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QUANTITY OR QUALITY?

A SURVEY EVALUATION OF HOUSING IN RELATION TO THE QUALITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK TOWNSHIP LIFE

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1980

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The report which follows is one in a series of publications on inquiries conducted into felt needs and problems in South African urban areas. This report focusses on the quality of life as perceived by residents living in Durban's largest black townships. In further reports to be published in this series the quality of life experience of township blacks will be compared with the experiences of Indian and white city dwellers living in other residential areas in and around Durban.

The present study is published at a time when concern with the quality of the natural and man-made environment is an issue of general concern. In recent years, urban dwellers residing in South Africa's cities have become increasingly conscious of their immediate residential environment and its inhibiting or supporting role in shaping lifestyles, opportunities and patterns of social interaction.

In South Africa the acceleration of urban growth is such that the urban environment is increasingly becoming man-made or planned. There is no longer time for residential areas to evolve gradually, and with the exception of pockets of shack settlements on the urban periphery contemporary residential areas are essentially planned areas. Even when intervention occurs in the upgrading of informal settlements an element of planning is introduced. Whilst some city dwellers nostalgically yearn for the days when things were allowed to evolve 'naturally', others welcome the challenges and opportunities for personal and community development presented by controlled growth.

For historical reasons South African black residential areas represent a long tradition of planned development. It would therefore appear that the evaluation of planned black suburbia would be a useful starting point for assessing the progress made in planning regarding qualitative as well as quantitative aspects of mass housing.

The housing study undertaken by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences among residents in Durban's black townships who were affected by planning decisions in their day-to-day lives, was intended to

contribute to evaluation or quality of life research in relation to housing. In the past urban planners have frequently deplored the dearth of frank assessment and constructive criticism of their efforts to provide a supportive environment. It is hoped that some of the suggestions and recommendations arising from the discussion of quality of life experiences with black township residents will provide planners and policy makers with the type of feedback they require in order to improve the conventional type of controlled residential development or to encourage experimentation with revised concepts in mass housing.

The Quality of Life Study reported on in this paper was essentially a team effort. The Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences acted as Project Leader. He was assisted by Diana Haycock, Valerie Møller and Pat Rainey. Various members of the research team were responsible for the design of the questionnaire schedule, the drawing of the sample, the supervision of the fieldwork, the editing, the coding and the analysis of the survey data.

The work of the research team was complemented by the supportive assistance of the field staff whose tasks included editing, translations and preparation of field reports as well as interviewing. Faith Mnguni, Jocelyn Masinga, Isabel Ntuli, Vivian Ottwa, Nkosinathi Zulu and Simeon Zulu were the core members of the field team. Nkosinathi Zulu also translated the questionnaire schedule and she and Pat Rainey piloted the survey.

Under these circumstances the appearance of two names as authors of this report is somewhat misleading. Valerie Møller, however, drafted the report in close consultation with the Project Leader, and they accept full responsibility for the interpretation given in the document.

Members of the Centre's staff made substantial contributions to the publication of this study. Ulla Bulteel competently processed the survey data on the university computer. Mary Mkize provided technical assistance with translations. Other Zulu members of staff assisted with interpretations. The typing was expertly undertaken by Patsy Wickham,

(iii)

Rosemarie Fraser and Nicolette Wells.

The expertise and advice made available to the research team by university staff members and practising professionals were greatly appreciated. Professor A.T. Cope of the Zulu Language Department assisted with the checking of translations. Peter Stewart of the School of Architecture and Bernd Rothaug drew the designs used in projective testing. Errol Haarhoff and Dennis Claud, both of the School of Architecture took a professional interest in the study and contributed constructive criticism on the presentation of findings. Hans Hallen and Paul Mikula as representatives of the Urban Foundation, Natal Region assisted in formulating the initial frame of inquiry.

The financial support of the Urban Foundation is gratefully acknowledged.

Without the participation of the township people who spent many hours responding to the survey, this project would never have been realised. It is sincerely hoped that their efforts will manifest themselves in an improved residential environment for blacks living in South African cities.

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CHAPTER 1.INTRODUCTION.1.1 The quality of life concept.

In more recent years, the concept 'quality of life' has gained acceptance in South African society and is now widely used to denote a certain degree of 'excellence' or 'goodness' in life. The notion of the 'good life' is of course by no means new, and attempts to measure the good life have been made even before this century. However, for purposes at hand, it will suffice to consider that serious preoccupation with the definition and measurement of the quality of life concept commenced only in the 1930s.

Essentially, quality of life studies seek to describe the state of social conditions sufficiently accurately to enable detection of improvement or deterioration in these conditions. Whereas this basic aim of quality of life studies has remained constant, the question of which social conditions are critical concerns for society has always been a matter of considerable controversy and has called for a number of major revisions in the definition and measurement of the quality of life concept.

Consider, that in less than half a century, the quality of life concept has shifted in meaning approximately three times.¹⁾ In the earliest phase of its recent history, quality of life was most frequently equated with economic prosperity and conveniently measured in purely economic terms. In the post war era, growing disillusionment with material goals and their distribution in western industrial

1) cf. Catton 1978.

nations, together with the thwarting and neglect of what might be called the higher needs of society, led to the reconceptualisation of the quality of life in social terms. The definition of the concept was broadened to include non-material life concerns which were thought to contribute significantly to the self-fulfilment and self-actualisation of individuals in society. This new quality of life concept denoted a shift in the emphasis of societal goals relating to purely economic spheres to those relating to the social spheres as well. This shift in emphasis reflected the idea that increasing prosperity and the abundance of riches at the expense of other societal values would not necessarily bring the good life and might even jeopardize life chances for future generations. (2)

In this second phase of concept formation, social statistics referring to environmental quality, provision of education, health services, leisure time, crime prevention and so forth were developed to supplement the conventional economic indicators listed in statistical yearbooks. Research at this time was focused chiefly on the definition of alternative goals for society and the weighting of their relevance. The type of social indicators used to measure goal achievement tended to exhibit the same characteristics as the economic indicators whose efficiency had been proven over time. These statistics mirrored social conditions in objective terms as assessed by outsiders to the situation and were easily accessible and quantifiable.

If the aim of quality of life research in the second phase was to increase the scope of the quality of life concept, research in the third phase sought to refine the instruments used in social accounting. It was argued that whilst conventional social indicators might provide an accurate and reliable measure of social conditions, they did not necessarily constitute a valid measure, in that they did not reflect the meaning of social conditions to the members of society themselves. Accordingly, a shift of emphasis in the quality of life concept again occurred, in which the focus was placed on the quality of life experience. Subsequently, researchers went to work on measuring (3)

the *perception* and *evaluation* of well-being in society.¹⁾ Satisfaction, contentment and happiness with life in general and with specific life concerns, were considered more sensitive assessments of societal progress than statistics which denote the mere existence of goods and services or expenditure on such goods and services, but tell us little about their actual impact on the life situation of those whose needs they are intended to fulfil.

1.2 The usefulness of quality of life research in South Africa.

Although the quality of life concept has gained currency in South Africa, and quality of life research has commenced within specialised fields of social reporting, there are several reservations which might appropriately be made before local social scientists climb onto the bandwagon of the social indicator movement. In the discussion to follow, reference is made essentially to the quality of life concept as defined in the third phase of conceptualisation, to the quality of life *experience*.

It has been emphasised that quality of life studies normally presume a certain level of affluence in society in which this type of research is undertaken. That is, the assumption is implicitly made, that, only when the coverage of basic needs is taken for granted in a particular society, will more abstract and collective social goals be envisaged. In sum, the gist of the argument runs that quality of life research may well be premature in Third World countries, which are still struggling to secure the satisfaction of the basic needs of their people.

With regard to South African society, one might consider that whilst this argument might well apply to the least affluent sector of the South African population, which is black, it most certainly

1) cf. Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976); Andrews and Withey (1976).

does not apply to South African society as a whole, which is relatively affluent by most global standards. It follows then that the usefulness of quality of life research lies particularly in pinpointing pockets of unfulfilled needs and wants amidst relative affluence and attempting to assess this effect on people's outlook on life.

Secondly, one might also emphasise that significant and increasingly large proportions of the urban black population have progressed beyond basic need satisfaction. Accordingly, the design of the study at hand was adopted with a view to assessing the *relative* perception of life quality within and between the various population sectors living in Durban, a point we shall return to shortly.

Another more general argument to counter the notion that quality of life studies are premature in developing countries is contained in the concept of holistic development.¹⁾ This approach to development emphasises that growth can only be adequately conceived in both economic and social terms, and that the definition of development goals must therefore cover basic needs as well as the opportunities to satisfy higher order needs. If such a holistic approach to development is taken, one might like to suggest that the introduction of quality of life monitoring studies at an early stage of national development is essential. The monitoring of development programmes through quality of life indicators will assure planners and policy makers that social and economic progress is balanced, in the sense that development in the one sphere is not grossly neglected in order to achieve an over-ambitious target in the other sphere. Similarly, the socio-spatial distribution of national development efforts could also be monitored. For example, quality of life studies could effectively assess discrepancies between rural and urban development, or between the progress perceived by various subgroups within the population.

1) cf. Gans 1968: Chapters 6 and 7; Drewnowski 1974.

Moreover, on an optimistic note, one might even venture to suggest that if quality of life research were routinely employed to guide development programmes, more integrated development strategies might be adopted right from the start, which might still save some developing nations from repeating the mistakes made by their developed counterparts in the past. Reference is made here to the typical pattern of development traced by the western-industrial nations, in which a single material development goal was initially adopted, whose inadequacy led to its later replacement by a more complex socio-economic goal. This would mean that developing countries need not necessarily go through a two-phased development process, but would initiate a more integrated development strategy right from take-off point.

In a similar vein, one might like to argue along the lines of Maslow that motivational states and hence the perception of life quality are always complex. Thus, the overemphasis of the more basic needs in developing countries may well be unfounded. Hidden motivations, which are usually of a more abstract nature, may come to the forefront when basic needs are only *minimally* satisfied. Furthermore as Maslow¹⁾ points out, physiological needs may serve as channels for all other sorts of needs. It is possible therefore that higher order latent desires may be activated through the more manifest lower order needs. By this reasoning, a quality of life approach which seeks to assess the experience of multiple need fulfilment would appear to be appropriate even in less developed contexts.

Whilst dwelling on the feasibility of quality of life studies, one last point is perhaps pertinent. Obviously, information gathered in quality of life studies has policy implications and there is a danger that research results may be misinterpreted and misused. Sceptics might wonder if the decomposition of overall life quality into tangible social concerns, does not present an open invitation to 'whitewash' or 'window dress' poor social conditions, in the sense

1) cf. Maslow 1970 : 36.

that policy makers concentrate social programmes in politically convenient areas of concern, which have rather trivial effects for the quality of life as a whole. It is our contention, that is precisely the decomposition of the quality of life concept into higher and lower priority concerns, which does to a large degree safeguard against such a crass misinterpretation of research findings. Moreover, this quality of life model gives some indication of how and to what degree, domains, which might be the focus of action programmes, contribute to overall life satisfaction. This information may be of use in identifying which policy measures might simply have been devised to boost morale with respect of a conspicuous but lower priority life concern whilst diverting attention from more serious and higher priority issues. Furthermore, one should not overlook the fact that the very publication and dissemination of research results may effectively increase the visibility of such misuse of quality of life data were it to occur. Apart from this 'watchdog' function, published quality of life studies may make the public more aware of the efforts expended on development in their communities and of their role in participating and guiding social change.

It is hoped that these arguments may help reassure sceptics that quality of life research does not easily lend itself to misuse, and its usefulness in evaluating development by far outweighs any potential danger of misinterpretation.

1.2.1 A quality of life model.

The conceptual model of the quality of life used as a theoretical framework for this study is based on the one developed by Andrews and Withey.¹⁾ In this model, quality of life is understood as the sum of life concerns²⁾ which range from the idiosyncratic to the

1) cf. Andrews and Withey 1976.

2) Following H. Cantril (The Pattern of Human Concerns, New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965) Andrews and Withey (1976 : 11) define concerns as "aspects of life about which people have feelings". Particular aspects of life may be of lesser or greater concern to people.

collective. For the sake of convenience, a distinction between domain and criterion level concerns are made. It is, however, proposed that domains and criteria are frequently perceived in an interrelated manner. In terms of the model, a particular life domain may be perceived and evaluated in terms of a range of criteria, and conversely a single criterion may be fulfilled within several domains. Domains usually refer to spheres of life and major institutions, whilst criteria will represent societal values, needs and wants which are to be fulfilled in order to achieve social well-being. Quality of life experience is assumed to be measurable in its entirety as well as in discrete life concerns.

These notions are depicted diagrammatically in the statistical model shown in Figure 1-1, which illustrates that overall quality of life is the sum of individual life concerns shown in the cell values of the matrix. For instance, the domain 'housing' which is focus of concern in the present study, may be perceived in terms of the criteria shelter, convenience, prestige, beauty and self-fulfilment etc. The perception and evaluation of interrelated domains and criteria is indicated by cell values, but values for domains and criteria respectively can at the same time be statistically isolated along the margins of the matrix. Obviously, some of the cells may be left blank, because the criteria involved are irrelevant to the domain being evaluated.

The domain-criterion interrelationship might be seen as a means-ends relationship. In which case the model clearly illustrates that means may become ends, and ends means at a single moment of the quality of life experience. The difficulty in (and perhaps the futility of) distinguishing between means and ends in the perception of life chances is thus accurately reflected in the model. One might like to propose that the margin values initially tend to represent ends or goals of societal development or personal fulfilment. The priority ranking between margin entries might be used as an indication of which goals are central and which are only means, i.e. auxiliary or instrumental to achieving more centrally valued goals.

The value of global quality of life is decomposed into values for single life concerns:

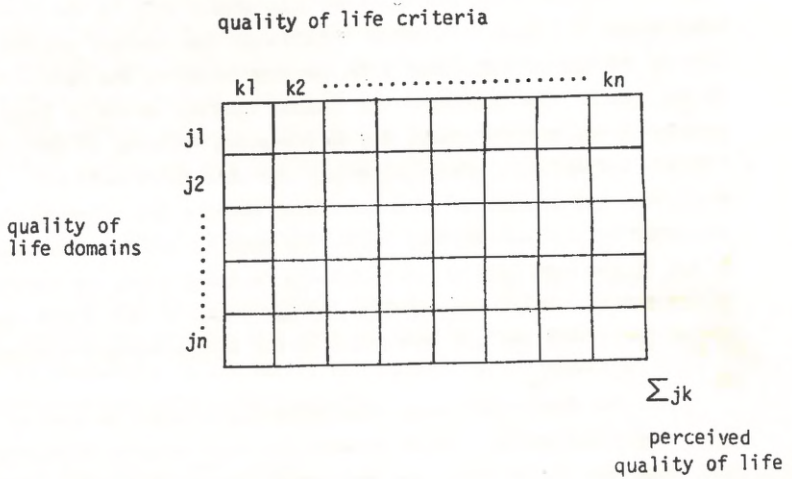


Figure 1-1 The quality of life matrix

Within the framework of this conceptual model it is thus possible to view housing as a primary development goal or basic need. On the other hand, housing can also be viewed as an end in itself. This shift in meaning is perhaps best documented in Turner's¹⁾ approach to housing as a 'vehicle for change'.

The range of domains and criteria included in the model is a matter for empirical judgement. The compilation of a short list of concerns from the universe of possible domains and criteria which is relevant to the societal unit under consideration, is indeed one of the major tasks which quality of life research seeks to accomplish.

Once a relevant set of life concerns has been compiled, the perception and evaluation of the items in the set are measured at the individual level. Estimates of overall life quality as well as quality of life in respect of single life concerns for the societal unit in question are then achieved by aggregating the scores obtained from a representative sample of individuals.

Estimates of quality of life statistics begin to approximate reality, when the priority of single life concerns are assessed. To date, quality of life research has tended to opt for the simplest solution, that of assigning equal weights to all the concerns included in the model. This solution is simple as well as technically sound.²⁾ Of course one might argue that the selection of concerns to be included in the working model itself represents a weighting procedure, in that the selected concerns are assigned weights of one, and analogously those not chosen are assigned weights of zero. In the present research, weights are calculated from the number of votes given to items on an inventory of life concerns by survey respondents.

-
- 1) cf. Turner 1968, 1970. In a developed context Rosow (1948) analyses the motives of home ownership in terms of means and ends.
 - 2) Drewnowski (1974: 20, 40) shows that this approach simplifies assumptions which must be made about the preference function of social indicators.

Time series of quality of life matrices for comparative population groups:

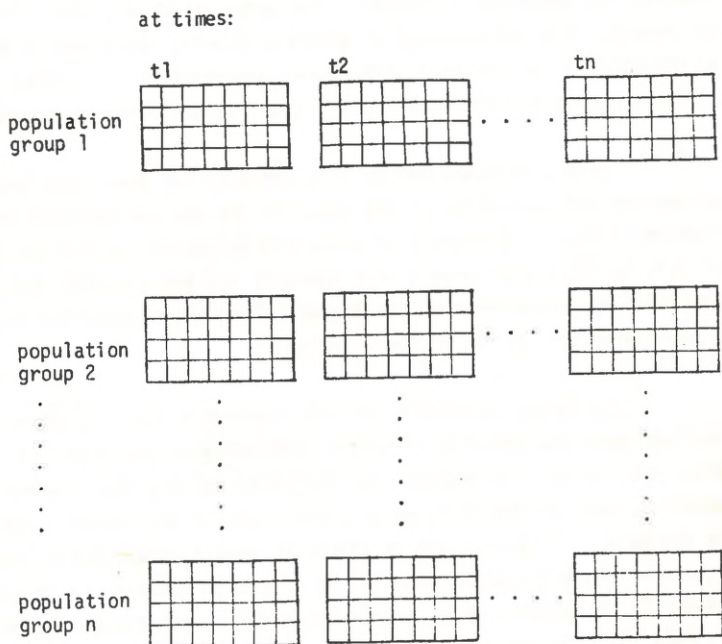


Figure 1-2 Monitoring the relative quality of life

Whilst the statistical model is useful as a possible point of departure for proposing a development strategy, it yields little by way of explanation: Why are certain concerns of particular importance to individuals and groups in society, and why is satisfaction achieved in some areas and not in others? Whilst the initial choice of domains and criteria and specific life concerns included in a working model may be largely determined by cultural or historical factors, the explanation for the distribution of satisfaction over the matrix of life concerns will have to be sought in social theory, most likely in the fields of motivation and perception. The statistical model is a descriptive model and an analytical tool but does not in itself provide explanations for what it seeks to describe.

Given the present level of sophistication of measurement techniques used in quality of life studies, quality of life indices are at present best seen in *relative* terms. The basic quality of life model introduced above can be used to depict the shift in life quality in time and across societal groups. In South Africa, the latter may be equated with the analysis of spatial distribution of differential life quality, due to the residential segregation in terms of the Group Areas Act. A series of matrices as depicted in Figure 1-2 might be produced if data pertaining to overall and decomposed life quality is collected over time. This permits a monitoring of change in life conditions as perceived by the people concerned. The survey design used in the present study introduces two control groups of white and Indian residents living in metropolitan Durban, and therefore allows for inter-group comparison. However, as the report on the relative quality of life between the different population sectors in Durban will follow in a separate publication, this topic will not be discussed here.

By comparing life quality measures within and between societal groups over time, we can observe whether trends in the socio-economic development of South African's major population groups follows a similar pattern or whether progress is achieved at differential rates. Disaggregation of summary quality of life measures allows for the identification of the factors which are chiefly responsible

for development leads and lags.

1.3 The need for an evaluation and reconceptualisation of South Africa's housing programme.

In the present quality of life study, we have chosen to focus on one particular aspect of well-being: namely on the perception and evaluation of the urban residential environment. In the wake of increasing urbanisation of blacks in South Africa, and manifestations of their growing discontent with the urban environment in its present state, it is thought that quality of life research in black townships is a worthwhile exercise. It is hoped that insight into the conceptualisation of housing among blacks will lead to a greater knowledge of and sensitivity to the residential needs and wants of the black population living in urban areas.¹⁾

It will be appreciated that this study sets itself only a modest aim; housing is *not* expected to be 'priority number one' for blacks permanently settled in town, nor is it thought that the improvement of housing conditions alone will act as a cure-all for most problems with which township people have to contend, that would be tantamount to repeating the mistake made by the physical planners in the past. Also there is no intention of presenting these quality of life findings simply for window dressing purposes. It is hoped that this study will provide some pointers for improving the residential environment for township people. However, it is felt that most environmental programmes envisaged are most likely to be adopted as a matter of expediency in order to gain time before tackling the more difficult problems which will have to be solved for blacks in the urban context. At the same time, if this study demonstrates that housing needs in part dovetail with other more important and higher

1) For technical reasons only township residents were included in the subsample of black respondents included in the present study. It is hoped that at a later stage of the research the omission of two important groups in the urban black population: migrants resident in bachelor quarters, and shack dwellers residing outside of the formally developed housing estates, can be made good.

order life concerns, then the improvement of the residential environment might contribute to real progress for blacks and may genuinely enhance their quality of life.

At present, the urban residential environment for blacks is essentially a township environment: typically depicted as row after row of monotonous 'matchbox' houses. This is the outsider's impression of the townscape in which blacks live, but does the insider view this residential setting in the same manner? This is but one of the questions this study seeks to answer.

It is highly likely that the township environment takes on a particular significance for those living there, which is not readily perceivable to outsiders and especially to housing authorities and policy makers. In more recent times, research returns have proved time and again that a discrepancy in housing values between residents and planners frequently exists¹⁾ which may significantly hamper the achievement of residential satisfaction.²⁾

1.3.1 Research into the residential quality of life as a stocktaking exercise.

South Africa figures prominently among those African countries which have a long standing tradition of providing the African workers it has attracted to its cities with low cost accommodation.

It is generally accepted that township living has become an established way of life for a large proportion of black workers and their families, sufficiently so that a stocktaking exercise is due which will assess the impact of the physical and social environment

1) Rosow 1961, Rapoport 1973, Lansing and Marans 1969, Heywood 1974 among others report on such discrepancies.

2) cf. Fried and Gleicher 1961, Hartman 1963, 1975 : 113 ff..

of South African townships on the urban black's outlook on life. It would of course be possible to evade the issue of conducting such a quality of life exercise completely, by arguing that the housing situation in South Africa is unique and therefore not comparable with elsewhere. Until recently, one might rightly have stressed the fact that South Africa was indeed in a slightly different position than other countries. Workers employed in town were completely dependent on the provision of public, sub-economic housing provided by the authorities and employers. The standard of housing provided was probably higher or at least more adapted to the urban situation than the standard to which the majority of workers had been used. It has been discovered that in extreme situations of housing deprivation, the positive effect on the social circumstances of rehoused persons has been greatest.¹⁾ Thus, one might have assumed that basic needs were being satisfied and merely the fact, that formal housing was being provided for workers as such, would obviate a quality of life exercise. However, we have argued above that such satisfactions may be short-lived and pave the way for higher order needs, a point which is underlined by the growing sophistication of blacks permanently resident in South African cities. The myth that the housing needs of the black population living in town are simple and uniform has been exploded and prompts us to review some of the housing issues which relate closely to the provision of a satisfactory habitat for blacks living in a situation of rapid change.

There is yet another aspect of the uniqueness of the housing situation for South Africa's township blacks which is of cardinal importance to this study. While South African townships may be most comparable to satellite towns in other parts of the world in terms of the *physical* environment, the housing situation for blacks in South Africa is possibly least comparable from a *symbolic* point of view. For although the afflictions imposed upon blacks living in South African cities may resemble the hardships faced by marginal urban

1) cf. Rosow 1961.

groups outside of this country, they are infused with a different *meaning* for those involved. Consider, for instance that overwhelmingly 'uniformity' was the characteristic which respondents to the present survey selected to typify the township situation most closely. It was this 'sameness' which tended to dull their residential aspirations and instil a sense of despair, or alternatively anger and frustration. However, it is important to note, that this 'sameness' was not referred to in terms of the physical environment, but in *symbolic* terms. Reference was being made to the limitations on choice in housing, and to the restrictions and the humiliations to which black township residents were subjected in the housing sphere as well as in many other spheres of their lives. Thus, Africans living in black residential areas in town, know that by definition (in the sense that one's race is defined and recorded by legislation) they are condemned to spending the rest of their lives in the 'ghetto'. Urbanisation in all its facets is a uniquely controlled process in South Africa. Township blacks in terms of the Group Areas legislation have only restricted rights to physically enter, move within, and depart from the urban areas, which are white reserves. In this sense, the very fact that a person is a resident in a black urban township means that at some time in his or her life, he or she has had to comply with the rules of the system, in order to find a niche in the urban economy. Every aspect of urban life for blacks: the world of work, the residential environment, the sphere of leisure and recreation, the sphere of education, are all subject to the legal restrictions which limit choice and social mobility. For this reason, one must expect that the needs and aspirations in all life domains are influenced by the controlled urban system.

In this respect, then, the South African housing situation is very much unique and hardly comparable with housing situations found elsewhere. It is an extreme situation of deprivation regarding residential choice. An inquiry into such a housing situation presented a formidable challenge to the ingenuity of the research team to develop the appropriate research approach¹⁾ which would enable them to see

1) cf. Magubane (1971) for a discussion of inappropriate approaches to survey research in Africa.

through the 'double think' and the myriad of coping mechanisms which township people have developed¹⁾ in order to come to terms with the situation in which they are forced to live. It was difficult to distil the underlying needs and desires from the attitudes adopted under the constraints of the system. Most aspirations were tentatively couched in terms of 'ifs', 'whens', and 'buts', which inevitably clutter the thinking of any black South African living in town, but are vital for those who opt to 'manage' in the stifling atmosphere of an unequal society. Simple questions on housing attitudes could not be formulated in a straightforward manner, neither could one expect a direct reply from the township residents interviewed. Both parties involved in the study, both the researchers and those participating in the survey, were bound by the rules of the game and caught up in the same vicious circle of the system constraints.

However, in parts of the reporting, the reader will perceive the moments in which the respondents in the study dropped all pretence of compliance to the Apartheid frame of reference and showed more spontaneous reactions to their housing situation. In our opinion, the quotes accompanying the statistical data compiled in the following chapters provides this kind of insight. Although the translations do not do justice to the nuances which can only be appreciated in the original version, they do present a range of typical reactions to living in an Apartheid ghetto.

We shall not stop to review a typology of the various reactions²⁾ which are expected from people long accustomed to living under these conditions here. They are complex and represent an intricate interplay between personal aspirations and adaptations to external reference standards, which may be adopted according to the shifting external circumstances. Quality of life researchers have expended

1) Møller's *et al.* (1978) report on life in a Durban township describes behaviour patterns adopted to cope with the basic requirements of everyday living in such a housing situation.

2) cf. Schlemmer's *et al.* (1980) discussion of typical reactions.

much effort in studying the relationships between aspiration levels and changing reference standards. Suffice it to say at this point, that the statistical data reported in the following chapters and the accompanying excerpts from interviews suggest, that blacks living in town tendentially show signs of aspiring to housing goals which transcend the rigid framework imposed upon them by the South African urban system.

When speaking of these constraints, it is perhaps useful to see the situation along the lines of Maslow's motivation theory. Maslow speaks of situations of extreme deprivation, in which one is literally obsessed with a particular need, which appears to be a *precondition* to meeting all one's other basic needs. This need tends to dominate one's thoughts, actions, and behaviours and gives rise to the development of coping mechanisms which enable a person to exist meaningfully in such a situation of deprivation. This dominant need tends to overshadow all other needs and distorts the perception of everyday objects and enters into every action and decision taken. One's overall world view is attuned to this dominant need, and capabilities which are of no service in fulfilling this need are not utilised. Most importantly, in Maslow's terms, one's potential capabilities for action, for perception and evaluation cannot follow the normal rules of prepotency or priority, until such time as this precondition is met. Thus, one must inevitably see all other needs in relation to this preconditional need. It is proposed that the political constraints which tend to reappear in all spheres of the lives of blacks permanently situated in town represent such a precondition in South Africa. The need for emancipation from the constraints of a racially controlled situation is a need which tends to overshadow all other needs of a more manifest and subjective nature and tends to colour the perception of lower and higher order needs. The tendency for blacks living in town to see symbols of oppression in all spheres of their lives may stem from the preconditions under which they are forced to formulate their needs and priorities. Thus, the results of this survey must be interpreted in terms of the present conditions of racial inequality existing in South Africa, which also affect the housing and residential aspirations of blacks living in town.

It is obvious that these constraining circumstances will dominate some of the responses to the survey and greatly influence the perception of priorities in all domains of life as well as in that of housing.

Whilst bearing in mind the fundamental difference between the South African and other housing situations regarding the effect of political constraints, one should at the same time be aware that there are certain issues at stake in all housing programmes, which would also appear to be relevant to South African housing. Areas which might lend themselves most readily to comparison are the economic and physical planning aspects of housing. Along this line of reasoning, it was thought feasible in this study to employ research techniques developed to study the problems of housing estates in other parts of the world and to adapt them to the local situation. It was also thought useful to evaluate our research data in the light of knowledge acquired in the study of satellite towns situated outside of South Africa.

We have pointed out that by world standards South Africa's housing programme certainly represents no mean achievement. On the other hand the fact that large-scale housing schemes - even the more successful ones - have recently come under attack from several sides should awaken us to the fact that any social accounting exercise in the sphere of housing would do well to consider carefully some of the problems that housing authorities face elsewhere.

The most common dilemma facing the 'housers', which has an immediate effect on residential satisfaction, is whether to emphasise quantity or quality in housing. More housing units will alleviate the housing shortage as rapidly as possible, whereas quality housing will be more durable and not need replacement at a later date, and as a consequence increase the housing stock in the long run. Thus, it is largely a question of whether long or short term investments are to be made in housing. In this issue planners are caught up in the cross fire; whilst some parties are quick to condemn the meanness of the

standard South African township housing unit, others maintain that the standard is too high for the general provision of housing.¹⁾ Yet others would argue that *standards* of construction and materials are not to be confused with *meaningful* housing, the two concepts are not necessarily comparable on a single dimension. When consulting the users on this issue, we need to know if the township dwellers of today are willing to sacrifice quality for quantity, so that their children may obtain homes of their own when the time comes for them to start their families.

In more recent years, there has been some controversy, not only about the question of standards, but also as regards the division of responsibility between the providers and occupiers of housing. For example, it has been argued that what constitutes 'decent' housing is arbitrarily determined. Likewise, it has been recognised that the ability to house oneself adequately, is rather more widespread than hitherto accepted, and such human resources should be tapped in developing countries, before housing authorities condemn people to be incapable of housing themselves. The introduction of performance rather than conventional standards and an appreciation of traditional or vernacular architecture has contributed to a new approach to Third World housing.

Obviously, this controversy has implications for housing policy. Whilst it is generally agreed that it might be worthwhile or even a basic human right to participate in the housing process, say as a self-builder, it has been pointed out that this means that the disadvantaged are merely shouldering an extra burden which they can ill afford to bear. All the while this relieves the authorities of a responsibility which some maintain is by rights theirs. Whatever

1) Maasdrorp's (1977) proposal of a housing package which includes a judicious mix of standards goes a long way in resolving this dilemma. Furthermore, as a spin-off from this housing policy, housing choice is increased for users.

the outcome of this argument, it is thought that two-way communication between housing authorities and the poorer sectors of the population in need of shelter, might go a long way in achieving a more equitable consideration of all interests concerned in the housing process.

It has frequently been recognised that living in a housing estate confers a certain amount of stigma on tenants. In most cases the sector of the population which is provided with housing, is accommodated separately from the more financially strong who have made their own housing arrangements. Even if estate housing is not physically set apart from the neighbouring residential area, it is often visually set apart by the use of less expensive materials, poorer finishes and uniform designs. As a result, housing estates are readily recognised even by outsiders.

The fact that tenants living in public housing are relieved of their housing responsibility and become dependent on a handout is part and parcel of the stigma. This implies that one is not able or willing to house oneself decently. In South Africa, the provision of housing for blacks may be considered a relic from the times when urban employers assumed a paternalistic attitude toward their workers and paid them in cash and kind. Accommodation, like food and clothing, were part of the remuneration for urban employment. It should, however, be noted that the provision of housing in itself need not necessarily be interpreted as a stigma.¹⁾ Even today, modern firms offer their employees housing subsidies and company housing, which is considered an extra perk and frequently carries prestige value rather than discrimination.

Irregardless of its origins, the stigma attached to residing in a socially discriminated residential area has far reaching

1) Jane Jacobs (1961: Chapter 17) suggests that even in the case of the poor, a housing subsidy might be provided, so that people can make their own housing arrangements and regain independence, in which case the stigma might be removed.

consequences. For example, the low morale observed in tenants living in housing estates is in part attributed to feelings of inferiority which may impair achievement motivation. The high visibility of low cost housing singles tenants out as prime targets for crime. It is thought that it is in part the lack of self confidence of housing estate tenants (which may originally stem from the stigma of residential discrimination) which makes them particularly vulnerable as victims of crime.¹⁾

The question arises if the stigma attached to public housing, which may be felt at the conscious or subconscious level by estate tenants, is not somewhat suppressed in the case of South African township dwellers. Estate housing may be considered the norm when living in town. Due to historical factors, virtually every black person permanently resident in town lives in a housing estate and the majority of this group is provided with housing. Furthermore, workers accustomed to a paternalistic employer-employee relationship or earning wages below the breadline, may expect to be accommodated as a just compensation, in which case a stigma would not be perceived. Also the stigma of physical separation may not apply in the Durban area, where those persons who provide their own housing as self-builders are not rigidly separated in physical terms. Plots which are set aside for self-builders are frequently situated adjacent to the standard housing units provided by the housing authorities.

Alternatively, one might suggest that estate housing carries rather *more* than less prestige for blacks in a tight housing market which forces many urban workers to find shelter in informal housing under far worse residential conditions and heightened visibility of deprivation. Research conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in spontaneous settlements adjacent to formal housing estates, suggests that in the local situation, the inhabitants of shack settlements on the urban periphery may suffer more from the type

1) cf. Newman 1972.

of stigma outlined above than township residents.

This brings us to another related problem in the provision of housing, which concerns the involvement of the occupier in his housing situation. The increasing alienation of persons living in mass housing has been attributed to the discrepancy between the roles of those who sponsor mass housing, the designer, the builder, and finally the occupier.¹⁾ Although the owner-occupier (who is frequently the self-builder as well) is still considered the model for white South Africans living in town, the majority of the blacks living in township houses experience a role discrepancy akin to their counterparts dwelling in public housing all over the world. The tenant in the mass housing project is thought to be alienated from the process of housing himself, in much the same way as the typical mass consumer. Mass housing is a consumer article, ready made for consumption and standardised for use by the typical consumer.

If mass housing is to be viewed as a marketable commodity, it stands to reason, that the usual marketing procedures should apply to its distribution. We would expect consumer research to be undertaken to identify prospective clients and to sound out consumer preferences, and to measure the impact of the article on people's lives.²⁾ Evaluation would lead to the development of an improved product with greater appeal and greater user satisfaction. Moreover, consumer research would ensure that the product would be adapted to the changing fashions and lifestyles, standards of expectations and spending power prevalent in the different sectors of the population. One might argue that by employing this type of approach to product development, modern ready-made articles could prove to be equal or even superior to the custom made articles of former times. Thus,

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- 1) Habraken (1972) has discussed this problem in great detail in his critical review of alternatives to mass housing.
 - 2) For example, Lughod and Foley (1970) estimate residential satisfaction from consumer behaviour in housing.

consultation in the form of market research might fill the gap between the divergent roles of supplier, producer and consumer in the modern world by organising a communication system between the agents involved in the market process. It is thought that research into mass housing might similarly resolve the alienation and frustration experienced by tenants with little say in housing matters to date and contribute toward residential satisfaction.

By and large consumer consultation as outlined above has been neglected in the mass housing process until recently. There are many reasons for this. In most countries with an extensive housing programme, housing is in tight supply, and funds spent on research into housing needs and preferences must be diverted from the actual building funds.

Consider turning this argument around. It is precisely because the housing situation in most developing countries is so tight that the consumer must be consulted. There is little opportunity for switching and swapping homes in a tight housing market (which is one form of consumer voting),¹⁾ so that the home is more appropriately considered a permanent fixture rather than a dispensable commodity. Furthermore, it is seldom realised that housing is at the best of times a rather unique consumer article, as it impinges on so many aspects of people's lives. Again, the tight housing market tends to underline this point, there is little escape from the housing unit to which one is allocated. Once one is installed in a house, one must hold onto it as best one can.²⁾ In the situation of a tight housing market, housing cannot simply be abandoned when it is no longer convenient, useful and satisfactory. Both these points apply in particular to the black South African consumers of housing. The right to live in town is closely related to their right to work in

1) cf. Lughod and Foley (1970) referred to above.

2) This type of attitude has frequently been voiced by Durban township dwellers in response to surveys conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

town, and the shortage of dwelling units restricts workers' access to the other opportunities which the city has to offer.

In the sphere of housing research, it would appear that much work has been left undone. However, the post hoc facto evaluation of housing solutions can replace prior consultation to a large extent. With Turner and Fichter¹⁾ one might remark that it is never too late to consult users, because housing is an ongoing process. Houses and even entire settlements have been continually subject to constant physical change, which have gradually adapted them to the successive needs of users. Similarly, the concept of housing may shift its meaning to the user in the course of time. Some settlement programmes actually plan for progressive development. In some cases, it is thought that consultation at successive stages of development is more beneficial than prior consultation, because residents may be in a better position to give opinions based on first hand experience in a concrete housing situation. Post hoc facto research becomes evaluation research which seeks to identify today's problems, and if possible to suggest remedies for them, whilst pointing out how such problems may hopefully be avoided in the future.

When engaging in housing research at a later stage of development, it would be futile to repeat the shortcomings of past housing research. It has been proved time and again that focus on the more concrete details of housing to the exclusion of the more subtle aspects of living, is a wasteful exercise. It is also a known fact that the designers are perfectly capable of anticipating and incorporating such details into the standard design with little trouble. Hence, this study aims to explore the *meaning of housing* to urban Africans in its widest sense.²⁾ Housing in this study will be used to denote the residential environment which includes physical and social factors which affect the lives of residents. The selected

1) Turner and Fichter (1972 : Chapter 7) refer to housing as a 'verb'.

2) cf. Watts 1972 quoted in Smedley (1979a : 10).

issues raised above merely stress how little we know about the basic conception of housing which is prevalent among blacks residing in urban centres.

In this report we shall look into the question of housing knowing full well that we are artificially isolating but one factor in people's lives.¹⁾ However, this artificial separation is made quite feasible when studying housing within a quality of life framework such as the one outlined above. The model proposes that it is useful to speak of life quality as a unified but complex entity, which at the same time can be broken down if desired into its component parts. Singling out specific aspects of the quality of life such as housing or the residential environment for particular attention presents no problems. At the same time, the model acts as a constant reminder that all such single life concerns are intricately inter-related with other aspects of life.

1) Smedley (1979a : 9) in her most thorough discussion of the implications of quality of life research writes that "... quality of life and its complexity facilitates our understanding of the fact that housing is just one component of quality of life and must be seen within that context." Smedley (1979a : 9) warns that "Problems relating to aspects of housing should not be over-emphasised at the expense of other factors affecting life quality. We should be aware of the fact that improvements in housing conditions may not *per se* lead to community satisfaction; improvements in housing conditions may, in general, assist township residents towards a higher life quality but not every resident would respond favourably to improvements of this kind and a variety of other measures, unrelated to housing, might also have to be undertaken for a significant amelioration of the life quality of the majority."

CHAPTER 2.THE SURVEY.2.1 The questionnaire and its administration.

The schedule design was based on the conceptual model of the quality of life, which was discussed in the preceding chapter. The model presumes that overall life quality can be conceived of as a single entity and at the same time be statistically decomposed into individual life concerns. The first section of the interview schedule dealt mainly with overall quality of life and the domains which presumably make up this concept, and the second section concentrated on specific topics related to housing and the residential environment. In an introductory section, which preceded the actual survey questions, an inquiry into the personal particulars and background of the respondents to the survey was made.

This basic schedule was administered to the African sample, with which we are concerned here, and an adapted and abbreviated version of the schedule was used in the comparative Indian and white surveys. Each of these ethnic groups was interviewed by members of their own race group except in the case of the Indians, who were mainly interviewed by whites. Interviewer teams consisted of male and female interviewers, but the sex of the interviewer was not matched with that of the interviewees. In order to keep the interview situation as natural and informal as possible, interviews were usually conducted in Zulu among Africans. For reasons of expediency, English was used throughout in the comparative Indian and white surveys.

The questioning techniques employed in the schedule were extremely varied: for example, respondents were required to endorse or rank items on prepared lists, complete sentences, respond to pictorial stimuli, and answer open as well as closed questions. Obviously, the completion of such a complex interview programme

required great skill on the part of the interviewer, if it were to be done properly. Interviewers were therefore selected specifically for the job and carefully trained to avoid unnecessarily introducing an interviewer effect which might bias survey results. Interviewers were briefed on how to achieve sympathetic rapport with their respondents whilst maintaining courteous reserve and appropriate detachment. Subtleties in questioning and probing were standardised as far as possible for the African survey, by translating the questions and interview instructions into Zulu. The starting point on lists of items, which were to be presented one item at a time to respondents, was randomised in order to reduce the selection based on the principles of primacy or recency, rather than on genuinely felt priority. Likewise, the order in which the items in a pictorial stimuli set were presented, was randomly switched in each interview situation. In some cases, certain questions were posed to a split sample which was always determined prior to entering the field.

All answers to open ended questions were recorded verbatim. Additional probing on the part of the interviewers which might prompt fuller answers, was recorded as such. Symbols denoting facial expressions or other spontaneous reactions on the part of the respondents were employed to punctuate responses. This notation proved invaluable for the content analysis of responses, in that the natural content units were defined by the respondents themselves rather than imposed upon the data by the analyst.

Obviously, the complexity of the questionnaire and the care with which the fieldwork was carried out, required high standards of work from fieldworkers and supervisory staff. To our disappointment, many fieldworkers in all the interviewer teams did not meet expectations or resigned from the job prematurely, so that initially turnover in the interviewer teams was high.

However, it was felt that the loss incurred in time and money spent on training field staff was more than outweighed by an adequate data return, which was ultimately achieved. The careful records kept in the field were subsequently subjected to meticulous checking by the field supervisor, who was also a member of the research team. It is felt, that the efforts on both parts contributed to the assembly of a reliable and rich data base for this study.

Despite the standardization in the administering of the questionnaire and the careful field supervision, it was observed that the interviewers remaining in the team, who had stood the test of time, retained a certain personal style when eliciting responses to open ended questions. However, it should be stressed that this difference in style elicited responses which differed in emphasis rather than in actual content. Moreover, the randomisation of the major interviewers over all the stratified groups included in the sample, helped to overcome the effect of this potential interviewer bias. In addition, it is thought that such nuances in interviewing style may actually have revealed information which might otherwise not have been uncovered.

2.2 The fieldwork.

Within each comparative sample, a quota sample was drawn. The residential area was selected as the key sampling criterion, in keeping with the focus of the study on housing and the residential environment. Respondents were selected to represent the major African, Indian and white residential areas in metropolitan Durban, which had been formally developed. Within each residential area, specific quotas pertaining to age, sex, tenure and social standing of the respondents selected within the area had to be fulfilled.

Specific target persons were determined by area of residence, residential status, position in household and a social status measure, which was estimated on the basis of educational, occupational and income designations of respondents.

Interviewers were instructed to conduct interviews with household heads or their wives, or alternatively with younger adult household members under the age of 24 years. It was assumed that the latter would very often be persons who - circumstances permitting - would like to set up home on their own in the near future. In the past, urban survey research has relied very heavily on household heads or their wives to represent the views of family groups. In the present survey, it was our aim to offer younger persons, and in particular potential 'movers', an opportunity to voice their opinions on housing issues. This procedure seemed particularly appropriate for the purpose at hand, because younger persons were invited to express housing attitudes or needs in their own rights and not as stand-ins for the household head. Of course, if young persons anticipated that they would be remaining in their present housing situation - say as dependents or lodgers, - for some time to come, they might automatically act as spokesmen or women for the present household. However, in each case the choice was their own.

In all, 58 percent of the total persons interviewed in the African survey, were not household heads. Respondents who were not household heads differed significantly from those who were, as regards age and sex. Whilst roughly 70 percent of the respondents who were household heads were males and 84 percent were 35 years of age or older, only 27 percent of the respondents who were not household heads were males and two-thirds were younger than 35 years.

The fieldwork for the African survey commenced in November 1978 and was completed in May 1979. Half of the interviews obtained in Umlazi were conducted in November 1978. After this

month, the fieldwork continued rather more slowly in Umlazi and Kwa Mashu with the hard core of the interview staff. The interviews obtained in Lamontville were all conducted during May 1979. In all, a total of 201 interviews were completed: 90 in Umlazi, 80 in Kwa Mashu and 31 in Lamontville Townships. One man and one woman conducted three-quarters of the total number of interviews, whilst 5 further interviewers assisted with the remainder in the first few months of the fieldwork. The interviews were usually completed in a number of sessions and the total time spent on each interview ranged from several hours to three-quarters of a day. It was found, that by interrupting the interview at suitable points in the schedule, and continuing at a later date, interviewers managed to retain the active attention and interest of the respondents. The interviewers must be commended on their ability to encourage respondents to persevere with the task of answering our many questions.

Completed schedules were immediately submitted to the research office, where they were edited and checked for quality and reliability. Return visits to target persons were made on a random basis to ensure that the data was correctly obtained. After the fieldwork was successfully finished, responses to both closed and open-ended questions were coded and transferred to punch cards. The data was then processed on the University of Natal computer.

2.3 The survey areas.

For those readers who are not familiar with the residential areas in which the African sample was drawn, a map is included in Figure 2-1. Umlazi and Kwa Mashu are the two major black suburbs in the metropolitan Durban area and flank the city on its southern and northern boundaries at a distance of approximately 30 kilometres. At the time of the survey, both these townships were part of the Kwa Zulu homelands and were administered by the Kwa Zulu Government. Both these townships house official populations of over 150 000 persons. A commuter train and bus service link these townships to the city.

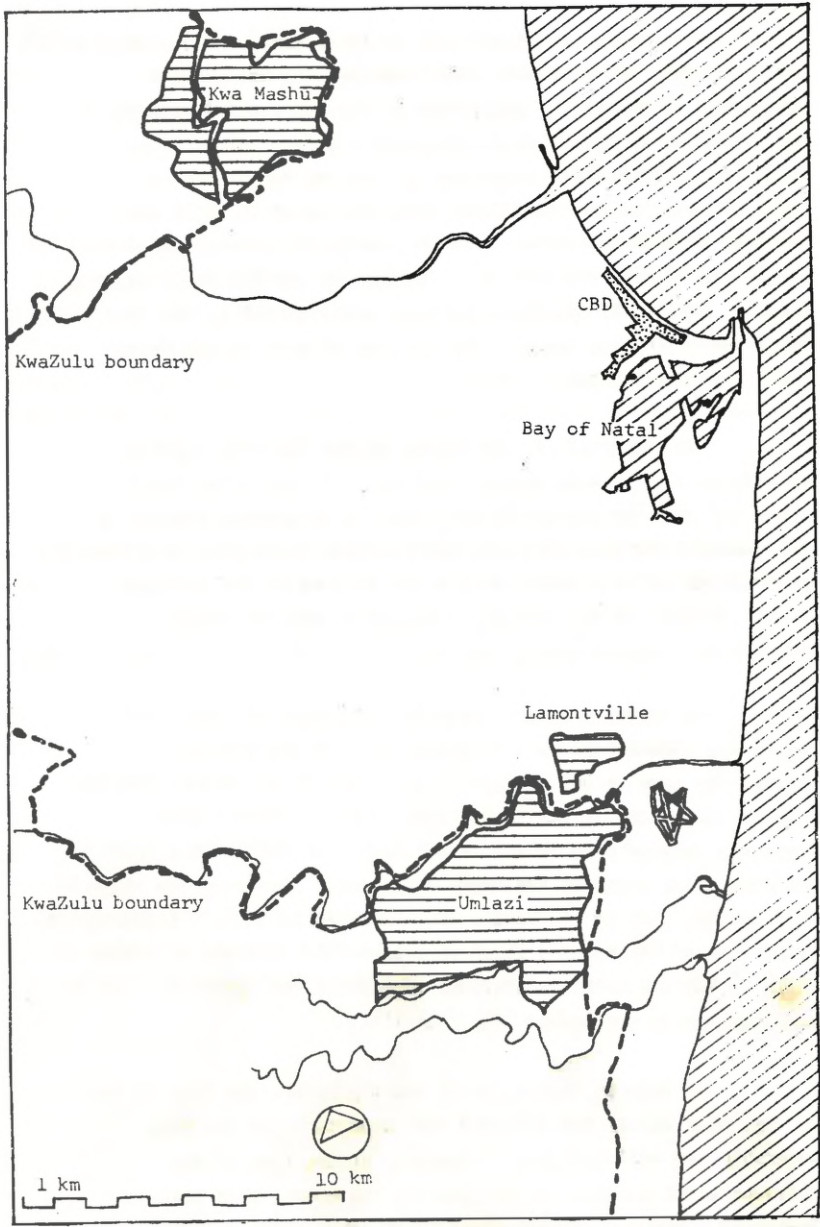


Figure 2-1 Map of the Durban Area showing the location of the three study townships

Kwa Mashu was established in 1957, mainly to accommodate those Africans who were relocated from the Cato Manor shack settlement in Durban. Today, some of Kwa Mashu still retains the character of the original emergency housing scheme. For instance, a substantial proportion of the Kwa Mashu housing stock consists of the two-roomed core housing units which have not been extended to date. Dual occupancy and outside ablution blocks are some of the pertinent features of the Kwa Mashu housing scene. Until 1977 Kwa Mashu had been administered by the Port Natal Administration Board. At the time of writing Kwa Mashu housed 160 000 persons.

In comparison to Kwa Mashu, Umlazi Township might be considered a relatively modern creation. It was established after 1961 and the typical Umlazi house is an updated version of the standard township unit and features four rooms with an internal bathroom tucked in between the kitchen and one of the bedrooms. Umlazi is still in the process of expansion and its design population is approximately 300 000.

By contrast to the 'mammoth' townships of Umlazi and Kwa Mashu, Lamontville is lilliputian in size and provides shelter for some 24 000 persons. It is one of the oldest housing schemes for blacks in the Durban area, and is somewhat more centrally located than Umlazi or Kwa Mashu but within easy reach of the industrial areas to the South of Durban. Construction began in 1936 and the bulk of the houses was completed in 1958. A substantial proportion of the housing stock in Lamontville consists of blocks of flats. Running water is provided throughout the township. It is administered by the Durban City Council.

As regards tenure, until shortly before the time of the survey, only Umlazi had afforded real opportunities for home ownership and self-builders. However, at the time of the fieldwork, the question of introducing the ninety-nine year leasehold scheme in various other black urban areas in the

country, was a hotly debated issue. In retrospect, it is thought that this scheme was widely misunderstood, mainly because the ninety-nine year clause created misgivings for many blacks. Towards the end of the survey period, Umlazi tenants were being given the opportunity to buy their houses at reduced prices valid for the first half of 1979, after which time the prices were to be approximately doubled. Many of the survey respondents expressed indecision about accepting this offer which was to be extended to them. During the same period rentals, water and electricity rates were substantially increased which justifiably caused alarm and feelings of insecurity among township blacks, who at the time of the survey had already been hard hit by rising costs of living, inflation and unemployment.

These sketchy comments are intended only to give a rough idea of the urban situation which sets the background to the survey. The description of the actual people who participated in the survey which follows in Chapter 3 should help to fill in some of the gaps in the above notes.

CHAPTER 3.

THE SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS.

The distribution of the African sample on selected background variables is given in the Appendix to this report and for convenience sake, the main characteristics are outlined briefly below.

One of the major advantages of using a quota sample for the survey, is that it allowed us to successfully control major socio-economic differences between the three townships in which respondents were interviewed. In some instances, however, the present and past housing situation differed significantly between township subsamples. As this may have exercised an influence on the housing needs and aspirations indicated by residents of a particular township in the sample, such differences will be mentioned in passing.

3.1 The households.

The mean number of persons residing in sample households was 7 persons, but household sizes ranged between 4,5 and 9,5 persons in the majority of cases. Twelve percent of sample households did not include dependent children. In sample households which did so, the mean number of children was 3. The ratio of dependents to earners in the sample households was calculated to be a median of 2,6 dependents per wage earner. The majority of sample households (42%) consisted of the simple nuclear family, and in a further 17 percent of cases, relatives of the nuclear family lived under the same roof. One-fourth of the sample households comprised of several generations living together, predominantly children with children of their own. It was observed that unrelated persons, such as lodgers, co-resided with sample families in less than 5 percent of cases. Fragmented nuclear families, e.g. single parent families, accounted for less than ten percent of the household types represented in the sample.

3.2 The respondents.

The sample included respondents over 18 years of age, who were evenly distributed over all the age groups included in the survey, the mean age being 36 years. Forty-five percent of the survey respondents were male, 55 percent female. Sixty percent of the respondents were married, 30 percent single and 7 percent widowed, the overwhelming majority in the last category were women. With some few exceptions all respondents were Zulu speakers. Over 60 percent of the respondents professed to belong to a Christian denomination, while just under one-third were members of an African independent church. The proportion of African independent church members was significantly higher among Kwa Mashu respondents.

3.3 Socio-economic status.

Approximately 70 percent of the sample respondents were classified as representatives of the 'lower class' by the interviewer team, the remaining 30 percent as representatives of the 'middle class'. A multivariate analysis of the background data collected from the survey respondents confirmed that this classification was by and large accurate, in that class correlated significantly with indicators of the respondents' socio-economic position as well as with indicators of the social position of the household to which he or she belonged.

Monthly earnings of the respondents ranged from nil to 300 Rand per month and half of the respondents earned less than R110 per month. However, it should be noted that one-quarter of the sample respondents were under 24 years of age and one-fifth were not employed at the time of the survey, which might have accounted for the relatively low median income. Unfortunately, interviewers tended to select temporarily unemployed persons to interview in the first phase of the fieldwork, which took place in Umlazi Township. This error was subsequently avoided during the remainder of the fieldwork, but as a result of the initial error, the proportion of unemployed respondents is exaggerated in the Umlazi subsample.

The modal category of respondents who were earners indicated

that they brought home R101 to R200 per month. The majority of respondents were employed in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Educational standards achieved by respondents ranged from no education to university level education, the modal category was Standard 6 and Standard 7.

The median income of the household heads was R150 per month, and roughly equal proportions were employed in skilled or superior, and semi-skilled or unskilled jobs respectively. The median household income was just over R250.

3.4 Present housing circumstances.

The respondents in the survey proved to be relatively stable members of the urban community. In the Kwa Mashu and Lamontville subsamples, over 70 percent of the respondents had lived in their present accommodation for over 10 years. In the Umlazi subsample, only some 48 percent had lived at their present address for over 10 years. This difference is statistically significant. Over 90 percent of the survey respondents had stayed in Durban for over 10 years and between 80 and 90 percent had never lived in another city.

There were noteworthy differences in the housing situation of the three township groups. The proportion of homeowners varied from 35 percent in Umlazi to 23 and 7 percent in Kwa Mashu and Lamontville respectively. The majority of respondents lived in detached or semi-detached houses, but significantly higher proportions lived in detached houses in Umlazi (ca 87%) and Kwa Mashu (ca 60%) than in Lamontville (ca 21%). A substantial proportion of the Lamontville subsample dwelt in flats or maisonettes. In the Kwa Mashu subsample, some 14 percent reported that their family occupied only a section of the house in which they dwelt, usually one or two rooms.

In the vast majority of cases, houses were built of bricks, in some few cases of concrete blocks. Interviewers were required to give a rough estimate of how well the dwellings in which the respondents lived, were looked after. The state of maintenance was considered 'excellent'

in 26 percent, 'average' in 56 percent and 'neglected' in 16 percent of cases. It is interesting to note that an 'excellent' rating was more often awarded to households in which women were interviewed. This may have reflected a bias on the part of the judges. On the other hand, it is also possible that female respondents were more likely to be house proud than men and may have attempted to make their homes look as presentable as possible before the interviewer arrived!

Access to residential space varied significantly by township group. The majority of all respondents lived in three rooms (excluding the kitchen), which corresponds to the standard 51/6 or 51/9 type housing unit. However, just under one-fourth of the Kwa Mashu respondents occupied only one room, and 13 percent of the Lamontville respondents occupied only two rooms. Only some 4 percent of the respondents reported that there was a garage on the property where they resided. By contrast, approximately one-quarter of the respondents stated that they had access to a car which was used in the household, and in most cases they were referring to their own car. Significantly fewer Kwa Mashu respondents had no access to a car.

3.5 Past housing experience.

Assuming that residential history and experience might influence people's housing attitudes and needs, a number of indicators were included in the background data which measured exposure to differential housing experiences. The majority of the respondents indicated that they had moved to their present dwelling from an address in the same township (33%) or another township (30%). One-fifth had previously dwelt in a shack area and a further 10 percent had come directly from peri-urban or rural areas to their present home. However, residential histories tended to differ significantly among the township groups. Roughly three times more Kwa Mashu than other respondents came from shack areas, predominantly from Cato Manor.¹⁾ Umlazi respondents

1) cf. Maasdorp and Humphreys (1975) for the residential history of Kwa Mashu.

tended to indicate an urban address as their former place of residence, whereas fair proportions of Lamontville respondents said they had moved from hostels or the rural areas to their present residence. Obviously, the location at which persons had previously resided was determinant of the type of dwelling in which they had lived whilst staying there. Accommodation at the former residence ranged from detached and semi-detached housing units to shacks and huts. At their former residence, Umlazi respondents were most likely to have been accommodated in a detached house, whilst Kwa Mashu respondents were most likely to have been housed in a shack. Moreover, it was assumed that respondents, who had at one time or other during their working careers been employed as gardeners or domestic workers, would have gained some insight into urban or suburban living in those residential areas where they had worked. Almost one-quarter of the sample respondents had been employed as domestic workers or gardeners, and women and older persons were significantly over-represented in this group.

3.6 Rural ties.

It is a well-established fact that urban Africans all over the continent maintain various links with the countryside. The members of the sample under study were no exception in this respect.

Some 58 percent of the respondents stated that they had been born in the rural areas. A full one-third of the respondents were born in town and a further 8 percent in the peri-urban areas. Whereas 50 percent of the younger respondents were urban born, a significantly higher proportion of the older respondents originated from the more remote rural areas.

Just over one-half of the respondents claimed that they or their relatives had use of land in the country, but in half of such cases, the size of this land did not exceed 2 hectares according to the respondents' estimates. Approximately one-quarter of the respondents owned cattle. The median number of cattle owned in such cases was 5 to 10 head.

Just over one-quarter of the respondents reported that they visited the rural areas regularly or several times per annum. On the other hand, 41 percent stated that they did not go to the country for holidays at all. Thirty-five percent of the respondents paid allegiance to a Chief and 40 percent sent remittances to the country. In the majority of cases remittances were intended for adult relatives, but a substantial proportion named their Chief as recipient of the money sent to the rural areas. Although the absolute numbers were small, Lamontville respondents more often had access to rural land than other respondents and were more likely to send money to family members than to a Chief. This finding is consistent with the residential history of the Lamontville respondents.

When asked where they would like to live after retirement, half of the sample chose to retire in an urban township, usually in the township in which they were living at present. One-quarter of the respondents opted for a rural place of retirement and one-fifth was undecided.

These proportions varied significantly for the three township groups: Higher proportions of the Kwa Mashu and Lamontville respondents were undecided and a higher proportion of the Umlazi respondents was urban-oriented in respect of retirement wishes.

3.7 'Class' differences in the sample.

As mentioned earlier the township groups were statistically comparable as regards age and sex composition and the socio-economic status of the respondents. With some few exceptions, (significantly higher proportions of the younger than the older respondents had received more formal education, were unemployed and single; significantly higher proportions of male than female respondents earned relatively higher wages), the overall balance between age and sex on the one hand and socio-economic and residential background was comparable as well. However, 'class differences' appeared to be genuine and showed up in the multivariate analysis of the background data. For ease of reference statistically significant findings have been summarised in the following profile of the 'lower class' group which constituted the dominant

subgroup in the sample.

Comparative to the 'middle class' group in the sample, the 'lower class' respondents tended to be younger, were more often unemployed or in lower prestige occupations, and usually had lower educational qualifications. They tended to come from larger households which included persons outside the nuclear family or were multi-generational in character. The head of household's income and the total household income were more often relatively low and the head was more likely to hold a lower prestige job. Lower class respondents were more often members of an African independent church. Residential stability in the present dwelling was more often higher among lower class households, but the standard of maintenance of the house was more often estimated to be 'average' or 'neglected'. Lower class households were more often underprivileged as regards dwelling space, and less likely to have a garage or the use of a car. Higher proportions of lower class respondents were living in rented rather than owned accommodation, and had moved from shack and non-family housing to their present address. Higher proportions of the lower class respondents had had experience of domestic work.

To sum up this section on the sample characteristics, it is assumed that the quota sample drawn for the survey, represents a fairly typical cross-section of Durban township people. The advantage of using this type of sample is clearly shown by the fact that the three township groups included in the sample differ substantially with respect to their present and past housing situation, but only in some few instances with respect to demographic characteristics. On the other hand, by specifying the class structure of the sample a priori, a wide range of class-related background factors are available which enable us to assess whether urban Africans in differential social circumstances perceive the quality of life in the housing domain from different viewpoints.

CHAPTER 4.THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF HOUSING AND RESIDENTIAL CONCERNS
IN THE LIVES OF URBAN AFRICANS - A QUALITY OF LIFE EXERCISE.4.1 The quality of life catalogue.

Before commencing with the report on the special inquiry into housing issues, it might be appropriate to first attempt an approximation of the importance value of housing concerns in the lives of urban Africans. Bearing our introductory remarks in mind, we shall assume from the outset, that ranking life concerns is a difficult and delicate operation. In our experience, even producing a sufficiently exhaustive list of life concerns from which respondents were to select the items they considered most important, proved to be a tedious exercise.

For the present inquiry, issues of importance were initially gleaned from previous studies conducted by the Centre and other research institutes, which had focussed on needs and problems in African communities.¹⁾ Concerns which were hypothetically thought to be particularly important to such communities by the research team were also included in the list. Because the focus of inquiry in the second section of the interview was devoted to housing and residential issues, concerns referring to such issues were purposefully over-represented in the list. We reasoned that the decomposition of housing issues was justified for the purposes of the present study, because if housing did figure as a complex issue in the lives of Africans residing in town, it was highly probable that specific aspects of housing might be particularly salient to well-being, while other aspects might not be. By indiscriminately

1) In this study the concept of 'community' is chiefly used in a very loose sense to denote the social bonding which may occur between people who have much in common in day to day living. It should be noted, that reference is made mainly to the sharing of a life style, - which may of course be greatly influenced by residential segregation - rather than to the sharing of common residential boundaries.

grouping all these aspects together under the general heading of housing, we would force our respondents to generalise on this issue and stand to lose a great deal of information. Arguing along similar lines, it was thought wise to allot several items to other such multi-faceted areas of life, e.g. the work situation.

Having assembled a host of items, which we hoped represented a fair range of life concerns, the items selected were phrased so that they would read in a neutral manner. Any items which were likely to be relevant only to specific groups e.g. men or younger persons only, were discarded. Items referring to similar topics were randomly placed throughout the catalogue. In a series of informal preliminary conversations with a panel of urban-based Africans, the items selected for inclusion in the list were tested for relevance and the catalogue was again revised. Eventually a catalogue of some 148 items was drawn up. Obviously, this catalogue could only represent an arbitrary checklist of concerns which were supposedly prominent in the lives of Africans living in town.

Our first task then, was to test the *relevance* of the catalogue items for township blacks. One might say, that our most general hypothesis read, that at least some of the items included in our catalogue would be considered extremely important by the sample respondents, who for purposes of the study acted as spokesmen and women for the African township community in general. Of course, more specific hypotheses might have been formulated. For instance, we might have predicted the strength of the concerns with which priority ranking of items was determined. We might even have gone on to propose a hypothetical rank order of importance of the items.

However, we intended to let the respondents determine the rank order of importance of concerns in their lives at this stage of the research project. This posed some technical problems which we solved in the following manner: after having established rapport and gone through some introductory questioning, to which we shall return shortly, interviewers were instructed to read out all 148 items from

the test catalogue one by one, starting with a particular item which had been randomly selected prior to the interview. Respondents were required to listen carefully to each item and to immediately state if they felt that the item in question was very important in their lives. After having worked through the catalogue once in this fashion, respondents were then requested to pick the 30 most important items from among those previously selected by them on the first round. To this purpose, the interviewer reread the previously selected items one by one and the respondent again endorsed the very important ones among them. By proceeding through the list several times in this manner, less important items were gradually eliminated until a maximum of 30 important items remained.

By tallying the times an item was rated as very important, i.e. figured among the final thirty items selected by the individual respondents to the survey, we arrived at an approximation of the aggregate rank importance of various concerns in the lives of the urban Africans interviewed. As a fuller discussion of the priority rankings resulting from the survey will be available in other publications put out by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences,¹⁾ we shall be mainly concerned with the *relative* importance of housing concerns, comparative to other prominent issues in the day to day lives of urban Africans.

Table 4.1 gives the approximate rank order of items which are chief concerns among urban Africans as judged by the respondents to the survey. For easy reference, items referring to housing issues have been underlined. Numerically speaking, we can state that 9 to 10 housing issues figure among the 34 items selected to be very important by at least thirty percent of the sample.

1) cf. also Schlemmer et al. (1980).

Table 4.1.

Life concerns selected by survey respondents from a prepared catalogue in approximate order of importance.

	Percentage of respondents listing item among 30 most important
Plentiful good food	65
Well paid job	65
Adequate provision for children	61
<u>Residential security</u>	59
Respectful children	58
Good education for self	58
Happy, peaceful family life	57
<u>Home ownership in town</u>	57
Good education for children	50
Sufficient money	50
Reasonably priced food	49
Family living together	49
<u>Healthy family</u>	48
Reasonable rent	48
<u>Adequate dwelling space</u>	48
Fair wages	45
Provision for family in case of illness or death	45
<u>More housing available</u>	43
Person to love you	41
Running water in home	41
Strong and solidly built house	39
Belief in God	39
<u>Better roads in residential areas</u>	39
Good health for self	38
Adequate supervision for children	38
Good old age pension	37
<u>Privacy in the home</u>	37
Controlled and obedient children	35
Safe marriage	34
Progress at work	32
Being a good parent	31
Ability to achieve goals	31
Children to provide old age security	30
<u>Conveniently accessible facilities and services</u>	30

Given that housing issues accounted for some 27 percent or 40 items of the total 148 items in the catalogue, and 32 percent of the housing items figured among the top priority concerns, we can say that housing issues were similarly represented in the top as in the lower ranks of the priority list. Of course, it would be too hasty to conclude that housing issues are relatively crucial issues among urban Africans on the basis of such a simple numbers game without carefully considering also the content of the items listed as top priorities by the survey sample. As mentioned earlier, the fact that issues were decomposed into several items, introduced a bias in emphasis, which is obviously overlooked when items are simply tallied.

Looking at the content of the top priority items endorsed by 50 percent of the sample or more, we find that at least one aspect of housing, something which might be described as 'residential security', figured among the major concerns. 'Knowing that one won't be told to move from one's dwelling', and 'owning a house in town' were the two items which were subsumed under this 'residential security' heading. Similarly, non-housing issues in the top priority rubric referred to basic necessities in life, but also to central values in the urban African community. Essentials included food and shelter, a well paying job or simply the means to provide for minimal needs. Life ideally centred around the family and in particular around the children, who must be provided for, well educated and brought up to be respectful. It is important to note that education figured twice among the top ten items as 'good education for self' as well as 'for children'. In all, 74 percent of the respondents voted for at least one of the education items.

Apart from residential security, what other aspects of housing were key concerns for at least one-third of the sample? The central value of familism was endorsed by just under one half of the sample, when they agreed that it was very important that the family should be given the opportunity to live together. The call for the provision of more housing for urban Africans might be seen as a logical

consequence of the desire to be housed on a family basis. Adequate dwelling space and privacy in the home were also ranked as top priorities. The economic aspect of housing was seen an important basic concern: rents should be reasonable according to the survey respondents. A strong and solidly built house is required in return for the monthly rental payments. It is important to note, that comfort in the home was considered foremost in terms of space, and convenience in the home was most probably of a lesser priority than spaciousness. A consensus of over 40 percent was achieved for only a very modest claim to domestic convenience: running water in the home was considered an essential modern convenience.

4.2 A spontaneously produced list of life concerns.

Although the results tabulated in Table 4.1 were obtained in a carefully administered test which was aimed at eliminating any errors in selection, one might still justifiably have some reservations about the authenticity of the choice. For instance, sceptical readers will point out that the very fact that the initial range of choice was limited and presented as a fait accompli to the panel of interviewees, constituted the greatest bias of all. One might wonder what the priority list of life concerns would have looked like, if respondents had been free to devise their own lists of concerns instead of being forced to choose from a prepared catalogue.

The research team was equally concerned with such questions, and decided to compare the range of concerns produced by the survey respondents themselves to the one the team had proposed in advance. Before the team could impose their preconceived ideas on the survey respondents, it was agreed that they should be given an opportunity to spontaneously establish a list of life concerns, which was to have particular relevance to their life situation. Essentially, the research team endeavoured to allow each respondent to repeat individually the brainstorming phase the research team had experienced. Two cues were given to survey respondents to elicit

the desired mentions of key life concerns. Firstly, after the fieldworker had established sufficient rapport with the interviewees at the beginning of the interview sessions, each respondent was invited to outline the particularly happy and unhappy events in his or her life which had taken place in the month prior to the interview. Secondly, interviewees were later urged to think about their daily lives and to name those parts which concerned them most. Only after these two questions had been answered, were respondents confronted with the established catalogue of 148 life concerns.

To the relief of the research team, the results obtained from the spontaneous and prompted methods of ranking life concerns were strikingly similar. Table 4.2 gives an overview of the major issues mentioned in response to the recall of 'happy and unhappy events' and 'parts of life'. Similar to the results emerging from the catalogue ratings, spontaneously mentioned key life concerns included predominantly the basic needs in life, and again we observe that housing figured prominently among such concerns as material well-being, family, work, health and education. Just under 40 percent of the respondents spontaneously mentioned housing concerns in response to one or all of the introductory questions.

Based on the comparability of the results produced by both exercises, the conclusion is drawn that the catalogue method produces valid results. Moreover, it has several advantages, in that it lends itself better to quantification and detailing. Having set our minds at rest as regards the validity of the approach selected for inquiring into life concerns, let us return to some of the detailed results which emerged from the catalogue method.

Table 4.2.

Free mention of life concerns by survey respondents in response to three questions on quality of life experience.*

Category of life concern	Percentage respondents mentioning category in response to one or more of quality of life questions*
Material well-being	70
Family	57
Employment, work	46
Health of family and self	44
Housing	39
Education	29
Interpersonal relationships	14
Self	14
Leisure, recreation	10
Crime	9
Religion	8
Mores	7
Legal, administrative concerns, discrimination	7
National, world events	2

* The three questions were:

- 2a) Think back now on your daily life over the past few months or so. Would you tell me of the things which have happened to you which have made you feel very happy?
- 2b) Now tell me of the things which have happened to you in the past few months which have made you feel very unhappy or disappointed?
- 3) Thinking about your daily life - your life as a whole - everything that makes up your life. What parts are most important to you - the parts that concern you most? You should think of good parts and bad parts. What are the parts of your life that concern you most?

4.3 Relative priorities within the catalogue of housing concerns.

Having briefly discussed the importance of housing issues relative to other major life concerns, we might go on to consider the relative importance of various items which are subsumed under the housing label in the catalogue of items. Again, relative priorities are determined by the aggregated results of the elimination exercise in which the survey respondents participated. An attempt was made to distinguish between items of top, medium and lesser priority housing items by evaluating the percentage votes attracted by the item in the first and final rounds of selection. It will be noted that 'housing' was defined rather loosely to include the social and physical environment in which people lived. In particular, those items in which, for example, specific reference was made to 'the area in which you live' were considered as housing items. However, one must be aware that some anomalies occurred in the screening process. In some cases, activities and services which are frequently engaged in or made use of in residential areas were omitted, whilst others were included. For example, items referring to crime and police protection were included, because these items were consistently referred to in a residential setting, whilst items referring to transport and schools did not figure, because they were referred to in more general institutional terms. Similarly, furnishings and amenities in the home such as water and electricity, were included in the list, whilst radio and television, which were referred to more in terms of accessibility and material possessions, than in terms of household appliances, were excluded. For the sake of convenience a division between issues referring to 'housing' and 'general residential environment' is made on Table 4.3.

Table 4.3.

Life concerns referring to housing and residential environment issues selected by survey respondents from a prepared catalogue in approximate order of importance.

Top priority concerns:

Housing:	Percentage respondents selecting item in.		Residential environment:	Percentage respondents selecting item in.	
	first round	final round		first round	final round
Residential security	95	59	Better roads	93	39
Home ownership in town	83	57	Convenient access (from dwelling to facilities and services	90	30
Family living together	88	49			
Reasonable rent	89	48			
Adequate dwelling space	93	48			
More housing available	90	43			
Running water in home	94	41			
Strong and solidly built house	95	39			
Privacy in the home	86	37			

Medium priority concerns:

Ability to obtain better home	87	17	Police protection	94	28
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Continued/

Table 4.3. Continued.

Medium priority concerns: Continued.

Housing:	Percentage Respondents selecting item in		Residential environment:	Percentage respondents selecting item in	
	first round	final round		first round	final round
Additions, alterations to home	85	11	Physical security	90	10
Urban self-builder house	77	26	Safe streets	89	14
Electricity in the home	69	19	Good administration	89	20
Beautiful, smart house	84	14	Good community leadership	88	16
No police raids	76	17	No tsotsis	88	19
Smart furniture	82	10	Neat, tidy clean appearance of residential area	88	7
Beautiful things in the home	87	3	No drunkards	79	10
Beautiful garden	79	10			
Finish in the home	77	9			
Residential choice	75	8			
Space between houses	74	6			

Continued/

Table 4.3. Continued.

Lower priority concerns:

Housing:	Percentage respondents selecting item in		Residential environment:	Percentage respondents selecting item in	
	first round	final round		first round	final round
Country self-builder house	60	17	Familiar neighbours	73	3
Country home ownership	59	14	Pretty houses, and nice trees	70	4
Large garden	66	5	Parks	60	5
Prestigious house	67	1	Participation in community affairs	62	3
			Stimulating residential environment	56	3
			Relatives living close together	50	6

Top priority housing items included all those endorsed by at least 30 percent of the respondents in the final round. As regards general life priorities one might say that these aspects in housing were on par with basic physical and spiritual needs in life including food, financial means of support, employment, shelter, education, health, a good family life, old age provision, religious beliefs and sense of progress and achievement. The top priority housing items were outlined above and represent the following basic premises on which a housing policy might be founded: firstly, residential security, which in the present study subsumes home ownership and family housing, is a prerequisite. Basic housing, according to the survey findings, would include minimum standards as regards spaciousness

(inclusive privacy), quality, and amenities (running water) in return for what are considered reasonable rents. Furthermore housing should be made available for all.

On the opposite side of the schema set out in Table 4.3, we find that only some few environmental priorities figure among the key concerns. Roads and convenient access to facilities and services were considered very important by between 30 and 40 percent of the sample. Of course, one might argue, that the last item is in fact an 'umbrella' concern which might include any number of residential facilities and services. This argument might explain why so few other environmental items qualified for equally high priority ranks.

It would appear, that the housing items assigned medium priority by respondents, tended to build onto the basic residential security which preceded in priority. The priority ranking indicated by the survey respondents suggested that once residential security were achieved, additional improvements and choice in housing, opportunity for self expression and social differentiation in housing in turn would become individual goals in housing. Such medium priority concerns included the ability to obtain a better house of one's choice, the desire to eliminate intrusion into one's home, the opportunity to add onto or alter one's home, to beautify, electrify, finish and furnish it and to plant a beautiful garden. It should further be noted that 'home ownership' was considered a higher priority than 'self-builder' housing. Although the desire for electricity in the home was possibly not as widespread as one might expect, it was an intensely felt need for approximately one-fifth of the sample, which included predominantly 'middle class' people living in detached houses.

Medium priority residential environment items referred mainly to an orderly neighbourhood. The need for physical safety was endorsed in a number of items and figured most prominently among residential priorities. Good administration and community

Leadership were considered essential by fairly large sample proportions. Although many respondents would appreciate a residential neighbourhood which was neat, tidy and clean, only some 7 percent considered it a top priority.

It is perhaps significant that it was very difficult to decide which items should be included in the group of lower priority housing items. Using an arbitrary numerical measure as guideline, approximately two-thirds of the sample or less selected the items referring to a prestigious house and a large garden, and a country house as important. However, we again found that although a country house was possibly a less popular priority among Africans living in town, it was of considerable importance to a substantial proportion of the sample. Furthermore, the priority rating was increased when we combined the two items pertaining to a house in the country. Some 22 percent of those rating the two items (N=199), considered a home ownership or a self built house in the country of foremost importance.

Lower priority residential environment items included such niceties as parks, the pleasant appearance of the residential area, its stimulating atmosphere and familiar neighbours. However, the lower priority rating of some of these items cannot simply be accepted at face value. It is possible that the importance of parks and the appearance of the streets in the residential neighbourhood was underrated in the quality of life exercise, because appearances had been endorsed elsewhere in connection with one's own home or garden, and with the neat and tidy neighbourhood. Similarly, the social environment in the residential area was important to almost three-quarters of the sample on the first round, but its priority ranking was over-ruled by other items in the final instance. It is interesting to note that whilst it was thought a top priority for the family to live together, only half of the sample considered it very important for other relatives to live under the same roof in the first selection round. We also observe, that whilst respondents regarded good leadership in the community as a medium priority, they

did not necessarily wish to participate in community affairs themselves.

To sum up the findings so far, we might conclude that our working hypothesis is acceptable. Some of the items in the catalogue of life concerns prepared by the research team with township Africans in mind, were considered substantially more important than others, when tested in a survey conducted with township residents. Singling out the domain of housing as a case in point, it was demonstrated that housing items could be ranked in hierarchical fashion from positions of major to minor importance, and the resulting order could be meaningfully interpreted. Furthermore, it could be shown that housing concerns figured relatively prominently among the key life concerns with which Durban Africans are preoccupied. A control test was undertaken by using an alternative method of establishing differential importance of life concerns. The control method produced results which were considered comparable to the ones achieved with the 'catalogue' method and it was concluded that this approach was sufficiently reliable for the purpose at hand.

The point was made in this chapter that some issues in housing are of considerable importance to the Africans included in our study and therefore merit our attention. We shall therefore forego a more detailed discussion of the overall importance rating of the other life concerns in the catalogue and concentrate on the domain of housing and the residential environment, and inquire in greater depth 'how township Africans want to live'.¹⁾

1) '*How do you want to live?*' (Great Britain, Department of the Environment 1972) was the title given to a report on the human habitat compiled by a special commission which undertook a study of public opinion on how people wished to live in Great Britain.

CHAPTER 5.FEELINGS OF BELONGING AND THE TOWNSHIP 'HOME'.

Before probing into the perception and evaluation of the housing situation in Durban townships, it was thought essential to know to what extent respondents felt committed to town and considered the city as 'home'. It was assumed that people perceiving town as 'home' would most likely view their urban environment in a different light than those who lacked affective ties to the townships in which they lived.

In this respect a sense of belonging was considered an extraneous factor which might, for example, influence the manner in which people interpreted their urban environment, the values they attached to their housing situation, the time and effort they were prepared to take in order to personalise their homes and yards, to cultivate social relationships with neighbours or to participate in community activities.

Measuring people's sense of belonging is of course an exceptionally difficult task and no attempt was made in this study to elicit but a very straightforward response from survey respondents on this question, and responses were accepted at face value. The main aim in this exercise was to obtain an additional discriminating variable, which would assist in the interpretation of the survey findings, whilst affording some insight into the frame of reference within which township blacks react to environmental cues.

For this purpose, the survey respondents were asked about the place they thought of as home and the place to which they felt they belonged. All interviewees were given an opportunity to name more than one 'home' if they wished, but those mentioning two 'homes' were subsequently asked to identify which of those named gave them the strongest feeling of home.

Table 5.1.

Places thought of as 'home'.

Type of place categorised in terms of a rural-urban dichotomy by order of mention.

Place mentioned first	Place mentioned second	%*
town	-	26
country	town	25
town	country	22
town	town	11
country	-	6
country	country	3
town	other	2
rural	other	2
other	-	1
No information		0

N = 201

* Percentages do not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Table 5.1. gives an overview of the replies to our inquiry. The majority (86%) of the respondents considered an urban place as 'home'. In 61 percent of cases an urban place was mentioned first, in approximately 37 percent of cases urban places were the only ones considered as home. By contrast, only 58 percent of the respondents mentioned a rural place to which they felt they belonged, and less than 10 percent only referred to rural places as home. Some few respondents held a more figurative conception of home and indicated that their spiritual home was in heaven, in church, or in the whole of South Africa.

Persons mentioning more than one place in response to our first question on 'homes', were urged to indicate which of these places gave them the strongest feeling of home, and their replies were combined with those of respondents mentioning only one 'home', Table 5.2. lists the 'real' homes of the respondents ascertained in this manner. *In the majority of all cases (64%), the urban home evoked the strongest attachment.*

Table 5.2.

Type of place giving strongest feeling of 'home'.

	%
urban	64
rural	31
other	4
no information	1

100

N = 201

It is perhaps interesting to note that respondents indicating two places they considered home, named the place they felt most strongly attached to first in two-thirds to four-fifths of cases.

The major reasons for choosing one or the other place mentioned as one's real home are given in Table 5.3. Sentimental attachment with traditional, familistic and religious overtones was certainly the most dominant motif for considering a place as home. Feelings of security also appeared to play a prominent role in a concrete and more abstract sense. There were some indications that although the urban township might evoke strong feelings of home, the urban home might be adopted merely as a temporary reference point, dependent on the presence of one's family in town.

Table 5.3.

Reasons for choosing place as 'real home'.

	%*	Adjusted %*
Birthplace, burial place, grew up there	18	27
Social attachment (family, kin residing there)	15	22
Current domicile (place where I stay)	8	13
Sense of freedom, self-sufficiency	5	8
Security of tenure	5	7
Utilitarian reasons	4	7
Other sentimental attachment	4	6
Length of stay	3	4
Material possessions, belongings	2	4
Social benefits, environment	1	1
No reason given (only one place chosen)	33	N/A
	N = 201	N = 134

*Percentages do not add up to 100 due to rounding

Some excerpts from interviews obtained from the respondents illustrate these points and show how selected respondents conceptualised 'home'.

'Home' is in town:

- (Home is in town) because I live in a house, I am not living outdoors.
- (Home) is where we live and where we work and where we are settled.
- (Home is in town) because I have stayed here for a long time, and some of my children grew up here.
- Ever since we came from Cato Manor (Durban shack area), we have stayed here. (Kwa Mashu resident.)

- (Home) is where I am staying in the city, here in Umlazi. I have been rubbed off from M... (in the country). It is because I stay in Umlazi, I have no other place.
- There is no other place (which is home), at D... (in the country) they have all died and I am here now.
- (Home is in town) because I am not going back (to the rural home). I will end up here, especially when I have actually bought (the house at Kwa Mashu).
- All my belongings are here (at Umlazi). I've even got a job right here, so I am feeling at home. At N... (in the rural areas) I am just like a visitor.

(Home) is where I am now, there are no other places. I stay with my parents, my grandmother and grandfather. I was told this is home so I loved it. (19 year old youth).

Mixed feelings about 'home' in town:

- I feel I belong there in the country, (but the township gives him the strongest feeling of home), because of the way I live and knowing that my family will stay here.

'Home' is in the country:

- (Home) is at N... (rural area), it is not a real home here.
- Because that is where my home really is, that is where my ancestral spirits are and where they were buried.
- It is where you are born, ... it is the place where I live well, ... because everything is all there, my relatives, the chickens, the cows, my parents, the ancestors and my brothers.
- Everything, even the trees in that place, makes me have a strong feeling of home. Even the apples that you eat come from my place (in the country).
- Because when I lose the place here at Umlazi, I can go and stay at home in the country.

Whilst the most practical reasons for considering a place as 'home' (current domicile, place of employment, place where belongings were kept) were usually related to the urban rather than to the rural residence, it is noteworthy that 10 percent of those persons qualifying their choice of urban home, stated that the township was their place of birth or that they had lived there for long periods of time. The majority of persons who felt town was 'home' did so, because their

families and loved ones lived with them in town. It is possibly significant that with one or two exceptions place-oriented emotions were singularly missing from the descriptions of the town home (see interview excerpts above); persons choosing town as 'home' tended to give people-oriented images of 'home'. Others appeared to have slipped into the habit of referring to town as 'home'. One gains the impression that town is frequently the 'home of convenience' rather than the 'home of one's heart'.

A further analysis of the survey results indicated that residential history and tenure influenced people's sense of belonging significantly. Persons who had most recently moved to town from the country and had maintained rural links were less likely to consider town as 'home'. Conversely, persons born in town, who did not visit the country were more likely to give a township address in reply to the questions concerning feelings of 'home'. Security of tenure was an important factor regarding feelings of belonging, 82 percent of those respondents who had no access to rural land as against 43 percent of those with access, and 80 percent of respondents who owned as against 59 percent of those who rented the urban home in which they lived, regarded town as their 'home'.

Furthermore it was observed that 82 percent of the respondents who wished to make the township their retirement home considered town as 'home', whereas only 35 percent of those wishing to retire to the country did so. The causal relationships between retirement alternatives and sense of belonging are by no means clear, but this finding certainly suggests that residential patterns and psychological adjustment to one's environment may be closely related.

To sum up the survey findings regarding the sense of belonging among urban-based Africans, the majority of Africans interviewed in the present study, considered the township to be their home. This sense of belonging was more often characteristic of the better-established township dwellers who had no rural links. Sentiment, social relationships and security considerations were dominant motifs which influenced the sense of belonging, but practical considerations may also have contributed to shaping the image of 'home'.

However, it should be noted that large proportions of the respondents with access to rural land (43%), who maintained rural links (46%), who were born in the more remote rural areas (48%), and who desired to return to the rural areas to retire (35%), chose to refer to an urban rather than to a rural place as 'home' in response to the inquiry on this subject. As feelings of social support may well have played a major role in determining this choice, one might suggest that many Africans living in town even for shorter periods of time, develop an urban sense of place by way of adaptation to the life circumstances in which they find themselves at the time. Alternatively, in those cases where the urban sojourn is extended to several decades, and urban attachment is a deeply felt sentiment rather than a temporarily adopted attitude, the reference to a rural home may become a mere token acknowledgement of one's origin and reflect a sense of personal and family history.

Whatever the case may be, in terms of the present study, it is important to consider that the township is 'home' for the majority of the respondents in the present survey, and that their interests and desires, with respect to their urban houses and neighbourhoods in which they live, will be shaped by this fact. Although it is frequently assumed that people are very tolerant of the shortcomings of their home environment, it is equally likely that persons will be extremely sensitive to the need for improvement and development of opportunity structures in the places to which they are committed.

Undoubtedly, the implications of these survey findings are unambiguous for the designers and township administrators. If people consider black townships as 'home', then these townships must fulfil all the needs of their inhabitants ranging from the most basic ones to needs for social support, communication and expression, sense of freedom, purpose and beauty, and opportunities for having fun, to name just a few. It is essential that the 'home' environment should enhance the quality of life of its occupants, rather than necessitating them to seek fulfilment of their needs and desires elsewhere. The good things in life should be found at 'home'.

CHAPTER 6.SATISFACTION WITH THE TOWNSHIP ENVIRONMENT.

In the preceding chapter data was presented which suggested that a township address provides a home base for the majority of the respondents interviewed in the present survey. Ideally, this home base would provide a cognitive reference point and a focus for social relationships and feelings of security for the span of a full lifetime or at least for the duration of a working lifetime.

In the present chapter the intention is to examine how satisfied respondents were with the physical and social circumstances in the township environment which the majority of the respondents considered 'home'. To this purpose we shall review the evaluation of housing and residential issues which are assumed to relate most closely to the home environment. It is undoubtedly somewhat short-sighted to equate the 'home' environment with housing,¹⁾ but as the latter concept is used in its widest sense in this report and denotes non-physical as well as physical elements in the environment, this approach would appear to be appropriate for the task at hand. Furthermore, one might argue that the housing environment provides the physical setting in which feelings of 'home' and belonging or a sense of place ideally would develop.

The first clue to the satisfactions derived from the township environment are found in the evaluation of high priority housing and neighbourhood issues by the respondents in the survey. In the quality of life exercise reported on in Chapter 4, respondents were asked to indicate how satisfied they were with the 30 issues selected from a prepared catalogue of 148 life concerns, which were of highest concern to them.

1) For this reason Smedley (1979b:20) in one instance prefers to refer to 'homing' rather than 'housing'.

Table 6.1.

Satisfaction with housing concerns.

Housing:	Level of a) contribution to overall life satisfaction. Correlation with overall life satisfaction measures:		Percentage Satisfied ^{b)}			N ^{c)}
	'faces' 'a whole'	'life as a whole'	very satis- fied	satis- fied	total satis- fied	
Home ownership in town	,06	,05	20	47	67	113
Residential security	,08	,10	13	38	51	112
Reasonable rent	,14*	,21**	2	21	23	96
Family living together	,11	,08	25	58	83	94
Adequate dwelling space	,21**	,34**	7	17	24	92
More housing available	,10	,22**	2	8	10	86
Running water in home	,18*	,25**	18	44	62	80
Strong and solidly built house	,31**	,18*	5	16	21	74
Privacy in the home	,01	,21*	4	18	22	74
Urban self-builder house	-,13	,05			19	53
Electricity in the home	,27*	-,07			56	38
No police raids	,39**	-,12			82	34
Country self-builder house	-,08	-,11			72	33
Ability to obtain better house	-,24	,17			3	32

Continued/

Table 6.1. Continued.

Satisfaction with housing concerns.

Housing:	Level of ^{a)} contribution to overall life satisfaction. Correlation with overall life satisfaction measures:		Percentage Satisfied ^{b)}			N ^{c)}
	'faces'	'life as a whole'	very satisfied	satis- fied	total satis- fied	
Country home ownership	-,19	-,12			71	28
Beautiful, smart house	,08	,42*			30	27
Additions, alterations to home	,21	,34*			14	22
Smart furniture	,60**	,37*			58	19
Beautiful garden	,13	-,07			74	19
Finish in the home	,04	,49**			56	18
Residential choice	,29	-,19			31	16
Space between houses	,18	(-,15)			27	11
Large garden	(,44)	(,23)			22	9
Beautiful things in the home	(,55)	(-,08)			71	7
Prestigious house					50	2
<u>Residential environment:</u>						
Better roads	,02	,16*	3	12	15	77
Conveniently accessible facilities and services	,21*	,11	13	53	66	61

Continued/

Table 6.1. Continued.

Satisfaction with housing concerns.

Residential environment:	Level of a) contribution to overall life satisfaction. Correlation with overall life satisfaction measures:		Percentage Satisfied ^{b)}			
	'faces' 'a whole'	'life as a whole'	very satis- fied	satis- fied	total satis- fied	N ^{c)}
Police protection	,35**	,16	16	29	45	56
Good administration	,39**	,36*			69	38
No tsotsis	,14	,35**			27	37
Physical security	,15	,21			20	35
Good community leadership	,08	,37**			48	31
Safe streets	,02	,11			29	28
No drunkards	,37*	,49**			25	20
Neat, tidy, clean appear- ance of residential area	-,10	,39			43	14
Relatives living together	-,22	-,13			82	11
Parks	-,27	-,16			50	10
Pretty houses and nice trees	(-,25)	(,49)			50	8

Continued/

Table 6.1. Continued.

Satisfaction with housing concerns.

	Level of a) contribution to overall life satisfaction. Correlation with overall life satisfaction measures:		Percentage Satisfied ^{b)}		
	'faces' 'life as a whole'	very satis- fied	satis- fied	total satis- fied	N ^{c)}
Residential environment:					
Participation in community affairs	(,43)	(-,24)		43	7
Stimulating residential environment	(-,36)	(,56)		60	5
Familiar neighbours	(,50)	(-,44)		100	4

a Values are given for Kendall's Tau C of association.

b Percentage of respondents who were very concerned with the issue, who were also very satisfied or satisfied with this aspect of their lives.

c Survey respondents very concerned with issue, i.e. who considered the item to be among the thirty most important on the catalogue.

*,** Correlation values are statistically significant at the ,05 and ,01 level respectively.

The satisfaction ratings resulting from this exercise are given in Table 6.1. Items appearing in the Table are ordered according to the number of survey respondents selecting the concerns

as very important. For technical reasons, only very concerned respondents were subsequently required to give a satisfaction rating. Aggregate satisfaction ratings listed under the heading 'percentage satisfied' are considered reliable measures of satisfaction only when a sufficiently large proportion of the sample participated in the rating exercise.

Among the 9 highest priority housing issues listed at the top of the Table, only four issues were considered satisfactory by more than half of the concerned respondents.

Satisfaction was derived from the family being able to live together, from home ownership in town, from having piped water in the home, and from residential security.

On the other hand, three-quarters to four-fifths of the concerned respondents were dissatisfied with rentals, living space, the provision of housing units, the quality and durability of the dwelling structure, and with privacy in the home.

Regarding neighbourhood issues, two-thirds of the concerned respondents were satisfied with the accessibility of facilities and services. Less than half of the concerned respondents were satisfied with the police protection they received and only 15 percent were satisfied with the condition of the roads in their residential areas.

Satisfaction ratings for lesser priority housing and residential issues are given in Table 6.1 for completeness sake. Because only small numbers of respondents stated their satisfactions, the ratings must be interpreted with extreme caution. Evaluators were self-selected and it is possible that respondents tended to choose extremely rewarding or distressing aspects of life as the most prominent areas of personal concern.

Table 6.2.

Satisfaction with high priority life concerns.

	Level of contribution to ^{a)} overall life satisfaction. Correlation with overall life satisfaction measures:		Percentage ^{b)} Satisfied	N ^{c)}
	'faces'	'life as a whole'		
Plentiful good food	,24**	,25**	50	127
Well paid job	,13*	,28**	44	125
Good education for self	,21**	,33**	47	116
Home ownership in town	,06	,04	67	113
Residential security	,08	,10	51	112
Happy, peaceful family life	,19**	,21**	80	110
Adequate provision for children	,23**	,26**	57	109
Respectful children	,18**	,03	90	106
Sufficient money	,32**	,26**	14	100
Reasonably priced food	,06	,21**	5	97
Healthy family	,24**	,27**	40	96
Reasonable rent	,14*	,21**	23	96
Family living together	,11	,08	83	94
Adequate dwelling space	,21**	,34**	24	92
Fair wages	,28**	,12	44	88
More housing available	,10	,22**	10	86
Provision for the family in case of illness or death	,29**	,28**	40	85
Person to love you	,03	,10	93	81

Continued/

Table 6.2. Continued.

Satisfaction with high priority life concerns.

	Level of contribution to ^{a)} overall life satisfaction. Correlation with overall life satisfaction measures:		Percentage ^{b)} Satisfied	N ^{c)}
	'faces'	'life as a whole'		
Running water in house	,18*	,25**	62	80
Belief in God	,30**	,16	95	78
Better roads in residential areas	,02	,16*	15	77
Good health for self	,15*	,30**	57	76
Strong and solidly built house	,31**	,18*	21	74
Privacy in home	,01	,21*	22	74
Safe marriage	-,06	-,00	96	66
Controlled and obedient children	,13	,21*	92	64
Ability to achieve goals	,25**	,22*	47	62
Conveniently accessible facilities and services	,21*	,11	66	61
Progress at work	,15	-,12	80	60
Being a good parent	,10	,01	88	58
Children to provide old age security	,25**	,04	79	51

a Values are given for Kendall's Tau C of association.

b Percentage of respondents who were very concerned with the issue, who were also very satisfied or satisfied with this aspect of their lives.

c Survey respondents very concerned with issue, i.e. who considered the item to be among the thirty most important on the catalogue.

*, ** Correlation values are statistically significant at the ,05 and ,01 level respectively.

6.1 Relative satisfaction with housing concerns.

In order to be able to appreciate the significance of these satisfaction ratings more fully, the evaluation of the high priority concerns regardless of topic are given in Table 6.2 for comparison. Issues are again ordered according to the number of respondents concerned with them. Only issues of particular concern to at least one quarter of the sample are listed.

General trends in the satisfaction ratings given in Table 6.2, which also affect satisfaction with housing issues, are immediately recognisable. General satisfaction was derived chiefly from domain satisfactions regarding social relationships, religious and moral issues. Typical examples of such concerns are: belief in God, having a rewarding family life, and receiving love and respect from significant persons. In this connection, the provision of family housing contributed significantly to perceived quality of life.

Conversely, those aspects of housing which may have negatively affected family relationships such as inadequate dwelling space, lack of privacy in the home and shortage of houses (which would result in overcrowding in the existing housing stock) were statistically seen, detrimental to life satisfaction. It would appear that health issues were of considerable concern to the survey respondents and the fact that crowded living conditions were considered a health hazard, might have increased feelings of discontent. Great dissatisfaction was perceived with regard to income and prices. Consistently, in the sphere of housing, rentals were a major grievance.

6.2 Contributions of housing satisfactions to satisfaction with life as a whole.

Satisfactions and dissatisfactions with housing may vary in their significance for the life situation of individuals and groups. It is possible that intense satisfaction or dissatisfaction is only felt in a particular sphere of life which has little bearing on one's

outlook on life as a whole. Such a satisfaction or dissatisfaction may preoccupy a person only fleetingly in his or her day-to-day life. It may cause delight or pain for some few discrete moments and this feeling may not transpire to other perceptions of well-being. Conversely, contentment or discontent in pivotal spheres of life may influence an individual's perception of related spheres and may even hold a significance for a person's perception of life as a whole. Such strong positive or negative feelings may influence behaviour patterns, the manner in which people react to life circumstances, and may affect people's outlook on life in general. It is thought that pivotal satisfactions and dissatisfactions may set off a kind of chain reaction and colour a person's general assessment of his or her life chances. If such pivotal life concerns can be identified, a greater awareness of how certain elements in life contribute towards general happiness or satisfaction is created for the persons involved, and ideally obstacles which depress feelings of life satisfaction can be removed.

In order to measure how satisfaction with housing and residential issues impinged on the general well-being of the survey respondents, their satisfaction ratings of certain aspects of housing were compared with their rating of overall life satisfaction. Two measures of life satisfaction were used to improve the chances of obtaining a valid estimate of well-being.

- 1) Respondents were asked to select the face which best described how they felt about their life from 5 faces expressing varying degrees of happiness/satisfaction ranging from great happiness/satisfaction to great unhappiness/dissatisfaction.
- 2) Respondents were asked how they felt when thinking of their life as a whole and were requested to select a category on a scale which appropriately reflected their mood. The five scale categories ranged from 'very satisfied' to 'very dissatisfied'.

It was discovered that the two measures of overall life satisfaction did not correlate perfectly for the sample concerned. There was a tendency for persons to rate themselves happier on the 'faces' scale than on the satisfaction with 'life as a whole' scale.

Contributions of satisfaction derived from a particular life domain such as housing toward overall life satisfaction were assessed by correlating domain satisfactions with the two measures of life satisfaction.¹⁾ The results of this exercise are shown under the heading designated 'level of contribution to life satisfaction'. The values of the Tau C measure of correlation are given for each housing item and 'significant' and 'very significant' values are marked with one or two asterisks respectively. Once again, only the correlation values on the top half of the Table may be considered sufficiently reliable for interpretation. It would appear that rentals, dwelling space, provision of housing, piped water, and quality and durability of housing, all contributed significantly to perception of general well-being among the respondents.

Although smaller numbers were involved, one might suggest that police protection and the lack of criminal and other threat or nuisance factors in the residential area may have had a significant influence on life satisfaction. Aesthetic factors in housing were pertinent for the perception of well-being in a minority group.

1) It was technically not feasible to use more conventional multiple regression techniques to estimate the proportion of the variance in well-being explained by concern satisfactions. In the initial quality of life exercise respondents only gave satisfaction ratings for 30 self-selected high priority concerns. As a consequence, the complete data set for relevant concerns included too few cases to render a multiple regression on overall life satisfaction meaningful. For this reason simple correlation coefficients rather than beta weights were used as predictors of contribution to life satisfaction.

6.3 The relative contribution of housing satisfactions to global well-being.

Analogously, the consistency of satisfactions with high priority aspects of life and global satisfaction measures are shown under the appropriate headings in Table 6.2. From the figures listed on this Table, we learn that residential satisfactions such as satisfaction with dwelling space and privacy in the home, rentals, piped water, provision of housing and quality of housing and roads contributed significantly to general life satisfaction in *relative* as well as in absolute terms. Non-housing issues which competed with housing issues in contributing to well-being included wages, incomes and prices, education, health, financial security and family relationships.

To sum up the research findings so far, it is concluded that housing issues are of immediate importance to the perception of the good life in both an absolute and a relative sense. As high priority housing issues are regarded in a negative light by the majority of the sample concerned, one might say that housing conditions, in particular lack of space and privacy in the home, housing shortage and housing quality, tend to detract from the quality of life for township residents.

6.4 General satisfaction with the township dwelling unit.

In the quality of life exercise reported on above, only high priority issues were evaluated by the respondents concerned. Before continuing the interview with an in-depth inquiry into housing issues, each respondent was asked to evaluate his or her residential situation on a four-point scale with the categories ranging from very satisfied to very dissatisfied. Neutral answers were not accepted and only 3 percent of the respondents were unable to state how they felt about the dwelling in which they were currently living.

Just over half of the sample was dissatisfied with their dwelling situation, and only 8 percent were very satisfied, compared

with 29 percent who were very dissatisfied (cf. Table 6.3). A significantly higher percentage of Umlazi respondents (52%) were satisfied. By comparison 49 percent of the Kwa Mashu and 29 percent of the Lamontville respondents stated they were satisfied with their dwelling conditions.

Table 6.3.

Satisfaction with present dwelling.

	%
very satisfied	8
satisfied	38
dissatisfied	22
very dissatisfied	29
don't know	<u>3</u>
	100
	N=201

Satisfaction with one's dwelling was very significantly associated with the global measures of well-being ($\tau C = .26$ and $.27$ $p < .001$) and was also reflected in the satisfaction rating of salient housing issues (cf. Table 6.6), which suggests that the quality of life exercise produced reliable results.

By statistical implication, dissatisfaction with one's dwelling was caused chiefly by high rentals, poor quality of housing, insufficient space and lack of privacy in the home, shortage of housing and little residential choice. Family living, home ownership opportunities, running water in the home were high priority housing goals which were fulfilled for substantial proportions of the sample.

An interesting finding is that persons, who were living in objectively better housing conditions, were significantly more satisfied with their dwelling circumstances. On the other hand, persons who were committed to their dwelling, who presumably might have had higher expectations and aspirations regarding housing matters, tended to show greater dissatisfaction with their home than other persons.¹⁾

6.5 General satisfaction with the neighbourhood in which one lives.

Over half of the respondents were dissatisfied with the area in which they lived, and only 11 percent were very satisfied compared with 27 percent who were very dissatisfied (cf. Table 6.4). Again, substantial differences between the proportion of satisfied persons in each township subsample obtained. Fifty-two percent of Umlazi respondents compared with 41 percent of Kwa Mashu and 26 percent of Lamontville respondents indicated satisfaction with the neighbourhood environment.

Respondents' evaluations of their dwelling and neighbourhood were significantly correlated despite the fact that the two satisfaction ratings were undertaken at different stages of the interview. Seventy-two percent of the respondents who were dissatisfied with their dwellings were also dissatisfied with their neighbourhoods. It is assumed that respondents' attitudes towards their dwellings effectively shaped their attitudes towards their neighbourhood and not vice versa.

Chief reasons for feeling dissatisfied with one's neighbourhood (cf. Table 6.5) related to dwelling conditions within one's four walls rather than without.

1) In support of these arguments 53% living in detached houses (vs. 38% living in other houses), and 64% living in above average (vs. 49% living in below average) sized houses were satisfied with their dwellings. Fifty-one percent of those who had lived less than 10 years (vs. 42% who had lived over 10 years) in their present dwelling were satisfied. Higher proportions of persons who had land in the country (53% vs. 42% who had no land), who visited the country (54% vs. 39% who did not), and who paid allegiance to a chief (54% vs. 44% who did not) were satisfied.

Table 6.4.Satisfaction with one's neighbourhood.

"...Thinking about this area, the area in which you live, I'd like you to give me a quick answer about how satisfied you are with it, in general. Would you say that, on the whole, you were..."

	%
very satisfied	11
satisfied	31
dissatisfied	28
very dissatisfied	27
no information	<u>2</u>
	100

N=201

Crowding in the home, poor quality and lack of amenities were identified as major sources of discontent which contributed to feelings of dissatisfaction with one's neighbourhood. By contrast, lower proportions of the sample mentioned that only neighbourhood issues such as proximity to neighbours, community administration, and social problems, accounted for their dissatisfaction. Economic issues were a further source of neighbourhood dissatisfaction.

Satisfaction with one's neighbourhood was achieved mainly by personal adjustment to the environment. People, who got on well with their neighbours, who had grown to like the place or who made positive comparisons with previous dwelling experiences, were more likely to be satisfied with their neighbourhood. It is important to note that for some few, community facilities and locality factors were sources of content rather than discontent.

Some selected excerpts from the interviews illustrate reasons given for liking or disliking township neighbourhoods:

- *There is running water in my house. The toilet is there, everything is inside the house. There is nothing that I must fetch from outside, even if it is raining or I am sick.*
- *Nobody is worrying. I keep to my house, they keep to their houses, they do not bother me.*
- *I do get whatever I want. The main thing is transport, secondly, water is not a problem and I have electricity. I am satisfied.*
- *We here at Umlazi. I can say our houses are a little better because we've got water inside the house, even the toilets are inside. Well, I say Umlazi is wonderful, unless if you've got a big family, then it's not good.*
- *I say I like the township, because it is better than the place where we were staying before...but the house is small.*
- *The place is good, it is only the buildings...*
- *The neighbourhood is bad, because I am living with people who are satisfied and are not prepared to improve, having told themselves they will never improve.*
- *The sort of houses we live in now are bad, they do not have plans, the rooms are small. They have no yards and are built on top of hills.*
- *I just become disappointed when I see the KwaZulu Government still building these four-roomed houses. It just appears that there will be no improvements whatsoever. ...Section is increasing overnight. This is discouraging, because these rooms are very small and unhygienic.*
- *Some other townships have got lights and we haven't. When we ask about this and complain at meetings, we get no replies.*
- *Our houses are too small. And if there is anything damaged, no one cares, specially when it's the KwaZulu Government. They repair nothing. Here at Umlazi, no one cares for us, not even the Township Manager.*
- *The houses are poorly constructed. I'm not satisfied with the hilly terrain. There are no places of recreation, very few shops and many other things, which you find in the white townships, are not available here.*
- *(I am dissatisfied) because the houses are flats, and they are too close to the neighbours. The houses are small and there is only one door. These houses are very bad. (Lamontville respondent).*

Table 6.5.

Factors influencing the evaluation of one's neighbourhood.

Reasons indicated for feeling satisfied or dissatisfied with the area in which one lives.

factor	negative* assessment %	positive* assessment %	total* %
<u>housing:</u>			38
space (size of house, number rooms)	23	3	
quality	7	-	
amenities (water, sanitation, electricity)	2	4	
space and quality	5		
space and amenities	5		
quality and amenities	2		
space, quality, amenities	3	1	
<u>plot:</u>			9
size	5	1	
location, position of the house	3	1	
general	1	1	
<u>density, crowding:</u>			8
proximity to neighbours, noise intrusion, dislike of semi-detached, flat life	8	-	
<u>neighbours:</u>			18
neighbourly relationships, cohesion, community spirit	4	13	
<u>community facilities, access to employment:</u>	3	8	10

Continued/

Table 6.5. Continued.

Factors influencing the evaluation of one's neighbourhood.

Reasons indicated for feeling satisfied or dissatisfied with the area in which one lives.

factor	negative*	positive*	total*
	assessment %	assessment %	
<u>administrative, legal:</u>	7	1	8
restrictions, harassment by officials, grievances not looked into, perception of neglect, irregular light/water supplies			
<u>social problems:</u>			9
crime (including lack of police protection)	5	1	
environment	2	1	
child safety		1	
<u>economic:</u>			11
rentals (high, fluctuating), water rates, cost of living in town, no price control in local shops	11	-	
<u>personal adjustment:</u>			14
maladjusted, resigned versus accustomed, grown used to area	2	3	
frustration, unhappiness versus positive attitude, relatively satisfied (compared to previous residential experiences)	4	6	

* multiple responses

N=194

Table 6.6.

Correlations between general and specific housing and neighbourhood satisfactions.

satisfaction with:	SATISFACTION WITH ONE'S DWELLING			N	Percentage of those very dissatisfied with their present dwelling and considering the issue a high priority, who are dissatisfied:
	correlation coefficient*	significance level p <	p <		
home ownership in town	.26	.000		110	54
residential security	.38	.000		106	74
reasonable rent	.37	.000		92	97
family living together	.13	.05		91	26
adequate dwelling space	.46	.000		90	90
more housing available	.16	.07		81	90
running water in home	.29	.002		76	50
strong and solidly built house	.32	.001		72	96
privacy in the home	.35	.001		68	87

satisfaction with:	SATISFACTION WITH ONE'S NEIGHBOURHOOD			N	Percentage of those very dissatisfied with their neighbourhood and considering the issue a high priority, who are dissatisfied:
	correlation coefficient*	significance level p <	p <		
better roads	.22	.008		75	90
conveniently accessible facilities and services	.09	.169		59	32
police protection	.30	.02		54	77
home ownership in town	.29	.000		112	51
residential security	.20	.005		110	60
reasonable rent	.40	.000		94	93
family living together	.17	.02		91	27
adequate dwelling space	.39	.000		90	100
more housing available	.38	.000		84	100
running water in home	.34	.000		80	57
strong and solidly built house	.16	.04		73	85
privacy in the home	.33	.000		74	34

* Kendall's Tau B or C

As shown on Table 6.6, satisfactions derived from housing concerns were reflected in one's satisfaction with the neighbourhood in which one lived. Issues outside the home which were cause for grievances were the poor conditions of roads and inadequate police protection. The statistical analysis showed that satisfaction with the accessibility of facilities and services was not related to the positive evaluation of one's neighbourhood, possibly because this need had by and large been satisfied for those concerned, an argument which is also supported by the figures shown on Table 6.6.

Satisfaction with one's dwelling may have had a bearing on one's well-being as measured by the two estimates of general well-being (Kendall's Tau was ,27 and ,18 respectively for the satisfaction with 'life as a whole' and the 'faces' measure, $p < ,001$).

Consistent with the findings regarding satisfaction with one's dwelling, persons who may have had lower housing expectations and aspirations, and those who had already achieved a relatively higher standard of housing tended to evaluate their neighbourhood more positively.¹⁾ Again we discovered that Umlazi respondents were more likely to be satisfied with their neighbourhood at 52 percent, compared with 41 percent of the KwaMashu and 26 percent of the Lamontville respondents. In addition, it was noted that older persons tended to be more satisfied with their neighbourhood, possibly because they reconciled their residential aspirations with their current

1) In support of these arguments proportions of the sample satisfied (vs. dissatisfied) with their neighbourhood were: 51% older persons (vs. 34% younger persons), 49% earning less than R50 monthly (vs. 32% earning R150 or more), 53% living less than 10 years (vs. 38% living more than 10 years) in their present dwelling, 56% living in detached (vs. 22% in other) dwellings, 71% living in above average (vs. 20% in below average) sized houses, 59% of the persons born in remote rural areas (vs. 27% born in urban areas), 50% of the persons maintaining visiting ties with the country (vs. 32% not maintaining visiting ties). Obviously, the above relationships were in part covariations of the differential satisfactions perceived by the three township subgroups included in the sample.

living circumstances.¹⁾ It is thought that these differences in neighbourhood satisfaction in part reflected objective differences in the housing conditions in these three townships.

Table 6.7.

Residential satisfaction by township residence.

Percentages <i>dissatisfied</i>	Umlazi	Kwa Mashu	Lamontville	N
with township dwelling	48%	51%	71%*	194
with township neighbourhood	48%	59%	74%*	196

* statistically significant difference as the ,05 level

To sum up, over half of the respondents were dissatisfied with their township dwelling and their township neighbourhood respectively (cf. Table 6.7). It was concluded from statistical inferences and from probes that satisfaction with one's neighbourhood was a function of the satisfaction derived from one's dwelling. The selected excerpts from interviews demonstrated very clearly that the respondents' evaluation of their neighbourhood reflected their perception of the housing situation in which they were involved. The Umlazi respondents were most likely to be satisfied with their housing circumstances, followed by the Kwa Mashu respondents. By contrast the majority of the small number of Lamontville respondents were dissatisfied with their houses and neighbourhoods.

1) Campbell et al. (1976, Chapters 5 and 6) use this type of argument to explain increasing satisfaction with neighbourhood concerns among older people.

CHAPTER 7.A PROBE INTO HOUSING PRIORITIES.

In the preceding chapter we learnt that dissatisfaction with the dwelling situation was widespread among the respondents in the survey. More importantly, it was shown that perceptions of dissatisfaction with one's dwelling environment might effectively shape people's general outlook on life. Higher proportions of the respondents in the survey who were more satisfied with their housing conditions reported being generally satisfied and happy in their lives.

Survey results suggested that both subjective expectations regarding housing and objective conditions such as the type and size of the dwelling in which one lived, might influence people's perception of the quality of their residential life. It was discovered that aspects of housing such as rentals, quality and size of housing, availability of housing, residential security, privacy in the home, amenities such as running water, which related closely to residential satisfaction and general feelings of well-being in the present survey were also major sources of dissatisfaction for the respondents concerned. Clearly, in the light of these findings a more detailed study of discontent with the township dwelling situation is called for. An in-depth inquiry into the needs and desires in the domain of housing may provide us with some insight into why discontent in this sphere is so widespread among township residents and may ultimately assist in formulating strategies for reform which may ameliorate the quality of residential life for black residents in the Durban area.

7.1 Methodological notes.

Various techniques were employed to measure the full spectrum of attitudes associated with manifest and latent grievances, aspirations and satisfactions in housing. In order of presentation to the respondents, the following techniques were used:

- a) spontaneous ratings of important subconcerns in the domain of housing;

- b) identification and description of manifest and latent issues which might be reviewed during a hypothetical decision-making situation, in which a person would assess the alternatives to moving from his or her present dwelling to a more satisfactory one;
- c) an 'open-ended' trade-off exercise: importance ratings of given aspects of housing when financial commitment is required; and
- d) a simple importance rating of given aspects of housing and of the residential environment requiring no further commitment.

The reporting in this chapter will follow the order of presentation of these questions and exercises. It is not expected that the results will be strictly comparable. The aim was to throw the net of questions wide enough to capture the many facets of housing desires and aspirations, and to show how various aspects of the housing situation impinge on people's perception and evaluation of the quality of their residential life.

This research aim is possibly best illustrated in the decision to approach housing priorities from a decision-making point of view. The rationale on which technique b) is based, is that the perception of depressed living circumstances results from a mental calculus in which an assessment of the congruence or goodness of fit between people's manifest or symbolic housing goals, on the one hand, and the residential environment which will allow them to satisfy such needs or goals, on the

other hand, is made.¹⁾ In this mental calculus the environment is seen either as an enabling factor or as a potential satisfier, or alternatively as an inhibiting or depressing factor by the individual seeking to achieve personal housing goals. The perception of degrees of congruence and man-environment fit may influence cognition, evaluation and satisfaction with the environment and stimulate coping and other kinds of behaviour. It is thought that incongruence between a person's aspirations and his dwelling situation may result in any number of reactions ranging from active or passive acceptance of a situation to protest and revolt. Adaptation and adjustment to one's present terms of reference may increase feelings of satisfaction and perceived congruence. This type of adaptive behaviour may involve changing one's standards of comparison or aspiration levels, or apathetically resigning oneself to the present situation. More actively, one might change one's lifestyle to suit the environment, emphasise certain positive aspects of the environment and disregard others, reformulate one's value orientations or reinterpret the impact of the environment on one's lifestyle.

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- 1) The approach outlined is broadly based on Michelson's (1976) twin concepts of mental and experiential congruence which he defines as follows: "Mental congruence exists if an individual thinks that particular spatial patterns will successfully accommodate his personal characteristics, values and styles of life" (1976:30). "Experiential congruence, on the other hand, deals with how well the environment actually accommodates the characteristics and behaviour of people" (1976:31).

Compare also French's *et al.* (1974) idea of a person-environment fit, Hartman's (1963) and Rosow's (1948) inquiries into the latent housing values expressed by choice of lifestyle. In this connection it is noteworthy that Campbell and his colleagues (1976, Chapter 7) link the affective evaluation of the environment to motivations for moving in their explorations into the quality of residential life. Note also that Øyen (1969) posits the incongruence between the social prestige of the individual and that of his residential neighbourhood as a determinant for residential mobility. Along similar lines Wolpert (1966) sees migration as an adjustment to environmental stress. — Regarding technical difficulties of enquiry into housing needs and priorities in the pre- or post move situation cf. Dean (1966) and Keller (1978:281).

A particularly active reaction on the part of the user would be to seek to improve or change the environment to suit his needs. Failing this, an extreme reaction on the part of the dissatisfied user would be to attempt to depart from the environment concerned in order to install himself in a milieu more suited to fulfilling his residential aspirations.

It has been observed that residents poised at the moment of indecision, not knowing whether to move or to stay, have a heightened perception of the attractive and repelling attributes of their present environment and of the alternatives open to them. Before the time of active decision-making, people may be insufficiently aware of the pros and cons relating to their residential situation. Grievances may simply give rise to general unease or malcontent. Even if dissatisfaction with one's environment can be vocalised, negative factors tend to be exaggerated when no alternative solutions are considered at the same time. On the other hand, after moving, in the case of voluntary as well as involuntary relocation, reactions to change such as feelings of tension, resolution or delight with novel surroundings; grief or despair, anger or worry about inconveniences, economic or social costs; efforts to readjust and reorient oneself to new physical and social surroundings; may again impair a balanced view of the situation. The optimal time for people to describe their perception of mental and experiential congruence is at the moment when residential dissatisfaction and the stress related to it may precipitate a move which may prove risky, costly and in some cases difficult to revoke. It is therefore proposed, that a hypothetical situation which attempts to simulate the build-up to such a decisive event will likewise heighten people's awareness of housing values and the manner in which their residential surroundings reflect such values.

7.2 Priorities in the home.

After having registered the respondents' perception of satisfaction with the house in which they were living, a probe into the importance of various aspects of their dwelling situation was made. The results of a content analysis of the detailed response to this inquiry are given in Table 7.1. 'Comfort' and 'convenience' factors were the most manifestly important aspects of housing which were mentioned by one-third to one-half of the sample.

Table 7.1.

Housing values.

"What do you consider most important about how and where you live?"

	%*
Comfort factors:	
Mainly size of dwelling and derived priorities (privacy, sex separation) amenities	57,2
Convenience, utilitarian factors:	
Locality, accessibility of home to services, facilities, income and employment opportunities	33,8
Economic factors:	
Reasonable rental, rent-free living	16,4
Ownership, choice, independence, security of tenure, legal factors	12,4
Quality of housing:	
Strong well-built structure, solid foundations, etc.	11,4
Social environment:	
Neighbourliness, environmental influence on children's upbringing, crime rate in area, type of administration	9,5
Prestige values:	
A beautiful, modern, or well-furnished home	7,0

N = 201

* multiple responses

What was referred to in terms of comfort, subsumed such manifest needs as a spacious dwelling, which in turn would meet derived needs for privacy, sex separation, ease of movement, space to arrange and store one's possessions, etc. The need for basic amenities in the home such as running water, sanitation, and electricity in some few cases, were also included in this rubric. 'Convenience' and 'utilitarian' factors referred mainly to accessibility of facilities and services, transport and job opportunities. Other important housing values were 'economy' usually with reference to rentals but also with reference to opportunities for supplementing incomes through home-based activities; 'tenure and type of housing' which effectively reflected a choice of lifestyle and financial commitment; 'quality of housing', 'social' factors and 'prestige' or 'aesthetic' factors.

The descriptions of important aspects of housing illustrated how the home and what it stands for, was variously seen as an end in itself, but more often as a means of achieving greater legal, financial and physical security or of fulfilling aspirations for higher monetary and social rewards for oneself and one's children. Whilst comfort goals most often reflected 'end'-type values, they also reflected 'means'-type values, particularly when health was concerned. 'Crowding' was thought to be particularly detrimental to health by survey respondents, and to 'live well' meant to live in spacious surroundings. Utilitarian goals stated by respondents emphasised the instrumentality of locality factors in achieving basic needs relating to employment, education, food and other material consumption, and health care. In most cases housing was seen in the more general context of basic needs satisfaction, as excerpts from interviews illustrate:

"What do you consider most important about how and where you live?"

(Ad comfort, convenience aspects):

- *A big house with water and electricity, a privy and sufficient rooms, because in a small and congested house, there is no good life.*
- *As we are crowded here, we need shops where we can buy things like food. This crowding again causes a lot of diseases, so we must have clinics and hospitals for medical attention. Schools are needed for our children. Nowadays one can't get a better job without good education. They'll remain road diggers if they are not educated.*

(Ad economic factors):

- *Reasonable rent, that's all. I am satisfied with the house, because we were staying in tin houses at Cato Manor.*
- *They are going to raise it (the rent) now, whilst they have not done anything for us.*

(Ad ownership, tenure, etc.):

- *As a person who was brought up in the rural area, it (an urban dwelling) is the first step to becoming a citizen of Durban.*
- *The important thing is that I get a place from which I know I will not be moved again. I will stay there.*
- *You can never be happy if you are going to be told to move from the place that you thought was a home.*
- *(It is important) that I can extend it, because then you can hope that you have your house in reality.*

(Ad quality of housing)

- *If it is well-built, I am able to live well in it and be freer.*

(Ad social environment)

- *It is important to be with people of your own class, this creates understanding. It also prevents feelings of inferiority towards others.*
- (Healthy surroundings) *They matter because children should have healthy ideas, to differentiate between things that are helpful and useful to them, and those that will not be of help in their lives.*

(Ad prestige values)

- *I like to have a decent home to show that I have been working of course and everybody should be able to say, do you see the house she lives in.*

7.3 A hypothetical residential shift situation.

In response to the question of whether they were ever likely to move from the dwelling in which they lived to some other dwelling of their own accord, 40 percent of the respondents said they would move, 53 percent said they would not, and the remainder (6%) said they did not know (cf. Table 7.2).

Table 7.2.

Prospects for moving of own accord.

"Are you ever likely to move from this dwelling here to some other dwelling of your own accord?"

	%
Yes	40
No	53
Don't know	6
No information	1
	<u>100</u>

N = 201

Contrary to expectations, objective living conditions had little influence on this type of decision, although there was a slight trend for people who were living in detached housing, and those who were settled in their present homes to opt to stay where they were. A single background factor appeared to be highly predictive of hypothetical residential mobility: a significantly higher proportion of older persons in the sample (67% of those over 35 years vs. 43% of those under 35 years) did not wish to relocate their residence.

The option to move was significantly more likely to be selected by those very dissatisfied with their present dwelling (54%) or neighbourhood (60%) than by those who stated they were very satisfied (20% and 29% respectively). There was also a slight tendency for persons indicating less overall life satisfaction according to the 'faces' measure to hypothetically decide to move.

Nevertheless, the fact that only 50 percent of those very dissatisfied or dissatisfied with their dwelling and 56 percent of those very dissatisfied or dissatisfied with their neighbourhood would consider moving in order to improve their residential situation, certainly warrants further discussion.

The motivations underlying the hypothetical choice to move or stay are listed on Table 7.3. Closer examination of the motivational structure underlying the decision to move suggests the following picture:

Residential mobility is motivated by dissatisfaction with the present dwelling. The prime mover is insufficient space in the home. In some instances the opportunity to become a homeowner would be embraced and result in a move.

However, it may be assumed that many dissatisfied respondents felt they could not respond actively to residential incongruence. For example, 'voluntary' stayers (some 18%) were outnumbered by the 'constrained' stayers (some 26%) in the sample. A tight housing market and legal restrictions on intra-urban movements were considered major constraints when seeking to ameliorate residential dissatisfaction by moving.

Table 7.3.

Motivations underlying hypothetical voluntary move.

"Why is it that you might decide to move?"

%*

Reasons for moving:

size of dwelling, crowding in present dwelling	13,4
financial, utilitarian considerations	5,5
no permanent urban commitment, rural preference, retirement	5,0
marriage, duty to make place in the home for siblings	5,0
social relations, social environment	4,5
improve standard of dwelling, achieve congruence in housing	3,0
in order to become owner, self-builder	2,5
would move if were dissatisfied	2,5
state of maintenance, disrepair of present dwelling	1,5
if changed job	1,5

"What is it that makes you think that you won't decide to move?"

%*

Reasons for staying:

housing shortage, tight housing market	14,9
legislative, administrative restrictions on movements	12,4
long residence, no desire to be uprooted, age reasons	7,0
economic considerations	4,5
satisfaction with utilitarian aspects of present dwelling circumstances	3,0
unqualified satisfaction with present dwelling circumstances	3,0
is homeowner, has invested in presently occupied residence	2,5
is not in a position to decide on residential mobility (dependent etc.)	1,5
satisfaction with comfort provided at present address	1,5
unqualified desire to stay at present address	2,0

N = 201

* multiple responses

By comparison, motivations for staying such as satisfaction with one's dwelling circumstances or the desire to stay in familiar surroundings were mentioned by substantial but proportionally lower percentages. Given this perception of a tight housing market, it is possible that residential mobility may not be seen as the normal reaction to resolving housing incongruence. Moving may be regarded as an appropriate action to mark occasions such as reaching a particular stage in one's life cycle, for instance, marriage or retirement, a notion which is supported by the figures given in Table 7.3.

Economic considerations played a decisive role when considering whether to move or not. Movers were attracted to a new locality if income could be increased or expenditure on basic needs decreased. The cost of moving in itself was considered a disincentive to move. Home ownership which implicitly afforded an opportunity to achieve maximum congruence between housing conditions and housing needs, was an important determinant for moving as well as for staying for some few respondents.

7.4 Major concerns when moving.

In a second decision-making exercise respondents were required to list all the concerns they would have, if they were in the process of moving. The concerns mentioned were subjected to a content analysis so that responses could be categorised according to substantive content as well as according to specific housing criteria. The results of the content analysis are shown in Table 7.4. The relative importance of issues and criteria are indicated by the frequency with which concerns were mentioned. Issues concerning space, modern conveniences in the home, facilities and services in the neighbourhood, quality and type of dwelling and plot size were major considerations. The value orientations reflected in these issues in approximate order of importance included comfort, convenience, economy, health and cleanliness, physical safety and security, quality of housing, prestige and aesthetics, choice in housing and security of tenure, and hospitality.

Table 7.4.

Housing priorities - manifest issues and criteria to be considered if moving.

"Let us imagine now for a moment that you are going to move ... I'd like you to think of the things you would like to be sure of about the dwelling to which you would go ... Would you describe to me how (each issue named) is important to you, how you feel about that?"

/*

Manifest issues:

Space	
general spaciousness in the dwelling, the number and size of rooms	47
Conveniences in the home	
access to water, electricity, internal toilet etc.	38
Facilities and services	
access to transport, places of employment, the city, schools, shops, medical services, etc.	34
Standard and type of housing	
quality and maintenance of dwelling, single features (doors, windows), finish, detached structure, form and style of house, solid foundation, etc.	28
Tenure and related aspects	
ready built versus self-builder, rent structure	23
Plot	
general size, space to plant and garden, parking and play space. A level plot. Position of plot or house to road. Fencing.	17
Locality	
rural or urban domicile, climate, height above sea level	8
Social environment	
type of neighbourhood and neighbours	4
Don't know, will not move, etc.	4
Other	2
No information	2
<u>Criteria:</u>	
Comfort, well-being	55
Utilitarian, convenience	39
Economic (rentals, income, cost of living, etc.)	25
Health, hygiene, order and cleanliness	17

Continued/

Table 7.4 Continued.

<u>Criteria:</u>	%*
Physical safety and security	16
Prestige, beauty, attractiveness of dwelling	13
Permanence, durability, quality of dwelling	10
Choice, self determination in housing	9
Hospitality	7
Security of tenure for self and children	7
Carefree living (related to provision and upkeep of dwelling)	6
Nuisance factors (mainly noise intrusion, impingement on privacy)	6
Basic, essential needs (e.g. water)	4
N = 201	
* multiple responses	

Differences in value orientations were tentatively discerned in the differential emphases which were made by the various groups represented in the sample. By way of illustration the following examples may be cited. At the manifest issue level the women were somewhat more likely to refer to concerns closely related to the home and the plot (space: women 56%, men 39%; plot: women 21%, men 13%; structure: women 34%, men 23%; modern conveniences: women 50%, men 24%), whilst the men tendentially were more often concerned with accessibility factors (men 40%, women 31%). This difference was possibly a reflection of the different orbits in which male and female activities typically took place. There were many indications both at the manifest issue and at the criterion level of analysis that persons in depressed housing circumstances were most concerned about satisfying basic housing needs including the need for space and a sound structure, and possibly basic amenities such as running water or sanitation; whilst persons living in better housing circumstances and enjoying a higher standard of living might have been more concerned with the more intangible issues in housing

such as safety, health, choice in housing and special features such as a large size plot, or electricity. In this respect the more rurally oriented township residents sided with the more deprived group and emphasised space and durability aspects of housing. (To cite but some of the evidence supporting these arguments: Mention of structural quality, etc: persons with land in the country 37% (vs. 22% no land), persons who considered a rural place 'home' 39% (vs. 25% urban place 'home'); mention of space issue: persons living in smallest houses 92% (vs. 36% in largest houses), persons with rural land 54% (vs. 42% no rural land), considering rural area 'home' 57% (vs. 34% urban place 'home'), mention of plot issue: 25% of persons in well maintained houses (vs. 6% in neglected houses). Percentages of persons living in well kept houses (as against those living in neglected houses) mentioning safety and choice in housing are 29% and 15% respectively (vs. 10% and 7%). Regarding prestige needs the lower class respondents and persons with less education were somewhat more likely to consider furnishing important than middle class and better educated respondents (7% vs. 2% and 10% vs. 0%). It is also important to note that more younger persons than older persons were relatively more concerned about space, possibly because they were most affected by crowded sleeping arrangements in small homes (younger persons mentioning space issues 55% (vs. 43%), comfort criterion 62% (vs. 56%)).

7.5 Choice of locality when moving.

What are the opportunity costs involved in moving to another place? Do different townships have more to offer by way of solving incongruities between housing needs and present housing circumstances?

Table 7.5 shows that if considering a residential shift, roughly equal proportions would have preferred to have moved to a 'place in their own township', to a 'place in another township' and to a 'place elsewhere'. Most persons referring to 'somewhere else' had a rural place in mind. Preference for a rural locality was unexpected and might have reflected the fact that the concept of intra-urban residential shifting was less familiar than shifting from town to the country, usually as a retirement solution.

Table 7.5.Preferred locality if moving.

"Where would you consider moving to ... For instance would you move from where you are now to some other part of this township, or from this township to another township, or to somewhere else altogether? Where exactly would you like to go?"

	%
same township	32
other township	25
elsewhere : rural area	32
urban area (peri-urban)	5
no choice	4
no information	2
	100

N = 201

Persons hypothetically moving from their present home to another urban address (cf. Table 7.6), were anxious to increase their choice in housing, (preferably by building or owning their own home), and to obtain more space and amenities in the home, whilst accessibility to transport and to one's place of work was to remain constant. Persons emphasising freedom to build, preferred to move to home-ownership homes and self-builder plots in their own township. Persons who desired mainly to obtain more spacious and detached living quarters and amenities in the home were more likely to find it necessary to move to another township. Thus, relatively higher proportions of Kwa Mashu than other respondents wished to move to Umlazi in order to enjoy more convenient and prestigious living. The few persons who wished to live in an urban area outside of a formal township valued self-determination in housing matters.

By contrast, the respondents desiring to shift to a country setting, were motivated by economic reasons, or stated an emotional attachment to the rural areas, its people and the country way of life.

Table 7.6.

Major criterion for wishing to move to a particular locality.

Place in same township	Place in another township	Elsewhere urban	Elsewhere rural
Self-builder, choice in housing, security of tenure	Comfort: house size, amenities in home	Self-builder, choice in housing, security of tenure	Economic
37%	35%	34%	34%
Comfort, house size, amenities in home	Utilitarian, convenience (access to transport, facilities, etc.)	Utilitarian, convenience	Rural preference
26%	18%	18%	29%
Utilitarian, convenience (access to transport, facilities, etc.)	Social reasons, sentimental attachment	Comfort	Social reasons, sentimental attachment
19%	14%	18%	19%
Social reasons, sentimental attachment	Self-builder, choice in housing, security of tenure	Self-builder, choice in housing, security of tenure	Self-builder, choice in housing, security of tenure
11%	14%	9%	9%
Prestige reasons	Prestige reasons	Utilitarian, convenience	Utilitarian, convenience
5%	12%	5%	5%
Economic reasons	Economic reasons	Comfort: house size, amenities	Comfort: house size, amenities
2%	8%		2%
N = 62	N = 51	N = 11	N = 65

Table 7.7.

Motivations for moving by choice of locality.

"What would make you move to ...?"

A place in same township	%*	A place in another township	%*	Somewhere else altogether	%*
build own home/ security of tenure	12,4	build own home/ security of tenure	5,0	economic considera- tions	12,9
facilities	6,0	amenities in home	5,0	build own home, security of tenure	8,0
comfort (size)	5,5	aesthetic, prestige factors	3,5	birthplace, senti- mental attachment, tradition	7,5
used to place, familiar place	4,0	economic considera- tions	2,5	opportunities to farm, garden	5,0
amenities in home	3,0	positive expecta- tions	2,5	unqualified pre- ference	3,0
economic considera- tions	1,0	job opportunities	2,5	social environment	2,0
plot (size, level)	1,0	facilities	2,0	comfort (size)	1,0
single mentions:		comfort (size)	2,0	climate	1,0
social environment, sentimental attach- ment, physical safety, unqualified prefer- ence, job oppor- tunities, climate, detached housing.		social environment	1,5	single mentions:	
		distance factors	1,5	physical safety, plot size	
		physical safety, crime rate	1,0		
		unqualified preference	1,0		
		detached housing	1,0		
		single mention: climate			

"And why would you not want to move to....?"

same conditions everywhere	14,9	no desire to move to unfamiliar place	24,9	satisfied, no de- sire to move to unfamiliar place	14,4
economic considera- tions (removal costs)	10,9	same conditions every- where	13,4	unqualified dislike (not nice)	10,4
unqualified dislike	5,5	economic	8,5	distance from town	6,5
nothing basically wrong but not chosen	5,0	influx control, re- strictions on move- ments	4,5	nothing basically wrong but not chosen	5,0
only working in town/ rural preference	5,0	unqualified dislike	4,0	few job oppor- tunities	3,5

Continued/

Table 7.7. Continued

A place in same township	%	A place in another township	%	Somewhere else altogether	%
desire for change, disillusioned	3,5	dislike township life, regulations	2,5	satisfied, no desire to move to un- familiar place	14,4
dislike township life, regulations	3,0	nothing basically wrong but not chosen	2,0	unqualified dislike (not nice)	10,4
no choice in housing (design, plot)	2,5	size of home, lot	2,0	distance from town	6,5
size of house, lot	2,5	only working in town, rural preference	2,0	nothing basically wrong but not chosen	5,0
satisfied, no desire for change	2,0	poor facilities	1,5	few job oppor- tunities	3,5
social environment, people	1,0	desire for change, disillusioned	1,0	might lose work permit	3,0
poor amenities	1,0	single mentions:		poor amenities	1,5
distance from town	1,0	no choice in housing, social environment, crime rates, few job opportunities, dis- tance from town		economic	1,0
single mentions:				social environment	1,0
crime rates, poor facilities, influx control, physical environment				poor facilities	1,0
				single mentions:	
				crime rates, same conditions every- where, desire for change	

N = 201 = 100%

* multiple responses

A more detailed analysis of the motivations underlying the decision to move or to stay by the referent localities sheds more light on why persons preferred to stay where they were (cf. Table 7.7). Firstly, people were reluctant to move to an unfamiliar place and to live among strangers and secondly, inter and intra township moves were not seen as the answer to solving housing incongruence. Many respondents argued that there was no point in moving in town, because housing conditions were the same everywhere. It would appear that the only option perceived by persons who were

disillusioned with township living conditions, and the rules and regulations governing township life, would be to find a place in the country in which to live. But this option was open to less than half of the respondents, who still maintained some ties with the country. As might be expected, rural-oriented townsmen were most likely to consider the rural option. For example, 53 percent of those persons considering their real home to be in the country, but only 26 percent considering town their real home, opted to move to a country place. Fifty-one percent of the respondents wishing to retire in town, but only 26 percent of those desiring to remain in town after retirement, selected a rural locality in this decision-making exercise.

7.6 Housing priorities: a trade-off exercise.

The results of an 'open-ended' trade-off exercise focusing on home improvements and better living conditions sheds further light on current thinking as regards housing priorities among township people. Respondents were required to allocate extra spending money on home improvements and strategies for improving their living circumstances outlined in nine items. These items are listed in order of priority according to the average outlay respondents were hypothetically prepared to make. Figures on Table 7.8 show that internal improvements were most popular and were a greater priority than external improvements. Similarly, moving to a smarter house took precedence over moving to a smarter residential neighbourhood. It is noteworthy that expenditure on appliances ranked higher than expenditure on furniture, which might have reflected that the need for furniture had in part been satisfied. Consistent with the lesser priority of external home improvements, making one's garden more beautiful ranked last on the list. However, the fact that half the respondents participating in the exercise wished to spend no money or the lowest proportion of additional spending money on a beautiful garden, needs further explanation. As we shall see in other sections of this report, flower and vegetable gardens are regarded as prestige aspects of housing. It is possible that a beautiful garden is thought to depend more on the effort and work expended on gardening than on capital outlay.

Table 7.8.

Housing priorities 1 Items in approximate order of priority	Hypothetical expenditure on better living (subsample only)									mean rank
	Percentage expenditure ranked on a scale from 1 to 9									
	high expenditure				low expenditure					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	= 100% *
making your present home look smarter inside	22	10	14	16	9	18	6	2	2	3,8
paying towards appliances for cooking, washing or cleaning	26	14	8	9	9	7	10	12	6	4,2
making your present home more comfortable	12	10	23	13	11	13	8	5	5	4,2
making payments for your own home	19	10	10	11	11	12	8	8	10	4,5
moving to a smarter home	12	7	18	10	10	13	11	10	9	4,8
paying towards furniture in your home	5	11	16	14	6	15	14	9	10	5,1
moving to a smarter area	7	6	17	8	13	14	12	10	12	5,3
making your present home look smarter outside	5	10	11	11	13	14	12	16	9	5,4
making your garden more beautiful		2	2	3	4	8	9	21	52	7,8

N = 125 = 100%

* errors due to rounding

Continued/

102.

Table 7.8 Continued.

Housing priorities 1	%**
Other items on which one would like to spend extra monthly money:	
education	14
motor car	14
savings, investment, insurance	11
recurring household expenditure items: food, rental, school fees, etc.	10
clothing	10
extra food items	6
home improvements (furnishings, additional rooms)	6
appliances etc. (TV, radio, knitting/sewing machine)	5
recreation, entertainment (inclusive church or club dues)	5
luxury items, indulgence	5
queries in respect of question	4
cattle agriculture	4
business investment	2
health expenditure	2
other	2

N = 125 = 100%

** multiple responses

103.

Generally speaking, little consensus was reached by the respondents participating in the exercise regarding the priority rankings of the items included in the list. In particular, the respondents' attitudes towards expenditure on home ownership varied considerably, as might be expected because the issue was extremely controversial at the time of the survey.

It would also appear that the range of items presented in the trade-off exercise were not sufficiently relevant to some respondents. Substantial proportions of the sample said they would prefer to spend extra money on items outside of the housing domain, such as on education, on a motor car, on other investments, on recurrent household expenditure items, and on clothing. Some few persons wished to purchase appliances which did not figure on the list such as television sets, radios, knitting and sewing machines.

7.7 An exercise in ranking housing concerns.

In a second exercise a subsample of respondents were required to rate the importance of 14 housing concerns, by stating whether each item was 'very' important or 'not so important'. This method proved to discriminate poorly between higher and lower priority items. Two-thirds of the respondents participating in this exercise were of the opinion that almost all items listed were 'very important'.¹⁾ However, the rank order of importance of items was consistent with all findings reported so far: The dimensions and arrangement of internal dwelling space were high priorities. The size of the plot was also very important (cf. Table 7.9).

1) Researchers in the field of housing values have come across similar reactions on the part of their respondents. For example, La Manna's (1964) respondents who were asked to indicate the importance they attached to specific elements of the environment on a three-point scale (1 = unimportant, 2 = somewhat important, 3 = very important), tended to rate several elements 'very important' and almost all elements 'somewhat important'.

Table 7.9.

Items in approximate order of importance	Importance rating of housing concerns (subsample only)		
	very important %	not so important %	don't know, not stated %
the right size house	97	3	-
the right number rooms	97	2	2
bus stops, shops and places you need the right distance away	95	5	1
the size of the rooms the size you would want	90	10	-
the inside layout of the rooms the way you would want	90	10	-
the right size plot	88	12	-
the outside appearance the way you would want	87	13	-
the extra rooms you would want	83	14	3
the right township or area of Durban or Natal	74	25	1
the right neighbours	74	26	-
the inside appearance - the finish or decor - the way you would want	71	29	-
the right part of this township	69	29	2
the neighbours the right distance away from you	64	34	2
electricity	59	41	-

N = 129

* errors due to rounding

Neighbourhood issues were of lesser priority: Providing they had a well appointed house and plot, it was of lesser importance to some respondents that they lived in the 'right' neighbourhood or township. However, locality was very important with regard to convenience: almost all respondents concerned wished to live near transport and community facilities.

In comparison to the need for space, internal finish and electricity were of lesser priority. The fact that electricity figured as a relatively low priority item both in the quality of life exercise reported on in Chapter 4 and in the present exercise, calls for some comment. In the present study electricity was commonly regarded not only as a modern utility which was convenient, efficient, and clean to use, it was also regarded as being more economical than other sources of energy used for lighting and cooking purposes. According to the results of further analysis, electricity appeared to be a more important issue for middle class township dwellers, and for persons who were urban-oriented and accustomed to higher standards of housing than for others in the sample.¹⁾

Summary: A number of exercises were conducted with all members of the sample or with members of subsamples to probe into housing priorities. The need for space in the dwelling and for a home which was conveniently situated with regard to transport and community facilities again emerged as the most prominent concerns of township people. It would appear that

-
- 1) When selecting 30 high priority items from a list of 148, 31% of middle class respondents (vs. 14% rank and file), 25% with 8 or more years education (vs. 14% with less education), 29% with a relatively higher (vs. 11% with lower) total household income, 25% living in detached (vs. 9% in other) dwellings selected electricity.

In the present exercise the significantly higher proportions of the subsample selecting electricity were as follows: 70% with 8 or more years education (vs. 50% with less education), 66% Christians (vs. 43% members of African independent churches), 68% of persons who had lived in 'conventional' urban dwellings before moving to their present dwelling (vs. 38% who had lived in shacks or huts), 68% with no access to rural land (vs. 48% with access), 64% cattle owners (vs. 44% non-owners).

although many respondents perceived housing incongruence regarding needs for dwelling space, they did not think that moving would solve their problems. Housing conditions were perceived to be very similar in all townships and in a tight housing situation most respondents did not wish to risk losing what they had achieved in housing to date. Moving was hypothetically feasible if one could build or own one's own home, or go and live in a higher standard dwelling. Further disincentives to moving were legal restrictions, economic and social costs. Many respondents did not wish to move away from familiar surroundings. By contrast to inter-urban movements, moving to the rural areas was considered to be economically rewarding. Priorities for home improvements generally referred to internal changes to meet the need for more dwelling space and an attractive home. *How one lived* appeared to be more important than in which *neighbourhood* one lived in a situation of minimal choice in housing.

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M. 185 (b)

CHAPTER 8.IMAGES OF HOUSING - AN EVALUATION OF HOUSE STYLES.

Most people have very clear conceptions of the familiar objects which fill their everyday lives. Such images or stereotypes are usually learnt during early childhood and form part of one's cultural heritage or they may be acquired later in life during a resocialisation experience. Very few drawing skills are required in order that children and adults alike can effectively communicate the essential elements of these stereotypes in simple sketches or 'stick drawings' which effectively signify particular familiar objects. Thus the 'stick drawing' depicting the typical western suburban house might consist of a cube house (drawn as a square) with a central doorway, symmetrically displaced windows to either side, a chimney on a pitched roof, all of which might vaguely resemble a face with two eyes, a nose and a mouth.¹⁾ Such pictorial images represent the core or essence of a basic concept, to which minor alterations, additions, styles and gimmickry can be added to highlight particular aspects of the image, to complicate and confuse, to amuse and delight us. Despite these disguises, we are still able to detect and address ourselves to the basic image of the object being projected in the picture.

It has frequently been remarked how persistent such core images or abstractions of basic objects in everyday life may be. For example Jencks²⁾ points out that the basic prototype house which has been developed in many working class housing estates in the western world is modelled after the house 'archetype' described in terms of the stick drawing above. It has also been observed that city children living in high rise housing estates or bustling cities full of tenement houses may insist on depicting a house as a single or double storey

1) cf. Jencks 1977 : 64.

2) cf. Jencks 1977 : 63.

detached family house rather than a tenement flat.¹⁾ It is possible that basic images of everyday concepts such as 'house' or 'home' are learnt from agents outside of the immediately experienced environment. Media influences, for example cartoons and children's picture story books may assist in keeping alive and perpetuating imagery over several generations. Similarly, in the adult world *ideal* images may be more enduring, because they reflect the less changing normative and desirable states of familiar objects rather than the constantly changing forms in which they appear in the real world.

Alternatively, it has been necessary to revise popular images from time to time which would otherwise have lost their meaning or 'significance'. For example, the clock face has replaced the image of 'time' symbolised by the hour glass. The age of electronics may call for yet another revision of the popular image of time, for children of future generations may no longer recognise the obsolete clock face as a representation of 'time'.

So much for the creation and persistence of pictorial images. Turning our attention to the opposite process of code dissemination, we may imagine that certain pictorial stimuli are recognised or decoded as familiar objects if observers are able to 'see through' the various frills which camouflage the basic concept depicted. At the same time, the different disguises in which the basic concept appears will add certain nuances and distinctions to the image perceived by the observer. In other words, what a picture signifies will depend as much on how the observer decodes the message contained in the picture as on the intentions of the artist cum communicator.

1) In this connection, compare also Kevin Lynch's report on a comparative study of how children in a wide variety of social settings see their environment. Lynch (1977 : 44) describes how a group of city children living in a housing settlement north of Mexico City tended to depart from reality in their pictorial representations of the neighbourhood in which they lived. Among other embellishments, they drew sloping roofs where all were flat.

In connection with the present inquiry into the meaning of housing for township blacks, it was thought essential to identify the typical 'housing image' by which township residents orient themselves, and to assess to what degree the standard township house or variations of the same were congruent with this image.

For this purpose, a projective test of housing imagery was devised, based on the notion that architectural styles of residences speak a language which is understood and interpreted in like or dissimilar fashion by both the designers and the users of the houses. It was assumed that architectural styles ¹⁾ conveyed metaphors which might be strange or familiar, provoke status anxiety or provide reassurance to the potential occupier, and this might disguise, detract from, or alternatively support the basic image of the 'ideal' home for the person concerned. Certain house styles might appeal to the potential resident on the grounds of their being recognisable, readable and congruent with a person's status in life. Alternatively, they might conform to the expectations or aspirations for a future life position or awake nostalgia for past life experiences or simply excite the imagination. Whatever the case might be, it was proposed that architectural styles could be evaluated, e.g. decoded and translated into messages relevant to the observer, which would be accepted or rejected according to the communication received. Thus, the intention was to observe how township people interpreted the signs disseminated in a particular housing style, whether the style immediately signified 'home' or needed 'redesigning' in order to meet their expectations.

According to Jencks²⁾ the recognition and interpretation of architectural styles - precisely because they are based on learnt conditions - may vary from one group to another. Groups of persons who share the meanings they impute to certain signs belong to the same semiotic group and would be expected to develop similar visions of the good life and the popular home. Expressing our working hypothesis in Jenck's terminology, we aimed to test two propositions:

-
- 1) The concept of architectural styles is used in a broad sense and includes impure and hybrid mixtures of styles.
 - 2) cf. Jencks 1977 : 63.

- 1) Township people represented by the survey respondents belong to the same semiotic group and respond to a single architectural style which signifies 'home' most intensely to them.
- 2) Styles which are consistent with the standard township house convey a stronger message of 'home' to the survey respondents than other styles. ('Consistent' styles are defined as those which can be 'added onto' the basic design to change its appearance without significantly altering its programmed space.)

Along the lines of Loudon's notion of architectural associationism and his sketches of 'how to dress up a utilitarian house', a projective test of housing styles was devised for purposes of the study.¹⁾ The rationale on which the test was based, was that respondents should project their desires and aspirations, anxieties and reservations regarding housing onto the images of houses presented to them and express affinity with or preference for the house style best suited to their present lifestyle or to their preference for a better residential life. In most cases a slightly modified version of the standard township house²⁾ was used as a starting point and 'dressed up' in a number of styles. The aim was to test the impact made by the different housing facades. Ideally the programmed space 'behind the facade' would remain constant in order to measure the single effect of the elevation. An effort was made to

-
- 1) J.C. Loudon proposed a theory of 'architectural associationism' referring to the association of ideas with house styles and suggested that each house should convey in its manner the character and role of its owner. In the sketches from Loudon's *Encyclopaedia: How to dress up a Utilitarian Cottage**, a basic cube house with hipped roof is dressed up with a number of styles. The suitability of the style employed depends upon the occupant's role in society and place of residence. This procedure of transforming a basic house type was applied to a slightly modified version of the standard township house when developing a projective test for use in the present study. *Jencks (1977 : 74-75) citing G.L. Hersey: 'J.C. Loudon and Architectural Associationism' *Architecture Review*, August 1968, pp. 89-92.
 - 2) Whilst the standard township house would consist of two units, the modified version used in the projective test consisted of three units.

retain the basic dimensions of the standard housing unit, but this was not always feasible. In all, thirteen different elevations of detached residences were presented to a subsample of the survey respondents for an affective evaluation. All respondents in this subgroup were requested to pick the two houses from the set of thirteen houses, in which they would most prefer to live, and the two houses in which they would least like to live.

Comments and arguments referring to particular likes and dislikes were recorded for the four images selected by each participant in the test. Respondents were then asked to imagine the type of person who would like to live in the four houses selected.

As mentioned above, the projection of images is a two-way process, the choices made by the respondents in the survey have as much to say about the manner in which these persons stereotype the 'ideal' home, as about the images of housing presented for decoding. The analysis of both aspects of image projection and reception may be equally relevant to this study. We shall commence reporting with the first aspect.

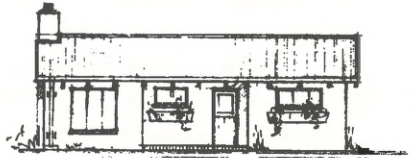
8.1 Evaluation of house styles.

8.1.1 Preferred house styles.

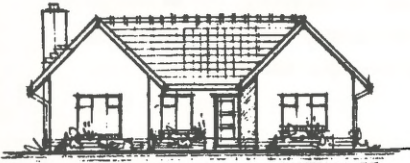
Considerable consensus was achieved regarding the most attractive and the least attractive styles respectively in the set of 13 elevations from which the respondents were allowed to choose. The selections made are tabulated on Table 8.1 in approximate order of preference. The results of the projective test regarding preferred housing styles may be summarised below. The styles are identified by codes and a descriptive label which is in some cases based on the manner in which it was identified by the survey respondents.



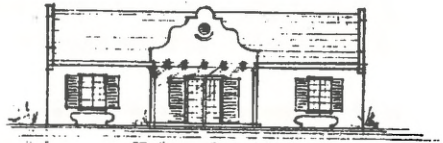
Rank 1.
S 'hipped roof'



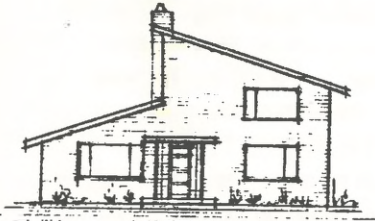
Rank 4.
L 'modified township'



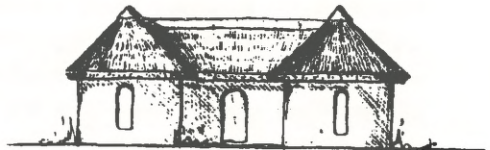
Rank 2.
O 'twin gable'



Rank 5.
T 'Cape Dutch'



Rank 3.
D 'double lean-to'



Rank 6.
H 'double rondavel'

Figure 8-0 House designs in approximate order of preference



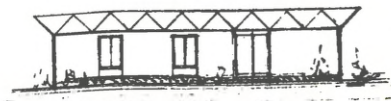
Rank 7.
J 'double storey-pitched roof'



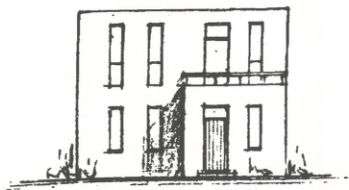
Rank 8.
E 'single storey-flat roof'



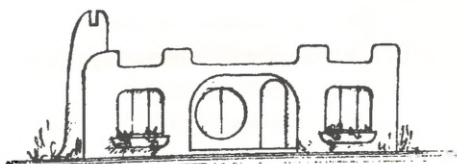
Rank 9.
C 'verandah'



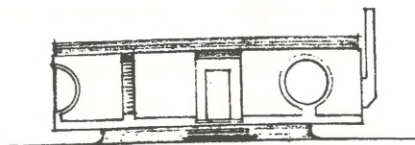
Rank 10.
K 'space frame Sotho'



Rank 11.
B 'double storey-flat roof'



Rank 12.
A 'Morrocan'



Rank 13.
M 'wagon prefab'

Rank 13 = least preferred design

Rank 1 = most preferred design

Table 8.1.

Evaluation of house styles (subsample).

Designs in approximate order of preference		Most preferred house to live in *	Least preferred house to live in *
Code	description	%	%
S	hipped roof	63	0
O	twin gable	55	3
D	double lean-to	17	3
L	modified township	14	4
T	Cape Dutch	13	4
H	double rondavel	12	14
J	double storey-pitched roof	10	11
E	single storey-flat roof	7	11
C	verandah	4	18
K	space frame Sotho	4	24
B	double storey-flat roof	0	20
A	Morrocan	2	36
M	wagon prefab	0	50
		N=134	N=119

* Multiple choice: includes the two designs most preferred or least preferred respectively by each respondent.

- 1) By consensus clearly favoured styles: S, O ('hipped roof', 'twin gable')
- 2) Somewhat more favourable: D, L, T ('double lean-to', 'modified township', 'Cape Dutch')
- 3) Evoked mixed feelings: in particular H, ('double rondavel')
but also J, E ('double storey-pitched roof', 'single storey-flat roof')
- 4) Less favourable: B, K, C ('double storey-flat roof', 'space frame Sotho', 'verandah')
- 5) By consensus clearly rejected: M, A ('Morrocan', 'wagon prefab')

The most attractive styles S and O were the ones which projected a 'detached family home' image. The family home is spacious enough to accommodate the whole family comfortably; its structure is strong and protects against outside elements; it is 'good to look at' in a pleasant, wholesome and clear cut manner. It is attractive by virtue of a proven style rather than trendiness.

By contrast the least attractive styles were clearly M and A, which were rejected by more than one-third to one-half of those participating in the test. These designs were considered too modernistic, unconventional and unsuitable for family housing.

The remainder of the designs attracted more equally balanced favourable and unfavourable votes. Despite these variations in opinion consistent trends in the evaluation of the housing imagery were discernible which will be listed in point form below. The order of mention does not necessarily refer to the importance of the observation.

- Attractive styles are easily legible. Windows and doors are 'read' to indicate the scale of dimensions, in particular the number and size of rooms. Chimneys and water tanks, the positioning of the windows, are taken to indicate which amenities the house affords. There is a desire to know what the house has to offer. The least popular designs M and A were highly illegible to most respondents.
- Symmetry, and well balanced proportions are attractive, (possibly because they enhance legibility or resemble the suburban archetype of housing). A symmetrical displacement of windows or front rooms to either side of the house is considered especially attractive.
- Size and style factors compete with each other in determining preference (we shall support this argument with figures below). The optimal choices, particularly O and S represented a compromise between stylishness and size.
- Size has an optimal utility value. The house must be large but not too large. Thus, the rambling verandah house (C) is interpreted as an institutional structure: a school or a boarding house. The two

double storey houses (J, B) are seen as dual occupancy dwellings (flats or maisonettes) or as boarding houses. 'Outsize' homes are relegated to the bottom of the list of preferred images.

- The pitched roof of any description enhances the image of the solidly built, secure family home. The first seven houses on the preference list all feature variations of the pitched roof (inclusive a thatched roof). The last six with exception of the verandah house feature flat roofs. Unfortunately, a mono-pitched roof was not included in the series. It is suggested, that the preference for the pitched roof stems from functional as well as purely prestige considerations. From a performance point of view, the pitched roof is weatherproof and insulates well.
- The desires for spaciousness and good performance tend to complement and support each other. Large windows indicating large rooms give the impression of a well-aired, bright and friendly home. The height of the building, which is enhanced by the pitched roof, is also associated with spacious living.
- Foreign metaphors tend to be rejected whilst proven and familiar ones are more acceptable. The least popular designs are ones which are associated with alien user groups, for example with 'Arabs', 'Indians' or 'Sothos'. On the other hand what might be characterised as 'white suburban' styles are most popular. 'Suburban' styles are associated with housing for the affluent and the ethical, and are appropriate when applied to the houses of prestigious township dwellers. However, some few respondents expressed their misgivings about emulating what might be considered extraneous or snobbish trends in housing. This type of apprehension is most pronounced in the case of the Cape Dutch style house, which might otherwise be acceptable as regards size, solid build and symmetry.
- In some respects the rondavel style is considered an inappropriate metaphor in an urban or suburban setting. It signifies rural rather than suburban living to most respondents.

- Of the four houses which are possibly most similar to the standard township house (L, T, E, K) the most clearly recognisable 'township' styles referred to elevations L and E. The Cape Dutch facade which was only slightly less popular than the modified version of the township elevation (L) successfully masked the 'modified township house' built behind it, although some respondents suspected that it contained too few rooms for the average township family. House K was more readily identified as the 'Sotho' house (due to the ornamental fascia board it features), than as a variation of the basic township house. Generally speaking the 'dressed up' township houses attracted relatively few extreme votes of delight or rejection, so one might presume that these styles conform to standard expectations. Whenever elevations were recognised as variations of the standard township house, they were likely to invite associations of limited size and poor performance. On the other hand, such houses were also considered 'within reach' as regards rent paying capability. Facade L possibly represents the best compromise solution in this group, because its image manages to convey greater solidity and possibly increased spaciousness in comparison to the standard township house, whilst using a familiar architectural language. However, style L is clearly less pretentious than the more popular 'suburban' designs S and O, and therefore can be more easily associated with the average person in the street.

- Double-storey houses are very unpopular. They are expected to perform poorly and are associated with foreign metaphors and non-family usage, such as shops, offices, boarding houses, etc. If the space standard is too high, the image projected is one of 'exploitation' by landlords, rather than spacious family accommodation. Thus, the stark image of design B (flat roof, narrow windows) is associated with a rooming house crammed full of lodgers. The double storey house with pitched roof (J), by contrast, projects a somewhat softer image and is more often associated with a family house - albeit a two family house in some cases, and therefore ranks somewhat higher in the preference ratings. However, most persons would not be prepared to share a double storey house with another family (see also Chapter 12).

- The preferred designs represent an optimal choice in housing. The least desirable houses are the ones which are offered to persons who have no say in housing matters. Similarly, houses which are thought to have been allocated to people in temporary or emergency housing situations are disliked intensely. Half of the respondents rejected design M, very often because it signified a temporary *shelter* rather than a *home*. Design M was frequently interpreted as a prefabricated structure, which might be employed to house migrant workers, say on a construction site, who would be forced to live in bachelor circumstances.
- A band of planting in front of the house enhances the prestige value of the house considerably. Preferably, it should frame the building rather than be incorporated as part of the decor. Rich ornamentation of the structure itself as in the 'Sotho frieze' (K) or the 'garlands of flowers' (the flowers in the window boxes in L) is rejected by the respondents who are mainly Zulu speakers, because it signifies a foreign element in housing imagery.
- Security factors are compatible with the value attached to solidly built structures. However, the desire for spaciousness may contradict the need for security. An excess of glazed area is associated with a sense of vulnerability rather than with feelings of spacious and comfortable living. This is particularly evident in the case of the verandah house (C).

8. 1.1.1 The influence of background factors on style preferences.

Judging from the shared preferences expressed mainly for what is referred to as the 'suburban' style, one might presume that the township people represented by the respondents in the survey by and large belonged to the same semiotic group. Nevertheless, it might be of interest to discuss some minor differences of opinion which were observed in a further analysis of stated preferences. (These trends are not statistically significant).

It would appear that the size criterion is of greater relevance to persons coming from larger rather than smaller households.

For example, the verandah house more often attracted the attention of persons living in larger households, but was subsequently rejected more often than it was accepted as a solution. Option J, the 'double storey-pitched roof' house was slightly more often considered an alternative solution to family living by persons living in larger households. On the other hand, respondents coming from smaller households were more likely to prefer the more compact 'suburban' solution O.

Younger persons tended to show greater consensus in choosing the 'suburban' options S and O, but their opinions on disliked images were less uniform. However, the 'verandah' house was more often disliked by younger than older persons, possibly because it was associated with schooldays and old-fashioned styling. Older persons tended to make more modern choices regarding preferred styles, but generally showed less consensus in their preferences. However, they concentrated their negative votes on M, the 'wagon prefab' and A, the 'Morrocan' house, which appeared too modernistic and outlandish to them.

'Class differences did not account for much variation in opinion. A slightly higher proportion of rank and file persons voted for the 'rondavel' style, whereas middle class persons were more likely to support the popular favourites, 'suburban' styles S and O.

8. 1.2. The criteria employed in reading housing images.

A content analysis of commentry and responses to probes into housing imagery, revealed that five major criteria were employed in assessing degree of acceptance or rejection of images. These criteria might be briefly referred to as 'style', 'spaciousness', 'performance', 'amenities' and 'affordability'. A more detailed description of the emphases subsumed under these headings follows:

Style, aesthetic and prestige qualities: References to style, design, plan, structure, appearance, beauty, finish, attractiveness, layout, form, proportions, decorations and trimmings (inclusive bands of flowers). Image and identity factors. Fashions, trends in housing. Reference to style, like or dislike of special features such as doors, windows, chimneys etc.

Space standards: Reference to size, spaciousness of yard or structure. Width, height of building. Number, size of rooms (often in relation to size of family). Organisation of space. Size of structure implied in reference to type (detached, double storey).

Performance standards: Ventilation, thermal performance (including reference to verandah), weather resistance (roofing, gutters), lighting. Safety (inflammability, staircases), security, servicability. Durability, strength, solid foundations. Hygiene, cleanliness. Reference to windows and doors in connection with light, ventilation, safety etc. "Will the structure serve as a family home?"

Affordability: Reference to building, rental, maintenance or furnishing costs. Cost of materials and finishes.

Amenities: Mention of chimneys, stoves, fireplaces, utilities (kitchen, toilet, electricity), if referred to in functional rather than in prestige terms.

Table 8.2. shows that the 'style' criterion was most often employed when responding to images in terms of preference. However, images of housing were also 'tested' for their suitability regarding 'spaciousness and 'performance'. 'Amenities' and 'affordability' were less important criteria for evaluating housing images.

The relative importance of these criteria for shaping the respondents' preferences regarding housing images remained fairly constant regardless of the particular image being reviewed. A minor shift in emphasis occurred only when spaciousness or performance cues attracted more attention than the style components of the image.

These results meet expectations that housing images are evaluated on the basis of an affective dimension such as 'style' or 'prestige' rather than along more rational utilitarian lines of thinking. However, the fact that such utilitarian criteria as 'space' and 'performance' 'intruded' on the purely affective assessment of housing styles, may well reflect the dissatisfaction which respondents felt in respect of basic housing needs, which consciously or subconsciously tainted their perception of housing images.

Table 8.2.

Criteria used in evaluating housing imagery.Preferences (subsample N = 131 respondents)

Designs in approximate order of preference		Frequency with which criteria are employed in expressing like or dislike of designs					Response total
Code	description	Style	Spaciousness	Performance	Affordability	Amenities	
		%	%	%	%	%	N =
S	hipped roof	51	24	20	3	2	100%=562
O	twin gable	50	24	21	2	3	100%=523
D	double lean-to	74	14	9	1	2	100%=244
L	modified township	48	26	17	0	9	100%=150
T	Cape Dutch	58	21	17	0	4	100%=126
H	double rondavel	43	27	23	2	5	100%=251
J	double storey-pitched roof	56	26	16	1	1	100%=172
E	single storey-flat roof	44	38	11	1	6	100%=152
C	verandah	54	22	21	1	2	100%=171
K	space frame Sotho	51	26	14	4	5	100%=227
B	double storey-flat roof	42	33	19	1	5	100%=202
A	Moroccan	55	20	18	3	4	100%=304
M	Wagon prefab	50	24	21	3	2	100%=428
All designs		52	24	18	2	4	100%=3521

Advantages/Disadvantages (subsample N = 55 respondents)

		Frequency with which criteria are employed in identifying advantages/disadvantages of designs					Response total
		Style	Space	Performance	Affordability	Amenities	
		%	%	%	%	%	N =
advantages:	all designs	30	39	18	3	10	100% = 164
disadvantages:	all designs	10	15	33	11	31	100% = 103

When required to evaluate house styles along more utilitarian lines, in terms of 'advantages' and 'disadvantages' of living in the differently styled houses, the more rational dimensions referring to 'spaciousness', 'performance', 'amenities' and 'affordability' tended to be used to the exclusion of the more emotive 'style' dimension.

8. 1.3. Typology of residents.

The different house styles included in the projective test did not relate as closely to particular types of residents as might have been expected. However, the housing images did evoke a profile of the typical residents, who might live in a particularly liked or disliked style of house (cf. Table 8.3).

The major dimensions on which the typology was based included 'affluence', 'ethos', 'rate of occupancy', 'ethnicity', and 'accessibility' or 'choice in housing'. Other dimensions included 'taste in housing', 'life style', 'age' or 'life cycle', and 'usage'. It was observed that foreign metaphors evoked fewer associations with typical residents. The categories employed in characterising types of residents are by and large self explanatory, but the 'ethos' dimension may need further clarification. 'Ethical' people were typically characterised as progressive or modern, sophisticated, confident, civilised, educated or Christian. They were described as persons who were concerned about their housing situation and actively sought to improve their dwelling circumstances. They wished to live in an orderly, clean and decent manner. They were 'abazi thandayo' people who cared about themselves and by implication their residential surroundings. By contrast, 'unethical' people included the 'uncivilised' and dirty persons who did not care about themselves, the way they lived or society in general. 'Unethical' people were regarded as a menace or threat to society and behaved in an unorderly, aggressive fashion. 'Tsotsis' and drunkards were typically classified under the 'unethical' category.

Table 8.3.

Typical residents associated with house styles (subsample)

Designs in approximate order of preference

Typology of residents	hipped roof	twin gable	double lean-to	modified township	Cape Dutch	double rondavel	double storey-pitched roof	single storey-flat roof	verandah	space frame Sotho	double storey-flat roof	Morrocan	wagon prefab
dimensions:	S	O	D	L	T	H	J	E	C	K	B	A	M
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
affluence	29	28	36	26	28	21	23	32	30	37	23	28	24
ethos	23	25	16	6	25	16	19	8	19	13	29	28	30
lifestyle	3	4	5	9	7	22	8	9	8	5	3	3	2
taste	4	4	6	1	1	3	4	4	1	7	4	5	4
age, life cycle	2	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	2	3	4	1	2
number of occupants	11	10	12	11	7	8	19	13	8	8	4	9	11
usage (non-family)	2	1	2	2	2	4	2	2	6	2	1	1	
choice in housing (none)	5	8	5	1	7	4	2	7	4	5	10	4	9
ethnicity	11	10	7	21	11	13	12	9	11	10	10	10	9
anyone	5	5	4	16	1	5	4	11	7	5	6	4	4
don't know	5	3	6	6	8	2	6	4	4	5	6	7	5
	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
	100%												
emphases:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
the richer	23	20	31	21	25	19	18	27	21	30	16	21	17
the poorer	6	7	5	5	3	2	5	5	9	7	7	7	8
'ethical' people	17	20	11	5	23	13	15	6	15	10	26	21	20
'unethical' people	6	6	5	1	2	3	3	2	4	3	3	7	10
township people			1		3		2	3	4	1	1		1
rural, traditional people	3	3	5	6	7	19	5	6	7	5	3	3	2
people with good taste		1	3	1		2		1		1		1	1

Continued/

Table 8.3. continued.

Typical residents associated with house styles. (subsample)

Typology of residents	Designs in approximate order of preference												
	hipped roof	twin gable	double lean-to	modified township	Cape Dutch	double rondavel	double storey-pitched roof	single storey-flat roof	verandah	space frame Sotho	double storey-flat roof	Morocan	wagon prefab
<u>emphases:</u>	S	O	D	L	T	H	J	E	C	K	B	A	M
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
people with particular taste of own	2	2	3		1		4	2	1	2	2	2	1
people with bad taste	2		1			2				3	2	1	2
older people	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
younger people (with no children)		1			1	1			1	1	2		1
many people; large, multiple families	6	5	7	7	6	3	12	6	6	5	3	7	6
small families, few people, tenants, bachelors	6	5	5	5	1	5	7	7	3	3	1	2	5
non-family use (businessmen, school children, landlords, tourists)	2	1	2	2	2	4	2	2	6	2	1	1	
the deprived, temporary residents	5	8	5	1	7	4	2	7	4	5	10	4	9
'anyone', 'people like you and me'	5	5	3	16	1	5	4	11	6	5	6	4	4
blacks (including Sothos)	2	2	1	2		2	3		2	3		1	1
Indians (includes 1 Coloured person)	2	4		2	3	4	5	2	3	1	6	1	2
Whites (including Dutch, Arabs, missionaries)	6	5	6	16	8	7	5	7	6	6	4	8	5
don't know	5	3	6	6	8	2	6	4	4	5	6	7	5
	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
	100%												
100% = N responses*	335	320	106	88	88	129	108	85	134	97	106	193	253

Continued/

Table 8.3. continued.

Typical residents associated with house styles. (subsample)

- * Characterisations refer to high/low preference designs. Respondents were only required to characterise their two 'most preferred' and two 'least preferred' designs. Multiple responses referring to a specific design were accepted.

It is noteworthy, that a fine distinction was made between the 'could'nt care less' attitude of the 'unethical' type of resident and the person who was deprived of a real choice in housing. Poor persons or newcomers to town were frequently referred to as persons who through no fault of their own would have to accept whatever housing was available. Persons who would accept any style of housing offered to them were usually referred to in sympathetic tones as unfortunate persons rather than as persons on whom one wished to pass judgement. It is perhaps telling that equal emphasis was placed on lack of choice, lack of ethos and poverty respectively when describing persons typically living in the least attractive houses.

It was observed that the criteria employed in developing a typology of residents involved prestige as well as practical considerations. Clearly, affluence and ethos criteria arose from prestige considerations. In some instances lifestyle (mainly rural or urban) and taste might have been subsumed under the ethos category. The rate of occupancy, age or life cycle factors tended to reflect practical housing needs. For example, persons with large or small families were teamed with the prestige attributes 'affluence' or 'ethos'.

The lifestyle or rural-urban dimension was not always employed in a neutral manner. In some cases negative connotations were associated with rurally oriented persons who were considered 'backward' or 'uncivilised'. In this case the lifestyle criterion might

have been placed under the 'ethos' heading. However, some references to rural residence were affect neutral, in the sense that respondents acknowledged the right of choice between an urban or rural lifestyle. Township people were usually referred to in a neutral tone and for present purposes, references to township people might alternatively have been grouped with references to 'people like you or me' or 'anyone'.

Aspirations to more prestigious living were usually implicit in references to 'affluence' and 'ethos', 'good taste' and 'whites'. Spontaneous identification with particular housing styles was possibly reflected in references to 'township people', 'people like you and me', 'just anyone', 'blacks' (excluding 'Sothos'). However, houses with which one would readily associate oneself tended to limit one's aspirations as can be seen on Table 8.3. Styles associated with 'township people', 'blacks', 'people like you and me' did not rank particularly high as regards preference.

The most acceptable styles S and G were thought to be best suited to the rich, to the socially well placed, to white as well as to township families, to large as well as to small families. Thus, the preferred housing image tended to be equated with a fairly flexible housing solution.

Although the majority of the other house styles tended to be associated with a similar group of suitable residents, slight differences in emphases obtained which showed up the subtleties in the associational patterns. For example, 'ethos' with regard to the typical users of the 'suburban' and 'Cape Dutch' houses referred to education, social prestige, 'civilisation' and propriety. In the case of the 'double storey-flat roofed' B house reference was more often made to the 'ethos' of the landlord, who might be a progressive businessman. The 'rondavel' house H was significantly more often associated with 'rural-oriented' or 'backward' people than with 'township' people. The 'double storey-flat roofed' house (B) was frequently thought to house 'Indians' (although house B was never explicitly referred to as a 'Chatsworth' house, the resemblance might have evoked this type of association. However, several respondents identified elevation B as an 'Indian *shop*'). The 'double storey-pitched roof' house (J) was thought to be ideally

suited to accommodate multiple families. The modified 'township' houses L and E were most often associated with 'people like you and me'.

With regard to associations of housing images with typical residents, elevation L (modified township) merits special attention. Its pattern of typical occupancy is in some respects quite similar to that of the favourite suburban prototypes S and O. However, whilst the L house does not attract the pretentious 'ethical' persons to the same degree as the 'suburban' favourites do, it is more accessible to the rank and file person in the street. At the same time it is considered sufficiently prestigious in terms of the present exercise to be associated with housing for 'whites'.

8.2 Analysis of the meaning of housing images.

In the last section of this chapter each of the 13 elevations presented to the participants in the projective test are 'decoded'. On the following pages, the messages which the housing styles conveyed to the participants are briefly summarised. Typical as well as contradictory interpretations are annotated on the corresponding pictorial images shown in Figures 8-1 through 8-13.

Design S The 'hipped roof' house (N=84) Option S was rated as a beautiful and pleasing solution to gracious family living. It afforded ample room for a good sized family and extended hospitality to visitors as well. The design was well received. Option S projected a dignified or stately image. To some respondents, the house was conspicuous and reflected proud ownership, mainly due to the roof 'looming' high. One interviewee recommended that the house be built in a high flat place so that the grandeur of the house would be highlighted. By implication, it was thought that people living in such a house would take great care of their surroundings. Obviously, a house such as S would entail considerable maintenance costs for furnishing, servants and repairs. High performance standards and prestigious design were combined in Option S. The sturdy structure and the quality materials used in its construction gave the impression of security.

beautiful - big - modern

stately - dignified - imposing

compact structure

looks strong and secure

no gutters: rain problems

large rooms

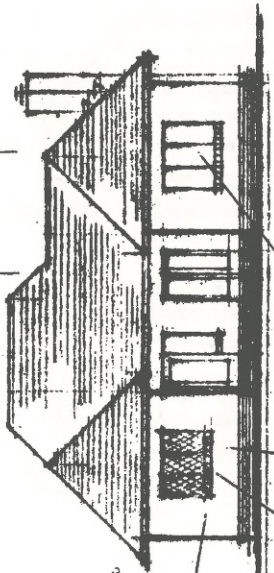
yard

windows protected by burglar guards

windows not the same

high pitched roof: rain drains off

roof 'frames' the house



verandah

no garage

don't see a verandah

a built-in stove

special features: lights, water, stove.

the roof is a bit complicated - fancy

windows / height: plenty of fresh air circulating

makes you feel at home compared to these poor rooms

needs a servant

Figure 8-1 Design S: The 'hipped roof' house

for the respectable

Design 0 The 'twin gable' house (N=78) Option 0 was regarded as an attractively designed prestige house, which was sufficiently large to accommodate the average township family. The high standard of the construction materials and the finish were praised. Prestige features included the solid, generously dimensioned walls, the tiled pitched roof, the chimney pot, the wide windows and the garden surrounding the house. The twin gables which jutted forward to enclose a patio, was a design feature which received much favourable comment.

Infrequently, fault was found with minor details which reflected inconsistency in design or untidiness: For example, the gutters protruded alongside the outside walls; the windows were not uniform in design; the garden was overgrown; and the chimney pot was too prominent.

The performance standard of option 0 was thought to be exceptionally high; it provided a comfortable home for those who could afford it.

attractive - spacious - modern

What is the chimney for?
A house like this should have electricity

pitched roof:
Good insulation
the rain rolls off

people might be jealous

solidly built

132.

prestige elevation

generously dimensioned height

big rooms

flowers too close to house

glazed door is easily broken

symmetric design:

'two rooms facing each other'
'like two houses or cottages'

fireplace for cold days

expensive tiled roof

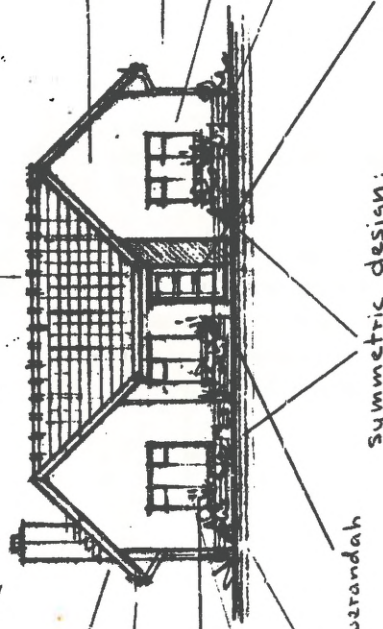
gutters

wide windows

well designed for children

place for a flower garden and lawn

verandah



for the wealthy

for people 'who like to show off'

Figure 8-2 Design 0: The 'twin gable' house

Design D The 'double lean-to' house (N=27) Design D was generally acceptable to some respondents. It combined the positive aspects of the double storey house with that of the single storey suburban house type. It was big, but not *too* big, high but not *too* high so as to be forbidding. The windows were wide and gave the impression of spaciousness within. The major drawback of design D was its cost in rentals or instalments, outlay in furnishings and maintenance ("it needs a servant to clean it").

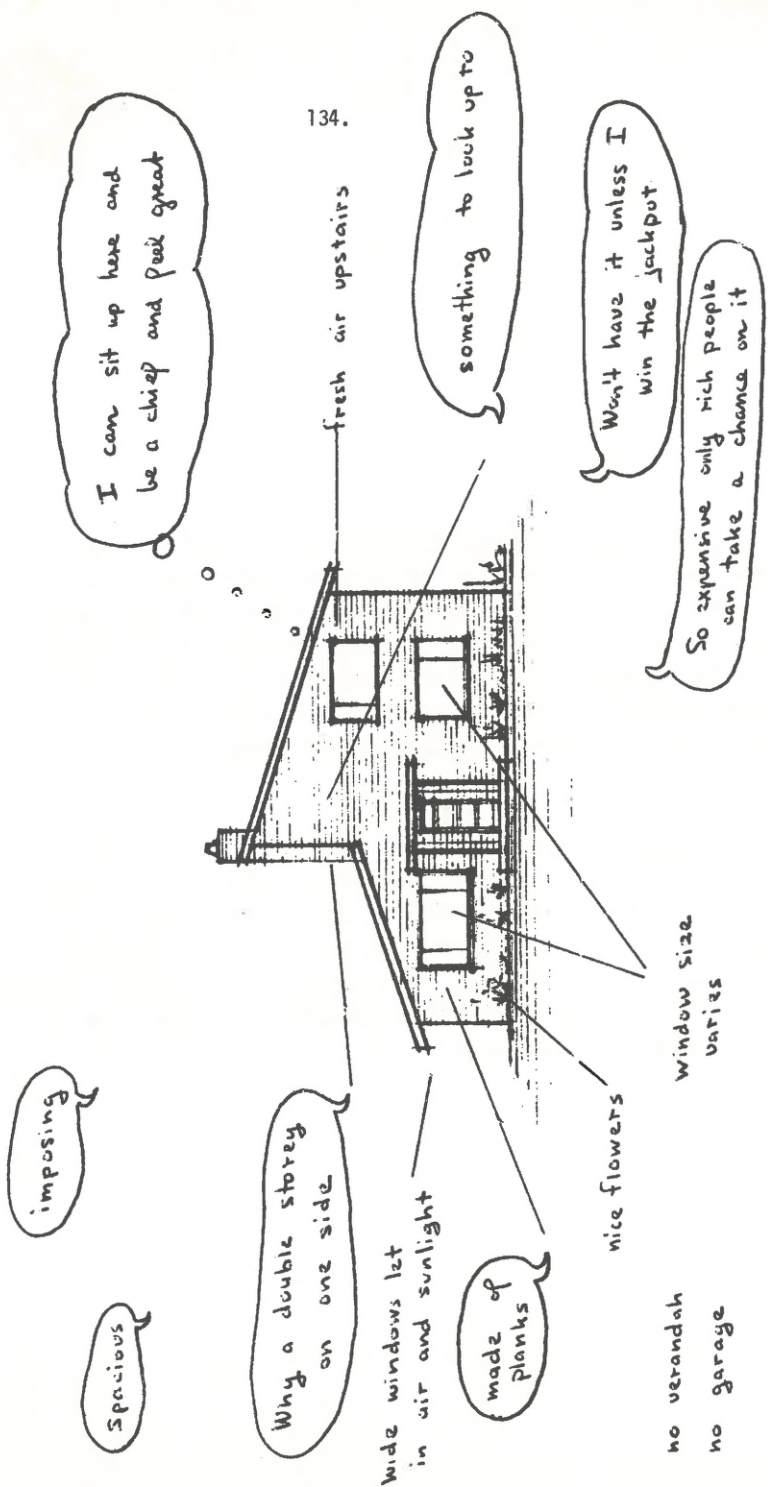


Figure 8-3 Design D: The 'double lean-to' house

for rich people
for "Europeans by money not complexion"

Design L The 'modified township' house (N=24) The windows and the window boxes were the most dominant features of the L option, which was often identified as a standard township house. It would appear that the flowers were perhaps too close to the dwelling for comfort, or had been traded-off for highly valued glazed area. The flower decoration added an Indian flavour to this variation of the township house. Some respondents commented that the windows were not uniform in size.

Option L's simple design was acceptable, but its small size was too restrictive for the average township family. Surprisingly, no specific mentions were made of the roof, of the guttering or of the height of the structure. Possibly these elements were acceptable as they stood. On the other hand, several respondents commented favourably on the solidity of the structure, an impression which might have been gained from the construction of the walls and the roof.

simple / affordable

When it comes to the payments of this house, I can afford it

It's the same as the boxes we are living in now.

One would not see a snake coming into the house because of these weeds

flower decorations decorations hanging from the windows are for Indians

Windows should be the same size

chimney

nicely built

wide sitting room window for fresh air

nice garden

small windows

window on door

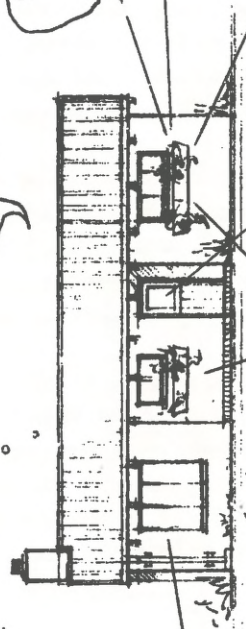


Figure 8-4 Design L: The Modified township' house

for small township families

'Good for couples still planning their families'

Design T The 'Cape Dutch' house (N=22) The 'Cape Dutch' design features attracted a considerable number of comments, favourable and unfavourable and stimulated rich associations. The style was described as 'aristocratic', 'European' or 'Dutch' in some instances.

Whilst some respondents considered the dimensions of the rooms in the house to be quite generous, others were in doubt whether option T could accommodate a large family. Although the number of persons choosing to discuss the option was small, the pseudo Dutch house was never explicitly equated with the township house.

Option T was considered to be well built and stylish, even if one did not like the design or the image it projected. In view of the fact that most respondents disregarded option T and judging from the few comments it received, one gains the impression that township people could not or did not wish to identify themselves with 'dutch' imagery, or that this type of imagery conveyed an irrelevant message for them.

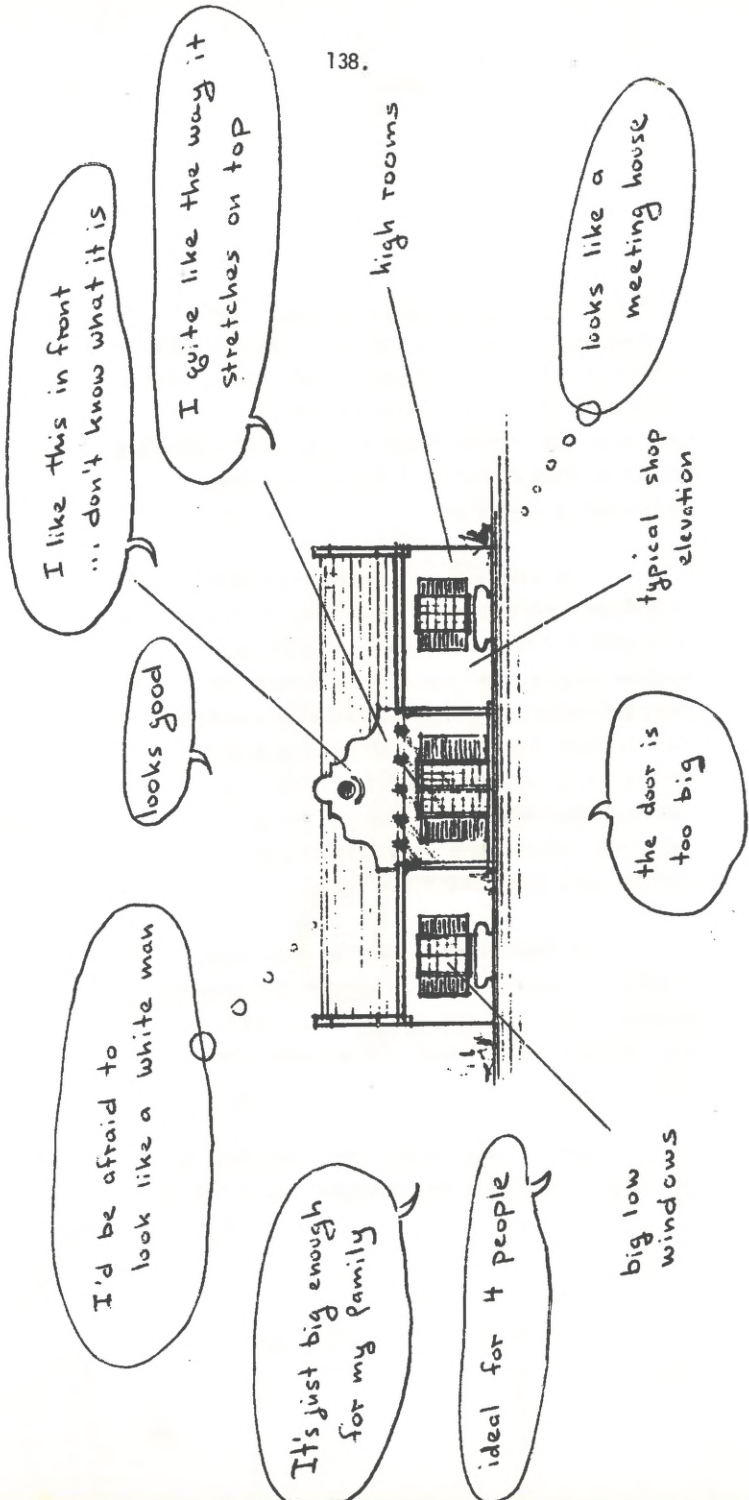


Figure 8-5 Design T: The 'Cape Dutch' house

for Europeans

Design H The 'double rondaval' house (N=33) The rondaval house presented the most controversial option in the set, mainly due to its strong symbolic message. Individual design features were interpreted as positive or negative attributes dependent on one's interpretation of the overall image projected by design H.

In some persons the rondaval evoked childhood memories of living in the country or nostalgia for the simple, natural life one enjoyed in the rural areas. To others, the rondaval house was associated with backwardness, lack of civilisation and rejection of modernity. To a third group, the Zulu house symbolised a new consciousness of the value of the Zulu tradition, which could be cherished and revived in a modern setting.

A fourth group consciously or sub-consciously avoided a discussion of the symbolic meaning of design H and pragmatically declared the rondaval inconsistent with an urban life-style.

Whilst some interviewees responded to the image of the Zulu architectural tradition

Like the house I grew up in

not suitable for town

backward

backyard extension here

grass rots quickly

fire hazard

It's cosy and warm inside

cool thatched roof

no chimney

made from natural materials

unhygienic

You can do it yourself!

too low

Cheap and easy to build and maintain

not weather resistant

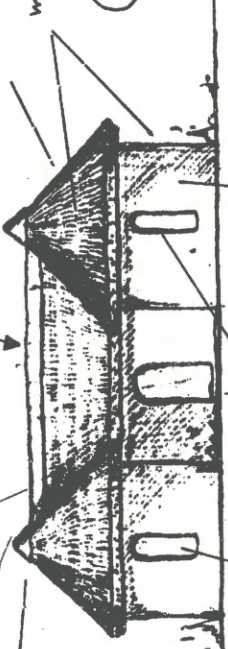
It's small

It's big

only one door as fire exit

Rough finish

Windows not in keeping with Zulu style hut



for country people - for traditional people ~
for people who respect/observe the Zulu customs
... maybe for holiday makers

Figure 8-6 Design H: The 'double rondavel' house

per se,¹⁾ others regarded option H as an example of hybrid design or impure architecture incorporating Zulu as well as western elements. Those interpreting the mixed metaphors in a positive light regarded design H as an attempt to update, modernise or adapt Zulu traditional house design to contemporary (urban) living. Alternatively, the purists criticised the design language. The windows in particular were thought to be in poor taste.

Seen in a positive light the rondavel symbolised warmth, protection, cosiness, and belonging; notions which were frequently linked to childhood experience. The rondavel was associated with peaceful, unstressful living, closeness to nature and respect for Zulu culture. As regards practical considerations, the rondavel was cheap and easy to build by the occupant and his or her family.

1) It is unimportant for the analysis of projective test results under discussion here that more correctly, the pole and daga hut might well be considered an innovation and adaptation in itself, and the 'beehive' grass hut the original Zulu house design. (cf. Bierman's writing on Zulu vernacular architecture, e.g. his (1977) paper on housing form.)

"You don't spend extra money on it. You can see to the repairs yourself, you won't have to hire people to do it". The materials were readily obtainable from natural sources. The thermal performance of the Zulu hut was much appreciated.

Those, who disliked the rondavel solution, stressed the fact that the materials used in hut construction were no longer easily available, the design was not flexible and prohibited extensions to the existing structure. The main problem was the roof, which was considered a fire hazard especially in densely populated areas. It was easily set alight by unfriendly neighbours. The rondavel was a solution for country living, but was unhealthy in town where space was at a premium. The small windows did not permit sunshine and fresh air to enter. Smoke had to escape through the thatch because there was no chimney.

- *It makes me think of Zululand. Though it is not exactly like Zululand houses, it is a Zulu house. The windows are not Zulu style, they spoil the house.*
- *It reminds me of our Zulu huts, it is good and big...I am proud of the customs in our society.*
- *I like its traditional construction because of course I am a Zulu. I was born in this type of house.*
- *Of course people who are civilised do not want such houses, but still there are many traditional people wanting such a house.*

Design J The 'double storey-pitched roof' house (N=26) Option J afforded spacious living, adequate ventilation and commanded a good view. It represented an expensive house for a single family occupying both levels, but for two families sharing the building, it would make an acceptable home. Persons who categorically disliked double storey living argued that the stairs were dangerous and inconvenient. The chimney was an attractive feature, mainly because it indicated that a stove or a fireplace for heating purposes was provided. In some instances, the height of the building was considered oppressive and the size of the structure was thought to be excessive.

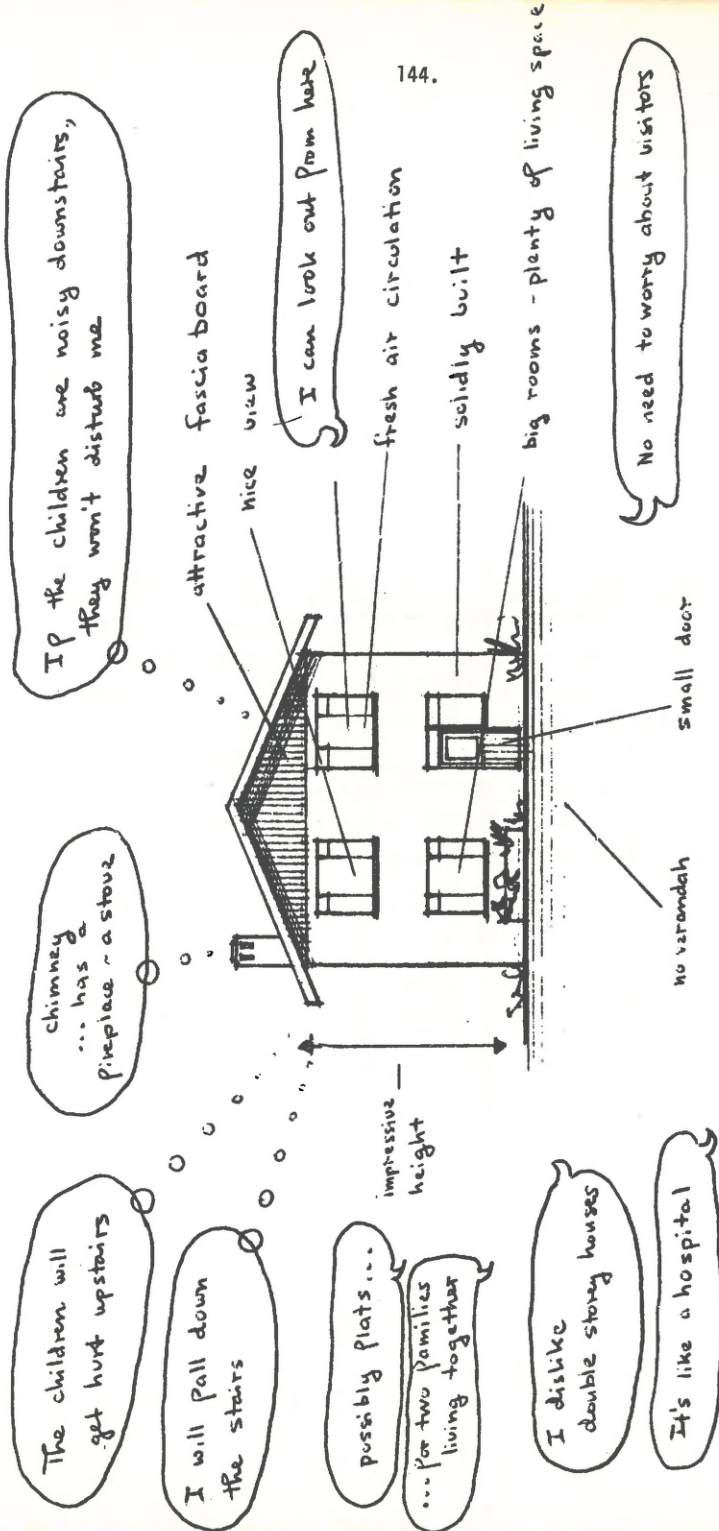


Figure 8-7 Design J: The 'double storey-pitched roof' house

For Indians - put a large family a tenement house

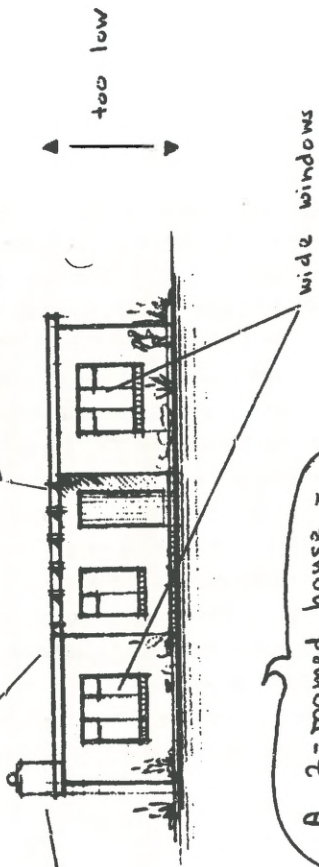
Design E The 'single storey-flat roof' house (N=22) Design E was inconspicuous and for this reason attracted few comments. It was considered to be a viable housing solution for persons seeking a small, inexpensive house with a straightforward design. It would be ideal for a childless couple. The structure was considered durable but the flat roof was thought to be problematic. Most respondents would have preferred for the roof to be raised for aesthetic and practical reasons. The height and size of the structure constituted the most negative features of design E.

It's affordable
 It's suitable
 It's nice

the plot roof is
 old-fashioned

water will seep into
 the house

animals might
 climb up and
 contaminate the
 water in the
 tank



A 2-roomed house -
 It's too small

Figure 8-8 Design E: The 'single storey-flat roof' house

for a small township family

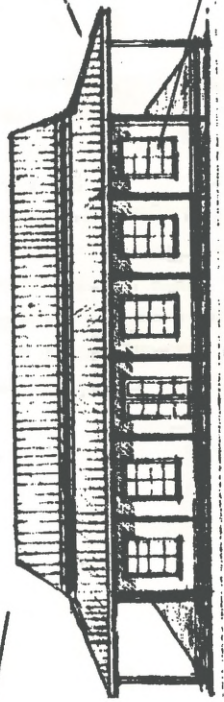
Design C The 'verandah' house (N=26) Design C was usually associated with a school rather than with a private dwelling. The size of the building was overpowering. The structure was considered to be too big to accommodate a single family, but reasonably sized to serve as a rooming house or as a barrack. Its most dominant feature was the long row of multi-light windows and the verandah running around the exterior of the house. Whilst large glazed areas were usually considered a positive design feature, design C featured too many windows. It was thought that people living in a glass house might feel too exposed to dangerous elements outside. The rambling house design was associated with country rather than with urban living. The building as it was portrayed in the drawing lacked depth; one respondent commented on the rooms being strung out in a single line. The single most positive feature of design C was the verandah, which was generally accepted as an asset to any house. The corrugated iron roof was considered a liability, it accumulated heat, vibrated when the wind blew or might be lifted off the house during a thunderstorm.

This is a farm school house
or possibly a hall, a courthouse, a church,
a stable or a barrack

148.

Corrugated iron roof
- attracts heat
- noisy

Wide verandah
sun protection



I can't afford to
buy all those curtains

so many
windows
to clean

drunkards will
break the windows

I wouldn't feel
safe

many windows = many rooms

Figure 8-9 Design C: The 'verandah' house

too big for one family

Design K The 'space frame Sotho' house (N=34) Option K was 'read' as a variation of the standard township house featuring a boldly patterned fascia board. None of the respondents reviewing design K referred to the space frame element. It presented a housing alternative for persons seeking a small, but modern, convenient and inexpensive dwelling. The motif applied to the fascia board was an eye catcher and lent a 'Sotho' image to the township house. To some, the house was top heavy and the fascia board exaggerated the impression of a short, squat structure. The performance of design K was thought to be impaired by its low height and the poorly positioned windows.

Is it a house or a shed?
or a storeroom, a beerhall, a school,
a courtroom, barracks

simple design - inexpensive

It's easy to build - no plan needed

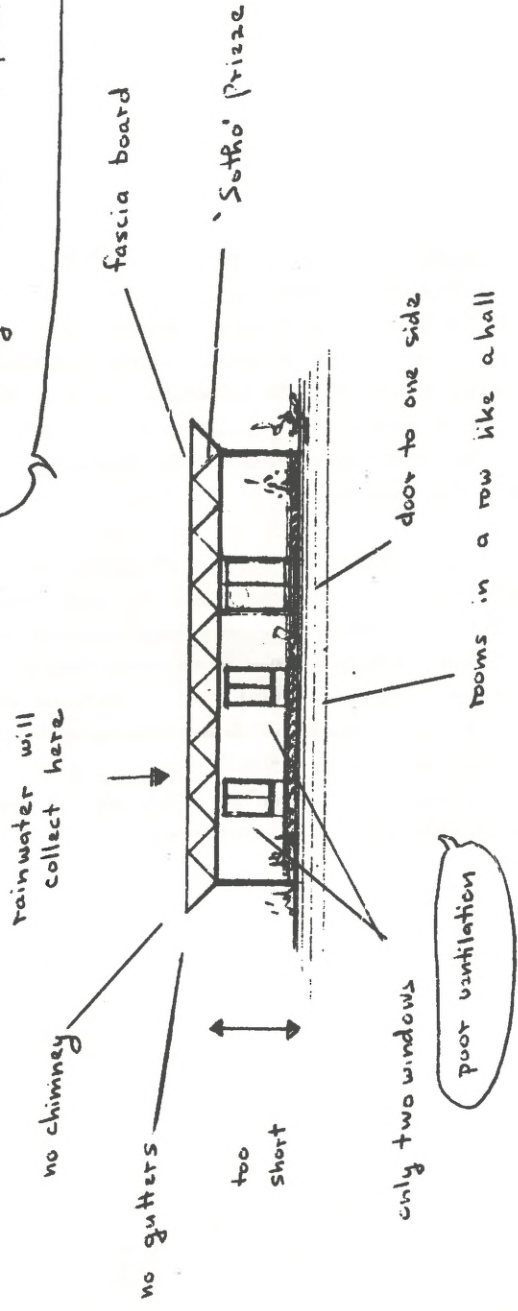


Figure 8-10 Design K: The 'space frame Sotho' house for small families 'who still have to build on either side' for Sothos - cause they like funny decorations'

Design B The 'double storey-flat roof' house (N=24) Design B was disliked mainly because it covered two floors. It was considered unsuitable for family dwelling purposes, because stairs were generally thought to be inconvenient and hazardous. Some respondents envisaged that the house would have only one bathroom situated on the ground floor, which would have to serve all the occupants of the house. This was considered a most impracticable arrangement, especially if the house was to be shared by two families.

The displacement of the windows suggested that the rooms were extremely narrow and airless. Design B projected an image of a rooming house or a multi-family dwelling. Some few respondents could imagine living in this double storey house with their own family occupying both floors, but the costs would be prohibitive. The house presented what was thought to be a dull facade, which was alternatively associated with non-dwelling functions such as a retail store, a clinic or an office building. The proportions between the height and the width of the building were displeasing to many respondents.

This is a shop, a clinic, an office, or a lodging house, not a family dwelling

What if I am on the top floor and the toilet is downstairs?

I detest double storey houses

I dislike climbing steps

What if the children pull from the top?

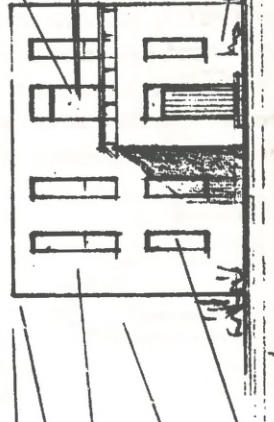
Where are the gutters no overhang

Difficult to clean upstairs windows

no place for rainwater to get down

Windows are sllis disproportionately small

Poor proportions: tall & narrow structure will easily fall down



Where are the steps leading to this door?

I like the 'garage'!

It's just the same as living in a compound

Figure 8-11 Design B: The 'double storey-flat roof' house

A home for lodgers and single people Indians or Pondsos might live in such a house

Design A The 'Morrocan' house (N=46) Design A was not readily identifiable as a house. It evoked an image of foreignness, which was rejected by most respondents. The facade was illegible, and the windows and doors were not easily recognisable. The form of the structure as a whole as well as of the single features were considered exceptionally ugly and dysfunctional. The size of the house constituted a serious drawback. Most respondents considered A to be a small house - too small to meet the space needs of the average township family -, but the spatial organisation of design features was too confusing to permit an accurate assessment of the living space afforded by the design.

Is this a house?
Or a shed, a ship, a cave

terrible chimney

I feel mentally confused

How many rooms has it got?

I'll enjoy the fresh
air on the roof

Where are the gutters?

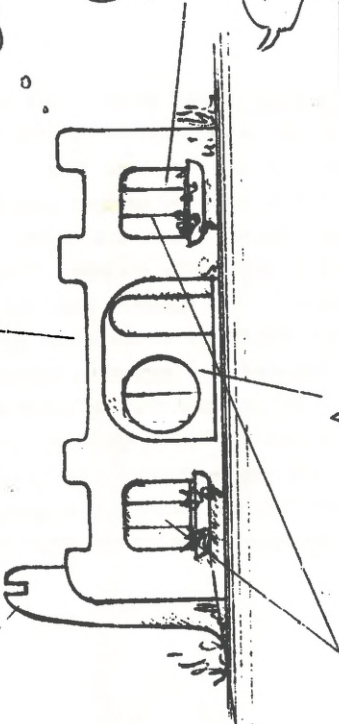
Where is the roof?

Stuffy Rooms

windows too small

the house is too
small

It's clumsy /
Fib / Ply /
It's too fancy /
too complicated



church
doors

too few
windows

windows too low

It's glamorous
It's modern

Figure 8-12 Design A: The 'Moroccan' house

for rich Arabs / Mohammedans
for 'people who don't know what to do with their money'

Design M .The 'wagon prefab' house (N=60) Option M presented a problem in that it did not project the image of a house, let alone that of a family home. It was 'not home-like' as one person put it. The design was difficult to read and enigmatic to most respondents. "Where are the windows, how many rooms are in the house?" The house was thought to have been badly planned: "They didn't have the help of a good architect." The building gave the impression of being a small, cheap prefabricated structure built with inferior materials, which was intended as a temporary shelter rather than as a permanent home. It was imagined that option M would perform very poorly. Many respondents feared that the ventilation would be inadequate because of the unconventionally designed windows. The compact structure which only had 'holes' as windows gave the impression of a confined space in which one might feel shut in.

Who wants to live in an ox-wagon? or in a tractor, bus, ship, prison cell...

smoke escaping from the chimney will be sucked back into the house

Round things for windows

those portholes are too small for a dwelling house

solid structure - seems all concrete

raised foundation: water cannot penetrate

I'd feel like a prisoner in that thing

stairs can cause accidents

no plants in front looks as if it has no life in it

I do not trust the roof

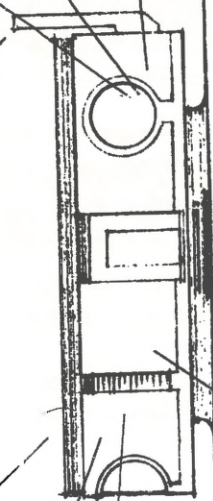
cheap materials

flimsy walls short

As if standing on air

small

it's a poorly planned house with no divisions between rooms



a temporary shelter

Figure 8-13 Design M: The 'wagon prefab' house

a prefab home for construction workers

To sum up the results of a projective test on housing images: The housing style preferred by the majority of the participants in the test was 'suburban' in character. According to the respondent group, the 'suburban' style house was ideally suited to family living and combined prestige with more utilitarian benefits. House styles were generally evaluated in emotive terms, but it was observed that references to spaciousness tended to enter into evaluations conducted along purely aesthetic lines. Provided the structure was large enough to accommodate the average township family, a slightly modified version of the standard township house might appeal to approximately one-fifth of the respondents participating in the test. Persons living in stylish houses, notably of the 'suburban' type were variously characterised as affluent or of high social standing. By implication such persons would attach considerable importance to their dwelling circumstances.

The survey results also suggested that black township residents perceived a greater affinity with a 'white suburban' lifestyle than with other residential styles represented in South African society. Housing imagery which was associated with little choice in housing was definitely rejected.

CHAPTER 9.IMAGES OF LIFESTYLES - AN EVALUATION OF NEIGHBOURHOOD APPEARANCE.

In the introduction to this study, we dwelt briefly on the notion that public housing estates were conspicuous by their visual appearance. Thus, to an outsider, black township neighbourhoods typically tended to present a very monotonous picture of an agglomeration of standard housing types. It was however pointed out, that people actually living in townships might not share this view or might interpret the uniform character of black housing in a different light. For example, the evaluation of residential areas by township Blacks might reflect the preconditions under which township residents were forced to live, rather than salient features of the neighbourhood environment.

In order to assess how township dwellers themselves judged neighbourhood appearance, and in particular, to elicit which elements were particularly salient for the evaluation of neighbourhood *quality*, a projective exercise was undertaken, comparable to the one in which the standard house was 'dressed up' in a number of ways.

A basic township scene was drawn from a photograph of a local township street, and environmental elements were superimposed upon this background. Two 'townscapes' resulted from this process and were used in the evaluation exercise.

Respondents were asked to choose which of the two townscapes appealed most to them and were then required to comment on each of the two test townscapes regarding: 1) impressions; 2) likes and dislikes; 3) advantages and disadvantages of living in the neighbourhood depicted; and 4) typical residents.

According to the model of man-environment fit (see Chapter 8), one might assume that persons would perceive an affinity with an environment which was particularly suited to their preferred lifestyle and which

symbolically expressed the residential values by which they set great store. It was therefore expected that when people were discussing and evaluating a pictorial stimulus representing a neighbourhood, they would selectively project their preferences, reservations and anxieties about living in such a place. Alternatively, if the projective test were evaluated along the lines of a cognitive exercise, the analysis would seek to uncover which environmental elements and criteria were particularly relevant for forming people's conception of the quality of residential areas. It was surmised that the latter approach might provide useful pointers for community developers involved in implementing neighbourhood improvement schemes.

Earlier research conducted in this field of inquiry has attempted to identify and measure the significant dimensions that contribute to preference perception and two examples of this type of work have been selected for review.

Peterson¹⁾ working in the Chicago area of the United States constructed a subjective model of preference in connection with the visual appearance of residential neighbourhoods. He assessed the relative desirability of different appearances and then identified and measured the significant dimensions that contributed to the preference perception. On the basis of prior studies and work by others, Peterson selected the following variables to enter into the preference function: Greenery, open space, age, expensiveness, safety, privacy, beauty, closeness to nature, and quality of the photography. Twenty-three photographs of neighbourhoods were rated on these variables as well as on a preference scale by the test individuals. Peterson concluded from the results of the study that preference might be three-dimensional. General physical quality, which was strongly reflected in the perceived age of the neighbourhood, accounted for over half of the variance in preference, followed by a harmony with nature factor, and a noise factor.

Whitbread²⁾ conducted two experimental surveys in the United

1) cf. Peterson 1967.

2) cf. Whitbread 1978.

Kingdom in order to identify people's preferences amongst a group of attributes of their residential environments. Attributes of the options used in these experiments were wholly conceived of in physical terms, being those which might enter into any considerations of area improvement. They covered external dwelling quality, views of a positive and adverse nature, greenery, traffic, on-street car parking, intrusion of industry and distances to local facilities.

In a first exercise, Whitbread's test individuals made choices between options of neighbourhood areas located near their homes. In a second exercise, the subjects were individually 'bussed' to another part of their urban area. At a prescribed spot the test individuals were allowed to look around briefly and were then asked to complete a brief questionnaire. In both exercises, respondents were first required to rate the test locality in terms of a place to live and then to rate them on eight specific features. The features included: type of houses, external appearance of houses, amount of industry, traffic, upkeep of houses and gardens, amount of trees and greenery, amount of car-parking on the street, and tidiness. Whitbread discovered that the quality of the dwelling was the principle determinant of his subjects' preferences and that environmental considerations were relatively unimportant except for proximity to industry and dereliction.

The present exercise was conducted with an aim in mind which was very similar to the research objectives in the two studies outlined above, but the research design was less elaborate. The variation in stimuli was minimal and respondents were allowed to pass judgement using dimensions of their own choice rather than predetermined ones. In the two test neighbourhoods, the design and layout of the individual dwelling units along a road was held constant, whilst certain landscape features were varied. Essentially, the values of what was referred to as a 'greenery' variable in the two studies cited above, was varied.

In *Picture A*, plots were fenced toward the road, service cables were strung on poles for street lighting along the road, lawns

were neatly clipped and some few bushes decorated the road side. Sidewalks and pathways leading to the houses were clearly visible. One car was parked on the road.

In *Picture B*, greenery partially screened the view of the houses from the road. Street lights were discreetly placed under trees. Sidewalks were planted and paved with square slabs. Pathways leading to the houses were in part obscured. Some of the external walls of the houses were given a textured finish. No cars were visible.

Picture A was intended to convey the impression of the fastidiously well-maintained neighbourhood. In *Picture B* these values were inverted: lush greenery had - so to speak - been allowed to escape meticulous manicuring by garden shears. The two neighbourhoods are shown in Figures 9-1 and 9-2.

Table 9.1.

Choice of neighbourhood (subsample)

"If you had the choice, which of these areas would you *most* like to live in?"

	%
Neighbourhood A	57
Neighbourhood B	<u>43</u>
	100

N = 135

The townscapes in the two pictures were introduced as residential neighbourhoods to a subsample of respondents who were asked to state, in which one of the areas depicted, they would most like to live, if given a choice. Fifty-seven percent of the participants in the test said they would prefer to live in Townscape A, the remainder hypothetically chose to live in townscape B (cf. Table 9.1).

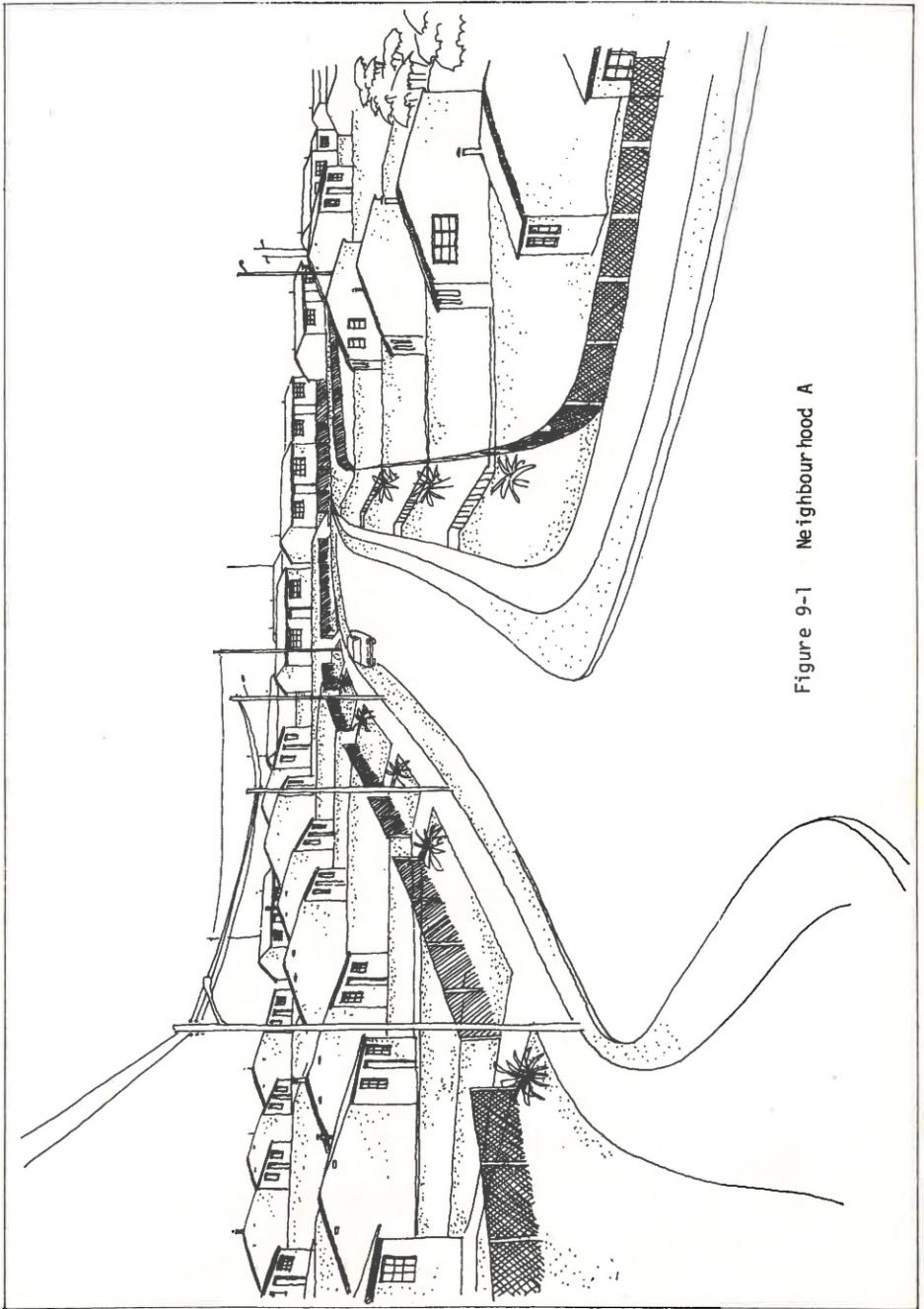


Figure 9-1 Neighbourhood A

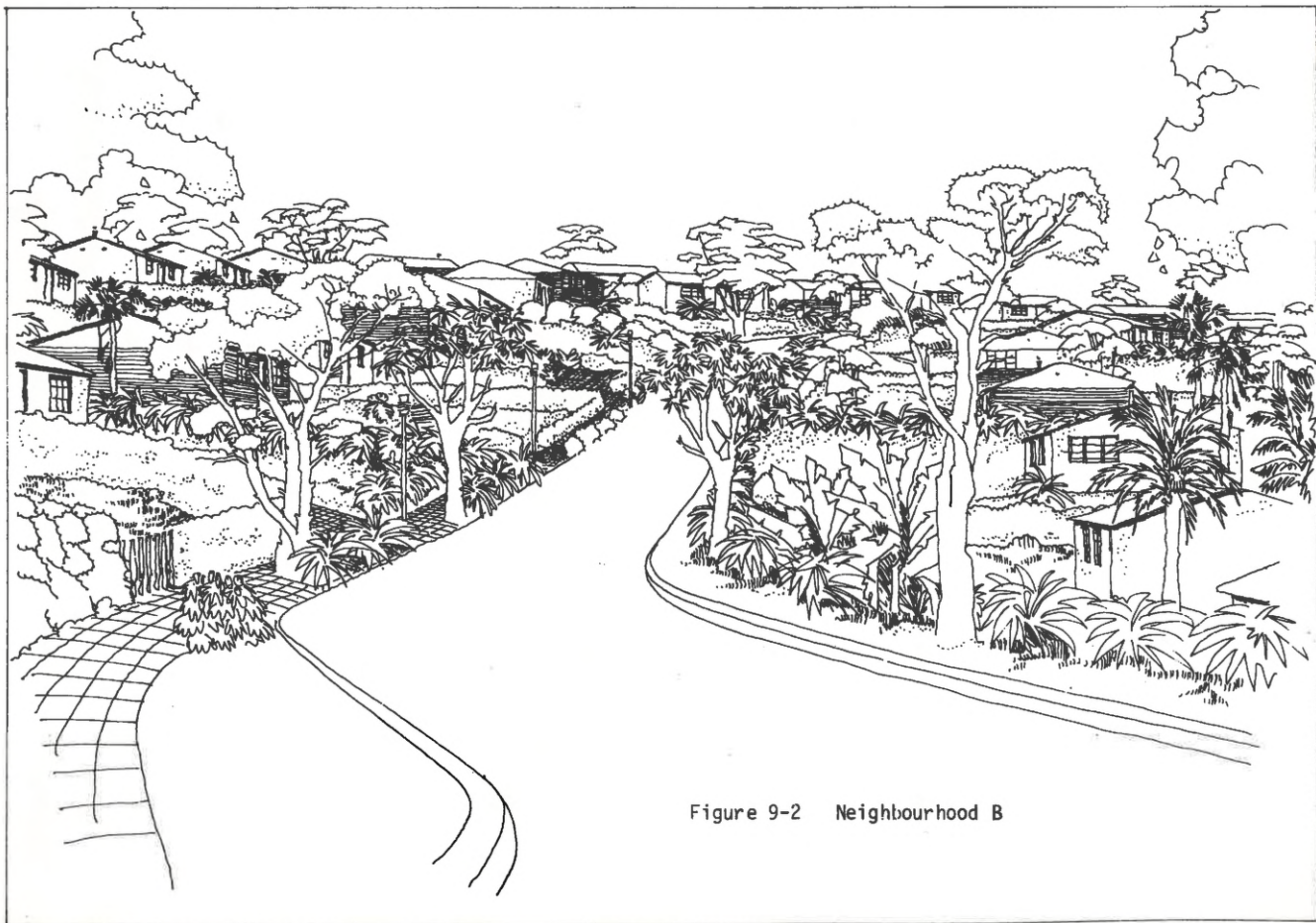


Figure 9-2 Neighbourhood B

The dimensions, on which these preference votes were based were uncovered during additional probing into likes and dislikes, and advantages and disadvantages of living in the two areas. A content analysis of the responses to the probes yielded a set of some 19 criteria. References to the appearance of the houses in the neighbourhood were so common and detailed, that subcriteria were considered as well. The frequencies with which these criteria and subcriteria were mentioned with regard to preferences in neighbourhood appearance are shown in Table 9.2.

Analogously to the analysis of the results emerging from the projective tests on house styles, the figures in Table 9.2 can be read: 1) in terms of an evaluation of the stimuli presented, and 2) with regard to the value orientation of the test individuals 'reading symbols' into the pictures they were observing. We shall commence with the discussion of the latter aspect.

Table 9.2.

Criteria used in the evaluation of neighbourhood appearances
(subsample)

Criteria used in evaluation	TOWNSCAPE A emphases				TOWNSCAPE B emphases			
	posi- tive %	neu- tral %	nega- tive %	total %	posi- tive %	neu- tral %	nega- tive %	total %
<u>Housing</u>								
size	11		17	28	3	1	7	11
quality, design	24	1	5	30	4	1	51	56
electricity, amenities	2	3	10	15			7	7
windows, doors	3		9	12	1		2	3
orientation	1		5	7	1			1
<u>Density</u> (space between houses, layout)	4		49	53	15		16	30
<u>Plot</u> (size)	9	1	19	29	8		2	10
<u>Parking</u>	4		2	6			1	1
<u>Street lighting*</u>	36	1	2	39	4		25	30
<u>Roads</u> (includes few mentions of road safety)	21	1	5	28	7	1	4	13
<u>Pavements, pathways, stairs, entrances to homes</u>	4	1	4	9	8		7	15

Continued/

Table 9.2 Continued

Criteria used in the evaluation of neighbourhood appearance
(subsample)

Criteria used in evaluation	TOWNSCAPE A emphases				TOWNSCAPE B emphases			
	posi- tive %	neu- tral %	nega- tive %	total %	posi- tive %	neu- tral %	nega- tive %	total %
<u>Fencing, visible boundaries</u>	23	1	1	25	1		8	10
<u>Cleanliness, tidiness, health</u>	36		1	38	1		27	28
<u>Vegetation</u>	5	1	35	41	53	4	23	80
<u>Degree of brightness</u>	10		1	11	1	1	13	16
<u>Protection from elements</u>			13	13	13		7	19
<u>Neighbourliness, neighbourhood cohesion</u>	3	1	1	5	1	2	1	4
<u>Crime</u>	6	1	4	10	1	1	16	17
<u>Economic considerations</u>	1	1	7	9	6	1	1	7
<u>Facilities</u>	4	1	7	13	1	1	6	8
<u>Degree of urbanity</u>	3	7	1	10	4	8	7	19
<u>Standardisation in housing</u>	1		10	11			4	4
Other (including perceived freedom to build, regimentation, type of administration)	2		4	6	4	1	2	7

N = 135

Positive, neutral and negative emphases add up to the totals, errors due to rounding.

- * This category includes all mentions of 'electricity' except when explicit reference was made to electricity as an amenity in the home.

9.1 Criteria employed in the evaluation of neighbourhood appearances.

The elements and aspects, which were the most salient to the respondents viewing the pictures in approximate order of frequency mentioned were: vegetation, housing, density (houses per area), plot size, street lighting, cleanliness or tidiness, fencing and roads. Also discussed were: protection from elements, degree of brightness, physical security, degree of urbanity, facilities, accessibility of houses from the road, uniformity of housing, economic considerations and neighbourliness (cf. Table 9.2). Judging from the comments made by respondents three criteria were most decisive in determining their preference for living in a particular neighbourhood: the *external quality of housing, greenery and physical security factors.*

Quality of housing: It is extremely important to note that respondents were most eager to infer from any visual cues contained in the picture about the dwelling situation in the neighbourhood viewed. This type of reaction was comparable with the results obtained in the two studies cited above. Also, one must bear in mind, that the respondents were specifically asked if they wished to *live* in the test neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the responses given to this exercise were consistent to the responses obtained in earlier questions. It will be remembered that the quality of the neighbourhood was conceived in terms of internal quality of housing (cf. Chapter 6), both in direct and indirect observations. As has been repeatedly set out in this report, housing in the ideal neighbourhood should be spacious, and comfortable - in the sense that the family has enough dwelling space and privacy. Minimal conveniences such as piped water and an inside toilet are also required. The house should face the road and be protected from traffic.¹⁾

1) Preference for living in a home 'below' or 'above' the road in Townscape A was not discussed as such by many viewers. It was discerned from some few comments that people were generally fearful of living 'below' the road. Also, the players of the housing game discussed in Chapter 11, tended to spontaneously refer to the road 'below' the front garden, which might be interpreted as approval of an elevated dwelling site.

It was interesting to note, that housing densities were more frequently criticised in the case of Townscape A, whilst equal percentages commented positively or negatively on densities in the case of Townscape B. It is thought that the following factors were involved in the perception of densities: not only could the distances in Townscape A be accurately assessed - because they were exposed so to speak - but it is possible that a number of respondents were misled in their judgements by the perspective of the drawing. Some persons may have seen the houses at the top of the road as semi-detached or terraced housing units.

In Townscape B the foliage made the assessment of the distance between the houses more difficult and might possibly have given the illusion of greater distances between housing units. The fact that the picture evoked an association with rural living in many viewers, might also have supported the notion of lower densities. If low density housing was favoured for privacy rather than for security reasons, then, of course, a green screen between one's own and the neighbouring houses fulfilled this need, and may have led to a positive evaluation of housing densities in the case of Neighbourhood B.

The uniformity of the houses was also a feature which was made more visible in Townscape A. In Townscape B the artist had made an attempt to 'soften' this aspect. Approximately 10 percent of the respondents commented negatively on the monotony of the neighbourhood or on the standardisation of the houses. Very often, though, this negative attitude was related to the known inadequacy of the standard township house rather than to the standardisation of housing in a neighbourhood as such. It is interesting to note in this connection that some few respondents did not approve of apparent differences in housing (for example, of the fact that some of the houses had fewer windows than others), which might effectively mean unequal opportunities in housing.¹⁾ They feared that some persons, possibly they themselves, might be 'landed' with the poorer housing option in a township neighbourhood where dwellings were allocated regardless of individual preferences.

1) It might be noted that this would be tantamount to *double* discrimination in the context of South African housing (see also Chapter 1).

Greenery: It is proposed that the test variable 'landscaping' was indeed the critical variable in response to which value orientations and lifestyle preferences were projected. The 'landscaping', or the 'greenery' in the two neighbourhoods was interpreted mainly along the lines of a 'rural-urban lifestyle' dimension and a 'fertility' dimension. Whilst the profusion of greenery in the landscape B was much admired by many respondents, it was frequently associated with rural rather than suburban living. In town, this style of landscaping was considered too wild, unmanageable and hence projected filth and physical insecurity. Threats of assault from humans and animals were associated with the thick vegetation. From a prestige point of view, if the image of the rustic setting B were transposed to an urban setting, some respondents were prone to associate its profusion of growth with a shanty townscape. Moreover, the texture of the walls of the houses and of the pavement, which were sometimes interpreted as a rough finish, reinforced the image of a shack settlement. Persons viewing the set of pictures as depicting urban and rural settings were prone to select the pictures corresponding to the lifestyle they preferred.

As regards the fertility dimension, Townscape A was seen as barren, in extreme cases as a wasteland (the 'clipped lawn' was read as 'sand'), where nothing would grow, whilst Townscape B was thought to be extremely fertile. In some cases, Neighbourhood A was thought of as a newly developed neighbourhood, in which planting had barely begun.

Attached to these differentials in rural and urban living and fertility were many derived needs which were clearly seen as important aspects of residential neighbourhoods.

Physical security: The projected need for physical security called for an open townscape with controlled vegetation. By day, open areas were considered safer; at night, street lighting had to be efficient. It was stipulated that the houses must be visible from the road, and occupiers of the houses must be able to survey who was approaching. Fencing was approved of as a protection from dangerous and nuisance elements and as a demarcation of one's own plot from that of the neighbours. Open landscaping was preferred, because it was conducive to

on-site parking; it was considered a folly to park one's car on the roadside as shown in Picture A.

Cleanliness and health: Preferably, urban areas should be bright and open, not only for safety reasons, but also for health reasons. The ideal neighbourhood, in the opinion of the respondents, promoted healthy living because it was clean, well kept, and tidy. Healthy living was also associated with bright and spacious homes laid out in low density neighbourhoods. This ideal was best portrayed in Townscape A. The clean, and healthy neighbourhood projected an image of being well cared for by the residents living there as well as by the administrators in charge of community services. It was thought that living in a tidy neighbourhood improved the morale and self-confidence of the residents. This was a recurrent theme in the interviews; it will be remembered that feelings of hopelessness and neglect were often expressed in terms of dissatisfaction with one's own neighbourhood (see excerpts from interviews included in Chapter 6).

Conveniences and facilities: Such goals were commented upon in some few cases. Often, conveniences were assessed with a view to the rural-urban dimension of the pictures. If Townscape A was thought to portray an urban neighbourhood, viewers imagined that the houses would be equipped with amenities, and that community facilities such as shops might be found nearby. The car parked on the road supported this notion. Conversely, respondents frequently equated Townscape B with an inaccessible area lacking modern conveniences in the home; and community services such as street lighting, piped water, transport, shops; and employment opportunities.

Economic goals: Although it was thought that the employment opportunities in an urban area such as Neighbourhood A would provide residents with an adequate source of income, the cost of living in an urban neighbourhood might be relatively higher. The quality of the housing and services provided in Neighbourhood A supported this conjecture. On the other hand, the apparently infertile soil might prevent residents from planting their own vegetables. Some respondents interpreted the barrenness of the townscape to the unwillingness of urban workers to

invest time and effort in planting, something which was either condoned or condemned.

By contrast, Landscape B was sometimes thought of as the planter's paradise or evoked images of idyllic rural life which would be free from restrictions, economic cares, and the stresses and strains of urban life. Great savings would be made by growing one's own vegetables. Some respondents thought they might be free to extend or alter their houses in a rural setting without interference from the local authorities. On the other hand, the hardships encountered in the rural areas due to the lack of modern conveniences and facilities and services were envisaged by some few respondents when reviewing Picture B.

Neighbouring: Few comments were aimed directly at this aspect of residential life, but it was apparent that respondents made inferences about the characteristics of their neighbours from the maintenance of the area, and then decided how well they would get on with these hypothetical neighbours. Respondents who liked to live next to houseproud persons who emphasised health, cleanliness, safety in living and kept a respectful distance from their neighbours were more likely to wish to reside in Neighbourhood A.

In the eyes of some few respondents the austerity of Townscape A signified that the neighbourhood needed development, which might stimulate community solidarity. Community cohesion might be experienced in the formulation of common community goals, and in the organisation of self-help projects, or more passively in the expression of a common dislike of the administration which neglected the needs of the community.

Some respondents thought that they might feel uncomfortable when living in a fastidiously tidy environment such as represented by Neighbourhood A. They imagined they would be forever anxious about the high standards of cleanliness and tidiness set by their neighbours.

They feared their inability to adhere to neighbourhood norms of tidiness might spark off disputes between their neighbours and themselves and disrupt neighbourly relations.

On the other hand, Townscape B was interpreted as a carefree residential area, where neighbours did as they pleased with little worry or consideration for their neighbours. From a positive point of view, this meant that people could achieve self-actualisation; from a negative point of view this type of relaxed attitude on the part of the residents might be conducive to neighbours adopting slovenly habits, which in turn might attract undesirable, dangerous and unsocial elements to the neighbourhood. There was a danger that Neighbourhood B might become an unwholesome and unsafe place in which to live. If this were the case it was feared that mutual aid from neighbours and assistance in times of emergency would not be forthcoming in Neighbourhood B.

9.2 Typical residents.

Who would like to live in neighbourhoods such as the ones depicted in Pictures A and B? Table 9.3 shows how respondents saw their neighbours and possibly themselves, if they were to live in either of the test neighbourhoods. Whilst the pictorial stimuli tended to supply the particular attributes of typical residents, it is obvious that respondents tended to project the value orientation of the ideal resident on to the neighbourhood of their choice regardless of its appearance. The dimensions of the criteria with which typical residents were identified are similar to those guiding the identification of typical occupancy of differently styled houses. The typical residents represented lifestyles which were considered more or less desirable in the given circumstances.

The persons living in the preferred townscapes regardless of the actual neighbourhood selected, were usually more 'ethical' and 'similar to oneself', or 'townsfolk' in general. This ideal emerged most sharply from the characterisation of residents in Neighbourhood A.

Table 9.3.

Typical residents associated with neighbourhoods (subsample)

"What sort of people do you think would live in an area like this?"

	TOWNSCAPE A			TOWNSCAPE B		
	preferred option %	rejected option %	total %	preferred option %	rejected option %	total %
<u>Affluence</u>						
-wealthy	4	3	7	3		3
-poor	1	2	3	1	7	8
<u>Ethos</u>						
-ethical (civilised, clean, think of health, others, themselves (ambitious), educated, etc.)	27	1	29	7		7
-unethical (people of dirty habits, uncivilised, lazy, do not care about them- selves, their surround- ings, their health, thugs, drunks, pigs, etc.)		3	3	1	24	25
<u>Lifestyles</u>						
-townsfolk, township people, 5 people who like town life		7	13		1	1
-people who dislike planting, vegetation		3	3			
-country people, rural oriented people				5	4	9
-people who like to plant, keep stock, like vegetation				7	4	11
-people working in town without their families		3	3		1	1
<u>Normal people, people like you and me, anybody</u>	14	7	21	7	2	10
<u>Underprivileged, no choice in housing, legally re- stricted</u>	1	4	6	1	10	11
<u>Age</u>						
-young		2	2			
-old				3		3
<u>Ethnicity</u>						
-Blacks, Africans	1	2	3	3	1	4
-Other (whites, Indians, Coloured people)	2	2	4	3	1	4
<u>No one</u>	1	1	2			
<u>Don't know</u>		1	1		3	3
N = 135			100%			100%

* row figures add up to totals, errors due to rounding.

The images of the residents of Neighbourhood B were somewhat blurred due to the rural connotation of the neighbourhood environment. People who 'liked to plant' or 'country people' were associated with the 'good' or 'moral' people who would live in Neighbourhood B.

By contrast to the pattern of associating typical residents with particular housestyles (cf. Chapter 8), respondents were more prone to describe residents of the neighbourhoods they disliked in distinctly pejorative terms. The 'unethical' resident in Townscape B was a 'thug', or a 'pig', because he or she was filthy and did not care about his or her surroundings, or a 'drunkard' and so forth. When described in more moderate tones, such people did not care about healthy living, and had little concern for their welfare, they were 'uncivilised', and were content to drift and let conditions in their immediate surroundings deteriorate.

The 'unethical' A resident was usually described in milder terms than the 'unethical' B resident: he or she might be 'lazy' because he or she did not plant a garden.

Sympathy was extended to the typical residents of undesirable neighbourhoods in some cases: to the persons who were newcomers to town (with reference to Picture A); to those who had only come to work in town and had left their families behind in the rural areas (Picture A); and to the persons who were forced to secure some kind of shelter for themselves, or had little choice in housing due to legal restrictions. More neutrally, some respondents observed that young people who were modern in outlook, would most probably wish to live in a township environment such as A. At the same time, the smaller homes in Neighbourhood A were considered more suitable for young couples. On the other hand, respondents proposed that older persons would more likely be rurally oriented and interested in planting vegetables and crops. Their interests were more compatible with the rustic B type neighbourhood. It is interesting to note that the respondents' closer identification with Townscape A than B was more evident in their description of typical neighbourhood *residents* than in their preference for neighbourhood *appearance*.

9.3 Images of neighbourhoods.

It now remains to describe the pictures as they appealed to the respondents participating in the survey. To some extent this exercise is rendered superfluous, in that explicit references have been made to the one or other neighbourhood scene when discussing the criteria employed by the viewers in qualifying their neighbourhood preferences. By way of a summary of the major features contained in the two landscapes, the most frequently given positive and negative evaluations of the two neighbourhood types are listed below.

Townscape A:

- Positive: clean, tidy appearance
 adequate street lighting
 fenced plots
 well-maintained, wide access road
 good external quality of houses
 bright, open landscape
- Negative: high density housing area
 no greenery (no shade trees, no planting)
 exposure to natural elements
 small plots
- Indecisive: size of houses

Townscape B:

- Positive: profuse growth, opportunity to plant
 protection from elements (shade trees act as sun
 protection, windbreaks, etc.)
 economic savings (derived from planting, less pre-
 tentious lifestyle)
 decorative aspects of planted walkways, garden, etc.
- Negative: poor external quality of housing
 no or inadequate street lighting

derelect, dirty appearance
 high crime rate
 non-human environmental threats (snake-infested area,
 etc.)
 health hazard (dark, damp, mosquito-infested area, etc.)

Indecisive: high density housing area

To sum up the popular opinions on neighbourhood appearances elicited in the projective test: The majority of the respondents in the survey would wish to live in a neighbourhood which featured selected elements from both the two test areas. They would select the well-maintained houses and gardens from Neighbourhood A, to which they would add some of the beautiful flowers and trees depicted in Neighbourhood B to soften the somewhat sterile appearance of Neighbourhood A. Only sufficient, so as not to detract from the defensible space qualities featured in Neighbourhood A which were thought to be essential to neighbourhood quality. This compromise solution represented the ideal neighbourhood in which one would feel safe and well cared for in terms of one's social as well as one's physical environment.

Some selected excerpts from interviews are given below which illustrate how respondents perceived neighbourhood quality and appearance.

Selected positive evaluations elicited by Townscape A:

- *There is health in a community like this.*
- *They don't waste money going to doctors.*
- *They like it because it is the location, the neighbours next to them are skilled and clean.*
- *It is straight and nice and there is light at night.*
- *Untidiness is not wanted in this area.*
- *It is in the open, it is not easy for thugs to run and hide, and there is also electricity (street lighting) and they are fenced. It has high light poles and there are no hiding places for thugs.*

- *What I see are beautifully built houses, they are nicely arranged, there are places supporting the walls in the roads, there are also pavements.*
- *It looks neat and tidy, the houses are fenced. The houses are clearly seen from afar, the streets are electrified.*
- *The area looks clean and healthy. This is a location built for whites, because if you take a close look at it, it is well established, e.g. it has good roads ... the road looks good and wide. There is a pavement for pedestrians.*
- *It looks alive and modern. I think this place is a location. There are wide roads, electricity, modern houses.*
- *This one is lit, the houses are in neat rows, they have yards of their own.*
- *I like houses that seem a bit big. I do not know about the rooms, how many there are inside ... I just like the houses the way they are ... and the roads, and the windows are beautiful and big.*
- *I see a big road nearby, I see the railway and the road for motor cars, I see electricity.*

Selected negative evaluations elicited by Townscape A:

- *You need trees for fresh air.*
- *There is nothing I like, although I live there.*
- *It is very expensive to live in areas like this because one does not even have a garden for vegetables.*
- *There is misunderstanding between neighbours in such crowded (lived up) places.*
- *The cost of living is too high here. There's a competitive spirit, they have to pay for everything, there are no vegetable gardens, the ground is bare.*
- *There is a lack of uniqueness among the inhabitants. For instance, children of a certain age do not take long to club up in gangs and give in to group behaviour because even their houses have lost their identity.*
- *They are crying about the rent, together with the cleaning of the township.*
- *Here you find the sameness of matchbox houses, the houses are built the same, there is no vegetation. There are fences instead of hedges. The houses look the same and dull.*
- *Although it seems to be right in town, if you look at it, it has no trees, no shade, and it looks like the typical location of the lazy people who do not plant anything.*
- *It is just the layout. Firstly, for the neighbours to be so near to each other. It is in the nature of the location, it creates misunderstanding, because feathers will fly from your yard into his yard blown by the wind ... This one, no, really it is like a compound. Even the children will make you quarrel when they are naughty.*

- *There is absolutely nothing, no trees here. The houses, when you look at them, they look like they were built in a desert and they are close together. The sidewalk is of an inferior quality.*
- *They are too crowded together and there is nothing that makes them look nice, there are no trees.*
- *After rains, it becomes muddy. The people living downhill are troubled by the water which runs from the top to places below.*
- *(Who lives there?) Township people who don't want to waste their time in planting things.*
- *There are no windbreaks ... there is nothing to appreciate except the house.*
- *A place like this breeds tsotsis.*
- *It is for people who like to lead a ready made life. They are not going to come and find trouble. Everything has been done for them, if they will remain satisfied. It is for those people who have no desire to change their lives to be something else.*

Selected positive evaluations elicited by Townscape B:

- *This place is alive. Isn't it when a person is growing (things), some parts in his body are also growing, that means health.*
- *There are fewer trees along the road. Clear visibility is very necessary in the township. Dark places result in a higher rate of crime.*
- *The trees are healthy, they give us fresh air.*
- *There are trees and flowers and a decorated front view. The pavement is well finished.*
- *There is a very convenient sidewalk, there are many trees, the houses too are spaced fairly far apart. The scene, when you look at it, does not make you feel depressed.*
- *It is good because it has trees. A black man does not live in these (houses). Trees are not for the black man. Others stay in it. This place is not in the country, it is in town.*
- *It is just like this Umlazi, but it is beautiful, because it does not have steps. I don't like steps because I am a sick person.*
- *The trees and flowers make the houses look nice, although they are not beautiful ... the houses I dislike, they are not suitable for this place.*

- *The pavement where people walk is decorated with flowers.*
- *Its layout, the houses are separated, the owners like it. They prepare it. It is far enough from the road.*
- *I just like these trees which make it appear cool during hot days.*
- *This is of course a healthy place. You plough, you keep stock and you plant anything you like ... maybe fruit. You never have too many expenses when you are at your homestead. And we fetch water as we please from the sites.*
- *People of Zulu tradition, who are respectable and who still keep stock.*

Selected negative evaluations elicited by Townscape B:

- *It has too much bush, it is crowded and closed up.*
- *It is filthy and looks like a slum area.*
- *Firstly, it is not clear which one is for which owner, it is too much of a forest and the roads are not visible. The houses are crowded. It seems some are not the same as others.*
- *The houses seem far apart, yet they are in the forest.*
- *(Laughs) Listen, I'll tell you, Cato Manor was like this. No, the place is bad. People who stay here die most of the time.*
- *I might complain about my view being obstructed. There are small insects coming from this bush and plenty of germs.*
- *It is right in the forest. The houses are not properly built. There are no street lights. It appears to be very untidy. It is these trees that make the whole area untidy.*
- *I would say, first, I do not see light poles, it is a place in the dark and it appears it is thick, a place in the forests, and the plants ... they did not plant them in the right way. There is no pavement. If you are dodging a car, you may have an accident. The houses are tumbling down.*
- *The houses are not in neat rows, they are not of the same size and the building material used is different from one house to the other. There is no electricity in the area.*
- *The trees prevent the air circulating.*
- *The light poles are short and do not shine sufficiently.*

- *For people who are pushed where they don't want to.*
- *People who do not qualify to live in the urban areas.*
- *People like pigs, filthy people, drunks, say people who are really animals.*
- *The people appear very lazy and careless. Just look at the soil erosion.*
- *For animals, mad people, drunks, for a person who doesn't know what is happening in the world, who is not worried about his life.*
- *There are many places liked by people like the shanty towns. I will not judge.*

- *This one suits the white people, they are the people who like to stay in the forests. We blacks, we do not like to stay in such places.*

CHAPTER 10.FOCUS ON COMMUNITY SERVICES, RECREATION AND LEISURE NEEDS.

In Chapter 6 we learnt that over one-half of the survey respondents were dissatisfied with the neighbourhood in which they lived. It was discovered, that housing issues contributed significantly to this feeling of dissatisfaction, but that some aspects of community life also helped to shape people's attitudes towards the neighbourhoods in which they lived.

In this chapter such community concerns are the focus of study. An attempt is made to distinguish between higher and lower priority community needs, in order to identify the areas in which township people would welcome improvement projects in their communities. In most cases, we shall be discussing *manifest* areas of community concern, but several probes into leisure needs reveal some more subtle aspects of community needs in respect of recreational facilities and opportunities.

10.1 Community priorities.

In a first exercise respondents were read out 20 community items twice and then required to indicate from memory which of these services they wished to have within convenient reach. Top priorities in community services identified by this method included *a police station, a supermarket, schools and creches, communication services (railway stations and bus stops), churches and clinics* (cf. Table 10.1.1.). Thirty percent or more of the sample wished these community facilities to be accessible to them. Using the order of mention as an indicator of perceived importance, average ranks were computed for each of the services listed in the Table. For example, in the case of the police station, fifty percent of the sample considered this an important service and the item was recalled on average as one of the first items. The rank ordering of items was by and large similar to the priority order based only on the percentage mentioning these items.

Table 10.1.1.

Priorities in community facilities and services.

A list of services and facilities which people might wish to have in their communities was read through twice by the interviewers, whereupon the respondents were required to recall the services they wished to have closest to where they lived.

	Percentage of sample spon- taneously recalling service	Average rank as indicated by order of mention of items recalled
	%	rank
a police station	50	3,1
a supermarket	38	3,3
schools	37	2,9
a church	35	3,4
a railway station	33	3,5
a creche/nursery school	32	2,5
a bus stop	30	3,8
a clinic	30	3,6
a post office	26	3,9
a hall and community centre where groups and clubs can meet	26	3,7
a telephone	25	3,3
small shops	19	3,2
a market	16	3,9
sports fields	15	4,4
a taxi rank	13	4,8
an hotel	12	3,2
a cinema	10	3,4
a decent bar	6	3,6
a restaurant	3	4,0
a beerhall	2	4,2

100% = 201

Table 10.1.2.

Other preferences for community services.

"Are there any other things that you would like to have in your neighbourhood?"

	<u>Number of mentions*</u>
clinic ⁰	7
bus stop ⁰	6
telephone ⁰	6
cinema ⁰	6
sports field ⁰	6
supermarket ⁰	6
swimming pool	6
church ⁰	5
railway station ⁰	5
buses	5
library	5
rent office, administration	5
park, children's playground	5
small shops ⁰	4
post office ⁰	4
taxis	4
butchery	4
welfare offices	3
market ⁰	2
police station ⁰	2
hotel ⁰	2
taxi rank ⁰	2
indoor recreational facilities	2
handwork schools, night schools	2
club room, meeting place ⁰	2
creche ⁰	2
bar ⁰	1
schools ⁰	1
hospital	1

Continued/

Table 10.1.2 Continued

	<u>Number of mentions*</u>
bank	1
courthouse	1
mortuary	1
clothing shops	1
surgery	1
street lights	1
dairy	1

⁰ items which figured on the given list see Table 10.1.1.

* multiple responses by 84 respondents or 42 percent of the sample.

It should be noted that 'schools' and 'creches' were usually given first or second mention by those who voted for these items. In some cases the formulation of the question with emphasis on accessibility might have prompted some respondents not to vote for services and facilities which, though desirable in themselves, might have represented a nuisance factor if placed in close proximity to their residence, e.g. an hotel, a beerhall.

Some 42 percent of the sample responded to the interviewers' invitation to name other services required in their communities. The results are tabulated in Table 10.1.2. In fact, many respondents recalled, in what might be called a delayed reaction, the items read out from the prepared list. Additional services and facilities required, which did not figure on the prepared list, included a swimming pool, a library, decentralised rent offices, and children's playgrounds. It is interesting to note that some respondents made a distinction between the provision of bus stops and taxi ranks and the vehicles to fill these service outlets, indicating the need for better transport services in general.

Table 10.2.

Proposals for community improvements.

"Thinking of these kinds of things that affect everyone, what aspect of your lives here in Umlazi/Kwa.Mashu/Lamontville most urgently requires attention?"

"If you or your people were in charge of affairs here, what would be the first thing you would want to attend to?"

	%
police protection, crime prevention	29,0
housing	24,9
rentals, service charges	11,2
facilities in general	9,1
health services	9,1
roads, traffic and transport, street safety	5,6
schools	4,6
welfare	3,0
other	2,0
nothing	1,5
	<u>100,0</u>

N = 197

see text for description of categories.

10.2 Priorities in community improvements.

Areas singled out by the survey respondents for community improvement included *police protection and crime prevention, housing and rentals, community facilities, health services and roads* (cf. Table 10.2.). Corruption and general inefficiency of the regular and the housing administration's police were identified as two of the major causes of an inadequate police service in the community. Many respondents thought action should be taken to protect the community from the anti-social elements in its midst such as thugs, the work-shy and the unemployed. On a more positive note, some 7 percent suggested preventive steps which might solve the problem of crime in the community.

Such measures included mainly the provision of schools, training programmes or organised youth activities for school leavers, and the maintenance of street lighting. Some few persons suggested tighter control of illegal lodgers and liquor outlets. Suggested improvements in the housing sphere referred to quality, amenities and maintenance. Umlazi respondents were most concerned about the shortage of housing, especially for young couples who wished to live on their own. Regarding rentals and service charges, respondents felt that such charges should be reassessed in relation to the quality of housing and services provided, and also with respect to general wage levels.

To sum up, the priorities identified among community services in the two exercises outlined, corresponded to the ones selected as high priority neighbourhood issues in the quality of life exercise conducted at the outset of the interview schedule (cf. Chapter 4). Housing; police protection; educational, day care and health services; transport and shopping facilities were all high community priorities. Worrying is the fact that police protection and crime control are such high priority concerns. One might venture to suggest that possibly these are areas of concern, which undermine township people's basic feelings of security, firstly because their personal safety is at stake, and secondly, because they perceive that improvements are least forthcoming from the authorities concerned.

Some few excerpts from interviews are given below to illustrate how much courage but also frustration and hopelessness is contained in some of the contributions made by the respondents. Indeed, analysing this section of the survey response was in many ways a *déjà vu* experience. It seemed as if time had stood still and the researchers were again confronted with the selfsame grievances put forward by Kwa Mashu residents in response to a 1975 survey into the needs and problems in their community. At that time crime figured almost at the top of the list of community problems and was endorsed by 62 percent of the Kwa Mashu sample. Problems connected with the community administration were named by a slightly higher percentage with 64 percent.¹⁾

1) Møller et al. (1978:10)

Judging from the statements made by the respondents to the present survey undertaken in 1978, it would appear that since the 1975 Kwa Mashu survey was conducted, the quality of residential life has not greatly improved for Durban township residents. In fact, some of the quotes included in the report on the 1975 Kwa Mashu study are almost identical in content and tone to the ones collected in the present study:

- *Housing, because it is the main cause of social problems. Because it even breaks family ties and therefore causes low standards of morale, loss of pride.*
- *They can start by fixing the toilets and the water system. Because we report and it takes years before they fix them for us.*
- *Provide accommodation. There is an acute shortage of houses for the sons and daughters of Umlazi who are newly married and are forced to stay with their parents or in the neighbouring shack houses.*
- *If the son of the house gets married he must get his own house as soon as he gets married. So that there will be no misunderstanding between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law. They must stay friendly always. That can happen if they don't stay together.*
- *To take the married people out of two-roomed houses and put them in four-roomed houses. This is not a house for big families.*
- *They must build clean hostels for us. Not what we have got here. You can say only mad people stay there. I would like to stay in a hostel but not in this kind (24 year old single male dependent).*
- *The rent: Even if we want something, father tells us of the rent and water charges. Then I keep quiet and don't get what I want (19 year old single male dependent).*
- *They must give us South African Police, not these township police that we've got here. You find that a lot of people are being killed by them, they are not educated. If they want something and you produce it, still they arrest you, because they don't know what they want.*
- *They must take good care of these people who are reserve police, they are crooks. When a person hates you, he will join the reserve police so that he can easily kill you.*
- *Lodgers. They are the trouble makers. If the lodger dies, the owner of the house gets into a hell of a trouble. If*

the lodger is not registered at the office, it will be difficult to get him buried.

- *It's to stop people building these bad rooms behind their houses. Because if they do that, they are the cause of tsotsis who come as people who want to rent the room. They only find out later that they are tsotsis.*
- *There is one thing that does not make me happy. There is no control over these taxi-men. They just pack people into these taxis and their speed is terrible. This may cause very bad accidents. And the language they use is horrible. If I were in charge, I would employ traffic cops.*
- *To improve the road. It is very bad. We can't even buy cars here, they might break the first day.*
- *To build more schools. Some of the children are born here, but they've got no schools. Why?*
- *Places for learning, like schools, so that children may learn and crime may not increase. There should be more schools.*
- *Ambulance service. Most of the time there are no ambulances and you may have to wait for a very long time and those that are available are expensive. They forget that the poor also get sick.*
- *Unemployed youths. Because they are the ones who do the housebreaking during our absence. They keep an eye on you if you go somewhere. One of them will follow you halfway to be sure that you take the train. So they can do their job in peace without any disturbance.*
- *To finish off the tsotsis, the criminals that kill people, because here at Kwa Mashu, on Saturdays we often bury those who were stabbed to death: Small groups of children, still going to school, they are often stabbed by tsotsis.*

10.3 Recreational and leisure needs.

It was thought that leisure needs might easily be overlooked by the respondents to the survey as long as more basic needs were not fulfilled. For this reason a more intensive inquiry was conducted into the recreational and leisure needs of township dwellers, in order to determine to what extent these needs could be satisfied by existing facilities and opportunities. Table 10.3 shows that over one-half

of the sample wished to participate to a greater extent in active and spectator sports, and would have welcomed opportunities to go places and participate in a number of activities in their leisure time. Predominantly younger people were more keen to be more active in leisure and recreational events.

Table 10.3.

Perceived recreation and leisure opportunities by sex and age
(Subsample only)

- a) "Is there any sport or exercise that you would like to take up, or take part in more often than you do?"
- b) "Would you like to watch any sports that you don't watch, or watch any more often than you do?"
- c) "Are there any places within the Durban area that you would like to go to, or that you would like to go to more often than you do, during your leisure hours?"
- d) "Are there any spare time or leisure activities of any kind that you would like to do, or that you do but would like to do more often?"

Sample percentages desiring greater participation or opportunities

	total	men	women	under 35 years	35 years +
a. participation in active sports	51	58	44*	64	37*
b. participation in spectator sports	62	58	66	73	51*
c. opportunities to go to places	55	47	63*	67	42*
d. opportunities for leisure activities	61	50	71*	60	61

N = 122

* statistically significant age or sex differences

Men were relatively more interested than women in participating more actively in sports, whilst women more often wished to go to more places and do more things in their spare time (cf. Table 10.3).

Table 10.4.

Types of sporting and leisure activities in which respondents would desire to participate or participate more often (subsample)

	Percentages* desiring	
	active** participation	passive** participation
	%	%
soccer, football	13	33
tennis	26	6
handwork (sewing, knitting, dress-making, crocheting)	25	
cinema (inclusive drive-in cinema)	23	
beaches (inclusive beachfront recreation)	22	
boxing	5	18
hotels, nightclubs, discos	11	
gardening	9	
karate, judo, bodybuilding	8	3
ballroom, modern dancing	6	1
attend church	6	
shows, plays, musicals	4	5
shopping/ 'go to town'	4	
parks	4	
community centre, community meetings	4	
social gatherings (weddings, beer parties, etc.)	4	
visiting	4	
play musical instrument, listen to music	4	1
study, read	4	
use main library	4	
golf	2	3
indoor games (chess, chequers)	3	
horse races	3	
art (drawing, painting)	3	
clubs (YMCA, YWCA, women's league)	3	
backyard hobbies (woodwork, car repairs)	3	

Continued/

Table 10.4 Continued.

	Percentages* desiring	
	active** participation	passive** participation
	%	%
household chores, minor home improvements	3	
excursions, car outings	3	
city hall activities	2	
enter competitions	2	
cookery	2	
attend circus	2	
swimming	2	1
selling activities	2	

Single mentions:

other spectator sports: cricket, basketball, hockey, baseball, bowling, car racing, Zulu dancing, athletics, table tennis.

other active sports: table tennis, netball, Zulu dancing, running.

* multiple responses

** distinctions between active and passive are made only in the case of sporting activities with the exception of play acting, and music.

N = 114

Activities in which respondents wished to participate more fully included sporting activities: mainly soccer, tennis, boxing and karate, and ballroom dancing; and pastimes such as handwork and gardening. The most attractive leisure venues included cinemas and theatre/ concert halls, hotels and beaches. The complete list is given in Table 10.4.

Major reasons stated for not participating more fully in leisure and recreation were lack of opportunity, time and money, transport problems, and personal and social factors. Smaller percentages referred to the discrimination of blacks regarding leisure opportunities

and to the physical dangers involved in participating in active and spectator sports, or in commuting to recreation venues. The categories shown in Table 10.5 might need fuller explanation. Lack of opportunity referred mainly to lack of facilities, but also to 'lack' of equipment and tuition, few openings, the quality of facilities and lack of space. Time was at a premium due to long or irregular working hours, housework and other leisure activities. Money was often not available to cover admission and tuition fees, costs of equipment and transport. Personal inhibiting factors included inertia and fatigue at the end of the day, lack of skills, poor health or advanced age. Transport problems were faced by many, especially in the case of activities being scheduled at night. Some persons wished to engage in sports or activities which were not sufficiently supported by members of their own community or were socially not yet acceptable. Lack of local response to such activities also prohibited them from participation, because they were barred from using other facilities available in Durban. Women complained that they were not permitted to go out as they pleased, or that they lacked the appropriate accompaniment. Although active participants in sporting activities may be expected to be more exposed to hazards than other persons, it should be noted that for blacks a multiplicity of danger factors appear to be involved when participating in leisure activities outside the home. According to the survey, for those dependent on public transport or travelling on foot, commuting to leisure facilities is in itself a hazardous venture, especially for women at night. Crowds at spectator sporting events were reported to be very unruly, so that some soccer fans felt forced to stay at home.

Figures on Table 10.5 show that the perception of leisure opportunities was seen in a slightly different light by the various subgroups included in the sample. Young persons felt inhibited mainly by the lack of time, opportunity and money. Younger persons were also more likely to feel discriminated against than older persons with regard to leisure opportunities. By contrast, older persons were more prone to name personal factors such as age, health or personal habits as inhibiting factors.

Table 10.5.

Reasons for not participating more fully in leisure activities by sex and age (subsample only).

	total*	men*	women*	under 35 years*	35 years +*
	%	%	%	%	%
lack of opportunity**	82	102	65	93	69
lack of time**	75	79	71	108	43
lack of money**	48	46	50	70	24
personal factors	28	27	29	20	37
transport problems**	25	19	29	30	15
social factors	20	19	21	33	6
participation dependent upon season of year, circumstances	15	15	15	13	17
discrimination of blacks**	13	19	8	23	2
physical danger involved**	9	6	11	10	7
other	5	4	6	3	7
N = 100%	114	52	62	60	54

* multiple responses

** In some 16 percent of cases, reasons falling under the categories marked with two asterisks were combined. Each reason figuring in the combination was tabulated separately under the appropriate headings, which accounts for percentages exceeding 100 percent in some categories.

Table 10.5.1.

Main reasons for not participating more fully in selected popular leisure activities.

spectator soccer N = 38	opportunities (32%), time (26%), money (18%), physical danger (13%)
active tennis N = 30	opportunities (47%), time (20%) personal factors (17%)
handwork N = 29	time (34%), opportunities (24%), money (21%), personal factors (17%)
cinema N = 26	time (27%), money (15%), discrimi- nation (12%), physical danger (12%)
beaches N = 25	time (28%), money (12%), personal factors (12%), social factors (12%), seasonal etc. (12%)
spectator boxing N = 21	transport problems (29%), time (19%), opportunities (14%), money (14%)
active soccer N = 15	time (43%)

Higher percentages of the men in the sample felt inhibited by lack of opportunity and in fewer cases by discrimination than women, whilst transport problems and fear of physical dangers prevented women from fuller participation in leisure activities.

Singling out some of the most popular leisure activities (cf. Table 10.5.1), we found that limited opportunities inhibited people in pursuit not only of active and passive sports, but also of handwork. Time and money factors were involved in preventing respondents from participating in almost all the most popular activities. Limited opportunities and lack of personal skills were most keenly felt in respect of tennis. Transport problems barred high percentages of respondents from attending boxing matches than soccer meetings.

The survey data revealed that if respondents perceived there were no or only limited sports facilities available in their own

neighbourhood, they thought it too costly and inconvenient to use facilities offered in other townships. In many cases, they reported that the facilities in their own neighbourhood were over-utilised. Many women were of the opinion that they needed more instruction in handcrafts. However, whilst some women felt they had mastered one type of handcraft and would like to learn new skills, others thought they could only cope with one type of handwork at a time, because domestic chores took up so much of their spare time. One woman said she could not take up sewing because she had insufficient light in her home by which to sew at night. Some respondents complained that sporting events took place while they were working or attending church services. Persons who habitually worked shifts or over weekends said they could seldom attend all the sporting events of their choice.

- *The tennis courts are very far. We, who live far from them, find they are full when we arrive. People near them enjoy them the most. There are very few (courts).*
- *I need a lot of money for bioscope because I can't go alone. There must be a second person (i.e. means two tickets instead of one).*
- *People don't play soccer like before, instead they fight.*
- *Well in most of our (soccer) grounds it is not safe, there are these riots when somebody's club loses, so it is safer to watch it on television, if you have one.*
- *Boxing is mostly at night, and I'm scared of tsotsis. I did go once. That was when I got stabbed.*
- *(re handwork) It is because of time. I come back tired from work and I need money to buy wool and cotton.*
- *(I'd like to go to) a nice hotel; no one can take me there. My boyfriend can never afford it.*
- *There is no one to take me to bioscope. My boyfriend is not here, so I'm scared to go alone because the boys are too rude.*

10.4 Images of Durban.

In the last section of this chapter, focus of interest is on how township dwellers view the city of Durban. For instance, we wished to know if the central business district was a focal point for township dwellers and if they perceived that the city effectively extended the range of facilities and services available to blacks in their own residential suburbs, and thus increased the scope of leisure opportunities for urban blacks.

Respondents were asked to think of Durban and to state how they personally regarded the city as a whole. They were invited firstly to air their views on likes and dislikes regarding the city, and then to suggest improvements which would make the city a better place for them.

It appeared to be an impossible task to meaningfully categorise the plethora of contrasting viewpoints of the city produced in response to our probing. However, it seemed reasonable to distinguish between three basic images of Durban held by the respondent group: Durban was variously seen as:

- a consumer centre;
- a seaside resort; or as
- a work centre.

The first image was the most dominant. Many respondents thought of Durban in connection with a shopping trip to the city centre. Durban was seen through the eyes of a public commuter and pedestrian. Focal points were the railway station, and the Grey, Smith and West Street shopping areas. The shops, especially the large department stores, were attractive targets and fulfilled primary needs mainly for clothes and food shopping. The city hall, with its library and museum, and cinemas were other places of interest associated with the central business areas of Durban. The size, scale and pace of life in Durban was considered impressive and sometimes a bit frightening. For example, the size of the shops, the opportunity to do all one's shopping under one roof, the range of goods, the height of buildings, and the width

of the streets and highways, received much comment.

Table 10.6.

Proposals for changes in City Durban.

	%*
discriminatory legislation, petty apartheid, equal opportunities	30
things are progressing steadily, things are all right	16
concern about crime, police protection	7
township housing rentals, township facilities and services	5
create jobs	4
improve roads, traffic flows, road safety	4
cleanliness, order, concern about image factors/monuments	4
for whites to say, it is their city	3
provide facilities for blacks in city centre	1
control prices	1
single mentions: improve shopping facilities, control liquor outlets, allow informal sector activities.	
nothing, don't know, only familiar with township life, rural-oriented	31
N = 194	
* multiple responses	

Accidents, crime and congestion were associated with the hustle and bustle of the city life. Whilst primary consumer needs were thought to be adequately fulfilled in the city, secondary needs for refreshment, entertainment, restroom facilities were considered unsatisfactory in town, mainly due to discriminatory practices. In this respect, many respondents described how they felt like second-class citizens in Durban.

The most negative aspects of the city were crime, statutory and customary apartheid, and road safety. Respondents felt victimised

and vulnerable on all three counts.

Suggested improvements covered a wide range of items which are summarised in Table 10.6. Removal of discriminatory restrictions on participation in what Durban has to offer to the consumer, the worker and those seeking recreation and entertainment, was a top priority for almost one-third of the sample. Some 16 percent thought that things were progressing steadily. However, it should be noted that in these cases, reference was often made to improvements of the physical environment, for example, to the construction of roads and new buildings. It is also important to consider that over one-third of the sample did not respond to this question adequately. This may indicate the irrelevance or unfamiliarity of the city to large proportions of the population which it serves. It would appear that many black Durban residents exist in the mental and physical isolation of the suburbs, which at the same time provide inadequate services.

Images of Durban:

- *It is where I work, so I can say that is where my life is. Today you can never live without money, so you've got to like the place where you get money. Because even a person who gives you money, you like him or her.*
- *It's the sea. It is nice and helpful in many things. Specially for us Africans, we use it as medicine. Some of the illnesses that trouble us, we simply cure them with sea water.*
- *It has got everything: churches and shops. We buy from the shops and we praise Our Lord in the churches.*
- *The only thing that I like is that one chooses the shop one likes, not like in the country where there is one general dealer to serve a wide area.*
- *... to shop the way you want without being followed and being suspected that you will steal.*
- *I would like that everyone be allowed to enter recreation grounds and parks. Because I may not take my children to any park I like.*
- *You know these public toilets in town are no good. That's where the tsotsis hide themselves. There must be people to look after these places like police. And they must*

clean them. Oh, they are so dirty.

- You know these people who sleep on the streets and the pavements at night. You only find that they are of different races, but they don't arrest or separate them. But when different races get along well without being hobos, they get arrested.
- It's only to remove the hobos in the city. They make our city dirty, because they like to sleep in the open. When some of the holiday-makers come around, they take pictures of these hobos. That lowers our city ... it affects me and my city, but I've got no clue how to avoid it.
- It is very disgraceful to see an old father (baba) drinking his beer in a corner, it lowers his dignity ... To have bars for black people, because you find blacks drinking in dirty places, like toilets, because they have not got a bar.
- We don't have equal opportunities of trading inside the city, yet we all contribute towards the development of the city.
- That they open up the business area for all population groups, then we would be able to support our nation because (NOW) our money goes to the Indians.
- Indians are permitted to stay in the city, and we aren't. Why?
- There seem to be good housing schemes. Well, we would be happy to stay in good, spacious, well-built houses. And the environment changes the nature of people.
- If there would be no fuss about 'that here is for whites only, the blacks are not wanted' - like in the cafes and hotels, there are still fusses like that.
- ... The towns will not change, a black cannot touch it except as a consumer. If you want to drink tea, you must drink it in the streets as if you have stolen it, because there is no place for you.
- If all transport (routes) ended right in the city, like those of whites. That would save me from walking a long distance to the big shops in Smith and West Streets.
- There is nothing I would change, because it is for whites. I am the one who must move out of it.
- A better place for me! I do not even stay much in town. I spend most of my time in the township.

- *If only segregation could just end! It would affect me of course, because I would be free and lead a life similar to that of whites who are in town, in that, if I got wages equal to theirs, I would have the right houses similar to theirs, dress well like them, and manage everything.*
- *I don't know, because I haven't thought about it ... but it would be good if this window curtain which is between the races would be cut off.*
- *If it (the city) could open up the University of Natal for our children as well, it would be an ideal place to live in.*
- *If only we could go to one school with other races in Durban. Our parents must fight for us (young female factor worker).*
- *They must permit us everywhere. We young ones must see to it. (young male student).*
- *We must attend more places with Europeans. There can be peace among us all.*

To sum up, several probes into the need for community services and improvements revealed that police protection was a major area of concern for the survey respondents. It was suggested that this area may have received less attention to date than other high priority community services such as education, transport, health and consumerism, and this therefore represented a largely unsatisfied need. It was noted with distress, that the needs and problems outlined by the respondents to this survey were almost identical in content and tone to those stated by the Kwa Mashu respondents participating in a survey of township life conducted three years prior to the present survey. This finding suggests that township residents have not experienced a sense of progress in community affairs in the past few years.

Leisure expectations were rising or unfulfilled for some fifty to sixty percent of the respondents who felt they would like to participate more fully in sporting and other recreational activities. Lack of opportunities, time and money were identified as the chief deterrents to participating in a more comprehensive leisure programme. Transportation problems, safety aspects and discriminatory laws were

other barriers which prevented fuller participation in leisure activities for blacks. It was observed that some of the leisure activities in which respondents desired to participate such as city hall activities, seaside excursions, and beachfront recreation, were scheduled outside of their immediate neighbourhood. A brief probe into the image of Durban revealed that for the respondents in the survey the city supplemented township consumer needs but few other leisure needs. Secondary needs whilst shopping, which might turn a shopping trip into a social outing, were not fulfilled for black consumers. Approximately one-third of the respondents felt Durban would be a better place for them, if blacks were given equal access and opportunities to participate more fully in what the city had to offer. However, a further third of the sample took little cognisance of Durban, either because their lives were restricted to their neighbourhood environment, or because they felt Durban was a white-dominated city and hence, afforded few opportunities for blacks.

CHAPTER 11.PREFERRED SPATIAL ARRANGEMENTS. OUTSIDE AND INSIDE THE HOME - THE HOUSING GAME.

Everyone knows that it is exceptionally difficult for lay persons to conceptualise how they wish the spatial arrangements in their living quarters to be organised. At the same time perception of spatial organisation is also shaped by people's cultural background and their life experiences as well as by individual capability to perceive and evaluate the three dimensional environment.

In this enquiry, we therefore chose to experiment with a simple modelling exercise, which would assist our respondents in expressing their ideas, intentions, feelings and desires as regards existing and ideal spatial arrangements. The equipment used in the 'housing game' was very simple but effective. It consisted of cardboard building 'blocks' of various sizes, which were cut to the scale of township dimensions, so that the respondents manipulating the pieces could more easily visualise spatial dimensions and convey them to the interviewers.

Ideally a housing game using three-dimensional elements would have been more suitable for such an enquiry,¹⁾ but practical considerations prevented us from employing a more elaborate research instrument. The fact that all but a few of the respondents in the survey were able and willing to participate meaningfully in a 'two-dimensional' housing game was in itself an important finding.

1) Such a 'three-dimensional' housing game has been designed by Graeme Hardie and is suited to modelling Southern African rural as well as township housing development. It has been successfully employed by local Architects and planners to elicit the housing needs and desires of their clients (notably by Mr. Paul Mikula of the Natal Region Urban Foundation). cf. Also the *Scientiae* (1980) article 'Planning through Playing' for a description of the 'three-dimensional' Housing Game developed by the National Institute of Personnel Research of the C.S.I.R.

The housing game used in this study deliberately introduced a biased approach to respondent's spatial comprehension. The dimensions of the elements used in playing the game were all based on those of the standard township house and plot, and were presented to the players as such. This approach was intended to test the extent to which the standard dimensions of township development and typical spatial arrangements found there had established themselves as reference standards, against which townspeople evaluated their residential environments. More specifically, some of the questions we sought to answer by playing the housing game might be briefly formulated as follows:

- What are the major advantages and faults of present spatial arrangements in township development? Which design features need adapting and readjusting in order to meet the requirements of townspeople? Which features should be discarded?
- To what degree do spatial arrangements existing in today's townships depress or promote the quality of residential life?
- What are the major influences in the perception of the residential environment? Are desired spatial arrangements uniform or highly individualistic? Has a unique 'township' reference standard, - a conception of the ideal township house and plot - crystallised? To what extent do rural and urban influences, such as that of 'white suburbia', form part of such a 'township reference standard', if such a standard exists. Are multiple reference standards employed by townspeople?
- How do criteria such as symbolic, functional and economic factors, enter into the evaluation of ideal spatial arrangements? Do the weights assigned to such criteria in assessing satisfactory spatial solutions fluctuate dependent upon the particular aspect of house and plot design under review?

The reporting in this chapter, which aims to shed light on

the above questions, will follow the order of events in the housing game played by the survey respondents. All players were required to complete three exercises or tasks:

- exercise 1) To evaluate the standard township plot with regard to meeting needs for outdoor space next to the dwelling, and to organise external functional space on the standard township plot to their satisfaction.
- exercise 2) To organise indoor functional space according to their satisfaction by 'building a house' in terms of the game.
- exercise 3) To outline the improvements they wished to make to their present accommodation by 'building' onto the standard township house in terms of the game or indicating other indoor or outdoor changes to the dwelling situation in which they lived.

In this chapter the reporting is frequently based on qualitative rather than quantitative data. The figures presented in the Tables have in some cases been compiled from hand rather than from computer counts, and must be interpreted with the necessary caution. For the exact presentation of the housing game to the respondents, the interested reader is referred to the Questionnaire (Questions 30 through 32) included in the Appendix.

11.1 Evaluation of the standard township plot.

Each respondent was handed a piece of cardboard (cf. Figure 11-1), which was to represent the standard township plot and asked how the size of the plot suited him or her. Some 84 percent of the respondents desired a larger plot, whilst 14 percent stated they were satisfied with the usual plot size (cf. Table 11.1). The reasons indicated for wishing to live on a larger size plot are given in Table 11.2.

Table 11.1.Desired plot size

With reference to the standard township plot size.

	%
bigger	84
same size	14
no information	<u>2</u>
	100

N = 201

Table 11.2.Reasons for desiring a particular plot size

	%*
<u>Larger plot size:</u>	
<u>Housing space:</u>	
- larger house	19
- extension possibilities	13
- large/growing family	5
<u>Plot space:</u>	
- garden space (flowers, vegetables, crops, lawn)	27
- play space	6
- utility space	7
<u>General:</u>	
- desire for space	13
- desire for choice	15
<u>Standard plot size:</u>	
- has enough space	6
- has right size house, no desire to extend	3
- economic considerations	1

N = 201

* multiple responses

Approximately equally large proportions of the sample related plot size to dwelling and non-dwelling functions. In the case of the former group, the dimensions of the plot and house were seen to correspond to each other, and persons desiring a larger home perceived the need for a larger plot. Typically, our respondents reasoned "the house is bigger, if the plot is big". Some persons indicating the need for a large house, made specific reference to the size of their families or to the size of the rooms in their houses. Persons wishing to occupy a large plot, expressed the desire to utilise the space in various ways. The planting of vegetables, crops and flowers were the most popular activities named. Space was also requested for children's recreation and for utilities including garages, tool sheds, chicken runs, swimming pools, kennels, etcetera.

- *The plot we have is too small, you cannot plant vegetables and you've got to buy everything.*
- *I like to plant vegetables. Look, I've asked my neighbours for a small space (for a vegetable garden), because I've got no place here.*
- *I want to grow trees and have a big garden. Another thing, if your plot is small, you cannot extend your home.*
- *The children will be free to play, here they play in the road.*

Generally speaking, large size plots would increase people's choice in arranging their in- and outdoor dwelling space (15 percent). A substantial proportion of the sample (13 percent) expressed a preference for a generously dimensioned plot, on which they would not feel crowded.

- *It's nice to have a bigger plot, so that one can grow anything one likes.*
- *It's nice to build your house in a wide place.*

11.1.1 The ideal position of the house.

Despite the fact that the majority of the respondents felt the standard township plot to be inadequate, they managed to organise the outdoor space within the constraints of the small plot to their liking.

In a first exercise respondents were again handed the piece of cardboard representing the standard township plot along with a smaller piece of cardboard (cf. Figure 11-1) representing the standard township house, and were asked to position the 'house' on the 'plot'. The majority of the respondents placed the house on the centre of the plot (57 percent) but substantial proportions also chose to put their house toward one 'side' (18 percent) or toward the 'rear' of the plot (14 percent) (cf. Table 11.3).

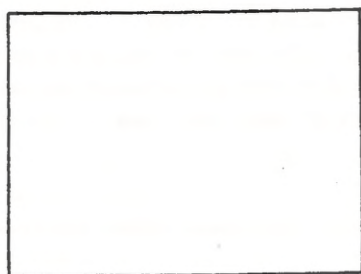
Table 11.3.

Housing Game:
Preferred position of house on plot:

		Estimated percentages %
<u>Centre</u>		57
<u>Off-centre</u>		43
	%	
side of plot	18	
rear of plot	14	
corner of plot	7	
front of plot	4	
		<u>100</u>

N = 191

Judging from the comments given by the respondents when applying themselves to their task, the perception of the ideal position of the house on the plot was influenced by usage and custom. It would appear that many respondents had seldom thought about this aspect of housing. The results of a hand count of the chief reasons for placing the house on the centre of the plot as against in an off-centre position suggested that no matter which position was finally chosen, townspeople hoped to maximise the space afforded to them along similar lines. Regardless of whether they placed their houses in a



plot (33 cm x 25 cm)



house (13,83 cm x 10,85 cm)



room (7 cm x 5 cm)



room (5 cm x 5 cm)



room (5 cm x 2,5 cm)

Scale 1 : 5

Figure 11-1 Elements used in the housing game

central or in an off-centre position the majority of the respondents wished to plant and/or to extend their homes.

Those advocating the central position were however somewhat more prone to mention prestige and aesthetic factors rather than utilitarian ones when commenting on their choice. The central position was 'nice', it appealed to people's sense of symmetry. Possibly a territorial factor was involved in this choice, a point we shall return to when discussing the influence of neighbours on the choice of the ideal position of the home. A substantial number of respondents wished to be able to walk around their houses. It was observed that even among those choosing an off-centre position for their house, virtually no one placed the house right on the edge of the plot, because they wished to allow space for a pathway or a hedge behind the house.

The majority of the persons who wished their houses to be placed on an extreme area of the plot were very concerned with practical factors such as how to extend their homes or how to obtain a sufficiently large space on which to plant crops or vegetables. The planting of vegetables and crops was intended chiefly to supplement one's income. However, one must be aware, that prestige factors were also involved in extending one's home; the larger the house, the greater the social standing of the owner or occupier. Moreover, the central position of an off-centre house would be regained once it had been extended!

A small minority in both groups wished to reserve space for utilities, in particular for play space. Some few respondents mentioned that they wished to keep a certain distance from neighbours or to achieve maximum security in their homes. One respondent stated he simply wished to place his home in an off-centre position in contrast to the placement of houses where he was living at present.

- *I see that the site is small .. If it is in the centre of the place, perhaps there will be a little space left on the sides.*
- *I want the yard to be equal all round. A house that has*

unequal spaces on the sides does not look nice.

- (I want) *to put it here (in front of plot) in contrast to the box in which I am living. I want to be satisfied when I look at it ...*
- (Places house off-centre) *So that my fields will be on the right hand side. I don't like them in the front, I only like flowers and lawn in the front.*

11.1.1.1 The influence of neighbours on the choice of the ideal position of the house.

A limited number of persons were asked how they felt about the position of their house in relation to that of their neighbours. In general, people did not feel that the neighbours had a bearing on this issue. However, a few people mentioned that they wished to maximise the distance of their house to the neighbour's and accordingly chose the central or the extreme position for their home. It would appear that many respondents visualised that neighbours on either side of their home might intrude on their privacy, but those in front or behind, would not. One must consider that most persons expected their home to be facing the road (a point we shall return to shortly), so they might imagine that the neighbours directly opposite the home would present less of a threat to their privacy. In fact, one person welcomed having a neighbour across the road, who would constantly see her house from its best angle. Whatever their misgivings may have been, many respondents hastened to comment on the necessity of neighbours, who provided assistance and support in cases of emergency. Respondents stressed that good relationships should be maintained at all times. Neighbours were needed especially in times of emergency, loneliness and depression. However, jealousy, gossip, and quarrels over the children and domestic animals spoiling each other's gardens presented a constant threat to one's peace of mind and physical safety. Corresponding to this ambiguous assessment of neighbourly relationships, respondents often wished for neighbours to be near yet far. The impression was gained from the survey that although a reasonable physical distance between one's own house and that of the neighbours might have been desirable, it was not essential to maintaining good neighbourly relations nor was it a manifestly felt priority when selecting the ideal position of one's home on a site.

It would appear that symbolic distance or - as it is usually referred to - *functional*¹⁾ distance is of equal or even greater importance than physical distance to one's neighbours when selecting the ideal position of one's home. For example, functional distance of the home and its occupants to the neighbours can be maintained by formalising neighbourly contacts or by visually emphasising plot boundaries (and thus exaggerating the distance of the house to the edge of the plot) rather than by shifting the position of the home itself.

- *I like my house to be in the centre. It's because I don't want them (the neighbours) to be too close to me. It won't be nice, if we are too close to each other. I don't want to know what's happening in their houses and I also don't want them to know what's happening in my house.*
- *I would prefer neighbours to be in front or back but not on the sides. So that they can be easy to get hold of, especially when I am in trouble. I wouldn't like them to be on the sides. If they have chickens, they would mess up my vegetable garden.*
- *My neighbours would look at it (the house) and admire its beauty.*
- *If my house is beautiful, the other person would not stop being jealous. One can even die because of a beautiful house.*
- *If I want to see my neighbour, I must leave (the house) by the gate, and go to him ... not talk to him through the windows, that's not nice.*

11.1.2 The utilization of residual space after positioning of the township house.

How will the various spaces shaped by the positioning of the house on the plot be utilized apart from future extensions? Respondents were invited to describe how they would develop the spaces around the house. Interviewers would refer to the unoccupied areas

1) Festinger *et. al.* (1950) make a pertinent distinction between *physical* and *functional* distance. Whilst physical distance can be measured accurately, functional distance refers to positional relationships of design features. Both are thought to influence social contact.

on the plot and interviewees readily supplied the information. This procedure proved workable, and a rich variety of responses was elicited. There was a marked tendency for activities to be assigned to the four sides of the house or plot. This conception might have been stimulated by the method of inquiry. On the other hand, the responses of the minority of persons placing their homes off-centre tended to be similar to those given by the majority, so one can assume that the results fairly accurately represented popular opinion on exemplary plot utilization.

It would appear that a very definite pattern of activity spaces had imprinted itself in township people's thinking and this pattern could easily be discerned in the responses to the survey. As far as our data allows an insight into such questions, it would appear that in principle all the activities and functions commonly named by the respondents met with community approval, but in each particular case factors relating to prestige, convenience and foresight might have dictated where space for a specific activity was reserved.

11.1.2.1 The front yard.

This was usually reserved for a flower garden with an optional lawn and shrubs. If a fence or a visual boundary was drawn on the plot, an entrance through a gate was frequently indicated as well. The front was the entrance area and presented the most attractive and impressive facade of the home for display to the general public as well as to friends and acquaintances. One might go so far as to say that the 'front' of the house (regardless of the functions of the front rooms of the house) was symbolised by the flower garden.

- *The front must be beautiful to enhance the grandeur of the house.*

It is possibly significant that persons choosing to utilize the front space for planting crops would frequently demarcate their gardens with a symbolic or physical boundary and plant flowers behind this boundary and immediately in front of the house. It must be remembered

that the hilly terrain which is characteristic of the sites on which Natal townships are built, lends itself to this type of plot division. The crops might be planted on the lower lying frontage of the plot with the house built on the slope overlooking the crops.

Other prestige functions which were frequently planned for the area in front of the house in full view of the public included swimming facilities, relaxation and play places. The prestige function of the swimming pool was possibly most obvious, for it was built in front of the house just as often as in the more private and protected backyard. Because the road was considered a source of interest and activity which was pleasant and useful to watch, some respondents reserved a shady place where they could relax with friends in front of the house and opposite the road. In a few cases the play area for children was extended into the front yard, though play activity was usually relegated to the side and backyard which was considered a safer place for children to play.

11.1.2.2 The side and rear areas of the plot.

As one moved from the front to the back of the plot, the dominance of utilitarian over prestige functions increased. Out-buildings in approximate order of placement from the front to the back of the plot included: garages, extra detached rooms for visitors, tool sheds, fowl runs, outside toilets, servants' quarters. Analogously, utilities ordered from the front to the back of the plot included play space, resting and relaxation areas under shade trees, vegetable gardens, fruit trees, clothes lines and crops. A few mentions of kennels were made. The places where modern and traditional crops and vegetables were planted were described in detail and very often the types of fruit trees one desired were specifically named. Outdoor sitting places were in a few instances equipped with garden furniture. Driveways, pathways and cleared or vacant areas were also regular features of the plots described by the respondents playing the housing game.

11.1.2.3 Children's play space.

Attitudes towards children's play space varied. In the majority of cases, people wished to provide their children with an adequate play area on the premises, especially if young children were concerned. It will be remembered that the desire for sufficiently large playgrounds was one of the reasons for some respondents desiring a larger plot. However, one or two mothers playing the housing game had resigned themselves to the fact that children would play in the street and instead sought to maximise their opportunities to supervise this off-site play area. Ideally, children were to be protected from dangers such as moving traffic and in some cases provided with alternative man-made amusements and stimulation such as swings and concrete paving. Alternatively, the children's playground was placed in a pleasant green setting under trees. (Appropriately many respondents and interviewers referred to play and relaxation space as 'park' area in English.) The play space was usually situated on the side of the house where it sometimes had to compete with the space set aside for gardening. Although little explicit mention was made of the supervision of children whilst playing, respondents were obviously very concerned that children should play in safe places. Fencing was considered an extra safeguard, which protected children at play and the ideal position of the road was frequently determined with respect to where children were expected to play.

11.1.2.4 Vegetable gardens and crops, chicken coops.

It was considered a folly not to plant a vegetable garden if space allowed.

- *Food is very expensive. If you've got place, you must make use of it.*

With market prices increasing daily, a vegetable garden represented a vital source of income and health for the township family. The same applied to the raising of chickens. Fewer persons desired to grow staple crops such as maize. The intention to grow maize was possibly most characteristic of the country-oriented persons participating in

the housing game. (Raising of livestock on the plot was mentioned only by persons who built country homes, so their contribution was overlooked when discussing the utilization of space on the model township plot.) It would appear that vegetable gardening and poultry farming were considered compatible with an urban or suburban lifestyle and engaging in such activities was attributed to industriousness and foresight on the part of the suburban cultivator rather than to backwardness.

Aspects of ideal space utilization suggested for the typical township plot are perhaps best illustrated by providing the reader with examples of ideal plots. Six plot designs are shown on the following pages. The designs were drawn by the interviewer according to the instructions of the respondents participating in the housing game.

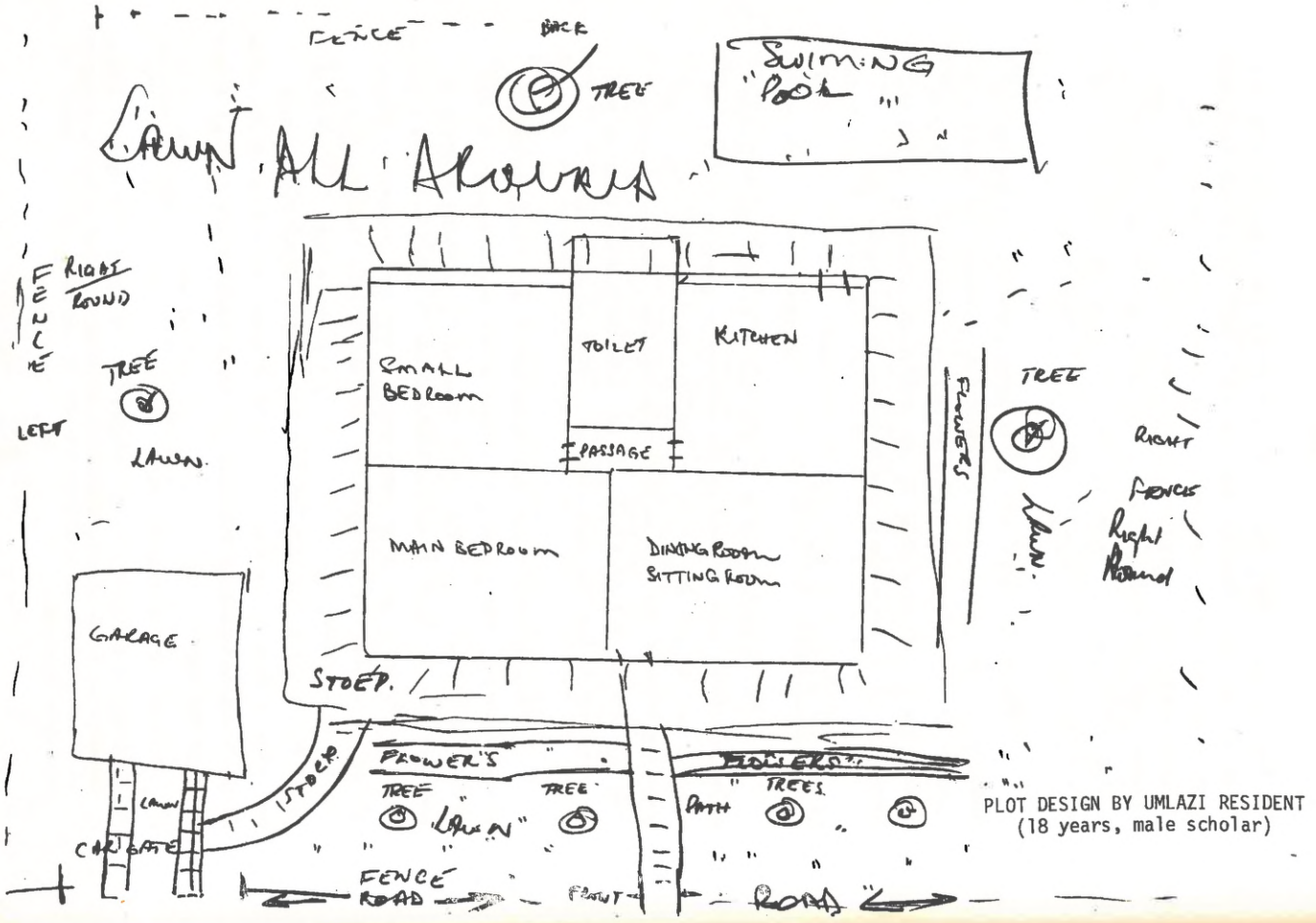
11.1.3 The position of the road.

The customary position of the road is in the 'front' of the house (the front being defined by the entrance or prestige side of the house). Over 80 per cent of the respondents preferred the road to run along the front of the plot on which they had positioned the township home (cf. Tables 11.4 and 11.5). It was considered prestigious as well as convenient to have the road running in front of one's home.

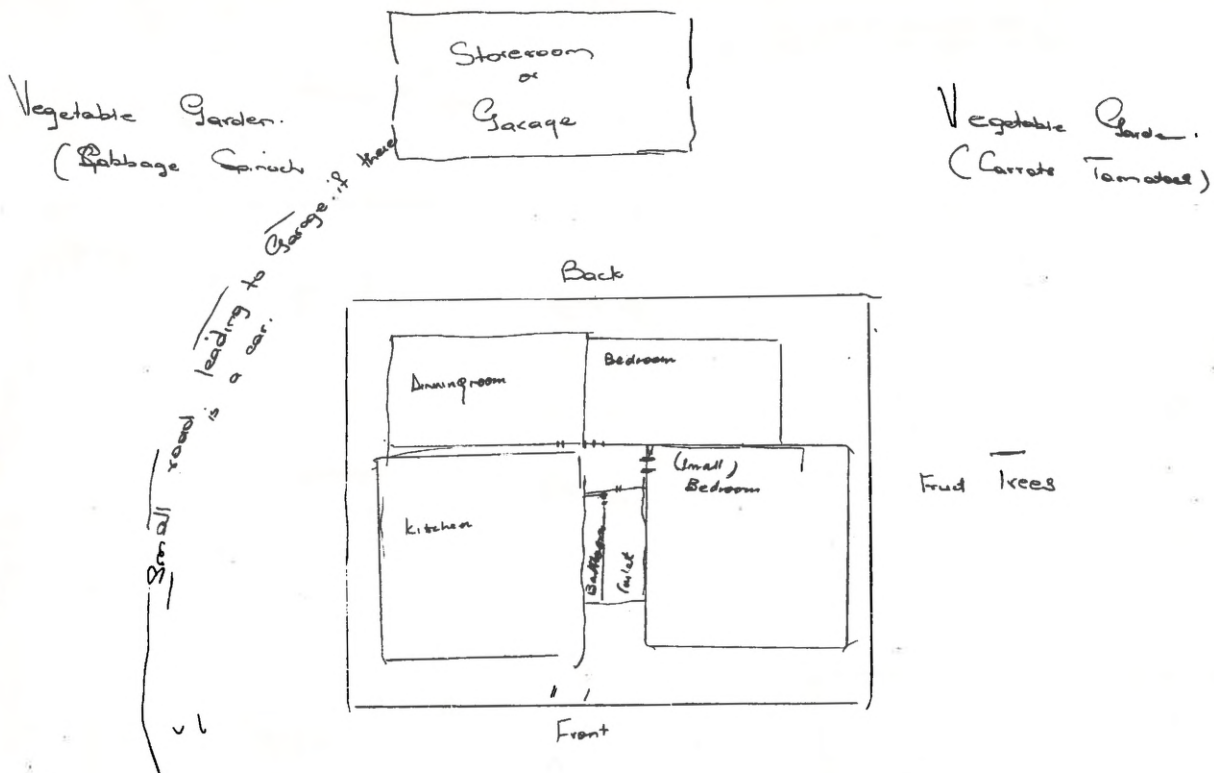
The proximity of the road represents a very important aspect of urban housing, namely access to communication and transport. In the Turner model of housing,¹⁾ the significance of the changing priority of transportation in choosing housing alternatives is shown to relate significantly to affluence and urban commitment. Access to transport is almost synonymous to access to employment in the case of some township people. Arriving late at work may result in the loss of one's job. Without easy access to transport, township dwellers may be less conveniently housed than some of their counterparts living in informal settlements on the urban fringe.²⁾ It is no wonder then that the ideal township house should orient itself to the road.

1) cf. Turner 1968 and Brett 1974.

2) According to a recent survey conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in Malukazi, a spontaneous settlement situated on the outskirts of Umlazi, access to transport was one of the most positive aspects of living in Malukazi.



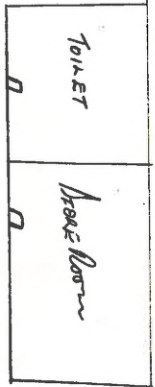
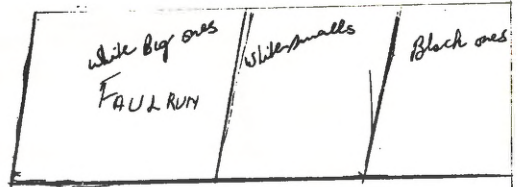
215.



216.

PLOT DESIGN BY UMLAZI RESIDENT (27 years, married woman)

Vegetables

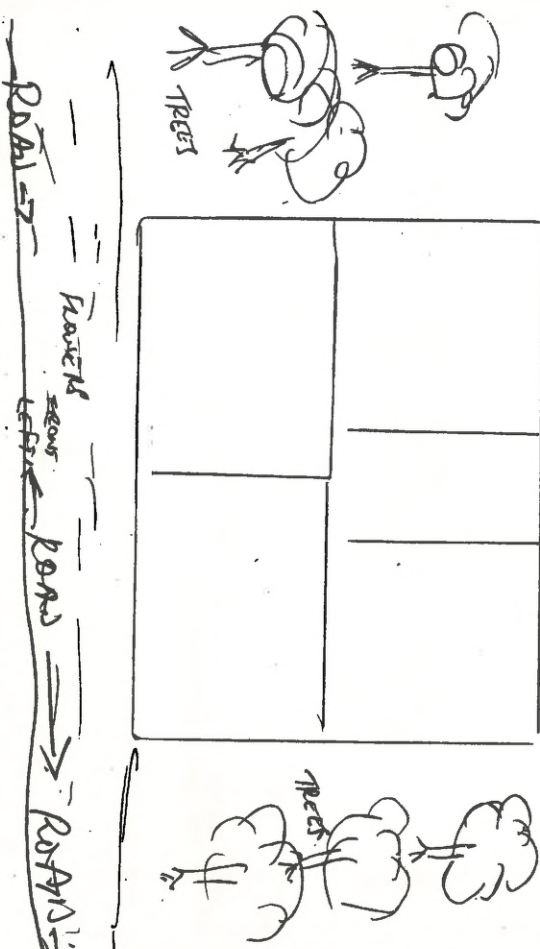


217.

grass + flowers

PLOT DESIGN BY KWA MASHU RESIDENT
(37 years, married man)

2-1



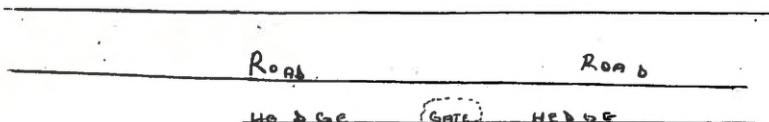
Spash
DARK



RIGHT.

PLOT DESIGN BY UMLAZI RESIDENT
(20 years, female scholar)

218.



LAWN AND FLOWERS.

I like my front yard to look smart.

TOILET AND
STOREROOM.
Our rooms
do not look
clean and
tidy because
we do not
have a
storeroom
and so we
have every-
thing in the
house.

FOWL RUN.
I don't want
to have fowls
in my kitchen
as most
neighbours do.
They mess
your floors.

VEGETABLE GARDEN AND SOME FRUIT TREES.

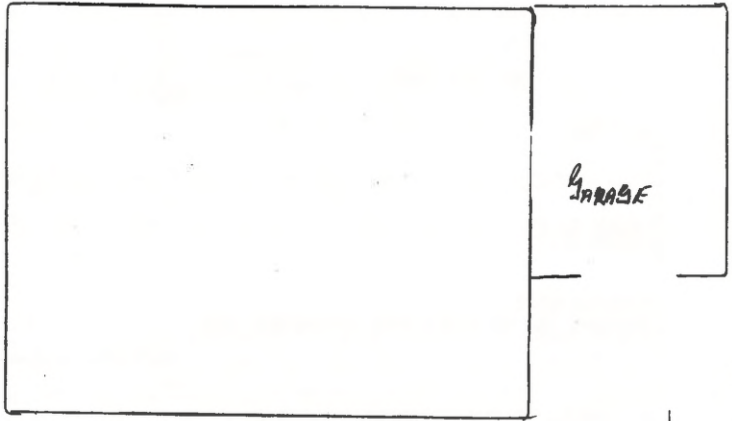
I think it is much cheaper and better to grow your vegetables than to buy everything from the market. If there is a surplus, you can also sell them to your neighbours.

PLOT DESIGN BY KWA MASHU RESIDENT
(34 years, married woman)

FENCE



WASHING LINE



VEGETABLE GARDEN

FENCE

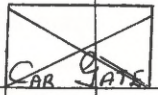
FENCE

FLOWERS

FLOWERS

DRIVEWAY

PARK FOR CHILDREN



PLOT DESIGN BY UMLAZI RESIDENT
(45 years, married man)

ROAD

Table 11.4.

Housing game:
Ideal position of road in relation to house and plot.

	%
front	81
side	12
back	6
front and back	7
	<u>100</u>

N = 181

Table 11.5.

Housing game:
Reasons for desiring road to border plot.

	Multiple responses %
- access to public transport, road; vehicular access and exit	36
- ability to observe road (for interest and security purposes), to see who is approaching	15
- conventional position (front only)	9
- nice, prestigious (front only)	8
- concern for safety of children	8
- no disturbance by traffic (noise, dust)	7
- concern for the safety of property (house, fields)	6
- concern for visibility, accessibility of house (front only)	4

N = 181 = 100%

Road access is also a convenience factor. Being able to catch the bus outside of the house instead of walking some distance to the nearest bus stop, being able to supervise the children on the first leg of their journey to school from the home, being able to walk from the

bus to the house without being molested or getting one's feet wet in rainy weather are but a few examples of the convenience aspects of road access.

Clearly, road access is related to private as well as to public transport in the view of the respondents. As we shall see shortly, the majority of players expected to own a car themselves one day and also desired to provide for the security and comfort of their car-owning friends and relations. In most cases the road running at the front, was considered the most convenient vehicular access to the plot. However, as respondents were asked about the position of the road only after having assigned utility functions to the space around the home, some persons chose a non-frontal position of the road to correspond to the position they had chosen for the garage. It was observed that many players simultaneously designed garage, driveway and vehicular access to their plots.

It was thought particularly useful to be able to watch the coming and going on the road or even to supervise children playing in the street. Potential intrusion could be averted if the house commanded a full view of the road. Some persons positioned the rooms most frequently occupied by themselves toward the road in order to detect unwanted intrusion into their homes.¹⁾ It would appear that many people appreciated being given advance warning of the arrival of friends as well as enemies, so that they could prepare for their reception. It was considered a courteous gesture to visitors, if one ensured that they could easily locate one's house and enter the premises on a convenient access road or path. Preferably visitors were to enter the plot and the home from the most presentable angle.

The road also represented a window to the world, it was considered a source of entertainment as well as information. It was thought

1) Jane Jacobs (1977: Chapter 2) speaks of the 'constant succession of eyes' surveying city streets which ensures the safety of the neighbourhood residents. She also maintains that buildings on streets which are equipped to handle strangers and ensure the safety of both residents and strangers alike, *must* be oriented to the street.

interesting to watch passersby from one's verandah or other outdoor resting spots which commanded a full view of the road.

Clearly most persons thought of the road in positive terms, but there were some exceptions to this rule. In a minority of cases, the road was considered a nuisance factor or a potential danger. Whilst most respondents took it for granted that the road would create a boundary, some less sophisticated persons explicitly declared that they did not wish for the road to run through their plot. People were afraid careless drivers would damage the walls of their homes, run over their crops or endanger their children at play. As we have seen, provision for play and garden space was often made on the side of the house if a 'front' road was preferred. Some respondents who focussed their plot activities around the vegetable garden preferred to have the road running along the opposite side of their garden. Small percentages referred to the noise of passing traffic and positioned the road away from the house or their sleeping quarters. People desiring a 'back' rather than a 'front' road were most likely to draw attention to the nuisance factors associated with vehicular access : noise and dust pollution. In some few cases two access roads, usually one in front and one in back of the plot were required.

- *The road is here at the front. My house should face the road. The beauty of the house is in the front.*
- *And when people come they should come to the beautiful side of the house.*
- *(I want the road) towards the front, so as to (be able) to plant at the back. The front is for visitors. They build the boxes the other way round here in the location, they make the front where there should be a back, and vice versa. They don't make houses to face the streets.*
- *The road would be in front. In well-built areas there are no roads running at the back. The back is for the family's privacy, not for outsiders.*
- *I do not like a person to enter at the back and through the kitchen.*
- *You can easily see people coming to your house. I don't think it's nice to see a person in the yard, and you don't even know where he or she came from.*

- *It (the road) will be below the vegetable garden. I used to find that in most of the white people's areas it is usually in the front.*
- *It (the road) will be near to me and the car will come home easily.*
- *I like my house to face the road, not like here at Umlazi. I like the road in front. If it's in back, I won't see if the children are playing or getting hurt in the road. Children like to play in the road.*
- *(The road should be) at the backyard. My children would be playing on this lawn in the front and I don't want them to be tempted to play in the road, when it is right in front of them. In other words, I am trying to hide it away from them.*

11.1.4 Security and territoriality factors.

Fencing and less frequently natural boundaries such as hedges were considered essential features of any plot. A substantial proportion of the respondents spontaneously placed a fence around the township plot when describing external activity spaces or stated that they wished to add a fence to the house designed in the second lap of the game (to be described below). One respondent described fencing in terms of the finishing touch to the ideal home.

- *(Interviewer: "Anything else you'd like to add to that?")
Except when my house is so beautiful, I shall put up a fence, I'll make it a good fence and then rest assured that there will be nothing to trouble or disturb me.*

In consideration of the great concern with the crime and security aspects of housing, the importance of fencing as a symbolic and physical deterrent to intrusion on one's property is easily understood. It will be observed that in some of the sketches included in this report the fences drawn in by the interviewers assumed unrealistic proportions. Even in the absence of a fence, a gate was sometimes drawn on the plot as a symbolic entrance which should screen friends from enemies. The fence was also seen as a means of filtering some of the potential dangers of the road. Planting one's crops next to the road or allowing one's children to play near the street was often considered acceptable as long as a fence was erected which divided traffic from

conflicting use of space.

- *That's why I say I'm going to put up a fence. I don't want them to enter any way they like. I want to see each and everyone entering the yard. Not because it worries me, just for safety's sake.*

Regarding security factors, it is possibly also significant that reference was usually made to *single* shade trees, to rows of *well-spaced* fruit trees and to *small* trees (= shrubs) which suggested moderate rather than thick foliage. It would appear that the ornamental function of vegetation was never permitted to interfere with the higher priority security aspects of housing.

Similarly, it was reasoned that a home which was placed in the centre of the site would be seen and admired from all sides, whilst at the same time the occupants of the house could watch over encroachment from all sides.

11.2 The utilization of internal space.

In the second half of the housing game, respondents were again handed the cardboard representing the standard township plot, and were required to build the house of their choice. All participants were issued with kits containing cardboard building blocks of various sizes, which was the standard equipment for playing the game (cf. Figure 11.1). Respondents selected the elements as required, and organized them on the cardboard plot to represent the 'floor plan' of the house they had in mind. When the 'house' met their approval and was complete, the interviewer traced the shapes of the elements used onto the plot, and labelled each element of the design and any design features the player had referred to when building the house. Interviewers were instructed to inquire to what use a room was to be put, if a respondent did not volunteer the information of his or her own accord.

Obviously, this method again introduced a biased approach to homebuilding. However, as we wished to learn more about how urban

Africans conceptualised the organisation of space, this approach seemed ideally suited to the purpose of inquiry. The playing equipment prompted the participants in the game to immediately think in terms of the number and types of rooms which made up a house rather than of the house as a whole which might subsequently be substructured into its component parts. Judging from observations made of self-builder operations in spontaneous settlements, the 'serial' approach to building is a familiar concept among informal African home builders and there is every reason to believe it is equally commonplace among township people.¹⁾ The general impression was gained that most of the players of the housing game were used to thinking of housing in functional terms.

With a single exception, all respondents managed to accomplish the task of homebuilding. In retrospect, the rules of the housing game proved to be less restrictive than we had initially imagined. For instance, six respondents built country homes and mentally converted the square shaped cardboard pieces into round huts.²⁾ Two persons

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- 1) cf. Haarhoff(1979)for an exacting analysis of home building in the informal settlement of Malukazi which is situated outside Umlazi Township. Møller (1978) also comments on the house forms found at Dube's Farm, an informal settlement to the north of Kwa Mashu Township.
 - 2) The six respondents who built a country home consisting of a number of huts were not altogether a homogeneous group regarding demographic background characteristics. A deviant case analysis revealed that the persons included in the group were both male and female of various ages, who had lived in town for at least 5 but more often for over 10 years. Their retirement plans varied; some persons preferred an urban, others a rural place of retirement, whilst some were undecided. However, all members of the group had been born outside of town and belonged to the rank-and-file class of urban Africans according to the survey definition. Most significant for the inquiry at hand was the fact that all six persons in the group considered a rural place as 'home', although two persons had initially named an urban and a rural 'home'. Furthermore, 4 out of the 5 in the group asked, selected facade H (the double rondavel) as their first choice from the set of elevations presented to respondents for comment earlier in the interview (cf. Chapter 8).

managed to design two-storey homes. In all, approximately 195 homes were designed by the respondents. As one might expect, each one of these designs differed from the others, but some general trends in the conception of ideally organised dwelling space emerged.

Respondents were urged to think aloud as they went about the task of homebuilding. Judging from the comments made, it would appear that the majority of the respondents knew exactly which elements they wished to incorporate into their ideal home. It was quite usual for a respondent to state that he or she needed or desired an x-roomed house, and then to name the functions of the rooms which would be included in such a house. Alternatively, some persons seemed to hold a mental picture of the functional spaces they required, and proceeded to lay pieces corresponding to these functions on the plot like domino pieces, one by one, until the 'house' was complete.

The number of elements used in the designs varied and ranged from a minimum of 5 (in one case 4) to a maximum of 15 (cf. Table 11.6). Each separate function was counted as one element regardless of size, exclusive of internal passageways. Thus, the standard Umlazi house with internal toilet cum bathroom would figure as a 5-element structure on Table 11.6. In this connection it is interesting to note that no more than one or two respondents attempted to reproduce a replica of the standard township house. The mean number of elements used was 8.3, which is equivalent, for example, to a house consisting of say a kitchen, dining room and lounge, master bedroom, boys' bedroom, girls' bedroom, toilet and separate bathroom and 3 elements contributing toward a visitor's room, pantry, storeroom, garage or verandah of one's choice.

It would appear that the majority of respondents built according to their currently perceived needs and preferred to add on — say extra bedrooms — in future when the family expanded or older children should require a room of their own. In the process of building, some of the faults perceived in their present living circumstances were remedied, and possibly one or the other particularly favoured feature was incorporated in the design.

Table 11.6

Housing game:
Number elements used in housebuilding by township in which
respondent resides:

Number elements*	Umlazi	Kwa Mashu	Lamontville	Total'
	N	N	N	N
4		1		1
5	3	3	1	7
6	7	19	3	29
7	12	21	4	37
8	17	10	5	32
9	14	10	9	33
10	13	12	3	28
11	9	1	1	11
12	4	1		5
13		1		1
14	1		2	3
15		1		1
Total	80	80	28	188
mode	8	7	9	7
mean	8,7	7,8	8,6	8,3

Notes:

The following inventions were employed in enumerating elements:

- Pantries, storerooms, kitchens, garages, verandahs all count as single elements.
- A toilet cum bathroom counts as 1 element; a separate toilet and bathroom as 2 elements — a single or double garage counts as 1 element.
- Each separate verandah counts as 1 element. - With the exception of the garage and toilet, detached elements are not enumerated in the Table.

With some few exceptions, respondents were selective in defining elements and did not include all manner of rooms they might require. The reader can verify this by inspecting the items listed on Table 11.7. Few luxury items were built into the houses designed by the respondents. On the other hand, the majority of the respondents were willing to build according to their ideals rather than to let anticipated building costs constrain them unduly in their designing activity. However, it was observed that a minority of persons built only what they considered to be within their modest means.

- *I don't really want a very big house. I just want a house that will suit the size of my family. If I can have a six-roomed house with toilet that would be suitable and I think I could also afford the rent, because I don't think it would be much extra.*

It is thought that the relatively few small homes were designed by persons bearing their rent-paying ability in mind rather than by persons who preferred to live in a small home.

Generally speaking, the impression was gained that the reference standard to which respondents referred when engaged in house-building was strongly related to their past housing experience or to the aspirations and expectations shaped by their present housing circumstances or both.

- *I'd like a house like this Umlazi one. But it will have the small difference of two extra rooms ... but I'd like them big, especially the kitchen, I'd like it big.*
- *My house won't be too different from the Umlazi houses. The only difference will be (that it has) big rooms and a few more rooms.*
- *I liked this kind of house when I was a young girl. I saw it at my mother's employer's place, when I went to help her.*

For instance, it was observed that the Kwa Mashu 'builders' tended to have more modest demands for space than the other respondents (cf. Table 11.6), which might correspond to the relatively lower housing standards enjoyed by a substantial proportion of the Kwa Mashu subsample

(cf. Chapter 3). Apparently, Kwa Mashu respondents were frequently more interested in the *size* rather than in the *number* of rooms in the house, and in an internal toilet rather than in a separate toilet and bathroom.

- *I'd like a simple house of five rooms, if only all those (rooms) are big and there is water inside.*
- *I'd like my house to be a little the same as the ones in Ntuzuma (newer addition to Kwa Mashu) with toilet and bathroom inside. Not like here at Kwa Mashu. Water is quite far (away). Here at Kwa Mashu, we don't go to the toilet at night. There are many people who have died just because of going to the toilet at night.*

11.2.1 Functional space included in the houses built.

In Table 11.7 estimates are given of the relative importance of functional spaces based on the number of houses designed by respondents which provided for such functions. Only the urban and completed houses are included in the frequency counts and information for some 186 house designs was available.

With a few exceptions, each house designed made provision for a kitchen, toilet, living and sleeping space. (When these basic functions were omitted, it was assumed they had been overlooked by the respondent.) With the exception of dining and living space, toilet and bathing areas, functions were seldom combined.

The most pertinent findings resulting from the house-building exercise may be briefly reviewed as follows. The combined dining and living room was favoured or at least accepted by over half of the house-builders. No mention was made of the use of the kitchen for dining, sitting, entertainment or sleeping purposes, so it was assumed that ideally dining functions were relegated to the dining cum sitting room.¹⁾

1) Due to crowded circumstances in township houses, most rooms are used for various activities. The kitchen will frequently serve as a bedroom at night.

Table 11.7

Housing game:Provisions made for functional space when housebuilding.

Percentage houses designed which featured:

N = 186 = 100%
unless otherwise indicatedInternal spaces:

- kitchen		estimated 100%
- dining-lounge (sitting)		100%
dining <u>and</u> lounge	54%	
dining <u>or</u> lounge only	45%	
no information	1%	
- bedrooms (including visitors')		100%
two bedrooms	16%	
three bedrooms	46%	
four bedrooms	33%	
five bedrooms	4%	
six bedrooms	1%	
visitors' bedroom	49%	
sex-separated bedrooms	56%	
- toilet/bathroom, of which:		estimated 100%
separate toilet and bath- room or several toilets,		
toilet cum bathroom	32%	
semi-detached toilet	4%	
detached toilet	3%	
extra outside toilet	1%	
- pantry		16%
- storeroom		6%
- study		9%
- recreation, play room for adults or children		3%
- Other : tool room (3%), music room (0%), family room (0%), client reception (0%), dressing room (0%)		
- Other external : Zulu hut (0%), kennel (0%), servants' quarters (1%), not enumerated : pools, fowl runs, fencing.		

Continued/

Table 11.7 Continued

N = 186 = 100%
unless otherwise indicated

Intermediate space:

- verandah	35%*
- garage	approximately 49%
garage features as organised indoor space	28%
garage features as organised outdoor space	21%
garage does not feature at all	51%
N = 195 =	100%

Type of design:

passage or corridor area indicated	72%
no passage indicated (compact design)	10%
insufficient information	18%
N = 186 =	100%

- * The substantial proportion of respondents who planned for verandah space when discussing the organisation of external space, but did not incorporate a verandah into the floor plan of their ideal home is not included in this figure.

The impression was gained that the need for sleeping quarters was measured by the current size of the family and by the visitors the home regularly accommodated, and respondents anticipated extending the home should the pattern of such needs change in future.

It is essential to note that the ideal home must provide for

sex separation and hospitality. Over half of the houses designed included sex-separated sleeping rooms. It is assumed that the age-sex structure of the household obviated the need for sex-separated bedrooms in the remainder of cases. Just under one half of the designs featured one or two visitors' bedrooms or spare rooms. In some few cases juveniles were given a room of their own. It was thought particularly important for young men to occupy a room of their own, so they could entertain girl friends and come and go as they pleased without disturbing the household. However, it would appear that regarding sleeping arrangements, the chief emphasis was placed on sex separation rather than on providing each child with a personal sleeping compartment of its own. Judging from the fact that sample households usually had 3 to 5 dependent children, it was estimated that respondents expected approximately two children of the same sex to share a bedroom, which appeared reasonable by most density standards (providing the rooms were sufficiently large). Moreover, it was assumed that the visitor's room would not be in constant use and might provide additional sleeping space for the family.

- An exceptional comment: *I won't have visitors always. So if they happen to come, they can use one of the two dining rooms or sitting rooms. Because if they have a special room, that means they will come always.*
- *These are two spare rooms. Because, if there are visitors that worries the children most. Because they know that they are going to be pushed out of their bedrooms to the kitchen or be made to sleep down on the floor. That doesn't make them happy at all.*

Substantial proportions of respondents preferred to separate the toilet from the bathroom or to include several such units in their ideal home. Respondents generally wished for the toilet to be situated inside the house. Only six respondents preferred an external toilet, and a further seven designed a semi-detached toilet.

Smaller proportions of respondents planned for a pantry, store-room, study and/or playroom in their homes. It was observed that although some persons felt quite strongly about reserving space for these functions in their homes, these spaces were sometimes added to the home at the last moment in response to interviewer prompting concerning further spatial requirements.

- (Add a pantry, so as) *not to put food and clothes together. That is what is happening here. Not because we like to do that. There is no place to put a grocery cupboard. So the only way to put food is in the wardrobe.*
- (A young woman, 22 years of age, with three sisters aged 16, 18 and 21 years, and two brothers aged 13 and 25 years.) *I'd like a beautiful house like a small heaven. I want a house with 5 bedrooms. You know what those rooms are for? These will be my mother and father's bedroom. Then there will be the older girls' bedroom, the older boys' bedroom and two rooms for the young boys and the small girls. You know why I want all this? It's because we big girls stay awake late talking about boys and the boys are also talking about girls. So these young ones need to go to sleep early and not to listen to the tales. So we must not talk about boy friends in front of them. That could spoil them because they are still young.*

11.2.1.1 Garages and verandahs.

The above are two types of space which occupy an intermediate position regarding space utilisation, and respondents typically singled them out for discussion during the first or second exercise depending upon whether they considered them elements of the indoor or outdoor space. Both were extremely popular items and were included in large proportions of the houses designed and therefore merit our special attention.

11.2.1.2 The verandah.

This was typically considered an addition to the home rather than an integral design feature. This is best illustrated by the fact that a substantial proportion of the respondents 'tacked' a verandah on to the standard township unit. Verandahs were often employed to utilise space in odd corners. It will also be remembered that when evaluating the 'twin gable' house (elevation 0) in the exercise described in Chapter 3, the juxtaposition of two prominent front rooms was interpreted as a verandah and received much favourable comment.

Approximately one in three respondents incorporated one or more verandahs in the design of the ideal home and a substantial number

of respondents desired to improve the standard township house with a verandah or a stoep running around several sides of the structure.

11.2.1.3 The garage.

The garage was alternatively treated as outdoor or indoor space by respondents, but very definitely as a high priority housing component. Approximately half of the respondents made provisions for a garage on the township plot or included a garage in the design of their ideal home (cf. Table 11.7). The garage was usually placed to the side or to the front of the house where it was easily accessible from the front road. Some respondents designed detached garages whilst others preferred to join the garage to the main living structure, mainly for security rather than for practical or economic reasons. It can be assumed that the garage is first and foremost a security device, which acts as a support system for a prestige symbol in modern living. For this reason the carport or on-site parking were not considered viable alternatives for the more expensive lock-up garage.

In a second instance it would appear that the garage becomes a prestige symbol in its own right which substitutes for or complements the other functions it serves. When reviewing the background characteristics of the respondents in the survey, we learnt that less than one-third of the respondents had access to a car. Why then did almost half of the respondents insist on planning for a garage? One might suggest that if the motor car symbolises personal progress and participation in modern living, then the knowledge that the car can be adequately accommodated instils confidence that this goal will one day be achieved. In some instances, respondents could not resist adding a garage to their ideal home, and were eager to convince the interviewers that a garage was a sound investment. Even if they did not own a car, they reasoned, it was hospitable (and possibly a matter concerning prestige?) to be in a position to offer visitors not only a room of their own but also a garage in which they could park their cars in safety. The building of a garage was justified because it would double as a workshop or toolshed and thus obviate

the need for an additional outbuilding.

The element used for garage building was usually a large one and the provision of a double garage was not altogether uncommon. The impression is gained that garage space was sometimes given priority over living space, for example, quite a number of two-bedroomed homes resulting from the ideal home exercise featured a garage.

- *There is a need for a garage that side where there is a big space. The space next to it may be a workshop. Your visitor can put his (car) in it, if you have not yet got a car.*
- *On the outside of course there may be a garage and if I am standing well (financially) I will put in a car.*
- *Of course I said that there should be a garage. Of course, because I will put the car in it and all the junk, and the Christians will worship there because of course the rooms (of the standard township house) are small.*
- *It looks much better when the garage is on the side of the house. If the fowl-run is next to the house, I will be able to hear anything that disturbs my chickens.*
- *This is the garage nearer my room so as to watch out for tsotsis. It must be joined to the house.*

11.2.2 The size of the elements used in housebuilding.

Most respondents tended to use the different sized building blocks in a discriminating manner. Generally speaking, large elements were used for the living area and the main bedroom. If the living area was divided into two areas, say a diningroom and a lounge, two medium-sized elements were sometimes used. Children's bedrooms tended to be medium-sized and frequently smaller than the main bedroom, possibly because children were expected to spend considerable time playing outdoors, although in some few instances play or 'toy' rooms were provided. In one case, a mother designed a wide hall which was to provide rainy weather play space. Views about the ideal size of the kitchen tended to vary. Large or medium-sized spaces

were selected to suit individual preferences, and the pantry space provided in some instances effectively complemented and increased kitchen space. Pantries were invariably represented by the smaller 2,5 cm by 5 cm elements. It is interesting to note that bathrooms and toilets tended to be represented by the smallest elements, regardless of whether they were designed as single or dual function units. In spite of some persons emphasising that the toilet was one of the most important components of the house, the small space occupied by the toilet was considered to be characteristic of the 'privy'.

- *Why should they worry? I mean, if it is inside, you can see it easily, because it is the smallest room and nowadays, toilets are inside.*

Although there were some few exceptions to this shade of opinion, convenience and luxury with regard to the toilet and bathroom were measured in terms of location (indoor, outdoor, central, peripheral) rather than spaciousness.

As recorded above, garage functions were usually assigned to large or medium-sized elements. Some persons provided for double garages. Verandahs were frequently drawn in by hand and sizes were very variable in accordance with the house design.

Some respondents, particularly Kwa Mashu respondents, endeavoured to use medium to large-sized elements throughout the homes they designed. By using large building elements they aimed to emphasise the need for rooms which were larger than the ones provided in the houses in which they were living at present.

- *Just listen! The house I want is big and beautiful with lots of things. I don't want it to have small rooms. Let's just put those small ones aside (referring to cardboard building blocks). I want them all to be big.*
- *I'd like all the rooms to be the same size. The dining-room and the kitchen and the sitting room must all be in the front near the main door.*

No hard and fast rules appeared to apply to the ideal size of functional areas but by and large we can assume that the size of a particular room was dictated by:

- 1) the frequency of use;
- 2) the circulation of people through it; and
- 3) its significance in terms of prestige value or customs.

In other words the size of a room was chiefly determined by its practical and symbolic importance for family living. Moreover, spacious rooms were also appreciated for the light and sense of space and personal freedom they afforded.

- *The sitting room must be wide because when you've got a small sitting room, things inside don't look nice at all. But if it is wide, it is nice. You can have old furniture, but still it will look nice.*
- *I like big rooms. Not these rooms we have here in the townships. This house is just as good as a storeroom, but this is where we sleep. Well, this is the house I want in my life.*
- *It (the house) must be big with big rooms, so that the fresh air can easily get in when we are sleeping at night.*

11.2.3 The spatial relationships between the elements used in house-building.

These tended to be somewhat less intentional than the selection of the elements, which were built into the house. In some cases, the impression was gained that the placement of elements was altogether haphazard. In other cases, respondents would be loath to completely reorganize the house they had designed in order to include a room they had forgotten and would simply attach it anywhere. However, on the whole, it was observed that many respondents had very definite ideas about how particular rooms should relate to each other and managed to express these relationships in the physical design of their house. In some cases the house built by the respondents corresponded to the basic floor plan of a house which could be translated into 'brick and mortar'.

As was the case with the size of rooms incorporated into the house designs, the positioning of the rooms in the house appeared to be a question of individual choice. Some popular trends did emerge and include the following:

- The house was frequently entered through a prestigious or at least a more public area, through the verandah, through a central corridor or through the sitting-cum-dining room. The dining room, the lounge and possibly the kitchen were considered public areas, which could be used for circulation as well as for their primary functions. Frequently, they were placed adjacent to each other and connected by interleading doors (in some few instances even by sliding doors). These rooms were thought to be functionally related.

- Apart from the area designated to be the entrance, there appeared to be no hard and fast rules dictating which rooms were to be placed at the front and which at the back of the house, with the possible exception of the toilet, which was very often located at the back. We shall return to the issue of the toilet below.

- Bedrooms were frequently clustered together, but not always. The boys' bedrooms were sometimes placed in a more exposed area of the house, whilst the bedrooms for the girls and the young children were placed closer to the parents' bedroom. It was observed that the girls' bedroom quite often was placed closer to the kitchen, which might reflect the conscious or subconscious recognition of the traditional role played by young girls in the household.

- The visitors' and young men's bedrooms were frequently placed in a more remote part of the house and were often provided with an outside entrance to achieve extra privacy of all parties concerned. The consideration with which visitors' quarters were planned is noteworthy.

- The most private rooms in the house were the toilet and the parents' bedroom. Concern for privacy and possibly a token observance of traditional avoidance rules may have dictated the position of the toilet. The main bedroom was frequently placed so that visitors and children need not use it as a thoroughfare.

- *This bedroom will have an outside door. It is for the boy when he is grown up because boys usually go out at night. When he comes back he shouldn't have to knock, he should just go into his room.*
- *The boys' bedroom can be at the corner of the house. Boys can also see to the tsotsis at night.*
- *Because in these locations we do not build our houses, the diningroom is also used as a sitting room ... The bedroom next to the sitting room (one enters the house through the sitting room according to the plan) can be used by the boys, because they disturb us at night. They come home later, sometimes drunk.*
- *Since girls help in the kitchen, they should be near the kitchen. The main bedroom should be in the front, so that I can see anybody who is coming in and leaving, and the view is usually the best where the house is facing.*
- *(Laundry) Outside at the back. I would not like people to see my washing.*

11.2.4 Movements in the home.

A subsample was probed more intensely regarding the typical movements of family members and outsiders in the house they had designed. This cue elicited two types of responses from respondents, and a small minority did not respond to this cue at all.

Firstly, some respondents thought reference was being made to the question of observing traditional avoidance rules in certain dwelling areas as were customarily practised in the rural homestead. The vast majority of the respondents interpreting the cue in this manner denied the necessity or feasibility of adhering to traditional living patterns in town. However, it would appear that the careful planning of access routes to the parents' bedroom and the toilet in

particular, was a token recognition of traditional patterns.

The second response group interpreted the cue in terms of ease of circulation. The majority answering the question along these lines expressed the need for an indoor passageway and freedom of movement in the house. In some cases it was only at this stage of questioning, that we were given insight into the circulation patterns respondents had visualised in the houses they had planned. Some few respondents who had overlooked the need to indicate a corridor on the plan, stated that they intended to connect rooms by the means of doors or a corridor to make good this oversight. Generally speaking the conception of circulation patterns reflected a need for thresholds or buffer zones between relatively public and private spaces.¹⁾ It was observed that respondents often sought to protect themselves and their guests from undue disturbance from their children. Cases in point were the provision of a playroom or a separate toilet for children or shortcuts in the normal circulation paths which aimed to keep children within certain realms of the house. However, ease of circulation need not be considered purely a practical matter. One might suggest that the need for specific circulation patterns and general freedom of movement in the home reflects a token respect for traditional customs which cannot easily be shown in township homes. In this connection, it is suggested that subjective crowding,²⁾ or the feeling of being crowded, is possibly felt more intensely than is warranted by the objective circumstances of crowding in many township homes. Being continuously forced to suppress expressions of token respect for traditional courtesy rules in the narrow circulation paths of township houses, may heighten the experience of crowding for some township respondents.

1) cf. Chermayeff and Alexander (1965) for a thorough discussion of privacy in the home from a designer's point of view. The authors distinguish between 6 hierarchically ordered realms of space in the city as well as in the private home and advocate transition areas or barriers between group private (e.g. reception), family private and individual private realms in the home.

2) cf. Stokols 1978.

- *I want that if you come out of one room and walk a little distance to the other room, you do not go through one room to the other.*
- *There must be a passage for everybody to walk in. So that it links all the rooms. There will be a passage right through (the house) between the main bedroom and the lounge.*
- *I like them to walk freely. That's way I left such a big space in my house.*
- *I'd like them to move freely in the house. Not to bump into one another or one to have to move or wait till the other passes. I'd like my passage to be wide.*
- *The passage should be wide - one should pass each other well in the house - a woman should not collide with a man.*
- *I mean to say, in these (homes) you have not built yourself, nobody can blame the other in the passage, because it is the Corporation that builds the houses.*
- *A person who is a visitor may stay or sit in the place she has been shown, not all over (the house). Only members of the family can move the way they like.*
- *I wouldn't like other people to move any way they like. I'll be very strict about that. People are no longer honest, some of them are thieves, even the women. So only my family shall be privileged to do as they wish.*
- *As I grew up in the city, I wouldn't know much about that (movements of people in the home). We can move the usual way.*
- *We can all move the same way, because we are Christians now, we don't follow the customs as before.*

11.2.5 The toilet.

In anticipation that the toilet might be a sensitive and controversial issue in house design, subsamples were prompted to give

their views as to the location of the toilet. The results of this survey are summarised in the following limited observations.

The toilet was thought to be a private place which was customarily subject to avoidance regulations. It would appear that the majority of respondents, by choice or necessity, were prepared to relax the observation of these rules in town. For traditional and hygienic reasons respondents prescribed that the toilet should not be located near places where food was handled or consumed lest food become contaminated. Therefore, respondents recommended that the toilet should be discreetly situated out of sight, yet at the same time it should be easily accessible to all members of the household and guests. This tended to be a tall order to fulfil.

It should be noted that in the country homestead, the bush toilet managed to meet these requirements adequately. When initially planned, the external toilets built in Kwa Mashu Township (if not shared by two families) might have been equally feasible. Today it is precisely the Kwa Mashu respondents who are most concerned about the toilets in their homes.¹⁾ In answer to the question: "Some people worry about where the toilet is. What do *you* think?" one respondent promptly retorted that not only did she, but *everybody* in Kwa Mashu worry about the toilets. Whilst the location of the toilet in Kwa Mashu homes constituted a threat to life and was inconvenient, the location of the toilet in Umlazi homes was indecent in the opinion of the respondents. The Lamontville toilet design on the other hand was considered particularly unhygienic, because access to the toilet was achieved through the kitchen.

When planning toilets in urban areas, safety and convenience factors must be added to the list of criteria to which the placement of the toilet must comply. The inside flush toilet was considered

1.) This type of concern was already revealed in an earlier study of needs and problems in Kwa Mashu (Møller *et al.* 1978).

essential when living a modern but dangerous life in town, yet it was partially incompatible with the other requirements on the list. Clearly, it was necessary to make trade-offs between the factors of *privacy (inclusive avoidance), hygiene, accessibility, safety and convenience* when designing the toilet in the urban home, and the solutions chosen by the respondents of the housing game reflected this dilemma.

- *Of course I worry if it breaks down (when it's) inside, but I still prefer it inside.*

For example, toilets were inconsistently placed near and far from the kitchen, alternatively at the rear or in the centre of the house. One person even designed his toilet-cum-bathroom as the central room, in order to maximise accessibility. Some few respondents commented that it was more economic and therefore usual to concentrate the plumbing at one end of the house, usually at the back. One respondent designed an exceptionally well appointed home in which the toilet-cum-bathroom and the kitchen were situated next to each other, so that a geyser could be installed, which would serve both rooms. Alternatively, two respondents suggested labelling the privy, so that it could be easily identified by persons visiting the home.

Further part solutions to the dilemma included the separation of the toilet from the bathroom in order to promote privacy. Other respondents prescribed the thorough and regular cleaning of the toilet. Most respondents agreed that whilst it was essential to keep the internal WC clean, it was also a much simpler task because internal toilets were not shared and were more accessible. For all its convenience to the user the modern WC posed a constant threat to township dwellers. Respondents reported they lived in anticipation of the breakdown of modern technology and the bureaucratic backup system which should serve it. A part solution to this worry was offered by many respondents, who placed the toilet at the back of the house, so that the household might be spared some of the embarrassment caused by plumbing faults, especially if guests were present.

- *I like the toilet inside the home, but not in the eyes everyone.*

- *I don't like these Umlazi toilets, they are not nice. We are sitting here (in the lounge) but you can see the toilet. That is not good at all.*

- *By custom it should be right in the middle and easy for everyone to reach it and not near places of food.*

- *A Lamontville respondent: Look here, before you go to the toilet you pass through the kitchen. That worries us a lot.*

- *I worry very much. The toilet must not be near the kitchen and if there is something wrong with it, it must be attended to immediately.*

- *I want it next to the house but outside. When it's broken, they don't see to it quickly.*

- *I don't like it near the kitchen because it always jams. You see, if my neighbour's toilet is blocked, mine will also be affected. It must be next to the bedrooms.*

- *I want the toilet to belong to my family alone. I don't want other people to make it dirty.*

- *(I want it) inside the house. I'm so frightened the way it is here. You know, most of the widows lost their husbands through this outside toilet. You can just go to the toilet not knowing that that is where you are going to meet your death.*

- *It worries me too. I like it in the house because I'm scared of tsotsis outside. The other thing, if it's inside the house, they don't take care when it's broken. But I still prefer it inside.*

- *I like it outside. It is not nice in the house. I'm a country person. I think it's a shame to come from outside and go to the toilet in the house.*

- *I like it outside next to the spare room. It's nice there, anyone can find it quickly without asking where the toilet is.*

- *(I want it) inside ... So tsotsis won't have a place to hide during the night, because that is where they sleep.*
- *Here is the main thing: I want the toilet and bathroom to be separate. Because in white houses, it's not easy to find them in one room. It's always separate, so I want it separate.*

- *You should write toilet on the door, so that it will be easy for anyone to see where the toilet is without asking.*

11.2.6 Recognition and acceptance of differences in rural and urban lifestyles.

In the last part of the housing game, we were interested to discover whether the respondents felt that the ideal home they had designed would be suited to living in the country. More generally, we were interested in knowing whether the notion of differential urban or rural lifestyles entered into the conceptualisation of dwelling space. We broached this topic by asking:

"It may be, when living in the country and *not* in the townships, that people have different ways of behaving and having their houses. What difference would there be for *you*, living in the country? ... What about the house - what sort of house would you like in the country? ... What about living inside the house - how would it be different for you in the country?"

In part, many of the respondents had already supplied indirect answers to this type of query whilst planning and organising their functional spaces and in particular whilst planning the circulation patterns in the home. Regarding outdoor space, persons building country homes in

the second exercise, typically planned for fields and goats and/or cattle pens in the yard during the first exercise.

Judging from the range of opinion volunteered in response to the additional probe into town and country living, one of the chief differences between town and country homes was the type of amenities found in homes, which would effectively influence people's lifestyles. Approximately 30 percent of the sample answered the question along these lines. Not all persons responding in this manner were prepared to accept a lowering of standards, some 14 percent or 4 persons would attempt to provide a level of amenities in their rural home which was equivalent to the standard they wished to enjoy in town, (cf. Table 11.8). (Numbers discussing the standards of amenities were small, possibly because this represented a shift from viewing the amenity issue in spatial terms, e.g. the location of the toilet, - rather than in terms of standards, e.g. WC, pit latrine, bush, etc.)

Just under two-thirds of the respondents included in the subsample anticipated that they would live in an urban type house in the country. Possibly only minor alterations would be necessary to convert the ideal urban home designed by the respondents into a country home. For example, one respondent stated he would use the toilet space for a pantry and instal an external toilet.

However, a substantial proportion of the subsample were prepared to incorporate traditional elements or use traditional housing techniques. Eighteen percent would build huts using traditional building materials such as daga, grass and/or thatch and a further 10 percent would built in a mixture of rural and urban styles. Fewer persons associated country living with beauty and spaciousness and freedom from care, restrictive regulations and financial worries (cf. Table 11.9).

The majority of the respondents surveyed in this subsection did not expect that country living would change their pattern of living very much (cf. Table 11.10).

Table 11.8.

Housing game:

Expectations regarding amenities in country housing (subsample only)

	%
Preferences, expectations regarding level of amenities supplied in the home	
<u>high</u>	4
Modern conveniences desired, expected (e.g. running water, electricity, rainwater tank)	
<u>medium</u>	10
Some of above modern conveniences desired, expected	
<u>low</u>	10
e.g. outside toilet expected	
<u>very low</u>	4
e.g. outside toilet, open cooking fire, river water expected	
No mention, no information, doesn't know (never having lived in the country)	71
	100
N = 155	

Table 11.9.

Housing game:

Preference for type of country housing (subsample only)

	%
"What sort of house would you like in the country?"	
<u>'urban' style housing:</u>	63
house built of 'urban' materials (e.g. industrial brick, cement block, tiled roof) or according to an urban concept (e.g. rooms under 1 roof, township type house)	
<u>'intermediate housing'</u>	10
house built of a combination of urban and traditional materials, or in a mixture of styles (e.g. 'H-style facade', combination of Zulu and European, squaredavels, a modern home plus some rondavels, etc.)	
<u>'traditional housing'</u>	18
built according to traditional concept of various traditional or 'modern' materials.	

Continued/

<u>Table 11.9 Continued</u>		%
- mud and iron	1	
- mud and thatch, grass hut	17	
reference to aesthetic qualities only		4
emphasis on space only		4
no mention, no information		1
		<u>100</u>
N = 155		
<u>Table 11.10.</u>		
<u>Housing game:</u>		
<u>Attitudes towards urban/rural lifestyle regarding country housing (subsample only)</u>		
"What about living inside the house - how would it be different for you in the country?"		%
Emphasis on preference for township lifestyle even when living in the country		8
There would be no difference of lifestyle between town and country living		17
Urban lifestyle plus agriculture, livestock		23
Urban lifestyle plus traditional implements in the home		14
Urban lifestyle plus agriculture, livestock and traditional implements in the home		3
Traditional lifestyle (sex differentiated living spaces and no 'modern' furniture in the home)		16
No information		19
		<u>100</u>
N = 155		

One-quarter were determined to lead urban lives in their country homes. Over a quarter of the persons questioned, anticipated that they would be able to pursue agricultural and pastoral activities, whilst retaining their present style of life. Other respondents (14 percent) described the types of technical and ornamental implements and furnishings with which people typically surrounded themselves in their country but

not in their urban homes. Again, these trappings were not expected to affect changes in their patterns of living. However, a minority group (16 percent of the subsample) said they would observe traditional patterns of living when dwelling in a country home. Approximately half of the persons expecting to adhere to rural patterns of living chose to live in a traditional style home.

- *There will be no difference, long ago, there were differences, but today people behave in the same way as in the townships. Houses are now built of bricks and corrugated iron. Our wives are not willing to cut grass. The use of mats is getting replaced by furniture.*
- *If I live in the country, I can built a city house, the only difference will be the toilet outside and water from tanks.*
- *Some of the things I had in the township may not be available such as electricity and an indoor tap.*
- *There is no difference in these tubes of the town, they are small and squeeze you, in the country I can build the well-ventilated house I like.*
- *There will be no noise of loud voices in the night, no rent.*
- *There would be goats, cows, I could have horses ... animals that are not allowed to be kept here in the location.*
- *It is safe in the country. There would be no burglar guards, which are expensive. In summer one sleeps comfortably with the windows wide open.*
- *There are Zulu things like mud pots, cow skins on the floor, assegais, calabashes. Things you don't buy, things you make or plant.*
- *It wouldn't be too different, but we'll all sit down on the floor. Only my husband will sit on a stool. That means he is bigger than us all or the head of the family.*
- *(I'd like) grass huts. So that my ancestors can come. They don't like European houses ... yes, life can be different. If a woman is menstruating, she won't enter my room, because that is bad luck.*
- *Men (will stay) on the right, females on the left.*

- *We can live the proper country way, and sit on the floor. In the winter time we'll sit around the fireplace.*

To sum up feelings regarding country housing, most respondents agreed that marked differences existed between rural and urban living in the past, but the degree to which they were prepared to allow a rural setting to change their present living patterns varied considerably.

11.2.7 A typology of ideal house designs produced by the respondents playing the housing game.

Although it may be useful for planners to establish the range of different ideal types of homes in which urban Africans would like to live, this is of course an impossible task to undertake. As we have seen, even within the small sample of township residents interviewed, a considerable range of opinion exists. This in itself is a valid result of our inquiry, which should not go unnoticed. It suggests that there is a demand for choice in housing among the urban Africans interviewed, which simply cannot be fulfilled by the standard township house. On the other hand, the respondents indicated that the standard house would lend itself to adaptation to their housing needs - at least in functional terms - and the respondents playing the housing game made valid suggestions¹⁾ as to how the basic township house might serve as a 'core' house which could be 'upgraded'. Examples of improvements made to the standard housing unit can be viewed in all the townships from which survey respondents were drawn, so our respondents may have referred to known improvements made in their residential neighbourhoods as well as to their own housing desires, when modifying the township house. The determination with which respondents applied themselves to the extension task - more or less as a matter of course -

1) Obviously we would not expect respondents to solve the technically rather tricky problems of building onto the standard township house, which was not originally conceived as a unit to be extended. Nor did the two-dimensional equipment provided for playing the game, suggest that respondents should apply themselves to this type of problem.

was very impressive. The result of this was often a township house which was extended in one or more directions, the main aim being to achieve more dwelling space.

It would appear that when organising dwelling space without the initial constraints posed by having to start from a given township home, the solutions were rather more variable. In particular, greater concern was given to circulation space, which would meet certain normative standards of etiquette.

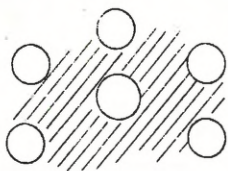
The impression was gained that circulation of people played a central role in the organisation of the indoor activity space, and for this reason it was chosen as the common denominator for ordering the wealth of design, which the housing game produced. The following typology is offered merely as a working proposition, and does not preclude that other modes of condensing the range of opinion may not be equally plausible and useful.

The proposed solution for meaningfully ordering the house designs produced by the respondents is based largely on the organisation of functional space and more particularly on the separation and linkage between functional spaces. It was observed that the extensions drawn to the standard township house during the first exercise devoted to the organisation of external space, usually resulted in a very compactly organised house. By contrast when houses were 'built from scratch' in the second exercise relating to the organisation of internal space, the designs tended to be more loosely conceived and frequently featured spacious passageways dividing and linking functional space.

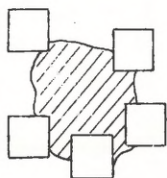
One might propose that three basic house designs were typically drawn by the respondents, which varied largely in degree of compactness rather than in choice of functions. According to this ordering principle, the 'Kwa Mashu' type floor plan consisting of interleading rooms might be assigned to one pole of the house designs ordered along a dimension of compact design. At the opposite pole one

might posit the 'country house' consisting of a number of detached rooms or huts, where circulation takes place in external space and is (incidentally?) sex-restricted. The majority of solutions produced by the respondents tended to cluster around a model design, which is located somewhere between these two extreme types. The most popular design emerging from the game was the 'corridor house' with rooms leading off a central passage and minor variations of this basic design. Some variations included the bending of the passage to describe an L-shape or to run around three sides of a blind room. In another variation of the corridor design 'header' rooms were combined with passageways. Circulation proceeded first through the functionally defined 'header' rooms - which were usually conceived of as public space - and then flowed into a passage from which the remainder of the rooms in the house led off.

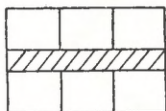
The proposed typology of designs produced by the housing game is schematically depicted in Figure 11-2. The designs of the three basic house types modelled by the respondents and two intermediate steps are ordered along a dimension of compactness. Reproductions of the original models most closely corresponding to the five schema designs are shown in the following pages along with further examples of the house designs featuring interesting concepts of spatial organisation. The floor plan produced by the respondents may be compared with typical standard house designs found in the three Townships from which the survey respondents were drawn (cf. Figure 11-3).



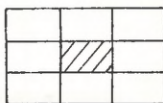
traditional homestead
outdoor circulation



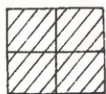
weakly defined
'corridor' design



'corridor' house



functional space
used for circulation

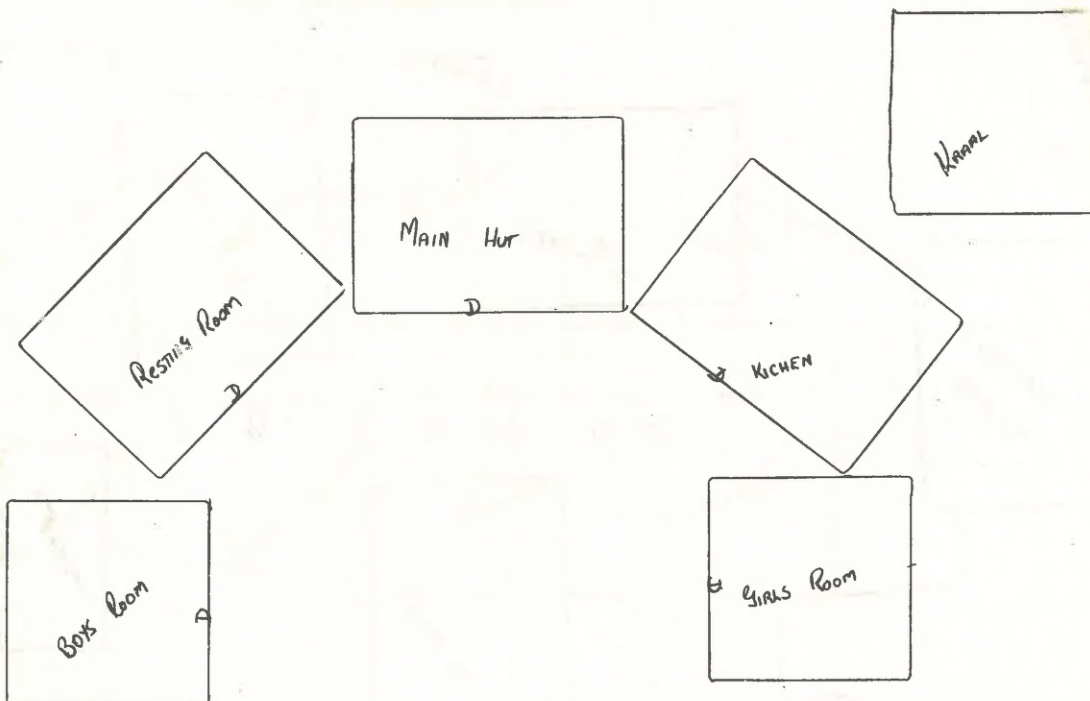
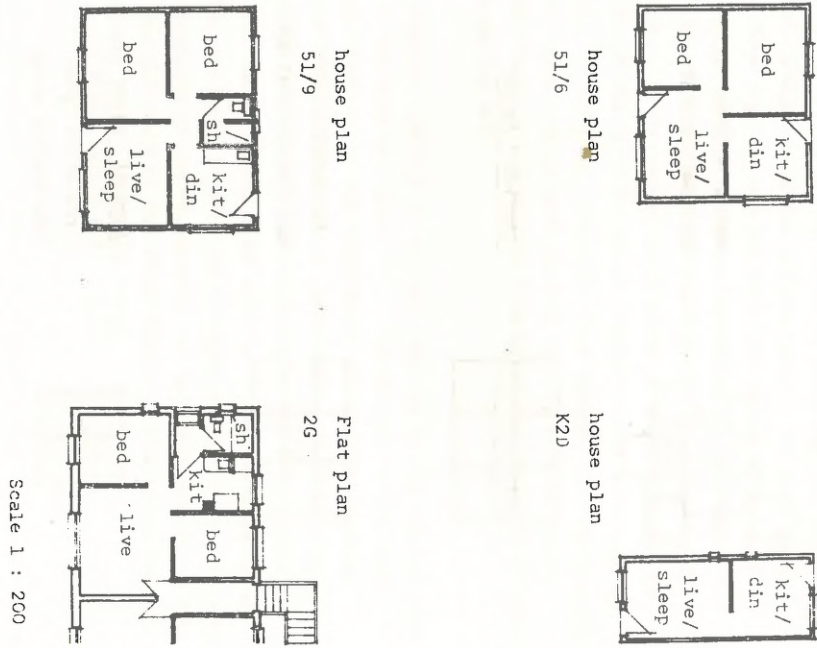


'compact' house
functional space =
circulation space
interleading rooms

//// circulation space

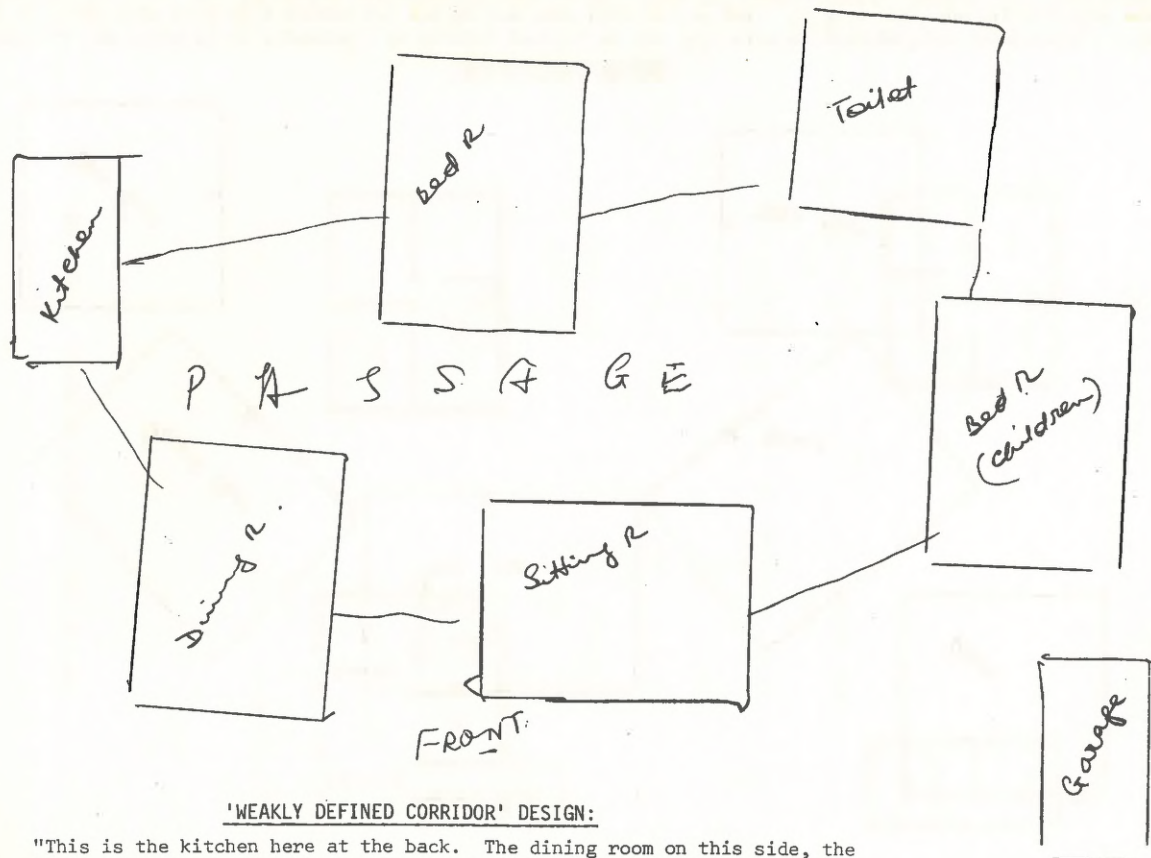
Figure 11-2 Types of house designs produced by respondents participating in the housing game ordered by degree of compactness

Figure 11-3 Standard township house designs



'TRADITIONAL' DESIGN:

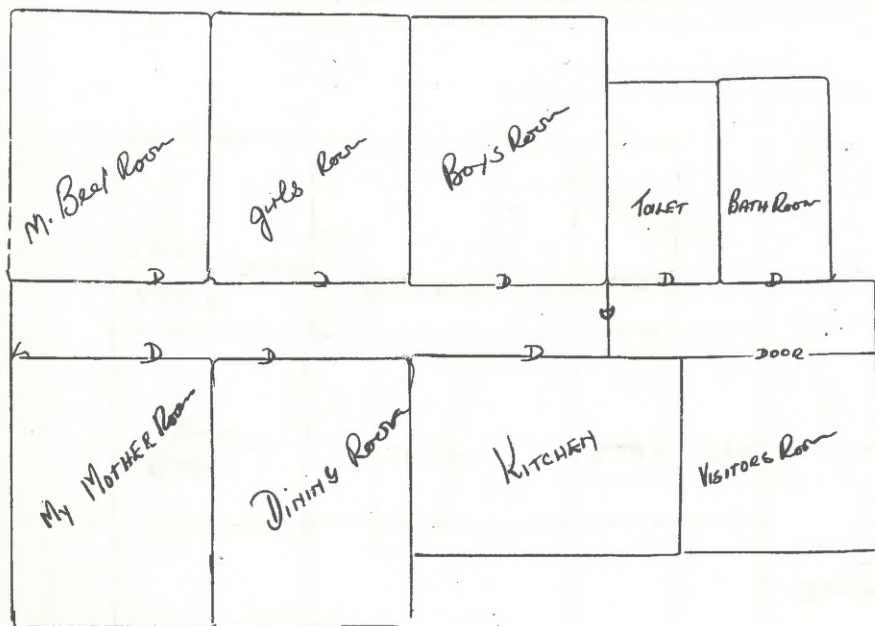
"I want all the rooms to be separate. We country people, we say it's nice to arrange huts separately. It's easy to judge what kind of a person you are by how many huts you've got. If it's only one big hut that means you've got one only, but if you've got a lot of them or more than 30, people really respect you. And that shows the girls that if they can get married to one of my boys, they would not be making a mistake. Because people of that kind of a home, they are rich. She will be sure that her father will get all the lobola." (Umlazi resident, 48 years, married man.)



257.

'WEAKLY DEFINED CORRIDOR' DESIGN:

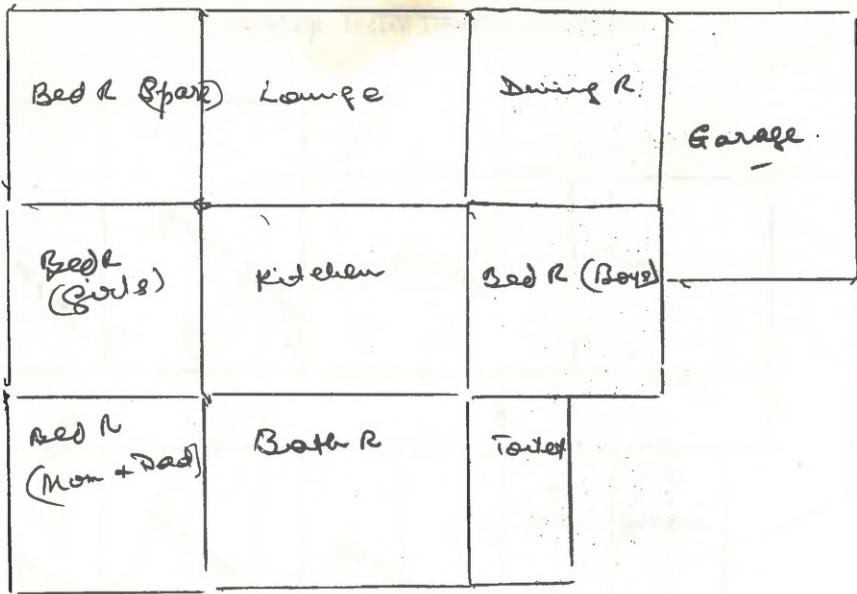
"This is the kitchen here at the back. The dining room on this side, the bedroom here, another one for the children. This is the sitting room. Each room has a passage." (Kwa Mashu resident, 48 years, married woman.)



258.

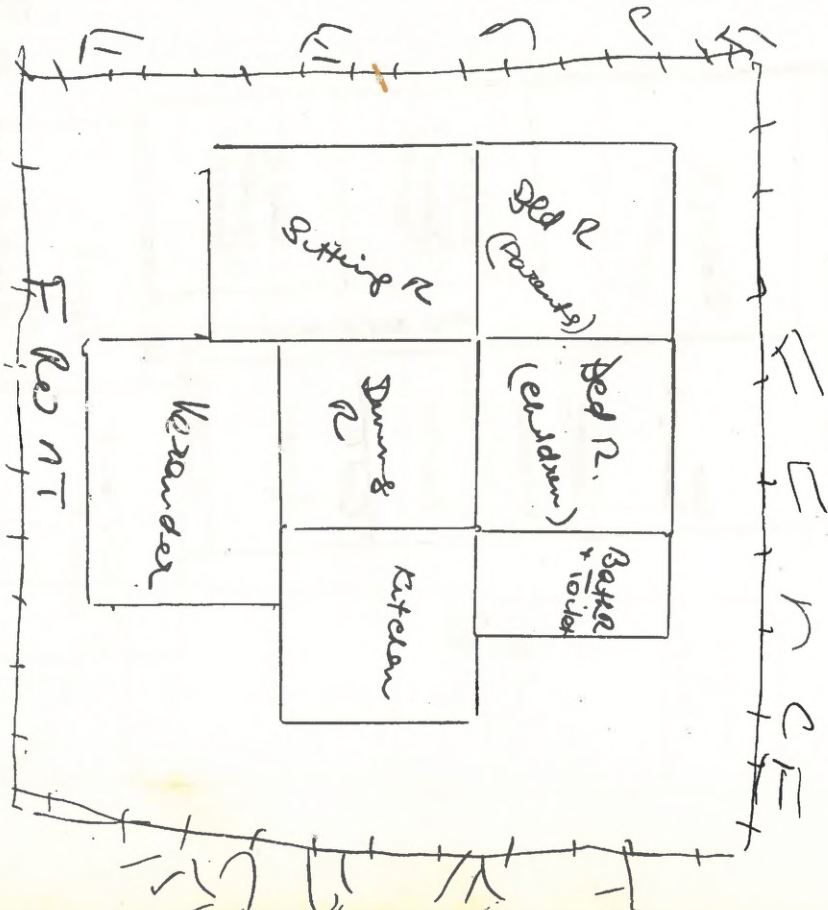
'CORRIDOR' DESIGN EMPHASISING PRIVACY:

(Note the subdivision of the corridor and the position of toilet and visitors' room.) "I only want a six-roomed house besides the kitchen and the toilet. But I want the toilet to be away from people's eyes." (Umlazi resident, 27 years, single man.)



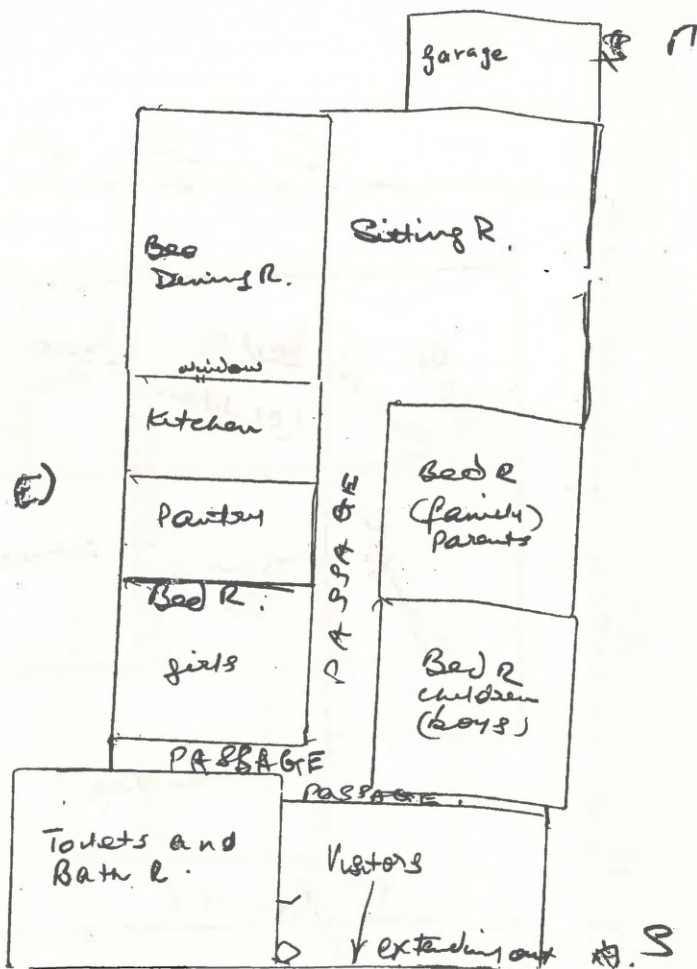
DESIGN IN WHICH 'FUNCTIONAL SPACE DOUBLES AS CIRCULATION SPACE':

"The lounge right in the middle of the house. To the left is the dining room, to the right the spare bedroom for guests. The bedroom for the girls near the kitchen and the boys' bedroom: boys always want something from the kitchen. Mom's and Dad's bedroom at the back for privacy. The bathroom and the toilet as usual at the back." (Movements?) "They are free to move from room to room." (Kwa Mashu resident, 37 years, married woman.)



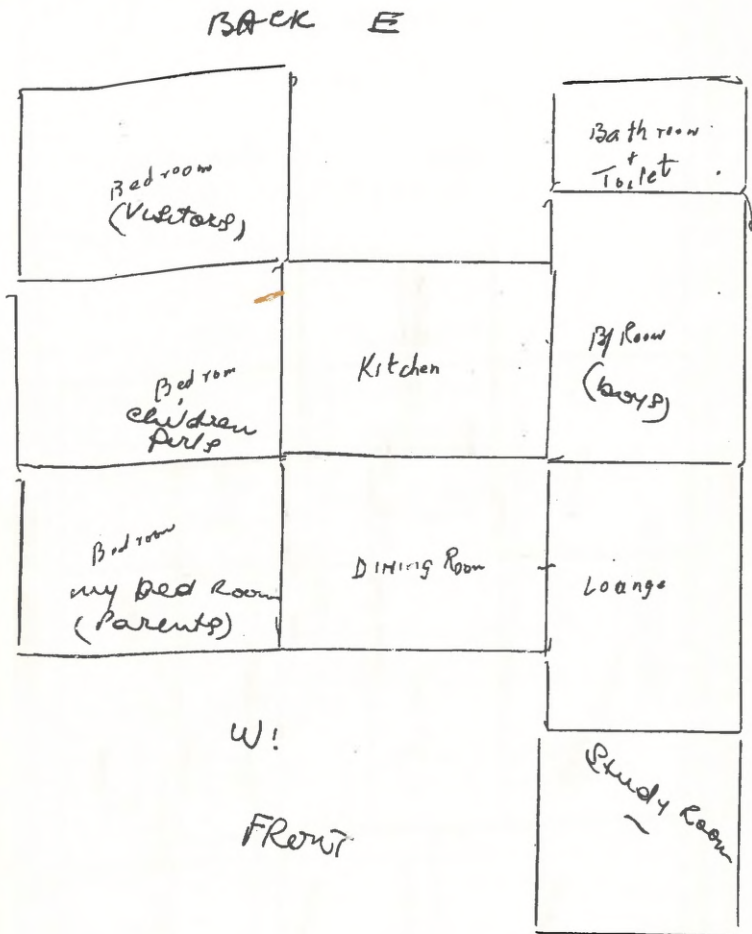
'COMPACT' DESIGN FEATURING A FENCE:

"..... I like the rooms to follow one another. Dining: I come out from the kitchen in here to eat. Kitchen: It is at the back. You dish up food and come in here to the dining room, meanwhile this one is sitting in the sitting room. Verandah: When we are seated and resting there is fresh air coming from this side. When I build it, I can put up a wire fence from here on the outside and have a fenced house." (Umlazi resident, 40 years, married woman.)



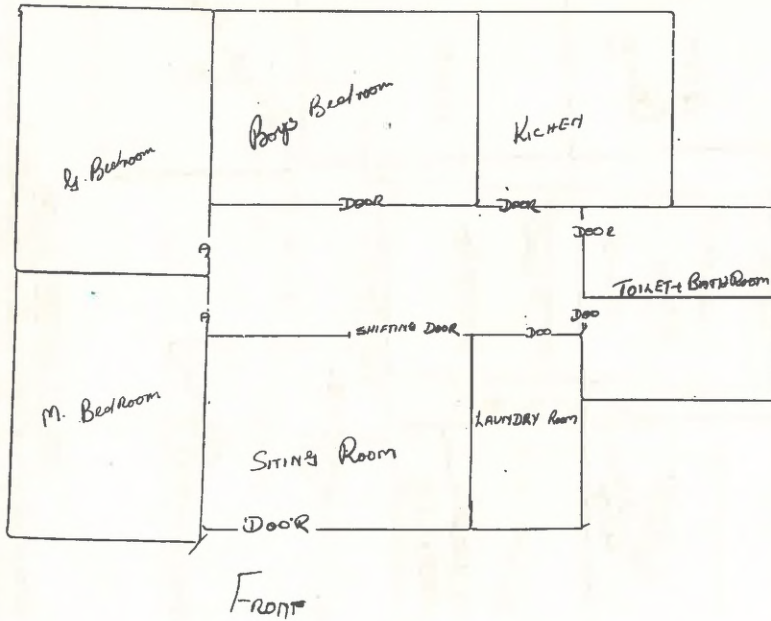
A VARIATION OF THE 'CORRIDOR' DESIGN IN WHICH
THE CORRIDOR LEADS OFF THE SITTING ROOM:

"The kitchen is close to the sitting room for easy serving, not to have to carry dishes long distances. The four bedrooms are all together. The visitors' room is to have access from the outside, so they are free." (Umlazi resident, 39 years, single man.)



'IMPLICIT CORRIDOR' DESIGN:

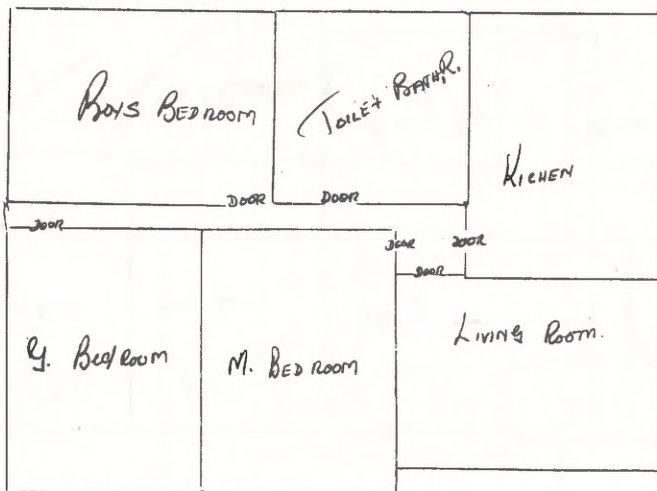
(Note the annotation of the floor plan.) "The dining room must be next to the kitchen to facilitate the serving of the meals. The lounge next to the dining room where we can relax after meals. The bathroom must be at the extreme back for privacy purposes. This one is my bedroom so that I can see what is going on outside on the road. The girls' bedroom must not be far from me. The boys' bedroom further away because they are boys, men ... they need less protection. The bedroom for visitors is used occasionally." (The study was added later. The respondent envisaged that a corridor would facilitate circulation of household members.) (Umlazi resident, 48 years, married man.)



263.

'CORRIDOR' DESIGN:

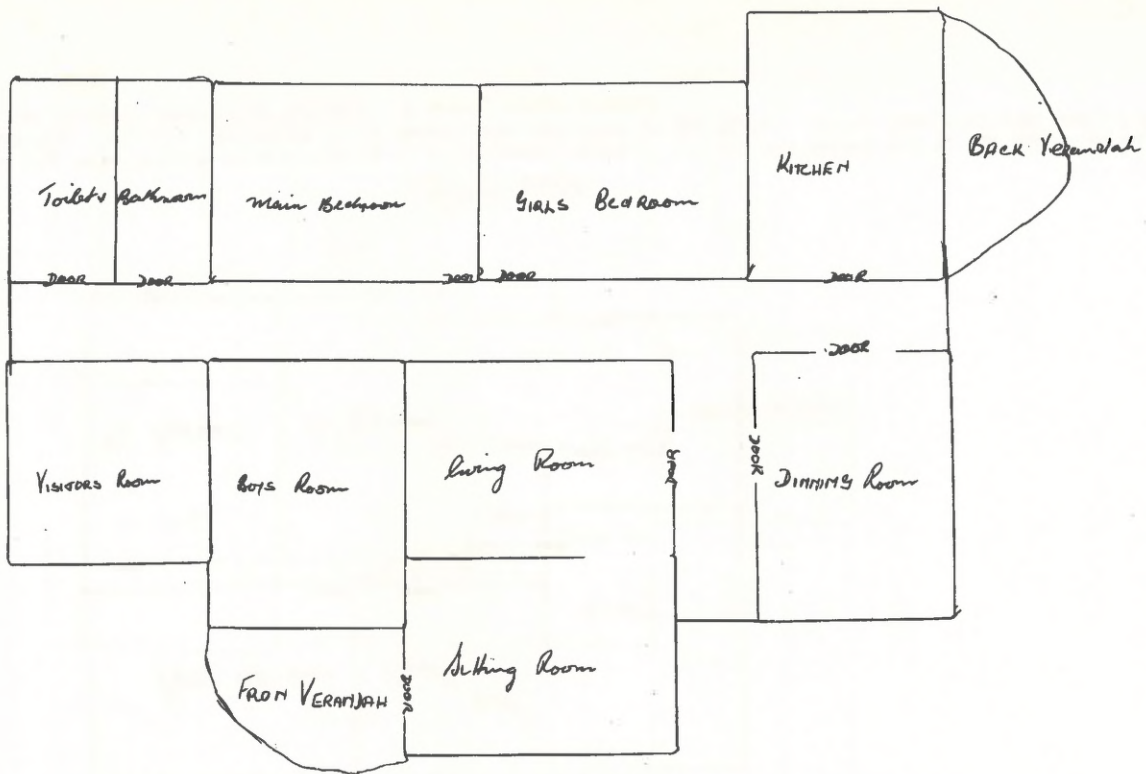
"I'd like a nice modern house and it mustn't be like a Kwa Mashu house because Kwa Mashu houses are not nice. I'd like a house with seven rooms. Toilet and bathroom must be separate but in one place. And it is not nice to do washing in the toilet, I'd like a laundry room. And I'd like to have a wide passage." (Kwa Mashu resident, 25 years, married woman.)



264.

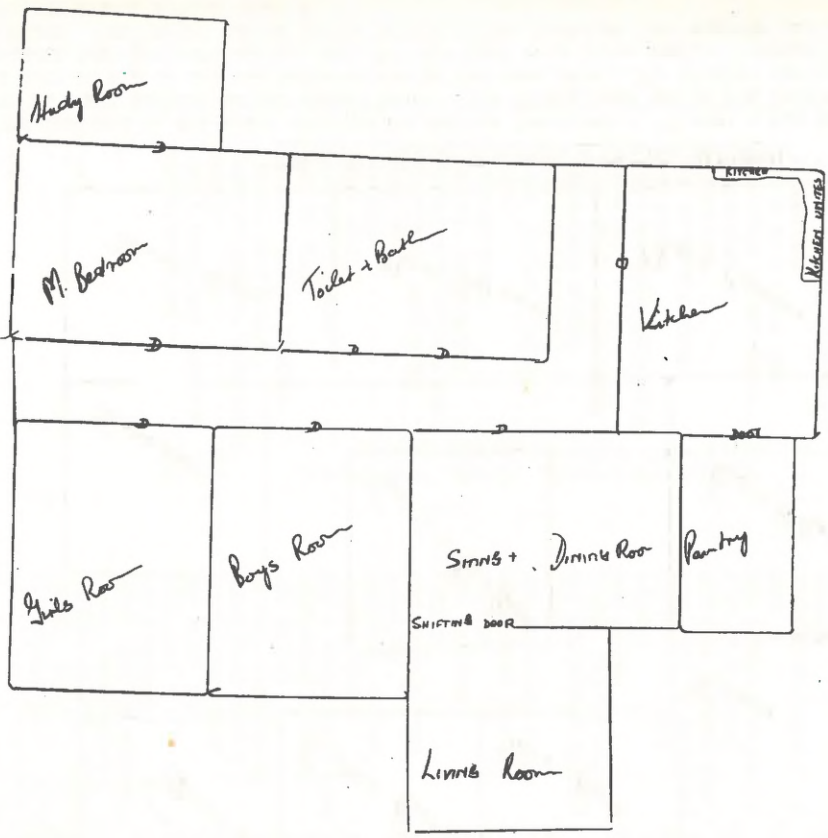
'CORRIDOR' DESIGN:

"I'd like a big house because we are staying in a two-roomed house. I'd like a 5-roomed house, and all of us to sleep peacefully. I'd like the toilet to be inside, not like here at Kwa Mashu. And to have a kitchen and not to cook where you sleep." (Kwa Mashu resident, 18 years, single woman.)



'CORRIDOR' DESIGN FEATURING FRONT AND BACK VERANDAHS:

"The house that I'd like is something like a real palace. I'd like all my family's bedrooms to be big. It's only the visitor's room that can be small. And I'd like toilet and bathroom to be separate. I mean to have a partition wall in the centre and separate doors too. The kitchen too needs to be big. You know we housewives just like to move about in the kitchen quickly when you are cooking your best meals. And I'd also like to have a very wide and long passage so that when it's raining children can play around there. You know why I'd like to have a sitting room and a living room. When children have their friends along, they can use one of the two while we adults use the other room." (Umlazi resident, 40 years, married woman.)



'L-SHAPED CORRIDOR' DESIGN:

"I want to have a big and beautiful lounge for visitors with a dining room. I'd like a big kitchen. The toilet and the bathroom together. All the rooms must have doors. I don't like to hear the noise of the children when I'm busy with my studies. I want my study room at the back." (Kwa Mashu resident, 47 years, married, school inspector.)

11.3 Preferences for alterations and improvements to the present house.

In the first two exercises in the game, respondents had spent considerable time speculating as to the manner in which they would ideally like to live with regard to external and internal spatial patterns. Now in the third and final exercise, respondents were invited to apply their minds to the possibilities for improving their present dwelling circumstances. The given constraints in this exercise were:

- a) the structure of the existing township house in which the respondents lived and its possible position on the plot; and
- b) the hypothetical amount of 'play' money which respondents had at their disposal for effecting improvements.

Respondents were asked, how they would change, alter, improve or add to their home - inside or outside - if they had a little money for spending on extra things for the house, or alternatively, if they had a lot of money to spend.

A minority, approximately 7 to 10 percent of the sample, did not wish to improve their homes, either because they were satisfied with their present dwelling circumstances, but more often because they did not wish to improve rented property or felt little commitment to their urban place of residence.

Amongst the majority who wished to make alterations to the home, the most popular type of improvement envisaged was the addition of one or two rooms (cf. Table 11.11). Alternatively, some players wished to extend existing rooms. At least half of the sample desired to make this type of improvement. In most cases these rooms were to be used for basic functions in the home, for which insufficient space is provided in the standard township house. Most of the additional rooms envisaged were to be used to increase the sleeping area. The addition of a lounge was also popular (it will be remembered that the dining and sitting areas are combined in the standard township home).

It was observed that many respondents intended to change the functions of the existing rooms in their house if they made additions.

Consistent with the attitudes of the respondents expressed in the earlier exercises, extremely popular 'external' additions to the home were garages and verandahs. Renovations and repair work accounted for a substantial number of improvements people wished to make. Plastering was the most popular type of home improvement in this category. Fewer respondents wished to paint their homes, put in ceilings or make changes regarding windows and doors.

Small proportions of the sample desired to improve amenities in the home (plumbing, electricity), refurnish the home, pave or landscape their garden.

To sum up, with little money to spend, most respondents concentrated on extending the home to meet basic space requirements and on maintaining the existing structure in good working order. Although the addition of a garage might be interpreted as a shift away from the preoccupation with essentials in housing, we have learned that respondents see the garage as an investment, as well as a symbol of higher aspirations in housing. Similarly, plastering clearly fulfils practical as well as symbolic needs in housing. Plastering may preserve the walls, provide for more comfortable and healthy living as well as improve the general appearance of the standard township house.

With more money to spend, the home improvements envisaged moved beyond the more basic requirements in housing. Whilst the addition of a number of rooms and maintenance and repair work were still very popular options, an increasing number of persons opted for a more radical solution to home improvements. They wished to start homebuilding without the physical constraints imposed by the standard township house and plot. Some 12 percent of the sample desired to move to another site, usually with the intention of becoming self-builders, less often in order to occupy a ready-built home of their choice. Some 6 percent of the sample wished to instal electricity if they had more money to spend on improvements. With more money to spend, respondents

more often planned to make additions of non-basic functional space such as pantries, playrooms, utility rooms, and planned improvements to the finish, the insulation, the ventilation, the hygiene and security features in the home.

11.3.1 Motivations for making improvements.

In Table 11.12 the motivations for making improvements to one's home under conditions of greater and lesser financial constraints are listed in some detail. Motivations were of course linked to the types of improvements desired (cf. Table 11.11), and differed somewhat according to the constraints imposed. However, the general pattern of priorities in seeking to improve the home was very similar regardless of the amount of money one was hypothetically allowed to spend.

It will be noted that the motivational factors listed are highly interrelated and express both manifest as well as derived needs. The desire for space as a need in itself and as a means for achieving other goals in housing such as privacy, decency, freedom from crowding, neatness, health and hygiene among others, was by far the most dominant motivator to undertake changes in the home. Other important values which called for home improvements included appearance and prestige, the ability to extend hospitality, and the desire to live in a durable and well maintained physical structure. Further important housing goals which were also aspired to by improving one's home included: convenience, security and safety, standards of decency (e.g. sex-separated sleeping quarters), comfort, hygiene and neatness in one's dwelling environment. Investment in property and security of tenure were housing values which respondents sought to maximise if they had more money to spend on improvements.

Some excerpts from the interviews obtained may illustrate more aptly the range of opinion with which players viewed opportunities and motivations for home improvements.

Table 11.12.

Housing game:

Reasons for wishing to improve presently occupied house under varying financial constraints.

Option 1: with little money to spend		Option 2: with more money to spend	
reasons for improving:		reasons for improving:	
	%*		%*
space	52,2	space	30,8
aesthetics, prestige	16,9	aesthetics, prestige	13,4
visitors	15,4	visitors	11,4
convenience, utility	7,5	convenience, utility	9,0
security, safety	5,5	durability, maintenance	8,5
sex-separation	4,0	security, safety	6,5
storage (inclusive car)	3,5	storage (inclusive car)	6,0
ventilation, thermal performance	2,5	cleanliness, tidiness, hygiene	4,0
cleanliness, tidiness, hygiene	1,5	ventilation, thermal performance	3,5
space for furniture	1,0	financial	2,0
financial	1,0	security of tenure	1,5
circulation	1,0	circulation	1,5
utility	,5	sex-separation	1,5
		space for furniture	1,0
self-evident, not indicated	7,0	self-evident, not indicated	15,9
not committed to town	5,0	dissatisfied	4,5
satisfied	2,0	not committed to town	2,5
dissatisfied	1,5	satisfied	1,5

N = 201

* multiple responses

Tabula rasa, major renovations, additions:

- *To start from scratch means to accommodate everybody properly.*
- *I'd rebuild my house, this is not a house but a store-room.*
- *I would demolish this standard house and build a new one.*

- *The toilet is inside and next to the lounge and bedrooms. The whole house is out of order. The ventilation is impossible.*
- *I'd get the builders to plan and completely redo it. Well for one thing, the bricks of these houses are no good.*
- *I would change the toilet into the pantry, break the passage through to the additional rooms and put the toilet at the extreme end. (Why?) There's privacy, decency to it being far away.*
- *To pull down the wall between the sitting room and the kitchen, it could be the dining and sitting room, and to pull out the window and build a bigger one, and build another kitchen.*
- *We have no diningroom (it is used as a bedroom), we eat from our hands.*
- *I would build my room. I sleep in the diningroom. When I come home late at night, I sometimes sleep in the car. (19 year old youth, Lamontville.)*
- *I want an extra room for my customers who come to buy some beers, I don't want people to use my house for drinking.*

Garages, vehicular access:

- *I'd build a garage, my car sleeps outside.*
- *I would level the plot because the cars are not in a good place.*

Verandahs:

- *A verandah. So that if it is hot, I would relax outside in my verandah. And again, it is nice to look at a house with a verandah, it makes the house beautiful.*
- *A verandah - the children have nowhere to play on rainy days.*
- *So when it is sunny, to be able to sit outside, because the house is small.*

Plastering:

- *I would plaster and paint outside. These houses are horrible when the bricks are showing. So I would just plaster it, to hide these bricks.*

- *I would fit a ceiling inside and plaster the walls to hide the electrical wiring.*

- *These bricks fall out if they are not plastered.*

Installation of electricity:

- *Electricity: So that I have one payment to make, not candles and paraffin.*

- *Electricity gives a good light, not a flickering one like candles.*

Other:

- *Nothing. I won't be here the rest of my life.*

- *(With a lot of money) I would just pack up my things and go to the country, build myself a house and live peacefully with my children.*

11.3.2 Feasibility of alterations and additions and improvements to the home.

In order to assess the opportunity structure of improvements, a subsample of the respondents were asked to state if they had made any of the alterations and additions to the home they had discussed, or if they anticipated attempting to effect such improvements in the future. It was discovered that only a few improvements had been made which included the following: unspecified extensions (2 of approximately 97 cases), addition of several rooms (3), additional kitchen area (3), additional lounge area (1), verandah (2), plastering (3), furnishings (3), installation of 'phone (1). Although numbers were extremely small, the figures listed in Table 11.13 shed some light on the perceived opportunity structure concerning home improvements. Percentages indicate the feasibility rating of home improvements as perceived by the respondents.

Plastering and internal ceilings were considered to be the most accessible of home improvement goals. Approximately half of the respondents were optimistic about their chances of success regarding making additions to their homes. A higher proportion of respondents despaired when it came to major renovation work involving greater sums of money.

Table 11.13.

Housing game:

Feasibility of desired home improvements.

Percentage respondents desiring improvement, who have effected improvement or anticipate doing so in future.

Improvement item	Alternative 1 little money to spend		Alternative 2 more money to spend	
	%	N	%	N
extensions	59	17	20	10
enlarge rooms	50	4	-	-
add 1 room	48	21	44	9
add 2-3 rooms	50	32	67	27
kitchen space	-	-	38	8
lounge space	60	10	100	4
dining space	-	-	100	1
pantry space	-	-	50	2
verandah	42	12	50	4
utility space	-	2	20	5
garage	58	12	53	17
renovation, repairs	50	8	-	8
plastering	62	26	100	6
ceilings	100	3	100	1
paint work	40	5	100	7
paving, landscaping	-	1	-	-
fencing	50	4	-	1
electricity	20	5	62	13
furnishings	75	4	38	8
play space	-	-	-	1
self build, move	-	-	-	6
buy ready-built house	-	-	20	5
telephone	-	-	100	2

Prospects of improving one's housing conditions by moving to higher standard housing of one's choice or building one's own home were considered least feasible. It would therefore appear that perception of opportunity structure in home improvements tended to favour the more modest alterations and additions, which might possibly be undertaken without outside assistance. At the same time, improvements to the finish of the homes which represented

a lesser priority in housing, might merely amount to symbolic rather than effective progress in housing for township people. It is therefore encouraging, that there was a fair degree of optimism about opportunities for increasing the dwelling space in the home, which surely represents the highest priority housing need among township dwellers.

Major obstacles for undertaking home improvements were identified by a small subsample. Although numbers were very small and must be interpreted with caution, it appears reasonable to state that the major obstacles preventing township dwellers from undertaking home improvements were chiefly: lack of money, but also perception of legal and administrative restrictions, personal incapacities such as old age, poor health and lethargy, and finally lack of commitment to one's present dwelling place (cf. Table 11.14).

Table 11.14.

Housing game:
Perceived obstacles to making home improvements (subsample).

	%
financial	22
legal, administrative restrictions	11
"not got around to it"; elderly, sickly	6
anticipates moving	6
has a country home	2
resides in a semi-detached house, with no foundations	2
no reasons indicated (or only some alterations made)	51
	<u>100</u>

N = 54

Perceived technical constraints such as living in a semi-detached township house might have been considered of lesser significance in this

connection. For example, it was observed that respondents living in dual occupancy homes frequently 'solved' the problem by extending their side of the shared structure towards the front or the back of the plot.

11.3.3 The effect of the position of the house on perceived extension possibilities.

In order to visualise the physical constraints affecting their choice of alterations and additions, the respondents were asked to turn the cardboard plot onto the side on which they had initially entered their solution to the first task of organising external spatial functions. The respondents were then instructed to trace the arrangement of rooms in their township home and label the rooms according to function. As a consequence of these instructions, most respondents traced the floor plan of their present residential circumstances directly into the township house they had ideally positioned during the first exercise. The resulting superimposition of the solutions to the first and third exercises provided an opportunity to make some interesting observations regarding perceived spatial constraints on extensions.

It will be remembered that at least one-quarter of the sample expressed the desire to extend their house and had designated the ideal position of the township house on the plot in order to achieve this goal. It is hardly surprising then that the solutions to the first and third tasks were sufficiently compatible to be shown in the same drawing. Only in a few instances did the respondents find it necessary to reposition the township house in order to make the desired alterations.

We have seen that most respondents aimed at maximising their opportunities to utilise plot space. Despite this common goal, a number of alternative solutions were adopted to the positioning of the house on the plot, and not all respondents chose to place the house in the centre of the plot. It is perhaps also of interest to planners, that the initial alignment of the house on the plot - which in most

cases acted as a constraint in the third exercise - similarly did not appear to inconvenience players determined to extend the township house. It would appear that the need for additional internal dwelling space was so strongly felt by most respondents, that the constraints imposed by the standard township plot were easily overcome by the players of the housing game, and a number of rather unconventional 'solutions' to the need for more dwelling space was presented.

Some respondents mentioned that they intended to extend their home or erect outbuildings during the first exercise, and further players responded to the probe concerning the desire to extend in the third part of the game. Pooling the results of the first and third exercise which were sketched on the one side of the cardboard plot, the following observations can be made. The majority (approximately four-fifths) of all the players chose the more conventional manner of aligning the length of the house to correspond to that of the plot (cf. Table 11.15). A minority aligned the *length* of the house to the *width* of the plot. Only 2 persons placed their house diagonally on the plot. However, regardless of the initial alignment of the house on the plot, equal proportions in all groups were able to draw or give a verbal description of the extensions they would make to the standard township house (cf. Table 11.16).

More surprising is the fact that the initial alignment appeared to have no influence on the choice of direction in which one attempted to extend the township house. Substantial proportions of the respondents who had effectively obstructed development along one side of the plot through the placement of the house, nevertheless succeeded in extending their home on this very side of the plot. In fact, one-third of the respondents opted to extend in two directions, regardless of the alignment of the house on the plot (cf. Table 11.17).

Table 11.15.

Housing game:
Alignment of house on plot.




		<u>Estimated percentages</u>
'length' of house aligned with 'length' of plot		83
'length' of house aligned with 'width' of plot		16
no alignment		$\frac{1}{100}$
N = 195		

Table 11.16.

Housing game:
Extensions to house indicated on plot by alignment of house on plot.














Alignment:		<u>Estimated percentages</u>		
		Extensions indicated	Only detached outbuildings or intentions of extending indicated	No ex- tensions indicated
		%	%	%
'length' of house aligned with 'length' of plot N=162		40	27	33 = 100%
'length' of house aligned with 'width' of plot N=31		35	26	39 = 100%
no alignment N=2		100	-	- = 100%
Total N = 195				

Table 11.17.

Housing game:

Direction of indicated extensions to house by alignment of house on plot.

N = 78 players indicating extensions to township house.

Alignment of house	Estimated percentages							
	Alignment of extension							
	With 'length' of plot	With 'width' of plot	Extension in two directions					
'length' of home aligned with 'length' of plot N=65		43		25		32		=100
'length' of house aligned with 'width' of plot N=11		28		36		36		=100
no alignment N=2		100		-	-	-	=100	
Total N = 78								

11.4 Some concluding remarks on the housing game.

The housing games played by the respondents in the survey suggest that township people have very definite ideas about the ideal appearance and organisation of the standard township plot. The consensus among the players of the housing game, regarding desired activity spaces around the house, was sufficiently high for us to give a reasonably accurate profile of the 'ideal' township plot. Typically, the house is set in the centre of the plot in order to allow for maximum choice of space utilisation on all sides of the house. If preference is given to an off-centre or marginally positioned house, then this arrangement is made in order to emphasise a particular utility space devoted, for instance to vegetable gardening or to extending the existing structure. It would appear that township people accept all of the following activity spaces and facilities

on a residential site: Activity spaces such as parking, paved walk and driveways, play and relaxation, swimming, flower and vegetable gardening, backyard hobbying, planting of crops and fruit trees, poultry farming, airing of laundry. Acceptable outbuildings include garages, toolsheds, servants' quarters and toilets.

A few rurally oriented persons stated that they wished to have space for a cattle kraal or an enclosure for goats. This was clearly a minority view, and in most cases reference was being made to rural rather than to urban living circumstances.

One might like to describe the ideal conception of the township plot as typically 'suburban'. The house ideally should face the road. Prestige functions are allocated to the front of the plot, whilst the more utilitarian functions are shifted towards those areas of the plot which are less conspicuous to passersby.

It is not the aim of this paper to look into the origins of such spatial conceptions, but one might suggest that the 'township plot ideal' outlined in this chapter may have resulted from a judicious admixture of both rural and urban motifs. The rural motifs may stem in part from personal experiences of country living or may form part of the cultural heritage of township blacks. Living in housing schemes laid out along 'western' lines and working in Durban's white residential areas may have shaped ideas of suburban living. The survey data supports these contentions.

Ideal solutions to the organisation of space outside the home reflect the need for prestige, convenience, safety and security, identity and territoriality, and economy. As the players of the housing game competently demonstrated, these criteria are compatible and it is possible to plan for all of them simultaneously when organising outdoor space, something which does not necessarily hold for the criteria determining the arrangement of functional space inside the home.

The players of the housing game tendentially organised internal space to increase the floor area devoted the same basic functions

which are usually provided in township houses. Most respondents sought to increase sleeping space to be utilized by members of the family and guests. A dining-cum-living room is acceptable to many township residents, provided the floor area reserved for such a dual-purpose room is adequate. Functional space which is not provided in the standard township house, but which would figure in many of the houses designed by the township dwellers themselves, includes storage space, garages and verandahs. The verandah would effectively extend the indoor dining-cum-lounge area outdoors.

Spatial needs and the organisation of functions are highly individual and are attuned to family needs. It is suggested that crowding and poor performance of the standard type dwelling are most acutely perceived when the physical constraints appear to impinge on commonly held standards of decency and privacy. In most cases, increasing the size of the house would alleviate such problems as a matter of course. However, the toilet is a more complex matter. Traditional standards of privacy and decency tend to conflict with urban requirements of safety, convenience and hygiene, and no patent solution to the planning of toilet space could be given by the survey respondents.

Aspirations for home improvements are perceived along the lines of increasing the floor area and the quality of dwelling structures. The survey respondents were reasonably confident that such improvements could be effected to the standard township house. Alternatively, erecting a house of one's own choice would solve the disparity between housing needs and satisfactions, but this solution was considered beyond the means of most township people.

The organisation of indoor space is oriented toward satisfying a number of manifest and hidden or derived needs. These include first and foremost the need for more space, but also such needs as prestige and beauty, comfort and convenience, safety and security, and privacy and decency.

Lastly, it is suggested that the intention to increase the durability of the physical dwelling structure may reflect the need for satisfactory residential security for renters who are otherwise deprived of security of tenure due to limited personal financial resources and limited choice in housing for blacks.

CHAPTER 12.ATTITUDES TOWARD HIGHER DENSITY HOUSING SOLUTIONS.

A housing survey conducted at a time when land resources are becoming scarcer and building costs are escalating would not be complete without an exploration into attitudes toward alternative solutions to urban housing. In the Durban metropolitan area, land suitable for housing development within convenient access of existing employment locations is already at a premium. As is the case in many cities in South Africa, the residential areas housing the least affluent sector of the urban population, the black workers, are situated at greater distances from urban employment centres than other residential suburbs.¹⁾ Moreover, the transport problems with which the less affluent urban commuters have to contend often exaggerate these distances for them.²⁾ The black residential areas included in the present study are cases in point; the city workers living in Kwa Mashu and Umlazi Townships must for the most part travel long distances to work. Consider that if new housing development were to be erected on the outskirts of the existing townships, applying present density standards, the newly housed would be even more disadvantaged than their counterparts living in existing township developments. Arguing along these lines one might propose that planning for higher densities in new housing developments might effectively increase the proportion of the urban population living within reasonable distance of their place of work. Or at least, the newly housed would not be even more disadvantaged with regard to transport than the majority of black township residents living in the existing built-up areas is today.

The supporters of higher density housing solutions also contend that higher density housing development makes sense in terms of economy of scale, which in the end should benefit the user. For instance, it is argued that firstly, higher density housing construction is less expensive to develop and service. This means that a higher number of

1) cf. Hallen (1977) and Møller et al. (1978:ix) for maps of metropolitan Durban which show the relative inequality of housing locations with regard to access to employment centres.

2) Fifty-four percent of the Kwa Mashu respondents in a 1975 survey spontaneously mentioned problems concerning transportation (cf. Møller et al., 1978:10).

housing units or higher quality units can be built for the same cost. Secondly, maintenance of services are thought to be less expensive and more efficient in a compact settlement.

All the above arguments are of considerable importance in a society where the expectations and popular demand for amenities in the home, community services and facilities are outstripping supply, and real incomes are not keeping up with the increasing costs of living. Furthermore, in a higher density housing solution these community facilities would be brought within more convenient reach of residents, a major consideration in a suburban community in which the inhabitants have little or no access to private means of transport.

For many people arguments of this kind are not very convincing; higher density housing is often equated with crowding and all its derived disadvantages for family living. From the viewpoint of the community developer, it is a well known fact that whilst higher density housing might solve some housing problems, it also creates new ones. For instance, higher density developments require well-organised housing services and the co-operation of the residents living in close proximity, if a reasonable standard of living is to be achieved. Needless to say, the co-operation of the residents living in high-density housing schemes depends largely upon their attitudes towards higher density living. Persons more positively inclined towards higher density and high-rise living may be better able to adjust and cope with the exigencies of living at close quarters with their neighbours.

12.1 A trade-off exercise.

In the present study a very preliminary exploration into the acceptability of higher density housing solutions was made in the form of a trade-off exercise. The respondents to the survey were confronted with a series of situations in which they might live in three higher density housing solutions which would reduce their present rental or housing costs. Brief descriptions of the respective options were supplied to clarify the concepts (cf. Table 12.1). The three housing solutions included

- a) a semi-detached house;
- b) a maisonette, and
- c) a flat.

Spontaneous reactions to all three trade-off propositions were by and large negative (cf. Table 12.1.1). A slightly higher proportion of the sample (17%) were more favourably disposed toward the concept of semi-detached housing. When reviewing these reactions it must be remembered firstly, that substantial proportions of the Kwa Mashu respondents were living in semi-detached houses, secondly, substantial proportions of the Lamontville respondents were living in flats, and thirdly, that the rent issue was particularly topical at the time of the survey.

Table 12.1.

Attitudes toward higher density housing alternatives.

Semi-detached house: "If your rent or housing costs could be a little cheaper *if two houses were joined to each other* (semi-detached house), how would you feel about that?"

Maisonette: "If your rent or housing costs could be a little cheaper *if houses were built one on top of the other* (maisonette) - one upstairs and one downstairs, how would you feel about that?"

Flat: "If your rent or housing costs could be a little cheaper *if you lived in a flat in a building with many other flats, and four or more storeys*, how would you feel about that?"

12.1.1. Spontaneous reaction to alternatives.

	semi-detached house	maisonette	flat
	%	%	%
favourable	17	11	12
neutral	8	7	6
unfavourable	75	81	82
no information	-	1	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100	100	100
	N=197	N=197	N=197

Continued/

Table 12.1. Continued.

12.1.2. Acceptance of alternatives.

"Would you live in such a house/house/flat?"

	semi-detached house	maisonette	flat
	%	%	%
Yes	27	24	15
Yes, conditional, if no option	19	19	16
no	49	51	62
no, unless forced to	3	4	3
uncertain, knows nothing about concept	-	-	2
no information	2	2	2
	100	100	100
	N=197	N=197	N=197

Asked if they would live in the respective types of houses under the given conditions, only approximately one-fourth of the sample or less said they would accept the proposition (cf. Table 12.1.2). The 'semi-detached' concept was again slightly more favourably received, followed by the 'maisonette' and the 'flat' concepts. Approximately a further fifth of the sample said they were willing to accept the respective propositions conditionally. Thus, tentative or full acceptance of the three options were as follows: 46 percent for the 'semi-detached', 43 percent for the 'maisonette', and only 31 percent for the 'flat' options. Significant differences obtained for the three township groups. Higher proportions of the Umlazi respondents were negatively inclined toward the higher density housing solutions, whilst higher proportions of the Lamontville respondents were more positively inclined, with the Kwa Mashu respondents falling somewhere inbetween (cf. Table 12.2).

Attitudes toward higher density solutions were relatively consistent. Seventy percent and forty-eight percent of those accepting the semi-detached option also accepted the 'maisonette' and 'flat' option respectively, and sixty-one percent of those accepting the 'maisonette' option also accepted the 'flat' option.

Table 12.2

Acceptability of higher density housing solutions by township residence.

	Percentage accepting solution in		
	Umlazi	Kwa Mashu	Lamontville
semi-detached house	35% (85)	50% (78)	77% (30)
maisonette	27% (85)	38% (79)	80% (30)
flat	22% (82)	34% (77)	55% (31)

(N = 100%)

Judging from the survey findings, the higher density housing solutions which would effectively reduce housing costs to the user held the greatest appeal for the less affluent members of the sample and for those least satisfied with their current housing situation. However, one must bear in mind that those who were least well off financially, were also more likely to live in less favourable housing circumstances. In this case economic constraints might determine what amounted to a forced choice. It is interesting to note that the respondents who were dissatisfied with their present housing circumstances, in particular the young people, were also more willing to experiment with different concepts in housing.

It is possible, that some of the higher density solutions were unacceptable to respondents mainly because they were strange or unfamiliar. For instance, significantly higher proportions of the urban born as opposed to the rural born accepted the 'flat' and the 'semi-detached' options. Most importantly, higher density and high-rise housing in particular were considered least acceptable by persons with large families. Finally, it is not understood why the respondents who had the use of a car should be more favourably disposed toward

living in a semi-detached house or in a maisonette.¹⁾

The main reasons for rejecting the higher density housing solutions are shown on Table 12.3. The major problems perceived in connection with the solutions were proximity to one's neighbours and difficulties with demarcating one's own living space. It was anticipated that people living in high density housing would have strained relations with their neighbours, would suffer from loss of privacy and noise intrusion. The latter was considered a most worrisome problem. Speaking from experience, many respondents commented that the semi-detached house was conducive to poor neighbourly relationships. Respondents thought that it would be difficult to distinguish between one's own living space and that of one's neighbour in high-density living solutions. In the case of the maisonette, garden space would most certainly become a bone of contention. It was thought that the ground floor family would receive garden rights and upstairs tenants would not be allocated a place to plant. The children of tenants living off the ground would be deprived of play space. Safety factors were considered a major source of worry with regard to high living, even in the case of the maisonette. A substantial number of respondents were afraid that their children would fall down the stairs or out of the windows if they lived above the ground. Fear of heights would prevent some respondents from becoming flat dwellers.

-
1. In support of the above arguments, the following percentages of unconditional and conditional acceptance of housing options obtained for the test group:
 - 'Semi-detached' option: 63% single (vs. 44% married) persons, 54% less than 8 years (vs. 40% 8 years plus) education, 83% living in below average (vs. 23% living in above average) sized houses, 62% born in town (vs. 41% born elsewhere), 53% dissatisfied with their dwelling (vs. 40% satisfied), 64% dissatisfied with their neighbourhood (vs. 29% satisfied), 61% living in neglected (vs. 37% in well-maintained) dwellings.
 - 'Maisonette' option: 58% single (vs. 35% married) persons, 51% of the less educated (vs. 34% of the higher educated), 49% lower (vs. 33% middle) class, 60% living in non-detached (vs. 33% in detached) housing.
 - 'Flat' option: 41% of persons under 35 years (vs. 25% over 35 years), 44% born in town (vs. 33% born elsewhere).

Table 12.3.

Qualified attitudes toward alternative housing concepts.

	"What would you dislike about it?"		"What would you like about it?"					
			semi-detached		maisonette		flat	
<u>Negative aspects, apprehensions</u>	%		%		%		%	
simple dislike	8	9	6	7	11	11		
conducive to poor relations with neighbours	16	19	7	8	4	4		
incompatible neighbours ('unethical')	8	9	6	7	1	1		
noise	14	16	20	22	4	4		
privacy, not free to move, do as like	9	11	2	2	5	5		
crowding, proximity to neighbours	11	13	4	4	12	12		
territorial factors: desire for own place, concern with boundaries	7	8	2	2	5	5		
concern with size of dwelling	9	11	6	7	8	8		
health concerns, in particular concern with ventilation	1	1			2	2		
concern with yard, garden	4	5	8	9	4	4		
no play space for children			3	3	3	3		
safety factors			15	17	9	9		
exposure to crime	1	1			3	3		
fear of heights, lifts, dislike of stairs			3	3	6	6		
concept foreign to Africans, prejudiced			4	4	8	8		
'different surnames living under one roof'	1	1	3	3	3	3		
aesthetic/prestige factors	4	5			1	1		
no extension possibilities	5	6	3	3				
don't know, ambivalent	1	1	2	2	5	5		

Continued/.

Table 12.3. Continued.

Qualified attitudes toward alternative housing concepts.

"What would you dislike about it?"	"What would you like about it?"					
	semi-detached		maisonette		flat	
Qualified acceptance and positive aspects	%		%		%	
if single, elderly, with no or few children	2	2	3	3	18	19
if occupying ground floor					2	2
if occupying entire building	1	1	4	4	1	1
space saver, alleviates housing shortage			4	4	3	3
low rent	9	11	5	6	5	5
ventilation, fresh air, view			2	2	2	2
used to housing alternative	1	1	1	1		
neighbours nearby					1	1
acceptable as temporary accommodation	1	1	1	1	1	1
if amenities (water, WC) provided	1	1	1	1		
	N=85		N=90		N=97	

Obviously, the multi-family dwelling and the flat option represented alien concepts to some of the respondents as is reflected in the percentages of respondents expressing simple dislike, ambivalence, prejudice and phobias.

Prestige factors may well be involved in the dislike of living in higher density housing. Some persons explicitly referred to the lack of prestige attached to living in semi-detached housing units. It will be remembered that the designs of the double-storey houses reviewed in the image tests discussed in Chapters 8 and 9 were rejected if they were interpreted as multi-family dwellings, flats or rooming houses. It is also possible that some respondents associated high-rise residential buildings with hostels for migrants living as bachelors. The results of the image tests suggested that hostel living carried little prestige in the opinion of township dwellers who valued family living above all.

Higher density options were considered to be most feasible in the case of the newly married or the bachelor. This finding might indicate that the younger members of the township population were more receptive than others to housing solutions which would offer them opportunities for greater privacy and an independent lifestyle.

A number of respondents were attracted to the high-rise options by the economic savings involved. Some respondents stipulated that high-rise options would be more acceptable to them if they were to occupy the ground floor in a multi-storey building. Other respondents said they would enjoy the breezes caught in the higher levels of tall buildings.

Some selected excerpts from the interviews illustrate the respondents' opinions on living in semi-detached houses, maisonettes and flats.

Semi-detached housing:

- *No, I just do not like it, it does not look nice for one family home to be attached to another family home. Perhaps it is all right for brothers. It should be one surname (per dwelling) it should not be Msomi and Gumedede.*
- *Firstly, life is not going to be so good. I mean to say if the one does not care about health and we contract diseases from each other....*
- *What if the one has parties which make noise until dawn, and I am unable to sleep?*
- *My neighbour may not like me and my visitors. My children may be noisy and that may cause trouble.*
- *People who don't have children can stay in these, because children are the cause of quarrels.*
- *I won't be able to be free, if you are not on good terms (with your neighbour), you are forced to meet her in the backyard, there is absolutely no privacy.*
- *It can perhaps happen that we are not the same kind of people as regards religion and customs.*

Maisonettes:

- *If I'm downstairs and the neighbours upstairs dance and stamp and make a lot of noise I won't enjoy it.*
- *I do not like living with somebody living above me. Even if they fight they will fight on top of me.*

- *I feel filthy and nauseated. I dislike the scattering of rubbish from upstairs and the spitting of saliva from above which causes more quarrels.*
- *Even if it is the cheapest, I would never stay in those houses. My friend was always complaining with swollen eyes that he did not sleep comfortably because of the noise from his neighbours.*
- *If I would clean those windows, I would feel dizzy and fall.*
- *It's the same thing as above, only in another direction.*
- *It is the same as the semi-detached house. When one is praising God this side, the other one may be burning herbs which is bad.*
- *That is not nice, we Zulus are not used to it.*
- *I do not like it because when I am on top that means I have no yard.*

Flats:

- *I may get hurt and the children also. If the people are drunk, they may also get hurt.*
- *In a flat there is no place to plant flowers and such things.*
- *(dislikes?) There is nothing pleasant about it. You have been put in the air for the want of ground. (likes?) Many needy ones may get a place (to live).*
- *We Zulus we are not used to such houses, we can push one another. That can be the only way to give punishment, to push someone from the top to the ground.*
- *I have children. It is for people who don't have children.*
- *I would like the view and the fresh cool air because it is ventilated.*
- *(dislikes?) It is the lift when it is 'flying' with me.*
- *It would depend on the types of people living in it. I would (consider living in a flat) if there were strict rules forbidding bad habits.*

To sum up: Higher density solutions such as semi-detached houses, maisonettes and flats were generally not acceptable to the respondents in the survey, even if some economic savings could be achieved. Major objections to the concepts included loss of privacy (mainly noise intrusion) and independence, poor neighbourly relations, and physical danger in the case of the multi-storey options. The concept of high-rise living

appeared completely foreign to a small minority in the sample. In general, higher density housing solutions were considered incompatible with the popular image of the single family dwelling. On the other hand, flat living was considered compatible with the notion of a bachelor lifestyle. In principle, it would appear that the flat option would meet the approval of the single young man seeking to escape from crowded family living conditions in the township home.

CHAPTER 13.NEIGHBOURLINESS AND TOWNSHIP LIFE.13.1 The neighbourhood concept.

Most of the black townships outside Durban have been developed along the lines of the neighbourhood unit planning principle. A neighbourhood unit is usually defined in terms of a physically delimited area, in which a range of services is provided. Although it may be useful to equate the neighbourhood area with a 'service area',¹⁾ it may also be characterised by a number of less obvious dimensions. For instance, a neighbourhood area may represent certain values such as social prestige, tranquility, cleanliness; it may represent a field of forces which gives the area a special atmosphere; it may hold a collective record on crime and delinquency and finally it may be characterised by the type of neighbourliness which prevails in the area.²⁾ It is this last dimension of neighbourliness which is singled out for discussion in this chapter.

Neighbourliness is an important, yet somewhat elusive dimension in township life. The social relationships which township people maintain with other residents in their surrounds may contribute towards the intangible ambience which characterises a neighbourhood area and at the same time affects the quality of community life for township dwellers.

In more recent times planners have variously endeavoured to design new settlements, which would promote more active neighbouring. Working on the assumption that community spirit was essential to social well-being, physical and social constraints were introduced in

1) The service area typically includes shops, schools and other institutions, open spaces and a circulation system all of which are laid out according to a preconceived plan (Kuper 1951).

2) cf. Keller 1968.

New Town planning which aimed to achieve a particular form of neighbourliness.

The social scientists who later attempted to evaluate the quality of life in New Town settings, set out to study the degree of inter-relationship between the various dimensions of neighbourhoods and in particular to test the significance of the 'service area' for the field of social interaction.¹⁾ In the course of conducting this type of community research, it was ascertained that physical design was but one of a number of factors affecting neighbouring patterns. It was also discovered that the socially bounded neighbourhood area was far more difficult for inhabitants to define than the service area, and that people tended to see the boundaries of their neighbourhoods in terms of both physical *and* social factors. More often than not the street or the city block rather than a larger area represented the neighbourhood to many residents.

Bearing these research results in mind, it was considered feasible in the present study to use a street scene to depict a neighbourhood in the image test discussed in Chapter 9. It will also be remembered that the researchers whose work was reviewed in the same chapter similarly presented a *section* of a street or a vista perceived from a *single site* as test stimuli in their research on neighbourhood appearance. Because the neighbourhood could be variously interpreted by the researchers and their subjects, many researchers resorted to the use of an 'open-ended' neighbourhood concept which would allow for individual idiosyncracies in the definition of the neighbourhood.

Research into neighbouring was also made more difficult because the neighbour role and neighbourliness are extremely fluid concepts. Keller²⁾ in her dissertation on the urban neighbourhood describes the neighbour as a stranger who may be spatially but not

1) The conceptual linkage between the 'service' and the 'social interaction' area is discussed by Kuper (1951) in an early paper. In more recent times increasingly sophisticated statistical techniques have been developed to measure the congruence of service and social network areas (cf. Raine 1979).

2) cf. Keller 1968.

necessarily spiritually close. An interviewee in the present study, speaking on the acceptability of housing alternatives, expressed the same notion when anticipating friction with an incompatible neighbour. He said he would be loathe to live cheek by jowl with neighbours in a semi-detached house: "Our minds will not be alike, yet we shall be living together." The neighbourly role is also temporarily limited as succinctly expressed in Keller's distinction between relationships with friends, neighbours and kinfolk. "You lose a friend by failing him; you lose a neighbour by moving away; but you never lose a relative except through death."¹⁾ Similarly, Banfield²⁾ observed that the Italian villagers he was studying, did not feel under any obligation to greet their neighbours in the streets, once they had gone to live in another part of the village. However, the conception of the neighbour-stranger may be only partially valid, because neighbours may become friends or even relatives under certain circumstances. Community research has demonstrated that under certain conditions, friendships may emerge from casual neighbourly contacts³⁾ and that marriage partners are very likely to be selected from among one's neighbours.⁴⁾

Most importantly, it has been stipulated that the neighbour role is based on the equality of the interacting role partners. Theoretically speaking, whenever neighbours cease to meet on an equal footing, the neighbourly relation breaks down, because it is overruled by a social relationship which is consonant with inequality between role partners.

Although this topic can only be of secondary importance when discussing the situation pertaining to a racially homogeneous township neighbourhood, it might be noted that the South African Group Areas legislation which defines neighbourhood by race, intends not

1) cf. Keller 1968:26.

2) cf. Banfield 1958.

3) cf. Festinger's et al. classic work (1960), and the reviews of the Festinger study by Michelson (1976) and Gans (1972: Chapter 8).

4) cf. Michelson 1976:179.

only to prevent friction between races but also to prevent rewarding social contacts. 'Neighbouring' is theoretically impossible under conditions of Apartheid, because neighbours are by definition socially unequal. In practice, the political constraints of the Apartheid system may also affect social relationships at the community level. The author of a study conducted in a Durban inter-racial neighbourhood in the fifties reported that many positive inter-racial neighbourly relationships were formed in the community she was studying, but as soon as the role partners became conscious of their externally defined inequality, the relationship between them became strained.¹⁾

Neighbouring may also be defined as a social institution, and analytic distinctions may be made between the content of neighbouring, and the occasions and the locale for neighbouring. The neighbourly institution may assist in the socialisation of newcomers to the area, in that it provides new residents with the reference standards which will ease their adjustment to community life. It is thought that newcomers are most likely to look to their neighbours for cues on the values represented in the community in which they have taken up residence.

Assuming that community cohesion and neighbourliness were based on the acceptance of common values and a common identity by the residents living in a particular area, the neighbourhood unit principle sought to reinstitute the feeling of togetherness which characterised the tight knit relationships in the rural village community. By providing inhabitants with common housing, common facilities and services, and possibly ensuring that they shared a common social background, planners intended to instil a sense of community in the residents of communities planned along the lines of the neighbourhood unit. A sense of community which would prove gratifying in itself. However, as Kuper points out, neighbourhood unit planners may have been guided by invalid assumptions. The lack of common community facilities was just

1) cf. Russell 1961.

as likely to promote a feeling of togetherness. It was for instance observed that in the period immediately after residents had moved into newly developed residential areas, community cohesion was very high. In the absence of an established community structure, the inhabitants joined forces to meet emergent community needs and to improvise the services and facilities not yet provided by the developers. For a short period of time, all the inhabitants felt a common need and could agree upon a set of community priorities. However, once this initial enthusiasm had worn thin and the initially defined community goals had been reached, neighbourly interaction became less intense and assumed the level of activity which was to characterise the style of neighbouring in the community thereafter.

In the past, community developers were often disappointed to find that this kind of active neighbouring and sociability gradually declined in the planned neighbourhoods. According to Mann,¹⁾ what the neighbourhood developers overlooked in their zeal to create the ideal residential environment, was that neighbourly patterns or styles could not be predicted in advance. Admittedly, the physical plan of the neighbourhood may have been more or less conducive to one or the other style of neighbouring, but in the final instance, a community would inevitably in time adopt a style of neighbouring which was most suitable to its needs. Thus, it was reasonable for planners to assume that if they provided the suitable physical framework, some kind of neighbouring would emerge, but they should not try to impose a particular style of neighbourliness on planned communities. Mann insists that there is no ideal type of neighbouring, but that the neighbouring style which is best suited to the needs of the inhabitants in a residential area is dependent on a number of factors such as the social setting of the neighbourhood, the composition and social background of the inhabitants as well as on design features.

When discussing styles of neighbouring, Mann makes a useful distinction between *latent* and *manifest* neighbouring which will also be used in the present study. According to Mann, manifest neighbouring is

1) cf. Mann 1954:164.

characterised by overt forms of social relationships, such as mutual visiting in each other's homes. Manifest neighbourliness may eventually result in over-neighbourliness, with a consequent breakdown of social relationships. On the other hand, latent neighbourliness may be characterised by favourable attitudes toward neighbours which results in positive action should the need arise, especially in times of crisis or emergency. It is thought that latent neighbourliness is more generally acceptable than manifest neighbourliness, and that manifest neighbourliness which lacks a sound foundation of latent neighbourliness is a facile form of relationship which is unlikely to endure.

Community researchers report that a shift from manifest to latent neighbouring styles has taken place in more recently developed settlements, although a regression to more manifest styles of neighbouring has been observed in the first phase of the development of nascent communities. This shift in emphasis is thought to have been caused by social change which has gradually loosened people's dependence on time and place.¹⁾ The loosening of kin dependency which has manifested itself in changing family structures may also have had a considerable influence on shifting neighbouring styles.²⁾ Neighbouring is usually seen as an integral part of people's lifestyle and descriptions of differing neighbouring patterns are frequently made along the lines of class distinctions. References to 'working class solidarity' and 'middle class selectivity'³⁾ are cases in point. Whilst working class people are thought to prefer a more overt, sociable style of neighbouring, middle class people are presumed to prefer greater reserve in their neighbourly relations. It has, however, been suggested that this 'class' distinction is but a superficial explanation of the differences in neighbouring styles which can be reduced to the differential dependency

1) Webber (1964) takes this idea to its extreme when postulating a 'nonplace' community which denotes complete independence from place-defined social relationships.

2) cf. Litwak 1960.

3) cf. Keller 1968:51.

structures existing in the working and middle class communities respectively.

Because neighbouring is so closely related to community values, Mann warns administrators of trying to force a ready-made concept of neighbouring on the inhabitants of planned settlements which might be contrary to their lifestyle. Any form of neighbouring which shows social integration rather than conflict may be desirable because it helps inhabitants to adjust to their new environment and thus contributes to perceived satisfaction with community life.

For purposes at hand it will be necessary to include a third category of neighbourly relationship to the latent and manifest categories described above, which was only discussed by Mann in passing. Hostility, and mistrust among neighbours, which might result in their withdrawal from neighbourly interaction or lead to the breakdown of neighbourly relationships, will be referred to as 'alienation' in this study. Banfield¹⁾ writing from his Italian village gives a vivid description of this pattern of neighbouring. Banfield's villagers saw neighbours as being not only costly but also potentially dangerous. No family, they thought, could stand to see another prosper without feeling envy and wishing the other harm. Neighbours were peculiarly liable to envy, both because they knew more about one another's business than did others and because they felt themselves to be more directly in competition. Therefore villagers were apprehensive about the outcome of close attachments to neighbours.

If neighbourliness and neighbourhood cohesion is based on the fact that people living in close proximity will develop common interests and a common identity, differences in neighbouring patterns within the community will obviously have a disruptive effect on community cohesion. For this reason many social scientists are critical of the concept of the 'socially balanced' neighbourhood. Kuper²⁾ is of the opinion that this concept was doomed to failure because planners were attempting

1) Banfield 1958:115 ff.

2) cf. Kuper 1951.

to replicate the village social structure in the city. Mann¹⁾ argues that the city neighbourhood can only fulfil some of the functions of the village and when the balanced social structure of the village is transported to the urban neighbourhood, the heterogeneity of the inhabitants may lead to conflict and friction rather than social integration.²⁾

Keller³⁾ when discussing planning implications of neighbourhood analysis stresses the importance of identifying typologies of social groups whose values and lifestyles are incompatible. For example, although in practice this may not be feasible, it would be theoretically advisable to physically separate 'rough' and 'respectable' people and not to mix 'sociable' and 'reserved' neighbours, the latter lest they make impossible demands on each other's capabilities for social interaction.

In the local housing situation where township people cannot choose their neighbours, friction between incompatible neighbours might be expected to be exceptionally high. In the last chapter, we observed that one of the chief objections respondents had to living in higher density housing was that they would be forced to mingle with all sorts of people. For this reason higher density housing solutions were generally not acceptable to the respondents. One might suggest that higher density housing solutions might be more favourably assessed if people knew that they would be living next to persons of 'their own kind.'⁴⁾

1) cf. Mann 1965.

2) cf. also Gans 1972: Chapter 9.

3) cf. Keller 1968: Chapter 4.

4) The case of a local co-operative housing scheme might be cited, in which clients were given an opportunity to select their neighbours in a townhouse development. It was observed that clients who were initially unfavourably inclined towards the cluster housing concept became more positively disposed to it when they were told of a socio-metric scheme which optimised their chance of living next to compatible neighbours. (Private communication with Mr. Paul Mikula, guest speaker at a seminar on 'housing' held at the Institute of Race Relations, Durban, on August 22, 1979.)

In black townships where no consideration is given to separating incompatible types of residents, one might expect that problems with neighbouring would be likely to arise.

13.2 Neighbouring styles favoured by the respondents.

Aim of the present study into neighbouring was to define the preferred mode of neighbouring among township residents and to assess how rewarding neighbourly relationships were for those engaging in them. It was expected that if a uniform style of neighbouring was acceptable to the majority of the sample, a higher degree of community identity and cohesion could be achieved, than if no consensus could be reached regarding a preferred neighbouring style.

Two types of data were analysed to assess the acceptability of different neighbouring styles among township residents:

- 1) A subsample of respondents were asked to participate in a sentence completion exercise. One of the items included in the test read 'my neighbours are ...'.
- 2) Whilst discussing neighbourly satisfaction and neighbourhood appearance, a subsample of the respondents were asked to air their views on neighbours and neighbourly relations.

In response to the sentence completion test, the 'neighbour' emerged as a good, kind, helpful and friendly person or as somebody who liked the respondent. In a minority of cases, neighbours were characterised as bad, unfriendly or troublesome persons, who hated the respondent, gossiped or habitually asked for favours which were not reciprocated in any way. Neighbours were seldom referred to in terms of comparative reference groups. Only in some few cases did respondents compare their social standing or other personal traits with those of their neighbours. The responses of only just under one-fifth of the respondents in the subsample (27 of 145 respondents) expressed strained or poor neighbourly relations.

The responses to the second exercise which aimed to explore

the concept of neighbourliness among township residents, fell into two categories of replies:

- 1) Descriptions of ideal or normative neighbourly relations which were beneficial to the respondent and/or to the community as a whole.
- 2) Descriptions of actual neighbourly relationships and neighbour roles in which respondents were involved at the time of the survey or in which they had been involved in the past. Some respondents giving this kind of reply spoke of the progress or deterioration of their neighbourly relationships.

The responses to the question on neighbouring were analysed along the lines of Mann's distinction between manifest and latent neighbourliness, regardless of whether respondents were referring to actual or idealised neighbouring patterns. The results of this analysis are given in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1.

Attitudes toward neighbourly relations.

"What do you really think about having the right neighbours?"

Description of approval of neighbouring style

	%
manifest neighbourliness	23
latent neighbourliness	40
reservations about neighbouring	20
alienated from neighbours	9
neutral	2
not assessed	4
no information	2
	<u>100</u>

N = 201

Just under one-fourth of the respondents preferred a more manifest, 40 percent a more latent form of neighbouring and 9 percent felt alienated from their neighbours. Judging from this distribution, it was concluded that latent neighbourliness was the preferred style of neighbouring among township people and overt expressions of neighbourliness were based on friendly attitudes towards neighbours. Using the analytic framework introduced earlier, respondents' attitudes towards neighbouring may be briefly outlined as follows:

- Manifest neighbourly relationships were based on mutual aid. Neighbours were relied upon for advice and support in day-to-day living as well as in times of crisis. It was expected of good neighbours that they would provide food and lend money in times of need. In some instances townspeople would wish their neighbours to co-operate in home improvement schemes. Neighbourly obligations might also include keeping an eye on one another's homes, when one partner was absent, or taking in one another's washing. Only good neighbours would be permitted to enter one's home. When referring to good neighbours respondents frequently spoke of neighbours as 'brothers' or 'sisters'.

- Latent neighbourly relations were based on compatibility, peace and harmony and mutual respect between neighbours. Good neighbours in this category were defined as people who were respectable, well-behaved, understanding, considerate, co-operative and persons who never picked quarrels or spread malicious gossip. Preferably neighbours were to be of the same social standing or level of 'civilisation', and were to hold the same world view as oneself. Some respondents simply indicated that they got on well or were on talking terms with their neighbours.

- Some respondents had reservations about their neighbours regarding intrusion on their privacy. Cases of noise intrusion were frequently cited. Some respondents were particularly concerned about living next to the 'right kind of people' for this reason. Others were apprehensive about the fluctuations in neighbourly relationships. Some few respondents deplored the dearth of good neighbours in recent times.

- Alienation: Fear, jealousy and mistrust caused a minority of the respondents to dissociate themselves from their neighbours. Some few respondents found it necessary to continuously be on guard lest they offend their neighbours and disrupt neighbourly relations and cause trouble for themselves.

- Neutral relationships: Some few respondents, usually men, said they had little or no contact with their neighbours because they were seldom at home during the day. Neighbouring was of little significance for a few younger persons in the sample who exclusively relied on friends to meet their needs for social support.

It was observed that the women in the sample were more likely to be concerned about neighbourly relationships than the men. Neighbouring was alternatively a source of great satisfaction or worry to the women in the sample. A significantly higher proportion of the women (39%) than the men (21%), had reservations about neighbours or mistrusted them, whilst a higher proportion of the men (53%) than the women (35%) approved of latent neighbourliness. It would appear that some respondents were extremely anxious to be on good terms with their neighbours, and for this reason preferred to engage in more superficial neighbouring, rather than committing themselves to more extensive neighbouring. Whilst this superficial kind of neighbouring was not particularly gratifying in itself, it was less difficult to maintain and therefore expected to be more enduring. Proximity between the neighbourly dwellings and poorly defined boundaries were considered potential sources of friction between neighbours. The behaviour of children (and of domestic animals) were also thought to cause misunderstanding between families living next door to each other. It therefore came as no surprise that preferences for neighbouring styles differed significantly according to the type of house in which the respondents were living. Reserved or alienated reactions to neighbours were highest amongst respondents living in non-detached (42%) rather than detached (25%) dwellings, and amongst respondents living in below average sized (48%) rather than average sized (32%) township houses.

Selected excerpts from the interviews illustrate some of the findings discussed above and show what kind of expectations the survey respondents held with regard to neighbourly relations among township people.

- Neighbours are the first people to know of any mishap in one's family life. So they should be understanding and sympathetic people who are prepared to allow the family to lead an independent family life and at the same time be ready to give a hand when a need arises. Neighbours should look after one another's properties in case of intruders. They should be ready to protect each other at all times like brothers.
- Your characters should not differ, because if they are different, you become estranged. You should have similar hobbies, like similar things and if you are a Christian, she should be a Christian.
- In order to lead a happy life one should have good neighbours whom one can trust and spend time with, on whom one can rely. Neighbours who are of assistance when you are in difficulties. They should be of sober minds, churchgoers and not hooligans, people who can discipline their own children, so they set a good example for your children.
- Even if I do not have salt, my neighbour is in a position to hand me salt, even if I do not have mealie-meal, she is able to dish it out for me.
- It's good to have nice neighbours, 'cause they help a lot. Specially if one of the family dies, you don't do anything, it's the neighbours who see to that. That means if you are not on good terms with them, they won't help you, when you are in trouble like that.
- I think the 'right neighbour' doesn't matter, because it depends on you, how you get along with them and that would make us to have the right or wrong neighbour.
- I think it would be good to have neighbours who are Christians and not neighbours who make their houses shebeens where all sorts of people gather and mostly bad ones.
- I believe neighbours can't do bad things to you. It is only people from other sections who are stealing our things.
- The thing is this, my neighbours drink a lot and we don't drink at all. So it's not easy to live with some kind of people. Because if you don't do what they do, they will think you are trying to make yourself better than them.
- You should consult one another about your homes and the yards. ... the yards, because it is important that they should have flowers and the home be improved.
- In actual fact we are supposed to be far away from each other. How can we be on good terms, when we are so

crowded together? Neighbours must be away from each other. Because we are close to each other, we are certain to quarrel.

- If there is a fence to separate the houses, there can be mutual understanding.
- We people who stay in semi-detached houses are having a lot of problems. We fight most of the time about the toilet, because the neighbours don't wash it and they don't close the tap tight and we pay a lot for water. I would say neighbours are not good at all.
- Neighbours are always full of trouble because we stay in these kinds of houses. You can be friends today, and tomorrow you are enemies. You can be happy with your children and the neighbour will complain about the noise. These houses are only good for whites, because they always live peacefully.
- The best thing is just to stay on your premises. Don't make it your habit to visit their homes. Other people are very rude. Other people will laugh at you if your neighbour chases you out of her house. Don't get used to going into neighbours' houses, I am telling you people who are still young.
- It is good to have the right neighbours because you can help one another. But when the neighbour is bad it is easy to find out. If you happen to be giving a party and invite her more than three times, you must know something is wrong if she doesn't show up. Maybe she doesn't like you or she is a bad person.
- I don't like them (the neighbours) too close. I'm scared of them. Really these days you must watch them. You can be nice to them and yet they are other kinds of people. So it means you must watch one another.
- I should not have neighbours who are drunkards, criminals, make noise, behave badly, pick pockets or break into houses.
- I don't want neighbours who brew beer, because that causes criminal behaviour. Neighbours often practise withcraft and are spiteful.
- There is nothing wrong with neighbours, but you never know what will happen tomorrow. I mean you can laugh or talk to the people but don't show them your last tooth.
- It's nice to have the right neighbours. When you meet on the road, you must greet one another. Not to go to her house and stay for hours, because that can cause trouble and a lot of gossip. It's nice just to be neighbours, not visiting neighbours. You stay in your house and she in hers and you will always live peacefully.

To sum up, the majority of the respondents in the survey spontaneously stated that their neighbourly relations were good. In the eyes of the survey respondents, ideal neighbourly relations among township people were based on reciprocal help and mutual respect. The majority of the respondents interviewed stated that they preferred to be friendly with their neighbours but that they did not wish to interact extensively with them. The major threats to positive neighbourly relationships were thought to be incompatibility and proximity of neighbours. According to the survey findings, most township people would prefer to live next door to respectable people and to persons who were of the same social standing or religious affiliation as themselves. It was observed that people living in non-detached housing such as flats and dual occupancy houses were most anxious to stay on good terms with their neighbours and for this reason preferred to maintain more latent than overtly active neighbourly relations, which they thought would be more durable. The highest incidence of poor neighbourly relationships was found amongst respondents living in the most crowded dwelling circumstances. This research finding supports the notion that physical design factors contribute not only to dwelling satisfaction but also influence neighbouring patterns and indirectly the quality of community life.

CHAPTER 14.CONCLUSIONS.

- *I think we've covered everything. Now are they going to build for us the houses that we want? Please try to find out for us. (20 year old unemployed Umlazi youth.)*

Invariably, there comes a moment in a social survey, when the researchers are confronted with the fact that their inquiry has raised new hopes and expectations. In response to this challenge it will be necessary to seriously consider what implications this review of the housing priorities of township residents holds for positive action and reform in housing. Throughout this report, survey findings relating to the specific topics discussed under various headings have been summarised at regular intervals. At this point it would therefore appear to be more appropriate to highlight some of the issues which have been raised only in passing, but which might be given special consideration when attempting to achieve more practical housing goals in order to improve the quality of township life. We shall start with issues which relate most closely to housing in its more limited sense and progress to environmental issues.

1) As the young man quoted above intimated, township people expect their housing problems to be solved by an external agent. Township housing is something which is 'done' to township people,¹⁾ it is clearly a 'we-they' type of issue. Housing is one of the handouts of the system, and as such it represents yet another area of life which reinforces the unequal status of blacks in South African society. Urban housing locks in perfectly with other institutions affecting the lives of blacks living in town which imposes restrictions on them and limits their opportunities in their day-to-day urban lives. At the same time it is to be expected that the dependence of township dwellers on external agents is deeply resented. Dependence and resentment are both part of the same syndrome which typically characterises housing estate dwellers according to Ward.²⁾

1) cf. Crosby 1977.

2) cf. Ward 1973:288.

It is suggested here that this type of syndrome has been conditioned by past housing experience. In reporting we have touched upon some of the reasons for feelings of personal powerlessness regarding housing matters. Certainly, economic and political constraints play an important role in limiting personal capability, and it must also be remembered that some of the respondents to this survey were prone to reduce their inferior economic position to the political constraints imposed upon them. In particular, the respondents identified the restrictions placed on residential mobility, the limited number of housing options and their lack of opportunities to participate meaningfully in decisions affecting their housing situation as the major inhibiting factors which stifled their housing ambitions and dampened their hopes for achieving dweller satisfaction.

Based on survey impressions it is proposed that in many cases dissatisfied township dwellers do not in any way wish to be held responsible for their unsatisfactory housing situation which they feel is not of their own making. Survey findings suggested that township people did not feel inclined to identify themselves with the design of their township houses. They tended to blame the township planners and the administrators for some of the inconveniences encountered in their homes in day-to-day living. Respondents intimated that even the antagonism of the neighbours might in part be due to the short-sightedness of the township developers. It would also appear that township people expected the authorities to cope single-handedly with the backlog in housing, the maintenance of services and repairs, and the organisation of specific community projects. This type of attitude is to be expected, because neither were township blacks involved in the planning of their residential areas in the past, nor have they been consulted in such matters ever since. As some respondents pointed out indignantly, even the allocation to a specific township house was fortuitous and impersonal.

It is suggested that some form of participation in the housing process, be it at the planning, building or post-establishment stage of township development is essential if the rank-and-file township dweller is to become a concerned resident who can take some pride in his residential area. Survey findings show that some of the basic preconditions

for community self-esteem may be given: Commitment to an urban township and to a township way of life was widespread among the survey respondents. For example 90 percent of the respondents interviewed had spent over 10 years in Durban and the majority of the respondents felt they belonged to the township in which they lived, it was their 'home'. At the same time, it is envisaged that community participation will be difficult to achieve for a number of reasons. Firstly, the process of housing urban workers has institutionalised the 'unemancipated' resident who is used to receiving handouts. Secondly, there is little foundation for a tradition of community co-operation in housing. This study and past research conducted in Durban townships have shown that township dwellers adhere to a pattern of individual rather than community action when seeking to improve their living conditions or to solve practical day-to-day problems.

With regard to the social constraints to improving the quality of residential life for township dwellers, it is therefore proposed that progress in housing in already developed township neighbourhoods must be based on individual rather than on collective efforts. Although the evidence is relatively thin with respect to this argument, this notion is nevertheless put forward with a view to testing it in further theoretical research or in practical housing exercises. Individual rather than collective improvement schemes would appear to be more compatible with the respondents' majority acceptance of a latent pattern of neighbourliness and with the noteworthy incidence of alienation between township neighbours, particularly in the higher density housing areas. It is also probable that in a tight housing market, township people might expect neighbours to compete against them rather than to co-operate with them in achieving housing goals. One might also point out that during periods of social unrest, the atomization of township residents may be more pronounced than in peaceful times. In the Kwa Mashu study frequently cited in this report, a substantial number of persons interviewed did not know to whom they should turn for assistance in solving their day-to-day problems. Furthermore, fear of rivalry and of jealousy caused by visible success may inhibit some of the more enterprising township people from realising their ambitious housing aims even if they were capable of doing so. This type of disincentive to home improvement may be particularly

pronounced in the case of socially heterogeneous neighbourhoods resulting from a housing situation in which little choice is afforded to the actors involved.

However, the potential for individual capability should not be under-estimated. In some instances, lessons can be learnt from the informal participation of individuals in the local urban housing process. One might contrast the situation of township dwellers, which is characterised by lack of participation and responsibility in their housing process with that of the informal settlers on the urban periphery who have by and large proved capable of erecting functionally adequate houses.¹⁾ At the same time it should be noted that although the spontaneous settlers studied in a survey conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences felt relatively confident about improving their houses, they felt equally reliant as township dwellers on outside agents for the amelioration of community needs, such as transport, facilities and services.²⁾

2) Given this lack of identification with and involvement in the township housing process, it is hardly surprising that satisfactions with housing were by and large low for the majority of the respondents interviewed in this study. Low-level satisfaction may be regarded as the typical reaction to a second-rate handout whose value cannot be fully appreciated because of the negative connotations associated with it. It was evident in the present study that the township respondents interviewed did not feel obliged to be grateful towards the housing authorities for the homes in which they lived, although some few were genuinely thankful and satisfied that they were afforded more privileged housing circumstances than their counterparts living in more depressed ones.

What importance should be attached to the low levels of dweller satisfaction found among township residents? Quality of life researchers have repeatedly warned against taking user satisfaction at face value. They urge that satisfaction ratings must be interpreted with the greatest

1) cf. Haarhoff 1979.

2) Unpublished results of the study undertaken by Stopforth (1978) in Malukazi.

of care. It is recommended that satisfactions are related to both the objective conditions in which they occur as well as to the levels of expectations of the persons concerned.

In this connection Tomaszewski¹⁾ makes a useful distinction between active and passive satisfactions. According to Tomaszewski three aspects of the built environment constitute its quality. The built environment may be simultaneously characterised by differential levels of activity potential (including sensory stimulation, interpersonal relationships and accessibilities), personal development potential, and user satisfaction. Theoretically, the 'best' environment would fulfill all three requirements to the highest degree, the 'worst' environment to the lowest degree, but there are numerous possibilities between these extremes. Tomaszewski proposes that it is theoretically possible for high levels of user satisfaction to be achieved in a given environment, even when the potentials for activity and development afforded by the environment are minimal. Quality of life studies have shown that it is also empirically possible for inhabitants to be satisfied with the environment in which they live, not because it is a 'good' environment, but because their environmental needs are minimal. This is the case when people's aspirations for environmental quality have remained at a low level of expectation or they do not know of the possibilities afforded by alternative environments. Tomaszewski refers to this type of low level satisfaction as 'passive' satisfaction. Being of static character, passive satisfaction results from individuals adapting their needs to the environment rather than shaping the environment to meet their needs. By contrast 'active' or 'creative' satisfaction results from the participation in an environment which fulfils the requirements for a high level of activity and development. Passive satisfaction would therefore appear to be a form of adaptation to a poor quality environment which neither satisfies the activity or development criteria. One might note that although passive satisfaction may be enduring and fulfilling in times of sustained depressed needs, it can hardly be expected to be lasting at times when housing expectations are rising. Certainly, passive user satisfaction

1) T. Tomaszewski writing on the Quality of the Environment in Lynch (1977), pp. 131-133.

does not reflect a healthy state of residential conditions at the best of times. It is a response which might possibly be expected from people who have lost faith in their development, and have become insensitive to opportunities of self-actualisation, but it is unrealistic to expect young people who have a lifetime before them to seek only low-level need gratification.

In a similar vein, Schlemmer and his colleagues¹⁾ have made a distinction between three types of lower-level need gratification. 'Apathetic deprivation' is characterised by a situation in which expectations have remained constant at a low level over sustained periods of time, and life anxieties are blunted by apathy and fatalism. With 'adaptation deprivation' people have no alternative but to become accustomed to sacrificing higher rewards for lower ones, in other words they must adapt their needs or expectations for rewards to those which can actually be achieved in the given circumstances. By contrast to the above two types of need gratification, 'relative deprivation' may be seen as an active response in which the satisfaction achieved by salient reference groups is compared with one's own record of satisfactions. It is important to note that 'relative deprivation' is most likely to be experienced at times when expectations are rising.

From the two exposes briefly outlined above, it is obvious that dweller satisfaction may be dependent both upon the levels of expectations and the type of comparative reference groups with which residents consciously or subconsciously evaluate their situation. Furthermore, quality of life research has drawn attention to the fact that once high priority goals have been achieved, user satisfaction may momentarily be increased, but this high level of satisfaction may be extremely unstable. The achievement of peak satisfaction in one area of concern is but a prelude for the heightened awareness of unsatisfied needs in other areas of concern which in turn may become goals for development. In this manner new aspirations will successively become pertinent for ameliorative action. Thus both reform and the subsequent satisfaction achieved in

1) cf. Schlemmer et.al. 1980:4.

the wake of this reform are part of a continuous process and cannot be studied only at discrete moments in time.

Returning to the present study, it is argued that a high proportion of the minority of the respondents to the survey who were satisfied with their housing and neighbourhood situation were satisfied at low levels of satisfaction and need gratification. In support of this proposition incidences of respondents exhibiting limited expectations and limited knowledge of housing options, making low level comparisons and expressing blunted aspirations in housing matters, were cited in the preceding chapters.

As regards dissatisfaction and expressions of relative deprivation, it is particularly important to stress that the young persons interviewed in the present study were prominently represented in the group of the most dissatisfied respondents. At the same time the younger respondents appeared to have relatively high expectations for improving their housing situation. It is reasonable to predict that this group of young blacks will not accept an incongruent housing situation in future. Furthermore, it is generally accepted that township youth has entered a phase of heightened expectations following a period of sustained economic growth, and frustration and anger among the youthful is to be expected if their aspirations cannot be meaningfully fulfilled in the near future. According to this survey, the youthful also had objective reasons for belonging to the most frustrated group of township residents. Their need for privacy in the home was constantly being violated. It is also envisaged that if the younger generation continues to progress along educational and occupational lines without experiencing a similar rise in their housing position, the incongruence of their housing situation will become more salient. At the time of writing, discontent is being voiced mainly in the areas of incomes and wages, and education; areas which were identified as highest priority concerns in the quality of life exercise included in this study. However, there is every reason to believe that grievances with respect to housing may also be expressed more vociferously in future, especially in connection with those housing issues which immediately impinge on the more central concerns of urban incomes and education.

In the past the young township men and women have had to resort to inferior solutions to their housing problems. One might speak of these solutions in terms of low level need gratification, adaptation or passive satisfaction outlined above. It is thought that in future younger persons will seek more active types of satisfactions in housing. In support of this notion, the Centre for Applied Social Sciences' inquiry into the housing attitudes of spontaneous settlers living in the Malukazi area outside Umlazi has shown that it is precisely the young 'urban overspill' - the people who have been forced out of their township homes because of overcrowded conditions, - who felt relatively deprived compared to the township dwellers, and aspired to what they referred to as 'proper housing'.

It would also appear that once townspeople have become accustomed to the modern conveniences of township living, they are not prepared to lower their expectations with regard to housing standards. At the same time, the trend for younger people to seek shelter in informal settlements, rather than say in hostels, shows that spaciousness and privacy may temporarily be more highly esteemed than convenience, and may be sought by the young township people even at great financial sacrifices to themselves. However, in the case of these young people, the informal housing solution may be viewed as a temporary one which will only satisfy their immediate housing needs. The housing congruence achieved by moving to a spontaneous settlement as well as the satisfaction related to it is expected to be short-lived, and resentment, anger and frustration are most likely to set in once this inferior type of satisfaction wears thin.

3) What then are the preference standards or typical expectations which township dwellers hold for their living conditions? In this survey, the detached family house emerged as the norm for urban living. It would also appear that the standard township unit was perceived as the minimal requirement, and as such provided a prominent reference standard by which township people evaluated their housing aims. Amenities required included piped water, water borne sewerage, an internal bathroom and toilet, and in some cases electricity. Regarding housing in its wider sense, community facilities and services were expected to be within easy walking distance. Expectations varied, but access to transport and jobs, shopping, educational, health and recreational facilities were considered to be the

basic community needs which had to be met. If the housing aspirations of the respondents were placed on a continuum, it is proposed that the 'standard township house' would represent the lower limit of the scale of housing aspirations whilst the 'suburban house' typically found in Durban's more affluent white residential areas would represent the upper limit of the aspiration scale. Although the respondents to the survey were frequently aware of the obstacles preventing them from realising the higher level aspiration, the 'suburban' type house nevertheless provided a common reference standard for some sixty percent of the sample. Moreover, respondents were also aware that the 'suburban' goal had been aspired to and achieved by some of their more affluent township neighbours.

Survey findings also suggest that 'off-scale' or inferior housing from the viewpoint of township blacks refers to shanty housing and in some instances to traditional type housing. The latter was frequently considered ill-suited to an urban lifestyle. This does not mean that some dimensions of rural living were not valued in an urban setting. The space, quietness, lack of restrictions and most of all the lower cost of living were among the most highly valued aspects of rural life. Respondents' descriptions of activity space in their township homes suggested that rural components of living had successfully been integrated into township living. On the practical level, growing one's own vegetables, and keeping chickens, were considered part of an urban as well as a rural lifestyle. At the level of interpersonal relationships in the home, the standard township house prevented urban dwellers from showing the required degree of formal respect between designated household members which was an integral part of rural living.

4) The dimension in which the township house was found most wanting with regard to family housing values, was space. According to the survey respondents, the family house was ideally a spacious house, which prompted harmonious family relationships and comfortable living by allowing members of the household to move freely without intruding on each other's privacy. By the same token, it was thought that only detached housing - a detached house would obviously be placed at a certain distance from neighbouring houses - could provide an adequate framework in which harmonious community relationships would emerge. In the opinion of some of the respondents

in the survey, too little space in the home and too little distance between houses reflected the lack of consideration on the part of the planners for the human needs of blacks. It is perhaps necessary to stress that according to the survey findings, increasing the size standard of the township housing unit would simultaneously solve many of the associated problems of township living. Similarly, the space limitations of the township house tended to exaggerate the shortcomings of the standard township design in the eyes of the respondents.

Whilst crowding has frequently been associated with social pathologies in the past, crowding has usually been measured in terms of objective rather than subjective measures.¹⁾ A variety of objective density ratios are most commonly used to measure crowding and include: dwellings per area, area coverage, persons per dwelling and persons per area. Watts²⁾ in his study of local housing conditions distinguished between two critical measures of densities: number of households per dwelling, and number of persons per dwelling space. The latter measure referred to persons related to floor space and number of rooms; and numbers and types of persons sharing a room, in particular persons of different sexes over the age of ten years excluding married or consenting couples. With regard to such objective measures of crowding, it is noteworthy that sex separated bedrooms for older children was a high priority need among the respondents to the survey.

Whilst all the above objective measures of densities may be valid and useful for assessing the quality of housing for users in statistical terms, it would appear that the relevance of densities should also be translated into terms which are of greater personal significance to the user. Further dimensions of crowding may directly affect user satisfaction and perceived quality of life. Subjective feelings of crowding³⁾

1) For example Mitchell (1971) and Hassan (1975, 1977) have studied the effects of crowding on mental health and family relationships under objectively defined high density living conditions.

2) cf. Watts 1972.

3) cf. Stokols 1972, Stokols et al. 1978, and McCarthy and Saegert 1978 for the discussion of subjective experiences of crowding.

and psychological stress may be experienced in situations which are objectively not crowded or, of greater significance to the present study, may also heighten the awareness of crowding in objectively crowded circumstances. In both situations the demand for space exceeds the supply, regardless of the objective criteria by which densities have been measured. It is obvious that by virtue of their subjective nature, these demands or needs are related to reference standards. Personal standards of crowding may directly influence the experience of crowding. In the case of some of the survey respondents it is probable that rural standards of space may have been used as a reference standard for evaluating township housing conditions and urban housing conditions in general.

In experiments conducted elsewhere, it has been demonstrated that involuntary crowding is more likely to evoke negative reactions than voluntary crowding. In the case of involuntary crowding, it has been discovered that subjective feelings of crowding are related to a sense of powerlessness and loss of control over one's environment.¹⁾ It might be suggested here that the stigma attached to living in a black township may be associated most strongly with the crowded township living conditions which may be thought to be imposed selectively upon blacks. This notion is implicit in statements such as "*They* pack us in like sardines" (emphasis supplied). Given the lack of identification of township dwellers with the design features of their homes, crowded living conditions may be seen as an indication of social insignificance and low self-worth.

In more recent studies of crowding, it has been shown that design and social components of the environment are jointly responsible for producing feelings of crowding and psychological stress. For example, it has been demonstrated that the co-residents in a crowded housing situation may influence the perception of crowding and the reactions of persons co-existing in crowded dwellings. In the case of township blacks, it is suggested that crowding might be felt more keenly if members of the household, who under uncrowded living conditions would be subjected to some sort of modified avoidance rules, are forced to live in crowded circumstances.

1) cf. Booth and Edwards 1976.

Crowding may also be considered particularly offensive when it conflicts with common standards of decency. In this respect black households may feel that the dwellings offered to township people are 'socially unfit' for habitation, which according to Watts would mean that dwellings do not "fit in with the normal patterns of living and maintain housing preferences and aspirations of the households concerned."¹⁾ In some extreme cases of perception the very fact that township dwellers are forced to live in crowded dwelling conditions may be interpreted as a conspiracy on the part of the authorities to permanently keep township blacks in inferior social positions.²⁾

When township housing is compared with suburban housing in terms of the upper-limits of the scale of expectations outlined above, the crowding experienced by black township families is even more likely to lead to feelings of resentment, inferiority, anger and frustration; the type of dissatisfactions characterised by relative deprivation. It is predicted that the perception of relative deprivation with regard to crowding and space standards is likely to increase in future in line with feelings of relative deprivation in other areas of concern.³⁾

5) Homeownership has frequently been considered the optimal overall solution to providing residential satisfaction whilst promoting a number of attitudes which are simultaneously thought to foster good citizenship. Homeownership is widely held as the greatest incentive to becoming an active, stable, responsible, sober and committed member of the community. Whilst it is frequently assumed that the reasons for aspiring to homeownership are clear-cut and uni-dimensional, it has been pointed out that the motives for homeownership may be far from simple and may reflect housing

1) cf. Watts 1972:6.

2) This was a typical viewpoint expressed by Kwa Mashu residents responding to a community study conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at an earlier date (cf. Møller et al. 1978).

3) One might note that objective standards of educational quality such as pupil-teacher ratios and pupil-classroom ratios have become more relevant for feelings of deprivation in more recent times. It is anticipated that in future objective density ratios may similarly be used to justify demands for better housing conditions.

values and lifestyles which may differ from one group to another in any particular society. Homeownership motives may variously include sentiments of individualism and independence, financial goals of investment and old age security, and family aims of status and stability, access to the desired kind of house for raising a family and so forth. The emphasis placed on any one cluster of motivations may differ according to the values of the group concerned. Rosow¹⁾ discovered that the majority of the persons he interviewed in a pilot study conducted among prospective homeowners, was motivated by a number of aspirations. Most significantly, homeownership usually functioned as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself.

In the present study, it is proposed that homeownership among township blacks is seen chiefly as a means to achieving such housing goals as security, space and privacy, freedom from restriction and choice in housing, all of which are singularly lacking in rented housing schemes. In this connection, it is noteworthy that a fair number of respondents to the present survey implicitly or explicitly stated that they aspired to homeownership primarily in order to extend the township house in which they were presently living. By the same token, that homeownership motivations may be overdetermined, the reasons for *not* aspiring to homeownership may be equally complex. It has been discovered that the concept of homeownership has not been clearly understood by township dwellers in the past and consequently its implications for housing benefits accruing to blacks could not be fully appreciated. There is evidence that the 99-year leasehold proposal was considered an inferior type of tenure by some blacks living in town. The very fact that homeownership was hastily offered to blacks - almost imposed upon them - caused some respondents to the survey to reconsider accepting offers of homeownership. Observations made in the present study suggest that as long as a monthly payment must be made, rank-and-file township dwellers may see little advantage in a homeownership as opposed to a rental housing scheme. By contrast, rent-free living is certainly the single most attractive housing option for persons who have difficulties in meeting any kind of financial commitment. At present, this type of housing option is available only in the rural areas or in some instances in informal settlements once settlers have paid a site fee.

1) cf. Rosow 1948.

Thus it is envisaged that whilst homeownership may provide dweller satisfaction for many, the majority of township dwellers will continue to rent their homes in the near future, so it must be of paramount importance to consider the housing needs of this latter group of residents.

6) What are the possibilities for increasing choice in housing among township people, homeowners and renters alike? As noted above, it is precisely the lack of choice in housing and the lack of user participation which is so clearly reflected in the incidences of depressed user satisfaction found in the present study. Kaplan¹⁾ argues that dweller satisfaction can best be achieved if housing projects are aimed to simulate the market-place situation in which a wide range of options are open to dwellers. Flexibility is the chief characteristic of the healthy housing market in which possibilities exist for dwellers to adjust their housing conditions to their continuously changing housing needs and wants. With respect to objectively dissatisfactory housing situations in the open market, Kaplan lists three aspects of choice in housing which would increase dweller satisfaction. He argues that objectively dissatisfactory housing situations are more likely to be tolerated:

- 1) if a disamenity is the result of people's own decision;
- 2) if a situation is open to adaptation or change (it is important to note that image alterations, additions or home improvements are cited in connection with this aspect);
and
- 3) if housing mobility exists whereby families can shift to another place of residence.

The first and third options do not apply to the study context, in fact the survey respondents indicated that their dissatisfaction with housing stemmed precisely from their lack of participation in decision-making regarding housing and from the restrictions placed on their movements. However, Kaplan's second aspect deserves special mention, because it identifies the type of flexibility in housing which might significantly improve dweller satisfaction in the township situation. Consider if the standard township house, which is the lower limit reference standard for the majority of the township people who were interviewed in this study, were

1) cf. Kaplan 1980.

to be transformed into a housing option which provided opportunity to exercise limited user control and responsibility in the housing process. This would mean that renters as well as homeowners would be given permission to effect home improvements and alter the design of the standard township house to suit the needs of their families. Admittedly, effecting additions and alterations to the standard township unit may represent a second-best solution to achieving housing satisfaction for some, but it may even have some advantages over the perfect housing design in that it requires a positive and active response from the user. In this connection, Keller's definition of a user oriented environment springs to mind: "Ideally, good design fits the needs and requirements of people; more realistically, it permits them to modify and mould it to suit themselves."¹⁾ Adapting the house in which one lives to suit one's needs for space, privacy and security, might be considered an active reaction to one's environment which would afford opportunities for achieving dweller satisfaction of a higher order despite the physical limitations of the standard township housing option.

It stands to reason that if alterations, additions and home improvements in general represent the most feasible options open to township dwellers to improve the quality of their environment, this option should be more actively promoted with all available means. The major factors inhibiting individual efforts to improve their homes which were identified in this survey included financial incapacity, administrative and legal restrictions. At the same time it was also discovered that extensions to the home were the single most popular type of home improvement desired by the majority of the respondents to the survey, mainly in order to increase the space standards in the home but also to design for extra comfort, for greater privacy and convenience in the home, and for prestige. Thus, home extensions appear to be a useful starting point for promoting user participation in existing township settlements. It is also very important that this option was not only considered particularly attractive, it was also thought to be reasonably accessible and fulfilled manifest as well as the more hidden and subtle housing needs. Although various constraints prevented the realisation of their desires for home improvements, it was noted that the majority of the respondents to the survey contemplated

1) cf. Keller 1978:279.

extending their homes. In this connection one might further suggest that many township blacks consider the standard township housing unit in terms of a lower limit reference point in housing or as a 'core house' which by definition is designed for extension purposes.

For practical planning purposes these survey findings suggest that it may be expedient to make structural and legal conditions more favourable for people wishing to extend their homes according to their increasing needs for space in the home and their financial capacity. It is acknowledged that the home improvement centres which have now been operating for some time in the townships under study, are already providing expertise and advice on a limited scale. The technical and administrative problems associated with extending the dual occupancy house, such as found in Kwa Mashu township, are being tackled with a great deal of imagination. According to the present and other studies undertaken by the Centre of Applied Social Sciences, the management of home improvement projects is another area in which township dwellers urgently need advice and support. It is suggested that the design of the detached and the semi-detached standard township house might be appropriately altered to make extension projects technically more feasible and less costly. In this connection, experiments with roof pitches being conducted by commercial enterprises are a step in the right direction, although according to survey results the high pitched roof is associated with prestige values at the present moment. Lastly, compensation for renters affecting home improvements to rented dwellings might be considered. This would make their participation in such projects more worthwhile, even if they were to shift residence at a later date.

The 'core house' or 'extension' issue must also be seen from a symbolic as well as from a practical point of view. The importance attached to opportunities for extending one's home may also stem from a more subtle constellation of motivations. It is tentatively suggested here that as long as township dwellers still retain the hope of one day being in a position to extend their homes, they still hold hopes for an improved day-to-day existence. This type of hope was spontaneously expressed by a respondent participating in a sentence completion test: (My house) ... "is small compared to the number of my children and for

this reason I don't like it any more. *But* I'm going to extend it" (emphasis supplied).

This type of deferred gratification motivation may be compared to the hopes which black parents attach to the idea that the education their children are receiving today will open up job opportunities and a better way of life for them tomorrow. Similarly, in the sphere of housing some of the respondents to the survey were anxious that their children should one day inherit a much improved home from them. The hope derived from the prospects of extending one's home may also produce a ripple effect and help to sustain hope in other more central aspects of life. It is also possible that township dwellers simply support the home extension notion because it implies that they have some say in their housing situation, even though the technical, political and economic facts belie this belief in practice. The need for some sort of control over one's housing situation may explain why some residents obstinately cling to this idea of one day being able to extend their homes even though many will in all probability not fulfil this dream. Along the same line of reasoning one might also suggest that if this dream were to be suppressed, it would lead to disillusion, hopelessness and at best passive satisfaction among township people.¹⁾ Clearly the incentives for meaningful participation in housing and home improvement schemes in particular must be strengthened.

7) The need for security is another high priority aspect of housing identified in this study which deserves special mention. With respect to security, the housing needs of Durban township dwellers may be relatively similar to those of tenants living in public housing estates elsewhere. Above, the need for security of tenure and a home of one's own was identified as a prerequisite to achieving other goals in housing. It was observed that a substantial number of the respondents to the survey did not wish to participate in a hypothetical move to achieve housing congruence, precisely because they feared losing their present status in housing. Clearly, any threat of losing one's family accommodation was to be avoided,

1) cf. Stokes' (1962) well-known typology which contrasts the attitudes of people living in 'slums of hope' with those of people living in 'slums of despair'.

even in an interview situation which was removed from reality. In this connection, it is suggested that the rural option which was subscribed to by a substantial number of respondents - even by some persons who had no apparent ties to a rural base - may be interpreted as an unrealistic attempt to escape from the insecurity of urban living.

Feelings of security are undermined by many threatening aspects of housing. For example, fear of not being able to meet rental payments is exacerbated by rental fluctuations which cannot be rationally explained, and by unanticipated rental increases which are imposed upon tenants without prior warning or consultation. Rental increases are interpreted as existential threats by a population group living at or below the breadline. With respect to rising rentals, respondents felt they were being treated as unemancipated tenants who did not warrant consideration in housing policy matters; the increase in rentals was seldom seen in the light of a general rise in the cost of living. Anxiety was also caused by the fear that the physical structure of the township house would cease to provide adequate shelter, or that the amenities in the home would cease to function properly. This type of anxiety was strengthened by the knowledge that should such faults in the structure or in the amenities in the home occur, they would not be rectified in due course by the authorities in charge. It is perhaps significant that the respondents did not feel responsible or capable of effecting such repairs themselves. The importance attached to a solidly built house must be seen in connection with these threats to the township dwellers' feelings of security. A solidly built house represents a guarantee for maintenance free living. A number of respondents intimated that their idea of an ideal dwelling situation would be one in which they could sit back and be free from troubles or worries of a financial, structural, social and political nature. As one respondent expressed this idea: "Heaven is to stay in it (my house) and there be nothing to trouble me."¹⁾ An earlier study conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in Kwa Mashu showed that a substantial number of respondents did not feel able to cope with day-to-day problems, and the physical design of the township environment as well as its social and administrative structure tended to underline their sense of insecurity and powerlessness. It is obvious that the

1) Response to the sentence completion test: "My house...."

tenuous political position of the blacks living in urban areas contributes in no small manner to such feelings of insecurity.

Physical threats to life and limb constitute one of the major grievances of township people and of the respondents to this survey in particular. In this connection, it need hardly be specifically mentioned that the need for security may become particularly salient during times of rapid social change and civil unrest. It is well known that physical insecurity presents a problem for underprivileged people everywhere who constitute soft targets for crime, but again the local political constraints tend to perpetuate the heightened vulnerability of the South African blacks living in the urban areas. At the same time it has been argued that underprivileged residents have the greatest need for a refuge or safe 'haven' to which they can retire from the threats of the world.¹⁾ It has been discovered that the propensity for underprivileged people to perceive the physical and social environment as threatening and dangerous may be exaggerated by objective standards. This is hardly the point we wish to emphasise, especially in a study which is concerned chiefly with the subjective evaluation of social conditions. Surely, it is more constructive to argue that if the township environment is perceived to be threatening and physically insecure by the majority of township dwellers, planners and policy makers should actively respond to these fears in order to reassure the threatened township dwellers. The most frequent expressions of insecurity encountered in the course of studying the housing needs of township dwellers in the present study, may be useful in pinpointing the areas in which reformative action with respect of crime prevention might be most effective.

It was observed that a high proportion of the respondents to this study referred to the quality of neighbourhood living and neighbourhood appearance in terms of physical safety. Similarly, their frequently expressed desire for a solidly built house may in part have reflected the need for physical as well as financial security in housing. Respondents also appeared to be remarkably sensitive to design features which would maximise the residents' capability of defending themselves against potential intrusion on their living space and against threats to

1) cf. Rainwater 1966.

their physical security. It would appear that the respondents were of the opinion that physical safety should not be sacrificed for the sake of other housing values such as prestige or beauty. Softening of the landscape was desired only insofar as it conformed to the rules of 'defensible space'.¹⁾ However, in most cases physical safety appeared to be compatible with other housing values. This was most notable in the case of neighbourhood appearance: Preference was given to a neatly ordered layout of houses, to well-lit streets, to well maintained and solidly built houses, to well defined boundaries between individually held plots, and to controlled landscaping. It was intimated by some few respondents that only the more affluent and politically privileged could afford the luxury of protecting themselves from dangers in an environment which was difficult to defend.

The need for security may also have been covertly expressed in the preference for simple, straightforward, easily legible and transparent designs. Consider that life for blacks in town is full of ambiguities and complexities which are potentially threatening. In the past township dwellers have frequently been misled by the hidden complexities in the rules regulating their lives. For this reason house designs and housing programmes in general must seek to win the confidence of townspeople who live in a constant state of uncertainty by the very clarity and honesty of their statements of intent.

8) At the beginning of this report, it was emphasised that the evaluation of housing must include an assessment of the physical and social dimensions of the residential environment. Housing policy affects the 'total environment' which comprises the dwelling *and* the neighbourhood. Terms of reference in housing policy may alternatively refer to the number and type of homes or to the administrative or functional area which serves a resident population of a given size. For the community developer,

1) According to Oscar Newman (1972:3) 'defensible space' is a surrogate term for a range of mechanisms - real and symbolic barriers, strongly defined areas of influence, and improved opportunities for surveillance - that combine to bring an environment under the control of its residents.

planning for dwelling and neighbourhood needs frequently poses a chicken and egg type of problem. As a matter of expediency, the more conventionally oriented planner working within the constraints of a tight budget will erect the dwelling units together with only the most rudimentary of services. The supply of non-essential services must often be deferred until such time as the necessary public funds become available or until sufficient demand for such services render their development an economically viable enterprise for the commercial developer. Meanwhile, the development of informal community services is left to the ingenuity of the growing resident population. Community administration may be decisive in determining whether this type of laissez-faire policy in neighbourhood planning promotes community initiative or merely reinforces the situation of community underdevelopment. In public housing developments in which informal enterprise is by and large subject to harassment and restrictions, such a policy may not be conducive to active participation in the provision of services by the resident population.

By contrast, well-funded private developers of a less orthodox planning persuasion may seek to first develop the services and facilities to attract industrialists and workers to a new settlement and then to provide housing as the demand arises with the growth of the settler population. Along similar lines, planners working within the financial constraints of site-and-service schemes aim to provide the infrastructure for community residents, whilst the onus to provide housing in its more limited sense, is placed on the settlers. The site-and-service approach is based on the assumption that residents are more capable of housing themselves than they are of organising community facilities.

In more recent times, an approach to housing which seeks to combine aspects of these two extreme views of community development has become more widespread. Planners accepting the compromise solution acknowledge that housing and community services complement each other and must be developed simultaneously if the environmental needs of the resident population are to be catered for adequately. Neglect in providing community services in order to speed up the provision of dwellings is thought to represent a false economy in the long run, because the damage caused to emergent community life may be irreparable. Newcomers to a

settlement may react to what they perceive as neglect on the part of the authorities with resentment. If this type of attitude becomes prevalent among the residents of a newly established settlement, it may stunt the growth of the community's social life indefinitely.

The response to this study leaves little doubt that township dwellers consider the dwelling and the service area in which the home is located as an environmental whole. For example, accessibility factors were considered an important feature of the dwelling unit by the survey respondents. In particular, accessibility to transport and work were identified as highest priority residential concerns in the quality of life exercise included in this study. In symbolic terms the importance of accessibility was expressed in the respondents' preference for the township home to face the road which represented the link to the urban opportunity structure. The results of the neighbourhood appearance test also suggested that accessibility factors constituted one of the most positive aspects of township life. It was observed that inaccessibility factors - in particular the inaccessibility of jobs and a reliable source of income - rather than the lack of modern conveniences in the home, constituted one of the most positive aspects of township life. It was observed that inaccessibility factors - in particular the inaccessibility of jobs and a reliable source of income - rather than the lack of modern conveniences in the home, constituted the major disadvantages of rural living. This finding suggests that the rural option in housing, which was characterised by inaccessibility to facilities and services, represented but a dream for the majority of the respondents. By the same token, accessibility factors designated the township as the respondents' 'home of convenience' if not 'home of the heart'.

From the viewpoint of everyday township life, survey results suggested that community facilities and services were taken for granted by the respondents, and only in instances of active decision-making did they become an issue. For instance, a substantial number of the respondents did not wish to shift to another neighbourhood because they were satisfied with the accessibility aspects of their homes. Moreover, survey respondents intimated that just as they had become accustomed to a certain standard of modern conveniences in the home, they also expected a certain

standard of services and facilities in the urban neighbourhood and would not be content with less.

The complementarity of the dwelling and the encompassing environment - housing in its wider implications, is also suggested in the fact that the respondents associated the deficiencies of their dwellings with their community problems. Crime and juvenile delinquency which were identified by the survey respondents as one of the major community concerns, were thought to originate in the township homes. Respondents described how the overcrowding in township homes forced their children into the streets at an early age. They complained that the educational and recreational youth services which might cope with the large numbers of unemployed and under-occupied teenagers roaming the streets were under-developed.

One might suggest that the residential environment reinforces the stigma of living in inferior housing for some township residents. Consider that if black township dwellers feel like second class citizens in their overcrowded homes, they possibly sense the same type of frustration from seeing their children being turned away from township schools because of the shortage of classrooms and teachers. As one respondent put it: "My children were born here (at Umlazi), but they've got no schools." Some of the survey respondents felt similarly restricted in their recreational activities because the limited number of township leisure facilities available to blacks were overutilized or inaccessible. "We find them (the tennis courts) full when we arrive." Elderly township persons and women felt physically insecure when moving about the township during their leisure hours, particularly at night. For reasons of physical insecurity they felt they could not utilize the adult educational and recreational facilities available to township residents.

It has frequently been suggested that low-income tenants living in high density housing circumstances must learn to use community and neighbourhood facilities as an effective extension of the home.¹⁾ In this way the limited opportunities for personal development afforded by the small dwellings would be overcome. In the case of Durban townships,

1) cf. Stevenson et.al. 1967:145.

the survey findings demonstrate that the extension function of the neighbourhood is poorly developed. Firstly, the data reviewed suggested that insufficient opportunities for leisure and recreation needs were provided in township neighbourhoods and township people could not avail themselves of those facilities which were available. Moreover, the survey findings showed clearly that access to opportunities beyond the limited ones offered in the township neighbourhood were not open to township dwellers due to political constraints. The survey respondents reported that they felt they were inhibited from participating in extra-township activities and utilizing what facilities were available in the Durban metropolitan area. The only significant extension of the township opportunity structure in the Durban metropolitan area referred to consumer services. Even in this restricted sphere of extended opportunities, full participation was not possible because of the informal discrimination experienced by shoppers.

Parallel to township residents' evaluation of their dwelling circumstances, it is expected that township residents will become increasingly critical of their neighbourhood environment. Judging from the survey findings, it would appear that township blacks will increasingly apply standards of comparison based on the opportunity structure of white residential areas to the township neighbourhood. As a consequence, it can be foreseen that black residents will become increasingly disenchanted with the facilities and services available in their residential areas and demand what is perceived to be their fair share of the good life. At the same time it is likely that physical distance and legal restrictions limiting participation in the leisure opportunities afforded by the greater metropolitan area will lead to increased resentment among township blacks. It can be expected that the youthful will take the lead in expressing their raised expectations for better leisure opportunities. Demands for equality and choice in education, and sporting and recreational opportunities are already being made by township youth.

Whilst decentralisation of facilities would in part solve the problem of insufficient facilities and services available to blacks in the urban areas, there are also qualitative aspects which must be considered. Decentralised services must be planned to complement and upgrade existing facilities in the metropolitan area, and not merely to

cater for the needs of 'second class' citizens. Decentralised facilities must not be associated with inferior facilities as has frequently been the case in the past. In order to capture the imagination of the resident population, Schlemmer¹⁾ urges, that quality and expressive designs should complement the more practical aspects in the provision of public and civic facilities in township neighbourhoods.

9) This brings us to a final important point which has been raised in the reporting on this housing study. The question whether to emphasise quality or quantity in housing has continually posed a dilemma for those concerned with the provision of housing. Within the constraints of a fixed housing expenditure budget, we shall refer to the 'quantity' solution to housing in terms of a policy which aims to provide more lower standard housing and simply equipped neighbourhoods at a lower cost per housing unit. By contrast the 'quality' solution to housing refers to the planning of fewer dwellings of a higher standard in better equipped residential areas at a greater cost per housing unit. It is important to note that both the 'quantity' and the 'quality' type of solution intend to improve the quality of life for the people being housed. The dilemma in deciding whether to emphasise quantity versus quality stems from the common belief that 'quantity' and 'quality' solutions in housing represent alternatives which cannot be compromised, a belief which is challenged in this study.

In terms of the greatest benefit for the greatest number, the 'quantity' solution possibly represents the more feasible option. In some respects it also meets the expectations of township dwellers. The survey findings suggest that the township residents are aware of the dire need for houses for those less fortunate than themselves, and may be willing to make some sacrifices in order to assist in meeting the general need for more housing. Availability of housing was identified as a high priority unfulfilled need in the quality of life exercise included in this study. It is worth noting that some few respondents explicitly stated that despite its perceived qualitative deficiencies, higher density housing would help house more people. However, it should be noted, that when these respondents expressed approval for this 'quantity' type

1) cf. Schlemmer et.al. 1980.

solution to housing, they were not only opting for a proposition to solve other people's housing problems, they were also considering their own welfare. Many township dwellers are currently 'doubling up' in existing township houses or they anticipate that they will be forced to do so in the near future, if the provision of houses does not keep pace with urban population growth.

Whilst there is little doubt that more houses and more community facilities will meet the approval of township residents in the first instance, this study has questioned whether the increasing number of houses and facilities made available to blacks in their residential neighbourhoods is necessarily conducive to residents evaluating their township environment in more favourable terms in the long run.

It has been suggested that investments in 'quantity' solutions to community development are short-term solutions, they make sense in a situation in which basic needs are not yet fulfilled. Consequently, it is to be envisaged that the satisfactions achieved by these 'quantity' solutions will be short-lived. Whilst the 'quantity' solution addresses itself primarily to the problem of fulfilling the more basic housing needs of township dwellers and of those aspirants to township life who are waiting on the urban fringe in spontaneous settlements to take up township occupation, this study demonstrates that low-level need gratification among the township dwellers of today is increasingly making way for relative deprivation characterised by higher aspirations for housing. It is to be anticipated that once expectations have been raised, the qualitative aspect of the 'quantity' solution will gain significance - even among members of a population who have to date been more or less forced to accept what is given to them in the sphere of housing. In order to consider the emergent higher-order needs of township dwellers, housing problems may well have to be met with 'quality' as well as 'quantity' type solutions in future.

Need the 'quantity' and the 'quality' solutions to housing be considered strictly in terms of alternatives; are there no possibilities for combining the two approaches? In this report we have pointed out that in some instances the 'quantity' solution can be converted into a 'quality' solution, by allowing for the satisfaction of higher order needs

in the former. For example, more homes for people might effectively mean that existing houses will become uncrowded: Improving the space standards of township homes would fulfill some of the more subtle needs for self-actualisation, for privacy and more harmonious family relationships, and possibly for greater confidence in one's standing in the resident community. In terms of relative deprivation the manner in which projects are implemented will often determine what the solution signifies to the users. In this sense even a 'quantity' solution can be qualitatively satisfying. It is therefore suggested that greater attention might be paid to the qualitative aspects of 'quantity' community projects. This would comply with Kaplan's¹⁾ argument that qualitatively inferior housing solutions will be more acceptable to the users if they result from a decision-making process in which users participated actively or at least were consulted. Trade-off decision-making has been particularly useful in involving members of the community in the housing process when only limited resources are available for the housing and community projects concerned.²⁾ In some instances a user choice can be made which will personalise the standard product of a 'quantity' housing or community solution at no extra cost to the developer. Choice of finishes by users which symbolises their participation in the provision of housing is a case in point. Similarly, alternative designs for community projects involving equal development costs might be presented for approval to the people as well as to the authorities concerned. If residents were given the opportunity to vote on the preferred design, increased user satisfaction might offset the extra costs of undertaking such a community voting exercise and in part compensate for the delay in implementing the project. Exercises conducted in the present study and housing games undertaken by others³⁾ have shown that residents can meaningfully comment on both the aesthetic and functional aspects of designs. In many cases users will best be able to anticipate to which degree a particular design is suited to their needs. The most well-meaning of 'potential' opportunities afforded by a novel concept in housing and

1) cf. Kaplan 1980.

2) cf. Finlayson 1977.

3) cf. *Scientiae* 1980.

neighbourhood planning may not be 'effectively' used if they do not correspond to the user's lifestyle.¹⁾ In the past non-acceptance or incorrect use of facilities which were intended to enrich community life have frequently been attributed to the inability of users to appreciate good design. Today, it is more generally accepted that the 'white elephants' among the community facilities may reflect the fact that the designers knew too little about the needs of the population for whom they were planning or did not speak the same architectural language as the user population.

Obviously, for reasons of economy, the 'quantity' solution has overshadowed the 'quality' solution in the past. The 'quantity' solution was thought to buy time and goodwill in the short run until the pressure on the existing housing and facilities and services would ease. However, as many housing economists have pointed out, the planners may well be fighting a losing battle on several fronts. Firstly, the housing backlog has increased rather than decreased. And secondly, as this study has shown the 'quantity' solutions do not always buy goodwill. If 'quantity' solutions are badly received, resentment and anger rather than satisfaction may result. In this connection, observations relating to the expression of dissatisfaction in the more central sphere of education may well be pertinent to the housing issue. One might argue, that provided basic housing needs are met in the interim period, township people may be willing to forego the 'quantity' solution demonstratively in order to secure a 'quality' solution which will fulfill their aspirations for better housing in the long run. For this reason, it is recommended that if people's low rent paying ability continuously tips the balance in favour of 'quantity' solutions which will not meet raised housing aspirations in the long run, these 'quantity' solutions might be provided with a built-in flexibility so that they represent 'quality solutions in spe'. Above, we have referred to the advantages of seeking to upgrade the existing standard township solution by emphasising its potential for extension. The same may hold for community activities which must embrace possibilities for expansion and conversion to serve the more differentiated or sophisticated recreation and leisure needs of a changing population, should the need arise. It might be pointed out that built-in flexibility

1) cf. Gans 1972: Chapter 1.

would at the same time prevent community buildings from reaching premature obsolescence. The extension idea may also apply to the opportunity structure of the township neighbourhood. Lack of transport was one of the chief obstacles identified by the respondents which prevented township residents from participating more fully in the recreational facilities in the Durban metropolitan area. It is suggested that the accessibility features of township homes might be qualitatively improved if public transport were provided to places of leisure as well as to places of work.

Thus, it is envisaged that the present emphasis on 'quantity' solutions in planning will have to be shifted to 'quality' solutions if housing development is to keep pace with rising expectations as well as with population growth. For the present moment, community participation in decision-making relating to the qualitative aspects of housing and community projects which do not involve additional costs, may represent a convenient starting point for adding some quality to 'quantity' solutions. However, it cannot be expected that this procedure will permanently eradicate feelings of discontent among township people who feel relatively deprived. In this report we have repeatedly warned that satisfactions are expected to shift from time to time and solutions to the housing problem, even 'quality' solutions, will have to be reviewed continuously. In this report, 'quantity' solutions which have been transformed into 'quality' solutions by virtue of their in-built flexibility are possibly better able to survive the test of time. They can be modified to suit the changing moods and lifestyles of the population. Thus whilst 'quantity' solutions to housing may have provided a useful framework for township development to date, only by emphasising the qualitative aspects of 'quantity' solutions will the black population experience an improvement in the quality of township life in the future.

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Sample distribution on background characteristics

N = 201

1. Total number persons in household:

	%
2	1
3	6
4	8
5	12
6	15
7	19
8	12
9	10
10	7
11	5
12	1
13	2
14	1
17	<u>1</u>
	100

2. Number of dependent children:

	%
none	12
1	14
2	16
3	18
4	16
5	12
6	6
7	1
8	3
10	1
13	<u>1</u>
	100

3. Present domicile:

	%
Umlazi Township	45
Kwa Mashu Township	40
Lamontville Township	<u>15</u>
	100

4. Household type:

	%
nuclear	43
broken nuclear	9
augmented nuclear (related persons)	17
augmented nuclear (unrelated persons)	2
multigenerational (upwards)	4
multigenerational (downwards)	21
multiple nuclear (related persons)	1
multiple nuclear (unrelated persons)	1
other	1
no information	<u>1</u>
	100

5. Age in years:

	%
18 - 24	25
25 - 34	21
35 - 44	23
45 and over	<u>31</u>
	100

6. Marital status:

	%
single	35
married	52
widowed	<u>13</u>
	100

7. Sex:

	%
male	45
female	<u>55</u>
	100

8. Class designation:

	%
lower	68
middle	<u>32</u>
	100

9. Household status:

	%
respondent is head of household	42
respondent is not head of household	<u>58</u>
	100

10. Home language:

	%
Zulu	97
other	<u>3</u>
	100

11. Religion:

	%
Christian denomination	63
African independent	32
Traditional African	1
other	3
none	<u>1</u>
	100

12. Monthly wages earned by respondent:

	%
unemployed	21
R25 p.m. or less	2
R26 - 50	10
R51 - 75	7
R76 - 100	9
R101 - 150	19
R151 - 200	17
R201 - 250	10
R251 - 300	2
R300 and more	2
not stated	<u>1</u>
	100

13. <u>Occupation:</u>	%
unemployed	20
salaryed professionals	6
substantial businessmen	1
semi-professionals	13
small businessmen	1
white collar workers	5
inspectional	2
skilled manual	4
responsible routine non-manual	1
semi-skilled manual	11
routine non-manual	4
hawkers	13
security guards	1
labourers	12
menial labourers	1
pensioned, divorced and maintained	3
not stated	<u>2</u>
	100

14. <u>Educational level achieved:</u>	%
none	9
lower primary	1
Stds. I - III	8
Stds. IV - V	14
Stds. VI - VII	25
Stds. VIII - IX	19
Std. 8	5
teachers training	10
other technical	5
university	<u>4</u>
	100

15. Total household income per month:

	%
R50 and less	3
R51 - 75	2
R76 - 100	3
R101 - 150	11
R151 - 200	17
R201 - 250	14
R251 - 300	12
R301 - 400	18
R401 - 500	8
R501 - 600	3
R600 and over	6
not stated	<u>3</u>
	100

16. Length of stay:

	in present accommodation	in Durban	in other city
	%	%	%
under 1 year	4	-	-
1 - 2 years	3	1	1
over 2 - 3 years	2	1	1
over 3 - 5 years	7	1	2
over 5 - 10 years	21	6	3
10 years and more	63	91	5
not applicable	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>88</u>
	100	100	100

17. Type of dwelling:

	%
detached house	66
semi-detached house	21
maisonette	1
flat	3
rooms in a house	6
no information	<u>3</u>
	100

18. Type of construction:

	%
bricks	88
concrete blocks	7
not assessed	<u>5</u>
	100

19. Maintenance of dwelling (interviewer assessment):

	%
excellent	26
average	57
neglected	16
not assessed	<u>1</u>
	100

20. Number of rooms (excluding toilet and kitchen):

	%
one	9
two	3
three	81
four	2
five	3
six	1
nine	<u>1</u>
	100

21. Garage:

	%
yes	4
no	95
not stated	<u>1</u>
	100

22. Residential status of household head:

	%
owner	25
renter	74
not stated	<u>1</u>
	100

23. <u>Previous address:</u>	%
rural homeland area	6
peri-urban area	4
Cato Manor and other shack areas around Durban	20
other township	30
other address in same township	35
hostel or servants' quarters	1
other	<u>4</u>
	100

24. <u>Type of dwelling at previous address:</u>	%
detached	37
semi-detached	14
maisonette	2
flat	2
boarding house	2
shack	17
hut	13
rooms in a house	7
not stated, not applicable	<u>6</u>
	100

25. <u>Place of birth:</u>	%
deep rural	15
rural, proximity to small town	24
rural, proximity to substantial town	19
peri-urban	8
urban	33
not stated	<u>1</u>
	100

26. Domestic experience:

respondent has domestic/gardening experience:

	%
yes	23
no	74
not stated	<u>3</u>
	100

27. Use of private car:

	%
own car	17
car in household	10
occasional use of car	2
no access to a car/no car in household	70
not stated	<u>1</u>
	100

28. Use of land in country:

	%
no use of land	39
respondent or immediate family have use of land	25
relatives have use of land, land shared with relatives	22
ownership unspecified	1
no information	<u>13</u>
	100

29. Size of land in country:

	%
not applicable, no land	55
no size indicated	3
$\frac{1}{2}$ hectare or less	4
over $\frac{1}{2}$ hectare - 1 hectare	8
over 1 hectare - 2 hectares	10
over 2 hectares - 4 hectares	8
over 4 hectares - 6 hectares	6
over 6 hectares	<u>6</u>
	100

30. Cattle ownership:

	%
no cattle ownership	75
no indication of number	4
3 - 5 head of cattle	4
6 - 10 head of cattle	10
11 - 20 head of cattle	6
over 20	<u>1</u>
	100

31. Visits to the country:

	%
never visits	42
seldom visits	5
visits once per annum	23
visits more than once a year for longer period of time	8
visits on regular weekends	12
visits on occasional weekends	8
other	1
not stated	<u>1</u>
	100

32. Allegiance to chief:

	%
yes	35
no	64
not stated	<u>1</u>
	100

33. Remittances to rural areas:

	%
yes	40
no	<u>60</u>
	100

34. Residence preference after retirement:

	<u>%</u>
same urban township	47
other urban township	6
rural home district	16
other rural	9
undecided	20
other	1
not stated	<u>1</u>
	100

APPENDIX B.

Excerpt from interview schedule (the housing game)

Excerpt from interview schedule:

The housing game (English version only)

30. In this next question, we are going to be using some pieces of cardboard to help with some of your ideas. Imagine for a moment that this card is a plot of ground (Hand over "plot" card, corner pointing), Pretend that this piece of cardboard is a piece of ground for a house. Right?

30a. Now first of all - does the size of your plot suit you, or do you prefer something bigger, or something smaller? Which do you prefer? And why do you prefer that size? (Tick appropriately and enter reasons for preference below.)

Preferred size	TICK	Reasons
Usual		
Bigger		
Smaller		

30b. Good. Now take this piece of cardboard (hand cardboard "house" to respondent) and imagine that this were your house. Whereabouts on your plot would you want it? Pretend that this is a house, and place it anywhere you like on the plot. Try it in different places, different ways, have it wherever you like.

Tell me what you are thinking about as you go along.

(Interviewer: In the space below, record all comments in sufficient detail to show process of thought.)

- 30e. And the road? Let's get that clear - where must that be? Show me on the plot. (Indicate on the plot). I see. And what makes you want it there? (Probe) Why is that - would you explain that to me?
- -----

- 30f. What about the neighbours now? Does the position of your house have anything to do with having neighbours? (Probe with): That's interesting - would you explain that to me?
- -----

(Draw outline of house position onto cardboard 'plot')

- 31a. Good. Now let's turn this over (turn 'plot' over) and talk about how you would like your house to be. It can be any way you want.

Here are some cardboard pieces that you can use as rooms - there are big ones and small ones (Put down the piles).

I'd like you to build a house for me, using these pieces, to show me the kind of house you like. You can use these pieces for anything, it doesn't even have to be rooms of a house.

It could be anything, inside or outside. Just make them what you want them to be.

As you go along, tell me what you are thinking, so that I can get an idea of where you like what, what next to what, how many, and so on.

(Interviewer: Record order of room building, making brief notes on commentary as respondent goes along.)

31b. Anything else that you'd like to add to that - inside or outside? What would that be? Why would you want that?

31c. (Whether already mentioned or not): What about the toilet now. Where do you like that to be? And why there?

31d. Some people worry about where the toilet is. What do you think?

31e. And what about movements within the house - movements by different members of the family or people within the house....?

(Draw outline of each 'room' and label type of room clearly on cardboard 'plot').

31f. It may be, when living in the country and not in the townships, that people have different ways of behaving and having their houses. What differences would there be for you, living in the country?

What about the house - what sort of house would you like in the country?

What about living inside the house - how would it be different for you in the country?

32c. Have you already made any of these changes you've just told me about?(If yes):

What?

32d. (If none or only some made): Are you likely to make these changes/the rest of these changes that you've just told me about?

(If yes): Which ones?

(If no): Why not?



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