



PERS 358

FACTORS MOTIVATING RESIDENTIAL
CONSOLIDATION IN SELECTED SOUTH AFRICAN
SELF-HELP HOUSING CONTEXTS.

CSIR Special Report PERS 358

UDC 351.778.5 (680) (pp. i-vi; 1-52)

Johannesburg, Republic of South Africa, August 1983

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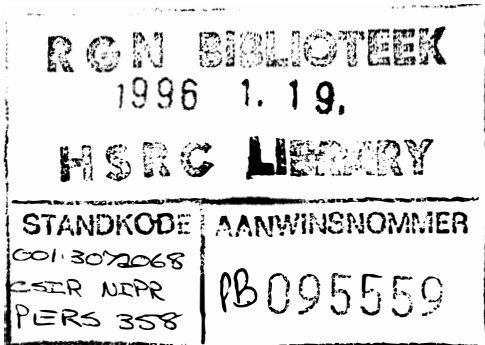
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

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SUMMARY

This report presents an examination of some of the factors thought to motivate the progressive development of housing (termed consolidation) in selected study areas where house building is based predominantly on the process of self help. It is hypothesized that self-help consolidation takes place because potential self-helpers need basic shelter; believe consolidation necessary to secure tenure; or desire to partake of the perceived rewards of owner building. It is further hypothesized that the motivation to consolidate can be diverted or destroyed, and that groups other than the self-help consolidators themselves can seek to motivate or demotivate self-help to their own ends. Against this background, and in the context of the selected areas, it is argued that the early stages of consolidation are linked to the need for shelter and the belief that tenure is contingent upon building. More advanced stages of consolidation are argued to be associated with the pursuit of secure tenure, and a desire to enjoy the benefits seen to accompany further consolidation.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie verslag is 'n ondersoek na sommige faktore wat moontlik die progressiewe behuisingsontwikkeling (genoem konsolidasie) kan motiveer in uitgesoekte studie-gebiede waar huisbou hoofsaaklik baseer is op die selfhelp-proses. Dit word veronderstel dat selfhelp-konsolidasie plaasvind omdat potensiële selfhelpers basiese behuising benodig; glo dat konsolidasie eiendomsreg verskaf; of 'n begeerte het om deel te hê aan die merkbare beloning van eienaar-bouery. Verder word dit veronderstel dat die konsolidasie-motiveering óf afgewend óf vernietig kan word, en dat groepe anders as die self-help konsolideerders self kan probeer om self-help of te demotiveer of te motiveer dat dit hulle eie belange pas. Teen hierdie agtergrond, en met die uitgesoekte gebiede in ag genome, word dit aangevoer dat die vroeë stadiums van konsolidasie saamhang met die onderdakbehoefte en die geloof dat eiendomsreg afhanklik van bouery is. Meer gevorderde konsolidasie-stadiums word assosieer met die eiendoms-reg soektog, en 'n begeerte om deel te hê aan die voordele wat saam val met verdere konsolidasie.

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1. PREFACE

This report is based on material gathered during the preliminary phase of a project designed to investigate the effectiveness of community participation and self-help procedures as a means of achieving development goals in low-income communities.

The issues discussed in the report are of a fundamental nature, and these are raised with the intention of underpinning and guiding the more formal research to follow. This report poses the question "what makes self-help housing happen?", and seeks to elaborate this in the context of existing South African self-help examples. Questions to be addressed in subsequent research include the following:

1. For whom and in what situations is self-help housing appropriate?
2. What are the criteria by which appropriateness is to be assessed?
3. In what way is appropriate self-help housing best supported?

Surveys currently in progress form the basis of the second phase of the overall project.

2. INTRODUCTION

The terms "self-help" and "self-help housing" defy value-free definition (Burgess, 1978, p.1106; Burgess, 1982, p.93; Burns and Grebler, 1977, pp.15-18; Connolly, 1982, p.171; Turner, 1982, pp.99-100). In common usage, self-help housing refers to a process where individuals and groups among those to be housed have responsibility for the planning, organisation, and implementation of particular tasks leading to the provision and maintenance of houses and residential infrastructure (Ward, 1982b). Self-help housing, in these terms, is seen to imply the mobilization and self-management of various resources vested in individuals and groups. These resources are consumed during the self-help process, and may include time, personal savings, and individual and co-operative labour (sometimes called mutual help). Typically, the resources are invested as they become available, and self-help residential areas are consolidated in a piecemeal but incremental way (Ward, 1976). Where self help is a process of human action, consolidation is a process of physical change in housing and infrastructure

development. Hence self help refers to something people do, and consolidation describes what is achieved. Consolidation is often seen to take place in a number of overlapping stages, during which the self-help builder progresses from a stark and basic shelter to a more elaborate and substantial dwelling. As popularly understood, self-help housing does not exclude the use of paid labour, provided that hired contractors are organised and managed by the self-help builder (Jørgensen, 1977).

In the context of a widely acknowledged crisis in the provision of housing for urban Blacks in South Africa (Lea, 1980), a growing groundswell of self-help housing advocacy has emerged, to be continually reinforced as the self-help idea gains wider favour. Taken up by this heady momentum, there appears to be a danger that the precipitate implementation of self-help housing strategies will run ahead of the lessons to be learned by sober evaluation of existing self-help experience.

South African housing researchers have available for immediate evaluative scrutiny a range of local self-help based residential areas. Until recently, some of these have languished in the shadow of official backing for formal public housing schemes, whilst others, new and innovative, have emerged in the vanguard of the growing self-help

movement (Jackson, 1981). The present report is a broad overview of research conducted in four self-help Black residential areas. These are Mangaung (Bloemfontein), Ngangelizwe (Umtata), Constantia (Kroonstad), and Inanda Newtown (Durban). The research discussed deals generally with housing processes and individual and group house-building strategies within the various self-help systems. In terms of the central theme of this report, particular attention is paid to factors influencing residential consolidation in the four areas examined.

It has been shown elsewhere that residential consolidation in self-help contexts is a function of the socio-economic circumstances of individual resident households, with individual and household income, education levels, and type and frequency of employment being of particular significance (Ward, 1976; 1978; 1982b). The present discussion is less concerned with the population characteristics underlying differential consolidation than it is with the circumstances that make self-help based consolidation happen. The emphasis is thus on some of the motivational forces which intervene between physical and human resources and the self-help actions leading to consolidation. Broadly, it is hypothesized that self-help consolidation takes place in certain residential contexts because residents need basic shelter, believe consolidation

necessary to secure tenure, or desire to enjoy the perceived benefits of owner-building. It is further hypothesized that this motivation can be diverted or destroyed, and that groups other than the self-help consolidators themselves can seek to motivate or demotivate self help to their own ends. Against this background, self-help consolidation is examined in the four study areas, and an attempt is made to link the various forms of motivation to different levels of residential consolidation.

The research findings on which this report is based are the product of a series of visits to the study areas over a period of ten months. During this time, a number of interviews were conducted in each area. The interviews were predominantly among residents, but administrators were also consulted wherever possible. The interviews themselves were generally of the open-ended kind, and samples were relatively small. Cluster sampling techniques were used (United Nations, 1960). A large (294 respondents) questionnaire survey was conducted in Mangaung (Hart and Hardie, 1982a).

3. THE "HOUSING CRISIS" AND CRISIS RESPONSES

In response to the various implications of a huge shortfall in the provision of public housing for urban Blacks

in South Africa (Dewar and Ellis, 1979; Maasdorp, 1980; Morris, 1982; Schlemmer and Moller, 1982), influential opinion leaders in the public and private sectors, and within the academic community, have spearheaded a drive toward the acceptance of housing strategies other than those controlled and executed by state agencies (Rupert, 1976; Maasdorp, 1977; Mills, 1981). Stimulated perhaps by the sense of crisis engendered as a result of the 1976 Soweto riots (Lea, 1980), the question of alternative housing for urban Blacks has been debated in the confines of government departments, and in public predominantly in the context of a welter of conferences and seminars sponsored by public bodies, private organisations and universities (Urban Foundation, 1976; Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 1977; 1820 Settlers National Monument Foundation, 1978; National Building Research Institute, 1978, 1983; National Development and Management Foundation of South Africa, 1978; Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, 1980; South African Institute of Housing Management, 1980; Conference Associates, 1982).

In the midst of the search for alternative approaches to Black housing, a growing advocacy of various forms of self-help housing has emerged, and barely a conference has passed without a contribution on the benefits to be gained from harnessing the participation of those seeking housing

(Theron, 1977; Bell, 1978; Fox, 1978). It would be misleading to suggest that self-help strategies are without critics in South Africa (Lea (1980) cites the stand taken by the Department of Community Development under Mr Fouche), but it certainly seems that a substantial body of opinion now favours at least a flexible Black housing policy (Maasdorp, 1980) which allows self-help procedures to operate side by side with other forms of housing provision. It appears that this position is taken by the private-sector-funded Urban Foundation (Dempster, 1982) and a similar platform has recently been reflected in the public posture of the state (P.W. Botha, Star 12 November, 1981; Pen Kotze, cited in Dewar, 1982).

The current enthusiasm for more flexible approaches to Black housing is in many ways an echo of the revolution in housing thinking and practice that swept through the underdeveloped world from 1960 onwards (Bamberger, 1982; Ward, 1982). Following research conducted in Latin American squatter settlements, Mangin (1967) and Turner (1963; 1968; 1972; 1976) began championing the unrecognised resourcefulness seen to characterise the urban poor. Partly as a result of this persuasive work, with its underlying promise of preservation of the existing order in the face of economic crisis, squatter upgrading and self help became actively or tacitly accepted strategies in the housing

repertoires of many Third World housing agencies and governments (Lea, 1979). Recently, the self-help euphoria has begun to dissipate somewhat, to be replaced in some circles by cautious and sometimes hard-hitting evaluation of the individual and societal gains and losses accrued in the wake of housing policies accommodating or encouraging self help (Lea, 1979; Ward, 1982a; 1982b). The thrust of this expanding critique is mixed, based as it is on a wide spectrum of conceptual standpoints and research objectives. The point is that critical appraisal has tended to lag behind precipitate enthusiasm, and caution may have come too late to prevent the establishment of monuments to ill-considered action (Skinner, 1982).

The acceptance of self-help as an element of national housing policy has come recently to South Africa. As slow starters in the international context of self-help housing, local academics, planners, and administrators have a unique opportunity to draw upon a growing and multi-faceted critical and evaluative literature (Ward, 1982b). Lea (1979) divides this body of published work into two broad categories: contributions by theoretical critics of self help (for example, Harms, 1976; Burgess, 1977; 1978) in which the ideological roots of self-help advocacy are traced; and the work of researchers who have sought to evaluate the mechanics of self help on the ground, termed by Lea the

empirical investigators (for example, Ward, 1976). Local theoretical critique has tended to place recent self-help initiatives in the explanatory framework of a Marxian class-based analysis (Wilkinson, 1981), outlining the manner in which self-help housing can be appropriated to serve the ends of the dominant classes (Dewar, 1982). Little empirical evaluation of existing self-help housing systems in South Africa has yet been reported (for one "in-house" exception see Urban Foundation, 1982a), but published material (also mainly in-house) on schemes elsewhere in Southern Africa is available (Martin, 1978; Pasteur, 1979; Van Nostrand, 1980). More recently, the National Building Research Institute called for evaluations of South African housing schemes, which were presented at a conference in May 1983. It is hoped that the present study will contribute to this embryonic body of empirical evaluation and, in a modest way, to the wider critique of self-help housing in South Africa.

4. CONSOLIDATION

The term "consolidation" refers to the incremental physical transformation of self-help settlements (Ward, 1976, pp. 102-105). In squatter settlements, consolidation may include changes in conditions of tenure, changes in levels of

service infrastructure, and the progressive upgrading of dwellings. Ward postulates three distinct consolidation phases in an attempt to describe levels of consolidation in selected squatter settlements around Mexico City. At the "incipient" level of consolidation, services have not yet been established, tenure is insecure, and construction is rudimentary. In "consolidating" settlements, services are being installed, and house construction is taking place. "Consolidated" settlements are fully serviced, active house construction has diminished, and a wide range of completed structures is present (Ward, 1967, pp.102-105).

The four residential areas discussed in this report are not squatter settlements, but are legal townships sanctioned and administered by the state agencies responsible for housing in each area. In all four areas, self-help house construction has taken place within a site-and-service framework, with basic services having been installed by state agencies or with state assistance. Consolidation in these areas, therefore, is expressed predominantly in terms of stages of house construction. Following Ward, three categories of self-help consolidation are suggested. These are a primary consolidating stage, a secondary consolidating stage, and a final consolidated stage. At the primary level of consolidation house construction is limited to basic rudimentary shelter, in the form of wood, iron, or mud

shanties. Typically, shelters erected at this consolidation level provide basic protection from the elements and a degree of protection for personal possessions. During secondary consolidation, shanties are improved and enlarged, and a second more substantial house may be built. The secondary consolidation stage may be divided into a number of sub-divisions according to the nature of the consolidation activity and the progress made on the consolidation project. Construction or upgrading may, for example, be at an early stage, requiring considerable further investment of effort and money, or it may be at a stage where minor and inexpensive finishing touches are all that is required to finalise the upgrading or building operation. The consolidated stage is reached when most building and upgrading activity ceases. The nature of the "completed house" varies from one area to the next, and within residential areas, householders are likely to have different criteria to define the structure that is accepted as being a final product. The criteria may reflect personal or group preferences, or they may be structured by contextual circumstances.

5. FACTORS PROMOTING AND RETARDING CONSOLIDATION IN
SELF-HELP CONTEXTS.

It is widely acknowledged that self-help procedures produce housing, but there are differing perspectives on the contexts and motives that underly self-help residential consolidation. Among the Turner group of self-help protagonists, the self-help principle is accepted a priori (Harms, 1982), and self-help consolidation is seen to be a function of the progressive incorporation of marginal populations into urban society and the urban economy (Turner, 1972; 1976). Turner argues that the housing priorities of the urban poor change as other socio-economic goals are met (Turner, 1972). He suggests, for example, that location relative to employment opportunities will outweigh concern for permanent housing among unemployed young migrants. With relatively secure employment, and with dependants, the housing priorities of former migrants will focus on security of tenure. Once this is established, the quality of the physical shelter will become important, thus expressing identity and social status (Turner, 1972, pp.164-169). Turner's model of housing priorities, used to explain consolidation in the squatter settlements of Lima, has roots in the pioneering research of Sewell (1964). Sewell described the consolidation sequence underlying the evolution of a squatter settlement in Ankara. In terms of this

sequence, initial basic houses were erected by squatters for the dual purposes of obtaining shelter and of securing a site. With increasing household sizes and incomes, houses would be upgraded and expanded and tenants would often be taken in. In the final stage of consolidation, newer, legally acceptable dwellings would replace the old structures and the community would be absorbed into the formal fabric of the city (Sewell, 1964; Payne, 1982).

As supporters of self help, the Turner group has devoted considerable energy to discussing the preconditions for ongoing self-help consolidation, and much attention has been focussed on the organisational and technological structures that either retard or promote progressive self-help efforts. The phrase "freedom to build" has come to encapsulate the conditions seen to promote consolidation (Fichter, Turner, and Grenell, pp.241-254), and high physical standards, bureaucratic housing agencies and standardised housing have been isolated as obstacles to be removed if dormant consolidation momentum is to be fully mobilized (Turner, 1967; 1972; 1976).

A different set of perspectives on the circumstances which produce self-help consolidation is evident among the heterogeneous group of self-help critics who question the motives of those seeking to promote self-help housing policy.

In some circles, it is held that the ideology of self-help advocacy obscures the true source of the self-help/squatter phenomenon (Burgess, 1982), the material basis of which is seen to be found in the overall conditions of capitalist development (Burgess, 1978; 1982; Roberts, 1978; Slater, 1978; Harms, 1982). In looking at the factors that motivate self-help activity, the critics tend to look beyond those who practice self help to consider the interests of those who interpret such practices and who implement self-help policy (Harms, 1982). These interests are often interpreted within the framework of conflicting societal classes and a structure of domination (Harms, 1982). In these terms, freedom to build becomes an ideological phrase disguising Hobson's choice, and self-help consolidation, among squatters at least, is seen to be a social practice adopted by a dominated group in the face of acute deprivation (Harms, 1982).

5.1 Consolidation in the study areas: A framework for analysis.

In seeking to develop a framework within which to examine self-help residential consolidation in the four study areas, an attempt is made to consider the perspectives of protagonists and critics alike. As a point of departure, following Ward, Sewell, and Turner, it is postulated that self-help consolidation within a given residential context

takes place for one or more of the following reasons:

1. Because residents need basic shelter.
2. Because residents believe consolidation to be a means of securing tenure.
3. Because residents perceive consolidation to be accompanied by benefits at personal, household, community, and broader social levels.

By extension, it is further postulated that one or more of the following situations could retard self-help consolidation:

1. If alternative basic shelter is accessible.
2. If the link between consolidation and tenure is removed or believed to have changed.
3. If the benefits perceived to flow from consolidation are removed, or if perceptions themselves change.

In broad agreement with critics such as Harms and Burgess, it is acknowledged that groups other than those who practise self help may have reasons for promoting self-help policies. These groups could stimulate self help in the following ways:

1. They can create or condone conditions under which the self-help erection of basic shelter is necessary.
2. They can support or condone the belief that consolidation will secure tenure.
3. They can create or support optimistic perceptions of the results of self-help consolidation.

Again by extension, external groups could retard self-help consolidation by:

1. Providing accessible alternative shelter.
2. Removing the actual or perceived links between consolidation and tenure.
3. Creating or supporting pessimistic perceptions of the results of self-help consolidation.

In these terms, the South African state gave impetus to self help when the massive public housing programmes of the fifties and sixties were tapered off in favour of homeland consolidation and development (Morris, 1981). The accompanying relocation policy (Mare, 1980) dramatically increased the demand for basic shelter, particularly in the underdeveloped homelands, further entrenching self-help housing, and making the ultimate official acceptance of self help almost inevitable. With self help now firmly fixed as

an element of Black housing policy, it seems likely that attention will be given to supporting self-help consolidation in other ways. These may include the accelerated provision of serviced land or the wider availability of state-sponsored loans. At the level of local government, there is evidence of uncertainty about self help, and official actions are often contradictory, stimulating or even demanding self help on the one hand and retarding it on the other. Some of these opposing external pressures will be examined in detail in the following section of this report, with attention being given first to primary consolidation and then to various levels of secondary consolidation.

6. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CONSOLIDATION IN MANGAUNG, NGANGELIZWE, INANDA NEWTOWN, AND CONSTANTIA.

6.1 Background

Self-help housing is an important element in the early residential consolidation of urban Black populations in South Africa. Prior to the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act, most urban Black housing was built by the occupants themselves (Hellman, 1949). The Act enshrined in law the segregated "location" and required local authorities to control Black influx (Morris, 1981). It also empowered and encouraged

municipalities to borrow money for the erection of public housing for Blacks under local authority jurisdiction (Hellman, 1949). In general, the Act was greeted with uncertainty. Some urban authorities took decisive action and established townships as prescribed. Most municipalities were hesitant, doing little to divert entrenched self-help practices, and allowing Blacks to erect houses on serviced sites made available for monthly lease (Hellman, 1949).

The evolution of Mangaung, the oldest of the four study areas, incorporates the time of "twilight of purpose" (Hellman, 1949, p.242) in housing before and around the introduction of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. In this fluid environment the city fathers of Bloemfontein were remarkably firm on Black housing policy, reflecting the deep-rooted Republican belief in White baasskap and the separation of the races (Van Aswegen, 1970). Before the turn of the century, Bloemfontein had introduced measures to control Black influx and to monitor the standard of self-help housing (Van Aswegen, 1970; Smit and Booyesen, 1980). While some cautious local authorities dallied in weighing the ramifications of the Urban Areas Act, Bloemfontein formally instituted an assisted site-and-service scheme known as the "Bloemfontein System" (Hellman, 1949, p.253). The Bloemfontein System perpetuated earlier policies by linking participation in the scheme to residence qualifications and minimum housing

standards (Hellman, 1949; Smit and Booysen, 1980; Morris, 1981). In recent years, despite vacillating official attitudes to self help and a shift toward the construction of public housing, the spirit and some of the practices of the Bloemfontein System have persisted (Hart and Hardie, 1982a). As a result of the long history of self help in Mangaung, most contemporary residents occupy housing built by themselves or by their forebears (Hart and Hardie, 1982a). Self help continues to operate in areas set aside for this purpose, and more generally in the context of the upgrading of existing housing (Hart and Hardie, 1982a).

Constantia, in Kroonstad, is a new heir to the site-and-service self-help legacy of the Orange Free State. Kroonstad shares with Bloemfontein the early establishment of a Black location in which owner-building on leased sites was officially sanctioned (Van Aswegen, 1970; Davenport and Hunt, 1974). As in Bloemfontein, the self-help efforts of generations of location dwellers are fixed in the physical fabric of Black residential areas in Kroonstad, and the rigours of self-help building are not unfamiliar to most contemporary residents. The new site-and-service scheme of Constantia was designed to replace Marabastad, the oldest self-help enclave in Kroonstad. In 1954 municipal authorities decided to demolish Marabastad, with its "ramshackle and poorly built" houses (Van der Merwe, 1981,

p.51), but nothing was done for almost two decades. Spurred by the encroachment of the White residential area of Westpark, the Northern Orange Free State Administration Board decided to proceed with demolition in 1972, and made serviced sites in Constantia available to former Marabastad residents (Van der Merwe, 1981). By mid-1981 nearly 2 000 sites had been allocated, with perhaps half of these being taken up by households from Marabastad (Hardie and Hart, 1981; Van der Merwe, 1981).

Like Constantia, Inanda Newtown was established as a reception area for households formerly resident in nearby areas. Some of the oldest "informal" settlements in the Durban area are located in the Inanda district (Urban Foundation, 1982a, p.4). Several villages were established on land purchased by Blacks before the introduction of the 1913 Native Land Act (Urban Foundation, 1982a). A major impetus to population growth in Inanda came in the decades following 1950, when extensive "slum clearance" programmes were instituted, first at Cato Manor (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975, p.62) and then in other shack settlements in and around Durban (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1975; Urban Foundation, 1982a).

Ironically, the availability of transport services in the newly established resettlement area of Kwa Mashu probably also contributed to the rapid population increase in neighbouring Inanda (Urban Foundation, 1982a). In 1970, a group of Inanda residents made representation to the South African and Kwa-Zulu governments, requesting the introduction of a permanent water supply to supplement the inadequate water resources of the Inanda area. In line with its official stance on squatting (Smit and Booysen, 1980, p.92), the central government did not respond, leaving Kwa-Zulu and the Durban Council to take action. A limited supply of piped water was drawn from nearby Ntuzuma, but the water situation again deteriorated during the dry period between 1978 and 1980 (Urban Foundation, 1982a). After prolonged wrangling over responsibility for the provision of water supplies, exacerbated by the outbreak of water-borne disease, the Department of Co-operation and Development was persuaded to set aside serviced sites in the Inanda Newtown area (Urban Foundation, 1982a). The Department supervised the transfer of households and their belongings, allocating sites and tents to new arrivals in Inanda Newtown (Urban Foundation, 1982a).

Recently, the Urban Foundation has become more and more involved in Inanda and more specifically in the Newtown scheme. In Inanda Newtown, the Urban Foundation has

undertaken to negotiate state subsidised loans, and currently offers a number of low-cost housing packages, to be built by site occupants or by a team of contractors assembled by the Foundation (Hart and Hardie, 1981; Morris, 1981; Urban Foundation, 1982a; 1982b).

Founded in 1950, Ngangelizwe today accommodates around two thirds of the total population of Umtata (Finlayson, 1978; Institute for Development and Management Studies, 1981; Hart and Hardie, 1982b). Since its inception, Ngangelizwe has acted as a reception area for migrants (Finlayson, 1978), and the residential population has grown steadily as a result of the continued influx. Between 1963 and 1982, the population is estimated to have grown sevenfold from 5 000 to 35 000 (Institute for Development and Management Studies, 1981; Hart and Hardie, 1982b). Physically, Ngangelizwe has grown largely as a consequence of the consolidation efforts of its residents (Finlayson, 1975; 1978). Soon after the township was established, the Umtata council built 180 houses, but pressure for housing made acceptance of site-and-service almost inevitable. Another 50 houses were built by the local authority in the early 1970's, and these were rented to council workers (Institute for Development and Management Studies, 1981). Recent surveys suggest that some 90% of all residential sites in Ngangelizwe have been developed by "private entrepreneurial activity"

(Finlayson, 1978, p.118), which includes self-build and the activities of sub-contractors and contractors.

Against this backdrop, the study areas are differentiated according to level of overall consolidation and the background of the residents (Figure 1). A high overall level of secondary residential consolidation is typical of contemporary Mangaung and Ngangelizwe, while primary consolidation, in the form of shanties, predominates in Constantia and Inanda Newtown. Thriving rental markets have emerged in the former places, absorbing tenants who might have been shack dwellers in another situation, and stimulating the self-help extension of houses and the erection of backyard rooms (Figure 1). The present residents of Mangaung and Constantia have local urban links which have crystallised over generations, while many Inanda Newtown and Ngangelizwe residents have experienced several residential environments, and often maintain strong connections with relatives and friends in former places of abode. These various residential backgrounds have a significant bearing on the exposure to specific self-help practices. Mangaung residents are well acquainted with local forms of self help, and having simply moved from another part of Kroonstad, even the newest arrivals in Constantia are steeped in the self-help conventions of the area. By extreme contrast, many of those now living in Inanda Newtown have had a bewildering

set of encounters with various forms of housing, having crossed back and forth, as tenant and sometimes as owner, between shack settlement and township in search of suitable accommodation. Many Ngangelizwe residents mix their current housing endeavours with experience gained in other towns or in the rural areas of Transkei (Figure 1).

OVERALL CONSOLIDATION	Mostly Secondary	NGANGELIZWE	MANGAUNG
	Mostly Primary	INANDA NEWTOWN	CONSTANTIA
		Mixed	Local
		RESIDENTIAL BACKGROUND	

Figure 1. Levels of consolidation and the residential background of self helpers in the four study areas.

6.2 Primary Consolidation.

Primary consolidation, in the four study areas, can be argued to be the self-help action most closely linked to a need for basic shelter. Among the residential populations studied, the basic shelter need has stemmed from conditions which have rendered existing accommodation untenable, or which have, in a much more direct way, lead to homelessness. Against the broader background of a chronically inadequate and variable supply of new public housing, these circumstances have included the pressure of natural population increase and the formation of new households, migration from underdeveloped peripheral areas and, latterly, various forms of externally orchestrated population relocation.

While the need for basic shelter is probably the imperative behind most primary consolidation in the study areas, it is likely that other consolidation motives have also played a part. There is evidence, for example, that threatened tenure has prompted primary consolidation in some of the areas studied, especially where local administrators have tied legal occupation of sites to the speedy erection of a dwelling. It is also possible that some primary consolidators, while seeking initially to establish a roof

over their heads, see other advantages in embarking on the consolidation trail. Among the areas studied, for example, it is evident that some site occupants have seen self help as an alternative residential dispensation, reasoning that the rigours of primary and secondary consolidation are a small price to pay for gaining entry to a relatively better housing system.

Both Constantia and Inanda Newtown have their origin in population relocation. In Kroonstad, the population of the condemned Marabastad area lived in uneasy anticipation of removal for almost two decades. With the establishment of Constantia the fate of Marabastad was finally sealed, and the uncertainty ended. At the outset, a number of venturesome tenants and some owners in overcrowded Marabastad took what they saw as a rare chance to gain access to new residential opportunity, and applied for sites with little hesitation. This group was joined by others, mainly tenants, fleeing similarly overstressed housing in Seeisoville and Phomolong, close to Constantia. A second group moved more reluctantly, but inevitably, as the decay of Marabastad progressed. Owners began to move as rental incomes dwindled and as the physical and social deterioration of Marabastad made living conditions unpleasant. With the demolition of vacated Marabastad houses, many of the remaining tenants were rendered homeless, and many of these had little alternative

but to move to Constantia.

Contemporary Constantia is a heterogeneous mix of shanties and high-standard brick houses, where dwellings under construction in the secondary phase of consolidation are dotted among rudimentary shelters, bare foundation slabs, and sites where abandoned trenches mark earlier attempts to initiate secondary self-help construction. In this setting, many of the opportunists may yet realise the completion of their dream house, but some have floundered along the way. The basic shelter demanded by induced homelessness appears to be the lot of many displaced tenants from Marabastad, including as this group does households that were trapped by extreme poverty in cheap rental accommodation. Retired, disabled, and unemployed former owners, deprived now of rental income, and having received meagre compensation for vacated Marabastad houses (Hardie and Hart, 1981), also seem likely to remain in the basic housing they were obliged to erect.

Driven by relocation pressures, the population of Constantia has burgeoned in the last five years, but this growth has not matched the influx of households that has characterised the settlement of Inanda Newtown. Between July and December 1980 alone, 2 700 families were trucked into Inanda Newtown from disease-plagued parts of greater Inanda

(Urban Foundation, 1982a). Tents were issued to new site occupants, but this was done on condition that a more substantial shelter would be constructed within a period of six months. In order to avoid eviction, and to escape the inadequate tents, most Newtown residents were pressed into erecting at least a wattle-and-daub or a plywood shanty. There is evidence to suggest that many who gained entry to Inanda Newtown after the major relocation drive did so by claiming to be resident in the areas being evacuated. This subterfuge was at once a response to the acute housing shortage around Durban, and to the perceived relative advantage of gaining a foothold in the Newtown scheme.

As in Constantia, primary consolidation is predominant in Inanda Newtown, with shanties currently outnumbering high-standard concrete block and brick houses three to one. Like Constantia, Inanda contains both opportunists and households who have simply become embroiled in a situation somewhat beyond their control. Again, elements of the latter group in particular have seemingly little chance of moving beyond primary shelter, despite the availability of state-sponsored housing loans. Explicitly excluded from access to such loans are the unemployed and the irregularly employed, including pensioners, the disabled, the self-employed and those who due to influx control regulations are not permitted to seek work in Metropolitan Durban (Hart

and Hardie, 1981).

The relationship between primary consolidation and the various levels of self-help motivation is somewhat obscure in Mangaung and Ngangelizwe. In the early stages of their evolution it seems likely that both places resembled Constantia, and Inanda Newtown as we see them today, with primary consolidation as the dominant level of self-help construction. Clearly, residents in both Ngangelizwe and Mangaung have, over time, been predisposed to pursue secondary consolidation, but of course secondary consolidators are not necessarily the original settlers. In both areas it is a matter for speculation as to how many primary consolidators have fallen by the wayside to be replaced by others, better motivated and able to proceed with the secondary stages of self-help building.

Preoccupation with physical consolidation in Mangaung and Ngangelizwe may direct attention away from the large tenant groups that populate both areas. Here, the private rental market is the prime source of cheap rudimentary housing, so it is usually in rented rooms that those urgently in need of basic shelter find a place to live. The tenant groups in Mangaung and Ngangelizwe are thus perhaps the equivalent of the primary consolidating residents of Inanda Newtown and Constantia.

The urgent demand for shelter among migrants and new households in Mangaung and Ngangelizwe gives impetus to self-help consolidation in two significant ways. In the first instance, a severely restricted supply of residential land and state supported housing in both areas has made the letting of rooms a potentially profitable enterprise. The financial gains to be had in the rental market have stimulated landlords to erect additional rooms on their residential sites. In Ngangelizwe, barrack-like complexes housing multiple families are the norm, and in the older parts of Mangaung few sites are without at least one tenant household living in a room that has been appended to the original dwelling (Hart and Hardie, 1982a; 1982b). Whether the building of rooms for rental purposes constitutes primary or secondary consolidation is a moot point. From the point of view of established landlords, a strong argument for secondary consolidation can be supported. But rented rooms also represent the struggle of a tenant group to secure a roof and perhaps a foothold in the urban area. For them, their crude lodgings serve the purpose of primary shelter.

In both Ngangelizwe and Mangaung, even rental accommodation is overcrowded and alternative housing is almost impossible to find. In this context, the pressures of growing households may render even the expedient of renting

untenable, forcing tenants to explore primary self-help alternatives outside Umtata and Bloemfontein. This is the second way in which the need for basic shelter and the constrained supply of housing interact to stimulate self-help consolidation in and around these areas. In Mangaung, for example, there is evidence of retired parents resorting to shack building in outlying site-and-service schemes like Onverwacht, sacrificing a familiar residential location so that their children might raise their own families more comfortably. In this way ongoing primary consolidation is exported, and Mangaung is perhaps falsely seen to be a stable and largely consolidated residential area. In similar vein, many tenants in Ngangelizwe have contributed to the construction of a second dwelling elsewhere in Transkei, this dwelling serving the purpose of an overflow and a refuge for young children and adult dependants.

6.3 Secondary Consolidation.

A strong association has been argued to exist, among the populations studied, between the need for basic shelter and the overt action leading to primary consolidation. Secondary consolidation is physically a much more complex operation, and can potentially take many forms. The diverse approaches to, and results of, secondary consolidation are probably

mediated by a host of needs, fears, desires, and aspirations salient among individuals and groups in different combinations at different times. It is beyond the scope of this discussion to explore the psychological basis of this complex set of motivational forces, but it is suggested that these may usefully be drawn together under the rubric of a propensity to proceed with secondary consolidation.

This propensity in the study areas is believed to be based on a fear of eviction and on benefits and advantages perceived to reward consolidation in the secondary phase. With this rather crude tool, it becomes possible to explore the roots of existing secondary consolidation, and by extension to speculate on the nature and ramifications of some of the external factors that either support or destroy the propensity to consolidate.

Clearly, secondary consolidation is not always driven by optimistic visions of some kind of reward. Inanda is a case in point. Some Inanda residents appear to believe that the erection of a permanent high-standard house is the only way to avoid eventual eviction. As a result of this perceived threat, the fearful site occupants are predisposed to embark on the construction of houses of the type believed to be required by the administering authorities. If these authorities desire rapid consolidation in Inanda Newtown, it

is in their interest to do nothing to allay the prevailing uncertainty.

One of the most significant factors influencing the propensity to consolidate appears to be that of exposure to self-help housing systems. The early approval of owner-building procedures in the Orange Free State towns of Kroonstad and Bloemfontein seems to form the basis of a self-help momentum that is still evident today. Whether the passage of time has persuaded the residents that self help is viable and gainful, makes them accept that they have little other choice, or witnesses the weeding out of those who cannot cope remains to be investigated. What is clear is that a fairly widespread propensity to proceed with secondary consolidation exists in both Mangaung and Constantia. In a sample survey of some 294 respondents in Mangaung, 65% expressed the opinion that ordinary people are capable of building houses. This belief underlies the popular and grossly optimistic view among Mangaung residents that most current tenants will somehow, someday, obtain a house of their own (Hart and Hardie, 1982a).

A somewhat misplaced faith in self help has had some bizarre consequences in Constantia. Here, grandiose house plans have proliferated among prospective secondary consolidators and in many cases large foundation slabs have

been cast, in the often vain conviction that the imagined house will inevitably materialise (Hardie and Hart, 1981). If this consolidation propensity is sometimes ill-directed, however, its presence is a powerful boost to secondary self help among those that have the means, a fact that has not been missed in state housing circles (Van der Merwe, 1981).

By contrast, elements of the population of Inanda Newtown do not display an equal measure of trust in the efficacy and general profitability of secondary consolidation. Some complain of the pressure to build better houses, but in general consolidation efforts are cautious, with many owner-builders prepared to accept a wattle-and-daub or a plywood shanty as a the final stage of the consolidation process. Such dwellings abound in the squatter settlements around Durban and are a part of the residential experience of many residents (Hart and Hardie, 1981). In Ngangelizwe, too, secondary consolidation is mostly modest and is undertaken in a conservative manner. The propensity to upgrade existing housing in Ngangelizwe is probably less related to some vision of the grand final house than it is to the tangible profits to be gained from improving or expanding potential rental accommodation (Hart and Hardie, 1982b).

Actual and implied housing standards in the various study areas influence and direct the propensity to act, and shape the course of secondary consolidation. In Mangaung the local Administration Board has sought to curtail the erection of outbuildings on residential sites. Against the background of the pressure of demand for accommodation, one result of this action has been an increasing overcrowding of the housing stock. In some instances, though, landlords have added rooms to existing houses, thereby expanding the space available for profitable rental, without contravening the rules of the Board. As a result of this practice, it is not unusual for houses in Mangaung to have grown steadily, one room at a time. Such houses often incorporate several separate dwelling units, each with an independent entrance. In Ngangelizwe, where controls on building density have been far less restrictive, outbuildings have multiplied rapidly. Here, many sites are crammed with buildings of varying physical quality and design. Many landlords in Ngangelizwe have come to depend on this form of consolidation, living entirely on the rent paid by tenants occupying single or multiple rooms in crowded and often poorly planned residential complexes (Hart and Hardie, 1982b).

As in Ngangelizwe, few formal building standards have been enforced in Constantia and Inanda Newtown, but implied standards, based on inadequate and disjointed information and

fuelled by rumour, have strongly influenced patterns of ongoing secondary consolidation. In Inanda, the popular belief that durable permanent shelter is a means of securing tenure has helped to establish the contractor-built Urban Foundation house as the local standard. In the course of two years, almost a quarter of Newtown households have left the familiar and "possible" world of the shanties, and with the aid of loans and skilled builders have entered formerly feared realms of secondary consolidation. The majority of Inanda Newtown residents remain to negotiate the hurdle, but the pioneers have shown the standard to be attainable, placing renewed pressure on those who are unsure of their stake in the Newtown scheme, and enticing those who are wavering on the brink of pursuing a secondary consolidation strategy that is both attractive and daunting.

In contrast to their more cautious Inanda Newtown counterparts, many Constantia residents have demonstrated a strong, if sometimes misguided predisposition to proceed with secondary consolidation. Wood and iron shanties remain the essence of Constantia, but where secondary consolidation has been initiated, the physical results, be they in the form of foundation slabs or completed houses, are usually characterised by good workmanship and the use of commercially available materials. This potentially self-defeating striving for the "best" in materials and building skills

appears to be reinforced by a popular image of the officially acceptable house. It is widely rumoured that parts of the first houses to be built in Constantia were condemned on the grounds of inferior quality. In fact, walls were demolished where these had crossed building lines, but a failure to communicate this reason appears to have sparked the fear of official action in response to inadequate standards, and has entrenched the expensive use of hired building contractors and costly materials. Completed houses in Constantia are at once concrete testimony to what can be achieved when resources match the propensity to consolidate, and a formidable and dangerous challenge to potential self-help consolidators in the area.

Among those seeking to stimulate secondary consolidation housing loans are frequently vehemently promoted, with access to a loan often seen as one of the benefits that can mobilize a propensity to consolidate. Attitudes to building loans vary significantly from one study population to the next. Survey respondents in Mangaung, where little housing finance has been available in recent years, are almost unanimous in agreeing that loans are desirable and that access to loan finance would greatly stimulate secondary consolidation in the form of both owner-building and upgrading activities (Hart and Hardie, 1982a). Ironically, where loans are a practical reality, as in Inanda Newtown and Constantia,

prospective consolidators have tended to be slow in making use of the facility. In both places, some residents appear to have misgivings about long-term loans, often construing the interest charged to be exploitative. In Inanda Newtown reservations about loans are sometimes used to rationalise a reluctance to move into the next phase of self-help consolidation. Tardiness in taking available loans is particularly prevalent in Constantia, where the commitment to expensive high standard building is strong. Here it seems that a lack of communication and trust between residents and the Administration Board has limited the rate at which loans are negotiated. Mistrust of the authorities administering the loans is reinforced to a degree by the availability of interest-free loans backed by employers. These are by no means common, but they sharpen the widespread belief that interest rates on state subsidised loans are extortionate. Other institutions benefit from the loan impasse, and offer various alternatives to potential secondary consolidators. A local "insurance" company, for example, undertakes to negotiate favourable loan conditions following the purchase of what appears to be an endowment policy. Building materials merchants in Kroonstad offer short-term credit to secondary consolidators, often at undisclosed rates of interest.

As resource allocators and day-to-day managers, Administration Boards have a pervasive influence on the mood that prevails within self-help housing schemes, serving by their actions or inaction to bolster or erode communal and individual propensity to consolidate. In Mangaung, for example, qualified but generally positive attitudes to place of residence are tempered by uncertainty about the future of the area, and hence about the wisdom of initiating any further secondary consolidation (Hart and Hardie, 1982a). This unease is aggravated by threats of relocation and by promises of state sponsored upgrading that have yet to be honoured. In Constantia, Ngangelizwe, and Inanda, official neglect is often criticised, most commonly in the context of services. The administrative complexity of Inanda Newtown is such that some residents seem unable to accurately describe the roles of the various actors involved. A group of Inanda residents thus express a sense of impotence when faced with recurring problems such as garbage disposal and overflowing toilets.

A major disincentive to potential secondary consolidators in Inanda Newtown is the restrictive control of work permits by the Port Natal Administration Board (Urban Foundation, 1982a). Backed by the machinery of influx control, the Board has refused to allow many Newtown residents to work in Durban. This restriction appears to affect particularly the

young work-seekers, even in cases where parents are qualified to work in the Durban area. Inanda Newtown is barely half a decade old, but in the face of growing unemployment among their children, parents may adopt a pessimistic view of the future of Inanda, to the detriment of the propensity to undertake secondary consolidation.

7. CONCLUSION.

Self help is a process which may be adopted, in whole or in part, by those to be housed. It may also be promoted or retarded, actively or by default, by actors outside the immediate arena of self-help house building. Self help may be a strategy to deal with acute deprivation, or a perceived route to a better deal among those practising it, and a favoured objective, a bland reality, or a practice to be discouraged among those who interpret, guide and implement housing policy. As a sense of housing crisis building in South Africa, self-help housing strategies, particularly for Blacks, seem certain to attract increasing scholarly, professional, and official support. If consolidation is to be the yardstick for the success of self help, then it is clear from this report that self help can be made to succeed. This can be done by limiting the supply of alternative low-cost housing; by enforcing policies of residential

relocation; by placing pressure on site occupants to consolidate for fear of being evicted; or by demonstrating that self help is an attractive and viable alternative to existing forms of housing. Which of these measures ensuring consolidation can or should be upheld, and on what grounds, are issues that remain to be urgently debated.

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