

## HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The family is the fundamental institution of society and if it is to function properly it must be adequately housed. It is obviously impossible and unreasonable to expect well adjusted men and women to emerge from a family which has been accommodated in a lean-to of corrugated iron and cardboard with no sanitary arrangements, or in a dwelling originally designed for a family of five or six, but which now houses over 20 persons in more than three families. Yet these conditions exist. Most of the complicated social disabilities of the Coloured community stem from the lack of housing or gross overcrowding. These factors prevent the proper training and educating of children for the responsibilities of adult life. They create problems of retardation and poor performance at school. In the field of employment they contribute directly to absenteeism, high labour turnover and, through affecting the physical and mental ability of the worker to perform satisfactorily, they adversely affect his productivity. They contribute to problems of family maladjustment, disruption, desertion, illegitimacy and to uncontrolled behaviour, excessive abuse of alcohol and crime. Directly and indirectly they also contribute to the massive expenditures on clinics and hospitals, on rehabilitative services, on prisons and retreats.

These are some of the measurable by-products of squatter living, slums and gross overcrowding. But the personal suffering caused to sentient human beings cannot be measured in material terms alone and is, from the point of view of the well-being of the nation, the greatest impediment to healthy growth and development.

### The Challenge

Demographers have forecast that the Coloured population will double within a generation. This position is not unique and is encountered in many developing countries. The practical implications of this is that by the end of the century the additional housing demands will be considerably greater than the total amount of existing housing.

It is not only in the field of housing but also in satisfying other essential human needs that clamant demands are being made for a bigger slice of the national cake. Legitimate demands are being made for public funding of preventive, promotive and curative health services; for more liberal social pensions; for free and compulsory



education; for a wider range of educational services and improvements in their quality; and for the provision of wholesome and constructive use of leisure. The fundamental problem is that there are so many competing demands for scarce resources.

The Institute believes that national investment in housing should be regarded as a priority, as many of the other demands arise from problems resulting from lack, or inadequacy, of housing.

### Housing Needs

#### (a) Greater Cape Town Metropolitan Region:

An address by Professor S.P. Cilliers "Facing the Crisis in Housing for the Coloured People" delivered in November 1971 is enclosed as Appendix 7a.

This analysis deals exhaustively with the present housing requirements of the Coloured population in the Greater Metropolitan Region of Cape Town.

On the basis of data supplied by local authorities Professor Cilliers estimated the housing shortage at the end of 1971 to have been 54,968 dwelling units. Using the figure of 5.73 persons per dwelling unit this amounted to housing requirements for 314,623 Coloured persons, or 41% of the population. Among those to be accommodated were 27,092 households living under squatter conditions in 47 known squatter camps. Basing future needs on the projected population increase of the region, Professor Cilliers estimated that by December 1980 a further 45,924 dwelling units would be required. He calculated that the total housing units to be constructed by local authorities and the private sector within the next two years would reduce the accumulated backlog merely by 131 units (0.24%).

It was on these sombre facts that Professor Cilliers spoke of a housing crisis, which would be unlikely to be relieved in the immediate future under the present policies and at the expected rate of construction.

#### (b) Other Areas

Enquiries from Institute offices in other regions indicate that Johannesburg requires some 5,000 Coloured dwellings, Port Elizabeth 6,890, East London has some 1,232 Coloured families on the municipal



waiting list while in Durban Professor Watts estimated the need in 1972 to be over 2,000 units. Appendix gives detailed information on Kokstad, Mount Ayliff and Unzumkulu and East London.

The Institute is aware that the Commission has at its disposal all of the official information and it is consequently not considered necessary to submit a detailed analysis based on published official information.

There are, however, some aspects which require emphasis. By the end of 1971 no less than 76,544 Coloured families had been disqualified in terms of the Group Areas Act from remaining in their homes. Of these 41,199 had been resettled and 35,345 families (presently housed) had yet to resettle.<sup>1</sup> Since then there have been further group areas proclamations so that the number of disqualified families is considerably greater.

The Minister of Community Development stated in 1972 that the following number of dwelling units were required annually to meet anticipated population growth<sup>2</sup>

Transvaal	2,550
Cape Province	12,430
Natal	1,100
Orange Free State	<u>266</u>
Total	16,356

Thus by 1982, no less than 163,560 dwelling units will be required to meet estimated population growth.

During 1972 the Minister also gave information relating to the dwelling units required in the larger metropolitan centres, distinguishing between the existing shortages and those to be resettled in terms of Group Areas disqualification.<sup>3</sup> Information was also given on the provision of housing over the past five years by the Department of Community Development, local authorities and the private sector.<sup>4</sup>

1. Hansard 4/1972 col. 306.
2. Hansard 14/1972 col. 1013.
3. Hansard 18/1972 cols. 1189 and 1190.
4. Hansard 15/1972 cols. 1044-1050.



An analysis of these figures confirms the findings of Professor Cilliers.

In 1972 in the Cape Peninsula 15,514 dwelling units were required<sup>1</sup> plus an additional 11,814 for those who were "disqualified" and yet to be rehoused. Over the past five years an average of 5,892 units have been provided annually - 50 by the Department of Community Development, 5,050 of which by local authorities and 792 by the private sector. Half of the housing provided by the Cape Town Municipality had to be allocated to rehousing "disqualified persons". On the Witwatersrand in 1972 4,324 units were required. Average annual increases during the preceding five years have been 330 dwellings by the Department of Community Development, 390 by local authorities and 79 by the private sector. In Durban 2,692 units were required, over the past five years houses supplied by the Department of Community Development averaged 224, by the local authorities 73 and a mere 11 by the private sector.

#### Rent Paying Ability

Income. Unfortunately there are no national figures of household income of the Coloured community from which it is possible to indicate their rent paying capacity. Professor Batsoh studied poverty and rent paying capacity of the Coloured community of the Western Cape over several decades, but, unfortunately, recent figures have not been published. An illustration is, however, available of household income in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth in 1972.<sup>2</sup>

#### Percentage Distribution of Household Income

	<u>Cape Town</u>	<u>Johannesburg</u>	<u>Port Elizabeth</u>
Under R250 p.a.	15.1	14.9	14.2
R250 - R499	14.8	10.5	12.8
R500 - R749	26.4	17.3	10.9
R750 - R999	14.4	17.7	10.2
R1,000 and over	29.3	39.6	53.0
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

1. The following analysis includes the annual estimated increase required because of population growth.
2. Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa. Report 27/6 Cape Town, 27/8 Johannesburg, 27/9 Port Elizabeth, 1972.



Some indication of the position is afforded by the number of applicants on waiting lists for economic and sub-economic housing in 1972. The information was furnished by the Minister of Community Development.<sup>1</sup>

Coloured Applicants on Waiting Lists

	<u>Economic Housing</u>	<u>Sub-Economic Housing</u>
Cape Town (including Divisional Council)	16,310	8,603
Durban	2,298	1,242
Port Elizabeth	3,532	2,889
Pietermaritzburg	332	142
Kimberley	531	1,305
Johannesburg	2,736	1,630
Pretoria	250	600

Thus 59% of the applications for housing in the seven cities were from persons able to pay an economic rent. Kimberley and Pretoria were the only cities in which the demands for sub-economic housing exceeded those for economic housing.

Since February 1972 the sub-economic ceiling for Coloured housing has been raised from R60 per month to R80. The effect of this would be to transfer a number of applicants from the economic to the sub-economic category. Families in the smaller towns have considerably lower incomes than those in metropolitan centres, so that the proportion of those requiring sub-economic housing would be very substantial.<sup>2</sup>

In the absence of more detailed information the Institute estimates that about 45% of the Coloured community in South Africa would require sub-economic housing under the prevailing R80 income ceiling.

Whisson and Kahn in their Report on Coloured Housing in Cape Town point out that a substantial number of householders in the economic group would be prepared to pay considerably more than the current economic rent to have security of tenure and a permanent home. But this group would prefer a better type of house or a similar house with larger rooms.

1. Hansard.
2. Vide 'Personal Income Coloured Population by Economic Region' Table B1, Report No. 02-01-06.



### Transport Costs

The National Housing Commission has adopted the principle that a family should not be expected to pay more than one fifth of its income on rent.

In determining rent paying capacity the Institute believes that it is equally essential to consider the current costs of transport to the ever more distant townships. The siting of the housing of the Coloured community has, unfortunately, reversed the normal urban ecological pattern, whereby low income earners concentrate in the areas adjacent to the central city and the industrial areas. New housing estates are being built further from places of work and involve tenants in disproportionately high transport costs. With plans to house some 250,000 persons at Mitchell's Plain the existing detrimental position will be enormously exacerbated. As rent and transport are the priority family expenditures of the wage earners less is available for food, clothing and other expenses.

The attention of the Commission is drawn to the high transport costs for Coloured residents in the Peninsula; for instance a sub-economic tenant in a three-roomed house at Ocean View Township near Kommetjie pays R6.63 monthly rent but the transport costs of the main breadwinner only are R10.12 per month, if he were working near Simonstown, and very much more if in one of the industrial areas of Cape Town.<sup>1</sup> A resident at Heideveld paying R8.24 per month has additional transport costs of R5.50 per month if working in Cape Town. In contrast, a family formerly living in a four-roomed flat in District Six paid R4.30 per month and had virtually no transport costs.

On the human side it must be stressed that for very many workers the journey to work now takes a minimum of one hour per day and some even two hours. This reduces their working efficiency, the time and quality of their social life at home and opportunities for participating in community life.

### Overcrowding

Overcrowding takes two forms. The first is where a dwelling is overcrowded in the sense that there is more than one household, or more than one family per dwelling. The second type of overcrowding is where there is insufficient space for the family or household within the dwelling.

1. A transport subsidy was recently introduced from the transport levies now paid by employers.



The standards adopted by the National Housing Commission regarding eligibility for different types of housing have, unfortunately, resulted in both types of overcrowding.

When Bonteheuwel was developed the ruling of the National Housing Commission was that a family composed of a father, mother and three children under 12 was entitled to a one-bedroomed house. In the ensuing years the children have grown up, there have often been additional children but the family is still in a one-bedroomed house. No family can live decently under such conditions. Such, for instance, is the present overcrowding at Bonteheuwel that there are already 1,498 housing applications before the Council from families presently housed within the township which meet the Council's economic and other criteria.

In 1968 Mabin found that 32% of the houses in the new family estate of Heideveld were overcrowded, even in terms of National Housing standards.<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the deleterious effects of such overcrowding and its direct contribution to family instability and disorganisation and resultant social problems.

In addition to the overcrowding of homes almost every other facet of life is overcrowded - overcrowded pavements, overcrowded streets, overcrowded station platforms, unending bus queues, overcrowded trains and buses. For the people concerned life is a constant elbowing for room - within and without the house. Directly and indirectly this results in aggression, frustration and warped personality development.

#### Community Services

The Institute has on several occasions made representations to the authorities at national and local levels urging that essential amenities be provided in housing estates before the tenants are moved in. It re-iterates that adequate provision must be made for street lighting, transport, the enforcement of law, order and protection of the residents, postal and telephone services, the provision of schools, clinics, childrens' playgrounds, sports grounds, creche and community

1. D.S. Mabin, 'Patterns of Low Cost Housing', 1968 p.27.



halls and churches. These facilities should be planned and executed at the same time that houses are built and not, as almost invariably happens, years thereafter.

It is a traumatic experience for a family to move from environs to which they have been accustomed for many years or even generations to a new township where they do not know the people, are virtually "on their own" and are bereft of the network of community services so essential to effective functioning. This applies particularly to those who have been resettled because of group areas disqualification.

There is a tendency in official circles to equate the provision of a number of houses and the settling therein of a number of families with the concept of creating a community. The Institute again wishes to stress that a community does not consist of an aggregation of houses and people but essentially of the delicate and intricate relations between people living in proximity to one another and of the relations between these people and the institutions which society creates for its better functioning.

The detrimental social effects of rehousing families in new towns was realised in England after the last war. Considerable technical and social planning now precedes the development of new estates. Current practice in establishing new towns is to provide the services and amenities first - administrative block, community hall, post office, schools, clinics, playgrounds and sports fields, and to erect the houses around this nucleus. When a neighbourhood unit has been completed a start is made on developing the next. Having provided essential amenities the residents are then carefully selected and assisted in their adjustment to the new environment by a team of social workers and health visitors. Selective criteria are not only based on need but on patterns of social living, so as to ensure a degree of homogeneity among new tenants. Where houses are being demolished, because of slum clearance, every attention is bestowed upon housing residents from such areas in close proximity so that the network of former relationships is unimpaired.

In rehousing people in a new environment the Institute emphasises the extreme importance of involving the people themselves. From the outset there should be social workers and community workers, who will



make it their business to assist the residents in their individual and collective adjustments to the new life. Together with community leaders a virile programme of meaningful activities, involving every sector and every age group, should be developed so as to stimulate a sense of common purpose and of "belonging". It is particularly important for members of low income groups, who have lived in slums or shanties, to be integrated into a new housing scheme. CAFDA in Cape Town has most successfully done this and their example could be followed far more widely than it is at present.

Students at several universities have demonstrated an unusual flair for such work in deprived communities and their creative energies should be increasingly harnessed and supported. Tribute is paid to the work among the Coloured community in Johannesburg of Witwatersrand students (WITCO), on the Cape Flats of Cape Town University students (SHAWCO) and in Cloetesville of students of the University of Stellenbosch.

#### Reactions and Views of Residents to the Housing Provided for Them

The Institute has for very many years been deeply concerned about the many facets of Government housing policies and the ever mounting backlog. It has repeatedly made representations to the authorities. At its regional committee meetings, at special housing sub-committees and at the National Housing Conference in 1972 it has had the opportunity of hearing and considering the views of African, Coloured and Asian representatives and members. It is impossible to quantify such views but we give below representative ones.

Basic to the whole issue of housing is the problem of the low wages of many workers. Residents do not want subsidisation of rents but the unfettered opportunity for economic advancement and a wage structure which will make it possible for an adult man in full time employment to support a wife and children.

#### Housing

1. They desire the widest possible opportunity for home ownership for all who can afford it. Many living in rented economic houses consider that they should increasingly be afforded the opportunity of buying such homes.



2. Pleas have been made for the local authorities to permit occupiers of houses - whether as owners or tenants - to effect reasonable improvements. It has often been pointed out that some authorities entirely forbid this, others permit it under controlled conditions. There appears to be an anomaly - houses are often not built to existing municipal building standards yet it is insisted that improvements must comply with these. It is considered that such home improvements would be the most effective and the most reasonable way of countering what residents describe as "living in a matchbox", and would give the occupier the opportunity of both expanding living space and improving its quality.
3. Strongest criticisms are voiced at their exclusion from any decision making in the whole process of providing and allocating housing.
  - a) While appreciating that economic reasons determined that there be financial limits to the unit cost of sub-economic and economic housing it is felt by many that the nature and type of house provided is unsuitable. Those in the economic group would prefer a better type house appreciating that they would have to pay a higher rental or purchase price. Life styles and patterns of living are best known to members of each community, these vary in different socio-economic groups. For instance in sub-economic housing the kitchen is also the living room and should consequently be considerably larger than it is. The living room (where provided) could be sacrificed for more or larger bedrooms. In middle-class homes the living room is prized and receives priority in furnishing and is, to some extent, a "status symbol". Life is not lived in the kitchen and this could consequently be smaller.

There is strong antagonism to any homes being built without interior doors and ceilings (particularly in bathrooms). Lack of ceilings create discomfort both in hot and in cold damp climates, absence of guttering brings problems in areas both of tropical rainfall and winter rainfall. Absence of doors precludes privacy in every phase of the life cycle, birth, sickness, death are witnessed by all. Even the intimacies of married life lack the necessary privacy.

Houses are far too small to make separate sleeping accommodation possible for adolescent boys and girls - and in fact often adults of different sex (and not marriage partners) are compelled to sleep in the same room.



- b) Residents react strongly against the "regimentation of their lives". Tenants have no choice of house or of their neighbours. Social factors are not considered in the allocation of housing and they strongly feel that levels of income, occupation, religious affiliation should be factors considered in housing allocations, so that new communities can at least start with some degree of economic and social homogeneity in neighbourhood units. This is particularly felt by families who have been moved from neighbourhoods where meaningful family and neighbourly relationships had developed over the years. Tenants feel they are merely "dumped" in a house. These views are re-iterated again and again but it should be pointed out that they are made particularly by those falling in the economic group.
4. There is much bitterness about overcrowding - not only in homes, but particularly on streets and transport to and from work. This was most poignantly expressed by a Coloured participant at the Institute Housing Conference. "Don't speak of overcrowding as a statistic - it is what we all experience each day and each night".
5. There is great concern and much resentment at the ever growing distance of housing estates from the centres of work and the consequent increase in transport costs and the costs in human wear and tear. It has been stated that housing policies have compelled some working men to become "week-end fathers", since being away from home for 12 hours a day they have no chance to be with, guide and help nurture their younger children.

#### Environment

1. Criticism is widespread that most local authorities have not provided proper pavements, have left all but the main roads untarred, and that there is a general atmosphere of neglect.
2. Street lighting is often so inadequate that it is dangerous to venture out at night. This adds to crime and violence in the townships.
3. Areas allocated to parks have often been left undeveloped and, where dense bush prevails, this also adds to hazards from gangs, and lawless elements of the population.



4. In many areas the environment is extremely bleak. Quite apart from the deadly uniformity of houses little, if anything, has been done to plant trees or develop any form of landscaping (this is particularly heard on the Witwatersrand and in the Cape Peninsula).

#### Services

1. The greatest complaint is the insufficiency of services for the maintenance of law and order and protection. There are rarely police stations in the townships. There is insufficient police protection and this confined to roving police vans, not supplemented by foot patrols. There are either no, or insufficient, counter measures to control the activities of gangs, thugs and criminals.
2. Telephones are few and far apart. This is a particular hardship for domestic workers, who cannot advise their employers when emergency home demands preclude them from going to work. Even for such essential needs as ambulance, doctor or midwife, it is difficult - and sometimes impossible - to establish contact.
3. There are insufficient creches to meet the needs of working mothers.
4. School facilities are often inadequate - double sessions in primary schools are increasing.
5. Shopping facilities within the townships are totally inadequate. What shops exist are small and frequently non-competitive and for these reasons costs are higher. Nationally operated supermarkets are excluded from the townships. On the whole, only those with private cars or living very close to transport routes can avail themselves of bulk buying at supermarkets. This means increases in living costs.
6. Middle-class residents have expressed their objections to the "excessive" number of liquor outlets in the townships. They maintain that this is one area in which no shortage exists. There is also great resentment at the number of shebeens and the apparent inability of the police to curb these activities.



7. There is difficulty in participating in commercial entertainment or spectator sporting events - transport costs are too high for most and distances too great.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

A.

#### Housing

1. The housing crisis demands a larger share of increased public expenditure. Finance for housing services should be made available on a predictable basis three to five years ahead. Despite the desperate need for funds it is not unusual for local authorities not to have used the total allocation in one year, because of delays that have occurred in implementing plans. There is need for a far more flexible, more effective system of long term planning.
2. The Institute makes an earnest plea for measures to co-ordinate housing efforts more effectively. There does not appear to be sufficient liaison between the various authorities concerned - such as the Departments of Planning, Community Development, Health, Administration of Coloured Affairs, Transport, Posts and Telegraphs, Police, the Provincial Administrations and the local authorities concerned. This lack of co-ordination is well illustrated by the delays in proceeding with the mass housing scheme at Mitchell's Plain. The position is sufficiently serious to warrant the setting up of a Ministry of Housing with overriding powers and direct access to the Treasury.
3. The Minister of Community Development stated that 35,345 "disqualified" families had still to be resettled. Since then there have been further group areas proclamations in the Cape; Grabouw, Hawston, Bonnievale, Worcester, Eendekuil, Mossel Bay, while further investigations (Sir Lowry's Village) are still being made. In all of these towns and villages a substantial - if not major - part of the Coloured population has been "disqualified". It is most strongly urged that a halt be called upon all removals of families adversely affected by Group Areas proclamations, so that all new housing can be used for families presently unhoused or inadequately housed. The implementation of the Group Areas Act has been one of the major factors that has contributed to the backlog in housing and the present crisis.



4. With regard to Cape Town it is recommended that part of District Six be re-proclaimed for the use for residential purposes of the Coloured community.

In the mid sixties District Six had a population of approximately 71,000 of whom 53,000 were Coloured people. The Minister of Community Development stated in 1972 that 9,936 persons from District Six had been resettled and that 33,918 were still living there.<sup>1</sup>

Being close to the central business district, normal urban ecological processes would result in future development of the area being for both business and medium and high density residential use. It should be possible to afford at least 10,000 dwelling units for Coloured persons utilising a considerably higher density index than on the Cape Flats. Now that the Sectional Titles Act has been passed it would be possible to allocate a substantial portion of these high-rise dwellings to those desirous of availing themselves of assisted and other home ownership schemes.

With the change in the occupational structure of the Coloured community in the Cape there has been a considerable increase in professional, administrative, clerical and sales workers, many of whom are now working in the central business district of Cape Town, and would be able to afford economic rentals, even if higher than in the townships. It is further suggested that it is in this area that such badly needed housing facilities, as hostels for single workers, hotels and boarding houses should be developed.

5. Every effort should be made by local authorities to expedite the completion of approved schemes. In the Transvaal and Natal shortages of skilled workers could be overcome if Coloured youths were given the opportunity of being apprenticed in the building industry in these Provinces.
6. It is essential to reconsider the present policy whereby the public authorities are almost exclusively responsible for providing additional housing. It should be possible to find a procedure whereby private building and construction industry have a larger share in providing housing. Since 1965 non-profit utility

1. Hansard No. 8/1972 col. 627



companies - such as the Citizens' Housing League and CAFDA—have been precluded from building houses in Coloured areas on the grounds that they are "White controlled companies". They made a substantial contribution in the past - not only in providing much needed housing but also in innovating modifications (within the stipulated financial limits) to the standard house design, and in providing a high standard of administration. It is urged that the present policy be reversed, so as to make it possible for such public utility companies to provide housing for the Coloured community. If permitted to do so, it is probable that these bodies alone could provide up to 1200 units per year.

7. Serious consideration should, likewise, be given to enabling White controlled private property developers to participate in the development of housing estates or as suggested in Section 4 in District Six. Such development would, in any case, be limited to building houses on an economic basis and could become a viable field of investment.
8. Whisson and Kahn have pointed out the contributions made by the private building entrepreneur (many of whom are Coloured people) in maintaining Coloured properties and thus preventing them from becoming run down, and the areas in which they are situated, from gradually turning into slums. It is as important to maintain existing housing as it is to build new housing. Many local authorities in the U.S.A. have developed schemes whereby owners are financially assisted in maintaining or adapting old dwellings in terms of urban renewal. It is suggested that this might well be investigated in South Africa and, if found practicable, adopted.
9. Employers of Coloured labour are presently enabled to provide accommodation for their employees, whereby they retain the use of such properties for a period of 60 years and the entire capital investment may be deducted from taxable income. Up to the present comparatively limited use has been made of this. There is thus a considerable potential for developing such schemes. The Institute, however, must point out that for many of the employees such "tied housing" is not altogether advantageous. In a situation of acute housing shortage it virtually binds an employee to an employer and militates against his personal rights of seeking the best job



employer for the sale of his labour. It provides less opportunity for home ownership. It also affords no protection to the worker in his old age - since he would be compelled to relinquish such housing.

10. The attention of the Commission is also drawn to experiments which have proved successful in Puerto Rico, Denver (Colorado) and some parts of the Middle East. In these experiments the local authority provides sites, which may be leased on long term leases or bought for a modest cash payment and manageable instalments. The local authority also provides the basic services, and sells at cost price to the home builders the necessary materials for construction. The local authority provides a choice of some basic home designs, advisory and technical services and allows occupants to build at the rate of one room at a time until the whole house is completed. Basic amenities such as schools, clinics, etc. are provided by the relevant authorities.

It is suggested that such schemes would have considerable potential among the Coloured community, where so many families on housing lists have male workers who are employed in the building trade. A further advantage of such schemes is that they have proved immensely valuable in promoting a real spirit of community and mutual help. There might well be an opportunity to experiment with a pilot project in one of the areas presently occupied by squatter families.

11. The Institute also recommends that serious attention be given, as a temporary expedient only, to the setting up of site and service schemes, whereby the local authority provides a site, water, rubbish removal, sanitary services and the eventual owner or tenant is allowed to erect a temporary structure placed so that it does not interfere with the eventual building of a permanent house on that site. At least the squatter camp problem could partially be eased in this manner. Such a scheme was used in Soweto, Johannesburg after the war and did not lead to the creation of permanent slums.



12. Local authorities should encourage owners, and even tenants, to improve their houses. It is appreciated that where such improvements are desired they must be controlled and some regulations made for maintenance of standards. If sites are small there are limited opportunities for adding rooms but much can be done internally and externally. Durban Municipality has permitted such improvements in all of its schemes - African, Coloured, Asian and White - and it is gratifying to see how much initiative, imagination and skill has gone into such developments, and what improvements have been made to meet family needs.

B.

#### Planning and Research

It is appreciated that very valuable research has been carried out by the N.C.S.R. over the years and particularly in the early years by Dr. Calderwood of the National Building Research Institute.

The Institute considers that at the present time there is need for an overall survey to give a precise idea of what the needs are in relation to incomes of the people, the size and nature of family composition, the changing cycle of needs of the individual family, and the patterns of living and life styles the people for whom the housing is to be provided.

At present there is uniformity in policy in the provision of housing, based on the estimated needs of a nuclear family and adapted to varying incomes. For the economic group it would be desirable to prepare a range of dwelling designs which would meet the needs of different types and sizes of household. Living patterns and housing preferences appear to be a neglected area of research. Designers must know, inter alia, where the family eats, where they congregate, where they sleep, what forms of personal care and privacy they wish to maintain. Sociologists must consequently conduct a survey before dwelling designers get to work, so that factual evidence is available for the designer to use.

It is also essential that the residents should be consulted not only during the research but given some say in decision making. For instance in Enis (County Limerick Eire) after considerable research



the local authority designed four houses which they considered would meet the needs of council tenants. One of each type was built. After they had been constructed potential residents were afforded the opportunity of expressing their views both by referendum and written communication. Eventually one design was adopted as the "ideal" and the second, having had some modifications, was utilised in certain areas of the estate.

(ii) The Institute considers that it is essential to conduct research into many aspects of high density living. Scarcity of land, the cost of servicing and the high costs of transport make further urban sprawl impracticable. Many countries have experimented with high density housing that ensures privacy and yet does not require tower blocks. (France, Germany, Great Britain, etc.). People when asked about their housing preference usually indicate that with which they are familiar. There is considerable resistance to high density living among the lower income Coloured families on the Cape Flats. Objections generally refer to inadequate arrangements for washing and drying of laundry (and theft is often stressed), potential gang activity on staircases, inadequate refuse removal facilities, difficulties associated with the maintenance of the common non-built up area and most frequently, loss of privacy and playing space for children.

It is urged that research not only include design and technical aspects of high density living, but that attention be given to consumer resistance and means of countering this.

(iii) Considerable research has already been conducted into design of houses, use of material and building methods. The experts themselves admit that present standards are not ideal but are the best that can be provided under the financial ceilings set by the State. Nevertheless it is suggested that research in these fields continue and particularly into the use of industrialised building methods (if not for individual houses then for the larger structures - administrative blocks, community centres, schools and high density structures envisaged for the future).



C. Financial Controls

There is need for greater flexibility in determining and administering the income ceilings set by the state for occupancy of sub-economic, economic renting and ownership schemes. The economic income for Whites is somewhat flexible, depending not only upon the income of the household but also upon the number of children per family. In the case of the Coloured community this is disregarded. This is unrealistic and fixes the income ceiling at an unduly low level for large families. It is urged that there be no discriminatory practice in the formula for income ceilings and that the same criteria be used for White and Coloured.

It is further suggested that all income ceilings and maximum price levels of housing - whether they be for sub-economic, economic rented premises or home ownership schemes, be regularly adjusted because of the declining value of the Rand. There might well be an automatic annual increase, based on the changes in the cost of living for determining income ceilings and on an index of cost in the building and construction industry for upper limits to housing of the various categories.

If an annual review be administratively too cumbersome it is suggested that it be effected at least bi-annually.

D. Community Development  
Amenities and Services

1. The Institute has (page 7.13) drawn attention to the need for co-ordination between the various departments of state, the provinces and local authorities. At the local level community development is impeded - and in fact almost impossible to initiate, because the necessary services are often provided only years after residents have settled. It is recommended that in the development of any new housing scheme finance be provided at the outset for the provision of clinics, community halls, and the development of play grounds, sporting fields and parks.

There should also be a regional co-ordinating committee to ensure that those services which are provided by the state (police, posts and telephones, schools) and those by the province (e.g. hospitals and outpatient clinics) be completed before tenants are moved into the new townships.



2. One of the most frequently voiced grievances of residents, particularly in economic housing, is the random selection of tenants, whereby only financial criteria appear to be taken into consideration. It is urged that a new basis of selection be initiated, in which social factors rate high and that, as far as possible, regard be paid to grouping families who were previously bound by ties of kinship or neighbourhood, in close proximity to one another. This is standard practice in countries where resettlement terms of urban renewal or slum clearance is undertaken.
3. Many of the services and amenities as well as much of the equipment in a new township is extremely expensive and the Institute suggests that more thought and attention should be paid to their design so that multiple use of such scarce and expensive facilities may be made. Elsewhere the Institute has suggested the multiple use of schools and their playing fields, halls and classrooms. In parts of Europe, for example, workshops and hobby rooms are so designed that by a simple system of adjustment benches and tools, etc. can be used during the mornings when children are at school by elderly people, again in the later afternoon by children, and again in the evenings by adults. Halls, gymnasiums, clubrooms and other facilities could similarly be used by different sections of the population at different times if they were carefully designed.
4. Finally the Institute would plead for greater emphasis to be given to local option in the granting of liquor outlets in the new towns. There have been very many instances where the local population have stated in no uncertain terms that they do not want liquor outlet in their town, only to find that licences have been granted, or that the local authority has provided an outlet. This the Institute regards as wholly unacceptable and it pleads that in this matter the clearly expressed voice of those most nearly concerned be heeded.
5. Involvement of the People in Community Development Programmes  
When referring to community development the Institute does not consider this to have the present narrow official connotation. It subscribes to the definition of the United Nations, whereby community development means the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and



cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.

Despite the hardships of settling in townships where the minimum had been provided in services and amenities the Coloured people, not only in the Cape Peninsula but on the Witwatersrand, Durban Port Elizabeth and elsewhere have shown a remarkable resilience and are gradually beginning to provide essential services for themselves. New welfare organisations have come into being, numbers of creches have been established, group activities are sponsored by church and community leaders. In the townships, such as Bonteheuwel, which have a decade of experience, a considerable community spirit is emerging.

But officials, whether of local authorities or of the central government, must take cognisance of the emergence of the powerful and growing force of Black consciousness. Within this are very positive factors for a bona fide community development programme - group awareness, group pride, group desires to formulate their own social and cultural goals and group solidarity. The Institute does not believe that any effective community development programme can succeed unless it be headed by Coloured staff and utilise the non-directive approach. It is appreciated that this is slower in yielding results than the directive approach but the temper of the Coloured community at the moment is such that many would find the directive approach unacceptable. It would appear that the most constructive contribution that could be made at this stage is to provide training for suitably qualified men and women to enable them to deepen their knowledge and enhance their skills. It is suggested that this be tackled in two ways; in the first place to invite to South Africa an experienced community development worker (preferably not White) in order to give courses for three to four months in the various areas. The second is to enable at least six Coloured men or women to study some of the successful community development projects and programmes which have been developed in Israel, the Phillipines, and elsewhere.



APPENDICES SECTION 6 THE SOCIAL SPHERE

- 6.1. P.R. Randall and P.C. Burrows Johannesburg's Coloured Community.  
S.A. Institute of Race Relations 1968
- 6.2 Professor S.P. Cilliers Coloured People: Education and Status.  
S.A. Insitute of Race Relations 1971
- 6.3 Reports from Insitute Regional and Branch offices on  
East London  
Mount Ayliff  
Umzimkulu  
Kokstad  
Grahamstown (summary and recommendations prepared by Branch on the study of the Coloured community by J. Ridd and J.S. Edmonstone) 1973.



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