cultural and religious activities.

4. NATURE OF HOUSING AS A CONTRIBUTORY FACTOR

There was a relationship between the housing conditions prevalent in many complexes of Phoenix and the incidence of social problems.

1. Overcrowding due to family size or sub-letting to supplement family income, especially to meet rentals and electricity and water charges was common.
2. Lack of privacy within the home and in relation to other families in the flats exacerbated problems.
3. Constant friction over shared facilities between neighbours especially in the flats occurred.
4. Drab appearance of some of the houses and the absence of pride in home ownership was commonplace.

5. FUTURE PLANNING

In planning mass housing projects intended mainly for low-income working class families, the respondent felt that the Phoenix experience indicated the following:

1. Flat type housing should be kept to a minimum and blocks of flats should not be clustered together.
2. Single cottages, well spaced to allow for privacy and open spaces, should be given priority.

In housing projects intended for the relocation of families, the respondent considered the following support services as being important:

1. Introduction of families to the new housing and its wider environment.
2. Information on the nature of amenities and services available to the residents and the meaningful utilisation of such services and amenities.
3. Ensuring the provision of health, welfare and educational services from the outset.
4. Provision for resources which the residents could initiate through co-operative activity (religion, sport and culture).

Prior to the physical planning of a new residential township, there should be:

1. Intensive research to determine the paying-capacity and the particular needs of the prospective residents.
2. Consultation with prospective residents and a wide range of professionals in such fields as education, health, sociology and psychology; and organisations in trade, commerce, industry, transport, sport and religion.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW HELD WITH DR KRISH NAIDOO, M.B.Ch.B.(NATAL) ON 27 JUNE 1996 ON ASPECTS OF HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES IN PHOENIX NEWTOWN

1. INTRODUCTION

Dr Naidoo has been in private practice in Stonebridge since 1985. He is presently doing post-graduate studies in the field of anaesthetics at the Medical School, University of Natal. On aspects pertaining to health and medical services in Phoenix, the following emerged from the interview.

2. PROVISIONS IN THE MASTER PLAN

1. Centralisation of Hospital Services

The respondent expressed the view that provision of one hospital to serve both Phoenix and Newlands with an estimated population of approximately 200 000 was totally inadequate. Its particular location in Phoenix raised the question of its accessibility to the residents, more especially to those residing in Newlands.

Apart from its location and the size of the population it was designed to serve, the fact that the proposed hospital had to date not yet become fully functional, had resulted in severe inconvenience to the local residents. They had to depend on hospitals, both provincial and private, outside these townships for service. At the local hospital, there were no in-patient facilities since it only functioned as a day hospital. Patients in need of diagnostic tests, laboratory facilities, X-Ray examinations and physiotherapy were referred to hospitals in Durban.

2. Polyclinic

The respondent felt that siting a polyclinic within the precinct of a major hospital had its advantages in that patients attended to at such a clinic could be conveniently referred to the hospital if the nature of the illness warranted referral.

3. Municipal Clinics

On the adequacy of providing one municipal clinic for 40 000 people, he felt that much depended on the range of services offered at these clinics and the adequate staffing of these clinics. The local clinics rendered a good back-up service but the residents depended on private practitioners for the provision of major medical services.

3. HEALTH PROBLEMS

In his practice, the respondent saw the relationship between the nature of illness and the socio-economic status of the resident population. Most of the conditions treated were due to the poor nutritional state of the patients, overcrowded living conditions (three generations living in a house for a nuclear family) and unhygienic circumstances, especially in the flats. He expressed the view that many of the social problems prevalent in the township, such as vandalism, theft and violence, emanated from poor planning and the resultant environment it had created.

4. FUTURE PLANNING

From his experience as a medical practitioner in Stonebridge over the past ten years, the respondent offered a number of suggestions which he felt should be taken into account in the planning of future mass housing projects:

1. Planning Aspects

1. Single or semi-detached houses should be given preference. In low-cost housing for low-income families, flats should not be provided.
2. The dwellings should be well-spaced, with adequate open spaces between the houses and within the clusters.
3. The transport system should be a major priority in the planning - both within and in access to the township.
4. Opportunities for employment within the township or within easy access should be a priority; but due regard should be given to health hazards as a result of siting industries in close proximity to residential areas.

2. Health Services

1. Provision for medical and health services should be based on research.
2. Consultations should be held with:
 1. Prospective residents.
 2. Medical practitioners serving communities due to be relocated into new housing schemes.
 3. Academics, particularly those specialising in community medicine.
 4. Industrialists and transport operators.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW HELD ON 3 JULY 1996 WITH SISTER PUSHPA MARIMUTHU, SENIOR PROFESSIONAL NURSE EMPLOYED BY THE DURBAN CITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT ON ASPECTS OF HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES IN PHOENIX

1. INTRODUCTION

The respondent received her training as a nurse and as a midwife at the R.K. Khan Hospital. She served in the family planning section of the Durban City Health Department for twelve years. Thereafter she studied for the Diploma in Community Health at the M.L. Sultan Technikon in Durban. She has been serving at various Family Health Centres (clinics) in Phoenix since 1990 and has been involved in practice of curative, preventive, promotive and developmental health services. In the interview, the following aspects of medical, hospital and health services at Phoenix were covered.

2. PLANNING OF HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL SERVICES

The respondent supported the plan for a centralised hospital with a polyclinic situated within its precincts on the following grounds:

1. The public transport and the road system permitted easy access to the hospital and the polyclinic for residents of the township.
2. The siting of the polyclinic within the precincts of the hospital allowed for easy referral of patients from one service point to another with little inconvenience to the patients. It was time and cost saving and eliminated delays of emergency. This was particularly advantageous as the Phoenix township was not served by an efficient ambulance service.

On the norm of one hospital serving a population of 200 000, the respondent expressed serious reservations. When the existing hospital, which was presently providing a limited range of services becomes fully operational, it was doubtful whether it would be able to cope with the projected out-patient and in-patient load, especially in a population which was highly dependent on public (state) hospitals for medical treatment. It would be extremely inconvenient for the residents of Newlands to travel to Phoenix as there was no direct transport service from one township to another. In the absence of a comprehensive hospital service available in Phoenix, the residents turned to hospitals (R.K. Khan, King Edward VIII and Addington) which were situated in the City of Durban.

It was felt that the municipal health clinics established to cater for an average of 40 000 residents each were coping adequately.

3. THE PROVISION OF HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL SERVICES

On the progressive introduction of hospital, medical and related services, the following information emerged from the interview:

1. The two state authorities involved in the provision of services were the Durban Corporation through the City Health Department which provided essentially preventive and promotive health services and the Natal Provincial Administration through its Department of Hospital Services which provided curative medical services.
2. The first of the families to move into Phoenix were allocated houses in Stonebridge in 1976. In the same year the first municipal clinic was opened in this community. It operated on three

days a week and provided essentially preventive and promotive services. In collaboration with the Provincial Department of Hospital Services, family planning services were offered.

3. The next municipal clinic was opened six years later in 1984 in Caneside. It functioned on a three day per week basis and offered similar services to those at the Stonebridge Clinic.
4. In 1986 the Community Health Centre, a polyclinic, was established in Whetstone. Both the City Health Department and the Department of Hospital Services together provided a wide range of curative, preventive and promotive services on a twenty-four hour basis. The clinic included a nebulising unit, a dehydration unit and a pharmacy. In addition to family planning, psychiatric and dental services were offered.
5. In 1991 the City Health Department opened another municipal clinic in Grovend from which the Department of Hospital Services provided family planning services.
6. In 1995 a polyclinic was started by the Natal Provincial Administration in Starwood, operating twice weekly providing psychiatric and pharmacy services.
7. In 1996, the provincial hospital was opened. It provided curative medical services on a day basis only. Patients for in-patient care were referred to other provincial hospitals in the city.

4. THE PRESENT POSITION

Considering the size of the total population, the socio-economic status of the vast majority of the patient population and their dependance on the public sector for medical and hospital services, the present volume and range of services offered at Phoenix were inadequate to meet the real needs of the residents. The more serious inadequacies were as follows:

1. The Phoenix Community Health Centre was the only source of maternity services.
2. The two polyclinics carried a patient load beyond their capacity. They were always busy with queues of patients waiting to be attended to. These clinics served both the residents of Phoenix and the residents of the nearby informal settlement.
3. Geriatric services were not available in Phoenix. As a result the aged and the overflow of patients from the clinics turned to the provincial hospitals in the city for attention. Some sought treatment from the private hospitals.
4. Medical practitioners attended the municipal clinics on a fortnightly basis hence the services were rendered by professional nurses who were trained to serve at these clinics.

5. THE MAJOR HEALTH PROBLEMS PREVALENT IN PHOENIX

The respondent reported that the main illnesses and health problems treated at the clinics were as follows:

1. Infectious respiratory illnesses, probably due to the poor nutritional state of the patients (low-resistance) aggravated by poor housing conditions (dampness, cement floors and the like).
2. Teenage epilepsy due to substance abuse at an early age.
3. Hypertension, diabetes mellitus and cardiac problems.
4. Underweight and malnutrition among children.

6. FEATURES IN LIVING CONDITIONS

The following living conditions affected the general state of health of the residents:

1. Inadequate play facilities and open play areas for out-door activity, especially for children.

2. Poor housing standards especially flats with cement floors, unplastered internal walls which were prone to dampness and cold, and the lack of ceilings.
3. Unsettled family life due to economic inadequacy, marital disharmony and behavioural deviancy among teenagers.
4. Congestion and overcrowding especially in the flats.

7. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE PLANNING

From her experience as a paramedical professional serving the community of Phoenix, the respondent made the following suggestions for the establishment of mass housing for lower and middle income families:

1. Priority should be given to suitably spaced single dwellings.
2. If flats were found to be cost-effective, they should be designed to avoid congestion with adequate open spaces surrounding them.
3. Provision should be made in the planning to cater for different lifestyles and religious/cultural practices.
4. Provision for motor-car ownership should be made.
5. Prospective residents and the widest range of professionals such as doctors, nurses and teachers should be consulted in planning housing developments of this nature.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW HELD WITH MR. Y.A. AKBAR B.A., B.Ed.(UNISA), PRINCIPAL OF THE STONEBRIDGE PRIMARY SCHOOL ON 21 JUNE 1996 ON THE PROVISION OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN PHOENIX

1. INTRODUCTION

The respondent had been the principal of the Stonebridge Primary School since 1995. He had been in the teaching profession for the past 34 years. The following information emerged from the interview.

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. The Stonebridge Primary School was established in 1978. It was built of concrete blocks as a matter of urgency to accommodate the families from the Springfield Flats who had to be relocated as a result of the 1976 floods. The school building was fairly comfortable except that in winter it was very cold and very hot in summer, for which reason ceiling fans had been installed.
2. The school had an enrolment of 700 pupils (1996). It catered primarily for the children of the Stonebridge community and for the children from a part of the adjoining community of Clayfield. In addition, approximately 200 children travelled to this school from the Kwa Mashu and Ntuzuma areas.

3. ASPECTS FROM THE MASTER PLAN

On aspects included in the Master Plan pertaining to the provision of educational facilities, the respondent offered the following comments:

1. The norm to establish junior primary schools to accommodate 800 children in 20 classrooms was educationally unsound. Especially in catering for socially and economically disadvantaged children, the pupil ratio of 40 children to a teacher was unrealistic. It did not permit desired individual attention to the special needs of certain children. At present he had organised the school in 25 classes with 35 children per class. He felt, however, that classes of 30 children was manageable in a primary school. One of the major problems encountered at the school was verbal communication in that English was not the spoken language of all the children.
2. On the question of establishing one secondary school for each community area to accommodate 1 000 children in 30 classrooms, he felt this was adequate, provided that specialist classrooms and related facilities were included. Although a site was set aside for a high school in Stonebridge, this school was not erected as the number of children reaching high school level was too small. Such children were accommodated in the Phoenix Secondary School which was situated in Clayfield, an adjoining community.
3. To overcome the problem of adjustment from primary to high school, he felt that pupils in Standard 5 should be accommodated in the high schools.
4. Junior and senior primary schools should be separated as the needs of children at the junior primary level were different and could only be met by special facilities. These facilities had to be provided by the school.
5. The absence of provision for nursery or pre-primary schools was a serious shortcoming both in the planning of the township and in the provision of educational facilities to the residents. It should have been seen as essential for the compensation of inadequacies encountered by low income families and the improvement of the quality of life of both the children and their families. As a substitute, two school readiness classes (for children eligible for admission to a primary school next year) were being conducted at this school with a state subsidy. This subsidy was due to be discontinued next year.

4. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOUSING AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

1. It should have been foreseen that in the families housed in Phoenix, the feature of both parents undertaking employment would be widespread. For children from such families, provision should have been made for after-school facilities and services. In the absence of such facilities and services, children loitered around shopping centres, having nothing constructive to occupy their time after school. They often indulged in undesirable practices resulting in problems of discipline and control both at home and at school. Some children who travelled long distances to school only saw their parents over the weekends. Children who had grandparents or other family members to receive them after school considered themselves fortunate. Presently there was no state subsidy to enable voluntary organisations to initiate after-school care-centres.
2. Relative to family income, the rentals for the houses, water and electricity charges were a serious drain on meagre earnings. Consequently many families fell into arrears. Insufficient money left for food and clothing had serious implications for health and quality of life.
3. Unemployment was a serious problem, aggravated by cash earnings in individual and commercial employment as the only source of income for the vast majority of families.
4. Anti-social behaviour among the youth was prevalent, especially among those from families resident in the flats, where, due to overcrowding and other features there was little scope for a healthy family life.
5. Out-door recreational and sporting facilities were inadequate and not suitably equipped. There were no bodies to organise and to promote and encourage such activities whereby children and young people could benefit from participation in such activities. Even the municipal libraries were not suitably equipped and consequently not fully utilised by children and adults.
6. The establishment of townships of this kind where the priority was on providing housing for the nuclear family, had accelerated the breakdown of the extended family system and the absence of the support which it offered to many families before moving into Phoenix.

5. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE PLANNING

1. The principle of providing for a socio-economic mix among the residents should be retained and the planning should provide for a balanced distribution of families from different socio-economic groupings, in each neighbourhood area.
2. For working-class families of the lower income group, flat type accommodation was undesirable and therefore should be excluded in the planning.
3. More single cottages with ample yard and garden space should be given priority.
4. A system of rentals which was affordable to the families should be introduced.
5. Adequate provision should be made for community facilities and services such as play-lots for children, parks, sporting facilities of a wide range for all age and interest groups. A system should be introduced to promote the organisation of bodies or groups from within the community to utilise these services, amenities and facilities.
6. Widespread consultations should be held with community leaders, non-governmental organisations, rate-payer and civic organisations, voluntary welfare bodies, professional bodies in the field of health, welfare, education and religious bodies. Such consultation should have a two-fold purpose:
 1. To obtain information on the needs, views and preferences which could be taken into account in the planning.
 2. Enlist the co-operation and support of these individuals and organisations to initiate and promote such services and activities in new housing projects.

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW WITH MRS D.E. BISESSOR, B.A., B.Ed.(UDW), SENIOR DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION (SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE OF EDUCATION), PRINCIPAL OF THE PHOENIX SECONDARY SCHOOL HELD ON 21 JUNE, 1996 WITH REGARD TO EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN PHOENIX

1. INTRODUCTION

The Phoenix Secondary School was established in 1980. The respondent had been working at various schools in the Phoenix area for the past seven years. She had a total of thirty eight years experience in the educational field. She had been the principal of this school for the past five years. Information and views on the following aspects on educational facilities in the township emerged from this interview.

2. PLANNING NORMS AND EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

1. This secondary school was established to cater for children from both the Stonebridge and Clayfield communities. Recently, it had been admitting children from Kwa Mashu and other areas. At present it had 1 350 children accommodated in thirty-six classes.
2. The pupil-teacher ratio was very high - with nearly 40 children to a classroom. At the primary school level, 35 children per class was manageable and at high school 30 per class should be the maximum. At her school, the original provision was for 26 per class, but according to the revised staff allocation there were classes with 38 and 39 children in order to retain her teachers and to accommodate children from Kwa Mashu. As the subject combinations chosen by the pupils varied, it was not easy to retain fixed numbers in each class. There were also fluctuations because:
 1. Families moved from one community area to another.
 2. There was very little inflow of new families into areas in which a degree of stability had been reached.
 3. Children discontinued their schooling after reaching the prescribed school-going age.
 4. Children left school to seek employment to supplement family income; and also the prospect of their continuing education at technikons or universities was not good on account of the financial position of their families. The drop-out rate was therefore higher than desired.

3. OTHER ASPECTS OF PROVISION FOR EDUCATION

1. The respondent felt that two primary schools and one high school serving each community area of 8 000 population was adequate. There were enough schools in the township to cater for the school-going population.
2. The combination of infant and primary schools was a good idea. At the secondary school level which began at standard five, some adjustment problems were experienced but the arrangement gave pupils an opportunity to choose their subjects for the senior certificate.
3. The school had its own playing field but the pupils did not display the desired level of interest and enthusiasm in sporting activities, so much so that the annual sporting and athletic events at the school had to be discontinued.
4. The respondent felt it was a serious omission that no provision was made in the planning for pre-primary schools. The children, therefore, lost out on pre-school preparation which was so important especially for children from socio-economically disadvantaged communities. Some infant/primary schools in Phoenix did have bridging modules or school readiness classes, but these were inadequate to cater for all children of pre-school age.

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS REFLECTED IN THE SCHOOL SITUATION

The respondent expressed the view that the general standard of performance of the pupils and the lack of motivation was attributable to the socio-economic status of the families from which they came. In this regard she referred to such aspects as:

1. Marital problems and family disharmony.
2. Poverty and economic dependency on state grants and pensions.
3. Unemployment.
4. Single parenthood.
5. Conflict in parent-child relationships.

The fact that children had to travel all the way from Kwa Mashu placed a serious strain on them. It was often used as an excuse for not completing homework. The school introduced a welfare scheme to assist indigent pupils by providing lunch and clothing. It was discontinued as it was not well used. However, there were plans to re-introduce the scheme.

5. THE RELEVANCE OF HOUSING CONDITIONS TO THE SCHOOL SITUATION

The respondent felt that the housing conditions and the general environmental features had an important influence on the attitude of the children towards school and their motivation to learn. In this regard she felt that there were several negative features in the housing provision which contributed to this situation:

1. Lack of privacy within the home and in relation to immediate neighbours resulting in constant friction and conflict - an atmosphere which was not conducive to wholesome family life and to the rearing of children.
2. Children from stable families had difficulties in associating with and relating to children from poorer family backgrounds.
3. She had observed a noticeable difference between the behaviour and deportment of children from single and semi-detached cottages and those from the flats. There was a difference in the economic levels from which these children came, but in addition the flats had many negative features (overcrowding, communal facilities and depressing outlook) which had an impact on the general outlook of the children.
4. Although the housing was of low-cost standards to ensure affordability of sub-economic and marginally economic families, many families found payment of rent, power and transport beyond their means. This led to large scale mother/wife employment which was reflected in the school situation.

6. COMMENTS FOR FUTURE PLANNING

1. Flat type accommodation for low income families had many effects on wholesome family life. The building of flats should be avoided.
2. Special provision should be made for pre-school education both in the physical planning of such housing projects and in the educational system.
3. The principle of a socio-economic mix of families was a good one in many respects but it needed to be associated with supportive and facilitating services to ensure positive results on community life.
4. Consultations should be held with future residents, sporting organisations, welfare bodies, ratepayers' organisations, school principals and parent-teacher associations in the planning of future residential areas.

APPENDIX G

Letter to residents

(written on the University's letterhead).

(Date)

Dear Resident,

As a student at the University of Natal studying for a Master's Degree in Social Work I am conducting research on housing in Phoenix Newtown. The main purpose of my study is to examine present housing conditions, to see what lessons can be learnt in order to improve the effectiveness of future housing programmes.

I have chosen to interview families living in Stonebridge, one of the first communities to be established in Phoenix. I am seeking your assistance in my study and would appreciate the opportunity to have a personal interview with you.

I want to assure you that the information I acquire from you will be kept strictly confidential.

I look forward to your assistance in the research which I am undertaking.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

Bisini Naidoo (Mrs.)

APPENDIX H

Interview guide schedule administered to residents of
Stonebridge

**INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE ADMINISTERED TO RESIDENTS OF PHOENIX NEWTOWN
(STONEBRIDGE):**

1. PERSONAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA

PERSON NO.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Relationship to head						
Sex						
Age in years						
Level of Education						
Occupation:						
*Past						
Present						
Income						
Geographical Location of Employment:						
*Past						
Present						
Travel time to Work:						
*Past						
Present						
Cost of travel to Work						

* "Past" means at the time of moving into Phoenix.

2. HOUSING

	BEFORE MOVING TO PHOENIX	AFTER MOVING TO PHOENIX
1. Address		
2. Nature of Accommodation	Flat Cottage Informal dwelling Outbuilding Other(specify)	Flat Single cottage Semi-detached Duplex Terraced
3. Ownership of dwelling	Rented Owned Leased Other(specify)	Rented Owned Leased Other(specify)
4. Size of dwelling	Kitchen Bedrooms(no.) Toilet Bathroom Living Room Garage Other(specify)	Kitchen Bedrooms(no.) Toilet Bathroom Living Room Garage Other(specify)
5. Payment towards home	Rent Instalment Rates Other(specify)	Rent Instalment Rates Other(specify)

6. Why did you move to Phoenix?

Better accommodation
Government/Official Action
Marriage
To live on independently
Other (specify) _____

Yes	No

7. Were you offered a choice in selecting a home in Phoenix? Yes/No
If a choice was offered what type of home would you have selected?

Have you made any alterations / additions to your home? Yes/No
Nature _____
Reason/s _____

Are there any features of this home you are unhappy about? Yes/No
If Yes (specify) _____

3. CONSULTATION

1. Prior to moving to Phoenix were you consulted about special needs you or any member of your family may require on account of:

Age _____ Yes/No
Physical Disability _____ Yes/No
Other (specify) _____

2. Were you consulted with regard to the facilities you felt would be essential in the area you were moving into? Yes/No

4. RELOCATION AND RESETTLEMENT

1. Were you compensated for the home from which you moved to Phoenix? Yes/No
If yes, by whom?

2. Were you assisted in any way in moving into Phoenix? Yes/No
If yes, what were you assisted with:

1. Selecting a home Yes/No
2. Transport Yes/No
3. Forming a social group Yes/No
4. Other(specify)

3. Were you informed about the type of area that you were going to move into? Yes/No

If yes, what were you told about the area?

If no, what would you have liked to have known?

4. Were you informed by the City Council about the nature of the facilities and amenities which were available to families moving into Phoenix? Yes/No

If yes, what were you told?

5. Were you assisted in any way to establish contact with the bodies and authorities responsible for these facilities and amenities? Yes/No

If yes, by whom?

5. EXPERIENCES OF LIVING IN PHOENIX

What would you say are the advantages/disadvantages of living in Phoenix, in terms of the following:

	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
1. Types of housing		
2. Quality of housing		
3. Availability of community resources eg.shops,schools		
4. Convenience of community resources eg. shops, schools		
5. Presence of community organisations eg. cultural, recreational		
6. Safety of the area		
7. Proximity to friends and relatives		
8. Transport: internal/external		
9. Privacy		
10. Rearing of children		
11. Garden space		
12. Quality of life		
13. Other		

APPENDIX I

**Summary of interview with the Manager from the Parks and
Recreation Department**

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW HELD ON 10 MAY 1996, WITH MR. ADHI NADASEN, MANAGER OF THE PARKS AND RECREATION DEPARTMENT OF CITY SERVICES, (PHOENIX BRANCH OFFICE) ON MATTERS RELATING TO SERVICES AND AMENITIES IN PHOENIX NEWTOWN.

1. INTRODUCTION

The respondent possessed the National Higher Diploma in Horticulture. He occupied the position of Manager in the Phoenix Branch of the Department of Parks and Recreation of the Durban Corporation. This Branch was responsible for horticulture and maintenance of the sports fields in Phoenix. He had under his control two clerical workers, ten administrative workers and one hundred and sixty nine general assistants.

The respondent had been living in Phoenix for eleven years and was involved in various forms of community work in the area. He was familiar with many aspects of the services and amenities available to the population of Phoenix. He provided the following information at the interview:

2. SERVICES, AMENITIES AND FACILITIES

Classification

In terms of the source or authority responsible for their provision, the services, amenities and facilities available to the residents of Phoenix could be classified under four headings as follows:

1. Municipality of Durban.
2. Central government.
3. Provincial administration.
4. Private enterprise or non-governmental organisations.

Municipal Services, Amenities and Facilities

1. Financing

As the Phoenix Newtown was established in terms of the Housing Act of 1966, in addition to the rent or instalments payable by the residents, a compulsory levy towards the Community Facilities Fund was payable. The establishment of such amenities as sports and playing fields, community halls, libraries and parks was financed from this Fund for which the municipality was required to keep a separate financial account. No state grant or subsidy was available for such items. Provision for certain of these needs was included in the Master Plan. Other needs were identified by departmental heads or by community organisations. Representations were submitted for the provision of such services or amenities to the head of the Physical Environmental Section who in turn submitted them, with his recommendation and estimates for approval to the City Council. The final authority was the National Housing Commission before the work was assigned to the relevant department of the Durban Corporation. Once the facility or amenity was established, the responsibility for its maintenance lay with the City Council accrued from the income from municipal rates.

2. Services and Sub-Offices of Municipal Departments in Phoenix

The majority of the services and amenities were operated through municipal sub-offices in the township. The departments and their sub-offices and the relevant services were tabulated as follows:

MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENT	PHOENIX BRANCH	NATURE OF SERVICES, COMMENTS, NOTES
CONSOLIDATED BILLING	Established in 1976	Responsible for receipt of water, electricity, rates & rent payments.
COMMUNITY HALLS	In community areas 2,4 and 10	Accommodates ± 500 seated. (Master Plan provided for one in each community area).
CITY HEALTH	1. Health Inspectorate 2. Nursing Services (1) Phoenix Comm. Health Centre (2) Phoenix Caneside (3) Phoenix Stonebridge 3. Refuse Removal Depot	Refuse Removal/Grass cutting
CITY POLICE	Established in 1993	
FIRE DEPARTMENT	Fire Emergency. Established in 1996	
HOUSING	23 Sub-offices: one in each community area	First office established in 1976. Render a landlord service to tenants
LIBRARIES	1. Stanmore 2. Stonebridge 3. Whetstone	Range of books & reading material limited. No reference material for research.
PARKS AND RECREATION DEPARTMENT	1. Parks: Phoenix District Office 2. Roads: Phoenix Depot	1. Swimming Pool: - Rainham 2. Sports fields: provision for 35; all fenced but no change- rooms. 3. Play-lots: provision for 96-none developed. 4. Four turf cricket pitches developed in 1990. 5. Five synthetic cricket fields developed in 1995 mainly for school children and beginners. 6. Three court netball field in Woodview Sports Field. 7. One 400-metre grass athletic field in community area 8. 8. Four parks. Gandhi-Luthuli Park (no lighting for night use). 9. This Department is responsible for: • maintaining open spaces and verges • development of open spaces • grass-cutting • maintaining sports fields • planting trees NB: No Sports stadium, golf-course, volley-ball field, cemetery or crematorium.
MUSEUM MARKET PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT		Services are provided from central offices in the city.

3. Observations and Comments

1. Most facilities and municipal services were provided some time after occupation. This was due to the lack of co-ordination within the municipal departments at the local level and between the City Council and the National Housing Commission. The pre-occupation was with the provision of housing and the allocation of funds was a priority.
2. The development of many of the sites ear-marked for sporting and recreational purposes was very costly on account of the terrain of the land and the nature of the soil conditions. In many cases, it entailed major earthworks to render the site suitable for development.
3. No survey was carried out nor were consultations held with sporting organisations and leaders to determine the needs, views and preferences of the community in providing sporting, recreational and other services and facilities.
4. Many of the play-lots were located on slopes and near natural water-courses, hence they were not easy to develop.
5. The concept of communal parking areas proved a failure from the outset. They exposed the vehicles to theft and vandalism. The Town Planning Division was in the process of approving plans for the erection of garages and for the provision of suitable road accesses to the houses.
6. The open spaces near the clusters of houses and the undeveloped sites were not maintained. They served as dumping grounds, with adverse consequences for the outlook of the immediate environment.

Central Government Services and Amenities

1. Department of Education and Culture

At the time when Phoenix Newtown was established, the Division of Education of the Department of Indian Affairs was responsible for the provision of primary and secondary schools. In the planning, sites were provided in each of the areas. For nearly two years, children from Phoenix had to be transported to schools in Springfield and Clare Estate. The first schools were temporary pre-fabricated structures, later replaced by permanent structures. The authority currently responsible for pre-school, primary school and secondary school education was the Department of Education in the KwaZulu Natal Province.

2. Police Stations

The first police station in Phoenix was established in 1990. Until then, the area had been served by the police station in Mt. Edgecombe.

3. Post Office

The only post office in Phoenix was opened in 1989. At present there was a fully-fledged post office with a door-to-door delivery service.

4. Welfare Services

A branch office of the Department of Health and Welfare of the House of Delegates was opened in Phoenix in 1990. Prior to that, the State services of welfare were rendered from the Department's offices in Durban. These services were currently provided by the Division of Social Work Services of the Department of Welfare, KwaZulu Natal.

5. Department of Justice

Phoenix Newtown falls within the magisterial district of Lower Inanda - the seat of magistracy is at Verulam. A branch of the law courts was opened in Phoenix in 1995.

Services Provided by the Natal Provincial Administration

The only services rendered by the province were hospital and health services. A fully-fledged hospital at Phoenix for which a site was provided in the Master Plan had been on the drawing boards since 1976. The hospital had been functioning since 1995 as a day hospital. A Community Health Centre was established in 1986. The province also conducted a polyclinic at which curative, preventive and promotive services were rendered.

Services Rendered by Non-Governmental (Voluntary) Organisations

1. Social Welfare Organisations
2. Special Schools
3. Creches and Nursery Schools

3. SHORTCOMINGS IN THE PROVISION OF SERVICES

Three major shortcomings were identified as follows:

1. The absence of consultation with prospective residents, community organisations serving in the field of health, welfare, education, recreation, sport and religion.
2. The absence of enlisting community participation and co-operation to utilise and develop sites set aside for sporting, recreational, religious and other public purposes.
3. The establishment of essential services such as health clinics and hospitals, educational bodies, police and postal services on a delayed basis.

APPENDIX J

Photographs

1. Single Cottage.
2. Terraced (tiled roof) houses.
3. Flat semi-detached houses.
4. Double storey semi-detached house.
5. H – block (12 unit) flats.
6. Communal washing area.
- 7a. Front view of block of flats with only one entrance per unit
- 7b. Rear view of block of flats with only one entrance per unit.
8. Communal spaces in-between cluster development used as dumping grounds.
9. Inadequate space for parking and children to play.
10. Extension to recently purchased duplexes.
11. Poor workmanship on dwellings.
12. Shopping center.
13. Haphazard construction of roads.

PHOTOGRAPHS



1. Single cottage.



2. Terraced (tiled roof) houses.



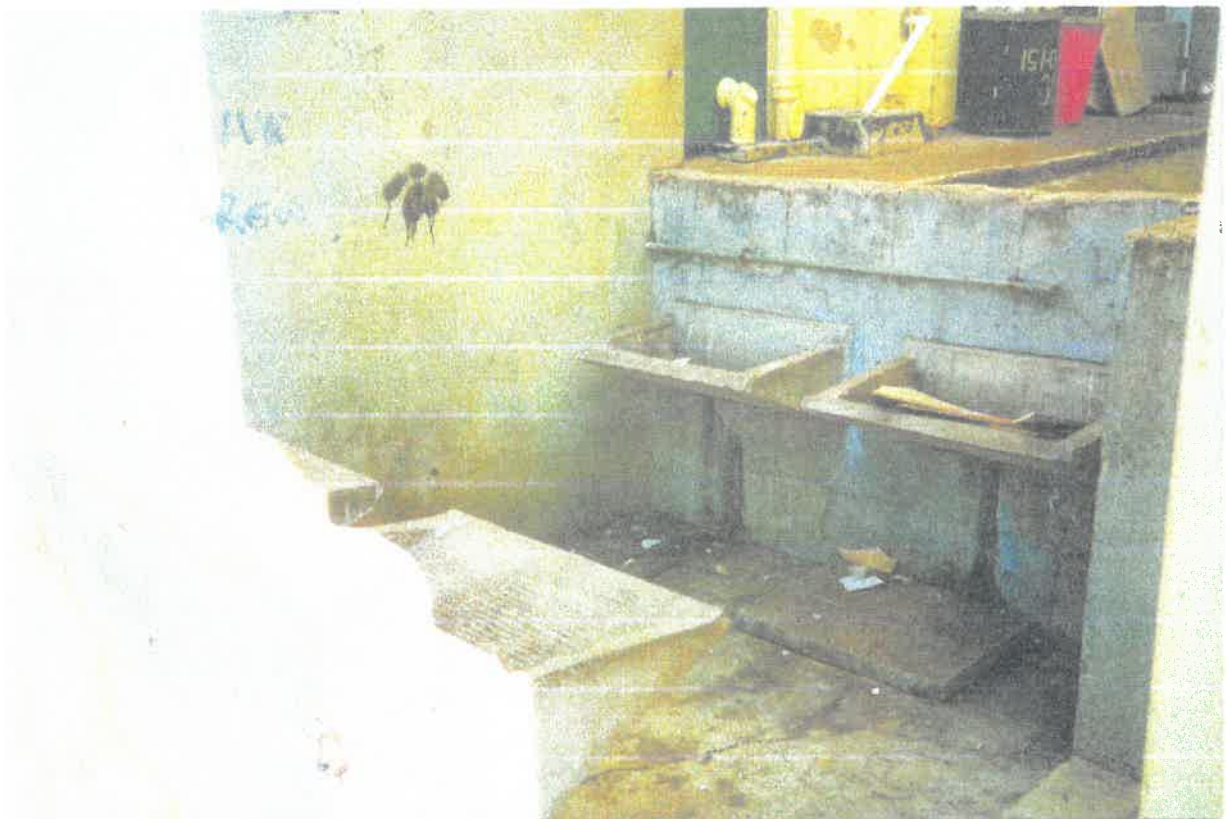
3. Flat semi-detached houses.



4. Double storey semi-detached house.



5. H – block (12 unit) flats.



6. Communal washing area.



7a. Front view of block of flats with only one entrance per unit.



7b. Rear view of block of flats with only one entrance per unit.



8. Communal spaces in-between cluster development used as dumping grounds.



9. Inadequate space for parking and children to play.



10. Extension to recently purchased duplexes.



11. Poor workmanship on dwellings.



12. Shopping center.



13. Haphazard construction of roads.