

## CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

A city does not consist of only high-income occupants; cities need low-income citizens for the survival of the city and its economy (Deheragoda 2007). Therefore, the need to provide housing for those who have a low income who live within city limits is not just the responsibility of the government, but a common challenge for the whole society. Low-density detached or row housing is not a realistic option considering the land scarcity and high cost of land in urban areas, and slums and shanties are not desirable solutions for those living in poverty. This research is concentrated on Colombo, Sri Lanka, and the research proposition is that high-rise housing is a practical solution for housing for low-income people in this city. This in turn raises the issue of how to develop high-rise housing for the low-income people who currently reside in slums and shanties and improve their standard of living without causing any damage to existing living patterns and livelihoods. This thesis discusses the topic within a broad scope considering international experiences with low-income housing and then addressing on a specific research focus - the appropriateness of high-rise housing for low-income people in Colombo.

Chapter 7 contains a final summary of the research and it can be divided in two sections. The first section evaluates the achievement of the research objectives and the contribution of this thesis to academic knowledge in terms of contribution to the theory, the field of research on Sri Lanka and to the housing and town planning profession. Secondly, this chapter proposes recommendations for overcoming the financial, technical, social and management challenges related to high-rise low-income housing projects which were identified in Chapters 2 and 6, focusing on low-income housing in Colombo city.

## 7.2 ACHIEVEMENT OF THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This thesis studied the housing shortage in the city of Colombo in Sri Lanka, focusing on the under-served settlements, to try to determine whether the development of high-rise housing would be an appropriate solution for low-income people.

The main objectives of this research were to critically evaluate the Sri Lankan government's past and present housing policies in comparison to local and international experiences with high-rise low-income housing and to explore whether high-rise housing is an appropriate solution to address the scarcity of housing in Colombo. To meet these research objectives, Sri Lankan housing policies from the British colonial period through successive governments to the current government were evaluated. Analytical priority was given to the urban housing policies which had special reference to the high-rise housing in Colombo city. Chapter 4 detailed the housing policies implemented by governments in Sri Lanka since British rule and then examined the current high-rise housing policy in Colombo city, in particular how this housing policy works as a solution to the problem of low-income housing scarcity in Colombo.

The sub-objectives of this research were:

To analyse the high-rise low-income housing solutions implemented in various parts of the world and to examine the challenges faced by those developments;

To investigate the concept of high-rise residential developments and understand their relevance and importance to the contemporary situation in Colombo;

To examine appropriate housing options for low-income people in Colombo; and



To study, analyse and evaluate the nature of existing high-rise low-income residential developments and the Sri Lankan government's housing policy for low-income people in Colombo.

Chapter 2 of this thesis critically analysed the high-rise low-income housing solutions implemented in other cities in the world and the challenges faced by those developments. The same chapter investigated the concept of high-rise residential developments, focusing on the relevance and importance of this type of development to the contemporary conditions in Colombo, using as case studies various policies implemented by the Sri Lankan government during the last six decades. The appropriateness of high-rise housing for low-income people was a key question of this research and this thesis evaluated possible alternative options other than high-rises that can be used to solve the problem of housing scarcity in Colombo. Finally, this research critically studied, analysed and evaluated the nature of the existing high-rise low-income residential developments and the Sri Lankan government housing policy for low-income people in Colombo. The Sahaspura high-rise housing project was the key case study in this research and Chapter 5 discussed this project in relation to the Sri Lankan government's housing policies, while also looking at the future of high-rise low-income housing in Colombo. Chapter 6 links theory and practical situation of high rise low income housing in Colombo through evaluating the key informant interviews. Accordingly, this thesis addressed all of the key objectives in the research while contributing to the literature about high-rise low-income housing in Colombo.

### **7.3 CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH**

This research examined the scarcity of low-income housing in Colombo, Sri Lanka, investigating whether high-rise housing is a viable alternative to house those who live in the

existing under-served settlements. A study of the literature has shown that high-rise housing for low-income people is a controversial topic all over the world. However, what really interested the author was why some countries have been highly successful in high-rise low-income housing while other countries have experienced large-scale failure with the same type of housing. Colombo has had both successful and unsuccessful low-income high-rise and low-rise housing projects. Additionally, the key informant interviews showed that Sri Lankan housing professionals and policy-makers have mixed feelings about high-rise low-income housing in Colombo and future of high rise low income housing in Colombo. However, there is a lack of literature and the research in the field in this area, and Colombo city needs to be the subject of more academic research to discover what the main factors are in the success or failures of low-income housing, especially high-rise low-income housing. This research has provided several significant contributions to the theory, research and practice in the fields of high-rise low-income housing, both in general and also specifically addressing Colombo and Sri Lanka.

### 7.3.1 CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY

This research began by discussing the fundamental human need for housing. Access to safe and secure housing is a human right, yet worldwide millions of people live without habitable housing. This thesis placed low-income housing issues in Colombo, Sri Lanka within the broader perspective of local and international literature, theory and the practicality of housing issues in an urban low-income category. The proposition of the research was to investigate whether high-rise high-density housing may be an appropriate and alternative solution for the housing scarcity of low-income people in Colombo. To address the research proposition, the thesis critically analysed theories and definitions of housing, including high-rise and high-density housing, affordable housing, low-income housing, public housing and the



sustainability of high-rise low-income housing. Within the building and construction industry, most definitions are unique and differ between country, region and over time. For example, there is no globally accepted definition of 'high-rise'. In Sri Lanka, for the last 30 years a high-rise has been defined as a building of more than four stories (UDA 1986). Today that definition is outdated and this author expresses the need for a new definition of high-rise. Considering the literature and city planning requirements of Colombo, this research proposes a building of seven storeys and above or that is 23 metres high can be considered a high-rise in Colombo. The above definitions are based on critical evaluation of local and international literature; however definitions are open to debate within scholarship in the field.

Sri Lanka does not have an officially accepted definition for 'high density'. In Colombo density is controlled by the building regulations and zoning plan (UDA 1986). The ongoing low-income housing program has proposed a preferred density of approximately 800 housing units per hectare (Key informant interview 2011; UDA 2011) and almost all housing schemes have been planned to meet this target. Considering the literature, key informant interview and international experiences, 800 units per hectare is not the ideal density for this type of project. Land scarcity and high land value are the main governing factors for selecting that density figure. However, it is important to remember that constructing 66,000 low-income houses is not the only challenge in this program - the long-term sustainability of the entire project is also vital. Therefore, looking at the housing requirements of Colombo city and other housing variables, this thesis proposes that 200 units per acre (480 units per hectare) is a more realistic density and that more than 480 units per hectare can consider as a definition for high density in Sri Lanka. Again, this definition is also open to debate and the author is happy to share his research findings with professionals and policy-makers to establish an official definition of high density in Colombo.

Housing affordability is the criterion used for selecting the beneficiaries of low-income housing. The internationally accepted theory of housing affordability is approximately 30 per cent of monthly income for loan repayment, rent or five-year income for the purchase of a house (Samaratunga 2008). However, Sri Lanka does not have officially accepted definition for housing affordability and the banking sector in Sri Lanka uses logical measures to identify the housing affordability based on the loan repayment capacity, with a monthly instalment is based on 40 per cent of net income. This definition could not be used as a national policy as it varies based on the security of the loan. In 2009, the author published a research paper at the Australian International Planning Congress in Darwin which posited a definition for affordable housing in Sri Lanka. The author proposed that costing less than 50 per cent of monthly income can be considered as a Sri Lankan definition for housing affordability based on social and cultural situation and the high cost of housing in Sri Lankan society (Samaratunga 2009).

The definition of what constitutes 'low income' is a crucial issue in this research. Most international research uses the terms 'public housing', 'affordable housing', 'co-operative housing' and 'council housing' for housing that is provided for low-income earners. This research directly focused on 66,000 under-served settlements in Colombo and has referred to the residents of those settlements 'low-income people'. The terminology 'high-rise low-income housing' is specific to Sri Lanka and south Asia. However, the author does not like to use this terminology as it can provide a negative impression of the people who live in these developments. Therefore, this thesis proposes to give separate names for each project, like Sahaspura, to uplift and provide social recognition for the building's residents. Another suggestion to remove the stigma from low-income housing is to use the term 'public



housing', as low-income housing has a negative connotations and is related to the income of its inhabitants, while public housing avoids any direct negative correlations with income.

Finally, the research discussed many theories and definitions dealing with urban housing and low-income high-rise housing on a global level. The main aim of this research is not theory-building or critiquing the existing theories in the field. However, the research findings from this thesis will be helpful to future researchers evaluating housing theories on a local and global level.

### 7.3.2 CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH ON SRI LANKA

This research has provided several significant contributions to the fields of housing for the urban poor, high-rise low-income housing and the sustainability of high-rise low-income housing, particularly in the light of the research's context, conceptualisation and methodology. The best practice of high-rise low-income housing is a highly debatable subject and which has been often discussed the literature in Western world and some Asian countries. However, in relation to Sri Lanka, high-rise low-income housing is a relatively new subject and the literature is extremely limited. Most of the Sri Lankan urban housing research has paid attention to upgrading slums, self-help housing, community participation in housing and innovative low-cost construction methods used in slums and shanties. The fundamental ideas explored in the existing research was the improvement of the general living conditions of the poor while they remained in the same location. This micro-level research is funded by international organisations, including UN-Habitat. Micro-level housing improvements can be made without making a significant impact to the macro-level city development and the urban fabric of Colombo. This research addressed linking slums and shanties with the entire macro-level city development and providing a long-term sustainable solution for the low-income households currently living there, investigating the financial and social sustainability of low-

income families as well as the entire city. Therefore, this research creates a pathway to move beyond the concept of 'something better than privies' to 'All in All': every citizen who lives in the city should have access to the same privileges and facilities equally without any discrimination.

The lack of literature in a local context was another limitation addressed by this research. This research goes some way towards filling the gap in this regards, and will be helpful for future researchers in this field. More than 200 references have been used in this research and extra value has been given to both the research and the field of urban housing in Sri Lanka. Conducting key informant interviews was one of the main data collection methods for this research. This involved interviewing critical decision-makers and well-known professionals in the housing sector, including the Sri Lankan Minister for Housing. They discussed in detail the issues pertaining to the low-income housing in Colombo, including possible alternative solutions, and their perspectives gave extra value to the research. Therefore, the interview data itself will be a good resource for future researchers subject to the restriction imposed by the ethics clearance. The author proposes future research by writing a separate publication about the interviews conducted for this thesis (with permission from the key informants) and aims to create a dialogue concerning these issues among the scholars and professionals in this sector.

Furthermore, this research evaluated over 100 years of Sri Lankan housing policy and how it was changed by different governments, looking at the positive and negative impact of these changes on the entire housing situation in the country. Chapter 4 also lends significant weight to the research and aims to bridge the gap between policy and reality in the housing sector. Additionally, this research provides evidence to question and support theories and practicalities in the housing sector by critically analysing the local and international



experiences. The idea was to compare the theories and practicality of the field, and see whether real-world circumstances affect different viewpoints. Thus, the research theory has contributed to extending the theoretical base and reduces the gap of lack of literature in urban low-income housing research and practice.

### **7.3.3 CONTRIBUTION TO THE PLANNING PROFESSION**

The author of this research is a professional town planner who has worked on urban housing issues in Colombo for more than 14 years. One of the main purposes of this research was the critical analysis of theory and practice in the urban housing sector, thus providing important contributions for the professionals, practitioners and policy-makers who are engaged in urban low-income housing issues, both in general and specifically in Colombo city.

This research critically analyses local and international cases related to low-income high-rise housing to examine whether the development of this type of housing had had a significant impact on and contributed to the well-being of poor people in urban areas. Moreover, the research analyses the pros and cons of the housing industry, with special attention given to mistakes made by professionals and policy-makers in this type of project in other parts of the world. It became evident that the same mistakes have been made repeatedly in different projects due to the lack of knowledge by developers and policy-makers of global experiences. Therefore, this research can educate professionals and policy-makers about common weaknesses in this sector and how these weaknesses were overcome in other projects.

This research has not been aimed at developing new housing theory or finding a new theory for the academic world. The research addresses a real-world situation, and theory and literature were used to increase knowledge of the subject. Thus, practitioners and policy-makers are advised to consider these findings for their future projects. Furthermore, these

findings should be beneficial for politicians, decision-makers and institutions for assessment of their building projects. Academics, higher-degree researchers and university students also can use these research findings for their studies.

Finally, the author's ultimate goal of this research is to share his academic and practical knowledge about the urban low-income housing issues and his investigation of the research proposition of whether high-rise low-income housing is an appropriate solution for urban housing shortage in Colombo. The subject is relatively new in Sri Lanka and, as discussed, the lack of literature was the main constraint to this research. However, this research will contribute to the field, filling some of the gaps in availability of literature in Sri Lanka. Furthermore, the research provides valuable the information that allows professionals and policy-makers to open their eyes to the problems of urban housing issues in general and, specifically, for low-income people in Colombo.

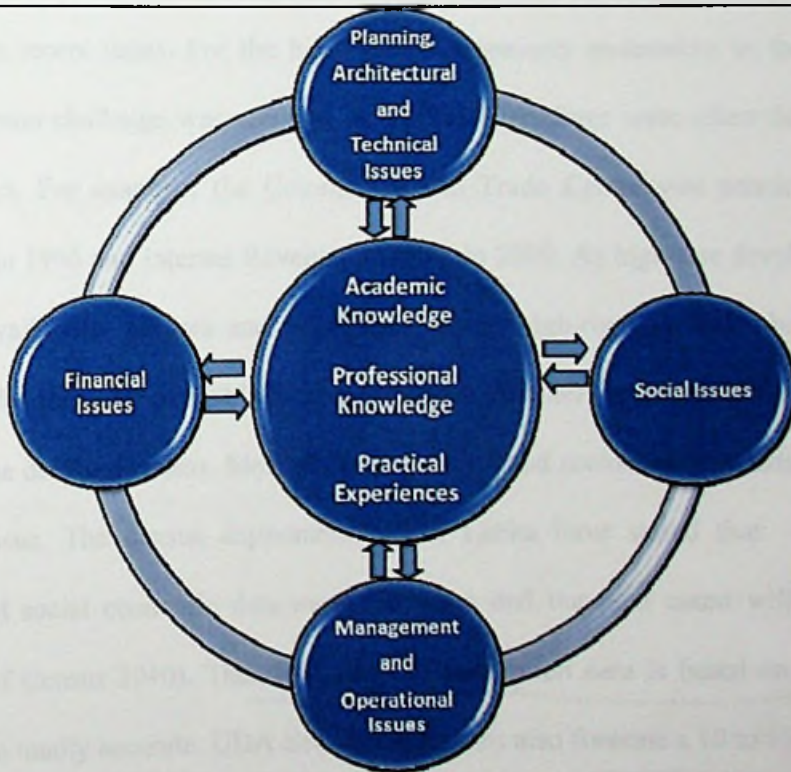
#### 7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

One of the main research questions of this research was 'Why has high-rise low-income housing repeatedly failed in some countries and succeeded in others?'. Chapters 2 and 6 discussed this question in detail and found that most of the failures originate from four areas: Social and cultural, Architectural, planning and technical, Financial and Management and operational. Success is also dependent on how certain variables are managed in the projects. When critically evaluating the success and failures in comparison to the main variables, it is clear the all issues have a direct relationship with academic and professional knowledge and practical experiences in the real world circumstances (see figure 7.1). Therefore, knowledge is the central conception and all other variables depend on the other issues are dealt with by planners, architects, engineers, policy-makers and all other professionals who engage in high-rise low-income housing. Therefore this research strongly recommends that knowledge



become the key factor for addressing the issues about constructing high-rise low-income housing in a sustainable manner. All professionals who engage in this field need to pay attention to improving their knowledge. Additionally, the government can support more research in this field and encourage innovative ideas and experiments in the sector. Moreover, it is also advisable to linking academics and professionals to create a platform to share their knowledge with each other to ensure the long-term sustainability of high-rise low-income housing in Colombo city.

**FIGURE 7.1: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE**



Source: Author's sketch

## 7.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

in any research, limitations must be recognised and acknowledged so that the validity, reliability and generalisability of findings may be properly assessed. Likewise, limitations highlight different approaches that may be useful for future research in further exploring the issues investigated. As with all research, this research has certain limitations that must be taken into consideration in evaluating and interpreting the results, findings and their contribution. The thesis commenced in 2009, just after the end of 30 years ongoing civil war in the country. During the last 30 years, the Sri Lankan economy was not very stable and the construction industry was almost paralysed. Therefore, there has been very little high-rise construction in recent times. For the high-rise developments undertaken in the past three decades, the main challenge was security, as high-rise buildings were often the targets for terrorist attacks. For example, the Colombo World Trade Centre was attacked in 1997, Central Bank in 1996 and Internal Revenue building in 2009. As high-rise development was limited, the availability of data and information about high-rises in Colombo is limited, meaning that the literature available is also restricted. Another limitation in this research is the age of some data and census. Most of the population and socioeconomic data is based on the 2001 Census. The census department of Sri Lanka have stated that they update population and social economic data every 10 years and the next count will be in 2012 (Department of Census 2010). Therefore, most of population data is based on a prediction and may not be totally accurate. UDA development plans also forecast a 10 to 15 year period, and some of their predictions may not match reality.

Moreover, the research method employed in this study was qualitative, using documentary research and primary data collected through key informant interviews. The researcher acknowledges limitation arising from the interview questions having been formulated prior



to full completion of literature review (due to having to return to Sri Lanka to conduct the interviews and needing to get ethical clearance prior to departure). Consequently interview questions may have been refined had time been available for full completion of the literature review prior to departure. The subsequent refine of the literature review has introduced a more iterative dimension to the research process than was initially envisaged. However, researchers contention that this limitation does not weaken the value of the research.

Considering to the Key informants, all key informants were critical decision-makers and well-known people in the housing industry. However, some of their theoretical knowledge may be outdated and their exposure to international experiences was minimal, meaning it was sometimes more difficult to get a proper idea of and analyse global scenarios in high-rise public housing. Therefore, it is important when interpreting the results of this research to understand such limitations which are also limitations, associated with the use of primary data. Research activity is also restricted due to limited budgetary allocations, particularly as this research was conducted by a sole researcher.

## **7.6 AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

The thesis analysis the important issue of high rise low income housing and understanding behavioural patterns based on socioeconomic conditions and how housing policy and planning developed from varies part of the world and specifically in Colombo Sri Lanka. During the course of this research, this researcher realised that housing cannot be considered independently from the prevailing socioeconomic conditions. The scope of this thesis does not fully address this issue but instead focuses on the planning aspects of the low-income sector's urban housing delivery system.

This research discussed the issues surrounding housing for low-income people in Colombo city and explored whether high-rise housing is an appropriate solution to the scarcity of housing in Colombo. Although high-rise housing was the focus of this research, high-rise development is not the only solution for this housing shortage and further research should be done focussing on other available housing options for low-income people, in both Colombo city and other parts of the country. Rural housing is also a controversial topic and much research is needed in this sector as well.

Another significant area for future research is the examination of the affordability and sustainability of housing. High-rise development is not always affordable and providing affordable high-rises is the main challenge faced by many housing professionals around the world, particularly in the low-income sector. Sustainable housing is also a controversial and often-debated topic globally. Additionally, this thesis is focused on an urban planning perspective of urban housing issues and it does not attempt to comprehensively address the social, financial and architectural aspects of high-rise housing in Colombo. Social issues are critical in low-income housing and social inputs are vital for the successful upliftment of low-income housing projects. Adequate and effective management of high-rises is also a controversial topic and a significant avenue for further research would be examining the most efficient and effective management of high-rise housing.

Finally, this research opens up several issues in the high-rise low-income housing sector and, through the research findings and limitations, has suggested several further research opportunities from various angles within the subject area.



## 7.7 CONCLUSION

Poverty, civil war, population growth, rapid urbanisation, unplanned city development and many other variables have had a huge influence on the development of Colombo city since Sri Lanka's political independence in 1948. During the last six decades, Colombo has been the commercial capital of Sri Lanka, with almost all developments concentrated within the city periphery. Government policies driven by economics being prioritised over welfare policies have created an enormous housing shortage in the city, and resulted in a situation where the majority of the city population live in under-served settlements unfit for human habitation. This thesis attempted to address the housing shortage in the city of Colombo, with special reference to the under-served settlements, and to investigate whether high-rise housing would be an appropriate solution for low-income people in Colombo.

High-rise low-income housing is not a new housing alternative for low-income people. Many countries have used this strategy as an option to address a housing shortage for low-income citizens, and this strategy is discussed in a review of the literature. However, whether high-rises are the right solution for low-income housing is highly debatable, and Chapter 2 of this thesis discussed this issue in detail, referring to global examples that have both succeeded and failed. Chapter 2 also discussed the negative and positive aspects of high-rise housing for low-income households.

This thesis consists of seven chapters. The first three chapters in the thesis discuss in detail the objectives of the research, the methodology used, and conducted a literature review of existing literature on the research topic. Chapters 4 and 5 discussed in detail Sri Lanka's housing policy and the practical situation regarding high-rise housing in Colombo. Having demonstrated the magnitude of this issue, Chapter 6 analysed the interviews with key



informants in the housing sector who have expert knowledge of the low-income high-rise housing situation in Colombo.

Considering all the above findings, Chapter 7 discusses how this research will contribute to fulling the knowledge gap in the low-income housing sector in Colombo, discussing the research contribution of the theory, the contribution to the Sri Lankan research and the contribution to the profession. Finally, this chapter makes recommendations to the professionals and policy-makers who work with high-rise low-income housing on how to minimise the risk associated with high-rise low-income housing in Colombo and open a way of thinking about high-rise low-income housing.



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# APPENDICES

## Bond University ethic approval letters



**HUMAN RESEARCH  
ETHICS COMMITTEE**  
Bond University  
Gold Coast, Queensland 4229  
Australia  
Ph: +61 7 5595 4194  
Fax: +61 7 5595 1120  
(from overseas)  
Email: [buhrec@bond.edu.au](mailto:buhrec@bond.edu.au)  
075 55 559 111  
CIVIC CODE 000018

11 April 2011

A/P Daniel O'Hare, Thushara Samaratunga  
Institute of Sustainable Development and Architecture  
Bond University

Dear Daniel and Thushara

**Project No: RO1265**  
**Project Title: High Density High Rise Vertical living: An appropriate  
Housing Solution for Low Income**

I am pleased to confirm that your Project, having been reviewed under the Expedited Review Procedure, has been granted approval to proceed.

It is important to remember that BUHREC's role is to monitor research projects until completion. The Committee requires, as a condition of approval, that all investigations be carried out in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans and Supplementary Notes. Specifically, approval is dependent upon your compliance, as the researcher, with the requirements set out in the National Statement.

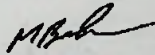
Additionally, approval is given subject to the protocol of the study being under taken as declared in your application, with amendments, where appropriate.

As you may be aware the Ethics Committee is required to annually report on the progress of research it has approved. We would greatly appreciate notification of the completed data collection process and the study completion date.

Should you have any queries or experience any problems, please liaise directly with Caroline Carstens early in your research project: Telephone: (07) 559 54104, Facsimile: (07) 559 51120, Email: [buhrec@bond.edu.au](mailto:buhrec@bond.edu.au).

We wish you well with your research project.

Yours sincerely

  
Dr Mark Bahr  
Chair



**BOND UNIVERSITY**  
BRINGING AMBITION TO LIFE

**Explanatory Statement**

PhD Student Research – Thushara Samaratunga  
Email – [tsamarat@student.bond.edu.au](mailto:tsamarat@student.bond.edu.au)  
Ethic Protocol Number – RO 1265  
Date 11 April 2011

**INSTITUTE OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT & ARCHITECTURE**

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ANZ 98 06 084 01  
CRICOS PROVIDER 00099J

**Project Title : LIVING SKYLINE : High Density High Rise Vertical Living:  
An Appropriate Housing Solution for Low Income People in Colombo Metropolitan – Sri Lanka.**

**Thushara Samaratunga** is conducting this research towards a PhD at Bond University under the supervision of Dr. Daniel O'Hare, Associate Professor in the Faculty of Business, Technology and Sustainable Development – School of Sustainable Development.

The aim of this research is to evaluate the Sri Lankan government's policy of high-rise, high-density, vertical housing for low income people in Colombo, Sri Lanka and to investigate the concept of high-density high-rise residential developments as well as understand their relevance and importance to the contemporary conditions in Colombo.

Thushara Samaratunga is seeking to interview Politicians, officials in various government ministries, private sector investors and professionals who are engaged in the housing sector in Colombo. Completing the face to face semi-structured interview should take approximately 60 minutes and it can be done at a place of your choosing and at your convenience.

Participants' identity will be treated as confidential unless participants specifically request to have their identity used in the research. Without express consent the anonymity of the participant will be assured.

If there are any questions or concerns in relation to this matter then please contact Thushara Samaratunga on +61405319111 or by email [tsamarat@student.bond.edu.au](mailto:tsamarat@student.bond.edu.au). Should you have any concerns with regard to the conduct or nature of this research please feel free to contact the university at:

Senior Research Ethics Officer  
Bond University Human Ethics Committee- c/o BURCS  
Bond University, QLD, 4229.

Tel - + 61755954194  
Fax - + 61 755951120  
Email : [buhrec@bond.edu.au](mailto:buhrec@bond.edu.au)

Signed:

Thushara Samaratunga  
Bond University Student

Dr Daniel O'Hare  
Associate Professor of Urban Planning  
Mirvac School of Sustainable Development



## PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I ..... agree to take part in the Bond University student research project described in the attached Explanatory Statement.

I understand that my participation is voluntary; that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project and that I can withdraw freely at any stage of the project.

I have read the Explanatory Statement and I am willing to:

- Be interviewed by the researcher
- Allow the interview to be videotaped / audiotaped
- Make myself available for future interview should that be required

I also understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party

### AGREED TO AND ACCEPTED:

Full name : .....

Designation : .....

Organization : .....

Signature : .....

Date

## **Interview questionnaires**

The interview questions will be semi-structured with a number of open ended questions regarding personal opinions, experiences and knowledge concerning the subject. The questions have been divided into four categories: broad prompt question to open the interview, personal experiences and professional opinions in the field, government policy, technical and theoretical knowledge. Participants are free to withdraw at any time if they feel uncomfortable. The duration of the interviews will be approximately one hour and the interviews will be conducted with a prior appointment.

### **1. Broad prompt question to open the interview:**

1. Why is housing important for people?
2. The Colombo Master Plan highlighted that 51% of the city population live in underserved settlements. What is your opinion of that statement?

### **2. Personal experiences and professional opinions in the field:**

1. Do you think high rise housing is a good alternative for low income people in Colombo? Could you please elaborate on your opinion?
2. High rise low income housing has been successful in some countries and failed in other countries. What is your opinion about that?
3. What are the main challenges for high rise low income housing in Colombo?

### **3. Government policy:**

1. After independence all the governments have given top priority to overcoming the underserved housing problem in Colombo. However even today the majority of the city population live in underserved settlements. Why do you think that is so?
2. When addressing urban housing for low income people in urban areas, until the year 2000 the government strategy was on-site relocation or low rise housing up to 4 storeys. In the year 2000, the government changed that policy and introduced high rise housing for low income people. The first major example is "Sahaspura", consisting of 670 housing units over 14 floors. What is your opinion on this?
3. Why does Colombo need high density high rise housing and why cannot it build low density low rise housing for low income groups?



4. Why should the government get involved in housing construction for poor people?
5. Do you think providing housing for low income people is a government responsibility?

#### 4. Technical and theoretical Knowledge

1. At present some large low income high rise housing projects are going on. The best example is the "Salamulla" Housing project. It consists of about 2000 housing units in 14 storied housing blocks. Do you think those housing projects will success?



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