

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

TAKARO: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL  
CHARACTERISTICS OF A STATE HOUSING SUBURB

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts in Geography  
at Massey University

By

ROYCE AVERN HUNT  
Massey University

1970

PREFACE

State housing areas are an accepted and typical part of the New Zealand urban landscape. However, little research has been carried out on this topic and existing findings in the disciplines of geography, sociology, education and architecture are largely unrelated. The need for further and more intensive investigation has been stressed by Pool in his study of the areal groupings of the social characteristics of inhabitants of the Auckland urban area. Pool defined State housing areas as one of his ten 'social regions' and concluded that "State suburbs are unique and their character and problems require separate research".<sup>1</sup> This thesis aims to investigate the physical characteristics of a State housing suburb and the demographic and social characteristics of its residents. The hypothesis will be explored that within a suburb planned by the State, different policies on housing administration have led to different demographic patterns.

The name 'Takaro' is applied loosely and inconsistently by residents in Palmerston North to a wide area to the west of the city. For the purposes of this thesis Takaro is defined as the part on the outskirts of the city that was planned as an entity by the Housing Division of the Ministry of Works, also including Monrad Street as a boundary (Figure 3). Takaro covers an area of 287 acres and contained in August 1969 an estimated 3,368 people. It is a relatively new housing suburb, for the main period of building construction was between 1959 and 1966. The majority of houses are State-built (52 per cent) or State-financed group houses (22 per cent). The remaining private houses include a number built for the Department of Maori Affairs.

This study consists of a survey and an analysis of findings and their implications. The basic research tool was an interview survey carried out in order to gain information related to the aims of the thesis. The nature of the survey and the methods used are detailed in Appendix A. The work is

in three parts. The first establishes the legislative setting, in which the introduction of State housing in New Zealand, its growth and development are outlined. The second consists of the study of Takaro, its physical growth and structure, and of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the residents and their patterns of community interaction. In the third part the implications of State policies are discussed upon the basis of research findings and suggestions are made for future policies.

The author is grateful for the supervision and encouragement of Professor K.W. Thomson and Mr B.G.R. Saunders of the Geography Department, Massey University. Appreciation is also extended to the members of the Housing Division of the Ministry of Works, Palmerston North, for their very willing assistance; to the Town Planning Department of the Palmerston North City Council for their co-operation and providing the base map for Figure 3; to Mr B.J. Allen for his constructive criticism; to Miss E. Scott of the Central Photographic Unit, Massey University, for reproduction of photographs, maps and graphs and to Mrs J.C. Herbert for typing the final manuscript. Thanks are also due to the many others who have assisted in a variety of ways, including the people of Takaro for their interest and co-operation in the interview survey.

References:

1. Pool, 1959(a), 115.
2. Estimate based on interview survey, see reference 2, Chapter III.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	ii
 <u>PART I.</u>	
CHAPTER I. THE INTRODUCTION, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF STATE HOUSING IN NEW ZEALAND	1
Early attempts at Government Participation in Housing	1
The Introduction of the 1936 State Housing Scheme	2
The Growth of State Housing, 1937-1945	4
Post-War Developments	5
State Housing in Palmerston North	10
 <u>PART II.</u>	
CHAPTER II. TAKARO SUBURB: GROWTH AND PHYSICAL COMPOSITION	14
The Growth of Takaro	14
Physical Composition	16
CHAPTER III. TAKARO SUBURB: DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE AND PATTERNS	29
Population Growth	30
Age-Sex Structure	31
Ethnic Composition	33
Population Movements	36
Household Composition	42
Summary of the Demographic Structure and Patterns of Takaro	45
CHAPTER IV. TAKARO SUBURB: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND PATTERNS OF COMMUNITY INTERACTION	47
A. Socio Economic Characteristics	47
Employment	48
Income	53
Possessions	54
Education	55
Socio-Economic Characteristics of Takaro Suburb	55
B. Patterns of Community Interaction	56
Use of Local Amenities and Facilities	57
Participation in Community Activities	59
Takaro: A Residential Suburb or a Community?	62
 <u>PART III.</u>	
CHAPTER V. THE CHARACTERISTICS, PROBLEMS AND IMPLICATIONS OF A STATE HOUSING SUBURB.	65
The Relationship of Takaro to other State housing areas in New Zealand.	65
Comparison of Occupants in State Housing and Private Housing	69
Is Takaro a Problem Suburb?	72
State Housing: Aspects and Implications of Future Policies.	76
 APPENDIX A.	 81
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 90

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Following</u> <u>Page</u>
Figure 1. Construction of State Rental Units in New Zealand, 1938-1969	5
Figure 2. Construction of State Rental Units in Palmerston North, 1950-1969.	10
Figure 3. State Housing Areas in Palmerston North.	10
Figure 4. Takaro: Building Construction	15
Figure 5. Takaro: Ministry of Works Building Contracts, 1957-1966.	15
Figure 6. Takaro: Land Use and Planning Zones, 1969.	19
Figure 7. The Highbury Shopping Centre.	20
Figure 8. Tui Place.	20
Figure 9. Takaro: Housing Administration, 1969.	21
Figure 10. Takaro: State Housing Types, 1969.	22
Figure 11. Star Flat, Botanical Road.	23
Figure 12. Two-Storey Four-Unit Flat, Hull Place.	23
Figure 13. Two-Storey Multi-Unit, Croydon Avenue.	23
Figure 14. Two-Storey Double-Unit, Botanical Road.	23
Figure 15. One-Storey Double-Unit, Ellesmere Crescent.	23
Figure 16. One-Storey Multi-Unit, Highbury Avenue.	23
Figure 17. Detached State House, Coventry Street.	23
Figure 18. Group House Under Construction, Stephens Crescent.	23
Figure 19. Age-Sex Structures of Takaro and Palmerston North Urban Area.	32
Figure 20. Distribution of Maori Population in Palmerston North by Census Tracts, 1966.	33
Figure 21. Place of Birth of Takaro Residents, 1969	36
Figure 22. Last Place of Residence of Households in Takaro, 1969.	37
Figure 23. Location of Employment of Takaro Sample Population, 1969.	52
Figure 24. Comparison of Age-Structure of Residents in State Houses and Private Houses, Takaro, 1969.	69

LIST OF TABLES

		<u>Page</u>
Table I	Proportion of Multi-Units in State Rental Housing Programme, 1958-1969.	8
II	Construction of Dwelling Units in Takaro, 1951-1966.	16
III	Land Use in Takaro.	21
IV	Housing Administration in Takaro, (Dwelling Units)	22
V	State Housing Types in Takaro.	22
VI	Population Growth in Takaro by Census Years.	30
VII	Ethnic Composition of Takaro Sample Population.	33
VIII	Proportion of Maoris in Takaro and Palmerston North Urban Area.	34
VIIIa	Percentage Increase of Maori Population in Four Sectors of Palmerston North.	35
IX	Origin of Residents in Takaro Sample Population.	37
X	Number of Moves Made by Sample Households.	38
XI	Length of Residence of Sample Households in Takaro.	39
XII	Expectation of Leaving Takaro Suburb.	40
XIII	Marital Status of Head of Household, Takaro Sample.	43
XIV	Marital Status of Persons Aged between 20 and 59, Takaro and Palmerston North Urban Area.	43
XV	Employment Status of Employed Males in Takaro Sample.	48
XVI	Occupation Divisions of Employed Persons in Takaro and Palmerston North Urban Area.	50
XVII	Industrial Divisions of Employed Persons in Takaro and Palmerston North Urban Area.	51
XVIII	Location of Employment.	52
XIX	Method of Travel to Work.	53
XX	Possession of Material Goods.	55
XXI	Participation in Activities in Takaro and Palmerston North.	60
XXII	Occupation of Heads of Households in State and Private Housing.	71
XXIII	Residents' Attitudes Towards Takaro Suburb.	72

## PART I.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE INTRODUCTION, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF STATE HOUSING IN NEW ZEALAND.

The participation of the State in the field of housing either by indirect financial encouragement, or directly by the building of dwellings, is not a recent innovation in New Zealand. In recognition of the philosophy of the value of a high standard of housing to the welfare of the nation, and the value of public assistance to those people less able to help themselves, successive Governments have incorporated the provision of housing into their policies.

This chapter will trace the progress of State housing in New Zealand, from the early unsuccessful attempts to introduce it, to the establishment of an ambitious scheme in 1936, the resulting growth and trends that have since developed. Finally, consideration will be given to the growth and distribution of State housing in Palmerston North.

#### 1. Early attempts at Government Participation in Housing.

The Government first became involved in the housing of the people in 1894 when the Advances to Settlers Act was passed. This Act allowed people to borrow from the State at favourable rates to build homes. The erection of houses by the State was first introduced by the Workers' Dwelling Act, 1905 which provided for the setting apart of land and the building of dwellings for "workers" (landless persons earning less than £156 per annua). Occupants could pay a weekly rent or take out a lease for fifty years with the right of renewal and right of purchase. The scheme was not as successful



as was anticipated and during its fourteen years of operation only 657 houses were built.

The second state housing construction scheme was begun in 1919 by which time an acute shortage of houses was apparent. The return of soldiers from the first World War, a rise in costs of materials and a scarcity of labour created a situation which required government assistance.

The Housing Act, 1919 incorporated and superceded the earlier Workers' Dwellings Act and empowered the state to build a better class of home to be made available to those earning up to £300 per annum with an additional allowance for dependants. The house could be rented or leased or bought by paying off instalments. The scheme started slowly and conditions proved to be too formidable for any successful advance in state housing. The prevailing shortage of money and need for financial stringency meant that the number of houses built fell well below that needed. The scheme operated for only three years during which time some 800 houses were built.

During the depression years house construction was severely reduced, thus intensifying the housing shortage. As New Zealand emerged from the depression the need for a housing scheme was again emphasised.<sup>1</sup> In 1935 the Housing Survey Act was passed. This legislation authorized a national survey to be carried out to gain information about the type, construction and condition of dwellings and their facilities, and the degree of overcrowding.

## 2. The Introduction of the 1936 State Housing Scheme.

In 1936 a Labour Government committed to a programme of social reform was elected. The provision of housing was a party platform, "The problem had assumed such pressing importance that the method of relying on private enterprise was considered inadequate to meet the situation and it became

necessary for Government to act promptly".<sup>2</sup> The first move was an attempt to stimulate building activity through the State Advances Corporation. This was followed by an investigation of overseas housing legislation and housing schemes, and of the previous housing schemes in New Zealand and existing legislation. The investigation indicated that some effort in addition to that of the State Advances Corporation was needed, and that a more intensive and direct programme than those of 1905 and 1919 was required. Research was made into the types of houses that should be built, the number of houses required, and the available labour and materials. The result of Government policy and ensuing investigations was the Statutes Amendment Act, 1936 which revived the Housing Act of 1919 and the State Advances Corporation Act, 1936 and established the administrative machinery to allow the Government to embark on large-scale housing projects. In 1936 the Department of Housing Construction was formed as a branch of the State Advances Corporation. In the same year, the Minister of Finance, the Hon. W. Nash announced that the Government intended to make available £5,000,000 of new money to the newly created Department to finance comprehensive housing proposals. One of the first duties undertaken by the new Department of Housing Construction was the implementation of the Housing Survey Act. The survey revealed that 27,214 dwellings in which 68,405 people were resident were providing accommodation below the minimum standard. Meanwhile preliminary investigations were made by the Department into the extent of available Crown Land, and the nature and quantity of building materials available.

Before embarking upon the design and construction of houses the Government established several aims and principles basic to the scheme. These may be summarised as follows:-<sup>3</sup>

1. Houses were to be of high quality construction, at least up to the standard of, and preferably better than, the houses inhabited by ordinary citizens.
2. House designs were to be considered individually. Each house erected in any one street was to have a different elevation, and every attempt was to be made to avoid the label of 'Government mass-produced houses'.  
Although houses were not standardised, the Department made full use of standardised plans. Basic plan types were given varied external appearance by changing positions of porches and windows, and altering external wall sheathing materials, and roofing pitches. The practice of standardisation of construction methods and house parts was developed.
3. Houses were as far as possible to be built of materials produced or manufactured in New Zealand. The housing scheme was viewed as a means of utilising the country's material and labour resources. Therefore the use of tile roofs, concrete foundations and brick veneer external walls was encouraged.
4. It was decided that the houses would be for rental purposes and not intended for sale, because "investigations have shown that the housing shortage is being experienced most acutely by those who for various reasons are unable or unwilling to finance the purchase of a property".<sup>4</sup>

### 3. The Growth of State Housing 1937 - 1945.

In a notably short time after its inception, the Department of Housing Construction was actively engaged in buying extensive areas of serviced land and had let large contracts for house construction. The first tender accepted in March, 1937 for 52 houses at Miramar was followed by tenders at Lower Hutt, Wellington and Orakei. In the following four years, compared to the

achievements of earlier schemes, a spectacular number of houses was built. In the year ended 31 March 1941 a peak number of houses was completed, and a cumulative total of 10,337 State Rental Units had been built (Figure 1.). However from the very beginning the scheme was beset by the same problems that had ended earlier schemes, namely shortages of skilled labour and materials. These shortages were aggravated by the effects of World War II. The emphasis upon the war effort gave rise to further labour shortages, to delays and shortages in the supply of materials, and the withdrawal of plant and machinery from housing projects to those more directly involved in defence. House building was therefore severely restricted and fell to its lowest point in the year ended 31 March 1944 when only 856 State rental units were completed. However during the war the Department continued to buy land and plan housing areas to be developed when the war ended. In 1943 the Housing Construction Department was merged into the Ministry of Works as the Housing Division.

#### 4. Post-War Developments.

As soon as the war ended housing returned to the forefront of the Government's activities and the Housing Division was able to embark on the housing projects it had prepared during the war. In the year ended 31 March 1946, 2,856 State Rental units were completed, an increase of over 49 per cent over the previous year's total. With the return of servicemen there was a heavy demand for State rental housing, a demand which was accentuated by the shortage of available houses, and the rentals which compared favourably with private offerings. The supply of houses fell considerably short of the demand however because of problems of shortages of essential materials

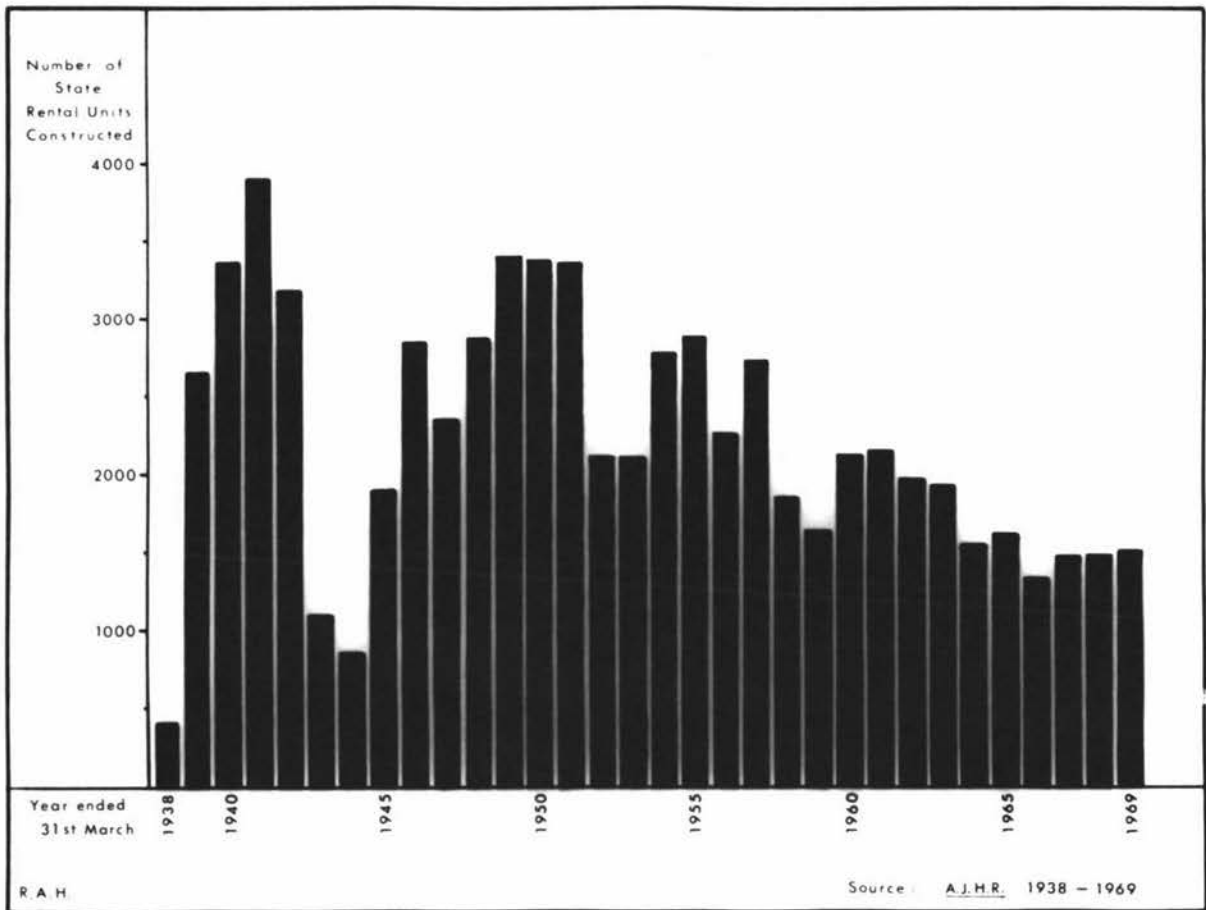


Figure 1. CONSTRUCTION OF STATE RENTAL UNITS IN  
NEW ZEALAND, 1938-1969.

and fittings. A shortage of serviced sections also became apparent and began to force the Division into developing and servicing larger blocks of land. During this period more attention was given to the principles of town planning. With the conception of larger areas of State housing (for example Tamaki, Mt Roskill, Porirua) it was acknowledged that more than just building houses was required. More shop sites were introduced into subdivisions to ensure that tenants in new State housing areas were provided with adequate shopping facilities.

Since its inception, the State housing programme has shown itself to be sensitive to the influence of politics, and its growth and trends reflect changes in party policies. Since the Second World War two developments, both reflecting political interests, have influenced the State housing scheme. The first development came with the change to a National Government in 1949 when the role of Government in housing was reconsidered. In 1950 Prime Minister Holland acknowledged "a serious housing shortage affecting the community well-being"<sup>5</sup> and presented a revised series of aims in Government housing policy. These were:-

1. "To encourage conditions that will enable people to provide houses for themselves". Private effort was to be encouraged by State preparation and selling of building sites, by relaxing controls, providing safeguards for home investment and tax concessions.
2. "To assist groups with special housing problems" such as people in lower income groups, returned servicemen, Maori people, State employees.
3. To encourage private home ownership State house tenants were given an opportunity to purchase at attractive terms of sale the houses they occupied.

In furthering the Government's policy of encouraging private effort

in housing, the Group Building Scheme was introduced in 1953. The scheme aimed to assist in overcoming the prevailing housing shortage, to streamline the building of private houses at moderate cost for the average wage earner, and to guarantee builders continuity of work. It provided for the construction of houses in groups of at least four by builders approved by the State Advances Corporation. The price of the house and section was of a certain fixed maximum and the plans, specifications and standard of construction were to meet with the requirements of the State Advances Corporation in order that they would be suitable for lending purposes. Sections were made available by the Crown and were to be either leasehold, or could be bought on a deferred payment basis. If the builder was unable to find a purchaser when the house was completed, the State Advances Corporation undertook to buy the house at a price agreed upon before building commenced. The scheme was immediately successful, with strong public demand for such houses, particularly from home-seekers in the lower and middle income groups. Many State house sections were released for Group building to satisfy the demand. A later trend in the scheme was its operation by insurance companies which financed land development and became lessors of sections.

The year 1955 saw the beginnings of a second emphasis in State housing policy that was to have marked implications upon the future of State housing. In the mid-1950's several factors forced the Housing Division into considering an increase in the proportion of multiple unit dwellings. These included a shortage of developed sections, the need to make the most use of available land and the aim of reducing urban sprawl. In 1957 R.B. Hammond, Director of Housing Construction stated, "There are signs that material inroads have been made into the post-war demands for detached housing and the time is

approaching when State activity in this field could be diminished progressively. This is opportune, as there has now arisen a need for more positive progress in the field of multiple housing in an entirely new setting of open spaces. There can be no doubt of the need for multiple flats in most urban areas."<sup>6</sup>

In 1957 a Labour Government was elected, and in the following years the policy of multiple housing was stepped up. During the year ended 31 March 1958 the proportion of multi-units in the State rental programme was 21 per cent.<sup>7</sup> It was decided during the year to increase the proportion to 33½ per cent and later in the same year to 50 per cent. From 1960 to 1963 the proportion of multi-units in the State programme was maintained at over 50 per cent (Table I). Although the incorporation of multi-units has continued to the present day, the policy has received declining emphasis since 1964.

TABLE I Proportion of Multi-Units in State Rental Housing Programme  
1958 - 1969.

Year ended	No. Multi-Units Constructed	No. Single Units Constructed	Total Units	Percentage of Multi-Units in Programme
31.3.1958	394	1,459	1,853	21
1959	488	1,159	1,647	30
1960	1,136	992	2,128	53
1961	1,192	956	2,148	55
1962	1,099	827	1,926	57
1963	1,009	811	1,814	56
1964	643	785	1,428	45
1965	690	930	1,620	43
1966	498	829	1,327	38
1967	623	843	1,466	42
1968	479	1,009	1,488	32
1969	421	1,113	1,534	27

Source: A.J.H.R., 1958-1969.



Higher density housing has not escaped criticism, for as early as 1960 multi-units were criticised for their appearance and quality of construction. An important factor influencing this housing form is that because of difficulties in subdividing associated sections, units in multi-unit dwellings are for rental purposes only and cannot be privately owned. With the planning of relatively large areas of higher density housing came the recognition of the added responsibility of planning an environment and facilities to best serve the residents. Care was exercised to ensure that multi-units were located in close relation to amenities such as shopping and transport facilities and attention was given to their setting in the surrounding landscape. Within state subdivisions sites were accordingly zoned for schools, kindergartens, the National Council of Churches and other organizations concerned with providing community services. Increased attention was given to pedestrian safety and a new concept of the 'pedestrian street' was first introduced in the plan for Waite in 1959.

Since 1961 a falling demand for State rental units has become evident, reflecting rising living standards and the influence of schemes encouraging private home ownership including the State Advances rebated three per cent interest rate lending scheme and the Capitalisation of Family benefits. There has been a corresponding steady decline in the number of State houses built each year (Figure 1). In 1962 the Housing Division was called upon to assist the Department of Maori Affairs in its programme of building houses for sale to Maoris. All such houses were to be single houses "sited in relation to other housing in such a way as to implement as far as possible the policy of integration of Maori families into the community as a whole".<sup>8</sup> Since then houses allocated for Maori families have become a regular feature in State housing schemes.

Thus, State housing as it exists today is the result of a complex of past events and decisions. Born in conditions of depression and established during a post-war housing demand, the scheme today has to some extent outgrown its original purpose and faces a steadily declining number of applications for State houses,<sup>9</sup> and a corresponding decline in yearly building. Although authorities concerned with the construction and administration of State housing maintain that state houses will continue to be built as long as there is a need for them, some reconsideration of the form of present provisions is inevitable.

#### 5. State Housing in Palmerston North.

(Palmerston North has closely reflected national developments in State housing policy.) Houses were first built in the city under the early unsuccessful Government housing schemes including seventeen under the 1905 Workers' Dwellings Act, and four under the 1919 Housing Act. Following the introduction of the 1936 scheme the growth of State housing in Palmerston North (Figure 2) has followed the national trends shown in Figure 1.<sup>10</sup> (The distribution of State housing is concentrated in several blocks as a result of the nature of Government land holdings (Figure 3).)

Four growth phases can be distinguished. The first, the Savage Crescent block, represents one of the early large State housing projects in New Zealand. Developed between 1937 and 1941, it contains approximately 200 house sections and is a notable example of comprehensive site planning with its symmetrical street patterns and provision for shops and a central reserve. During the war several small scattered blocks of State houses were built and work was begun on the Ross block, but the second phase of State house

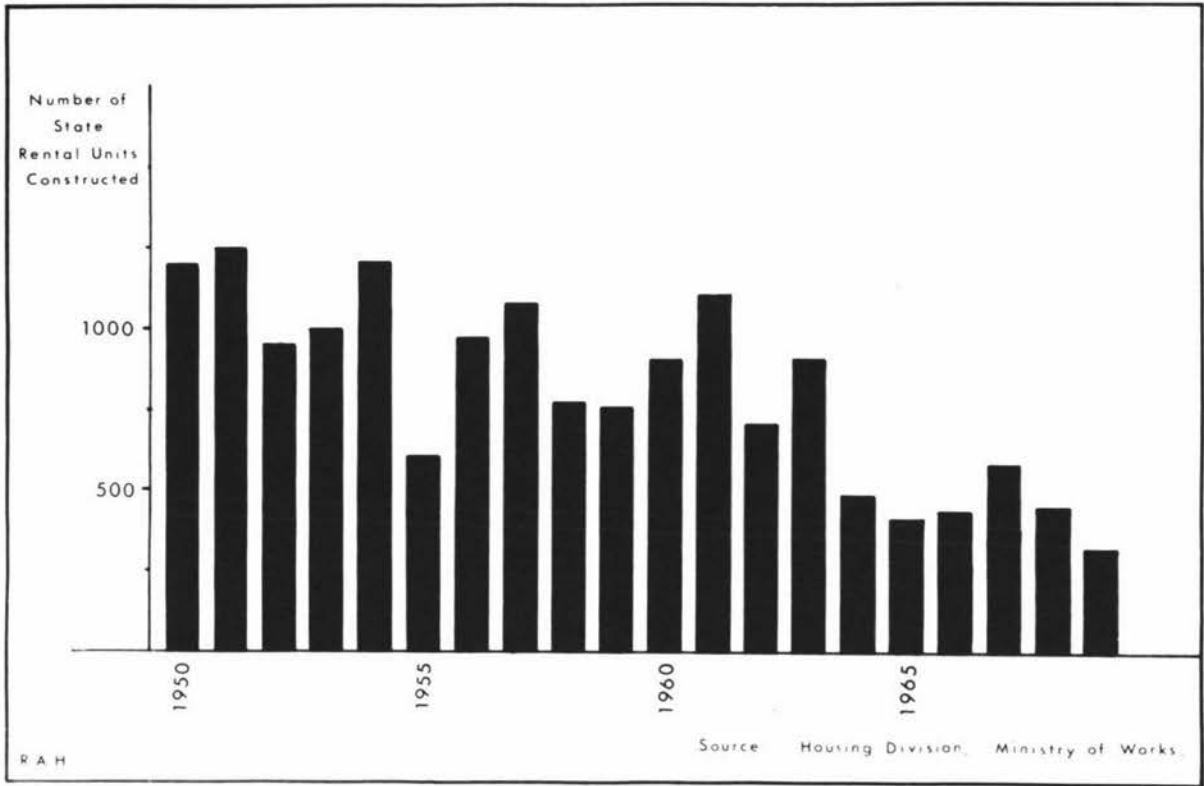


Figure 2. CONSTRUCTION OF STATE RENTAL UNITS IN  
HAMILTON NORTH, 1950-1969.

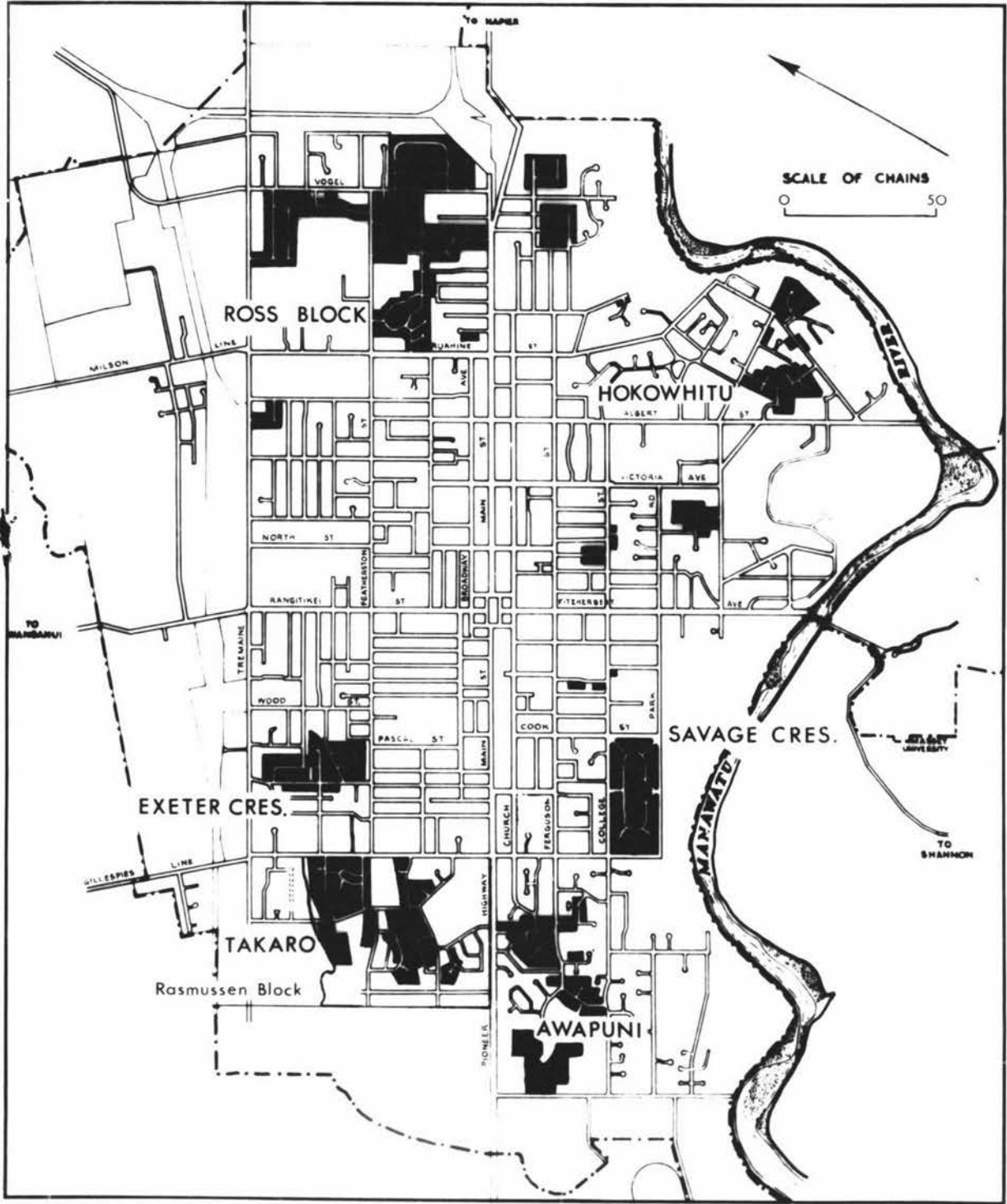


Figure 3. LATE HOUSING AREA IN PALMERSTON NORTH.

construction did not begin until after the war.

In 1945 a large-scale programme was begun to the north-west of the Ross block and continued until 1953. This district is the largest State housing area in Palmerston North and contains some 740 houses. It comprises almost pure State housing, apart from a few sections transferred to other Government departments, and is characterised by a distinctive street pattern emphasising curves, crescents and culs-de-sac. The area is notable for the planning of elongated reserves along the back of house sections. Access to these reserves is provided by footpaths at regular intervals.

During the third phase of State house construction, in the 1950's, the attention of the Housing Division was turned to the Exeter Crescent, Hokowhitu and Awapuni blocks. In this period the Group Building Scheme was introduced and substantial parts of the latter two blocks were subdivided for group houses. Towards the end of the decade the first multi-unit dwellings were erected (for example in Exeter Crescent and Duxton Place, Hokowhitu).

(The development of Takaro block began in 1957, concurrent with the policy of increasing multi-unit housing in order to conserve and make the most economical use of available land, and to lessen urban sprawl. Takaro represents an extreme result of this policy for 62 per cent of the State rental units in the area are other than detached houses. The main period of construction in Takaro, from 1959 to 1965 comprises the fourth phase of State housing construction in Palmerston North.) Building activity in Takaro dominated to the virtual exclusion of other parts of Palmerston North. During the 1960's the number of State houses built each year has reflected the national pattern of a gradual decline (Figure 2). Present building construction continues in the Awapuni area and preliminary subdivision has

begun in the Rasmussen block. The future of State housing in Palmerston North is uncertain, however, for in six to eight years it is estimated that all available Crown land will have been developed.<sup>11</sup>

References:

1. Coates, 5.
2. A.J.H.R., 1937, B-6, 4.
3. The aims and principles have been abstracted from the following Government publications:  
A.J.H.R., 1936, B-13A, 27.  
Annual Report, Director of Housing Construction, 1943.  
Firth, 1949, 6, 39.
4. A.J.H.R., 1937, B-6, 4.
5. Holland, 3, 6-20
6. A.J.H.R., 1957, B-4, 15.
7. The term multi-unit includes any dwelling other than a single detached house, containing two or more dwelling units within the same building. The most common designs are single-storey double-units, single-storey four-unit flats, two-storey double-units, two-storey four-unit flats and three-storey twelve-unit ('star') flats.
8. A.J.H.R., 1962, H-38, 15.
9. A.J.H.R., 1969, H-38, 3.
10. Year by year building in Palmerston North does not follow any prepared pattern but instead reflects current allocation of Government priorities and finance according to the demand of applications for houses.
11. Mercer, 51.

## PART II

### CHAPTER II

#### TAKARO SUBURB: GROWTH AND PHYSICAL COMPOSITION

The site upon which Takaro suburb has been built was chosen for development by the Ministry of Works Housing Division for two main reasons.<sup>1</sup> First, at the time the land was obtained it was the largest vacant area available in close proximity to the built-up area of Palmerston North. This choice was in keeping with the preference of the Housing Division to obtain larger blocks of land in order to allow continuity of development over a period of years. The land comprised 287 acres in several adjacent blocks which were purchased from several owners. Secondly, the Crown was the only interest which had the necessary capital and skills to overcome the considerable drainage problems which had previously restricted building in this particular area. The land posed substantial development problems for it was flat, poorly-drained and prone to flooding by the Mangaone Stream and the Kawai Drain. Early development was carried out in close coordination with the Manawatu Catchment Board in relation to the larger Manawatu River Drainage Scheme. This resulted in the deepening of the Mangaone Stream, and the construction of stopbanks in order to remove the risk of flooding. It was then possible to service and build on a large scale upon the site.

#### 1. The Growth of Takaro.

Prior to the development of Takaro suburb by the Government in 1957 some private housing existed in the form of farm houses and ribbon development



along Botanical Road and Monrad Street (Figure 4). The largest existing development was on an industrial section of eleven acres owned by Glaxo Laboratories (N.Z.) Ltd. The construction of office, laboratory and factory buildings on this property had begun in 1950.

State construction began when the first contract was let on 3 May, 1957. The letting of State contracts is shown in Figure 5. Development started slowly with some building of State houses in Dominion Road. Main construction began in 1959 with a large-scale programme of higher density housing in the northern sector of the suburb bounded by Botanical Road, Brentwood Avenue and Highbury Avenue. This area was developed as pure State housing, apart from two houses built later and transferred to the Department of Maori Affairs. In 1962 the attention of the Housing Division was turned to the area south and west of the Kawau Drain. Instead of letting contracts solely for State rental units a change in policy encouraging private building resulted in 65 sections being made available for the Group building scheme. Further sections were allocated for private sale including some which were transferred to the Department of Maori Affairs for sale to Maori people. This diversification of housing types within a State subdivision continued in the development of the last quadrant bounded by Highbury Avenue and north-west of the Kawau Drain. Building began here in 1964 with half the sections being allocated to group housing, private housing, and the Department of Maori Affairs, and the other half to State rental units. By 1966 the letting of State contracts was almost completed.

The final phase of the development of Takaro, from 1966 to 1969, has comprised some infilling of vacant sections allocated for group housing and private sale, and the continued subdivision of large privately-owned sections in Monrad Street by the designing of short *cuis-de-sac* (for

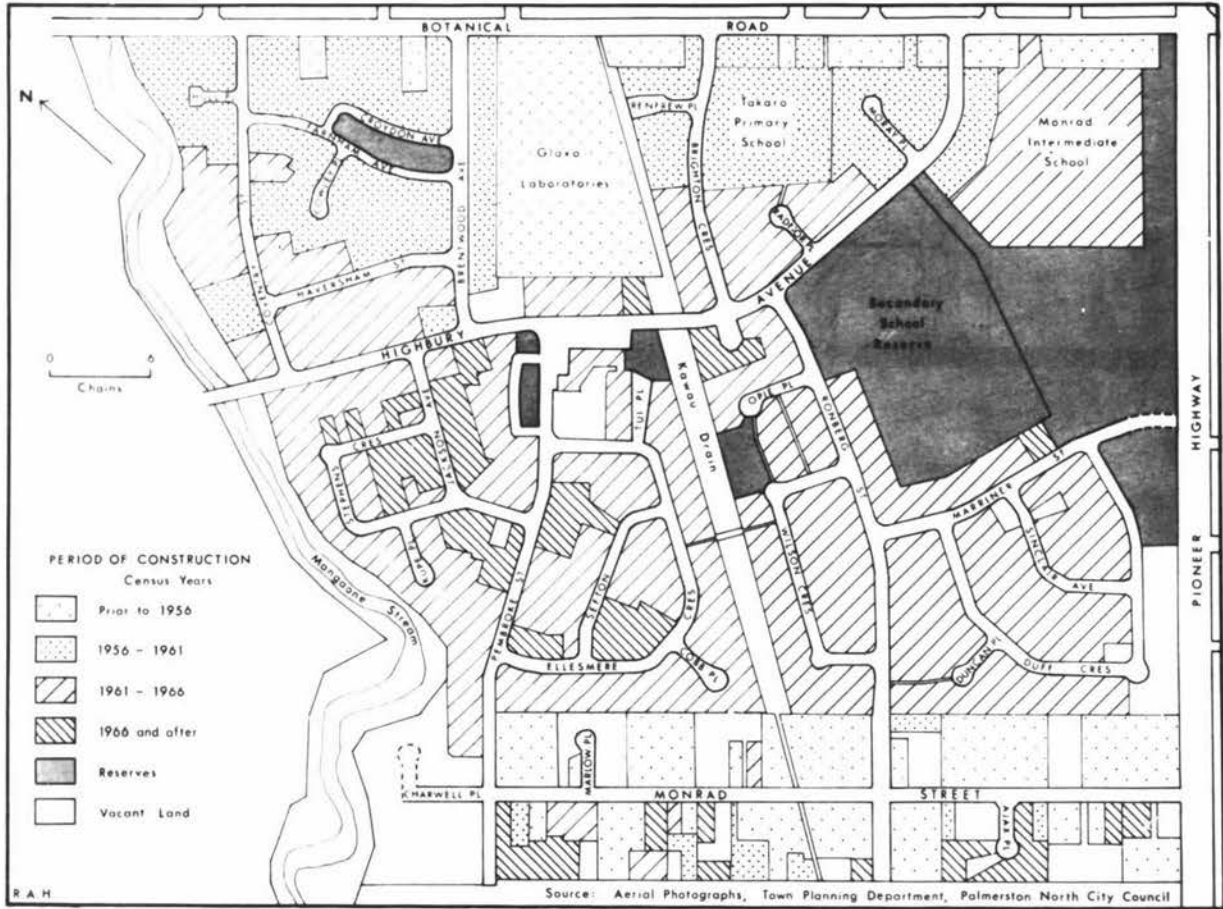


Figure 4. TAKARO: BUILDING CONSTRUCTION.

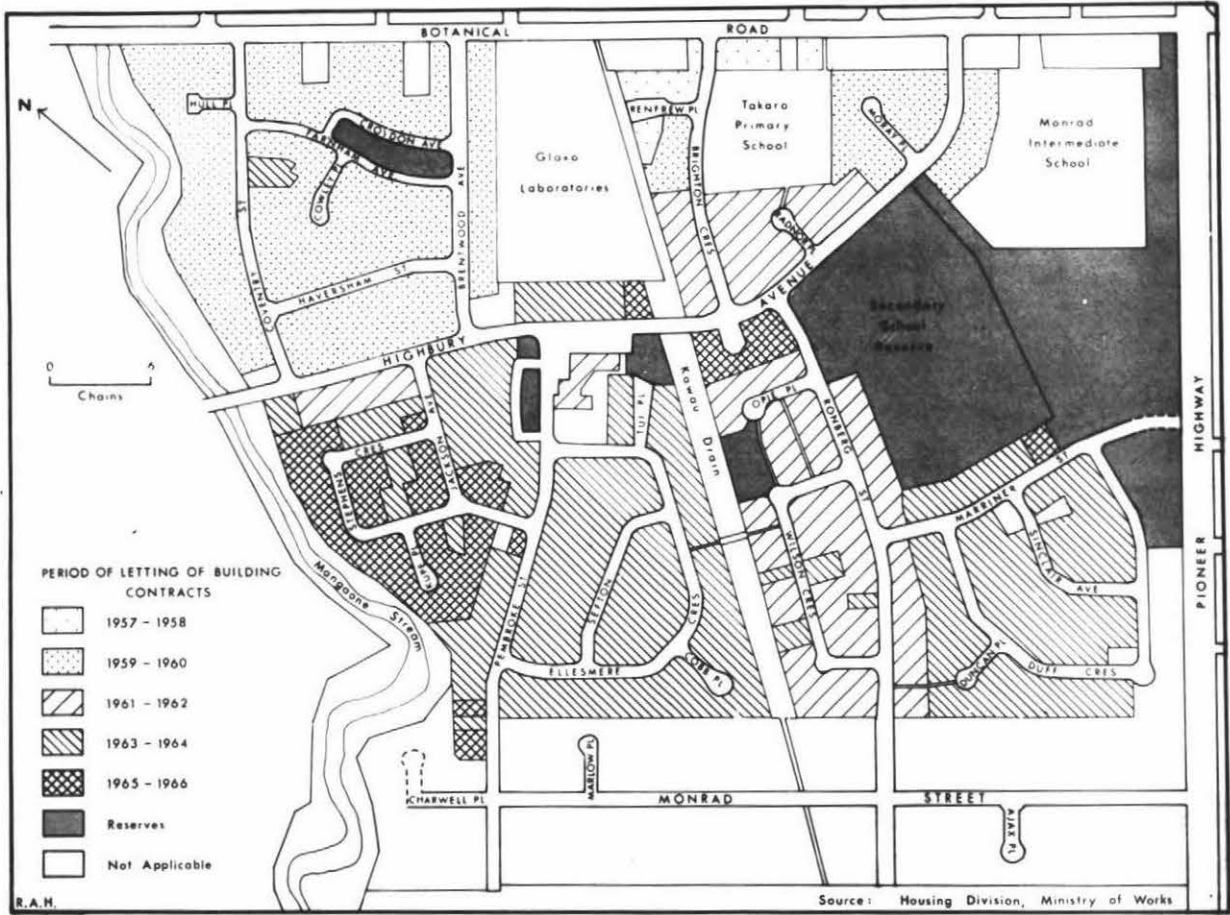


Figure 5. MINISTRY OF WORK BUILDING CONTRACTS, 1957-1966.

example Ajax Place, Marlow Place), and the development of numerous back-sections. The site of the last block of State housing in the suburb, 31 units in Charwell Place, is under preparation at the time of writing.

Takaro suburb therefore, represents a relatively new housing area that has grown rapidly. A whole suburb has been created in approximately ten years. Planned development was started in 1957 and the main building programme continued from 1959 to 1966. The bulk of construction took place between the census years of 1961 and 1966 (Figure 4) during which time 493 dwelling units were added (Table II). Since 1966 the number of dwelling units has increased to 785 in August, 1969.

TABLE II. Construction of Dwelling Units in Takaro, 1951 - 1966.

Year	Number	Percentage Increase Over Previous Census
1951	44	-
1956	70	59.1
1961	161	56.5
1966	654	306.2

Source: Census of Buildings and Households 1951-1966 and Aerial Photographs, I.N.C.C. Town Planning Office.

## 2. Physical Composition.

The physical composition of Takaro will be considered in terms of layout, land use and visual impact.

### (a) Layout.

Typical of many State housing areas, Takaro suburb was planned as an

entity. It was designed by the Housing Division of the Ministry of Works in cooperation with the Palmerston North City Council which gave final approval to the plan. The methods and principles involved in the planning have closely paralleled those widely used by the State throughout New Zealand and are outlined below.<sup>2</sup>

First, attention is given to factors influencing the planning of the area such as topography, soil, aspect and drainage. As the land site of Takaro was flat, the layout of the whole suburb was not influenced by any topographical features other than the problems associated with susceptibility to flooding by the Manganone stream and the Kawau Drain. Secondly, preliminary consideration is given to the main routes of communication. The Housing Division consulted with the Palmerston North City Council over the basic street pattern and designed the suburb in relation to surrounding existing streets, and the need for a major connector from Botanical Road to Tremaine Avenue (Highbury Avenue). Finally, attention is then directed to the other component parts of the scheme. At the time of planning the Government was giving greater emphasis to the provision of an environment and facilities to best serve residents in State housing areas. After consultation with the Education Boards, the National Council of Churches and other bodies concerned with community services, the Housing Division provided sites in Takaro for a secondary school, an intermediate school and a primary school, a kindergarten, a child welfare home and three churches (Figure 6). A centrally located shopping centre containing twelve shops was designed and a site provided for a church hall.

It is a State planning policy that "All subdivisions of a few acres or more have space left for reserves which are vested in the control of the local authority...In general the minimum area set aside is ten per cent

of the gross area".<sup>3</sup> In Takaro six areas of open space have been set aside, totalling  $14\frac{1}{2}$  acres or 6.6 per cent of the gross area planned by the State (Figure 6).

State housing areas are commonly distinguished by their distinctive street patterns and Takaro is no exception. Such patterns reflect changing emphasises in State design policies. The objectives laid down by the State for a successful street system are that it "must differentiate between different kinds of traffic, eliminate points of conflict and unnecessary street area, define comprehensible undisturbed areas for living, and adapt sympathetically to natural topography and landscape features. Finally it must promote economic standards of geometric design and construction consistent with these objectives".<sup>4</sup>

Street patterns are characteristically curvilinear in order to lessen the disadvantages of the grid-iron system, such as dangerous intersections and over-riding, and to help create a street picture that is varied and visually interesting. In Takaro every street designed by the Housing Division, apart from culs-de-sac, is curved. Extensive use is made of crescents, loop roads, recessed courts and culs-de-sac. The cul-de-sac was introduced in order to prevent through traffic and to provide 'comprehensible undisturbed areas for living', but they have met with mixed success. Cul-de-sac have undoubtedly reduced traffic flows to all but originating traffic but in conjunction with increased residential densities which tend to be associated with lower standards of appearance, they have highlighted the difficulties of higher density living.<sup>5</sup> A later trend has been the designing of street patterns which, while continuing to discourage through traffic, encourage a less closed community. One example of this type, the "panhandle", is found in Stephens Crescent.

Because of the predominance of curved residential streets, and the lack of straight, wide through roads, the street pattern successfully eliminates most traffic which does not originate or terminate within the suburb. There are at present only six entrance points into Takaro and this fact, in combination with the street layout, gives the suburb a certain unity. The lack of through traffic means that most non-residents in Palmerston North are not familiar with the area and to the visitor, the repetitious use of curves in the street pattern is confusing, making it easy to become disorientated and lost.<sup>6</sup>

Typical of many State housing areas, the layout of Takaro is also characterised by provisions for pedestrian movements, including footbridges and pedestrian accessways either between streets or connecting the blind ends of cul-de-sac to streets or school grounds.

(b) Land Use.

The land use and associated district planning zones of Takaro suburb are shown in Figure 6. Land use is predominantly residential with some interspersed industrial, commercial, and community uses. The industrial zone is owned by Glaxo Laboratories (N.Z.) Ltd on which a pharmaceutical factory, laboratories and offices are sited. The commercial land use zone comprises the Highbury shopping centre, which contains twelve shop sites, rooms for a doctor and plunket nurse and extensive parking space. The Ministry of Works Housing Division aimed to create a coordinated shopping centre and arranged a consultation with prospective shop owners to obtain their cooperation and agreement to an integrated building style and a rational distribution of shop sites.<sup>7</sup> An architect was then employed to design the whole centre. Construction started in 1962, and the result has

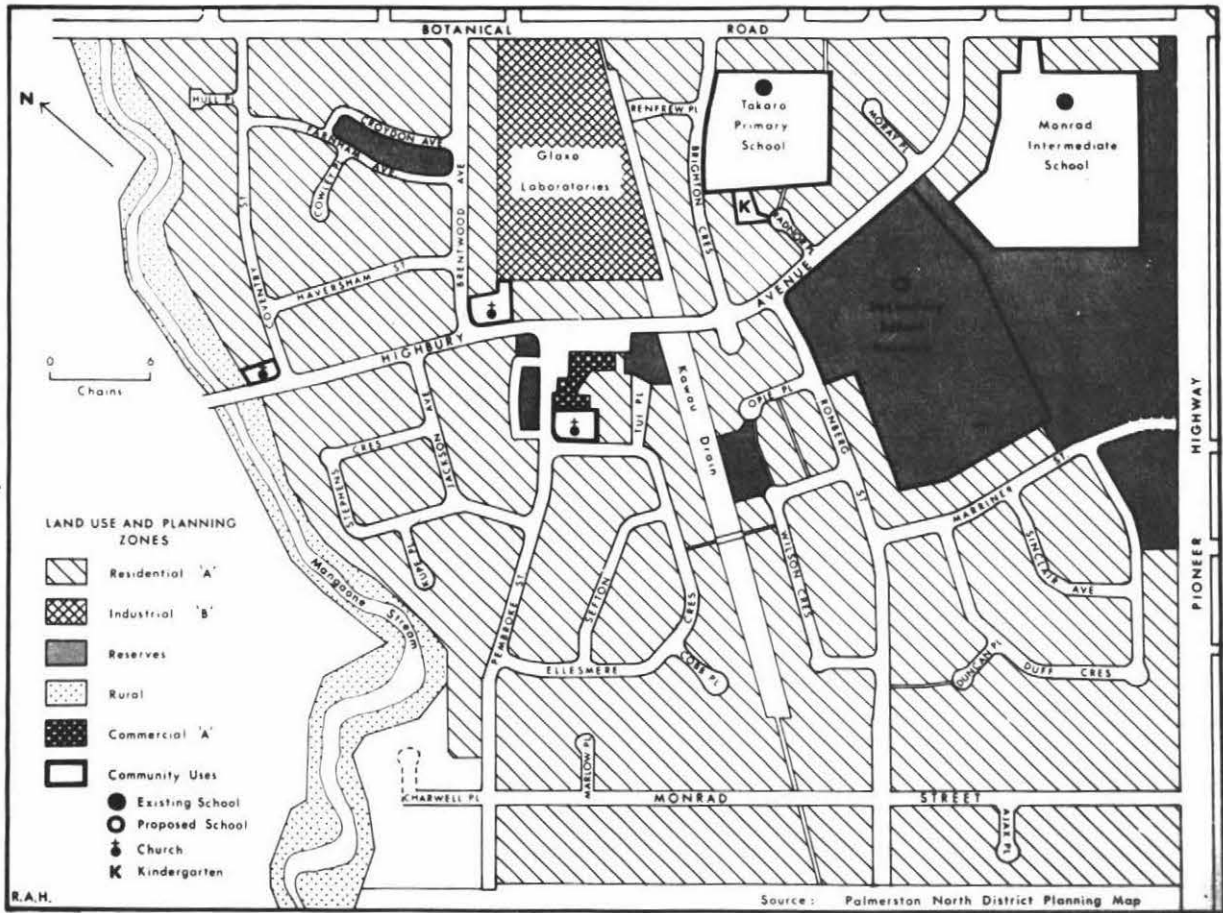


Figure 6. LAND USE AND PLANNING ZONES, 1969.



been a centre that is both widely used<sup>8</sup> and visually attractive when compared to other shopping centres in Palmerston North that have developed in a 'laissez-faire' fashion (Figure 7).

A total of approximately 48 acres has been allocated for community uses, including schools, churches, a community hall and open space. The educational facilities comprise a kindergarden (Radnor Place), a primary school and an intermediate school. A site of 14.7 acres has been provided adjacent to Konrad Intermediate school for a secondary school. The future use of this site is in doubt, for at the time of writing there is some controversy over whether Palmerston North's fifth high school should be built on this property, or on available land in the neighbouring suburb of Awapuni. Three church sites have been provided and church-halls have been built on each. The advantages of planning a suburb as an entity are best seen in such provision of community amenities. However there is some imbalance, for the southern and western sectors of the suburb, including Konrad street, are notably lacking in reserves, community halls and shopping facilities (Figure 6).<sup>9</sup>

In keeping with State planning policy of providing reserves for active recreation, children's playgrounds and park strips in relation to other components of the scheme, five reserves have been located within the housing areas and a further open space of eight and a half acres has been planned between the sites of the intermediate school and proposed secondary school. Such provision of open space is relatively generous, but more consideration could have been given to its siting in relation to pedestrian movements to the shopping centre and schools. An example of successful siting is the open space adjacent to the shopping centre which provides pedestrian access between two rows of terrace housing. This 'pedestrian street' also forms



Figure 7. The Highbury Shopping Centre. The chemist, post office and grocery shop at the western extremity of the Shopping Centre.



Figure 8. Tui Place. A 'pedestrian-street' providing access from Ellesmere Crescent to the Highbury Shopping Centre. The children's play facilities are a popular provision.

a safe playground for children living in the units (Figure 8).<sup>10</sup> However other reserves are less successfully related to their environments. In two cases open spaces, one of which is used by many children, are completely separated from surrounding houses by streets. More imagination could also have been given to the provision of play facilities. The reserve adjacent to the shopping centre contains swings for children, and is a popular playground. All other reserves are open treeless greens.

Above all, Takaro is a residential suburb and the predominant land use in the suburb is housing (Table III).

TABLE III Land Use in Takaro.

Land Use	Acres	Percentage of Total area
Gross Residential	212.5	74.0
Community	33.5	11.6
Recreation and Open space	14.4	5.0
Industrial	11.5	4.0
Commercial	0.6	0.1
Rural	15.5	5.3
	<u>287.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Four types of housing may be distinguished within Takaro according to the authority responsible for construction and administration. These are State houses, Department of Maori Affairs houses, houses built under the group building scheme and the remaining privately built houses (Table IV). The distribution of these housing types is shown in Figure 9.

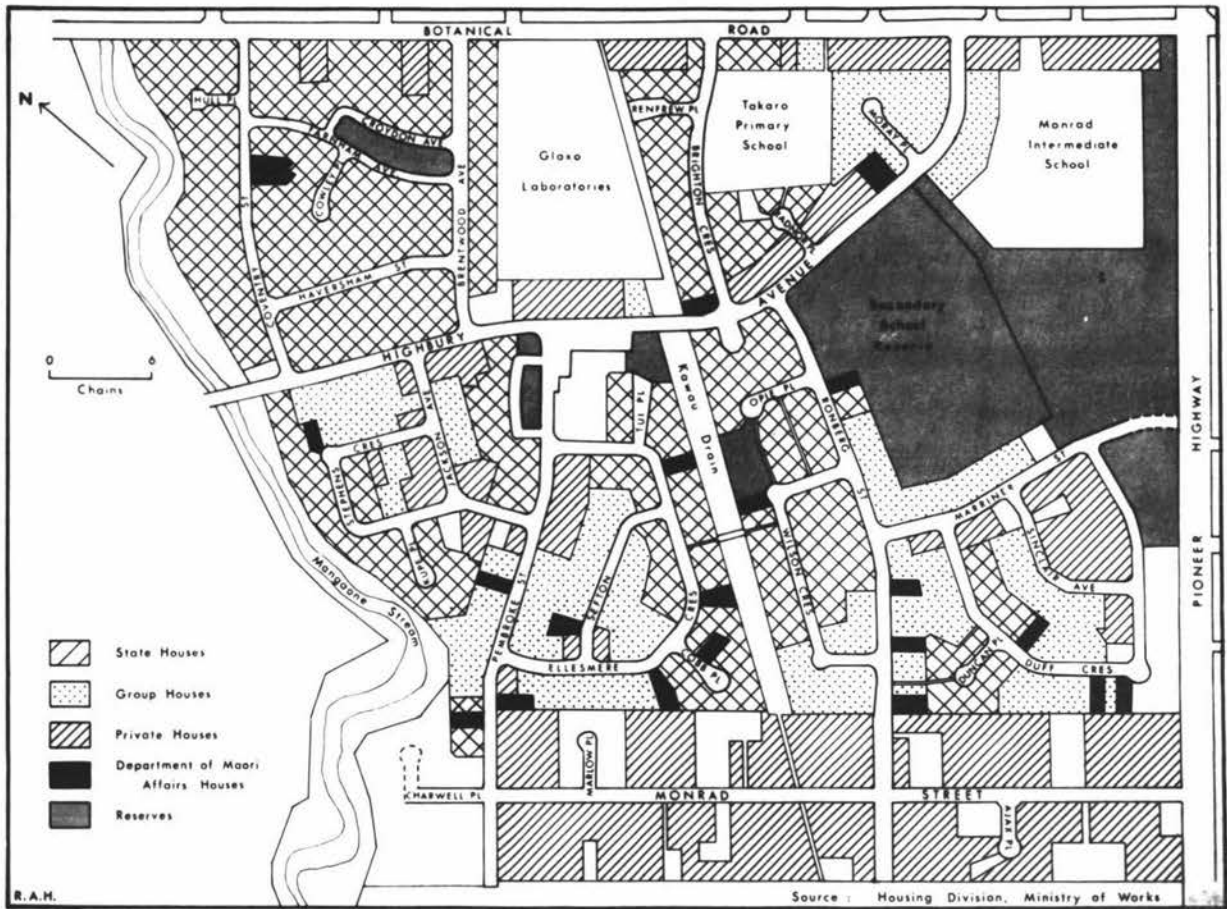


Figure 9. AUCKLAND: HOUSING IN 1969.

TABLE IV Housing Administration in Takaro. (Dwelling Units)

House Type	Number	Percentage
State	404	52
Department of Maori Affairs	22	3
Group	171	22
Private	173	23
	<u>770</u>	<u>100</u>

State housing is concentrated in the northern quarter of Takaro although units are scattered throughout the suburb. It is the most prevalent housing type, accounting for over half the dwelling units in the suburb. Because of changing Government policies at the time Takaro was developed, the greatest proportion of state housing (62 per cent) is in forms other than detached housing (Table V and Figure 10).

TABLE V State Housing Types in Takaro

House Type	Number of buildings	Dwelling Units	
		Number	Percentage
Star Flats	2	24	6
Two-storey Multi-Units	15	59	15
Two-storey Double-Units	34	68	17
One-storey Multi-Units	12	46	11
One-storey Double-Units	26	52	13
Detached Houses	155	155	38
	<u>244</u>	<u>404</u>	<u>100</u>

Double-units and multi-units are found in a wide variety of styles. The largest is the 'Star' flat, a three-storey concrete building containing

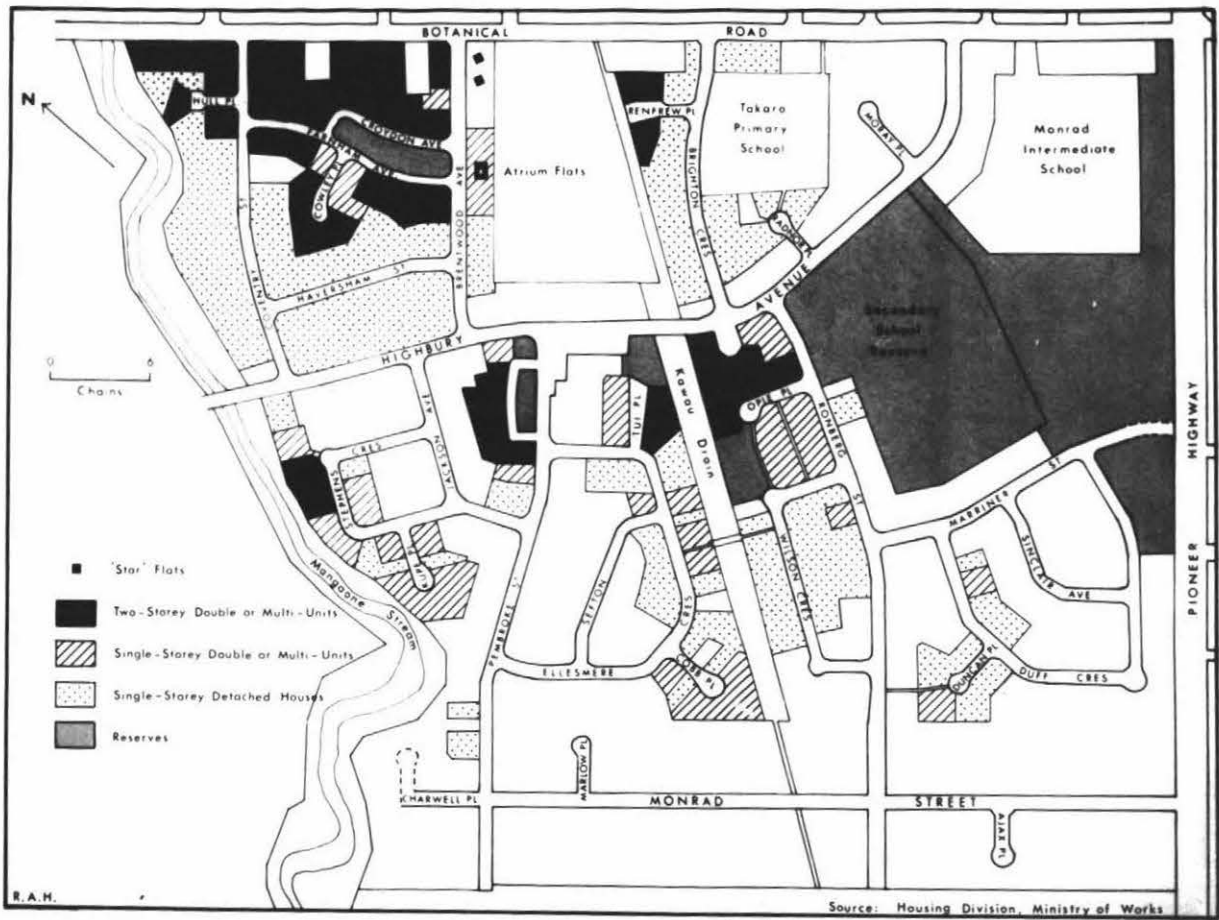


Figure 10. 1969: 1969: 1969: 1969: 1969.

twelve flat units set around a central staircase (Figure 11). 'Star' flats have been widely constructed in State housing areas throughout New Zealand, and two have been built in Takaro (Figure 10). There are fifteen two-storey multi-units in Takaro, which are all found in the northern portion of the suburb. These comprise flats in which the building is divided into two ground-floor and two first-floor flats (Figure 12), and the more common two-storey three and four unit flats in which each unit contains ground-floor and first-floor accommodation (Figure 13).

Double-units of either one or two storeys are the most common form of State housing apart from detached houses and account for 30 per cent of all State dwelling units in Takaro. There is a variety of styles of two-storey double-units which are usually grouped together, for example in Botanical Road, Opie Place and opposite the shopping centre (Figure 14). One-storey double units (Figure 15) are widely scattered throughout the suburb and are commonly found at the end of culs-de-sac. One-storey multi-units (Figure 16) range from three to six unit buildings and include some one-bedroom terrace housing for single and elderly people. An experimental form of housing was tested in Brentwood Avenue, the 'Atrium' flat based on an early Roman principle. It contains four single-storey units surrounding a central open space which is divided into four private, completely enclosed courts adjoining the main living quarters.

The remaining 38 per cent of State houses are detached. These range from two to five bedrooms with an average size of 1,100 square feet and generally have an exterior sheathing of weatherboard or brick veneer. A typical house is shown in Figure 17. Because of the relatively high proportion of multi-unit accommodation which cannot be privately owned, the majority of State units in Takaro are rented. State Advances Corporation records reveal that only twenty houses in the suburb have been bought by their occupants.



Figure 11. 'Star' Flat, Botanical Road. One of the two 'Star' Flats in Takaro. These three-storey concrete buildings contain twelve flat units.



Figure 12. Two-Storey Four-Unit Flats, Hull Place. There are four such buildings in Takaro, each containing two ground-floor and two first-floor flat units.





Figure 13. Two-Storey Multi-Unit, Croydon Avenue. Six similar multi-units are grouped around the grass reserve in the foreground.



Figure 14. Two-Storey Double-Unit, Botanical Road. The dilapidated condition is typical of a small, but noteworthy number, of similar buildings in Takaro.



Figure 15. One-storey Double-Unit, Ellesmere Crescent. There are 26 similar designed buildings in the suburb.



Figure 16. One-storey Multi-Unit, Highbury Avenue. These six, one-bedroom flat units are particularly designed for elderly people and are within convenient walking distance of the Shopping Centre.



Figure 17. Detached State House, Coventry Street. A typical detached house.



Figure 18. Group House Under Construction, Stephens Crescent.

Within Takaro 22 houses have been constructed by the Ministry of Works Housing Division and transferred to the Department of Maori Affairs for sale to Maoris, under a Government policy introduced in 1962. These houses are built according to State housing specifications for detached houses, and are "pepper-potted" throughout the suburb in keeping with the Government policy of integration of Maori families into the community as a whole (Figure 9).

Takaro was developed at a time when the Group building scheme introduced in 1954 was proving to be successful. The Housing Division allocated 175 sections for group houses, which constitute 22 per cent of the suburb's total dwelling units (Figure 18). The remaining private houses include older established dwellings and subsequent construction in Pound Street and Botanical Road, and houses built on the 74 sections allocated within the State subdivision for private sale.

#### (c) Visual Impact.

For various reasons, State housing areas tend to remain as distinct sectors that retain certain recurrent visual differences from their surrounding urban setting. This distinctiveness has been observed by Pool<sup>11</sup> and Grundy<sup>12</sup> in their studies of New Zealand urban areas. Pool recognised State housing areas as one of his ten social regions of Auckland, and found that "size and uniformity are the two outstanding characteristics of State suburbs in Auckland".<sup>13</sup> This theme has received further study from Jackson who has examined the hypothesis that "State housing contributes distinctively to the Auckland (and New Zealand) urban environment".<sup>14</sup> This distinctiveness is the result of several factors. State houses themselves are immediately

State houses themselves are immediately<sup>25.</sup> recognisable by their relatively conservative and unadorned styles, based on a simple rectangular shape which is varied through the use of set-backs and projections. They may be identified by their standardised joinery, particularly their small windows, and are characterised by a prominence of tiled roofs of fixed pitch. The setting of the houses is typified by a high degree of openness. This is the result of a policy of the Housing Division of eliminating front and dividing fences in order to create a "large community garden" giving "a more unified street picture",<sup>15</sup> where hedges or fences have been used, they tend to be of standardised types. State housing scenes are also typified by one style of letter box, and a lack of garages which means that cars are often parked at kerbsides or on front lawns. House sections lack variety in size and tend to be small. An important factor in the appearance of state housing areas is tenancy, for where houses are rented rather than owned, attention to general physical appearance tends to be less.<sup>16</sup> The distinctiveness of the housing is accentuated by the usual extensiveness of state housing areas, and the fact that they are often conceived as a unit and given overall planning. All these aspects therefore contribute towards what may be described as a "state housing urban landscape".

In Takaro this distinctiveness must be supported and qualified in a number of ways. Unlike earlier State housing areas in Palmerston North such as the Ross Block and Savage Crescent which contain almost pure State housing, Takaro is comprised of a mixture of State, State-financed and private housing. Thus the area cannot, without qualification, be described as possessing a "State housing landscape". Certain areas of group and private housing within Takaro feature more of the variety and individuality

of other suburbs of private housing. However in the northern quarter in which most of the State accommodation is concentrated there is a marked State housing landscape. Here the 'instantaneous' nature of the development has led to block upon block of State houses all of similar age, with the juxtaposition of as many slightly different units as it is possible to imagine. Although an original maxim of State housing was that each house was to look different from its neighbour, in Takaro the same house plans have been placed side by side, in some cases with no attempt to vary the external materials. Although the Housing Division has attempted to introduce variety by an imaginative use of different house types (detached, double-units, multi-units) and by varying house plans,<sup>17</sup> external wall materials and paint colour, the area cannot escape criticism of its uniformity of appearance. Above all it is unmistakably an extensive block of State housing.

It is unfortunate that the opportunity was not taken of providing underground electrical servicing as the appearance is spoiled by unsightly power poles and wires. The whole suburb is devoid of any established vegetation and all areas of open space are treeless. As Middleton has noted, "time is an important ingredient of a decent suburb"<sup>18</sup> and given a few years the present rawness could disappear so that as the suburb matures it may lose some, but not all, of its distinctiveness as a State housing area, and merge more closely into its urban setting.

Thus Takaro represents a new housing suburb which was given overall planning. It started as a large area of open space and, after rapid growth, has resulted in the physical composition described above. Given this opportunity for planning a whole suburb, the layout and appearance of Takaro is

disappointing, not so much because of what has been created, but because of what could have been created. Sakre contains in its physical make-up a mixture of desirable and undesirable elements. It includes several innovations and experiments which have been relatively successful, including the planned shopping centre, the "pedestrian street" and some experimental housing forms. Here and there housing scenes are found which are visually interesting, or even exciting, such as the blocks of two-storey terrace housing arranged around an oval-shaped grassed reserve in Croydon: Venice-Surrey Avenue. But too often there are relative failures, in the monotonous blocks of state housing, the unkempt multi-units, the indistinctly visible curved streets of group housing, the children's play areas which appear as 'green deserts', and the unbalanced layout in which almost half the suburb lacks provisions for any form of community facilities. There is an over-riding sense that the planning has been dominated by utilitarian and economic considerations at the expense of physical appearance and human and social values.

References:

1. This information was supplied by C.K. Bonnington of the Ministry of Works Housing Division, Palmerston North.
2. Firth, 8-14.
3. Firth, 10.
4. Ministry of Works Housing Division, 1.
5. Dickson, 55-64.
6. The repetitious nature of street patterns in State Housing areas is also noted by Pool, 1959(b), 1.
7. The shopping centre contains a post office, two groceries, one dairy-grocery, one dairy, a butcher's shop, a chemist, a drapery, a fabric shop, a footwear shop, a fish and chips shop, a ladies' hairdresser and a second-hand clothing shop.
8. Chapter IV, 57.
9. These deficiencies are further detailed in Chapter IV, 57-59
10. The 'pedestrian street' is based on the 'Radburn' principle outlined in Tunnard and Pushkarev, 20, 92.
11. Pool, 1959(a), 112-115.
12. Grundy, 65.
13. Pool, 1959(b), 1.
14. Jackson, 1965.
15. Firth, 13.
16. Dickson, 61.
17. The Housing Division has used 114 different house plans in Takaro. However many differ in only small details or are reverse plans.
18. Middleton, 21.



CHAPTER IIITAKARO SUBURB: DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE AND PATTERNS

Demography is defined by Kirk as "the quantitative study of human populations". He notes a broader and increasing usage of demography to include "studies of demographic variables in their social contexts as well as in their biological contexts. In this approach, demographic changes are viewed as part of, and as both cause and effect of their social environment".<sup>1</sup> It is in this context that the demographic patterns of Takaro suburb will be considered. Because Takaro represents a relatively new housing area that has developed rapidly on the outskirts of a city, and in accordance with certain Government housing policies, an exploration of particular aspects of the demographic structure and patterns is warranted. These include a study of population growth, age-sex structure, ethnic composition, population movements, and household composition. Each of these variables may be regarded as part of, and a cause and effect of the social environment of Takaro. Each variable is not isolated, but is inter-related in varying combinations with others to produce the total pattern. In turn, each variable, either individually, or in combination, is the result of social, political, economic and physical influences. The demographic structure is the result for example of political decisions to provide State rental accommodation for those unable or unwilling to own their own home, to encourage private housing of average and lower cost, to facilitate the housing of Maori people and to start the development of a new subdivision at a given point in time. It is the result of certain social variables such as the desire to own one's own home. the economic variables of housing costs and

wage-structures, and an ever present time factor, for many of the demographic features reflect the relative newness of the suburb.

The demographic structure is more than the passive 'effect' of external influences, for at the same time, it acts as a major 'cause' of the social environment. Each demographic feature contributes to the character of Takaro suburb, presenting certain implications and in some cases potential problems.

The following discussion of Takaro's population is largely based upon information gained from the interview survey, in which 100 households were interviewed on the basis of a random sample. The nature of the survey and the methods used are described in Appendix A. An attempt has been made to draw out the salient demographic characteristics and where possible to make comparisons with the rest of Palmerston North in order to highlight some of the more distinctive aspects of the suburb.

#### 1. Population Growth.

The population growth of Takaro displays a pattern typical of many new subdivisions in outlying urban areas. Prior to its development by the Government there was a small resident population confined to a few farm houses and ribbon development housing along Botanical Road and Monrad Street. This population in 1951 totalled an estimated 70, but by 1956 it had grown to 218. With the implementation of Government housing policy in 1957, however, a rapid growth took place in a relatively short time (Table VI).

Table VI    Population Growth in Takaro by Census Years.

	Estimated Population	Percentage Increase Over Last Census
1951	70	-
1956	218	211
1961	675	209
1966	2,714	302

Source: Adjusted from census  
tracts, 1951-1966.

By 1961 the first blocks of State and group housing were occupied and the suburb's population reached 675. The full impact of the housing scheme was not evident, however, until the 1966 census by which time most of the development was complete. Between 1961 and 1966 the population grew to 2,714, which represents an increase of 302 per cent in five years. Although the population had reached an estimated 3,368 in August 1969,<sup>2</sup> the rate of growth has declined. Building construction is almost completed within the suburb, apart from potential subdivision and back-section development of private sections in Monrad Street. Future population growth will therefore come from natural increase rather than in-migration. It is unlikely that further substantial increases will occur and it is possible that as the original couples reach middle age and younger people migrate from the area, population totals will decline.

## 2. Age-Sex Structure.

The population groups that have contributed most to the rapid growth and demographic composition of Takaro have been relatively young couples with young families, these being the kind of people most likely to need a home, and most prepared to move into a new suburb to find one. Typical of

many new housing areas, the age-structure of Takaro shown in Figure 19 compiled from the interview sample reveals an imbalance with the 0-9 years age-group dominant. When the age-structure of Takaro is compared with that of the Palmerston North Urban Area, its unbalanced nature is further emphasised. In Takaro 37.7 per cent of the sample population is aged nine years or less, compared with 20.9 per cent in Palmerston North. In Takaro there is a significant lack of elderly people. Only 2.3 per cent of the sample was aged sixty and over, compared to 28.4 per cent for Palmerston North. Because the families attracted to Takaro were relatively young, a relative deficiency in Takaro's population composition is also found in the 10-19 years age-group. The proportion in this age-group (15.6 per cent) is slightly lower than that of Palmerston North (22.0 per cent), but the deficiency is magnified by the dominance in Takaro of the 0-9 years age-group.

The combination of a rapid population growth in Takaro suburb with an unbalanced age-structure has tended to present several undesirable repercussions. Economically, it has meant an exceptional demand by the dominant age-groups for certain suburban amenities and services. At present this is particularly true of kindergarten, primary and intermediate school facilities. As the dominant age-groups pass through each life-cycle stage, pressure will be placed on differing sets of amenities and services (such as secondary education). Once the wave of peak needs is passed the facilities may become incompletely used or even redundant. The main social repercussion is that a relatively homogeneous community of young families and few elderly people has been created. This structural imbalance is likely to remain through the whole life-cycle<sup>3</sup> and to provide a potential restriction to social variety and community activities in the area.

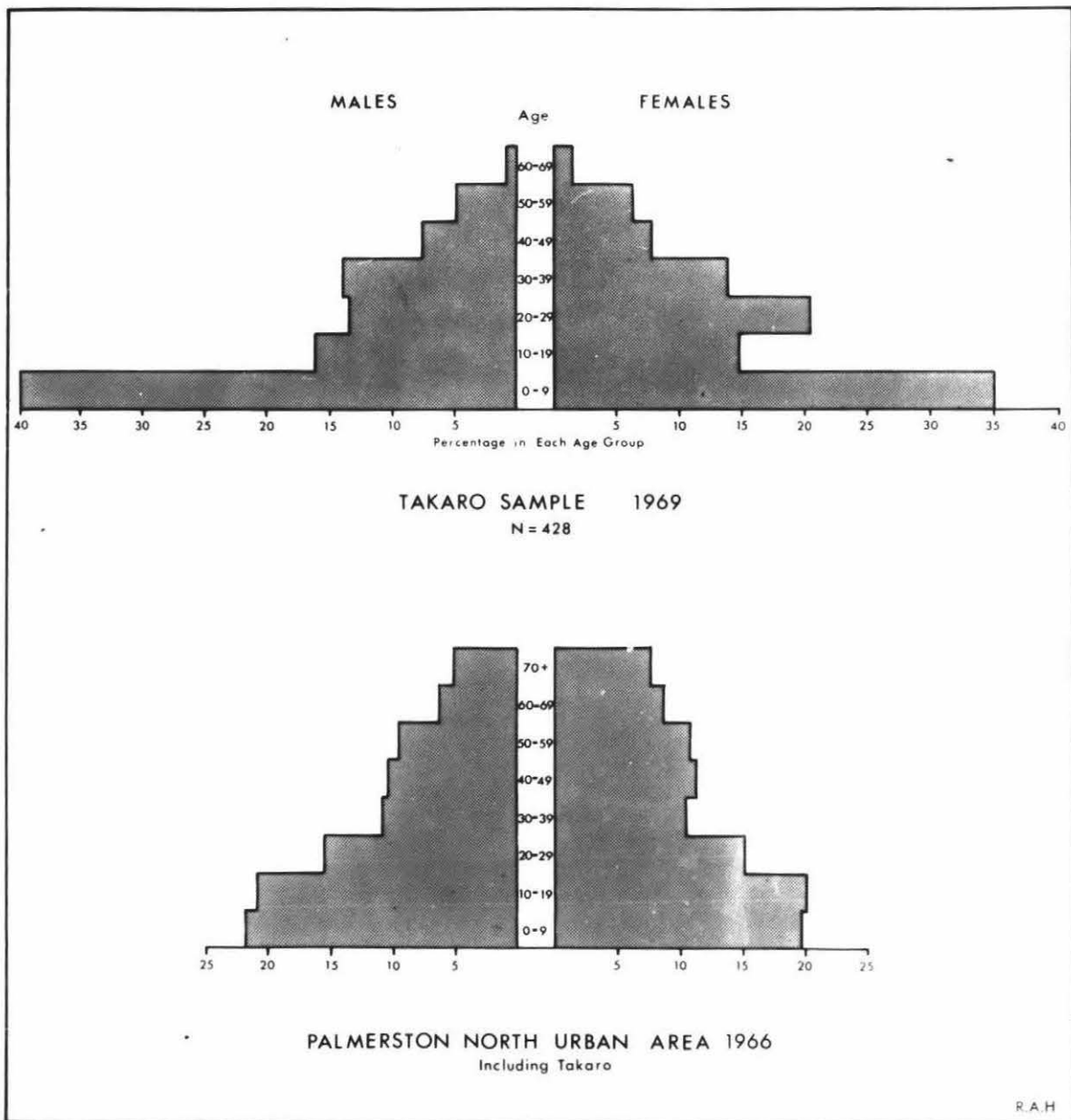


Figure 19. AGE-SEX STRUCTURES OF TAKARO AND PALMERSTON NORTH URBAN AREA.

### 3. Ethnic Composition.

The ethnic composition of Takaro as revealed in the interview survey is shown in Table VII<sup>4</sup>. The population is predominantly European but contains a small proportion of Maoris and other non-Europeans. It is this proportion which is significant for when the ethnic composition of Takaro is compared with that of Palmerston North the proportion of Maoris is seen to be markedly higher than the city average (Table VIII). In 1966, 28 per cent of Palmerston North's Maori population resided in Takaro suburb. The distribution of Maori people in Palmerston North is shown in Figure 20.

Table VII Ethnic Composition of Takaro Sample Population  
(Heads of Households and Wives Only)

Ethnic Group	No. Males	No. Females	Total	Percentage of Sample Population
European	84	88	172	91.5
Full Maori	4	4	8	4.3
Part Maori	1	3	4	2.1
Polynesian	1	-	1	0.5
Eurasian	-	1	1	0.5
Fiji Indian	1	1	2	1.1
	<u>91</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>188</u>	<u>100.0</u>

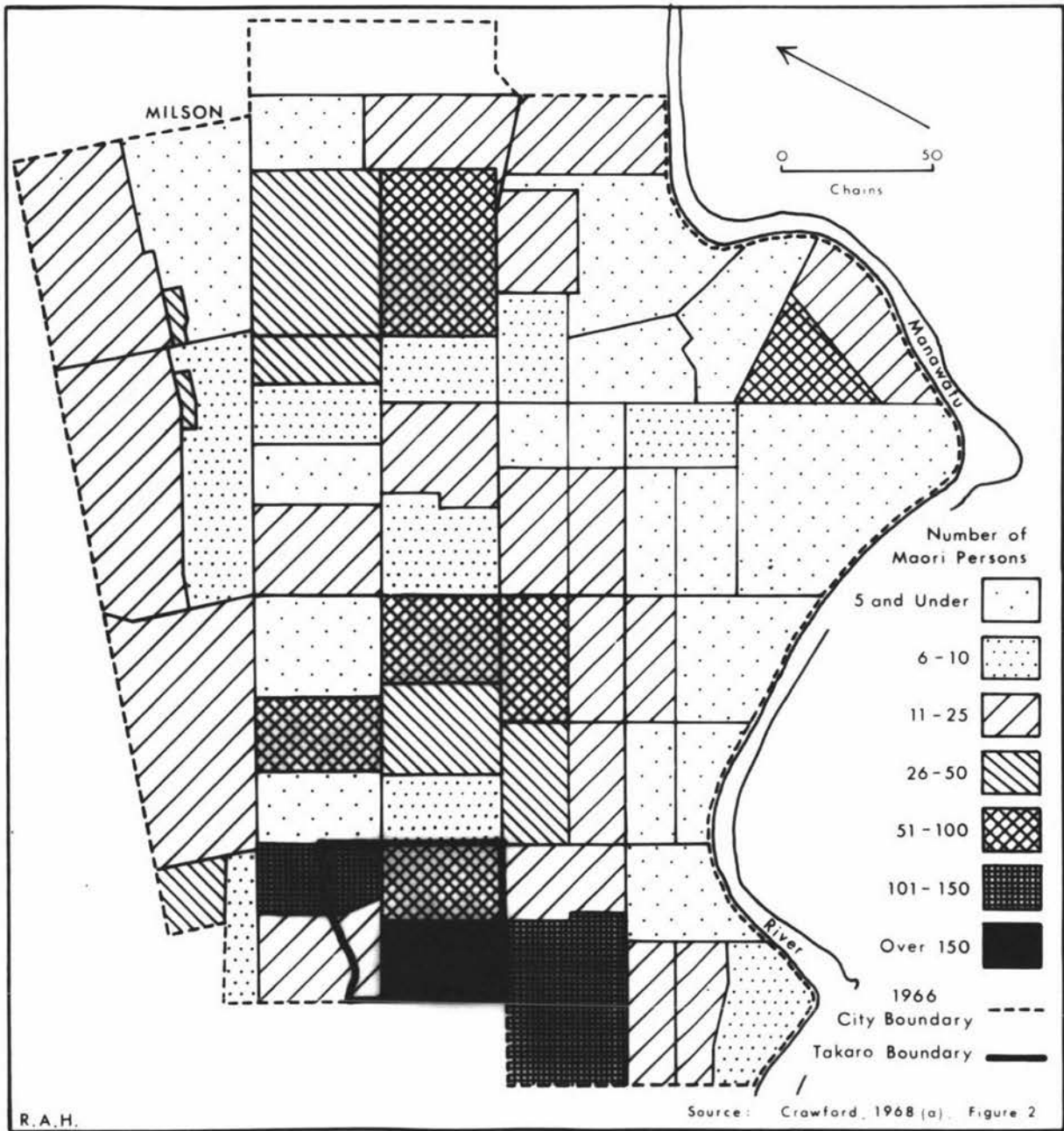


Figure 20. DISTRIBUTION OF MAORI POPULATION IN PALMERSTON NORTH BY CENSUS TRACT, 1966.

Table VIII      Proportion of Maoris in Takaro and Palmerston North  
Urban Area.

	Total Population	Maori Population	Percentage of Maoris in Total Population
<u>Takaro</u>			
1961	675	52	7.7
1966	2,714	402	14.8
<u>Palmerston North Urban Area</u>			
1961	43,185	765	1.9
1966	49,140	1,438	2.9

Source: Adjusted from Census,  
1961 and 1966.

There are four probable reasons for the concentration of Maoris in this sector of the city. First, the majority of Maori people belong to the lower socio-economic groups and lower income brackets<sup>5</sup> and are therefore more likely to be found in housing areas designed to cater for people in such categories. Secondly, houses built by the Ministry of Works Housing Division for the Department of Maori Affairs are 'pepper-potted' throughout Takaro as a result of a Government policy introduced in 1962. These houses are made available for Maoris to purchase with the assistance of housing loans. Thirdly, the presence of Maoris in the district may tend to attract other relatives from outside the city to come and live nearby. Fourthly, Maori households tend to be larger than European households. The mean number in a Maori household (that is, a household in which the husband and/or wife was a full or part Maori) was 7.1 persons, compared to the average for the remainder of households of 4.0. Similarly there was an average of 4.4 children in each Maori household compared to 2.2 for remaining households.



The greatest increases in the Maori population of Palmerston North have taken place in the Western sector of the city which contains Takaro and surrounding suburbs (Figure 20). Between 1961 and 1966 the Maori population in this sector nearly trebled, whilst lesser increases were recorded in other sectors (Table VIIIa).

Table VIIIa. Percentage Increase of Maori Population in Four Sectors of Palmerston North.

Sector	1956-1961	1961-1966	Total 1966 Population
Western	77.5	282.9	605
Southern	80.6	149.6	302
Northern	74.4	48.5	343
Eastern	75.8	9.6	183

Source: Crawford, 1968, 6.

The total Maori population of Palmerston North is notably youthful, in 1961 20 per cent of Maoris were under five years of age. In Takaro this youthfulness reaches extreme proportions. Twenty-five per cent of the Maori sample population was aged four years or less and 60 per cent of the sample was aged nine years or less.

These aspects of the Maori population in Takaro have some undesirable implications. Because of the age-structure the population will continue to have a high rate of natural increase and town planning estimates predict that "future concentrations of Maori people will continue to be in the Takaro, Highbury and Monrad areas and the new housing development areas at Milson."<sup>6</sup> Because of its youthfulness, the impact of the Maori population has not been felt except at the primary school level where, in 1968, 23.5

per cent of pupils at Takaro primary school were Maori or part Maori. Their presence in the city is likely to become more noticeable when the population begins to enter the labour force and demand further houses. It is undesirable that one minority ethnic group be thus concentrated in certain sectors of the city, a trend which is not directed towards the stated objectives of "integration of Maori families into the community as a whole".<sup>7</sup>

#### 4. Population Movements.

The mobility patterns of the residents of Takaro will be considered in terms of place of origin, reasons for residence in Takaro, and past and proposed length of residence in the suburb. The following discussion is based upon information gained from the interview survey and all figures refer to the sample population.

##### (a) Origin of Residents.

The place of birth of residents (Table IX) displays two notable features. First, a high proportion of the husbands and wives were born in Palmerston North (including nearly one-quarter of the wives) or within the Manawatu district. Secondly, a relatively high proportion of husbands were born in Great Britain and elsewhere overseas. The Maori sample displayed a contrasting pattern, all but one person having been born outside of Palmerston North. Places of birth tended to be rural areas of smaller towns including Paeroa, Wairoa, Ratana Pa, Levin, Otaki and Feilding (Figure 21).

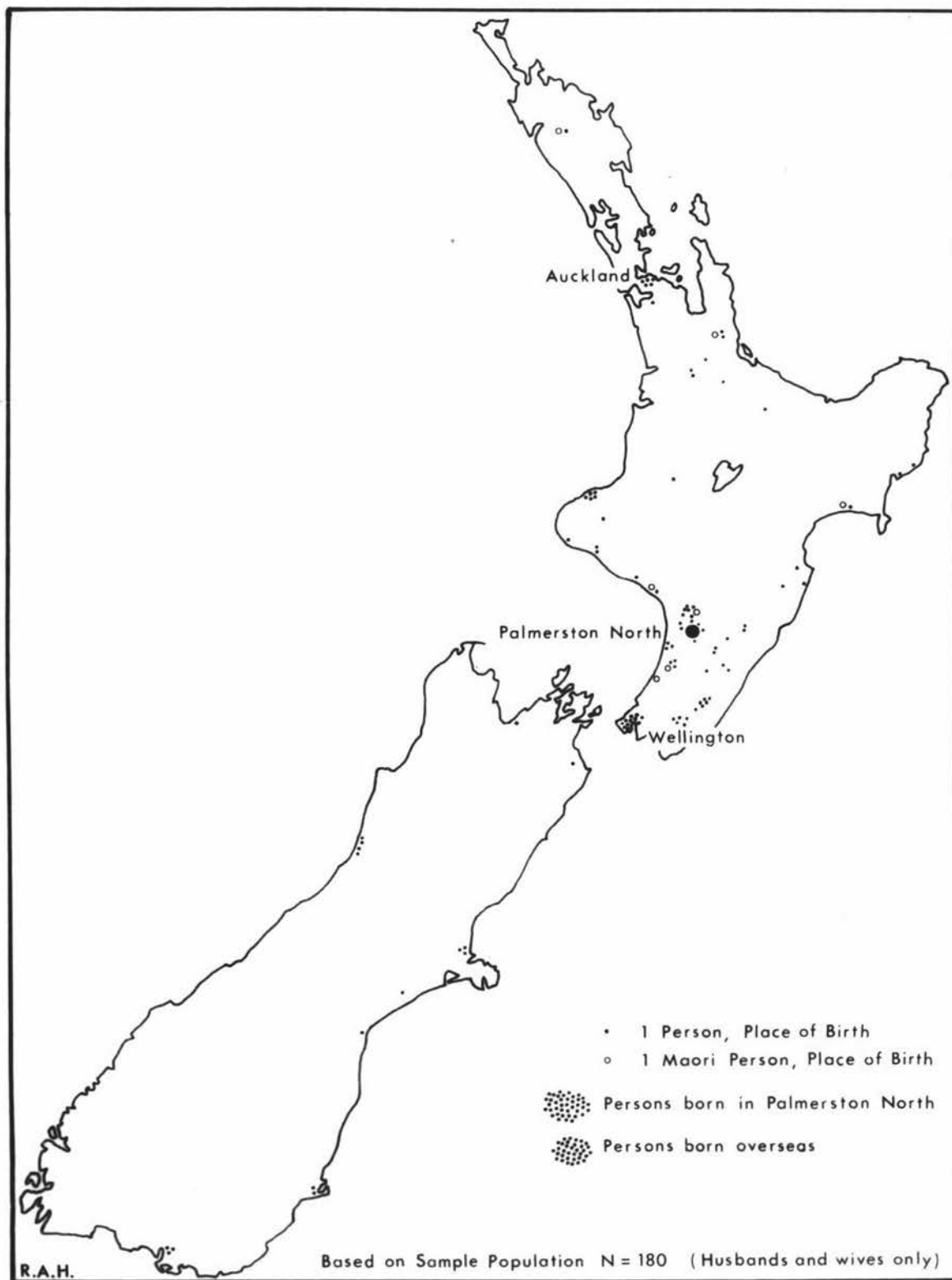


Figure 21. PLACE OF BIRTH OF TAKARO RESIDENTS, 1969.

Table IX. Origin of Residents in Takaro Sample Population.

	Place of Birth		Last Place of Residence of Household before Takaro.
	Husbands	Wives	
Palmerston North	17	23	49
Within 30 miles of Palmerston North	17	14	19
Within 100 miles of Palmerston North	10	9	5
Wellington-Hutt	3	9	6
Auckland	3	2	-
Rest of North Island	13	11	4
South Island	8	11	4
Great Britain	14	8	4
Elsewhere Overseas	6	6	3
Not applicable/Not stated	9	7	6
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Before moving to Takaro almost half of the adult population had previously resided in Palmerston North, and a further 19 per cent had lived within thirty miles of Palmerston North. Figure 22 and Table IX also reveal a strong pattern of intra-city movements and a migration from the surrounding Manawatu district to the city. The Maori sample tended to contribute to the in-migration sector with households coming from such places as Levin, Ohakune and Mangawhata.

All but five per cent of the households had moved at least once (Table X) and the strongest movement pattern indicated was one of households moving into Takaro to live in their second house. The majority of people in this category (71.4 per cent) had previously resided in other parts of Palmerston North.

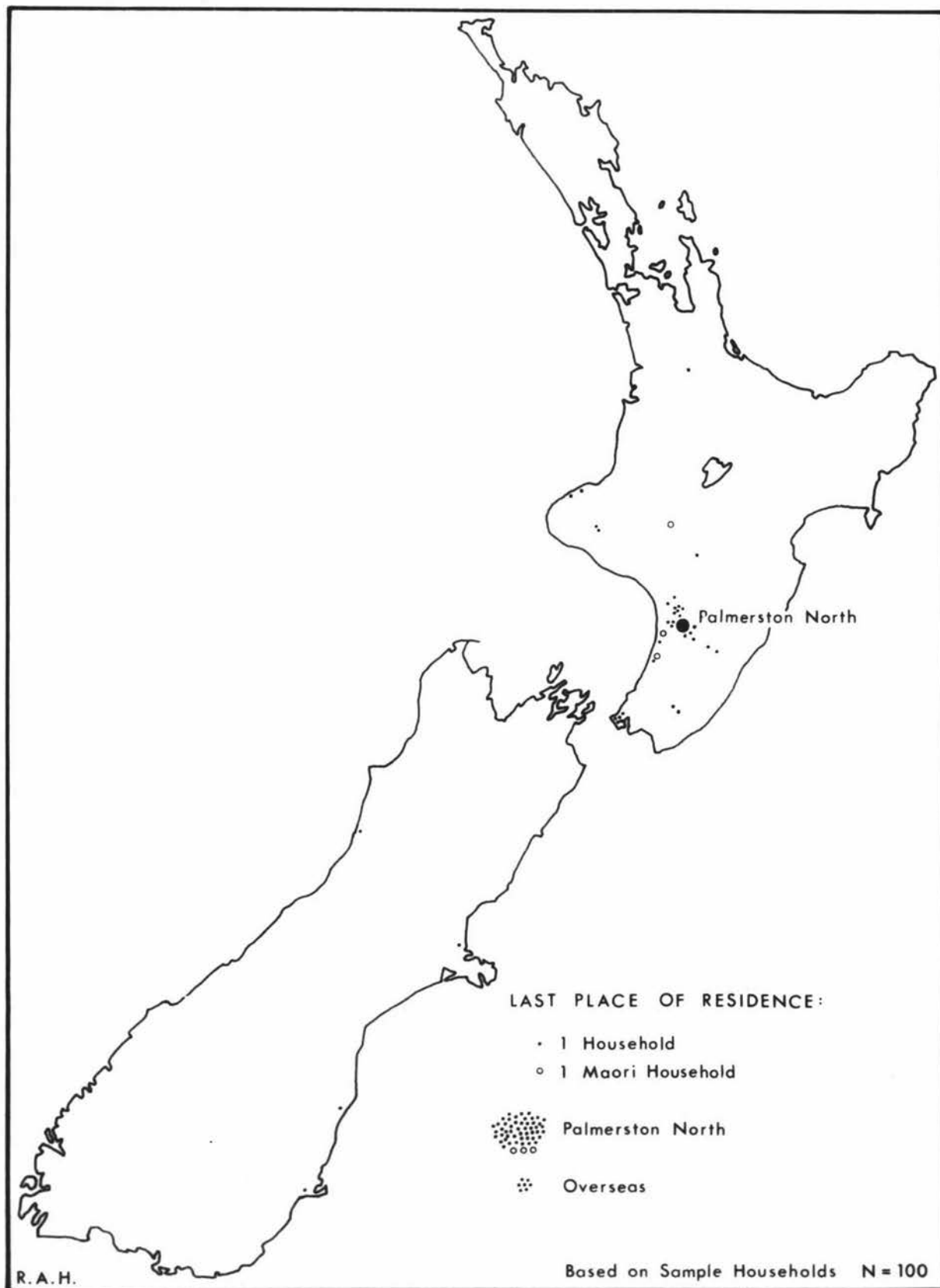


Figure 22. LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN TAKAPO, 1969.

Table X. Number of Moves Made by Sample Households.

Number of Moves	Number of Households
0	5
1	67
2	11
3	8
4	3
5	2
Not Stated	4
	<hr/>
	100
	<hr/>

**(b) Reasons for Residence in Takaro.**

Residents were asked why they were living in Takaro suburb. The availability of housing was the dominant reason given, and was mentioned by 86 per cent of interviewees. It is significant that almost half of the sample population (48 per cent) is living in the suburb not because of free choice but because a house was allocated there by the State Advances Corporation. Even where the reason 'own choice' of housing was given (32 per cent), particularly by occupants of group houses, it should be noted that in many cases choice was effectively limited mainly to houses available in Takaro that came within a certain average and below average price-range and qualified for a State Advances loan.

**(c) Length of Residence in Takaro.**

The length of residence in Takaro was another factor determined by the nature of the suburb. Apart from early development along Botanical Road and Monrad Street most houses were built between 1959 and 1966. No residents

in the sample population therefore had lived all their lives in Takaro, and few had lived there for more than ten years. Ninety-one per cent of the population had been living in the suburb for nine years or less, while one in every six households had been living there for less than one year (Table XI). Considering the recent development of the suburb, however, the population was showing signs of becoming established, with over a third of households having lived in the suburb for more than five years.

Table XI. Length of Residence of Sample Households in Takaro.

Number of Years	Number of Households	Cumulative Percentage
0-1	15	15
1-2	8	23
2-4	36	59
5-9	32	91
10-19	7	98
20 and over	2	100
All life	-	

Interviewees were asked whether they expected to leave their house in Takaro. The replies are shown in Table XII. In order to obtain some comparison the results obtained from two comparable social surveys in New Zealand are provided.<sup>8</sup> Although the majority of residents had no intention of leaving Takaro, over one-third positively intended to leave. This proportion was notably higher than was found in the Hamilton and Haveria surveys, although it is not possible to draw direct comparisons. The high mobility of residents was confirmed by replies to the question, 'How soon do you expect to leave this suburb?' Fourteen per cent of households were planning to move within the next twelve months, and 29 per cent in the next five

years (Table XIIIb).

Table XII. Expectation of leaving Takaro suburb.

(a) Comparison of Results with Hamilton and Hawera surveys. (Percentages)

	Takaro survey	Hamilton survey	Hawera survey
Yes, definite plans	15	4	} 22
Yes, no definite plans	19	17	
Not at present but possibly in future	17	No category	No category
No	47	72	63
Don't Know	2	7	15
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

(b) Proposed time of departure from Takaro

Within less than six months	8
six months to one year	6
1-2 years	8
2-5 years	6
5-10 years	7
Over 10 years	7
Uncertain	9
Not applicable	49
	<u>100</u>

Residents were asked the reason for expecting or wishing to leave Takaro. The main factor was shown to be housing. Inadequate size or tenancy status were mentioned by 26 household heads. The commonest single reason was the desire to move into one's own home. Where the location of the future house was stated a pattern of movements was indicated from Takaro to newer housing



subdivisions in Palmerston North, including Milson Line, Kelvin Grove, Ruamahanga Crescent and Highbury. In two other cases households were moving out of the city to another part of the Manawatu District. The second most important factor giving rise to out-migration was employment. In these cases movements appeared to be generally out of Palmerston North, but the location of the future house was not stated definitely in enough cases to support any conclusions.

The fact that the desire to move into a different neighbourhood was mentioned twelve times is evidence of the feeling of a certain stigma attached to living in a suburb of this nature. In most cases residents wished to continue living in Palmerston North and named other areas they would prefer to live in including Roslyn, Awapuni or 'another part of Takaro'. Other residents wanted to leave Palmerston North for the following miscellaneous reasons:- the climate, to live nearer the sea, to live in the country and to travel overseas.

The mobility patterns displayed by the residents of Takaro have been largely influenced by two factors. First, the relative newness of the suburb has meant that over ninety per cent of the population has migrated into the area and lived there for nine years or less. Secondly, the age-sex structure contributes to the mobility patterns, for most residents belong to the age-groups most prepared to move. The combination of the age-sex structure and the residential nature of the suburb meant that housing was the main reason for both in-migration to and out-migration from the suburb. The relatively high rate of out-migration appears to be a feature common to the early stages of development of other State housing areas in New Zealand.<sup>9</sup> In the first years there is a tendency for instability whilst those families who have the aspiration and the means move out of State units

and into homes of their own. As the housing area matures the majority of those residents who remain are those who are 'stuck' in the area because of an inability or lack of inclination to move out of State houses, or because of heavy financial commitments upon private houses. Thus, it is likely that Takaro's population will later display an immobility observed in studies of other similar 'working class' housing areas.<sup>10</sup>

#### 5. Household Composition.

For the purposes of the survey a 'household' was defined as a person or group of persons occupying a dwelling unit (either a detached house or flat unit). The head of the household was taken to be the husband except where no husband was permanently resident in the household in which case the wife was classified as the head of the household.

##### (a) Marital Status.

The marital status and sex of the heads of households covered in the survey is shown in Table XIII. In order to compare the patterns with those of Palmerston North, the marital status of all persons aged between twenty and fifty-nine is compared with similar figures for the Palmerston North Urban Area in Table XIV.<sup>11</sup> The notably higher proportion of married people in Takaro is consistent with new housing areas which are normally attractive to young married couples. This is evidenced by the age of heads of households which tends to be relatively youthful. Eighty-one per cent were aged between twenty and forty-nine.

Table XIII Marital Status of Head of Household, Takaro Sample

Status	Male	Female	Percentage of Total
Never Married	-	-	-
Married	87	-	87
De Facto	1	-	1
Living Apart	-	1	1
Legally Separated	-	2	2
Widowed	2	5	7
Divorced	1	1	2
			<u>100</u>

Table XIV Marital Status of Persons Aged between 20 and 59  
Takaro and Palmerston North Urban Area (Percentages)

	Takaro Sample, 1969		Palmerston North Urban Area, 1966	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Never Married	3.4	6.9	19.6	13.3
Married	95.5	84.1	77.6	79.6
Legally Separated	-	2.0	1.1	1.6
Living Apart	-	1.0	No category	
Widowed	1.1	5.0	1.7	5.5
Divorced	-	1.0		
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The proportion of the female population that was legally separated, divorced or widowed (9 per cent) tended to be slightly higher than for Palmerston North as a whole (7.1 per cent). This rate reaches more pronounced proportions in certain areas of Takaro which were not revealed in the survey because of the nature of the sample. In two adjacent streets

of State rental multi-units ten of the 34 units contained households in which the head was separated which represents a proportion of 29.4 per cent.<sup>12</sup>

In two of the cases described as separated a de facto relationship was known to exist. The one recorded de facto relationship in the survey sample, whilst representing only a very small proportion of the population, is indicative of a tendency for a relatively high number of de facto relationships.<sup>13</sup>

The reasons for a relatively high proportion of incomplete households and their concentration in certain areas to some extent reflects State housing administration for eleven of the twelve incomplete families in the sample were living in State units. First, the proportion of applicants for State rental accommodation who are separated, divorced or widowed is increasing.<sup>14</sup> Secondly, these applicants are placed according to available vacancies which are more common in flat units. As such applicants often do not have the means or the inclination to leave their allocated unit they tend to become grouped in such areas of multi-unit housing. It is significant that of two organisations in Palmerston North concerned with the social welfare of families where one parent is missing, 13 per cent and 20 per cent of members respectively came from the defined area of study, whereas this area contains only 6.7 per cent of Palmerston North's total population.

(b) Household Densities.

The youthful character of most of Takaro has given rise to relatively high population densities in terms of persons per household. The questionnaire survey revealed an average of 4.29 persons per household which may be compared with the Palmerston North average of 3.34 in 1966<sup>15</sup>. From its earliest development by the Government, Takaro has been characterised by

a relatively high and complex density pattern. In terms of persons per acre most of the area under study averages 19 persons per acre which may be compared with the Palmerston North average of 16.35. The area bounded by Brentwood and Highbury Avenues which contains most of the State multi-units in the suburb reaches a density of 24 persons per acre and thus has the highest density in the city. Although densities in the suburb have increased in the past, town planning estimates predict a slight drop in figures for persons per household in the near future as sections of the suburb begin to mature.<sup>16</sup>

#### Summary of the Demographic Structure and Patterns of Takaro.

In summary, the demography of Takaro reveals several prominent features. The population has grown rapidly in a relatively short period of time as over 90 per cent of the sample had moved to live in the area in the last nine years. Because of the nature of the suburb, a certain strata of the population has been attracted. This has resulted in an unbalanced age-structure dominated by relatively young married couples with young families. Yet a notable proportion, 12 per cent of the sample households were lacking one spouse, either male or female. There is a marked concentration of Maori people in this part of Palmerston North, and the proportion of Maoris in the population is relatively high. The households tended to be mobile and 28 per cent were proposing to leave in the next five years. The significance of these findings and their effects upon other aspects of social organisation in Takaro are further considered in the following chapters.

References:

1. Kirk, 342.
2. The 1969 estimate is calculated from the average number in households (4.29 persons) in the survey sample.
3. A similar tendency has been observed in case studies of Taita (Gilson, 42) and Dagenham (Willmott, 1963, 22).
6. Crawford, 1968, 7.
4. 'Maori' or 'Part Maori' is as defined by persons interviewed. 'Part Maori' may contain people of less than 50 per cent Maori blood who would not qualify as Maoris in census statistics.
5. Forster and Ramsay, 222, 224.
7. A.H.J.R., 1962, H-38, 15.
8. Vandenburg, McCreary, Chapman, 17: Congalton, 1954, 88.
9. Gilson, 44.
10. Willmott, 1963, 63: Gilson, 44.
11. Because Takaro's population is lacking in the sixty years and over age-groups, comparisons are made with the 20-59 years age-groups only in order to eliminate the comparative distortion of elderly widows in the Palmerston North figures.
12. This information is from State Advances Corporation records. In the 34 units 19 heads of households were married and ten were separated. Information was not available on the remaining five units.
13. There was a suspected de facto relationship in three further cases in the survey. There are implicit difficulties in obtaining figures to indicate the rate of de facto relationships but impressions gained from social workers familiar with the area support this statement. A headmaster of a school within the suburb described the number of de facto relationships as 'very high'.
14. An officer of the State Advances Corporation described this tendency as 'disturbing' and gave a conservative estimate that 30 per cent of present applicants are in this 'sole applicant' category.
15. Mercer, 63.
16. Mercer, 60.

CHAPTER IV.TAKARO SUBURB: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND PATTERNS  
OF COMMUNITY INTERACTION

The socio-economic characteristics and patterns of community interaction in Takaro have been influenced by several inter-related factors. These include the physical planning of the suburb, as the provision or lack of community facilities and amenities has encouraged certain movements, activities and requirements of the occupants. The demographic structure and trends of the suburb's population have also influenced the nature and needs of the community, and political housing policies have been a basic influence upon the socio-economic patterns found. In this chapter the distinguishing socio-economic characteristics of the residents of Takaro will be analysed, and the patterns of community interaction, in terms of use of the suburb's facilities and amenities will be outlined. Consideration will be given to the implications of these findings on the nature and requirements of the resident community.

A. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS.

In order to obtain an indication of the socio-economic status of the residents of Takaro, information on three socio-economic variables about which factual information could be collected objectively and accurately was sought in the questionnaire survey. These were employment, its nature and location, the possession of certain household goods, and the level of education of heads of households. A general indication of household incomes was also available because of known government restrictions for State house

tenants and group housing loans. These four variables are considered individually and a discussion of their collective implications follows.

#### 1. Employment.

Within the Takaro sample population 143 persons, comprising 97 men and 45 women, were actively engaged in gainful employment (either full-time or part-time). In order to obtain some indication of employment status, the occupations of all males have been placed on the Congalton-Havighurst Scale of status rating of occupations in New Zealand (Table IV). The scale is the result of a study of occupational prestige in which a list was compiled of all those occupations which had more than 1,000 members. University students then ranked these occupations according to their social standing on a seven point scale.<sup>1</sup>

Table XV    Employment Status of Employed Males in Takaro Sample

Congalton-Havighurst Status Rating:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Professional	0	1	2	0	-	-	-	3
Proprietors, Managers	0	0	0	1	-	-	-	1
Office and Sales	-	0	0	1	19	0	-	20
Skilled Manual	-	-	-	6	4	26	-	36
Semi-skilled Manual	-	-	-	-	0	27	0	27
Unskilled Repetitive	-	-	-	-	-	10	0	10
	0	1	2	8	23	63	0	98

Table XV clearly shows that the majority of men were engaged in skilled manual, semi-skilled, office and sales occupations with a notable proportion in status rating 6. Typical occupations in this rating included fitters



and turners, engineers, carpenters, machinists, truck drivers and factory workers. Status rating 5, containing the next highest number of employees, included such occupations as government office clerks, salesmen, insurance agents and electricians with their own businesses.

When the occupation groupings are compared with those of Palmerston North (Table XVI) a notable lack of professional, technical, administrative and executive occupations is revealed (6.2 per cent and 19.2 per cent respectively). In Takaro a higher proportion were employed as craftsmen, factory workers and labourers. The manufacturing industry accounted for  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent of Takaro's labour force (Table XVII), with the largest single employer being the Longburn Freezing Works. Ten per cent of heads of households in the interview sample were employed here. Two reasons may account for this high proportion. First, Takaro is located at the western extremity of Palmerston North and is relatively close to the Freezing works. Secondly, most available employment is of a semi-skilled or unskilled nature and a large proportion of employees in Takaro belong to, and seek work in these categories. The next largest industrial division in Takaro was 'services' in which there was a greater weighting than for Palmerston North as a whole (26.8 per cent and 19.5 per cent respectively). Occupations which contributed to this category included public servants and employees in diverse business services such as mechanical repairs, commercial cleaning, French polishing and dry cleaning. Other occupation divisions, including clerical and sales were similar to the proportions for the Palmerston North Urban Area.

The employment patterns of females in Takaro presented similar trends to those of males. There was a notable lack of employees in professional and technical occupations in Takaro (2.2 per cent) compared with Palmerston North (22.2 per cent).

Table XVI. Occupation Divisions of Employed Persons in Takaro and Palmerston North Urban Area.<sup>2</sup>

Occupation Divisions	Takaro Sample 1969				Palmerston North 1966			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional, Technical	5	5.2	1	2.2	1445	11.2	1530	22.1
Administrative, Executive	1	1.0	1	2.2	1103	8.5	151	2.2
Clerical	13	13.4	10	22.2	1186	9.2	1768	25.5
Sales	13	13.4	2	4.5	1313	10.1	788	11.4
Farmers, Fishermen, Loggers	1	1.0	-	-	554	4.3	99	1.4
Miners, Quarrymen	-	-	-	-	11	0.1	-	-
Transport, Communication	9	9.5	1	2.2	939	7.2	142	2.0
Craftsmen, Factory Workers, Labourers	52	53.6	19	42.2	5648	43.6	800	11.5
Service	3	3.1	11	24.5	488	3.8	880	12.7
Not classifiable	-	-	-	-	254	2.0	773	11.2
Total	97	100.0	45	100.0	12941	100.0	6931	100.0

The greatest number of women were employed in semi-skilled and unskilled positions in factories. The proportion in this category (42.2 per cent) was significantly greater than that for Palmerston North (11.5 per cent). Part-time employment in service occupations such as waitressing and casual domestic work was proportionately more common in Takaro. Employment patterns in the remaining important occupations for females, namely clerical and sales divisions, were similar to those of Palmerston North.

Table XVII Industrial Divisions of Employed Persons in Takaro and Palmerston North Urban Area.<sup>2</sup>

Industry Divisions	Takaro Sample 1969				Palmerston North 1966			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting, Fishing	1	1.0	-	-	514	4.0	128	1.8
Mining and Quarrying	-	-	-	-	28	0.2	1	0.0
Manufacturing	33	34.0	18	40.0	3925	30.4	1081	15.6
Construction	8	8.3	-	-	1705	13.1	45	0.7
Electricity, Gas, Water, Sanitary Services	3	3.1	-	-	297	2.3	27	0.4
Commerce	19	19.6	10	22.2	2630	20.3	1471	21.2
Transport, Storage, Communications	7	7.2	1	2.2	1265	9.8	310	4.5
Services	26	26.8	16	35.6	2502	19.3	3807	54.9
Not classifiable	-	-	-	-	75	0.6	61	0.9
Total	97	100.0	45	100.0	12941	100.0	6931	100.0

The number of working married women was a notable feature of the suburb's employment patterns. In Takaro 57.5 per cent of housewives were working compared with 21 per cent in the Hamilton survey.<sup>3</sup> Of the 88 housewives in the interview sample 33 were working, 17 full-time and 16 in part-time positions. Many women appeared to choose occupations with hours and conditions which suited their family responsibilities, and for the same reason five women were undertaking part-time work in their own homes. Of the 55 housewives who were not employed, 21 indicated that they would like to work, but were prevented by family commitments (19) or poor health (2). The idea that, 'I would like to work when all the children go to school' was commonly expressed by these housewives. In all, 25 per cent of the married women in the sample were interested in obtaining employment when possible. This

represents a significant potential labour force within the suburb.

The location of the employment of both males and females appeared to be influenced by two factors. First there is a lack of employment opportunities within or near Takaro. Apart from the shopping centre the only local employment available is at Glaxo Laboratories (N.Z.) Ltd, which at March, 1969, was employing 26 persons (or approximately 14 per cent of its total staff) from Takaro. All but six of these were women employed in unskilled positions in the pharmaceutical packing hall. The second factor is the occupation status of residents. Because many workers are engaged in skilled and semi-skilled manual positions in manufacturing industries they are attracted to Palmerston North's main industrial zone in Tremaine Avenue (Figure 23). Therefore the majority of workers must move out of Takaro to their place of employment.

Table XVIII. Location of Employment

	Males	Females
Central Area	28	16
Tremaine Ave Industrial Zone	16	2
Takaro Suburb	2	2
At Home	1	5
Remainder of Palmerston North	17	13
Longburn Freezing Works	11	-
Massey University-D.S.I.R.	5	2
Within 30 miles of Palmerston North	8	3
Not fixed	6	1
Not stated	3	1
	<u>97</u>	<u>45</u>

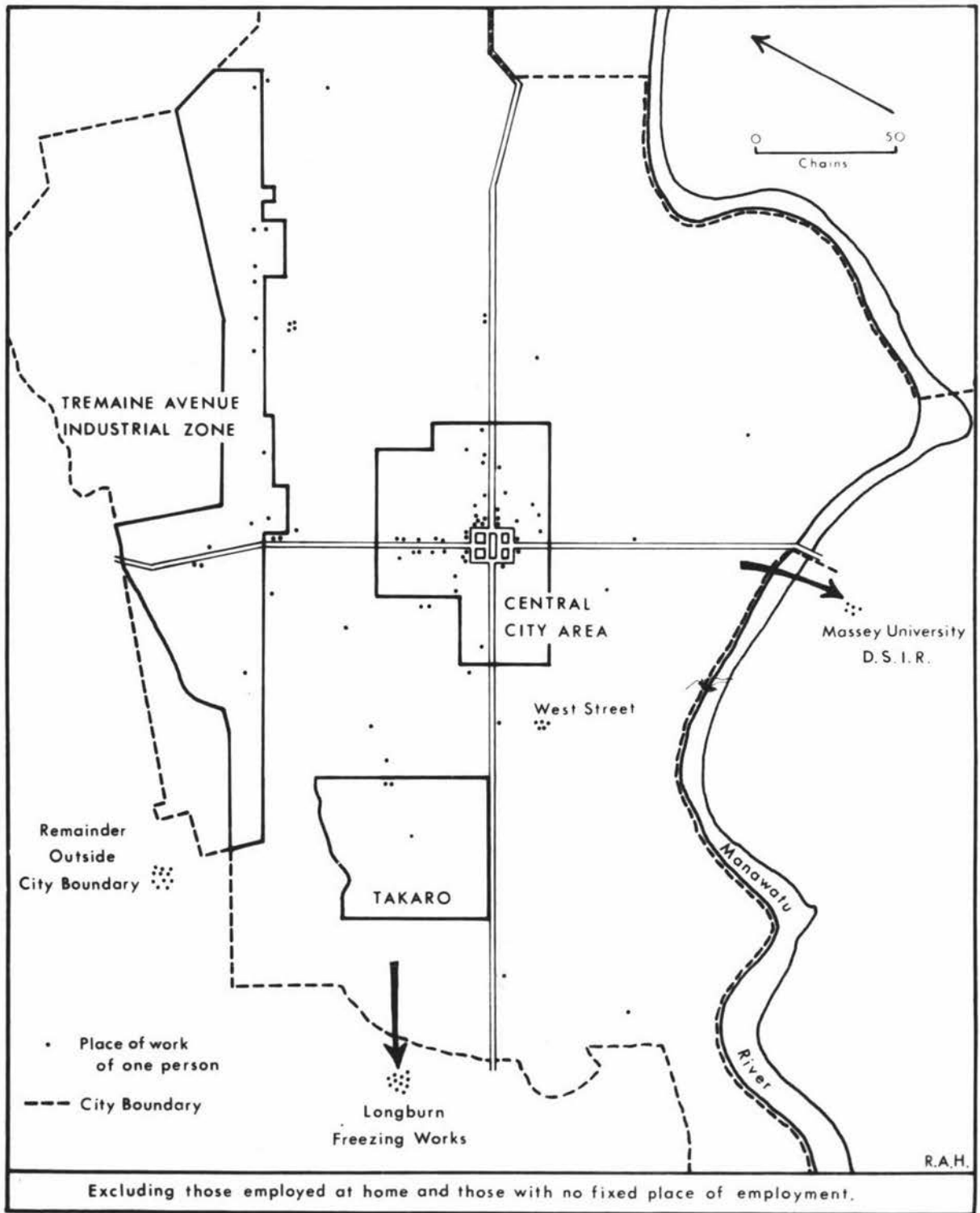


Figure 23. LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT OF TAKARO SAMPLE POPULATION, 1969.

Table XVIII and Figure 23 reveal a relative lack of employment located in Takaro suburb and the western end of Palmerston North. There is a concentration in the central area, comprising mainly office and sales occupations, and a second grouping along the Tremaine Avenue industrial zone. A further cluster of employees in manufacturing is found in a small industrial area in West Street.

Because the location of most employment was beyond practical walking distance, some method of transport to work was usually necessary. Fifty-nine per cent of males travelled to work either by their own car or by one owned by another person (Table XIX). A further 14 per cent were able to use a truck or van belonging to their employer. Bus transport was not significant, but was more commonly used by females.<sup>4</sup>

Table XIX. Method of Travel to Work.

	Males	Females
Own Car	51	24
Car owned by another	9	1
Truck, Van	14	-
Bicycle	13	5
Motor Cycle, Scooter	2	1
Bus	3	8
Walk	4	1
Not applicable	1	5
	<u>97</u>	<u>45</u>

## 2. Income.

The income range of the majority of residents in Takaro could be expected to reflect the influence of Government housing policies as the area is

comprised predominantly of housing designed to cater for people at the lower end of the income scale.<sup>5</sup> For instance, in order to qualify for a State rental unit prospective tenants must comply with an upper income limit of £2,184 per annum.<sup>6</sup> Income barriers are also fixed for eligibility for State Advances Corporation loans on group houses.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, theoretically, each of the 404 households occupying a State unit in Takaro, comprising 52 per cent of the total households, is earning less than £2,184 per annum. However, an unknown proportion of these households may be exceeding the income limits because of overtime earnings or increased salaries since application. When families occupying group houses are added to this figure, Takaro may be described as a suburb in which the majority of residents belong to the lower income brackets. Furthermore, impressions gained from the interview survey and from social workers and other people familiar with the suburb support the statement that many households are lacking in financial resources because they are heavily mortgaged or have hire-purchase commitments.

### 3. Possessions.

Although the majority of residents in Takaro belonged to the lower income brackets most households were not lacking in appliances and luxury goods. The proportion of households owning such items as domestic appliances and television sets was generally above the Palmerston North average (Table XX).

In addition 71 per cent of the households interviewed owned one car, and a further 7 per cent owned two cars. Considering the relatively low income of most families the suburb displayed a surprising degree of affluence in terms of household possessions. This would seem to indicate a high value and a high level of expectancy placed upon the ownership of such goods, of which television sets is an outstanding example. However, the difference

Table XX. Possession of Material Goods.

Item	Percentage Owned Per Inhabited Dwelling	
	Takaro	Palmerston North Urban Area, 1966
Refrigerator	96	92
Telephone	79	85
Washing Machine	97	88
Television Set	94	65
Vacuum Cleaner	94	92

in time between the 1966 census and the 1969 survey may strongly affect the rates of television ownership.

#### 4. Education.

In the questionnaire survey information was obtained on the number of years secondary education and any further education of the household heads. Twenty per cent of the sample had not attended high school, and at least 69 per cent had received three years, or less, secondary education. In addition, 88 per cent of the sample had received no further education apart from serving apprenticeships, and only a small proportion had continued their academic education to a tertiary level (3 per cent) or at night school (6 per cent). In general, therefore, the residents of Takaro did not have a high level of education.

#### Socio-Economic Characteristics of Takaro Suburb.

In Chapter III it was established that Takaro has an unbalanced and distinctive demographic structure. The four indicators of the socio-economic status have revealed that the suburb also displays an unbalanced and



distinctive socio-economic composition. The residents can be described as generally being employed in 'blue-collar' or manual occupations, belonging to the lower income brackets and having relatively little advanced education. The nature of the suburb, containing mainly State-built or State-financed homes has aggregated a restricted portion of the total population. Consequently the population of Takaro displays a relatively homogeneous socio-economic composition. A whole suburb has been created in which residents have similar occupation and income status, as well as a lack of variety in age-structure, a feature also noted by Pool in State housing areas in Auckland.<sup>8</sup> This development tends to have some undesirable characteristics. At best it tends towards a danger of social monotony in activities and interests and, at worst, towards what Gans has observed in the United States as "The enforced homogeneity of...public housing projects, which force deprived people into clearly labelled economic ghettos".<sup>9</sup> In particular the advisability of concentrating together a large number of people complying with arbitrary income restrictions is highly questionable. This is perhaps most undesirable in terms of children's education, if an environment is created which is lacking in intellectual and cultural inter-play between children from different kinds of social background.<sup>10</sup> The headmaster of a primary school in Takaro has described the area as lacking in 'environmental opportunities' for children. In the initial planning of the suburb more attention should have been given to creating a balanced socio-economic composition. Again it appears that the social implications of housing policies have been given second place to economics and utilitarian priorities.

#### B. PATTERNS OF COMMUNITY INTERACTION.

In recognition of the fact that people need more than just houses to

live in, the Ministry of Works Housing Division made provision for some community buildings and amenities in its plan for Takaro. In this section a study will be made of the extent of community development in the suburb, in terms of use of local facilities and participation in community activities, and consideration will be given to the nature of the community that has arisen.

#### 1. Use of Local Amenities and Facilities.

In order to illustrate the use of and patterns of movement to facilities and services within the suburb, three community provisions have been selected for study. These are shopping facilities, schools and health services.

The Highbury shopping centre provides the only shops in the area under study. There appeared to be a high degree of use of and satisfaction with the centre. Almost three-quarters of housewives interviewed always or usually did their main weekly shopping there, and 79 per cent found the facilities to be adequate. Of the 26 per cent of housewives who did not shop regularly at the centre there were no fixed patterns of movement. These women shopped at a variety of grocers, butchers and supermarkets in other parts of the city for a variety of reasons, including convenience to place of work, cheaper prices or because of long association with a particular shop. Although the majority of shoppers were satisfied with the facilities at the centre there were two recurrent criticisms. The need for a greengrocer and/or a men's hairdresser was mentioned ten times. The main deficiency was the lack of shops in the southern portion of the suburb. Residents in Monrad Street, in particular, are up to four-fifths of a mile away from the Highbury centre. One interviewee in this street described a need for at least one dairy in the area.

Within Takaro a kindergarten, primary school and intermediate school have been built upon sites allocated by the Ministry of Works Housing Division. The pressure on pre-school facilities was commonly stressed by housewives who were interviewed. As one mother pointed out, "One kindergarten is inadequate for this area. Children who go on the waiting list at two can't get in until they are four".<sup>11</sup> A child care centre has been organised by the Young Women's Christian Association to help alleviate the demand by providing further pre-school activities in the suburb.

Of the 100 primary school children from the sample households, 85 went to Takaro school. Seventeen children were at intermediate level, and all were attending Monrad Intermediate School. There were only twenty secondary school pupils and all travelled out of the suburb to attend their respective high schools. These pupil ratios reflect the age-structure of Takaro's population. At present there is a pressure for pre-school, primary and intermediate education but in a few years the demand for secondary education will increase. The suburb is a relatively long distance from any high school in Palmerston North as all are sited in or towards the eastern half of the city. This potential demand for secondary education should be regarded as a significant factor when the location of Palmerston North's fifth high school is considered. In reply to the question "Do you think that anything is specially needed in Takaro?" 25 per cent of persons interviewed replied that a high school in or near the suburb was needed.

In the Highbury shopping centre provision has been made for a doctor and plunket nurse. Of the 32 sample households who visited a plunket nurse all but three attended the local nurse. The location of doctors showed a less concentrated pattern. Twenty-nine per cent of households named the doctor in the shopping centre as their family doctor and a further 33 per

cent visited doctors whose rooms were near the suburb in Featherston Street and Botanical Road. However the remaining households visited doctors who were located in other parts of Palmerston North, including four cases where the doctor was at the opposite end of the city. This suggests that a household's preference for an individual doctor may be as significant a factor as convenience in terms of distance. The adequacy of having only one doctor in the suburb was questioned by two interviewees who felt that the present doctor was overworked. Another person pointed to the lack of a dentist in the area.

However, in terms of its suburban facilities and services, in general Takaro would appear to be adequately meeting the perceived needs of its residents. The main deficiencies are related to the exaggerated demands of the dominant age-groups and, in some cases, to an unbalanced provision of facilities.

## 2. Participation in Community Activities.

In order to assess the extent and nature of participation in community activities the question "Do you take part in any other activities in Takaro, and in Palmerston North?" was asked. The influence of Takaro's demographic structure upon community activities within the suburb is clearly evident in Table XXI. The age-structure has given rise to an emphasis upon organisations connected with children's education, and the number of participants in Maori culture clubs, although small, is indicative of the impact of the Maori population in the area.

Members of one-third of households also took part in activities outside of Takaro of which the majority were sports clubs and miscellaneous hobby clubs. There appeared to be a tendency for households containing members in higher status occupations to participate more in activities in Takaro and

Palmerston North than those in lower status occupation groups.

Table XXI. Participation in activities in Takaro and Palmerston North.

Activity	Percentage Participation	
	Takaro	Palmerston North
Flunket, Kindergarten, Play Centre Clubs and P.T.A.	12	2
Sports Clubs	4	13
Church	3	2
Maori culture club	3	1
Social work	-	2
Other	-	14
None	78	66
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

The most striking feature revealed was the overall lack of participation in activities. Three reasons may account for this. First there is a lack of facilities in which community inter-action may take place as there are only three halls, two of which belong to churches. Secondly, many young mothers may not have the inclination to take part in community activities at the suburban level. In another survey of Takaro conducted in 1967, it was noted that activities and interests of housewives were "centred on the home and care of the children, and only a minority took part in the formal social life of outside organisations".<sup>12</sup> Thirdly, the lack of participation in community activities may reflect a tendency observed by Gans that, "Public housing attracts or accepts mainly the deprived lower-class population, which stays away from middle-class institutions and does not often join voluntary associations of any kind. The deprived population needs and wants help,

but so far, it has not often accepted leadership from the types of middle-class institutions and persons who offer it".<sup>13</sup> This tendency has been observed by the headmaster of the primary school within the suburb who commented on the "reasonable number of clubs and halls" but considered them to be "middle-class type which do not interest the majority of residents." A desire for more community spirit and facilities was often mentioned by people who were interviewed. As one housewife said, "We need a few more community things. At the moment there are only church clubs, and not many people go to church". Another wanted "a lot more community spirit; there is a lack of support for plunket and church".

The lack of social contact through formal organisations appeared to be compensated for to some extent by regular contact with neighbours. In answer to the question, "How much contact do you have with your neighbours?", 54 per cent of housewives replied that they were friendly with and saw their neighbours to speak to every few days or most days. A further 29 per cent were "friendly but had little to do with each other", 12 per cent had "little contact" with their neighbours and 5 per cent had "nothing to do with them". Thus, although there was a small group that was socially isolated, the majority of residents appeared to find social relationships friendly. This friendliness is likely to derive in part from the homogeneity of the population. Because the majority of people were of similar ages, they tended to have common interests, such as establishing a home and raising a young family. Besides contact with neighbours, research by Tate has revealed the presence in Takaro of extensive and intricate kinship systems. She found that "Approximately 65 per cent of our sample belongs to an effective kinship system, centred in Palmerston North and maintained by very regular contact and by mutual support and assistance".<sup>14</sup>

### 3. Takaro: A Residential Suburb or a Community?

The physical planning of Takaro suburb with its organic and unified street pattern and provision of a central shopping area and sites for some community buildings suggests that an attempt has been made to create not merely a new housing suburb, but a community. Given the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population of Takaro, and the above patterns of community inter-action, it may be asked, "What kind of community has developed within the suburb?"

The social nature of the community and its needs have been largely influenced by the demographic and socio-economic composition of its people together with its ecological relationships with the surrounding urban area. The aggregation on the outskirts of a city of many young families, generally belonging to the lower socio-economic levels has given rise to a population sharing several suburban facilities and having many needs in common. In reply to the question, "Do you think that anything is specially needed in Takaro?" three recurrent themes were apparent. First, as has already been noted, the need for more community facilities and community spirit was felt by many people. Specific suggestions included the need for youth clubs, churches, an hotel, a public swimming pool and more halls. Secondly, there was a strong demand for educational facilities, particularly at the kindergarten and secondary level. Thirdly many people wanted to see more recreational space and more imaginative play areas for children.

There was, therefore, evidence of a feeling of community responsibility and a desire for stronger involvement by many residents. However several factors could be seen to be working against the development of a true community, one characterised by a certain degree of interdependence, co-operation and a sense of identity. First, the great majority of workers had to move out

of the area to their place of employment. The lack of provision for employment opportunities meant that there was a strong tendency for the area to remain as a 'dormitory suburb'. Residents also, to a lesser degree, turned to the rest of the city for recreational activities. Thirdly, the relatively high rate of out-migration from the suburb tended to be detrimental to community life. For instance, one housewife described the difficulty that the church she attended was having because its members were constantly moving away. Fourthly, the socio-economic level of the population may also inhibit the development of community inter-action.

It would appear therefore, that a residential suburb such as Takaro contains intrinsic factors discouraging the development of the kind of community that was desired by some of its residents. As Beckett has observed, "suburbs are not communities" and his following criticism of suburbs in New Zealand cities clearly applies to Takaro, "The dwellings are designed and set out as a matter of commercial or municipal policy, with at best a hazy notion of what the occupants' needs are, or how these could best be served".<sup>15</sup> The situation in Takaro reveals a need for further research into the nature, structure, function and requirements of social relationships and of community development in urban areas in New Zealand.



References:

1. Congalton and Havighurst, 1954, 10.
2. The figures for Palmerston North are from the 1966 Census and include Takaro. The Congalton-Havighurst Scale could not be applied to Palmerston North as Census information was not sufficiently detailed for an accurate classification to be made.
3. Vandenburg, McCreary, Chapman, 35.
4. Thirty-one sample households used the bus service at least once a fortnight. The bus service was criticised by twenty patrons for varying reasons including its expense and its unsuitable timetable, particularly because of a lack of buses at night-time and weekends. One housewife stressed the need for a direct bus service to Tremaine Avenue where employment was available so that women without transport could reach work on time.
5. Data on income was not collected in the interview survey for the following reasons. Previous experience has shown that a substantial number of interviewees did not know, or were not sure of the income of the head of the household, or gave obviously incorrect answers. Also questions on income offended a number of people and jeopardised the completion of some questionnaires.
6. The upper income limit of \$2,184 was at November, 1969, and is reviewed periodically. A discretionary limit of a further \$412 per annum is also allowable, together with \$52 for each child after the fourth.
7. For example, in order to obtain a State Advances Corporation loan at 3 per cent interest rate there is an income limit of a maximum of \$2,280, plus \$100 for each child after the second, as at November 1969.
8. Pool, 1959(a), 114.
9. Gans, 1961(b), 182.
10. The same problem was found in Dagenham, Willmott, 1965, 115.
11. This statement was confirmed by a kindergarten teacher in Takaro.
12. Tate, 35.
13. Gans, 1961(b), 180.
14. Tate, 16
15. Beckett, 59.

PART IIICHAPTER V.THE CHARACTERISTICS, PROBLEMS AND IMPLICATIONS OF A  
STATE HOUSING SUBURB

In the preceding chapters the physical growth and composition of Takaro suburb and its demographic, socio-economic and community patterns have been studied within the framework of the State housing policies in New Zealand that were described in Chapter I. In this chapter these findings will be re-examined in order to establish whether Takaro may be regarded as a typical New Zealand State housing area. Upon this basis consideration will then be given to the nature of present State policies on planning and administering housing areas, and suggestions will be made for their future forms. The discussion includes a closer study of selected features of occupants in State rental units and of the question 'Is Takaro a problem suburb?'.  
  
The relationship of Takaro to other State housing areas in New Zealand.

It would appear that most physical, demographic and socio-economic features characteristic of Takaro suburb are common to many other State housing areas in New Zealand. It has already been established that the methods and principles involved in the planning of the suburb have closely paralleled those widely used by the State throughout the country.<sup>1</sup> As with most State housing areas development has been comprehensive and on a large scale. The area has been built rapidly and contains a high proportion of State units compared with other forms of housing. In Takaro 52 per cent of dwelling units

are State built, 22 per cent are State financed group houses, 3 per cent are Department of Maori Affairs houses and the remaining 23 per cent have been privately built. In a large-scale development at Otara, Auckland, there is a correspondingly high proportion of State houses (45.5 per cent) with a further high proportion of group houses (38 per cent) and again some Department of Maori Affairs houses (5.5 per cent).<sup>2</sup> Similarly in a State planned city at Porirua, 3,066 residences, or 67 per cent of the total in 1966 were State owned, excluding those that had been bought by tenants.<sup>3</sup> State housing areas tend to be large blocks of mainly State units of similar age, which gives rise to a characteristic visual uniformity observed in Takaro and in other such housing areas throughout New Zealand.<sup>4</sup>

The rapid development of Takaro was followed by a rapid population growth through in-migration and a high rate of natural increase in which the population grew from 218 to 2,714 in ten years. This pattern has been repeated in the first years of many State housing areas. In West Tamaki for example there was an increase in population of 479 per cent between 1951 and 1956,<sup>5</sup> and in Porirua the original population of 4,500 in 1951 grew to 16,500 in 1961 with an increase of 120 per cent in the year 1956 alone.<sup>6</sup>

In conjunction with rapid population growth, State housing areas including Takaro have been found to attract initially an unbalanced age-structure comprising a heavy concentration of young married couples with small children, few adolescents and few in the older age-groups.<sup>7</sup> In Takaro the 0-9 years and 20-29 years age-groups were found to be dominant.<sup>8</sup> Similar patterns have been found in the early stages of development in Porirua, Taita and Otara.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore the unbalanced age-structure tends to continue throughout the life-cycle of the resident population. Taita for instance "has shown few signs of developing a balanced age-structure. Either those

who have moved from the district have been replaced by in-migrants of similar ages or, more likely, the majority of residents have remained in the suburb and, as they have grown older, deficiencies have been created in different age groups."<sup>10</sup> In a survey of a street of State housing in Lower Hutt constructed in 1941 Wards found that an original demographic imbalance of young families has continued and aged to the present situation where 45 per cent of residents are sixty years or over.<sup>11</sup>

The combination of unchecked rapid growth and a continuing unbalanced age-structure in State housing areas inevitably leads to economic disadvantages because of an initial demand for amenities and services, complicated by an additional pressure for facilities serving the dominant age-groups at each stage of their aging. As the wave of peak needs is passed educational and other provisions may become too extensive for subsequent needs.<sup>12</sup> The limitation in age-groups may also result in social disadvantages. In Auckland for instance, Pool found that "any behaviour aspects of the various age groups are multiplied as that age-group becomes the most significant. An unusually high proportion of adolescents may lead, for example, to exaggerated reports on the incidence of types of juvenile delinquency".<sup>13</sup>

The nature of the housing, designed to cater for those in lower income and socio-economic groups who require State assistance means that not only is there a tendency for there to be a limitation in age-groups, but also a restriction in the socio-economic range of residents in State housing areas. This homogeneity is not only found in Takaro<sup>14</sup> but has also been observed in Otara,<sup>15</sup> Auckland<sup>16</sup> and Porirua where "the effects of two-thirds of the housing being State rental are that there is an immense concentration of people quite rigidly classified by income and that these tend, because of this classification, to be young married couples just starting out to raise

their families or older people who have not exceeded the income bar. The population ... tends to uniformity, to lack the diversification of types and interests and occupations, the maturity and sophistication of less circumscribed communities".<sup>17</sup>

A further demographic feature of Takaro was the relatively high concentration of Maori people in the suburb. This appears to be common in other State housing areas, a tendency which is undesirable in terms of stated objectives of integrating Maori people into the wider community. Pool has noted that "Maoris often constitute a significant proportion of the population of State suburbs" in Auckland.<sup>18</sup> In Otara the figure reached extreme proportions, where in 1967 40 per cent of the population of the local secondary school was of either Maori or Island descent. Several reasons have been suggested for this tendency including the general socio-economic level of Maori people, the housing policy of the Department of Maori Affairs and the migration of Maori people from the country to live with their relatives in urban areas.

In Takaro, a notable proportion of the households were found to be lacking one spouse and the proportion of applicants for State rental accommodation who were separated, divorced or widowed was increasing. In Otara, Johnson likewise found "a higher proportion of broken homes than in many areas" and "an unusually large number of homes where dissension is common and of a type disturbing to children. Social workers find the conditions in the area disturbing and difficult to treat".<sup>19</sup> Research in Porirua has also led Lane to conclude that "all State house areas contain their proportion of problem families, some of them placed there by welfare organisations".<sup>20</sup> Again this trend has undesirable implications working against the development of a balanced social environment, and is particularly

undesirable in terms of children's upbringing.

Thus it may be postulated that many of the physical, demographic and socio-economic features and problems in Takaro are common to other areas of State housing in New Zealand. Because Takaro contains private state-financed housing and privately built housing as well as purely state built and rented accommodation it has been possible to make a comparison between residents in State houses and in private houses (including those financed by the state) in order to assess better the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of occupants of State houses.

#### Comparison of Occupants in State Housing and Private Housing.

In the interview survey sample fifty households were occupying state houses and fifty were in the remaining forms of private housing. Five demographic and socio-economic features have been selected for closer comparison. These are age-structure, ethnic groupings, marital status, mobility and occupation.

When the age-structures of the two sample population groups were compared it was found that residents in State houses presented a more balanced age-structure than the remainder of the population (Figure 24). Residents in private housing were more clearly young married couples with young children and displayed a heavy weighting in the 0-9 years age group (40.0 per cent) and the 20-29 years age-group (40.2 per cent) and a notable lack in the 10-19 years and over 40 age-groups. State housing appeared to be catering for a wider age-group and occupants presented a more balanced and mature age-structure than that of private housing. There were no marked deficiencies in the structure, although the largest group was the 0-9 years category which contained 34.4 per cent of the total State housing population. It appears

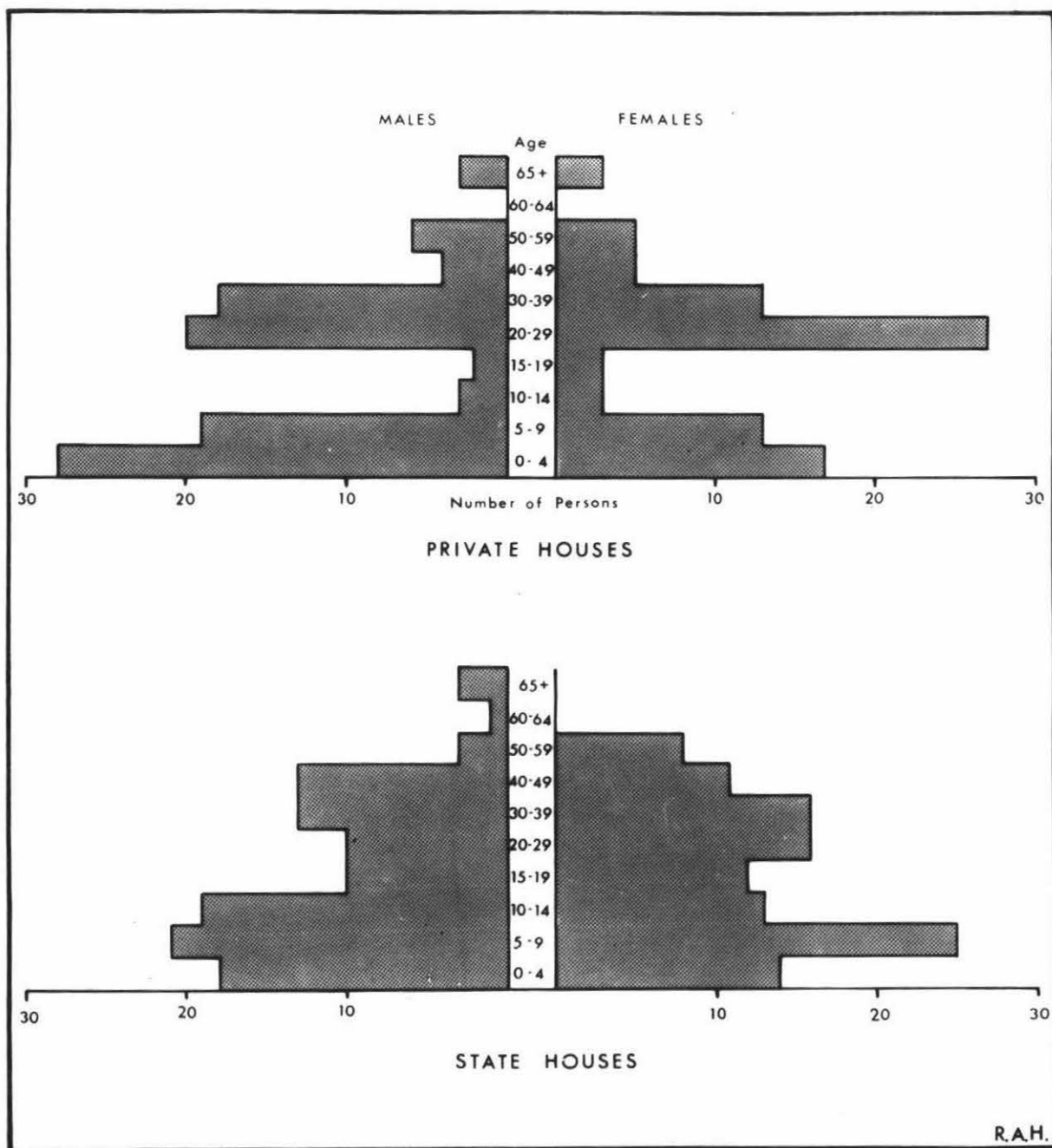


Figure 24. COMPARISON OF AGE-STRUCTURE OF RESIDENTS IN STATE HOUSES AND PRIVATE HOUSES, TAKANO, 1969.

therefore, that occupants in private, rather than State housing, contribute most to the characteristic age-structure of Takaro (Figure 19).

The two population groups revealed no notable differences in terms of proportionate ethnic groupings. Ninety-four per cent of heads of households in State houses were European and 6 per cent Maori, compared to 92 per cent European, 4 per cent Maori and 4 per cent Samoan and Fiji Indian in private housing. (Houses built for the Department of Maori Affairs were included in the category of private houses). The most outstanding demographic difference between the two groups of housing occurred in the marital status of heads of households. Of the twelve families in the total sample in which one spouse was missing because of separation, divorce or death, eleven cases were found in State houses. This emphasises the trend of an increasing proportion of applicants for State rental accommodation in these categories.<sup>21</sup>

The mobility patterns of the two groups revealed that occupants in State houses contribute most to out-migration. Twice as many residents in State houses had definite plans for leaving their house as those in private houses, and a greater proportion (38 per cent to 30 per cent) intended to leave the area. There was, however, no appreciable difference between the groups in the proposed lengths of time before departure. The tendency for higher mobility in State housing areas has also been observed in Otara where Johnson found "a high proportion of families who have moved about considerably, and whose families have suffered educationally".<sup>22</sup>

The occupation status of heads of households (Table XXII) revealed similar overall patterns apart from a tendency for there to be relatively more household heads in State houses in semi-skilled and unskilled positions whilst other residents were predominantly skilled manual workers.



Table XXII Occupations of Heads of Households in State and Private Houses.

Occupation	State Houses	Private Houses
Professional	1	3
Proprietors and Managers	-	1
Office and Sales	12	12
Skilled Manual	11	21
Semi-skilled	13	7
Unskilled	7	3
Not Employed or Retired	6	3
	<u>50</u>	<u>50</u>

In comparing the demographic and socio-economic patterns of the fifty households in each type of housing few substantial differences were therefore found between the two groups. A similar conclusion was reached by Tate in her survey of Takaro in 1967 in which she found that neither the type nor the location of houses gave any significant difference on any other questionnaire items.<sup>23</sup> This supports a hypothesis that whilst policies on the conception, construction and administration of State housing areas have created many of the less desirable aspects of Takaro, many of the features and problems discovered are those of any new housing area on the outskirts of a city. They are not restricted to State houses and their occupants alone, which may become a convenient object of criticism, but appear to apply as well to areas of private housing designed to cater for lower-income groups, particularly where Government financial assistance is involved.

This raises the question, "Has a problem suburb been created?" Do the residents have any recurrent criticisms of the environment in which they live, and are they aware of any stigma attached to the suburb?

Is Takaro a 'Problem Suburb'?

Householders in the interview survey were asked if they liked living in Takaro suburb, and their reasons for their satisfaction or dissatisfaction. In order to assess what was valued in the suburb by residents they were also asked what they liked most, and disliked most about Takaro. The results are shown in Table XXIII.

Table XXIII. Residents Attitudes Towards Takaro Suburb.

(a) Satisfaction with Takaro.		(b) What Liked Most About Takaro.	
Liking	44		Number of Mentions
Qualified Liking	23	Facilities	43
Qualified Disliking	1	Social Qualities	15
Disliking	8	Quietness	13
Neutral	21	Appearance	5
No opinion	3	Accessibility to City Centre	4
	<u>100</u>	Other	3
		No opinion	25
(c) What Disliked Most About Takaro.			
			Number of Mentions
		Social Qualities	16
		'Too many children'	7
		Predominance of State Houses	6
		Lack of Privacy	3
		Noise	3
		Appearance	3
		Other	7
		No opinion	58

The largest proportion of residents liked living in the suburb and the most common reason given was the convenience of such facilities as shops.

schools, plunket and the bus service. Social qualities ranked next, residents liked 'the people' in the area ("We love it here, we have good neighbours of our own age, with the same interests"). The quietness of the suburb, largely because of the exclusion of through traffic, was highly valued. Others also commented favourably on the appearance, "It is beautifully laid out and is clean and modern - a credit to the planner. There is a refreshing outlook, I don't feel cluttered." Some persons were satisfied for no particular reason except that "It's a nice enough area" or that they were comfortably established. As one housewife explained, "It's the only area I know, I've got to know the people and take part in activities". A further 21 per cent of residents said that they liked living in Takaro, but their reasons suggested a more neutral acceptance of the suburb. Typical replies were, "It's where we got our house and that's it" and "It's as good as anywhere else".

The remaining 32 per cent of the sample were more critical of their environment for a variety of reasons. It is significant, however, that when all persons in the sample were asked what they disliked most about Takaro, 58 per cent were unable to give an opinion. The most common field of criticism was the 'social qualities' of the population. Some disliked the people who lived around them, found them unfriendly or thought there were too many children or Maori people. One housewife felt for instance that State Advances Corporation policies had resulted in an "agglomeration of Maoris which has lowered the tone of the area". Another was not used to the 'class of person' in her locality, "My husband is the only white collar worker, and I'm the only decently married woman in the street. Most ladies are divorced, or living with other men". Other criticisms included a lack of privacy, the noise (particularly from children) or, paradoxically, that it was too

quiet. There was some criticism of the appearance, one housewife disliked the unimaginative planning, "It is badly laid out, and badly built".

Another felt that the suburb was an ugly place, "It lacks trees and people take such little interest in beautifying their properties as they are only here for a few years."

The predominance of State houses was disliked by some. This was explored by a further question in which all residents were asked how they felt about living in or near a State housing area. Fifty-nine per cent replied that it made no difference, or that it did not affect them. Sixteen per cent liked it or had a qualified liking for it, often because they were satisfied with their own houses or with the rent. Another reason was given by a young separated woman with two small children, "we are all in one class, people don't look down upon one another." The remaining 29 per cent had a disliking for living in or near a State housing area. Many reasons were given including its effect upon resale value of nearby private houses, the appearance of State houses, their lack of privacy, noise, the behaviour of children (damaging gardens, petty thieving and bad language) and the tendency for Maori people to concentrate in them.

A small minority were strongly critical of Takaro's environment, "There are so many nicer areas" said one housewife, and another found "not a great deal to like". Others felt that there was a stigma attached to living in the area ("the address labels you") and one housewife described how friends had been refused credit because of the name of their street. It was this group which contributed most to the 10 per cent of sample households who intended to leave Takaro in order to move into a different neighbourhood, which is strong evidence in itself of marked dissatisfaction with the suburb.

The fact that 25 per cent of persons interviewed were not able to state what they liked most about Takaro, and even more significantly, 58 per cent were not able to state what they disliked most about Takaro indicates that a significant proportion of residents are apathetic towards their surroundings or have a low level of expectation of what a suburb should be and should provide. This presents another obstacle to improving the urban environment, for in the context of State housing, advanced and successful planning is more likely to occur where there is a demand for it.

The extreme range of resident satisfaction and dissatisfaction with Takaro, and the differences in perception of satisfaction of the same aspects (such as the appearance, the quietness, and the people) make it difficult, if not impossible, to assess whether Takaro may be regarded as a problem suburb. To a small minority of residents it definitely is, whilst many others perceive it as a suburb functioning in a relatively normal manner. Nevertheless it has been shown that problems, or potential problems, do exist. It is rather their degree and significance that are debateable. Although there is much truth in Tate's conclusion that "In Palmerston North, the association of a State and group housing area with a 'problem suburb' seems to exist chiefly in the minds of non-residents",<sup>24</sup> it is evident that there are several undesirable physical, demographic, socio-economic and community features in Takaro that it would have been preferable to avoid.

In the light of research in Takaro and similar findings in other State housing areas in New Zealand it is felt that attention should be drawn to several aspects and implications of State policies on planning, construction and administration of such housing areas. In the following section these aspects and implications will be discussed and suggestions

made concerning the nature of future policies.

State Housing: Aspects and Implications of Future Policies.

Research in Takaro, and findings in other State housing areas in New Zealand have shown that several problems of State housing areas are related to their typically large size. Patterns and characteristics of occupants, such as the tendencies for certain age-groups, ethnic groups, socio-economic groups and people of certain marital status to be attracted to State houses are therefore repeated and concentrated over an extensive area. Furthermore, the similarity in design and age of State houses built in a given area is also emphasised by the scale of the development. Secondly it has been shown that insufficient attention has been given to the social implications of creating suburbs of lower-cost housing. There is a need for more sociological assessment of schemes and a subsequent reappraisal of planning policies in accordance with any findings. The direction and involvement of sociologists and social workers in the early stages of planning new developments would also be desirable.

These points indicate that some fundamental principles of State planning policy require attention. R.T. Kennedy, first Professor of Town Planning, Auckland University has stated that, "The failures in our housing areas cannot all be blamed on those responsible for their physical development. The failures have in large part been due to lack of clear social policy."<sup>25</sup> In particular decisions are necessary upon the extent to which planners should influence patterns of social life and upon the establishment of certain social patterns as planning goals. These planning goals may then be implemented through: (a) the layout and physical planning of housing areas, including the provision of community, employment and recreational facilities

(b) decisions on housing types and sizes,

(c) the administration of housing areas, particularly the placing of applicants in houses.

More specifically, in recognition of these principles, five possible courses of action to avoid some of the observed problems in Takaro are suggested as follows.

1. If development over relatively large areas is to be continued, the programme should be staggered over a period of time. Although this may result in initial financial disadvantages in reticulation and servicing, it would avoid a uniformity in the age of buildings and, more important, an unbalanced age-structure giving rise to uneven demands on facilities.

2. There should be a greater diversity in types, sizes and designs of houses to lessen the tendency for uniformity of appearance and of occupants. Gilson has suggested the promotion of "a mixed class community, one class neighbourhoods and social compatibility with immediate neighbours. This would require different standards of State housing by neighbourhood or alternatively a substantial proportion of grouped sections for sale to developers or individuals".<sup>26</sup>

3. State developments could be continued on a smaller scale, preferably dispersed in small groups throughout residential areas. One disadvantage of this method would be, however, that the opportunities for providing comprehensive and inter-related community facilities and services would be lost.

4. A wider range of people should be permitted to occupy State units. This could best be achieved by easing income restrictions. The present tendency toward raising applicants' income limits is a desirable trend. Greater attention should also be given to compatibility with neighbours

and to avoiding concentrations in any streets of incomplete families or of persons of minority ethnic groups.

5. These goals may best be achieved by having one housing authority and combining the organisation of planning and building construction (at present controlled by the Ministry of Works Housing Division) and the administration and maintenance of houses (State Advances Corporation). The closer inter-relationship between these two aspects of State housing would be in the interests of efficiency and better housing provisions.

As the number of applications for State housing is declining each year the need for large-scale provisions is becoming less evident and it would appear that the above courses of action are possible as well as desirable. It may even be questioned whether the provision of State housing has out-grown its original aims and need and whether public housing should continue in its present form.<sup>27</sup> New Zealand's socio-economic climate has changed considerably since the post-Depression years when State housing originated. The time is approaching when the State could consider relinquishing the building of houses to local government or private builders and concentrating instead on research into housing. State housing authorities could examine the example set by Central Government in England for instance, which "does not build houses, except in the sense that it is involved in purely experimental building. It studies both social and economic problems and incorporates results in devising new methods of financial control and things of this kind."<sup>28</sup> Observations in Takaro have revealed much scope for research in this field in New Zealand including the nature, structure, function and requirements of communities living in urban areas, the relationship between housing design and social interaction, further assessments of existing State housing areas and into methods of planning that enhance the 'quality



of life' as well as standards of living.<sup>29</sup>

In the past, the tragedy of many state housing areas such as Takaro has been not so much what they are, but what they could have been. If the state concentrated more upon a role of research it could well display a leadership in the planning of housing areas that it has formerly failed to provide.

References:

1. Chapter II, 17.
2. Johnson, 4.
3. Brown, 729.
4. Pool, 1959(a), 115; Grundy, 65; Austin and Daish, 100.
5. Pool, 1959(b), 2.
6. Brown, 728.
7. Pool, 1959(a), 114.
8. Chapter III, 32
9. Lane, Chapter IV; Gilson, 42; Johnson, 5.
10. Gilson, 42.
11. Wards, Chapter I.
12. This has occurred in Taita; Gilson, 42.
13. Pool 1959(b), 2.
14. Chapter IV, 56.
15. Johnson, 4.
16. Jackson, 52, Pool 959(a) 114.
17. Brown, 729.
18. Pool 1959(a) 115. The same feature is noted by Jackson, 37.
19. Johnson 48.
20. Lane, 133.
21. Chapter III, 43.
22. Johnson, 48.
23. Tate, 6.
24. Tate, 13.
25. Kennedy, 9
26. Gilson, 51.
27. Austin and Daish, 61; McEwan, 11.
28. McEwan, 12.
29. Rosenberg, 67-71.

APPENDIX A.

In order to study the demographic patterns of residents in Takaro, their movements, employment patterns, use of local facilities, attitudes to the suburb and the housing types and ownership of certain goods, a questionnaire survey was carried out. Information was collected by interviewing 100 of the 785 households in Takaro on the basis of a random sample. Each house in the area under study was numbered, and using tables of random numbers 100 households were selected for interviewing. The accuracy of the sample was checked by comparing the proportions of house types in the sample to total numbers. Proportions were generally comparable but there was a slight under-representation in State housing, and an over-representation in group housing. In the sample 50 per cent of houses were State-built (compared with 52 per cent of the total number), 27 per cent were group houses (compared with 22 per cent), 21 per cent were private houses (23 per cent) and 2 per cent were Department of Maori Affairs houses (3 per cent).

Interviews were carried out by the author between 22 July and 24 August 1969. The majority of persons interviewed were housewives (77), some were husbands (8) or husbands and wives in combination (9 cases). In the remaining six cases a daughter in the household was interviewed. There was a high degree of co-operation and interest in the survey, and in all there were only four refusals. Interviewing was divided into three periods (morning, afternoon and evening) and where there was no reply the interviewer returned to the house in the remaining two periods before replacing it with a substitute. Ten substitute interviews were carried out. When the 100 schedules were completed data was coded and tabulations and cross-tabulations were compiled with the use of an IBM 1620 computer.

A copy of the schedule is reproduced below. The following references were found to be helpful for questionnaire construction and application.

- Congalton, A.A.(ed.), 1954, Hawera: A Social Survey  
Moser, C.A., 1958, Survey Methods in Social Investigation  
Payne, A.LeB., 1951, The Art of Asking Questions  
Bellitz, C., Jahoda, M.,  
Deutsch, M., Cook, S.W. 1965, Research Methods in Social Relations  
Vandenberg, D.M.,  
McCreary, J.M.,  
Chapman M., 1965, A Social Survey of Hamilton  
Young, P., 1966, Scientific Social Surveys and Social Research

Interview No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Location \_\_\_\_\_

Morning  
Afternoon  
EveningQUESTIONNAIRE(The following to be answered by, or for,  
the head of the household).A. RESIDENCE IN TAKARO.

1. How long resident in Takaro

- |            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| (1) 0-1 yr | (5) 10-19 yrs |
| (2) 1-2    | (6) 20+       |
| (3) 2-4    | (7) All life  |
| (4) 5-9    |               |

2. Place of birth

3. Place of birth of wife

4. (a) If not born in TakaroWhere lived after marriage before coming  
to Takaro

Place(s) No. of years

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

(b) If lived only in Takaro after marriage

Where lived before coming to Takaro

Place No. of years

_____	_____
-------	-------

5. Why living in Takaro

- (1) Accompanied parents
- (2) Accompanied spouse
- (3) Employment - own choice
- (4) Employment - transfer
- (5) To join friends
- (6) To marry
- (7) Housing - allocated
- (8) Housing - own choice
- (9) Other (specify)

B. HOUSING

6 Is house

- (1) Owned
- (2) Rented
- (3) Other (specify)

Col. No.

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

	84.
	Col No.
7. Type of house	
(01) State detached house	
(02) State one-storey semi-detached house	
(03) State two-storey semi-detached house	
(04) State one-storey multi-unit house	
(05) State two-storey multi-unit house	10
(06) State Star flat unit	
(07) Private house built under group building scheme	
(08) Private house	
(09) Maori Affairs Department House	
(10) Other	
8. Number of bedrooms	11
9. Ownership of	
Telephone	(1) Yes (2) No 12
Refrigerator	(1) Yes (2) No 13
Television set	(1) Yes (2) No 14
Electric washing Machine	(1) Yes (2) No 15
Vacuum cleaner	(1) Yes (2) No 16
10. Vehicle ownership (Number)	
Car	17
Truck or van	18
Motor cycle	19
 C. <u>GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD.</u>	
11. Marital status	
(1) Single	
(2) Married	
(3) Widowed	
(4) Living apart	20
(5) Legally separated	
(6) Divorced	
12. Sex (1) Male (2) Female	21
13. Age of head of household (circle), wife (tick)	
(1) 15-19	
(2) 20-29	
(3) 30-39	22
(4) 40-49	
(5) 50-59	
(6) 60-64	
(7) 65+	23
14. Ethnic group of head of household (circle), wife (tick).	
(1) European	
(2) Full Maori	
(3) Part Maori	24
(4) Polynesian	
(5) Other (specify)	25

15. No. of years attended secondary school		
0 years		
1		
2		
3		26
4		
5		

16. Further education	No. years	Qualifications obtained	
(1) Secretarial			
(2) Teachers' College			27
(3) University			
(4) Nursing			
(5) Apprenticeship			28
(6) Other (specify)			

D. GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE REST OF THE FAMILY

17. No. of people living in the house	29
18. No. of children living at home (if married circle)	30

<u>Age and Sex</u>	No.	
Females	0-4	31
	5-9	32
	10-14	33
	15-19	34
	20+	35
Males	0-4	36
	5-9	37
	10-14	38
	15-19	39
	20+	40

Children living away from home	Males No.	41
	Females No.	42

19. Relatives or others residing in house permanently		43
Number		44
Relationship to head of household		45
Sex (1) Male (2) Female		46
Age	No.	47
	0-4	48
	5-9	49
	10-14	50
	15-19	51
	20-29	52
	30-39	53
	40-49	54
	50-59	55
	60-64	
	65+	

K. EMPLOYMENT

Col. No.

## 20. Employment of head of household.

- |                   |                     |    |
|-------------------|---------------------|----|
| (a) (1) Full-time | (5) Housewife       | 56 |
| (2) Part-time     | (6) Unable to work  |    |
| (3) Unemployed    | (7) Other (specify) |    |
| (4) Retired       |                     |    |

If employed

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| (b) Type of work   | 57 |
| (c) Name of employer   |    |
| (d) Location of work   | 58 |
| (e) Method of travelling to work                             |    |
| (1) Car  |    |
| (2) Bus  |    |
| (3) Bicycle  |    |
| (4) Walk   | 59 |
| (5) Other (specify)  |    |
| (f) Has head secondary employment (1) Yes (2) No.<br>Details | 60 |

## 21. Employment of housewife

- |                            |    |
|----------------------------|----|
| (a) Employed (1) Full-time | 61 |
| (2) Part-time              |    |
| (3) Not employed           |    |

If employed

- |                                  |    |
|----------------------------------|----|
| (b) Type of work                 | 62 |
| (c) Name of employer             |    |
| (d) Location of work             | 63 |
| (e) Method of travelling to work |    |
| (1) Car                          |    |
| (2) Bus                          |    |
| (3) Bicycle                      | 64 |
| (4) Walk                         |    |
| (5) Other (specify)              |    |

If not employed

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| (f) Would housewife like to work (1) Yes (2) No         | 65 |
| (g) <u>If so</u> , what is preventing her from working? | 66 |

## 22. Employment of other people living in house

- |                                   |    |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| (a) Relationship to head of house | 67 |
| Type of work                      | 68 |
| Employer                          | 69 |
| Location of work                  |    |
| Method of travel to work          | 70 |
| (b) Relationship to head of house | 71 |
| Type of work                      | 72 |
| Employer                          |    |
| Location of work                  | 73 |
| Method of travel to work          | 74 |



(c) Relationship to head of house	87.
Type of work	75
Employer	76
Location of work	77
Method of travel to work	78
F. <u>QUESTIONS ABOUT LIFE IN TAKARO.</u>	
23. (a) Do you do your main weekly shopping at the local Highbury shopping centre?	
(1) Yes, always	
(2) Yes, usually	
(3) Occasionally	79
(4) No.	
<u>If no:</u> Where	80
Reasons	81
(b) Do you think Takaro's shopping facilities are	
(1) Adequate	
(2) Adequate with qualifications (specify)	82
(3) Inadequate (specify)	
(c) How frequently do you shop outside of Takaro?	
(1) More than once a week	
(2) Once a week	
(3) Once a fortnight	
(4) Once a month	83
(5) Less than once a month	
24. Do you have a doctor? (1) Yes (2) No.	
<u>If so:</u> Where are his rooms?	84
25. <u>Where applicable:</u>	
Which plunket rooms do you visit?	85
Which kindergarten or play centre do your children go to?	86
Which day nursery do your children go to?	87
Which schools do your children go to?	88
School	
Number attending	89
26. Do you take part in any other activities in Takaro? (Specify)	90
(Specify)	
in Palmerston North?	91
27. Do you use the bus service?	
(1) Yes, every day.	
(2) Yes, more than once a week	
(3) Yes, once a week	
(4) Yes, once a fortnight	92
(5) Yes, less than once a month	
(6) No.	
Do you think that the bus service is satisfactory?	93

G. GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT TAKARO SUBURB

28. Do you expect to leave this house?

- (1) Yes, definite plans  
 (2) Yes, no definite plans  
 (3) Not at present but possibly in the future  
 (4) No.  
 (5) Don't Know.

col. No.

94

If yes: How soon?

- (1) Under six months      (5) 5-10 years  
 (2) 6 months - 1 year      (6) Over 10 years  
 (3) 1-2 years              (7) Don't Know  
 (4) 2-5 years

95

If no or don't know: Would you like to leave Takaro?

- (1) Yes              (3) Not in the near future  
 (2) No              (4) Don't Know

96

29. Where applicable:

Why do you expect/would like to leave Takaro?

- (1) To move into own home  
 (2) To move into larger house  
 (3) To move into smaller house  
 (4) To move into a different neighbourhood  
 (5) Because of a change of job - own choice  
 (6) Because of a change of job - transfer  
 (7) Other (specify)

97

30. You have been living here for ..... years, do you like living in Takaro suburb?

- (1) Like                      (4) Dislike  
 (2) Qualified liking        (5) Don't Know  
 (3) Qualified disliking    (6) No opinion

98

31. I'm interested in your reasons for this

99

32. What do you like most about Takaro?

100

33. What do you dislike most about Takaro?

101

34. How much contact do you have with your neighbours?
- (1) Have nothing to do with them
  - (2) Have little contact
  - (3) Are friendly but have little to do with each other
  - (4) Are friendly and see each other to speak to every few days
  - (5) Are friendly and see each other to speak to most days
35. How about living in/near a state housing area?  
How do you feel about this?
36. Do you think that anything is specially needed in Takaro?
37. Are there any other points about Takaro that you would like to mention?

102

Visual assessment of house and section:

- (1) Well cared for
- (2) Neat
- (3) Not well kept
- (4) Neglected

103

Visual assessment of interior of house:

- (1) Very tidy
- (2) Tidy and used for everyday living
- (3) Untidy
- (4) Neglected

104

Interviewee:

- (1) Husband
- (2) Wife
- (3) Other (specify)

105

BIBLIOGRAPHYBooks

- Abrams, M., 1951, Social Surveys and Social Action.
- Austin, M.R., and Daish, J.R., 1962, House and Suburb, Unpublished B.Arch. Thesis, Auckland University.
- Bargiacchi, I.G., Corry, N.A., and Halstead, B.E., 1963 Housing Research, Unpublished B.Arch. Thesis, Auckland University.
- Beckett, J., 1963 Patterns of Residence and Social Life. In School of Architecture, Auckland University, Report '63. A Record of the Pacific Congress.
- Buckman, R.A., Hunt, R.A., and Le Heron, R.B. (eds) 1969 Urban Challenges
- Congalton, A.A. (ed.) 1954 Hawera: A Social Survey
- Crawford, P., 1968(a) Maori Population of Palmerston North 1951-1966: A Survey, Report No. 1, Research Section, Town Planning Dept, Palmerston North City Council.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1968(b) Age and Sex Structure of The Population of Palmerston North 1951-1966, Report No. 4, Research Section, Town Planning Dept, Palmerston North City Council.
- Dickson, T.G. 1969 Culs-de-Sac and Community Life. In R.A. Buckman et al. (eds), Urban Challenges.
- Forster, J., and Ramsay, P.D.K., 1969 Migration, Education and Occupation. In J. Forster (ed.) Social Process in New Zealand.
- Forster, J. (ed.) 1969 Social Process in New Zealand.
- Glass, R., 1948 Social Background of a Plan: A Study of Middlesborough.
- Grundy, A.A., 1959 The Geographic Character of Residential Christchurch, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of New Zealand (Canterbury).
- Jackson, R., 1965 State Housing in Auckland, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Auckland University.
- Johnson, J.G., 1967 Problems Facing a New Multi-Course, Multi-Racial Secondary School in a New Housing Suburb, Unpublished Dip. Ed. Thesis, Massey University.

- Kirk, D., 1968 Demography. In International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 342-348.
- Lane, M.S., 1966 Porirua-City in the Making: Urban Development of Porirua Basin, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Lynch, K. 1960 The Image of the City.
- Mercer, J.C.B., 1969 The Growth and Distribution of Buildings in Palmerston North 1945-1988, Report No. 8, Research Section, Town Planning Department, Palmerston North City Council.
- Metge, A.J., 1964 A New Maori Migration.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1967 The Maoris of New Zealand.
- Middleton, P., 1967 The Role of Architecture in a Mass Society, Unpublished M. Arch. Thesis, Auckland University.
- Moser, C.A., 1958 Survey Methods in Social Investigation.
- Payne, S. LeB., 1951 The Art of Asking Questions.
- Pool, D.I. 1959(a) A Social Geography of Auckland, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Auckland University.
- Rosenberg, S., 1963 Quality of Life as a Basis of Planning. In School of Architecture, Auckland University, Report '63. A Record of Pacific Congress.
- School of Architecture, Auckland University 1963 Report '63. A Record of Pacific Congress
- Sellitz, C., Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., and Cook, S., 1965 Research Methods in Social Relations.
- Tate, M.P. 1968 Aspects of Family Life in a New Housing Area, Unpublished Dip. Ed. Investigation, Massey University.
- Tunnard, C., and Pushkarev, B., 1963 Man-Made America: Chaos or Control?
- Vandenberg, D.M., McCreary, J.R., and Chapman, M., 1965 A Social Survey of Hamilton.
- Wards, B., 1969 State Housing from Birth to Maturity: Thirty Years of Development in a Lower Hutt Street, Unpublished B.A. Hons. Dissertation, Victoria University of Wellington.

- Warren, V.R.C. 1969 Geography and Planning in Palmerston North, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Massey University.
- Wells, J.L., 1944 The History of State Housing Construction in New Zealand, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of New Zealand (Auckland).
- Willmott, P., 1963 The Evolution of a Community.
- Young, P., 1966 Scientific Social Surveys and Research.

### Journal Articles.

- Brown, W.J., 1966 Porirua: Deterred to Surmount Political Timidity and Public Calumny, Local Body Review, 728-729.
- Congalton, A.A., 1953. Social Grading of Occupations in New Zealand, British Journal of Sociology, 45-59.
- Congalton, A.A., and Havighurst, R.J., 1954. Status Ranking of Occupations in New Zealand, Australian Journal of Psychology, 10-15.
- Craig, E., 1959 Housing: An Urgent Problem, Te Ao Hou, 48-52
- Gans, H.J., 1961(a) Planning and Social Life: Friendship and Neighbourhood Relations in Suburban Communities, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 134-140.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1961(b) The Balanced Community: Homogeneity or Heterogeneity in Residential Areas? Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 176-184.
- Gilson, M., 1969 Sociological Aspects of Housing Planning, New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, 38-52.
- Kennedy, R.T., 1969 Cities Are People, Local Body Review, 9-11.
- Martin, J.G., 1961 State Housing in New Zealand: A Record of Substantial Achievement, Town and Country Planning, 216-219.
- McEwan, M., 1967 New Zealand Planning Through British Expert's Eyes, Local Body Review, 11-23.

- Pool, D.I., 1959(b) State Housing In Auckland: One Aspect of Auckland's Social Geography, New Zealand Geographical Society Record, 1-2.
- Ritchie, J., 1961 Together or Apart? Journal of the Polynesian Society, 194-199.
- Willmott, P., 1967 Social Research and New Communities, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 387-397.

Government Publications.

Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives:

- B-13, 1937-1959
- D- 1, 1944-1960
- H-38, 1959-1969.
- Coates, J.C., 1935 Housing in New Zealand.
- Department of Housing  
Construction, Ministry  
of Works, 1943 Annual Report.
- Firth, C., 1949 State Housing in New Zealand.
- Holland, S.G., 1950 Report on Government Housing Policy.
- Hunn, J.K. 1960 Report on the Department of Maori Affairs.
- Minister of Housing  
(New Zealand), 1954 Housing the Citizen.
- Ministry of Works  
Housing Division,  
Palmerston North, n.d., Residential Subdivisions: A Functional Street Hierarchy Unpublished Notes.