



**HOUSING AND SOCIO-SPATIAL INTEGRATION IN THE POST-APARTHEID
URBAN COMMUNITIES, IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF SHAKA'S
HEAD, KWADUKUZA MUNICIPALITY**

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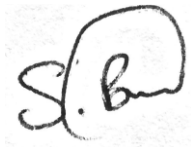
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DECLARATION

I, Sanele Brian Mbambo hereby declare that unless otherwise acknowledged in text, this thesis is my own original work and has not been submitted previously to the School of Built Environment and Development Studies or any other body for any purposes

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ABSTRACT

This study assesses the potential for housing to attain socio-spatial integration in the post-1994 urban communities. Urban communities in South Africa have a history of segregation enforced through policy and legislation during the apartheid rule. Housing was used effectively as a tool to enforce urban spatial segregation through separate locations, urban restrictions, dispossessions and so forth. In the post-1994 period, housing continued to be utilised in driving further urban residential segregations through private housing developments promoting gated enclaves. Post-apartheid urban communities continue to reflect patterns of segregation.

The study argues that class inequalities have maintained urban fragmentation and suppressed the role of housing in achieving socio-spatial integration. Neoliberal urbanism is used to understand class domination and the maintenance of hegemony which has appeared to be a fundamental root cause for persistent urban exclusion. Neoliberal urbanism seeks to enlarge the role of market forces in the housing sector, to privatise the provision of urban and social services, and to increase the role of elites in shaping the urban landscapes. The neoliberal urbanism ideology asserts that the city is envisaged as a playing field for the elites, whereby growing socioeconomic inequalities are managed by creating privatised, customised and networked spaces for consumption by urban elites.

The study uses a case of Shaka's Head, a socially mixed urban neighbourhood in Ballito, KwaDukuza Municipality. A qualitative approach was used for research methodology and design. In-depth interviews were conducted with government officials, the civic movement, low and high-income sections of the study area. Research findings show that in Shaka's Head, there has been a noticeable but limited role of housing to achieve socio-spatial integration. Through housing location, it was possible to attain a multi-class urban neighbourhood, which is strategically located closer to economic opportunities. However, there has been an inability of social groups to create social relations and share in the local economy. The study concludes

that, while housing has a potential to attain spatial integration, socially mixed neighbourhoods have remained socially fragmented. In achieving socio-spatial integration, the study recommends for institutional integration, effective participation, development of quality infrastructure and improved security.

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List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CID	City Improvement District
COGTA	Cooperative Governance & Traditional Affairs
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
DHS	Department of Human Settlements
FEPD	Forum for Effective Planning and Development
HWP	Housing White Paper
IDP	The Integrated Development Plan
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
KDM	KwaDukuza Municipality
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
NDP	National Development Plan
NPC	National Planning Commission
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SA	South Africa
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land-use Management Act

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1. Chapter One: Background of the Study

1.1 Background

This study is about the role of residential housing as a mechanism in fostering socio-spatial integration in the post-apartheid urban communities in South Africa. Socio-spatial integration encompasses dimensions such as social space, infrastructure, local economic benefits, and residents as located in the same neighbourhood. This form of integration can be achieved where an urban community is socially cohesive and has an infrastructure that generates social and economic opportunities that can be accessed and shared fairly by local residents. It also entails collective active participation by residents in the social and spatial development of their urban community, working together with various institutions such as government, and political, civic or private organisations. This is in line with Ruiz-Tagle (2013) who perceives the functional aspect of spatial integration as relating to effective access to opportunities and services in the territory and it involves variables such as spatial distance to opportunities, quality of opportunities, economic access to services, level of state involvement and presence of public and private institutions.

The interaction of residents is an important indicator of socio-spatial integration, which is in accordance with (Sin & Krysan, 2015:468) who asserts that, studies that regard integration as a multidimensional phenomenon pay attention to social interaction between people of different racial/ethnic backgrounds, in addition to a place's racial composition. In support of this assertion, Ruiz-Tagle (2013) perceives spatial integration as comprising a multi-dimensional perspective which includes a physical aspect, relating to physical proximity between different social groups. Residential housing in this regard, therefore, plays a central role as a mechanism to promote socio-spatial integration.

A central role played by housing in the attainment of socio-spatial integration is explained by Turner's (1972) definition of housing, pointing out that housing can be regarded both as a noun as a verb. In this perspective, conceptually, housing is regarded as a noun where it simply means a commodity or product. However, when viewed as a verb, 'to house' would refer to a process or activity of housing. In his emphasis, housing should be viewed more as a verb, for the varying components that it contains. In the context of housing development, these components also involve planning and community participation. They allow for interaction of residents in shaping their own urban neighbourhoods, to even generate and allow access to socio-economic opportunities. Housing thus attains socio-spatial integration through creating a 'geography of opportunity'. This refers to the different ways in which geography or location influences individuals' opportunities and even modifies the innate and acquired characteristics of participants and the ability to plan (Rosenbaum et al, 2002). A detailed account of concepts highlighted in this section, such as social integration, spatial integration, and geography of opportunity is outlined further in the conceptual framework.

The patterns of segregation in many urban communities today have their origins from apartheid urban planning where housing was used as a significant instrument. This affected the prospect of opportunities and life outcomes of urban dwellers, but most significantly shaped segregation patterns through creating social boundaries. Section 2.10.1 discusses the origins of urban segregation and its impacts. Apartheid was a system characterised by institutional segregation and discrimination whereby suppression of African, Indian and Coloured people was encouraged and supported by legislation. The apartheid policy governed relations between South Africa's white minority and non-white majority and enforced racial segregation and political and economic discrimination against non-whites. In addition, the implementation of apartheid called for separate development through laws such as

the Population Registration Act of 1950, which classified all South Africans as either Black, Coloured, Indian or White (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018).

‘Apartheid’ is an Afrikaans word that means ‘apartness’ and was an ideology that called for separate development in South Africa along racial lines (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018). An understanding of this concept is crucial in this study as the history of separate development has shaped the current urban patterns even in the new democratic era in South Africa. Apartheid was legalised in 1948 by the ruling National Party and became a government official regime until 1994 when the new democratic African National Congress (ANC)-led government came into power (Findley & Ogbu, 2011). The significance of unpacking this phenomenon in this study is to understand the shift of settlement policy in the post-1994 urban communities.

As a cornerstone of this apartheid system, spatial segregation laws were enacted and consequently brought about major changes in the spatial planning and development of South African urban areas. In 1950 the apartheid government passed the *Group Areas Act*, which came into effect in 1955 (Maylam, 1995). This meant a turning point in the history of urban planning in SA. The Act led to the allocation of racial groups to different residential and business sections in urban areas, resulting in massive urban fragmentation. The aim of this spatial segregation, amongst other things, was to isolate and restrict the access of blacks to the developed sections of urban areas. The African population was relegated to poor, marginalised, underdeveloped, and low-income townships located in the urban outskirts (Maylam, 1995). This resulted not only to racial fragmentation but also in major class differences in the urban communities.

The substantial role played by housing in enforcing urban segregation during the era of the apartheid regime and the remains it has left for contemporary urban communities, gives the broad significance of this study. The significance is an assessment of the utilisation of the same

tool, which is housing as an intervention for redress, towards the attainment of urban integration. According to the State of South African Cities Report (2016), transformation is critical for the growth and development of cities as it affects economic access and efficiency. As outlined in the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF), an estimated population of 71.3% and 80% will be residing in urban areas in 2030 and 2050 respectively (COGTA, 2016). This signals the need for more research to be done on urban transformation, hence the significance of this study. The post-1994 housing and planning policy interventions have emphasised less on a multi-dimensional approach towards urban integration. Therefore, the contribution of this study is to indicate an inseparable effect of social and spatial dimensions of integration, where housing is used as a mechanism for socio-spatial integration.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

When the democratic government came to power in 1994, one of the major focus areas was to redress the spatial injustices caused by the apartheid segregation policies (Alison, 2008). The preamble in the constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996, p1) emphasises recognising the injustices of the past and healing the divisions of the past, and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental human rights. The first comprehensive policy intervention by the ANC-led government was an introduction of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to address many problems brought by lack of equitable development through apartheid spatial development. In addition, to mobilise all South Africans towards the eradication of the apartheid legacies, which involved massive urban fragmentation. One of the key priority components of the RDP, through which apartheid legacy could be eradicated, was the delivery of government-assisted low-cost housing, directed through the Housing White Paper (HWP) as the initial housing policy. The sole vision of the HWP was the establishment of viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas

allowing convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities (Department of Housing, 1994:19).

The HWP suffered shortfalls and was unable to deliver socially and spatially integrated and transformed urban communities. The implementation of this housing policy paid less attention to the broader integrated and inclusive development of human settlements (Department of Housing, 1994). This included large-scale RDP housing developments that were mostly located on the periphery of existing townships on land first zoned for township developments during the era of apartheid spatial planning (Tissington, 2011:61). As a result, these housing developments failed to contribute to the compaction, integration, and restructuring of the fragmented urban communities (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2003). This mirrored the reinforcement of spatial segregation, isolated the urban poor from livelihood opportunities and contributed largely towards urban sprawl. Consequently, housing delivery had a limited impact on poverty alleviation but contributed more on the marginalisation of the urban poor (Tissington, 2011).

In addressing the shortfalls of the HWP and enhancing its existing mechanisms, the *Breaking New Ground Housing (BNG)* housing policy emerged in 2004 to provide a new policy direction. The focus of BNG was to move beyond the provision of basic shelter, and towards achieving the broader vision of sustainable human settlements and more efficient cities, towns, regions, and to promote inclusive infrastructure development (Department of Housing, 2004). Part of the major focus areas of the *BNG Housing Policy* was to enhance spatial planning and to promote densification and integration, whereby towns and cities are built in conformity with the processes by which wealth is generated and distributed (Department of Housing, 2004).

Another important policy objective of the BNG is to utilise housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements in support of spatial restructuring. The spatial

restructuring would include ensuring that housing developments are well-located, where there is reasonable access to socio-economic opportunities (Department of Housing, 2004). In strengthening spatial restructuring, the *Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act no. 16 of 2013* was later enacted to enhance the existing mechanisms for integrated development. The act has been envisaged to create a spatial planning framework and land use management system that will accelerate development in parts of urban areas excluded from the benefits of spatial development planning and land use management.

After two decades of democratic dispensation, with policy initiatives for the redress of segregation, the legacy of apartheid urban fragmentation has persisted in South Africa. This has been indicated through divisions in settlement patterns, persisting poverty in the townships, and social inequalities in the urban communities. Statistics South Africa Strategic Plan of 2015 refers to “fragmented statistical and geographic environment” where apartheid left a disastrous spatial legacy. It adds that after twenty-four years of democracy, South Africa’s towns and cities have remained divided and inefficient, thus imposing high costs on households and the economy (Statistics South Africa, 2015).

Miller (2016) pointed out that twenty-two years after the fall of apartheid, many of the physical barriers used to separate racial urban neighbourhoods, and the inequalities they have produced, still exist. Many urban communities today, reflect a pattern where low-cost houses such as shacks and government subsidised houses are located just metres away from those of extreme wealth and privilege, in some cases developed on what used to be physical barriers for spatial segregation. According to Crankshaw (2008) since the scrapping of apartheid, Blacks in South Africa are free to move to or live wherever they want, depending on their affordability. The movements to new locations are therefore through the emerging middle-class purchasing houses in the highly developed sections, new government low-cost housing developments or location of informal settlements closer to wealthy suburbs. While these communities may

appear as spatially integrated, socially they are highly fragmented. Some of these communities include Imizamo Yethu and Hout Bay in Cape Town, Sandton and Alexandra in Johannesburg, Kennedy Road Informal Settlements and Clare Estates in Durban and Shaka's Head in Ballito and many others across the country (Miller, 2016). An illustration of these places is provided in figures 6 and 7.

The post-apartheid diagnostic analysis provided by the *National Development Plan* (NDP) recognised that since 1994, densities have increased in some urban areas and there has also been partial regeneration of inner cities, coupled with the growth of housing ownership. However, it further noted that in overall, little progress has been made in reversing apartheid geography and creating more functionally integrated, balanced and vibrant urban settlements (National Planning Commission, 2016). According to Christopher (2001), the development of gated communities has served as another source of class-based segregation that could even be seen as an attempt to resist urban integration. While this has been noted as a major post-apartheid urban challenge, the fundamental reshaping of the colonial and apartheid geography or spatial setting may take decades. The NDP further asserts that South Africa's towns and cities remain highly fragmented, imposing high costs on households and the economy (National Planning Commission, 2012).

The Integrated Urban Development Framework of 2016 diagnosed that South Africa's urban communities continue to be hampered by a legacy of segregation, poverty, and exclusion from social and economic opportunities, as indicated through overlapping racial and class separations. This framework further pointed out that, despite significant service delivery and development gains since 1994, apartheid spatial patterns have largely not been reversed and the increasing effect is that in 2013 it was harder to reverse apartheid geographies today than in 1994 (COGTA, 2016).

The South African urban communities are still suffering the persistence of profound social divisions originating from continued segregated urban settlements inherited from apartheid planning and, since 1994. These have been reinforced by the uneven growth in land values and limited access by the poor to resources. Urban mobility patterns according to the IUDF show that the growth of the black middle class has resulted in more racial mixing mainly in the previously predominantly white and middle-class suburbs, but very little has occurred in working-class and poor areas (COGTA, 2016). It has been stated in the State of South African Cities Report (2016), that the current urban development trajectory has negative characteristics that result in cities not achieving their spatial visions.

The indication made by the IUDF and the NDP diagnosis is that policy interventions that have been made thus far to redress socio-spatial integration have not been much effective in incorporating the poor into the urban core benefits. Furthermore, it signals that such policies continue to benefit the already rich while suppressing the voice and the will of the poor and leaving the high-class groups in charge of urban development and management. With this being noted, the persistence of urban fragmentation is owed to housing and planning policies that have neglected the extent to which spatial integration is impacting on social integration when social services such as housing are delivered. Outcomes of urban integration in current methods forced integration through housing location continue to favour the previously advantaged social groups.

The twenty-four-year period is not significant enough for a total redevelopment of these towns and cities, however, a reasonable transition towards the integration of urban communities must have been achieved to reduce urban socio-economic inequalities and poverty levels. Therefore, this study seeks to evaluate critically the extent to which housing has been utilised as a mechanism to achieve socio-spatial integration in post-apartheid urban communities and to redress the spatial segregation manifested in apartheid spatial segregation policies. The

apartheid government administration used housing as a mechanism to create a segregated society based on racial differences. It seems logical to think, therefore, that it can be through housing in the post-apartheid period that urban socio-spatial integration can be attained, depending on how it is delivered and managed.

The assessment of urban integration in this study is largely concerned with class dominance and hegemony that urban communities suffer from. These are evident in the development and expansion of gated urban sections which restrict progress in urban integration. Such biased forms of urban development continue to perpetuate socio-economic inequalities and to deprive the poor of the social and economic benefits that cities offer. In this way, urban poverty and inequality persist even after various legislative, and other interventions have been made.

1.3 Research Questions

1.3.1 Main research question

What is the role of housing in achieving socio-spatial integration in the post-apartheid urban communities, in South Africa?

1.3.2 Subsidiary questions

- To what extent has housing development contributed towards socio-spatial integration in Ballito, Shaka's Head?
- To what extent has citizen participation been enabled in the development of an integrated urban community in Shaka's Head?
- What are the perspectives of residents regarding social integration in Shaka's Head?

1.4 Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to assess the efficacy of housing as a mechanism for socio-spatial integration, to contribute towards the extension of theoretical and policy framework.

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

- Assess the extent to which housing has been utilised to create socio-spatial integration in urban communities in the post-apartheid period. This shall be indicated through an assessment of the extent of the provision of well-located housing close to employment opportunities where all residents have access to social and economic benefits generated by the infrastructure of the local area.
- Evaluate the extent of citizen participation in the development of integrated urban communities, through residents' involvement in the decision-making process for social and spatial development.
- Understand resident's perspectives on social integration, indicated through perceived positive social interaction between all social groups and the perceived social cohesiveness within the community.

1.6 Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is structured in a logical format that seeks to address the research aims and objectives and to respond to the main research question and subsidiary questions. This includes literature on theories and concepts which underpinned a broad view of the entire study. Local and international experiences provided evidence to back up the claims implicit in the problem statement. Further chapters outline data presentation and analysis and how these have been informed by theories and concepts shaping the study. The current chapter provides an introduction to the study through an outline of the background, problem statement, research questions, and objectives. The chapter further provides a detailed description of the study area (Shaka's Head).

Chapter Two discusses the conceptual and theoretical framework and review of literature that have informed this study. Concepts include housing, the geography of opportunity and integration with social and spatial dimensions. Theories include neoliberal urbanism which is a major theory informing the entire study. Furthermore, spatial assimilation theory is outlined and, lastly, place stratification theory which has supplemented the latter theory. Review of literature presents various scholarly ideas on housing and integration. Furthermore, it discusses the local and international experiences of urban segregation and integration which traces the origins and persistence of urban segregation. The chapter finally outlines post-1994 policy and practical interventions towards urban integration in South Africa.

Chapter Three unpacks the methodology and design that was applied to respond to the research aim, questions and objectives. The account of the methodology presents the motivation for the selection of the study area used. It discusses various research techniques applied in the study, the sampling, and research tools. The chapter also accounts for the significance of each respondent selected for participation, the secondary data sources used and how all data gathered was analysed. Lastly, the chapter presents the limitations faced in the research and alternative methods provided over limitations encountered.

Chapter Four gives a detailed presentation of research findings and data analysis. The presentation follows the research objectives and questions. These include the role of housing in attaining socio-economic integration. Secondly, the role of government and policy interventions on integration. Thirdly, the record of provision of local residents with economic opportunities offered by their community and the surroundings. The fourth section gives a presentation and analysis of neighbourhood perceptions and relations of the low and high-income residents at Shaka's Head. The fifth gives a presentation of challenges that delayed or blocked integration in Shaka's Head, Ballito and general overview of other urban communities. The Chapter further makes a discussion through an interpretation of the research findings

theoretical framework that the study is contained within. It interprets the persistence of urban fragmentation through neoliberal urbanism. The interpretation includes research findings, literature and the theory. A further section also gives an interpretation of the distribution of urban opportunities through findings, literature and spatial assimilation theory. These interpretations of research theories, literature and findings have informed the consideration of a phenomenon regarded in the study as the *antagonistic integration*.

Chapter Five is divided into three sections. The first section gives a concrete summary of findings as emanating from chapter four, providing key areas of findings. The second section provides a conclusion of the entire study, informed by the theoretical framework, literature, and findings. The last part outlines recommendations for filling the gaps that were identified. These recommendations include key areas of institutional integration, communication, and participation, reduction of urban inequalities, quality infrastructure, and improved security.

1.7 Description of the Study Area

1.7.1 History of Shaka's Head

Shaka's Head was established from a sugarcane farm originally known as Compensation, dating back as early as 1846, owned by a settler Edmond Morewood (ShowMe, 2008). The white settlers had obtained a piece of land from the Zulu Kingdom which ruled and owned the land. The rapid growth of the sugarcane industry in the early 1850s outgrew the available labour pool, owing to the Zulu natives' general unwillingness to become sugarcane farm labourers (South African History Online, 2011). This led to the passing of the legislation in 1859 that permitted the outsourcing of the Indian labour pool to work in the sugarcane farms. The first arrival of the Indian indentured labourers in the northern KwaZulu-Natal was seen from 1860, to serve in the sugarcane fields (South African History Online, 2011).

The discovery of gold in Johannesburg grew the importance of the Port of Durban, leading to the development of the transport infrastructure such as roads and the railway links between Durban and Johannesburg. As a result, the north and south coasts of Natal started to become important tourist destinations. In 1953, a group of businessmen who had been drawn into the area due to growing agricultural business, and improving infrastructure came together and started identifying land to develop a township in the Compensation Beach area (ShowMe, 2008). According to (North of Durban, 2018), when the Ballito town was established in 1954, the Sunday Tribune newspaper issued an advert inviting potential investors to the North Coast with the initial amount of land costing R790.00 (South African History Online, 2011). With growing investment into the area, by 1964 the zonings for Ballitoville's residential buildings, hotels and a caravan park had already been incorporated into the town plan known as Compensation Beach and this area stretched out from Willard Beach to Clark Bay, Salmon Bay and Port Zimbali (North of Durban, 2018). Development of local residential areas continued to grow as now illustrated in figure 3 below. It is this trend of industrial and property developments that influenced the development of Shaka's Head residential area.

Following the settling-in of the Indian community and gaining a sense of permanence, they escalated from general farm workers to participate in the sugarcane and other businesses. This then meant ownership of land by the Indian nationals. It is, however, not clear how a piece of land at Shaka's Head came into the hands of Indian ownership. The area had been growing with commercial activities. The economic growth of this area attracted many migrant workers, mostly from the Eastern Cape who were in search of employment opportunities. This indicated a growing need for low-income housing in the area. In 1994 a portion of land was obtained by government from various Indian landowners and was used for public low-income housing development. The RDP government low-cost government-assisted houses were therefore

developed and housed people who had become permanent residents of this area, which included black migrant workers and a few Indian residents (ShowMe, 2008).

The major land-use in this area has been for agriculture and in 2007 about forty hectares of sugar farmland was rezoned for businesses, parks and for residential use as it appears in figure 3. Caledon Estate was developed as an ‘affordable’ gated investment product to cater to young families and retirees. Other gated settlements around this area now include Brooklyn, Shortens, and Umhlali Country Club and Golf Estate (ShowMe, 2008).

1.7.2 Location of the area

Shaka’s Head, a sub place of Ballito, falls within Ward 4 of KwaDukuza Local Municipality, which is one of the four municipalities under iLembe District Municipality. The location of KwaDukuza Municipality (KDM) is illustrated in figure 1. The municipality is located between two major port cities in South Africa which are Durban and Richards Bay. KwaDukuza is seven hundred and thirty-five square kilometres in size, stretching from Zikwazi River in the north to the Tongaat River in the South (SA-Venues, 2018). This municipality has become a node and a dominant commercial centre in iLembe District, one of the key features being the *N2 Development Corridor* as shown in figure 2.

Ballito within KwaDukuza Local Municipality is situated about 40 kilometres north of Durban. As shown in map 3, Shaka’s Head is located on the western fringe of Ballito, about 1.8 kilometres from Ballito town with the two largest shopping centres in the entire area, namely Lifestyle Centre and Ballito Junction Mall. As shown in figure 3 and 4, the area is situated just off the western off-ramp of the N2 freeway moving in a northerly direction and about 2.8 kilometres from the north coast beaches as shown in figure 3.

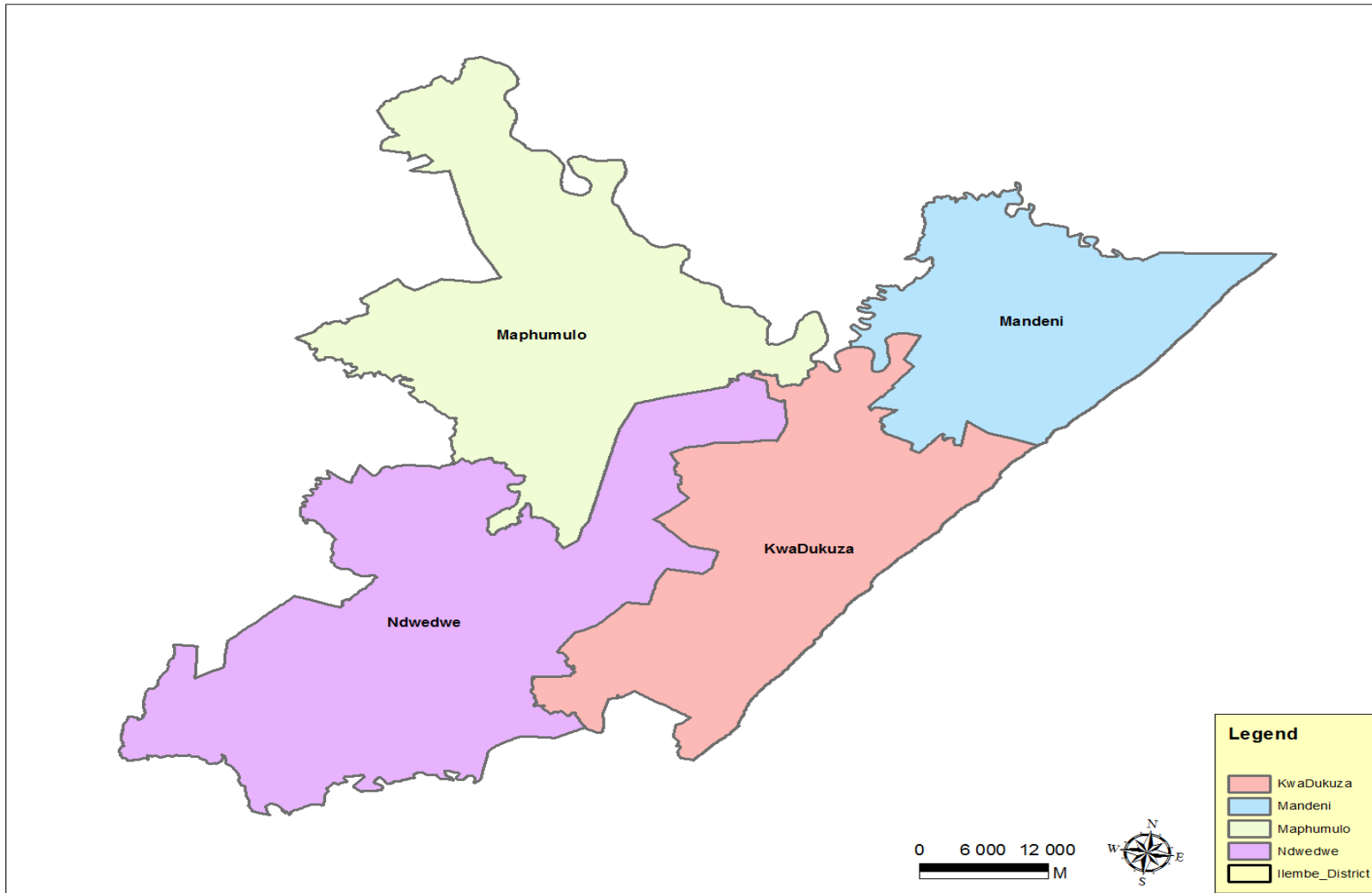


Figure 1: Map Showing KwaDukuza Municipality within Ilembe District Municipality (KwaDukuza Municipality, 2017)

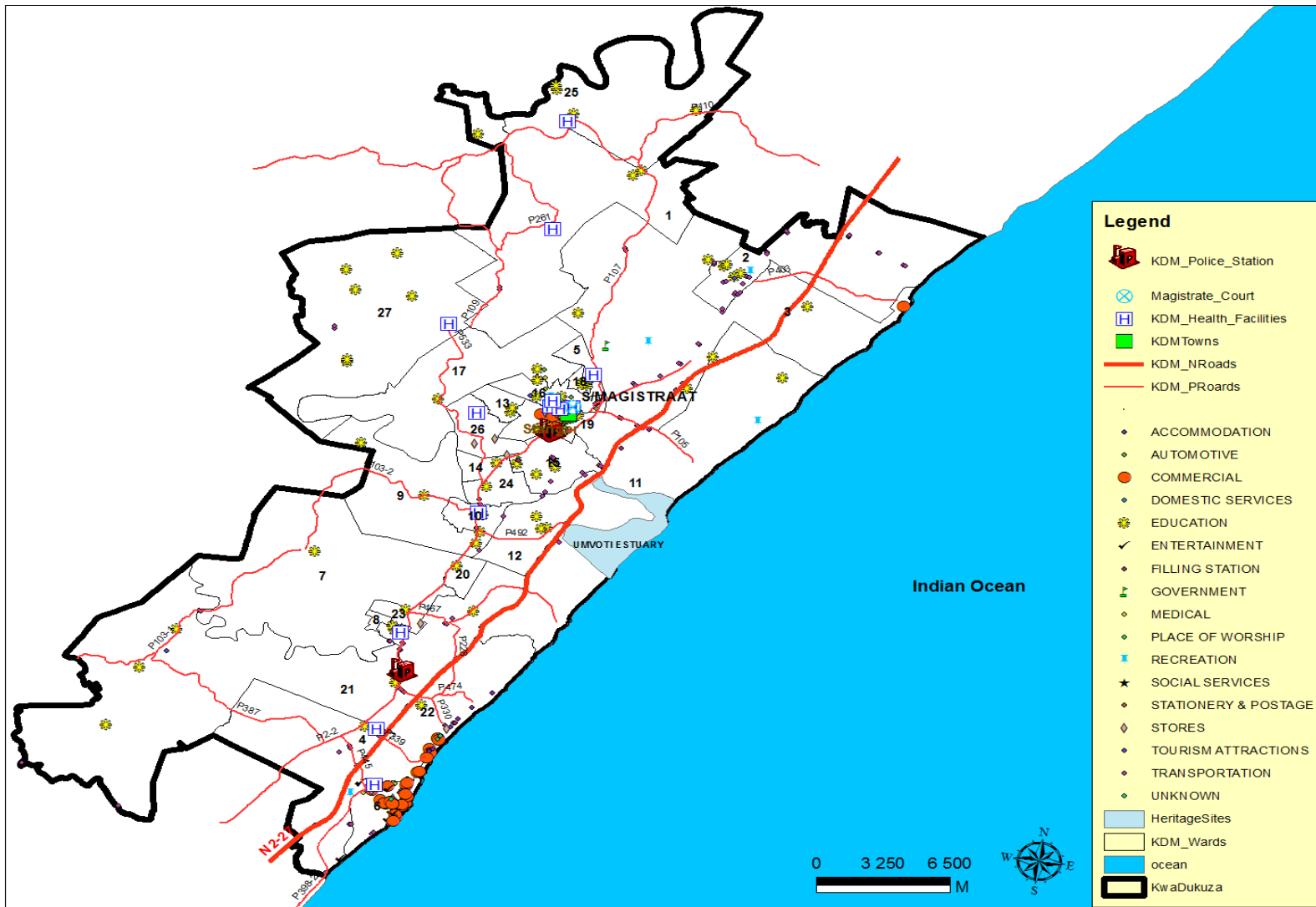


Figure 2: Map Showing KwaDukuza Municipality, (KwaDukuza Municipality, 2017) .

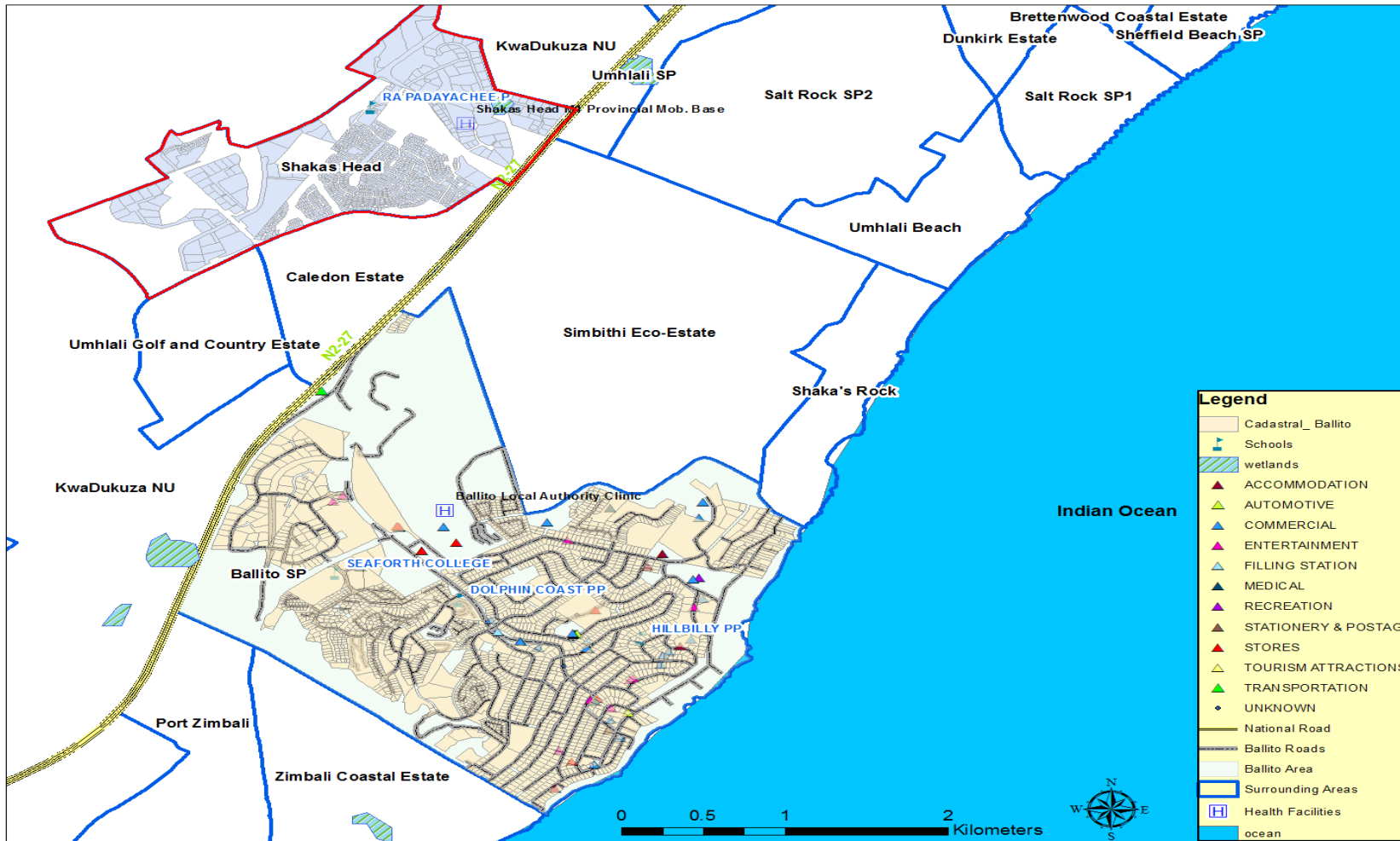


Figure 3: Map Showing Ballito and Surrounding Areas, (KwaDukuza Municipality, 2017).

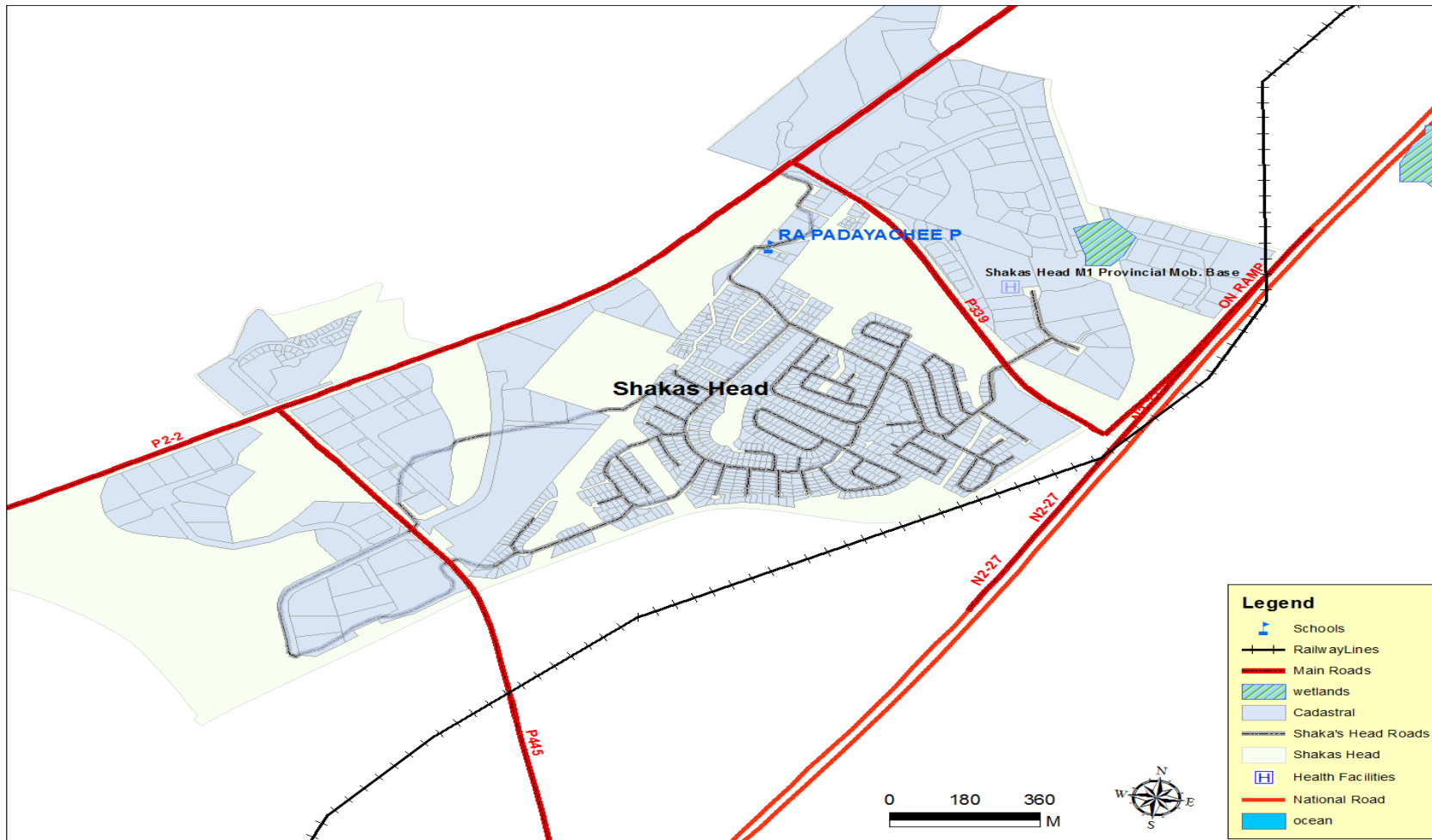


Figure 4: Showing Layout of Shaka's Head Sub Place, (KwaDukuza Municipality, 2017).

1.7.3 Shaka's Head Demographic profile

The area is 2.52 km² in size and consists of a population of 8 507 and 3668 households according to the 2011 Census data. Population distribution by race in the entire ward (4) consists of Blacks forming ninety-two per cent, Indians at four per cent, whites making three per cent and Coloureds forming only one per cent. Based on language spoken at home, IsiZulu is forty-nine per cent, IsiXhosa at thirty-one per cent, English eleven per cent, per cent Sesotho and Xitsonga making one per cent each and other languages not specified making three per cent. Data by place of birth revealed that residents born in KwaZulu-Natal were sixty per cent, those born in Eastern Cape were twenty-eight per cent, six per cent were residents born outside South Africa, from Gauteng were two per cent, those born from the Free State were one per cent while three per cent was not specified (*Statistics South Africa, 2011*).

Per centages of home language and place of origin for the residents assist the study to understand the immigration patterns both from outside the province and the country to the study area. An indication is that a sizeable number of residents to the extent of forty per cent migrated from outside KwaZulu-Natal to this place. This can be attributed to the search for opportunities and better living standards. The per centage of people who voted in 2016 local government elections is sixty-five per cent. Participation of residents in the local elections indicates a possible interest for the active participation of the majority of residents in decision-making for local governance (*Statistics Africa, 2011*).

1.7.4 Socio-economic status

Figures, 2-4 illustrate the physical development ranging from KwaDukuza Municipality, Ballito Local Area and Shaka's Head Sub Place. The municipality endures a benefit of a well-developed road infrastructure network, creating a conducive environment for commercial activities in the area, to ensure local economic development. This is indicated through a number

of local, provincial and national roads present in the area. The railway line indicated in figure 4, and the ocean connecting with Durban and Richards Bay harbours are other significant features for transportation networks. The N2 Freeway also connects Ballito to the King Shaka International Airport located in Tongaat, South of Ballito although not shown in the maps. This is another important node linked to the economic development of Ballito. The diverse transport infrastructure in the area also boosts tourism development as another important sector that contributes to the local economy.

Figures 2 & 3 depicts commercial nodes as mostly centred in Ballito, indicating the economic benefits that this area produces. The area is also strategically located closer to the Indian Ocean, indicating a potential for the ocean economy and tourist destination. Figure 3 illustrates various residential developments that may also be significant to support the tourism sector by providing accommodation. Also shown in figure 3 are various places of entertainment making the area tourist friendly.

According to Census data of 2011, the level of education for the majority population at Shaka's Head was very low. Only thirty-five per cent of residents has completed matric or a level higher than matric. About sixty-six per cent only completed between grade nine and grade eleven of secondary education. These statistics are important to understand the extent of human capital possessed by the residents of this area. In addition, this gives an indication of the extent of access to socio-economic opportunities by the majority population who are residents. The description of the population by highest education level shows that only one per cent of residents had post-graduate qualifications (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Figure 3 and 4 illustrate an insufficiency of social amenities to support the development and well-being of low-income social groups. There are no educational and health facilities located closer to the area and that are accessible to low-income households. Only private educational and health facilities are illustrated and that can only serve the interests of high-income groups.

About two per cent of residents had undergraduate qualifications. Residents who had matric and some secondary education as their highest qualifications were twenty-eight per cent and forty-four per cent respectively. The rest included nineteen per cent with primary education and five per cent with no education at all. The picture portrayed by these statistics for education levels is that blacks, as a majority social group, are mostly affected by low education levels. Furthermore, this indicates a possible lack of skills by blacks required to participate actively in the socio-economic opportunities available in the area. (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

The unemployment rate is very high with only fifty-five per cent of residents recorded as employed. About seventeen per cent of residents were not employed, with twenty-four per cent regarded as economically inactive and three per cent as discouraged work seekers. Amongst this number of employed residents, only fifty-five per cent worked in the formal sector. About twenty-five per cent of residents were employed in the informal sector, whereas sixteen per cent worked in private households and the rest were not accounted for. The low education level presented earlier is amongst the major factors that contribute to this high level of unemployed in the area. Participation in the informal sector and private household employment is another possible effect of the lack of necessary skills in the residents of the majority social group to participate actively in the formal sectors of employment (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

Within the employed residents, the total average annual income was thirty thousand Rand. The highest average according to all annual income categories was twenty to forty thousand Rand at thirty-five per cent. This is followed by a category of ten to twenty thousand Rand at thirty-three per cent and forty to seventy-five Rand sitting at eight per cent. About five per cent of residents were at an average annual income of five to ten thousand Rand. Income categories of seventy-five thousand Rand to one hundred and fifty thousand Rand, one hundred and fifty thousand Rand to three hundred thousand Rand were at three per cent. Income categories of

less than four thousand eight hundred Rand, three hundred thousand Rand and six hundred thousand Rand were both at one per cent (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

This income distribution reveals that although the majority of residents were employed in the formal sector, a majority were still earning low salaries which also shows that many of these residents were occupying positions at a very basic level and not at a management or executive level. Very few residents were earning high salaries. Furthermore, household income in this area contributes to the formation of social classes. The household income distribution is also influenced by the low levels of education and lack of skills.

This area has 3 major Shopping malls, including The Lifestyle Centre, The Ballito Junction, and The Ballito Bay Mall, there have been major road upgrades to cope with the growing population. There have also been schools developed around Ballito and which cater to high-income residents (Property24, 2018). These include Umhlali Pre-Primary and the independent schools Crawford College North Coast, Ashton College, Trinity House Palm Lakes and Curro Mount Richmore. Ballito has become a busy tourist destination in KwaDukuza with many hotels, swimming and surfing beaches. It is also situated at about 2.5 kilometres long along the beach, as shown in map 1 which also contributes to economic viability of the area (SA-Venues, 2018).

Ballito's business sector has also grown significantly with a large commercial business park along the N2 Freeway and has a full-service industry within the commercial business park. Figure 5 below illustrates some of the business activities located around the area, indicating economically viability. Ballito now caters to a growing business community on the North Coast. Enterprise iLembe, the regions investment arm, has been formed to develop Ballito and the iLembe area as an investment destination of choice. The development of the King Shaka

International Airport and Dube City to the South have also contributed significantly to the growth of Ballito economically (SA-Venues, 2018).



Figure 5: Businesses Located Around the Study Area

Source: Field survey (2017). Photo: Taken by the researcher.

Table 1 below provides a summary of the presentation outlined above and it reveals that the socio-economic status of Shaka's Head is not balanced. Irrespective of the common location of all social classes as shown in figure 3, standards of living for the low-income residents have remained low. According to table 1, the black population forms the highest percentage, while the level of education shows only 3% of tertiary education, an important indicator of skills shortage in the area. The significance of racial groups in the table below is to indicate previously disadvantaged residents residing in the area. The highest number of the black population is related to very low education levels and the highest annual income is R10k – R40k. This indicates that the majority of the population benefit very little from what the local urban community offers. Annual income reveals that although there is a high percentage of residents who are employed, the majority are still earning very low incomes both from the

formal and informal sectors, which is a direct result of the low education levels. These conditions have persisted regardless of social mixing that is depicted in table 1.

Factors	Percentage (%)
Race Groups	
Blacks	92
Indians	4
Whites	3
Coloureds	1
Economic Status	
Employed	55
Unemployed	17
Discouraged job-seeker	3
Not economically Active	24
Unspecified	1
Annual Income	
R0	8
R4800 – R10 000	6
R10k – R40k	68
R40 k – R 150k	11
R150k – R600k	4
Unspecified	3
Housing Type	
House	70
Shacks	14
Flat in Backyard	11
Apartments	1
Other	4
Level of Education	
Primary	19
Secondary	44
Grade 12	28
Undergraduate	2
Post-Graduate	1
No education	5
Unspecified	1

Table 1: Socio-economic Characteristics of Shaka’s Head Population

Source: Statistics South Africa (2011)

1.7.5 Housing typologies

Figure 6 illustrates a settlement pattern of Shaka's Head consisting of different housing typologies. These include RDP government assisted low-cost houses, developed for low-income residents. Due to overcrowding in the area, there are informal backyards dwellings that have been developed from these low-cost RDP houses. These are depicted in figures 7 and 9 in chapter 4. Figure 6 also shows Caledon Estate, which has well-developed private houses built in a gated settlement. These private housing developments only cater to high-income residents. The apartments range from R1 040 000 with an area of sixty to one hundred and fifty square metres. Each house ranges from R1 300 000 with a size of one hundred and forty-three to two hundred square metres. The estate has a communal swimming pool for kids and adult residents and three jungles gyms for kids to play on (Property24, 2018).

According to Census Data of 2011, 13.6 per cent of houses in the area are informal dwellings, in the form of shacks. Others are houses, consisting of sixty-seven per cent, flats in the backyard making 11 per cent, apartments one per cent and others forming four per cent (Statistics South Africa, 2011). There are also informal rented cottages which are rented by the low-income residents, many who reside in the area in search of employment and other socio-economic opportunities and these may be covered in the stipulated four per cent. The different forms of tenure for the various housing typologies illustrate that the area is economically active as some of the residents are temporally residing in the area in search of better socio-economic opportunities. These include informal dwellings, flats, and apartments.

The significance of the settlement pattern illustrated in figure 6, is the growing trend of how post-1994 urban communities develop. This refers to a concentration of low-income social groups on the edge or in between the high-income sub urban settlements, through the mushrooming low-cost housing such as of informal settlements and government-assisted low-cost houses. The high economic value of the area has promoted social mixing in the area. The

Caledon Estate, Simbithi Estate, and Umhlali Golf and Country Estate are the private residential sections serving the interests of the high-income groups. The highly dense residential sections are government-assisted low-cost houses serving residential interests of low-income groups. Figure 6 also illustrate plots of privately-owned vacant land reserved for private developments.



Figure 6: Showing the Settlement Pattern of Shaka's Head (KwaDukuza Municipality, 2017)

1.7.6 Summary

The description in this chapter illustrates the strategic location of the study area. It appears to be economically active as a major town in the KwaDukuza Municipality. The socio-economic and housing typology descriptions, however, reveal the existence of serious fragmentation in the area with social inequalities. The location of the area closer to socio-economic opportunities has shaped housing development in this area and various housing tenure types exist. Location of the area has also shaped the migration patterns, which influenced the development of low-cost housing and the continued development of informal housing. The area shows potential for further infrastructural development and it is likely to experience population growth as it is currently continuing to develop the economic infrastructure.

2. Chapter Two: Conceptual /Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines concepts and theories and review of local and international studies forming a framework for this study. The study uses Neoliberal Urbanism which accounts for the current patterns of inequalities in the urban communities and is fundamentally concerned with the maintenance of class dominance and dictatorship on the terms of urban development. However, neoliberal urbanism is unable to explain how multi-class urban communities are formed, and thus, spatial assimilation theory is used to explain the movement of lower-class groups into urban communities and how they assimilate with high-class groups to form multi-class neighbourhoods. The Spatial Assimilation Theory also has limitations in explaining many challenges that social groups in urban communities are faced with in their attempts to attain better housing opportunities, thus Place Stratification Theory is used to explain these challenges.

This theoretical framework was carefully selected with a purpose of (i) to understand the factors contributing to the persistence of urban fragmentation, even after various policy interventions have been made, using Neoliberal Urbanism; (ii) to understand how urban fragmentation can be eliminated and integration be achieved, using Spatial Assimilation Theory; and (iii) to understand challenges faced by low-income social groups when assimilating with the wealthy inhabitants to reach a similar level of social class, such as access to better housing, using Place Stratification Theory. This theoretical framework assists the study by providing a sequential understanding of factors that contribute to urban fragmentation and its persistence. This outline of the root causes of the problem assist in guiding the interventions, housing being a central mechanism towards achieving urban socio-spatial integration.

According to Charles (2005), residential segregation contributes largely to social and economic inequality, fragmented politics and interracial group relations, where different racial and ethnic groups continue to see the worst in each other. Furthermore, she asserted that intergroup relations are often neglected in efforts set to improve housing options, increase neighbourhood residential integration and the reduction of inequalities. The review of literature seeks to address this assertion. Planners and housing scholars hold contrary views on the feasibility of housing as a mechanism to attain integration. There is a strong view that housing can be utilised as a mechanism to achieve socio-spatial integration while the other view opposes its feasibility. These views are presented in sequence. Local and international experiences of segregation are outlined, particularly the origins and persistence. This assists the study in understanding how housing has been used as a significant tool to create and maintain urban fragmentation. The chapter will, finally, outline post-1994 interventions towards achieving integration through policy and practice.

2.2 Housing

The primary neoliberal argument for housing as a verb is that it is an activity from which most immediate ends of life depend, such as cultivation and preparation of food, the clothing of people, caring for people's bodies, procreation and nurturing of babies and sheltering of these activities (Turner, 1972). Melnikas (1998:326) perceives a house as a "specific and relatively limited, physically, biologically socially close place where people and groups of people can live their biosocial life, by receiving services, performing house chores and other biosocial activity". For Sheibani & Havard (2018), it is impossible to segregate housing from the other social and economic variables which also change as time passes. Furthermore, they argue that it can be considered that houses are fundamental developments, comprised of elements, materials, and services connected with various activities. Such may be industrial, service or

productive activities where capital is invested, and thus representing progress in economic development in the society (Sheibani & Havard, 2018).

For Burgess (1978:1109) housing activities can be classified into three sets of operations, which involve planning, construction, and management. Furthermore, he argued that for these activities, three sets of principal actors are involved, and these are users – who form a popular sector, the suppliers -who are private and commercial sector; and regulators- which is the public sector and government. This is in line with Turner (1980) who conceives of housing as not just a commodity but a complex process in which many people and organisations are doing many things of various kinds to receive expected results. The background to this understanding was that housing is a sphere of action where everyone plays a role. Local to the national government, private developers and suppliers, the housing beneficiaries/user/residents, and community organisations are the active role players in the planning, construction, and management of housing and the surrounding environment, in the context of this study.

In the view of Turner (1972), if housing is treated as an activity rather than as a packaged product, decision-making must remain in the hands of primary users as principal actors. As a result of that, users will be free to choose their own housing, undertake its construction and use and manage it their own ways. If housing is mostly regarded through this ideology, it will thus enable the involvement of local residents in spatial development, for an example by choosing location, design, and clustering. Housing development also affects the development of the infrastructure such as social amenities, roads and economic nodes as part of spatial planning where local residents can be involved. Consequently, social interaction and active participation can be enabled in the process of decision-making by local residents.

The housing concept has also been related to simply mean an apartment. Henilane (2016: 170) argued that, by living in the apartment, its user receives and experience various housing utilities

that respond to the life of the people very differently, and the importance of which during the human life cycle changes. In addition, every apartment in relation to the person who lives there is characterised by various aspects such as physical protection –against natural and social conditions like rain, cold, crime, etc. This implies that security is carefully considered when making a choice of a house, its condition, and location. The other aspect is the status –where the use of the apartment reflects the social status of the household. Henilane (2016), emphasises that location and characteristics of the housing serve as a significant reference point for the social status of persons who live in there.

The use of housing, therefore, significantly contributes to different outcomes and impacts, depending on the intentions of the use. This has been the case in the two different regimes in South Africa, the apartheid and democratic rules, pre-and-post-1994. Turner (1980), asserts that homes and neighbourhoods either sustain and support people in the society or oppress them depending on what sectors, households, community, market producers and state agencies do or fail to do. For Aalbers & Christophers (2014:373), property and land have always and until today been a strong foundation to both power and wealth. They argued that tensions present in acquiring and maintaining power and wealth are strongly embedded in a property system that brings into play an entire social order, and in which housing relations today figure prominently. It is for this reason that they consider housing should be taken more seriously for political economy, by researchers, hence the significance of this study.

According to Turner (1980), if housing is misunderstood as just a mere commodity and product, the ways in which it should be maintained and produced are ignored and taken for granted. Therefore, the neoliberal conceptualisation of housing informs the study in that housing may contribute largely towards the creation of active social spaces that enable participation in decision-making which influences social interaction and access to opportunities. On the same token, housing may contribute significantly to social tensions

amongst the social groups, depending on how it is managed. The impact of housing into socio-economic status of the users is largely influenced by the geographical aspect, which may determine the extent of access to the social and economic opportunities and social interactions.

2.3 Geography of Opportunity

Galster & Killen (1995) outlined two dimensions in explaining the opportunity, which involves 'process' and 'prospect'. They argue that in a 'process', 'opportunity' refers to various ways in which markets, institutions, and service delivery systems such as the educational system and the housing markets utilise and modify the essential and acquired characteristics of participants. In the 'prospect' context, Galster & Killen (1995) maintain that opportunity refers to the prospective socio-economic outcomes people believe will occur when making some decisions based on education and work. Such outcomes are mainly influenced by the individual's indelible endowments such as race and acquired attributes, education for example. They further argue that these outcomes are also shaped by an individual's subjective perceptions of how the opportunity structure will judge or perhaps transform such attributes. In this argument, the 'geography of opportunity' suggests that the location of individuals through housing affects their opportunities and life outcomes.

Galster & Killen (1995), argue that equal opportunity in a particular society is not equal to any particular socio-economic outcome but those with equal benefits should be treated equally, irrespective of race. In 'process', the conventional definition of 'opportunity' overlooks the geographic dimension. Galster & Killen explain that this perspective holds that markets and institutions should treat people equally, but some might find it difficult to access such institutions and markets because they are residentially located far away from them. Therefore, they argue that the conventional concept of 'equal opportunity' should be expanded to include one of the two factors. Firstly, markets and institutions should have equivalent resources and

policies across metropolitan areas. Secondly, households must have equal abilities opportunities to reside in locations in the metropolitan areas where they deem markets and institutions most desirable.

The 'geography of opportunity' as a spatial factor creates an environment for 'neighbourhood effects' which becomes the motive factor for creating socially integrated urban communities.

The idea of 'neighbourhood effects' emerged from a study of Gautreaux involving the *Assisted Housing Program*, conducted in Chicago. The study revealed that children of suburban residents performed better in schools when compared to their inner-city colleagues (Bauder, 2002). From these findings, Rosenbaum concluded that the rich middle-class youth in suburbs learn social and behavioural skills not available to poor inner-city youth (Rosenbaum J. , 1995).

Galster (2010) later clarified by outlining fifteen mechanisms of 'neighbourhood effects', explaining them in four categories. The first category is social-interactive mechanisms, which include 'social contagion' whereby behaviour, aspirations, and attitudes of residents may be changed by contact with peers who are neighbours. 'Collective socialisation' is also classified in this category and it implies that individuals may be encouraged to conform to local social norms conveyed by neighbourhood role models and other social pressures (Galster, 2010).

In this category 'social cohesion and control' entails a degree of neighbourhood social disorder and its opposite, which may influence a variety of behaviour and the psychological reactions of residents (Galster, 2010). Other mechanisms in this category are, 'social networks'; 'competition' over limited resources; 'relative deprivation' whereby residents who have achieved some socioeconomic success will be a source of reliance for their less-well-off neighbours; and lastly 'parental mediation'.

The second category as outlined by Galster (2010) is environmental mechanisms which are natural and human-made characteristics of the local space that may affect, directly, the mental

and physical health of residents without affecting their behaviour. These include exposure to violence, toxic exposure, and physical surroundings. The third category is geographical mechanisms which refer to aspects of spaces that may affect residents' life courses. These do not, however, arise within the neighbourhood but only because of the neighbourhood's exposure to larger-scale political and economic forces. These include 'spatial mismatch' whereby some neighbourhoods may have little accessibility due to lack of spatial proximity or the lack of transportation networks to job opportunities appropriate to the skills of their residents, thereby restricting their employment opportunities. Furthermore, some neighbourhoods may be located within local political jurisdictions that offer low-grade public services and facilities which may be due to their limited tax base resources, incompetence, corruption, or other operational challenges. As a result, these will normally affect the personal development and educational opportunities of residents (Galster, 2010).

The fourth category is institutional mechanisms which includes firstly, 'stigmatisation' where neighbourhoods may be stigmatised on the basis of public stereotypes applied by powerful institutional or private actors about its current residents. This may also occur irrespective of the neighbourhood's current population because of its history, scale, and type of dwellings, or condition of their commercial districts and public spaces. According to Galster (2010), this may, in turn, reduce the opportunities and perceptions of residents of stigmatised areas in a variety of ways, such as in the perception of job opportunities and self-esteem.

Other mechanisms include 'local institutional resources', whereby neighbourhoods may have access to few high-quality private, non-profit, or public institutions and organisations and lack of these may affect the personal development opportunities of residents. Lastly, 'local market actors' that may encourage or discourage certain behaviour by neighbourhood residents, such as liquor stores, fresh food markets, fast food restaurants, and illegal drug markets (Galster,

2010). This section, therefore, outlines many aspects that may contribute to social and spatial integration in the urban communities, in the context of this study.

2.4 Integration

Integration as perceived by Durkheim (1997), is an interdependence or solidarity, where all parts of society work for a common goal, to achieve a unified end. For, Marcuse (1997), integration represents the eradication of barriers to free mobility and the establishment of positive and non-hierarchical relationships, which is more than mere non-segregation. Furthermore, Lemanski (2006) views integration, as an automatic consequence of segregation. Additionally, Ruiz-Tagle (2013) believes that integration may be reaffirmed as the opposite of territorial exclusion.

Brown and Bean (2006) explained integration as the process by which members of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another, a process which has economic and socio-cultural dimensions. In this view, the process of integration largely depends upon the participation of immigrants and their descendants in major social institutions such as schools and the labour market, as well as their social acceptance (Alba et al., 2012) cited in (Waters & Pineau, 2015). The conclusion of this view is that greater integration suggests parity of critical life chances with the native-born American majority. This includes reductions in differences between immigrants or their descendants and the general population of native-born Americans over time using indicators such as socioeconomic inequality, residential segregation, and political participation and representation (Waters & Pineau, 2015).

Ruiz-Tagle (2013) developed four types of integration. Firstly, 'Integrity' which refers to a homogenous whole in which only equal members are accepted and where norms and values are maintained by strict discipline and individuals cannot express themselves beyond such norms. The second type is 'limited liability', which represents homogeneous communities

where individuals live independently and are tied exclusively by functional relationships. Thirdly, 'assimilation' describes situations where the access of diverse members to the group is determined by their adaptation to the original norms and values and proceeds only if the integrity of the group is not threatened (Ruiz-Tagle, 2013).

The fourth type of integration explained by Ruiz-Tangle (2013) is 'cultural pluralism' which refers to open access to the diversity that involves constructive interchanges where the group culture is enriched by difference, which does not, however, subsume the individual. The conclusion made here is that if integrity can be destroyed by residential mobility, and if cultural pluralism is difficult to achieve, the most common forms in the city are assimilation and limited liability (Ruize-Tagle, 2013).

Integration encompasses many aspects, and in the context of this study, it is perceived as involving social and spatial integration. According to Beresneviciute (2003), integration covers conceptions of conflict as well as order, and he suggests that the same concept could be applied to forms of stability of social relations and compensation of balance among different social units and groups. In his argument, he asserts that, in the broadest sense, integration as a term is used to define developments that determine connections of related diverse elements into the social whole, system, community, or other units. Beresneviciute (2003) therefore proposes that the concept of integration is fundamental within functionalist theories, and that it defines a mode of relations of the units of a system by virtue of which, on the one hand, they act to avoid disrupting the system, and on the other hand they collaborate to promote its functioning as a unit. An account presented in this paragraph entails a perspective of social integration.

The theoretical view of social integration according to Beresneviciute (2003), indicates principles by which individuals i.e. actors, agents, or subjects are bound to each other in the social space and it refers to relations among the actors, and that is how the actors accept social

rules. Actors in the context of this study involve low-and high-income residents, public and private institutions such as government, the civil society, private residential developers and other commercial actors. Three dimensions through which social integration can be understood is provided by Beresneviute (2003); firstly, social participation which covers ethnically indivisible civic and political participation; involvement in the economic, political, and cultural life of society; representation at different levels of governance, participation in groups of fellow citizens and so forth. This is also based on exercising and having a sense of belonging and satisfaction.

Secondly, social exclusion which covers the outcomes and results of processes determining and defining selected groups as being not a constituent part of the ordinary society. The view explained by Klasen et al., (1998) is that social exclusion is related to the scarcity of material and social opportunities and the lack of skills to participate in economic, social, political, and cultural life in an effective way and is highly related to alienation or estrangement from the main part of society. The skills may refer to education and training that should equip the local people to participate in the local economic opportunities as benefits produced by the local area, a case relevant to this study. The third dimension is social capital which becomes an outcome of social participation in the social context and involves social empowerment of individuals or groups defining the level of individual's participation in the broader social sphere (Beresneviute, 2003). This may be determined by access to a hierarchy of educational facilities, such primary, secondary and tertiary educational institutions and the quality of education and training offered in such institutions.

For de Alcántara (1994) social integration is an inclusionary goal, indicating equal opportunities and rights for all human beings. Furthermore, social integration has been defined by Brissette et al., (2000) that it suggests interchanges between individuals and the extent to which an individual participates in a broad range of social relationships with others in his or

her community and can find a sense of belonging. Anant (1967) has explained the sense of belonging as a sense of personal involvement in a social system that persons can feel like an essential and integral part of the system. This can be related also to a 'sense of place' which in a geographical context encapsulates both spatial and social entities and refers to close acquaintance with the physical environment, strong feelings of belonging to a place and being part of its social and cultural life (Shamai, 1991).

According to Schorr et al., (2015), a sense of place or a sense of belonging is also reflected in social relationships with friends and family, participation in cultural and leisure activities, civic engagement, and utilization of services. Equally, social relations exist as they have spatial existence and they become materialized through the production of space that is mediated by distance (Lefebvre, 1991). The conclusion made by Schorr et al., (2015) is that social integration implies a multidimensional concept that includes objective, subjective, passive and active integration; which includes, for example, social relationships, a sense of belonging, social contacts and the feelings they display with respect to the local environment, and participation in all kinds of activities.

An emphasis on social integration is made by Ruiz-Tagle (2012) when he presents the relational and symbolic dimensions. The relational dimension suggests that the interaction between different social groups can involve variables such as hierarchical and non-hierarchical relations, social control, leadership, community institutions, cultural exchange and assimilation between groups, role modelling, social capital, social networks, political participation, and so forth. A relational dimension of social integration can be assessed by the extent to which individuals in a community participate in a broad range of social relationships. Such interaction is dependent on factors such as space design, spatial distance according to social distance, and clustering. This is in line with Won, et al (2017), who argued that, proximity or spatial closeness may generate social closeness, since the closer people are together, the more they can interact,

affiliate, and befriend one another. The symbolic dimension is related to identification with a common ground. It involves variables such as external and internal symbols, real and imaginary boundaries, partial and common identity and differentiation, separation between established members and outsiders, perceptions of normality and disorder, etc. (Ruiz-Tagle, 2012).

Therefore, the inseparable link between social and spatial integration is understood through an interplay of social and spatial proximity which is said to generate opportunities for contact, and then to improve the probability of relations, be these positive or negative (Blau, 1977). According to Zeul and Humphrey (1970) , the so-called ‘contact hypothesis’ maintains that increased contact among different groups creates positive attitudes among them and that, as a result, physical integration will be transformed into social integration. Housing delivery in South Africa, in the past and present, have been utilised to relate to integration and its opposite in two major aspects, which include spatial and social integration.

2.5 Neoliberal Urbanism

Neoliberal urbanism emerged from the analysis of connections between neo-liberalisation processes and urban transformation in the United States (Peck, Theodore, & Brummer, 2009). Neoliberalism and its processes dominated the world, during the late 1970s as a strategic political response to declining mass profitability in industrial production (Peck, Theodore, & Brummer, 2009). After the Second World War policies emerged that put the focus on discipline, competition, and commodification in the society in order to justify amongst other things, downsizing and privatisation of public services, dismantling of welfare programmes and intensification of inter-locality competition (Peck, Theodore, & Brummer, 2009). According to Lin (2013), cited in (Beatty, 2014), Neoliberalism is a socio-political ideology advocating for strict adherence to the principles of private free market enterprise in order to guide and implement solutions to critical social problems.

This background of neoliberal urbanism explains the foundations upon which urban communities were developed, and this promoted social inequalities through the private free market operation, which exacerbated competition over local benefits offered by urban communities. It is the same pattern that was followed by the planning patterns on the formation of urban communities in South Africa and whose legacy still persists. Many current urban communities are built on a foundation of neoliberalism which according to Peck et al., (2009) reconstitutes scaled relationships between institutions and economic actors, such as municipal governments, national states, and financial capital.

Furthermore, it leads to the substitution of competitive for redistributive regulatory logic while downloading risks and responsibilities to specific localities (Peck, Theodore, & Brummer, 2009). Peck and Tickell (2002) view neoliberalism as a primary hegemonic discourse shaping political and economic processes, the governance of institutions, and the making of places and spaces. The outcomes for neoliberal political practice have been pervasive market failures, new forms of social polarization, intensification of uneven spatial development and a crisis of established modes of government (Peck, Theodore, & Brummer, 2009).

Furthermore, according to Peck et al., (2009), the dysfunctional effects of neoliberal approaches on capitalist restructuring of cities include persistence of uneven economic stagnation, intensification of inequality, destructive inter-locality competition, wide-ranging problems of regulatory coordination and generalised social insecurity. The claim is made here that major urban challenges, which later contributed to poverty conditions, originated from the neoliberal ideology upon which these communities were founded.

The argument emphasised by Peck et al., (2009) is that neoliberalism exploits and produces socio-spatial difference, thus cities have become strategically important arenas wherein neoliberal forms of creative destruction have been unfolding. Genis (2005) argued that

neoliberal urbanism, which accompanies neo-liberal economic restructuring, seeks to enlarge the role of market forces in the housing and real estate sectors, to privatise the provision of urban and social services, and to increase the role of elites in shaping the urban landscapes. Under the neoliberal urbanism ideology, the city is envisaged as a playing field for the elite, whereby growing socioeconomic inequalities are managed by creating privatised, customised and networked spaces for consumption by the urban elite, (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003; Brenner & Theodore, 2002).

Beatty (2014) explains two different ways in which neoliberal urbanism negatively impacts upon urban communities. Firstly, it fragments the urban space and, secondly, it reinforces and normalises socio-economic inequalities through exclusionary policies and practises. Neoliberalism has encouraged enclaves with their gates, private governments and privately provisioned collective goods are among the socio-spatial expressions of this global trend towards the privatisation and commoditisation of urban space, governance, and provision of urban services (Genis, 2007). These enclaves are part of a global collection of modern exclusive developments that represent a new form of territorial organisation and mode of governance invented and supported by neo-liberal urban policies (McKenzie, 2005; Webster et al., 2002) cited in Genis, (2007).

The primary objective of urban development strategies under neoliberal urbanism is economic growth while other urban challenges continue to take a back seat (Beatty, 2014). The belief is that urban policies, strategies, governance, political structures, the organization of institutions, and the geographic and social character of our urban spaces have been neoliberalised and this has shaped the urban form (Beatty, 2014). Neoliberal urban development fragments the space, thus strengthening socio-spatial exclusion of the already marginalised urban populations and in this way, the poor residents are excluded from engaging meaningfully with urban spaces. This further legitimises their social and economic marginalisation. (Beatty, 2014). Mele (2011)

argued that these neoliberal urban redevelopments promote class exclusions and racial segregation rather than providing local economic benefits and public spaces in which residents can socialise.

2.5.1 Spatial Assimilation Theory

The spatial assimilation theory was developed by Douglas Massey in 1985 after observation of urban immigration patterns and how immigrant flow affected pathways to suburbs in the United States, especially the non-Hispanic white immigrants (Alba et al., 1999). In these observations, immigrants tended to settle initially in the industrial areas and, as they progressed socio-economically and adapt enough to the broader environment to discern its residential opportunities, they begin to move out from ethnic or racial enclaves as they search for improved residential conditions (William, Ericksen, & Juliani, 1976). Spatial assimilation refers to “movement by immigrant minorities away from ethnic enclaves and into communities where the ethnic majority predominates” (Alba et al., 1999: 447). According to Massey and Denton (1985), a host of variables that are important to people’s social and economic well-being are determined by residential location in the urban context.

These variables include health, quality of education, access to employment, exposure to crime and, social prestige that all depend in part on where people live (Massey & Denton, 1985). As the social status of minority ethnic and racial groups improve, they attempt to convert their socio-economic achievements into an improved spatial position, which usually implies assimilation with majority members (Massey & Denton, 1985). Therefore, spatial assimilation theory imagines suburbanisation as a diverse phase in an overall process whereby members of ethnic minorities improve their residential living situations as they acculturate and attain socio-economic success (Alba et al., 1999). These minority ethnic and racial groups frequently

forsake urban ethnic enclaves for more ethnically and racially mixed suburbs, thereby ensuring further assimilation of their children (Gordon, 1964).

The spatial assimilation theory argues that an important outcome of socioeconomic advancement for minorities is residential integration within mainstream society (Massey & Denton, 1985). Suburbanisation of minority racial and ethnic groups is, therefore, a crucial step to bringing about integration in the broader society (Massey & Denton, 1985). With the fact that minority groups have typically been concentrated in the central city, their suburbanisation implies that they have left their ethnic communities and achieved frequent spatial and social integration (Speare & Frey, 1988).

Furthermore, home ownership among racial or ethnic minority groups can also be seen as a step toward increasing spatial and social contact with the majority group in more affluent areas. (Fong & Shibuya, 2000). In facing common situations that affect the quality of a neighbourhood and the value of its housing residents of the neighbourhoods are eventually motivated to come together to maintain or to defend, if necessary, their housing values, which in turn may foster social contact (Logan & Harvey, 1987).

For Fong and Shibuya (2000), location and type of tenure are the two determining indicators for assimilation. They argue that home ownership rather than renting, both in the suburbs and in the central city, indicates commitment and purpose to stay in the country and an important step toward integration with mainstream society (Fong & Shibuya, 2000). According to Frey & Speare (1989), minority ethnic and racial groups are more segregated from the majority group in the central city than they are in the suburbs. This indicates that members of minority groups, owning a home in the central city may not necessarily indicate any more assimilation into mainstream society (Fong & Shibuya, 2000). Furthermore, it appears that socioeconomic status will be strongly related to the likelihood of home ownership in the suburbs compared to

renting in the city and less significantly related to the likelihood of suburbanisation with the same tenure status either owning or renting (Fong & Shibuya, 2000).

2.5.2 Place Stratification Theory

The place stratification model emerged as a supplement to the spatial assimilation theory, noting that the spatial assimilation theory had limitations of using individuals' attainments to explain residential patterns especially for Black Americans (Fong & Shibuya, 2000). According to Alba & Logan (1993), black suburb dwellers are normally concentrated in predominantly black suburban communities usually close to central cities and characterised by various residential instabilities including weak property tax bases, low average incomes, and high crime conditions. Alba & Logan (1991), argued that members of disadvantaged racial or ethnic minorities will be less likely to attain suburban residence, in metropolitan areas where suburban residence is particularly desirable. Furthermore, these minority groups will be less likely to live in the suburban ring where the suburban housing stock is predominantly owner-occupied (Alba & Logan, 1991).

In addition, the minority racial or ethnic groups are less likely to be suburban in metropolitan areas where they form a larger proportion of the population, simply because suburbanisation can be a mechanism used by the majority racial group to preserve its social distance from minorities (Alba & Logan, 1991). Fong & Shibuya (2000) referring to the views of Alba & Logan (1991, 1993a, 1993b) point out that the place stratification theory argues that residential locations are associated with various opportunities and chances, whereby racial and ethnic groups of immigrants are hierarchically ordered in various places such that advantaged groups maintain their position by keeping other groups out of their communities. As a result, the disadvantaged racial and ethnic groups remain in neighbourhoods, not of their choice.

This form of structural inequality in residential location arises through public and private discrimination by various urban role players in the housing market (Fong & Shibuya, 2000). According to South & Crowder (1997), even when members of a particular group, blacks, in particular, obtain the necessary resources, they may still face difficulties in purchasing a suburban home due to the racial and ethnic stratification of the housing market. The place stratification model combines explanations for racial residential segregation that emphasise housing market discrimination as a barrier to black residential mobility, especially the real estate discriminatory practices (Scott & Crowder, 1997). It was noted by these authors that there is a possibility that blacks are barred from suburban areas due to discrimination in the housing market.

Morrill (1995) outlines three pillars upon which inequality is based in an urban community in order to maintain segregation. Firstly, it is based on the facts of biological difference including gender, age, health, strength, intelligence, appearance and skin colour, which in part affect the capability and competitiveness of individuals, but which, even more, are socially constructed into cultural norms to justify unequal treatment and rewards amongst different groups (Morrill, 1995). Secondly, it is based on scarcity, or rather on the inability of human groups to sustain wealth, and this was constructed or formalised into political economies, including feudalism and capitalism, which not only justify the inequality but provide for the accumulation, protection, and intergenerational transfer of unequal rewards (Morrill, 1995). The third pillar of inequality is the complex structure and institutional rules that maintain the status quo and the inequality that results in class and racial or ethnic segregation. Such structures are powerful and persist to breed urban spatial segregation (Morrill, 1995).

Morrill (1995) raised a psychological argument that those who, by whatever circumstances of society, are of higher economic and social status, like more affluent, educated, probably white, or who perceive themselves to be of higher status, normally wish to distance themselves

spatially and socially from those who are seen as inferior. Amongst the fundamental reasons for this is to protect their own status from being reduced in the eyes of their family and peers (Morrill, 1995). Scott & Crowder (1997) found that there were discriminatory practices by local governments and mortgage lenders, and also the racial stereotypes held by whites delaying or stopping the mobility aspirations of African Americans. As a result, this maintained racially segregated neighbourhoods and communities (Scott & Crowder, 1997).

2.6 Housing as a mechanism for integration in the urban communities

The conceptual framework has illustrated the value of housing as a mechanism to attain integration mainly in the segregated urban communities, depending on how the delivery of housing is implemented, and on the location of such housing. The debates on the role of housing in achieving integration in South Africa and elsewhere have emerged mainly from how residential neighbourhoods have been planned to promote socio-spatial exclusion. A study conducted in the city of Poznan, Poland illustrate a trend like in many South African cities where there is an appearance of spatially isolated urban (gated) communities identified with guarded and monitored modern housing estates offering high, sometimes even very exclusive, standards of living (Kotus, 2009). In these cities, Kotus (2009) argued that the housing developments have created a perception of a division into a ‘world of wealth’ and a ‘world of poverty’, as he also refers to this as a ‘glamour’ and ‘shadow’ whereby a division is not solely at the architectural level, but at a social one as well.

Contemporary studies in South Africa have raised concerns about the impacts of gated communities and their impacts on socio-spatial integration. Landman (2006), argued that despite various attempts towards reconstruction, South African cities still reflect the footprints of the past in the spatial leftovers of apartheid and this serves as a constant reminder of inequity and segregation where new types of housing developments such as gated communities recall memories of the past. This view implies that the post-1994 planning and architecture have not

achieved the reconstruction of the post-apartheid city. Furthermore, that the post-1994 neoliberal urban development policies are re-establishing a city characterised by new forms of residential segregation.

A study of urban fragmentation in Brazil asserts that gated communities must be seen as an essential part of far-reaching socioeconomic changes and the resulting socio-spatial differentiation of the Latin American city, and this is described as a process of increasing urban fragmentation (Coy, 2006). This indicates a persisting trend in the rising patterns of residential exclusion perpetuated through housing development in developing countries.

The form of the city as a built environment, according to Landman (2006) symbolises a meaning and relates something of the wider society. The three levels of meanings are outlined by Rapoport (1990) cited in (Landman, 2006), such as the high-level meaning relating to cosmologies and worldviews; the middle level meaning reflecting status and wealth; and the low-level meaning relating to the daily use of space. Based on these three meanings it is asserted that any building, group of buildings or other significant physical intervention, will attract different levels of meaning, which are not fixed, constant or permanent.

Therefore, this urban form, offers a setting for human behaviour and social interaction which, in a way, gives the basis for the meaning (Landman, 2006). A group of buildings that exist in a mixed-income housing development might develop meanings and assumptions of spatial integration across class and race differences, however, this may leave out the existence of social relations in that settlement. Such a settlement pattern already has a potential for advanced integration, which would be socio-spatial integration, if there are sufficient planning interventions through urban governance.

In a study of socio-spatial integration of older adults in Israel, it was found that the characteristics of the geographic environment, duration of living in that environment, and self-

image of older people had deep effects on their socio-spatial integration (Rowles, 1978) cited in (Schorr et al., 2015). Based on this, it was asserted that the personal environmental relationships incorporate social, psychological, and physical dimensions shaping individuals' and neighbourhood daily living. It is therefore concluded that, improvement of the residential environment around these older people can also improve their quality of life and well-being (Schorr et al, 2015).

Ellen et al., (2012), suggested three factors that may influence changes in the number of neighbourhoods becoming integrated or shifts in the stability of neighbourhoods once they become integrated. Firstly, in terms of demographic shifts, it is explained that an increase in the share of the population that belongs to a minority group produces a probability for improved integration. This occurs at least up to the point where the minority group is no longer a minority. An example offered by these scholars here is when the population moves from all white to 80 per cent white, this increases the potential for integration.

Diversification of the non-white population also increases chances for more integration in the neighbourhood. There is existing evidence drawn from surveys from American studies suggesting that whites are more comfortable sharing neighbourhoods with Asians and Hispanics than they are sharing neighbourhoods with blacks (Allen et al., 2012). This depends on the level of historical racial tensions like in South Africa, whereby whites and black Africans were made by the system to be the most opposing racial groups. Until the social groups can heal from this kind of history through being involved in social and other developmental activities where they share common goals, such tensions of racial preferences cannot be resolved.

Another aspect of demographic change suggests that overall population growth and the associated new housing may also enable the emergence of integration. This happens as newer

communities do not have the same legacy of racial segregation or history of discriminatory housing practices (Allen et al., 2012). This claim is yet to be tested with the recent integrated residential development programme implemented by the *Department of Human Settlements*, through building new settlements of mixed-income groups. The successful integration will depend on the willingness of all different races and classes to reside in such settlements, and further research shall investigate this.

The second factor includes shifts in income differences across racial groups. Income differences between racial groups contribute to racial segregation, therefore reductions or increases in such gaps should lead to increases or reductions in the occurrence of integration (Harsman and Quigley, 1995; Ellen et al., 2012). It has been observed that the median income of non-white and white households has hardly shifted in the past few decades, thus it is possible that the increased number of middle- and high-income minority households have allowed for more integration.

This implies that there may be more overlap in the distribution of income by race and thus more overlap in the type of housing and neighbourhoods accessible and attractive to different racial groups (Harsman & Quigley, 1995). However, this represents selective integration where a minority of emerging black middle-class citizens, who have access to credit, can reside in the well-developed estate houses. It is only that group of minority black middle-class that is able to integrate with the rich white population. The third factor, changes in racial attitudes, will be discussed in detail in the following section.

Joseph (2006) maintains that mixed-income housing development is a key strategy in confronting urban poverty as it responds largely to one critical factor, which is the social isolation of the urban poor, blacks in particular. Joseph then outlined four propositions through which mixed-income housing developments could contribute to the reduction of urban poverty

and improve the quality of life for low-income urban communities. The propositions include social networks, social control, culture and behaviour, and the political economy of place theories that are explained in the next paragraphs.

Social networks, according to Joseph (2006), indicate that social interaction amongst residents of varying income levels and backgrounds is provided as an opportunity through proximity and interpersonal contact at a community level. This emphasises that spatial integration through proximity is an important first step towards advanced integration. Consequently, familiarity and trust are developed leading to the exchange of available information and resources to support individuals like opportunities for employment. This goes with an idea that physical environment affects communal relations, which suggests that opportunities for contact, proximity to others, and appropriate space for residents to interact are key factors that can promote and shape social interaction (Joseph, 2006). Urban planning and governance must be at the centre of creating an environment where this form of living can surface in the neighbourhood, through establishing spaces where the public can interact with one another.

Furthermore, through social control as one of the propositions, new interpersonal relationships amongst certain individuals can result in an improved level of accountability to one another as they all know each other as their children do. This process makes it even easier to identify individuals who break the law in these new networks and to hold them accountable. Moreover, through social organisation there will be improved formal and voluntary organisations, building the community's capacity to defend itself (Joseph, 2006). Formal and voluntary social organisations help to bring residents together as they would normally meet to discuss their daily challenges and well-being, even share experiences of their daily life. This has an impact in eliminating negative perceptions that social groups might have or develop towards each other.

New and strengthened interpersonal relationships among certain individuals lead to greater accountability to each other and to others whom they now know. People who commit a delinquent act while in these new networks are more likely to be recognised and held accountable by others. Less delinquent behaviour leads to improved outcomes, such as fewer arrests and lower rates of incarceration for people in those networks (Joseph, 2006). The good interpersonal relationships between the elders are likely to be inherited by their children across classes and races. This implies that even when the children relocate to new neighbourhoods as they grow older, it is highly likely that they will apply the same level of interpersonal relations in their new locations. In this way, integration will be able to expand to extended communities.

The third proposition, culture and behaviour, suggests that role-modelling is generated when there is spatial proximity and interpersonal contact at a community level that creates opportunities for social interaction. Direct influence and mentoring, which may lead to enhanced outcomes such as improved school performance and employment, are some of the developments that modify the behaviour of individuals in a mixed-income neighbourhood. A dominant culture of work and responsibility is created in a diverse socio-economic community leading to distance role-modelling whereby the actions and routines of more prosperous families are observed at a distance and copied by the less affluent or disadvantaged families such as a neighbour going to work every day or a neighbour's children attending school regularly or over time (Joseph, 2006).

The fourth proposition, the political economy of a place suggests that leveraging of individual and collective external resources used in the shared neighbourhood probably lead to improved quality of services and infrastructure, as a result directly promoting the quality of life to a cross-section of residents in a community. In this way, the greater spending power of higher-income residents helps to make the community more attractive for retail and other commercial developments and services such as banking. It is further suggested that highly affluent and most

knowledgeable individuals in the community will advocate on behalf of the community demanding high-quality goods and services and influence public policy such as a better performance from neighbourhood schools and other local institutions (Joseph, 2006).

The advocacy for improved service provision and maintenance by the affluent residents will further help to build collective responsibility from the entire neighbourhood across social groups. Furthermore, it assists in the creation of active public participation, transparency, and accountability by local government structures. In this way, there will be collective decision-making between government and residents and consequently, ordinary people become part of urban planning.

Dixon et al., (2006) refer to the contact hypothesis, which refers to the most psychologically effective strategy for improving intergroup relations, which suggests that even deep-seated hostilities towards a particular group may be improved by regular interactions with members of that group. They further argue that such contact must be without competition but be arranged to achieve superordinate goals like those that require coordination amongst the groups to achieve a mutually beneficial outcome. Other researchers believe that intergroup contact can improve prejudice and have a consistently beneficial effect on emotional reactions and stereotypes (Dixon et al., 2006). Through the formal and voluntary community organisations, this can be achieved better in a mixed-income urban community as mentioned above.

Rosenbaum et al., (2002) illustrate the geography of opportunity model to negate the culture of poverty. This theory suggests that poverty is passed down from generation to generation even when poor families move to new and better locations, they carry along with them the poverty attributes (Lewis, 1966). Rosenbaum et al., (2002) uses as an example, the Gautreaux, a residential mobility programme in Chicago that was affected by the supreme court, where low-income black residents were moved to public housing both in white suburbs (with highly

educated neighbours) and to the inner city (with less educated and less privileged neighbours) to examine the geography of opportunity. These low-income black residents lived in areas termed by Wilson (1987) cited in (Lens, 2015) as ‘underclass’, with indicators such as high school dropouts, male unemployment, welfare recipients, and female-headed households.

According to Rosenbaum et al., (2002), remarkable changes were noted in black residents who were moved to suburbs compared to those moved to the inner-city. These changes included improved security, more organised lifestyle such as abandoning bad behaviour and a start to looking for better opportunities like employment and going back to school after dropping out. Other changes included improved performance at school by children, parents being responsible for the education of their children, and these were fuelled by new role models of the privileged neighbours in the new locations. Lens (2015) argued that segregation researchers have concentrated mainly on income and race while neglecting the broader set of outcomes that accurately constitute neighbourhood opportunities such as safe streets, quality schools, and employment.

The features that influenced these changes in the suburbs included better addresses, locating them near a variety of job opportunities, removing the stigma of housing project addresses and gaining more trust from the employers and businesspeople, thus increasing the ability to get jobs. Other features included racial integration as they could start to interact with white neighbours as friends and peers, removing racial stereotypes which existed before in the black-only neighbourhoods. Furthermore, access to information that could help them achieve their goals, such as courage by the young people to attend tertiary education which was not prominent in their old locations (Rosenbaum et al., 2002).

2.7 Perceptions and attitudes towards residential integration

Residents' attitudes and preferences for a variety of racial and ethnic groups are critical for the development of effective strategies for expanding housing choices and opportunities and for addressing racial inequalities in any segregated society (Charles, 2005). A study that examines two traditions of segregation theory, the urban ecological 'social distance' tradition in sociology and the 'individual preferences' tradition in economics give a basis for what is more likely to generate attitudes by residents, towards residential segregation (Fossett, 2006).

According to the urban ecology theory, as outlined by Fossett (2006), social distance dynamics, economic competition, and discrimination are the various avenues through which residential segregation may arise. This theory holds that social distance dynamics entails that households which are similar in ethnicity and economic status will have low social distance to each other because of shared interests, similar sensibilities, common culture, sense of mutual acceptance and in-group solidarity and will be expected to voluntarily congregate with each other in residential areas.

Fossett (2006) then argues that households with opposite interests, cultures based on different ethnic backgrounds and economic status will encounter high social distance to one another and, as a result, will live separately from each other. Specifically, households of higher status are predicted to have aversion to residing together with lower-status households and will seek to separate themselves from them. It is believed that these effects are motivated by status inequality and economic competition. In this case, households of higher status seek to reside together and are able to do so because they have advantages in economic competition for high-quality housing and desirable neighbourhoods, while households of lower status are disadvantaged in this competition (Fossett, 2006).

The argument made above portrays how class differences have been important in perpetuating urban fragmentation and social exclusion. The preference, in this case, might not have any racial significance but may be based mainly on the perceptions of stigma that higher-status residents have towards the lower-income residents. However, the other possible factor in this case is the lack of understanding between these social groups. Therefore, it requires the few black middle-class that could be accepted by the white higher status residents to influence the change of perceptions and attitudes towards the low-status residents. If the higher-status black residents fail to play this role, then class differences will continue to be the centre of modern urban fragmentation and social exclusion.

Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) considered three hypotheses in understanding patterns of racial residential attitudes. Firstly, the perceived social class difference hypothesis asserts that neighbourhoods which are racially or ethnically segregated are a result of perceived group differences in socioeconomic status characteristics such as income, occupation, and associated general differences in lifestyle. Clark (1988) cited in (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996), explained that beyond differences in wealth, black households are mainly female-headed, they have unemployed adults and a greater number of people per household. He, therefore, argued that such household characteristics leave black home seekers at a disadvantage, not because of their race but, because of class-based differences in the potential for wear and tear to property, lower incomes, and unstable employment patterns. The assertion made by this hypothesis is that marginalised groups, mainly blacks, are believed to live in segregated areas because of the perception that they lack the material and cultural-class-based resources needed to obtain housing in more desirable, predominantly white suburban areas. Furthermore, the more individuals or residents perceive that members of an out-group lag behind his or her own racial or ethnic group socioeconomically, the greater the objection to substantial residential contact with that particular group (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996).

In a study of the effect of socio-political change on intergroup contact and social distance attitudes in South Africa, Durrheim and Dixon (2010) pointed out that attitude data suggested that a mixed pattern of racial interaction is matched by uncertain attitudes toward social contact and change. They argue that black people were more strongly in favour of policies aimed at achieving transformation and integration compared to other groups. On the other hand, white people were most opposed to policies such as affirmative action, land redistribution, and racial quotas in sports teams, and this policy opposition is strongly related to racial prejudice and to threat perceptions. A further general perception that emerged here is that with Blacks entering previously exclusive White spaces, this is perceived as a loss by white people but as a gain by blacks (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010).

The second hypothesis outlined by Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) is the in-group preference hypothesis. Clark (1992) cited in (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996) explained this kind of preference as a strong desire for own-race combinations in the ethnicity of neighbourhoods which are interpreted as simple and natural ethnocentrism rather than anti-out-group sentiment or an effort to preserve relative status advantages. He further argued that racial and ethnic preferences are one of the fundamental characteristics taken into consideration when making a choice for housing and neighbourhood. As a result, the strong positive feelings of in-group attachment tend to increase objections to substantial residential integration with members of other racial or ethnic groups.

Roberts (2010) pointed out a common social phenomenon which is mainly associated with residents' perceptions and attitudes towards residential integration, the fear of crime which informs the quality of life at an individual, community and societal level. What emerges is reliance on racial stereotypes in crime discussions, constraints on people's mobility and ability to socialise, a quick retreat from public spaces and a spread of gated communities with high walls and fences including other private security measures, and all this referred to as the

‘architecture of fear’ (Roberts, 2010). Charles (2005) argued that whites are not the only ones to be associated with the development of racial stereotypes. She pointed out that there is strong evidence that minority groups and the marginalised, also hold negative stereotypical attitudes directed both to whites and to each other.

Dixon et al., (2007) highlighted that resistance to the implementation of concrete policies of racial equality remains quite high. For example, in the early 2000s many White Americans still rejected interventions intended for achieving racial integration but preferred residential environments where African Americans remain in the minority. Reflecting on the contact hypothesis, Dixon et al., (2007) report on a survey conducted in the United States, which concluded that friendly contact and social circle were predicted in Whites’ scores on measures to improve race relations, but this did not translate into support for programmes to combat inequality in housing, jobs, and education.

The influence of contact on attitudes has been noted critically by Dixon et al., (2007). They cautioned that while other researchers have accepted that contact may transform interpersonal attitudes and stereotypes, they warn that it may leave the ideological beliefs that sustain systems of racial discrimination unbroken. According to Jackman & Crane (1986) cited in (Dixon et al., 2007), the concept of prejudice treats attitudes primarily as emotionally based and as a result of ignorance that accompanies the physical separation of blacks and whites. They have argued that this concept disregards the political origins of attitudes as a means of justifying privilege, even in contexts where emotional acceptance of other groups has increased.

The third hypothesis outlined by Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) is the prejudice hypothesis and it consists of two variants relevant to attitudes towards residential integration. Traditional prejudice as a first variant entails the importance of out-group hostility in determining individual attitudes about residential contact. In this view, prejudice is filled with negative

effects and stereotypes towards a marginalised group making them impervious to reason. Bobo and Zubrinsky (2006) explained that, in terms of the traditional prejudice hypothesis, the measures of negative effects to out-group members and negative stereotypes result in objections to residential integration as a response to such stereotypes and effects. According to Charles (2005), whites' resistance to other groups sharing a neighbourhood is actively shaped directly by racial prejudice. By the same token, for non-whites' preferences, racial prejudice plays a role although they express concern about racial hostility directed at them.

The second variant of prejudice is the group position hypothesis which is based on Blumer's theory of race where he argued that prejudice involves a commitment to a specific group status or relative group position (Blumer, 1958) as cited in (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996). According to group position hypothesis, both in-group preference and out-group hostility are not sufficient to give prejudice social force but what counts is the level of difference at which in-group members have socially learned to expect and maintain in relation to out-group members, and which is associated with objections to residential integration. Therefore, the conclusion to this variant is that "the greater the effective differentiation from members of out-group, with such differentiation understood as one indicator of a preferred superior group position, the greater the likelihood of objections to residential integration" (Bobo and Zubrinsky, 2006:887)

The group position hypothesis suggests that neither in-group preference nor out-group hostility is sufficient to give prejudice social force. Instead, what matters is the magnitude or degree of difference that in-group members have socially learned to expect and maintain relative to members of specific out- groups. As a result, under the sense of group position hypothesis, it is the degree of difference between in-group attachment and out-group hostility that should be most strongly associated with objections to residential integration. Charles (2006) asserted that areas that are overwhelmingly composed of white groups are often perceived as hostile and unwelcoming to those of other races.

For cross-racial attitudes and preferences according to Charles (2006), the perceived racially integrated neighbourhood for the whites is one composed of a majority of whites, while they prefer living mostly with a small number of Blacks and slightly more Asians. Moreover, Blacks and Asians prefer a more integrated neighbourhood and they are still comfortable even if they are a minority in such neighbourhoods although each neighbourhood prefers a greater number of co-ethnic neighbours. These neighbourhood racial composition preferences assert that a racial hierarchy exists that sees whites as the most preferred out-group whilst blacks are clearly the least preferred. This, therefore, suggests that neighbourhood racial change might tend towards a neighbourhood composed of a majority racial group rather than a stable racial mix.

In a study of attitudes on the principle and practice of racial equality in South Africa, the findings revealed that few White respondents were opposed to the principle of equality, but a significant number opposed some of the compensatory and preferential practices aimed at achieving this principle in each domain, such as land restitution and other redress interventions. Moreover, the findings suggested that interracial contact improves Whites' attitudes toward practices aimed at achieving racial justice asserting that the more contact Whites have with Blacks, the greater their support for policies of restitution. The conclusion to this study was that as social integration increases, Whites' and Blacks' policy attitudes on transformation move into closer alignment (Dixon et al., 2007).

In a study of race and housing choice, Charles (2005) pointed out that to non-white potential residents, a racially integrated neighbourhood indicates that people like them are valued and welcome. This is a case more especially if the said neighbourhood has a strong showing of inhabitants of the same race as potential residents.

In this section, the three hypotheses presented, illustrate that neighbourhood perceptions revolve around two variables, which are race and class. In this case, racial attitudes get to be

tolerated through a class character, this is when an opposite racial minority group improves their economic well-being, then they get to be accepted for integration. The conclusion drawn from this evidence is that the root causes of exclusion are socially constructed, through how one social group perceives the other. The social factor, therefore, remains the core of integration, supporting a claim that an advanced form of integration is socio-spatial in its character. It also implies that social interventions have to be prioritised in order to achieve integration through a proper social organisation of the neighbourhood where perceptions and attitudes can be transformed for the better.

2.8 The critics of housing as a mechanism for integration

Housing is argued for by various scholars as having the ability to attain socio-spatial integration as outlined in section 2.6. However, there is an opposite view to this argument, believing that simply providing spaces for diverse social groups to encounter one another will not make a substantial difference where attitudes that support exclusion exist. Ruiz-Tagle (2013) provided a summary of the criticisms from various authors. According to such critics, physical proximity between different social groups has been described as impossible, an occurrence criticised for being an ideological conception of market and state practices, covering racial and ethnic prejudices, economic interests and neoliberal administrative practices (Ruiz-Tagle, 2013).

Drawing from the various critics, Ruiz-Tagle (2013) further argued that, segregation is not only influenced by structural factors forcing spatial positions, but also by complex individual and group behaviours such as urban personality, attachment, identity, differentiation, perceptions of disorder and others. Therefore, this suggests that treatment of segregation should not be focused only in terms of location, but also requires more complex sociology of place that includes human interactions and collective constructions. This is a view that accords well with the explanation of how neighbourhood perceptions and attitudes are generated, which gives rise to urban social exclusion and fragmentation. Joseph (2006) emphasised a need for

combining housing opportunities with investments in social services, education, transportation, job readiness, training, and placement.

A detailed account of critics of residential integration is provided by Young (1999). Her fundamental arguments include firstly, that pro-integration housing policies most frequently involve the relocation of blacks to predominantly white neighbourhoods, rather than the reverse. Such efforts of integration according to Young (1999), often suggest that the socially and economically dominant groups set the terms of integration to which the formerly segregated groups (blacks in this case) must conform to the expectations of the dominant group.

For other authors, integration has been experienced and perceived by many people as just a mere assimilation combined with the loosening of attachment to their original culture, which has frequently involved the accommodation of blacks to the lifestyle of middle-class whites (Bolt et al., 2010; Cashin, 2004). Therefore, a conclusion drawn from these arguments is that in the name of integration, the underprivileged groups have been forced and expected to assimilate external behaviours, of the privileged groups.

The assertion of these critics is that many integration policies where housing is used to achieve integration have advocated for an unbalanced integration which is biased in favour of a selected social group. This form of integration has protected the interests of the prominent groups like white and high-class groups and antagonised the interests of the poor and can be regarded as an antagonistic integration. This is when one social group will lose their culture and general lifestyle in being absorbed into a dominant social group in the name of integration. This form of integration does not equally favour the interests of all social groups. Apart from losing part of their cultural interests, these less prominent groups do not share equally with the prominent groups in the socio-economic benefits that the urban neighbourhood offers.

Furthermore, Young (1999) pointed out that a model of integration rejects the validity of people's will to live and associate with others for whom they feel affinity and are comfortable with, and with similar tastes, language, religious practices and so forth. Social mixing according to Blanc (2010) has been found to have contradictory aims as it encourages urban equity but undermines the right to choose (Blanc, 2010). According to Young (1999), a process whereby people choose to settle with those that they can relate to through ethnic and religious practice is not wrong, as long as it does not exclude some people from benefits and opportunities. This can be ensured through the movement of resources-to-people rather than people-to-resources and on the ability of households to reside in particular locations to maximise their opportunities and benefits (Galster and Killen, 1995; Young, 1999)

2.9 Influence of urban planning on residential segregation and integration

Escobar (2011) cited in Sotomayor & Daniere, (2017) pointed out that planning has a long history of engagement with repressive regimes and is associated with various attempts concerning social engineering in cities through the rearrangement of the built environment. It should now be considered how urban planning has also been a tool for residential integration in the urban communities and how this has been relevant in the highly fragmented post-apartheid urban settlements in South Africa.

The role of urban planning in producing residential segregation or integration can be understood through the control of space. According to Lefebvre (1974), housing, habitation or rather human habitat are the concern of architecture, whereas towns, cities or the urban space are the bailiwick of the discipline of urbanism. He further suggested that larger, territorial spaces, regional, national, continental or worldwide, remain the responsibility of planners and economists. Mabin (1992) cited in Landman, (2006), argued that planners in South Africa effectively made use of modern town planning ideas to create the apartheid city. Consequently,

the masterminds of the apartheid city identified an ideal opportunity to implement their own ideology to ensure the control of space.

The outcome of this ideology was the well-developed, white, suburbs near the central business districts where most of the facilities and work opportunities were centred, while townships grew on the urban peripheries. This urban form resulted in the development of informal settlements around townships, areas separated from the highly developed white suburbs through buffers such as green lands, industrial zones, and major transport routes, resulting in highly fragmented cities (Landman, 2006).

This form of urban planning follows the pattern from Lefebvre's (1974) explanation of the production of space, who asserted that capital and capitalism 'influence' practical matters relating to space, from building construction to the distribution of investments and the universal division of labour. In sequence, there is money with its powers of intervention or commercial exchange whereby any commodity can be bought and sold. Furthermore, it is noted that capitalism has a fundamental aspect, one which is certainly bound up with the functioning of money, through various markets, and with the social relations of production, but which is distinct from these precisely because it is dominant.

Consequently, the hegemony of one class emerges, exercised over society, knowledge and culture through the use of human mediation and policies. Therefore, a ruling class with whatever available means seeks to maintain and protect its hegemony, and this is the case with the urban form in South Africa. The above outline of production of space may help to understand the reasons for the current form of the distribution of urban socio-economic opportunities. It is therefore evident that the deprivation of the poor from the opportunities offered by the cities or general urban communities is not a coincidence that is due to the shortage of resources like land where they can be well-located and other resources. This was

deliberately orchestrated through unfair urban planning that aimed to create and maintain hegemony over the urban space. As a result, the current urban arrangement in many South African cities including Ballito, still reflects this form of biased planning.

Marcuse (2005) cited in (Ruiz-Tagle, 2013) suggested that segregation is deliberate, as it reflects social causes such as prejudice, discrimination and a sense of superiority. Furthermore, he claims that it has physical manifestations including denial of access to space, spatial concentration and social consequences like social dislocations and this reflects the formation and maintenance of a ghetto through hegemony. It was in this context that the apartheid city was created, and separate and discriminating developments ensued. In this process, while planning was a foundation for the ideology, housing was a major tool used to establish the apartheid city. The work by Robinson (1997) which explores state capacity, citizenship, and urban form provides an account for the organisation of space in the South African context.

Robinson (1997) stated that power and space have been very significant in shaping the South African urban order, and he emphasises a close relationship between the creation of state power and the organisation of space. From this account, dominant social processes significant in shaping urban segregation were identified. They include land use processes which comprise competition for residential land, property interests, the growth of the building and construction industry and demand for commercial land. Beyond shaping segregation in many cities, these contributed to the sense of urban crisis and degeneration, which then occasioned state intervention.

According to Ruiz-Tagle (2013), segregation has been portrayed in more complex sociological terms to include resistance in the form of defensible spaces and rejection by communities of intrusions of inferior status groups. Elias & Scotson (1994) also suggest that there is an emphasis on the maintenance of identity and the superiority of the established, through the

exclusion and stigmatisation of outsiders (Elias & Scotson, 1994). This also illustrates how hegemony is used to control space. This form of space production created a psychological perception of the citizen belonging to and attached to space and resources. In South Africa, this has been according to racial differences and it has now emerged through class differences. Those perceived to be inferior were believed not to be belonging to the space created for the few prominent elites and are still regarded as foreign to a majority of those living in the urban space and that they do not belong there. As a result, there are stereotypes attached which even make the less privileged to believe that the well-developed urban spaces do not belong to them but to the privileged. It might be for this reason that when the poor are unable to have meaningful participation in urban processes, they might feel that they always have to succumb to the urban elites. Many of them understand participation in the urban economy through working for the urban elites rather than having a fair share of urban economic resources which includes participation in major business enterprises.

Lifebre (1974) asserted that social differences can never be silenced totally, even if they can be defeated temporarily, they will live on, and from time-to-time begin fighting harshly to reassert themselves and to transform through struggle. A class struggle continues on its way, sometimes underground and in the light of day, and it is not an easy matter to get rid of the class struggle. This accounts for the current class and racial tensions that arise on the sharing of urban space in South Africa. As much as race is not a major determining factor in urban settlement, class has originated mainly from racial differences managed through past segregation processes. There have been many policy and legislative interventions to silence racial differences and tensions, but class inequality has built from those racial differences and as a result, social differences and tensions still live on through class.

Sotomayor & Daniere (2017), recognised that international development planning literature has adopted the perspective of empowered social movements or insurgent citizenship practice

as a way of addressing questions of socio-spatial justice in the global south. These planning practices according to Miraftab (2005), aim ultimately to disrupt and to transform oppressive economic, social, cultural, political dominance. Furthermore, equity planning practice has been suggested as one of the mechanisms to address problems of urban fragmentation. This is the kind of planning that focuses on improving the lives of the most marginalised people within the city (Krumholz & Forester, 1990).

Sotomayor & Daniere (2017) report that practicing equity planners in the Global South is sometimes able to catalyse conditions for collective action and disrupt the planning status quo while working within state institutions. After reviewing case studies from the impoverished and developed countries, they come to the conclusion that even in countries that represent two of the most extreme examples of complex economic, institutional, and political settings in the world, it is evident that self-reflexive planners can create relationships with marginalised groups and can identify opportunities to play out their politics that can result in tangible advances toward socio-spatial justice (Sotomayor & Daniere, 2017).

Holt-Jensen (2001), claims that addressing the problems of exclusion requires a new planning approach, whereby physical renewal is taken care of by a physical planner according to well-defined aims. Here he proposes an idea of collaborative planning for community involvement, policy community and local coalitions of private, non-profit third-system actors as well as public actors to sustain economic viability and social welfare. It is also suggested that social problems can be solved through physical planning. One of the social problems that are used to justify the highly segregated gated communities is insecurity, but this can be resolved through physical planning.

Collaborative planning is one possible intervention to achieve a fair and advanced integration in urban communities. Literature has proved that urban planning has not ensured participation

of all social groups, resulting in biased decision-making that excludes the interests of the less-privileged groups and possible social inequalities and tensions. Collaborative planning will, therefore, assist in creating urban collectivism and activism where all residents regardless of race or class are able to work towards a common goal. This process can also assist in eliminating stereotypes as urban dwellers are able to learn and understand one another through interactions in decision-making.

As one of the key strategies to social problems, there are suggested ways for crime-preventive physical planning which have been advocated as a slogan for new ideas on the internal layout of pedestrian routes, roads and physical layout of buildings within an estate (Holt-Jensen, 2001). Grönlund (1999) cited in Holt-Jensen, (2001) alluded to the fact that the settlement layout may support informal social control and thus make formalised surveillance less needed. Furthermore, pedestrian routes should follow roads for cars, rather than lead through backyards and pedestrian tunnels under roads and wooded areas where rape and other assaults are less likely to be seen. Entrances to houses should be open and built in such a way that people living in the neighbourhood can observe who is entering the houses (Holt-Jensen, 2001).

The indication given by this suggested model is that housing and planning are inseparable in addressing some of the social problems which are perceived to be hindrances towards achieving urban socio-spatial integration. In this regard, housing and settlement design have to be enhanced both by private and public developers. Furthermore, there shall be some level of integration between private and public developments, so that such design interventions can find expression in urban housing development and planning.

The post-apartheid urban communities reflect what Lifebre (1974) explained as a distance which separates an ideal space, which has more to do with mental categories for each resident, and a social space which is the space for social practice. Income inequality and urban

fragmentation are the two closely related phenomena affecting the cities in the global south (Sotomayor & Daniere, 2017). In this case, income inequality might be a factor affecting the ideal space of low-income residents. The situation presented by Lefebvre (1974) is indicated by the class differences and spatial settings of the urban settlement which require planning interventions to achieve socio-spatial integration.

According to Holt-Jensen (2001), a physical planner views physical planning as a traditional approach that will eventually promote social inclusion. Furthermore, physical improvements through planning may have a psychological effect on those living in the area because it is believed that a nice living environment may foster nice people. More transformative planning interventions are therefore required to replace former unfair planning patterns that have left many urban communities fragmented even when discriminatory spatial policies have been repealed.

2.10 Local and international experiences: Segregation and interventions

This section provides a detailed review of local and international studies on experiences urban integration and disintegration. The first part will discuss the local studies based on origins of urban segregation in South Africa; the persistence of urban fragmentation in South Africa; interventions made so far to achieve urban spatial integration; and challenges to urban integration. The second part of the section will outline lessons to be learnt based on international experiences on both urban fragmentation and integration.

2.10.1 The origins of urban segregation and its impact in South Africa

The major factor that gave rise to the origins of urban spatial segregation in South Africa was land occupation and industrial production. The fundamental mission of the oppressors in the early twentieth century was to gain absolute hegemony mainly on the resources for production, through applying ‘divide and rule policy’, (van Schoor, 1951). The *Union Native Labour*

Regulation Act of 1911 and the *Land Act of 1913* are two of the early fundamental laws introduced to control the supply of labour in urban areas and ownership of land and resources by the black African people. These were part of the series of legislated Acts which were means to deprive black Africans of their means of subsistence and strip them of their possessions to leave them only with labour power (van Schoor, 1951). Furthermore, the already landless Africans could be controlled on their locations by not being permanent residents in the urban settlements, but they could only stay there for work purposes. The production in the industries had demanded more labour power thus more rural population flocked into urban areas.

After a number of legislative Acts that gave rise to segregation like the *Housing Act of 1920* the *Public Health Act of 1919* and many other forms of segregation that had occurred, the *Urban Areas Act of 1923* and the *Group Areas Act of 1950* became the cornerstones of urban segregation in South Africa (Maylam, 1995). By the early 1920s, thousands of black men, women, and children had moved to urban areas, and this resulted in the establishment of the *Stallard Commission* to investigate the presence of Africans in towns (Maylam, 1995). As per the recommendations of the commission, the *Urban Areas Act of 1923* was passed. The mandate carried by this act was the clearance of the slums in urban areas and give authority to municipalities to establish separate locations for African people, mainly on urban skirts (Maylam, 1995).

However, the *Urban Areas Act* did not have a maximum impact as it only recommended and enabled residential segregation but did not enforce it (Maylam, 1995). The *Group Areas Act of 1950* then compelled the establishment of towns separated according to race groups i.e. Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians, where hundreds of thousands of people were forcefully removed to racially designated areas (Seekings, 2010). These restrictions were a means for ‘influx control’ and to determine where African people could live and work. These are the undertakings that led to the formation of what later became known as the ‘apartheid city’. All

unemployed African men and women, including children, were excluded from the apartheid city, and where there was resistance, mass arrests, prosecutions and deportations were faced (Seekings, 2010).

Production of space in South Africa was managed mainly through legislation that enforced planning and architectural practices in order to serve the interests of the elites, classified along racial lines at that time. This process included the elimination of racial groups from the well-developed sections of the urban areas. Through the process, many social elements were created, which included perceptions of hatred, tensions, stereotypes, etc. amongst the social groups. This was actually entrenched psychologically amongst these social groups, to believe that the oppressed group had a very limited and designated role to play in the city. The struggle for the transformation of urban communities in South Africa to become more integrated is today stuck with these origins and the challenge is to reset the mindset of the social groups.

Apartheid is often interpreted as a largely political construct, but architecture and planning were the motive forces in the implementation of apartheid policies, whereby the use of townships as a racial construct was reinforced by theoretical movements within architecture and planning (Findley & Ogbu, 2011). Additionally, design practices became cultural extensions of state power, where some professional designers validated the power of the white minority through the planning of new townships mandated under laws such as the *Group Areas Act of 1950*, which specified where racial groups were allowed to live in urban areas. Vibrant multiracial, integrated settlements were cleared and destroyed, their residents separated by race and relocated into distant townships as a way to promote racial spatial segregation (Findley & Ogbu, 2011).

Hindson (1995), argues that amongst the fundamental objectives of urban apartheid was the exclusion of Indian and African people from the centres of economic and political power in the

cities. Furthermore, to minimise social and infrastructural expenditure in the new townships, leaving them poorly developed. The Minister of Justice, Swart (1953), quoted in Spinks, (2001), declared that: “in our country we have civilised people, we have semi-civilised people and we have uncivilised people. The Government gives each section facilities according to the circumstances of each. The apartheid city produced a stark, classified and highly legible spatial hierarchy of race, class, and access (Schensul & Heller, 2010). Living conditions in the poorly developed black isolated townships further promoted social disintegration, when compared to well-developed white suburbs. In some cases, like Alexandra, older townships were close to white territories and separated only by walls and fences, whereas in most places a huge zone of unoccupied land separated the townships from the city (Findley & Ogbu, 2011).

Transport was limited to state-owned buses and trains, and the scarcity of commercial development forced many township residents to shop in faraway white-owned shopping centres, or the few Indian-owned shops dispersed around the townships (Findley & Ogbu, 2011). As a result, this resulted in the emergence of ‘spaza shops’, small-scale stores, run from home and integrated into townships. Travelling distances to work were long and very costly for the poor township dwellers. Due to public transport shortage, private minibus taxis came into operation as an intervention to address the need for urban transport mainly for black commuters. These were known as ‘black taxis’ and are still the cornerstone of public transport in townships to date. Black township schools were poorly maintained barrack-like structures with barred windows and second-hand desks, with no cultural facilities, though churches did provide places of community and belonging (Findley & Ogbu, 2011).

As a result of these separate developments, class inequalities emerged based on race. Through location of blacks far from urban economic opportunities and other resources for improved well-being, blacks remained poor and white groups became richer as they were located in areas where they were and are still able to engage in economic opportunities offered by the city, with

no restrictions. This gives an indication that existing class inequalities in South Africa originated from racial deprivation, where the level of access to urban socio-economic opportunities was arranged according to race.

Towards the end of the apartheid regime, South Africa faced a rise in income inequality. Racial discrimination declined but inequality remained inflexibly high because the determining factors of inequality had shifted (Seekings & Nattrass, 2006). At this period, inequality was now also driven by the growing gap in income between the African population as some benefited from upward mobility on the occupational ladder, while others suffered unemployment and were increasingly marginalised in the labour market. Initially, the income inequalities were driven by the gap in racial incomes. Separate development and restrictions on access to the economic activities in the city were amongst the contributing factors. (Seekings & Nattrass, 2006). In this way, the declining apartheid regime started to develop a black middle-class.

This economic transition then marked a new form of class difference. The collapse of the apartheid regime meant the removal of legislative restrictions on a choice of residence amongst racial groups. This meant that a few black middle-class citizens could now afford better living conditions, which included well-developed houses located in better sections of the urban areas. The income inequalities brought new divisions even amongst the blacks. As a result, there is now a new form of residential segregation which is according to class inequalities, whereby the black townships remain poor and its dwellers earning low income are unable to afford better houses and living conditions in the well-developed suburbs. This has clearly been caused by a disproportionate income earned by a few upwardly mobile blacks.

2.10.2 The persistence of urban fragmentation in the post-apartheid South Africa

The South African government's review of a period 1994-2014 outlines major challenges that were facing the country's towns and cities in the early 1990s and which still persists. These challenges include:

“...deeply entrenched patterns of racial segregation, highly fragmented urban areas with an inversion of the ‘natural’ relationship between density and distance, low-density sprawl in the middle-class suburbs with decentralised economic activity and inner-city decline, a massive challenge for the daily movement of people, with transport costs excessively high for poor households in international terms, a process of land invasion and informal settlement formation, poorly developed and deteriorating public transport systems (although the privately owned minibus taxi industry was proving to be highly successful), cities of extreme inequality, (Harrison, 2014:11).

These challenges give an indication of a persistent urban fragmentation, uneven planning and physical development and an inability to reorganise the formerly segregated urban environments, after two decades of democratic rule in South Africa.

After the first decade of democracy, Pieterse (2004) presented a review on the persistence of urban fragmentation in South Africa which revealed that despite various interventions since 1994, South African cities appear to remain segregated and fragmented as previously. He pointed out that the first reason for the persistence of urban fragmentation was institutional overload. He argued that this occurred during the time when structures of local government were made and remade with interchanging legislative timetables from pre-interim, interim and permanent phases, between the periods of 1994 to post-2000. The highly complex processes of organisational unbundling and amalgamation, together with shifting territorial boundaries of service delivery, caused deep organisational shock. This happened at the time when the people tasked with overseeing the restructuring processes were still new in municipal management (Pieterse, 2004).

The second reason was that there were contradictory implications of sectoral policy initiatives, including transport, housing, primary health care, and economic development. These were driven by national government departments within the mandate of the *Reconstruction and Development White Paper* that only considered municipalities for implementation instead of policy design and development. It is believed that the denial of direct participation of local governments in this regard, left the municipalities with a web of competing and contradictory demands by the time many policies and legislations were finalised in 1998 (Pieterse, 2004).

Furthermore, the political pressure to achieve numerical targets, in accordance with government's commitment in the *Reconstruction and Development Programme*, has been another reason for the continued persistence of urban fragmentation (Pieterse, 2004). Almost all forms of service delivery and development inside government were geared towards addressing the severe service backlogs in black communities with little time spent on considering the potential unintended consequences on the overall spatial form (Huchzermeyer, 2003). Amongst others, was housing delivery with a government's commitment to delivering one million houses in a five-year period. This commitment was made without proper considerations of the size of the housing subsidy which had to cover land and quality top-structure costs within the expected timeframes, with reliance on private developers (Pieterse, 2004). The outcome was the development of the RDP low-cost houses on the outskirts of the cities and town, reinforcing the spatial form of the apartheid city because the only affordable land to accommodate large-scale private sector driven construction was on the periphery of cities (Pieterse, 2004).

The lack of understanding and engagement with urban economic processes and actors, is the fourth reason for perpetuation of urban fragmentation in the post-apartheid South Africa, according to Pieterse (2004). New private property development interventions aimed at the middle-class and enterprises are almost without exception located in the established white

suburbs, isolating central business districts and developing black-owned areas (Pieterse, 2004). It is believed that such patterns of flows of investment capital strengthen the economic marginalisation of the working classes and the underprivileged, and as a result, this tends to intensify racial segregation and urban fragmentation due to the acute race-class coincidence in South Africa. There has been no or less effort made to engage with real estate firms and property markets to challenge and alter market perceptions and associated behaviour, thus leaving urban fragmentation unattended to and persisting (Pieterse, 2004).

The perception portrayed in this argument is that, beyond intense negotiations between major stakeholders in the national housing forum, which included amongst others the political parties and private sector, there was no clear plan to address urban fragmentation. Priority in these negotiations was given to the general provision of houses without concern for underlying problems that would affect the long-term settlement of the people, especially the poor. The previously segregated sections of the city were left unshaken by these negotiations and those who enjoyed better locations during the apartheid period were not involved in the responsibility of creating more integrated and transformed urban settlements. All the above questions raise the concern of whether or not the post-apartheid city does exist. Therefore, the analysis and interpretation of final data shall respond to the question of whether or not, there has been a creation of a post-apartheid city in South Africa, considering the aspect of urban integration.

The final reason provided by Pieterse (2004), is the question of urban development policy frameworks and implementation. He argued that the South African government tends to promote conceptions of urban sustainability, which is the catch-all policy term for integrated urban development. This brings an assumption that diverse stakeholders will be able to find agreement through deliberation on the necessity of developing cities that are spatially and socio-economically integrated, and free of racial and gender discrimination and segregation (Pieterse, 2004). This can be related to the absence of planning policy and a legislative

framework at the dawn of democracy during which period massive physical developments were being undertaken in urban areas. It is only recently that the SPLUMA and IUDF have been enacted. This is after much damage had been caused through massive uneven physical urban developments, and these frameworks are yet to be tested if they will be responsive to the challenges faced.

Schensul and Heller (2010) argued that in South Africa, where social, economic and racial divisions of apartheid were spatially constructed there is an urban sociology acknowledgement that space reflects and reinforces inequality. This is what Durlington (2006) has argued that historically South Africa has been governed by ideas of control of space, both through symbolic power and geographical realities. After analysing the South African post-apartheid city literature, Schensul & Heller (2010) present three conclusions. Firstly, that the post-apartheid city continues to experience increasing spatial fragmentation and polarisation. Cities, which were not densified in the main, are sprawling out, driven by decentralisation, deindustrialisation, suburbanisation and greenfield developments. These new spaces extend and even heighten historical inequalities of race and class, noticeable, on the one end of the social scale, mainly in high-end gated neighbourhoods and at the other end by massive, distant informal settlements (Schensul & Heller, 2010).

In a study of gated communities in Durban, Durlington (2006), argues that contemporary gated communities in South Africa embody a new racial politics of space. The study pointed out that these gated communities are characterised by intensive security apparatus of high walls, boom gates, razor wire, electric fences, 24-hour guards and armed responses, where private security outnumber local public police. Such conditions in which these communities are formed, are based on the history, geography, culture, national legislation and local government. These elements, as a result, create a culture of fear and constitute a new form of spatial segregation (Durlington , 2006).

Cape Town, the oldest capitalist and a contemporary highly segregated city in South Africa is still experiencing privatisation of space, which is determined by the economic standards of affordability. In the year 2000, the post-apartheid urban redevelopment strategy implemented the City Improvement Districts (CIDs) also legally referred to as *Special Rates Areas (SRAs)* (Miraftab & Wills, 2012). These private locations have been created mainly in the Central Business Districts. The same former white reserves generate wealth for a few real estate capitalists holding property in such areas. In these selected zones within the city, property owners pay extra fees to access a high standard of services from the municipality, with respect to cleaning, policing and marketing. The zones consist of a private, non-governmental governing entity to oversee service delivery and to enforce by-laws about the zone's use and users of its public space. These districts are typically marketed as innovative and have colonial roots, with operating principles focusing on two main aspects, political citizenship and discursive justification (Miraftab & Wills, 2012).

According to Spinks (2001), in Cape Town, post-apartheid development was constrained by contradictory agendas; whilst government and business aspire to world-class status, poverty-stricken residents demand equality, and wealthier Cape Town citizens demand security. In this place, non-middle-class blacks remain socially excluded from white privileges, and spatially concentrated in segregated suburb peripheries. Furthermore, spatial and social dynamics persist as black residents mainly in squatter settlements were refused access to the suburb's 'white' facilities such as schools, health clinics and so forth. In a few affluent centres, urban whites, with high mobility and conditional majority rule support, claim rising crime as justification for emigration and socio-spatial isolation, and a reason for the establishment of restricted settlements, such as the gated communities (Spinks, 2001).

According to Miraftab & Wills (2012), the rhetoric around operation of districts is that they are created by the communities rather than the city government and the motivation behind their

establishment is fighting crime, bringing tourism, foreign investment and turning Cape Town into an 'Apple of Africa'. By 2010 there were thirty-three CIDs operating in the Cape Town metropolitan area, with an additional forty-two prospective CIDs listed by the city. These districts had consumed eighty-three million rands with each allocated two to four million rands. These CIDs later faced public criticism and rebellion which saw an ANC mayor, Nomaindia Mfeketho aligning herself with grievances of citizens against CIDs elitism and threatening to withdraw from the partnership of these districts. The mayor called for a stop to the creation of CIDs, in residential areas, as she argued that this had a potential of opening the flood gates for former white suburbs that want to re-establish exclusive enclaves, however, later this call was defeated as CIDs continued to grow as they were thereafter approved (Miraftab & Wills, 2012).

The issue of security is raised as a major justification for the development of gated communities. While these gated communities appear as a threat to integration and urban socio-spatial transformation, the concern for security cannot be overlooked. Crime in South Africa is not only a concern for the rich, but it affects mostly the low-income communities who have no means of access to extra private security services beyond that which is provided by the government. Furthermore, it gives an indication that poor security can also be a major reason for the spread of gated communities. Therefore, further research must focus on security and housing, and the impacts on urban fragmentation.

Secondly, the combination of new market forces and the removal of racial barriers to mobility has shifted the logic of spatial inequality from racial segregation to class segregation, for instance through massive variations in land pricing (Schensul & Heller, 2010). According to Findley & Ogbu (2011), to date, a number of black former township dwellers have relocated to former white-reserved areas, for those who remained in the townships, this is due to social and economic ties they have built in such places while for a majority, it's due to unaffordability.

Whiteford & Van Seventer (2000), cited in (Seekings & Natrass, 2006), make reference to a census which suggested that the white population's share of total income declined from about 71 per cent in 1970 to 52 per cent in 1996, whereas the black African population share of total income rose from around 20 per cent to 36 per cent. Further data on income show that this trend continued up to 2000. This is an early growth of a black middle-class that determined affordability and a choice of place. According to Seekings & Natrass (2006), the post-apartheid understanding of a black middle-class were people in salaried jobs such as managers, professionals whose income was treated as salary and entrepreneurs and capitalists. According to Pieterse (2009), just two years after political liberation, South Africa embraced total integration into the neoliberal global economic system by pre-empting trade reforms and lowering barriers and tariffs even before this was strictly necessary. In addition, the consequences have been devastating for the working classes and this has contributed to the rise of economic inequality and to spatial divisions.

This presentation of post-apartheid income distribution illustrates persistent inequalities in a new form, not mainly by race, but class. The post-apartheid redress policies failed to bring about economic stability amongst the previously disadvantaged social groups, and as a result, they created unbalanced poorly-developed black communities which followed the lines of apartheid development patterns (Oldfield, 2003) of urban opportunities. This is an indication of an unfair share of the benefits offered by the urban environments, which brings a conclusion that the post-1994 urban communities and economies only catered for the few select blacks while they continued to favour the previously advantaged social groups.

Thirdly, Schensul & Heller (2010) acknowledge the commitment of the state in desegregating the apartheid city but argues that the local state has not been very effective in promoting either racial or economic desegregation. Oldfield (2003), in her argument, claims that the state has played a direct role in some cases in urban segregation, particularly in the development of new

areas. Here, she referred to government's efforts to provide the poor with affordable housing have been severely criticized as ineffective. It has been argued that by upgrading poorly located informal dwellings and developing peripheral greenfield areas, where the combination of low land prices and limited resistance from nearby elites allows the state to construct public housing, whereas housing policy has, in fact, worsened the apartheid spatial form and reinforced racial exclusion (Schensul & Heller, 2010).

The 1996-2001 census revealed that urban areas in South Africa were still highly segregated during that period. On a national scale, the African median index of segregation only declined from 87 to 84 per cent, while the White index declined from 94 to 92 per cent (Christopher, 2005). It is only the Coloured population that experienced any significant break with the apartheid past with the national median index value declining from 80 to 73 per cent and none of these figures could be regarded as representing integrated towns and cities in the post-apartheid South Africa for the said period. These results proved that the degree of integration was limited with high levels of segregation and one may conclude that apartheid may be dead, officially in South Africa, but it is still living through spatial segregation (Christopher, 2005).

Christopher (2005) asserted that experiences of spatial segregation in post-apartheid South Africa have been highly diverse and reflected the lack of a central direction by the government. The democratic government has focused mainly on the provision of free and affordable public services instead of building the capacity for the poor to afford better services, including improved places of living. This could have been done by focusing on the development of social capital and access to economic opportunities. The provision of free basic services has deprived the poor of their right to choose to live in, well-developed places for housing projects. The apartheid regime intensified all the unjust developments through policymaking and legislation, but the post-apartheid policy and legislation failed to give a clear direction for the redress of

uneven and unjust developments. These are some of the reasons for a persistent and undefeated socio-spatial segregation.

According to Charlton & Kihato (2006), cited in (Pieterse, 2009), South African cities have remained profoundly divided, segregated and unequal despite more than fifteen years of concerted government efforts to extend development opportunities to the urban poor. Pieterse (2009), argued that the democratic government's social redistribution policies, the housing policy amongst others, have also contributed to the spatial segregation's persistence. In this way, the housing delivery programme has had profoundly negative consequences which included intensifying urban sprawl and increasing the daily reproductive costs for the poor, instead of providing them with an appreciating asset that can strengthen their livelihoods. Provision of free public housing for the poor gives the impression that the ruling party cannot see a way of amending this policy in order to address the unforeseen consequences and continue with a more effective set of strategies that can bend spatial patterns and ensure better access to urban opportunities (Pieterse, 2009). Figure 7 below illustrates the outcomes of post-apartheid uneven methods of urban spatial development.

DURBAN METRO

ALEXANDRA / SANDTON

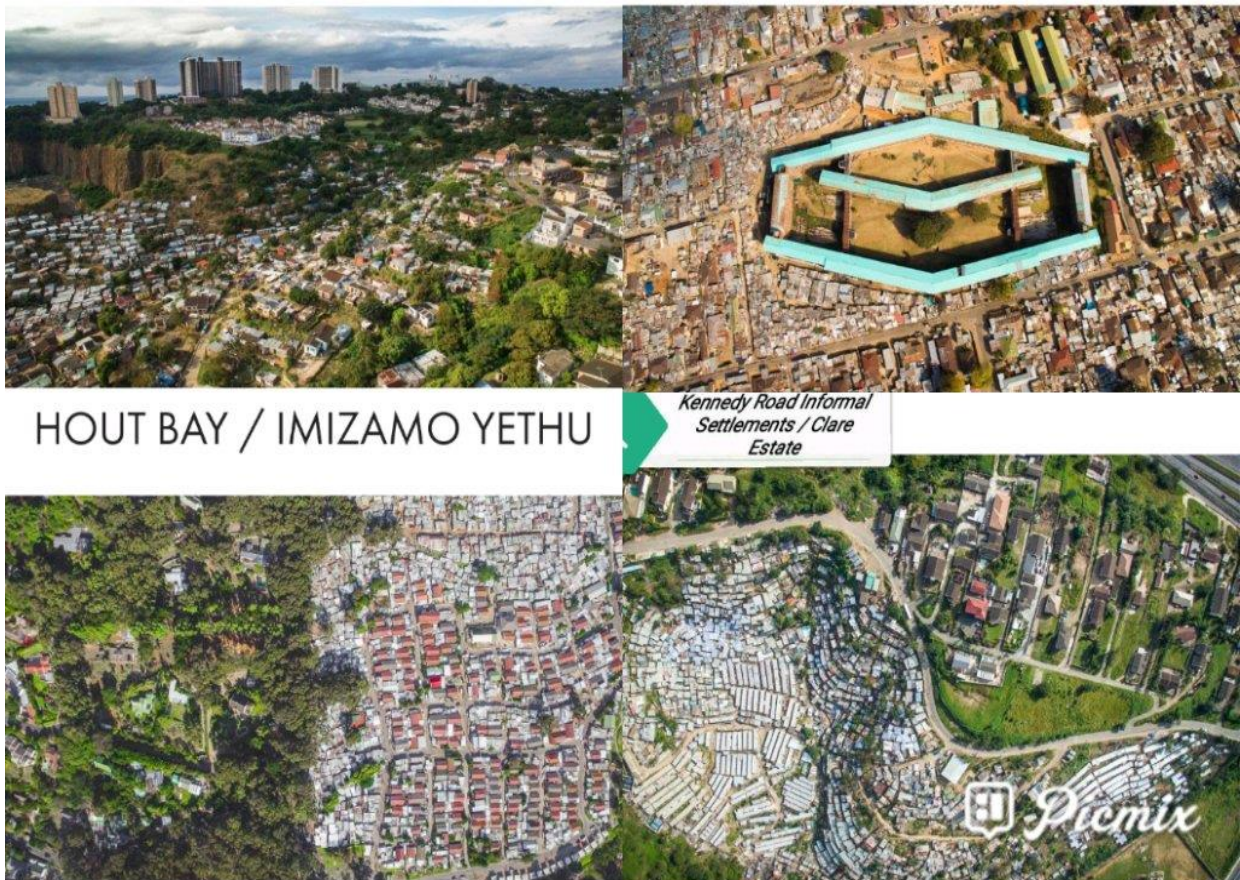


Figure 7: Urban Settlement Patterns in Three SA Cities, (Miller, 2016)

The presentation on figure 7 illustrates four urban communities merged using the picmix application. The images were taken by Miller (2016) using a drone. These urban communities are found in three major cities that are experiencing high persistence of urban fragmentation, and these are Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town. The same cities were also mostly affected by apartheid segregation planning and development. In the post-apartheid era, segregation in these cities has taken a new form. The mushrooming of low-cost informal settlements on the edges of the existing high-income suburbs indicate that segregation in the post-1994 era is not mainly in spatial terms. These patterns illustrate persistent and growing poverty conditions which continue to maintain and grow social inequalities in the urban communities.

In the illustration of Durban Metro, is Morningside, one of the richest suburbs, where one of the former President, Mr Jacob Zuma is located. The area enjoys a view of the Durban beaches and the famous Moses Mabhida Stadium. In the image, the section at the top with high-rise building accommodates the high-income residents with well-developed houses. On the lower cliff, are hundreds of shacks built with corrugate iron and characterised with poor service delivery, crime, poverty and unemployment. Kennedy Road Informal settlement, with high poverty conditions is also located adjacent to Clare Estate, a rich suburb in Durban (Miller, 2016).

Location of Alexandra and Sandton, in Johannesburg is another significant story-teller for persistence of urban segregation depicting serious class inequalities in South Africa. Sandton is a host to significant economic features such as Johannesburg Stock Exchange, Sandton City Shopping Centre, Sandton Convention Centre, Polo Club and other commercial centres. The township of Alexandra exists alongside this financial centre of South Africa (Sandton). Also referred to as “Alex”, consists of high population density, huge low-income hostel, shacks growing from vacant plots and characterised with high levels of unemployment and crime (Miller, 2016). On the similar pattern of urban division is Hout Bay located closer to one of the busiest fishing harbours in Western Cape, together with wealthy housing estates, hotels and small farms. In between these wealthy estates is Imizamo Yethu informal settlements characterised with shacks, indicating a low-income settlement

2.10.3 Urban segregation: International experiences

According to Genis (2007), in the twenty-first century, gated communities continued strongly to be a global phenomenon and cultural icon for the urban elites. Further, he alluded to the fact that like in South Africa, in the United States the rise of gated communities has been attributed largely to the search for security with growing fear of urban crime and violence. Blakely and Snyder (1997) presented three types of gated communities that exist in the United States. These

included prestige communities, which cater to the upper-income groups and giving the high status to its residents. Lifestyle communities is a second type catering for both upper and middle-class residents, offering a lifestyle choice in a socio-economically homogenous community, and together with prestige communities, they are owned by private developers or homeowner's associations. The third kind is 'security zone' communities for the low-income groups see previous public spaces retrofitted with gates by the residents themselves to ensure safety and protection from crime and violence.

In Turkey, the city of Istanbul is one amongst the major cities that saw a significant rise of gated communities. In 2005, while the number of gated communities was expected to increase to 650, about 150 new gated communities were constructed in the same year (Danis & Parouse, 2005) cited in (Genis, 2007). With no accurate statistics of people who stayed in these gated communities, the demand was so high that the units were sold out even before the completion of their construction (Genis, 2007). According to Blakely & Snyder (1997), areas like these, while they display variation in terms of location, size, design and the amenities, also offer a favourable infrastructure and a variety of private services for a socially and economically homogeneous clientele, mixing the characteristics of the prestige and lifestyle communities.

Genis (2007) further argued that in the case of gated communities, mainly those located on the outskirts of city, development is done in a way to attain maximum self-sufficiency and minimum dependence on outside/public services. This occurs through a defensive spatial design together with a private body of security, private provision of common services and a private body of governance. The public relations director of one of the gated communities located in a low-income area explained that the concept of gated communities is largely based on a lifestyle that does not seek to establish an organic relationship with its neighbourhood (Genis, 2007).

This international experience of urban residential development is evidence that private residential urban development remains preferable to those administered by the local government. This implies that urban communities represent the ‘survival of the fittest’ in the much-improved lifestyle which enjoys security and luxury and which favours only the rich at the expense of the poor urban dwellers. Even government housing interventions are unable to match the lifestyle of private housing neighbourhoods. Another observation on this trend of residential urban development can be that public urban governance has surrendered to private developments due to private ownership of land and accumulation of wealth by the minority urban elites, which leaves the urban poor as the victims of the system.

Genis (2007) further asserted that it is a lifestyle that wants to turn inside and isolate where it does not matter what kind of people you have outside but what matters most is what you have inside. Based on this idea, he concluded that gated communities with their splendid landscapes, exclusive architecture, infrastructure and amenities with gates and guards exist comfortably but oddly in the midst of neighbourhoods suffering from unemployment, poverty and failing public services.

Urban spatial fragmentation has also affected many cities of the developing regions like in Latin America, which has seen the rise of gated communities which persisted even in the post-independence period (Coy, 2006). One of the fundamental reasons that gave rise to gated communities in the Latin American cities was that the state at both national and local level reduced interference in socio-economic and spatial development, abiding by the neo-liberal principles of privatisation and flexibility (Coy, 2006). This was a promotion of neo-liberal urbanism, which according to Genis (2007), has accompanied a neo-liberal economic restructuring seeking to enlarge the role of the market forces in housing and real estate sectors and furthermore privatise urban and social services provision in order to increase the role of the elites in driving urban spatial development.

As a result, in the Latin American cities, the wealthier urban dwellers, real estate companies and other key urban actors were able to exert a major influence and control over urban reform and development (Coy, 2006). This concurs with what was argued by Brenner & Theodore (2002) that cities in Europe and America have been experiencing socio-economic disparities, managed through creating privatised and networked spaces to be consumed by the urban elite, constituting a private city. According to Coy (2006), these areas are a major deterrent to public accessibility, which forms an important element of socio-cultural qualities of urban life, and they deepen urban fragmentation. Other features of urban fragmentation in the Latin American cities, linked with gated communities, include the increased number of shopping centres; urban entertainment areas and business parks. Like in many other developing countries, urban fragmentation in Latin American cities is associated with three major factors, which are status, lifestyle and security; and the fear of crime as the most cited reason for the growth of gated communities (Coy, 2006).

2.10.4 Urban integration: International experiences

United States

In the United States, the government authorities began with interventions towards urban residential integration by the end of World War II (Weaver, 1956). It began in the northern housing authorities where progress was made towards the adoption of non-segregation policies and the trend continued at an accelerated rate which included border cities such as Baltimore, St. Louis, Washington, and Wilmington. What was evident in the local states was that even after open-occupancy policies were adopted, it was still difficult to ensure compliance with integration. In this case, the local authorities found it more difficult to introduce white tenants into a previously all-Negro (black) or predominantly Negro public housing project than to bring non-whites into a previously all-white development (Weaver, 1956). They found these changes as presenting more problems than establishing integrated patterns of living at the outset.

This scenario presents the central hindrances to socio-spatial integration locally. In post-apartheid policy reforms, the focus was centred on open-occupancy policies rather than on non-segregation policies. It is for this reason that the rich continued to be concentrated in the previously well-developed suburbs and other new private housing developments while the poor lived on the urban outskirts. Due to no establishment and enforcement of integration policies, even the low-income urban dwellers who found a location around well-developed urban sections still suffered poverty conditions with no means to afford better and more secure housing in these neighbourhoods.

In local cities of United States, integration was achieved through the extent of local ordinances and administrative rulings, the extent implementation of the legislation which was in force, the type of law-enforcement machinery and methods in effect, and the location of sites (Weaver, 1956). After law-enforcement measures, the outcome in all locations reflected that spatial integration in public housing has, indeed, brought about interracial contacts. In these locations, tens of thousands of white and non-white low- income families discovered, some for the first time that interracial patterns of living were practical. Therefore, this illustrated possibilities for such to happen elsewhere with the fact that this has occurred in many communities and that it often reflects conscious efforts to change from segregated to racially mixed projects (Weaver, 1956).

The evidence in this case study illustrates that spatial integration is only an important step towards advanced integration, which is socio-spatial integration and doesn't necessarily represent a complete integration. Furthermore, it indicates that socio-spatial integration can be achieved through committed efforts of the government authorities through policy and legislative interventions and efforts. The apartheid city was built through a legislative framework that enforced segregation and thus, the post-apartheid city can only be achieved through a contrast of such a legislative framework.

Singapore

Located in south-east Asia, Singapore is regarded as one of the highly planned city-states in the world (Yuen , 2007). Like South Africa, Singapore is a former British colony and has faced common post-colonial challenges as faced by South Africa. These include, severe socioeconomic crises with high unemployment of over 13%, high population growth of about 4%, housing shortage and overcrowding whereby about 250,000 people were living in degenerated slums and another 300,000 in squatter areas, labour strikes where the unions had strong communist influence, and civil riots among different ethnic groups (Yuen , 2007). South Africa has faced many of the same challenges towards the end of the apartheid regime and in the post-apartheid era they still persist.

During the post-independence period in Singapore, the major priority was given to a programme of deliberate intervention, also known to be ‘deliberate urbanisation’, which saw the realignment of towns to incorporate high-density, high-rise buildings to replace the low-rise buildings (Yuen , 2007). The post-independence government adopted an interventionist approach, with a strategy of integrating social, economic, political and spatial visions in the planning process and provision of public service delivery like housing, whereby about 84% of residents were housed in public housing (Yuen, 2007).

While the highest decision-making body is the cabinet, development control in Singapore has been administered through a central planning agency, the *Urban Redevelopment Authority* (URA) under the portfolio of the Minister of National Development in charge of physical planning (Yuen, 2007). For implementation of development policies, inter-agency committees were formed and tasked with specific roles in coordinating different land requirements which

included meeting housing, industry, commerce, transportation, environment, and recreation needs, and resolving land use conflicts (Yuen, 2007).

The case of Singapore provides an example of the importance of a strong institutional organisation and decentralisation of specific tasks in order to achieve a said objective, urban integration, in this instance. This appears to be one of the challenges in South Africa, where housing development and physical planning are not sufficiently integrated with uniform institutional structures from national to local level. Government intervention in urban integration is crucial, as it should not be assumed that after policy formulation, social groups will be able to integrate themselves. A strong institutional capacity with decentralised responsibilities helps to bring ongoing monitoring and evaluation to the interventions made and to ensure that the process gives positive outcomes as envisaged in the policy.

2.11 Interventions towards urban spatial integration in the post-apartheid period

Various interventions to steer urban spatial fragmentation towards integrated urban communities in the post-apartheid period have included both policy and practical undertakings. This section will outline various policy, legislative, institutional, delivery and other interventions that have been carried out so far towards achieving spatial integration for urban spatial transformation.

2.11.1 Policy, programme and legislative interventions

Amongst the other key focus areas in redressing the spatial injustices in the post-apartheid South Africa was to develop an urban spatial policy for the regeneration of a spatially fragmented post-apartheid city. The African National Congress, as a point of departure for urban spatial transformation, developed a comprehensive plan, the *Reconstruction and*

Development Programme which later became a development policy of the new first democratic government in 1994 (Republic of South Africa, 1994). The RDP noted that “the economy was built on a systematically enforced racial division in every sphere of our society. Towns and cities have been divided into townships without basic infrastructure for blacks and well-resourced suburbs for whites” (Republic of South Africa, 1994:7). The RDP, therefore, carried a new vision for a transformed urban sphere amongst many other socio-economic transformation goals. Many spatial plans that followed have been rooted in this integrated, coherent, socio-economic policy framework.

The discussions and proposals around the concept of integration for a more spatially transformed urban community in South Africa had already started towards the dying stages of the apartheid regime. Amongst other social groups like the civil society, academics mainly from Cape Town had come with proposals for a more transformed urban spatial policy (Todes, 2006). They argued for a more compacted city that would avoid highly segregated land-use, associated with modernist planning. Instead, there should be a mixed-use approach and far more integrated development.

In the late 1980s, activism demanding an urban spatial restructuring intensified with more civic organisations, business leaders, political organisations, etc. joining the movement for urban spatial reform (Todes, 2006). However, with the intensification of activism, new criticism developed, against the Cape Town academics proposal that they were too physically based, and design orientated, neglecting economic and social forces shaping the city (Turok, 1994; Tomilson, 2002; and Watson 2002, cited in (Todes, 2006). Included amongst these social and economic forces is the production of the urban economy and how the benefits earned from this are shared amongst the urban dwellers. What determines such sharing of urban benefits relies mainly on the social relations of different social groups i.e. races and classes. Furthermore, the institutional structures such as local municipalities can promote a fair distribution of benefits

according to the spatial setting of urban communities through infrastructural developments and decision-making in that process.

Developments on the need for urban restructuring and integration also influenced the formation of what later in 1992 became the *National Housing Forum*, an intense process of negotiation for new housing policy, focusing mainly on housing provision for the urban poor (Huchzemeyer, 2001). The forum was constituted by different key role players including, the Mass Democratic Movement (the Tripartite Alliance), the private sector (Urban Foundation) and the Civil Society represented by *Homeless People's Federation/People's Dialogue Alliance*. Amongst the key issues to deliberate on was land availability and urban integration while the outcome of the discussions which ended in 1994, soon after first democratic elections, was the birth of a new housing policy, the *Housing White Paper (HWP)*, produced after considerations of the RDP (Huchzemeyer, 2001; Todes, 2002).

The Housing White Paper according to its vision committed the new democratic government to:

‘...the establishment of viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities, within which all South Africa's people will have access on a progressive basis, to:

- A permanent residential structure with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and
 - potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply.”
- (Department of Housing, 1994:12).*

In addressing the housing challenge, government had the ambition to establish a sustainable housing process that would promote a safe and healthy environment and viable communities in a manner that would make a positive contribution to a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and integrated society, within the shortest possible time-frame (Department of Housing, 1994).

According to Wilkison (1998), the intervention of the housing policy had also aimed to face and redress many past problems of urbanisation caused by the apartheid spatial segregation policies. The private sector dominated the policy formulation, and for the provision of houses, the private sector was assigned to leading the construction role for new housing developments (Huchzemeyer, 2001).

The common factor that was overlooked by early democratic discussions and policies was the social tensions amongst the different population groups which require social therapy to heal from racial and class hatred. It is in part of this reason that urban reconstruction and integration policies in the early post-apartheid era failed to meet the envisaged objectives and are even failing today to achieve integrated urban communities. Many urban communities today are facing similar challenges that were faced during the time when spatial segregation policies were in action. This is because, as highlighted earlier, early post-apartheid interventions focused mainly on physical development that did not even reflect the redress of socio-spatial segregation and neglected socio-economic factors that have intensified the urban fragmentation.

From 1996, the RDP faced various challenges including government inability to mobilise sufficient funds to meet the RDP's objectives without redirecting allocations from the mainstream government departments (Visser, 2005). This was because funding the RDP became unaffordable as it was regarded by international institutions as a social security programme rather than as one promoting economic growth. Hence most of the funding for the project-based programmes were sourced from the international donors rather than the South African government itself. The major blow for the RDP amongst other setbacks was when the value of the South African currency fell with more than 25%. The reaction of the government, as a means to stabilise the domestic capital and foreign currency markets, was to introduce a

new macro-economic strategy, *Growth, Employment and Redistribution* (GEAR), replacing the RDP (Visser, 2005).

The GEAR programme gave rise to a new strategy for housing and integration, known as the *Urban Development Framework of 1997* (Huchzemeyer, 2001). The fundamental vision of this framework was the development of urban settlements that would be spatially and socio-economically integrated, free of racial and gender discrimination and segregation, and this would enable people to make residential and employment choices to pursue their ideals (Department of Housing, 2007). This vision complements that of the *Housing White paper* as a way to redress racial segregation. Furthermore, the government was committed to creating policies and programmes that would be assessed on the basis of good housing, infrastructure and effective services for households and business as the foundation for an equitable standard of living. Government's commitment also included the development of urban settlements that promote integration of industrial, commercial, residential, information and educational centres which provide easy access to a range of urban resources (Department of Housing, 2007).

With the growing debates for a need of more integrated post-apartheid urban communities, there was an introduction of a programmatic approach to integrated development planning. The *Forum for Effective Planning and Development* (FEPD) defined integrated development planning as “a participatory approach to integrate economic, sectoral, spatial, social, institutional, environmental and fiscal strategies in order to support the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographical areas and across the population in a manner that provides sustainable growth, equity and the empowerment of the poor and the marginalised” (FEPD, 1995: Vol 1). *The Integrated Development Plans* (IDPs) were first introduced in the *Local Government Transition Act of 1996*. These are the plans aimed at directing and coordinating activities of an elected municipal structure for a period of five years.

Furthermore, the IDP, accordingly, was a contextual response to post-apartheid challenges facing government especially a need for an active local government (Harrison, 2006).

The vision of the first *Urban Development Framework*, allowing people Lack of the ability to make residential choices. Was one of the elements that contributed to urban fragmentation experienced today. It was an incorrect assumption that people would integrate themselves outside interventions to uplift the previously disadvantaged social groups, so they can access credit to afford better housing of their choice. In this process, there were a few black middle-class citizens that could afford to enter and reside in the well-developed urban residential areas, but the majority remained on the urban outskirts.

Furthermore, the introduction of IDPs as a response to the need to create local government left some gaps in urban development and governance. The expectation created by the IDP was that a situation would be created whereby local people, rich and poor across all races would be able to participate actively in decisions pertaining to urban planning and development. In this way, these IDPs were supposed to create a platform for urban dwellers across social groups to interact and have social contacts through a shared vision and aspirations. In this process, the local government would participate as a facilitator and allow people to shape the urban environment they want to live in, while also providing education where it is needed in order to guide local people into making decisions carefully. In this way, it could have been easier to eliminate social tensions between different social groups. Therefore, many policy interventions to create integrated urban communities failed because of slack institutional commitment and inactive citizenry.

The *Municipal Systems Act of 2000* sets out the minimum contents to form part of the IDP. Amongst others, there is the *Spatial Development Framework (SDF)* that sets out guidelines for the land-use management system (Harrison, 2006). The aim for spatial consideration in the

IDPs was to ensure that spatial strategies and land-use management decisions are based on spatial constraints, problems, opportunities, trends and patterns; and the necessity for spatial restructuring amongst others (Harrison, Integrated development plans and third way politics, 2006). Spatial considerations of the IDPs were influenced by and had to reflect the spatial development principles of *Development Facilitation Act of 1995* which included promotion of integrated and liveable settlements and compact towns and cities instead of urban sprawl (Republic of South Africa, 1995). This was amongst the first post-apartheid planning instruments (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2000). The use of IDPs started in the year 2000 with all municipalities mandated to have their interim plans.

In 2001, the *White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management* was introduced as an undertaking to accelerate urban spatial transformation. Amongst the elements suggested by this policy undertaking were principles for a new spatial planning and land use management system (Padarath, 2015). According to this white paper, the fundamental aim of these principles was to achieve planning outcomes that restructure spatially inefficient settlements and channel resources to areas of greatest need and development potential, thereby redressing the inequitable historical treatment of marginalised areas (Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs, 2001). These principles as set out in the white paper include the following:

- a) The principle of sustainability – requires the sustainable management and use of the resources making up the natural and built environment;
- b) The principle of equality – requires that everyone affected by spatial planning, land use management and land development actions or decisions must enjoy equal protection and benefits, and no unfair discrimination should be allowed;
- c) The principle of efficiency – requires that the desired result of land use must be produced with the minimum expenditure on resources;
- d) The principle of integration – requires that the separate and diverse elements involved in development planning and land use should be combined and coordinated into a more complete or harmonious whole; and
- e) The principle of fair and good governance – requires that spatial planning, land use management and land development must be democratic, legitimate and participatory (Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs, 2001:10-11).

These principles were set as an enhancement from those of the *Development Facilitation Act (67 of 1995) (DFA)*, which was an interim measure to bridge the gap between the old apartheid era planning laws and a new planning system reflecting the needs and priorities of the democratic South Africa (Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs, 2001). In addition, the principles of the DFA rejected low-density, segregated, fragmented and mono-functional development, and rather embraced compact, integrated and mixed-use settlements.

The Housing White Paper suffered a number of shortfalls, with the RDP low-cost houses delivered under this policy failing to meet its fundamental objectives towards urban integration. Poor location of these houses was a major problem whereby large-scale housing developments were frequently located on the periphery of existing townships on land first zoned for township development under apartheid (Tissington, 2011). As a result, this fuelled marginalisation of the poor and failed to contribute to compaction, integration, and restructuring of the apartheid city, resulting in poor urban spatial transformation. According to the research conducted by *Urban Land Mark*, about 11 per cent of houses were unlawfully sold by beneficiaries since 2005, an indication that the provision of low-cost houses during this period failed to meet neither the housing needs nor urban spatial transformation requirements (Tissington , 2011).

In the period from 2002 to 2003, the Housing Department, after noticing a number of shortcomings of the HWP through failure of the existing housing programme, conducted a comprehensive review process of its housing programme (Tissington, 2011). The aim of this review process was to shape and provide a new policy direction for the housing delivery programme and the focus was to use the *National Department of Housing* as a hub to address complex questions of space and economy. Three major gaps identified through research in the review process to be addressed by a new housing policy were a house as an asset, integrated

development, and sustainable human settlements. The process finally led to development of the *Breaking New Ground (BNG), a Comprehensive Plan for Sustainable Human Settlements*, aimed at enhancing the existing mechanisms of the *Housing White Paper* and came into effect from 2004 (Tissington, 2011).

According to the BNG housing policy's vision, "the new human settlements plan reinforces the vision of the Department of Housing, to promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing", (*Department of Housing, 2004:1*). Amongst the key objectives of the BNG housing policy, the housing department committed itself to "utilising housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements, in support of spatial restructuring" (*Department of Housing, 2004:1*).

In addressing integrated settlements, the policy aimed to revitalise the existing government's key elements which included pursuing a more compact urban form, facilitating higher densities, mixed land use development, and integrating land use and public transport planning, as ways to ensure more diverse and responsive environments, at the same time reducing travelling distances (Department of Housing, 2004). In addition, the policy noted that despite all these pre-existing well-intended measures, the inequalities and inefficiencies of the apartheid space economy had persisted.

Most importantly, the BNG housing policy aimed at delivering an increased rate of well-located houses, closer to economic, social and other opportunities with acceptable quality through a variety of innovative housing programmes and projects (Tissington, 2011). The BNG housing plan further gave powers to the local government to lead the housing delivery process in order to respond easily to the local needs. According to the plan, municipalities must take the leading role in negotiating the location of housing supply to facilitate spatial restructuring.

This approach envisaged that municipalities would play a significantly increased role in the housing process, which would help to build linkages between housing delivery, spatial planning, and transportation systems and would also support the integration of housing into municipal IDPs, ensuring greater budgetary coherence (Department of Housing, 2004).

In moving away from housing to human settlements, the BNG housing policy outlined seven key measures in which the Department of Housing would enhance its contribution to spatial restructuring, and these include the following:

progressive informal settlements upgrading, whereby informal settlements would urgently be integrated into the broader urban fabric to overcome spatial, social and economic exclusion. *Promoting densification and integration* where the key objective was to integrate previously excluded groups into the city and the benefits it offers, and to ensure the development of more integrated, functional and environmentally sustainable human settlements, towns and cities. In this method, it was envisaged that for the densification policy to work, residential development permits and fiscal incentives would be introduced. *Enhancing spatial planning* where development of sustainable human settlements must be undertaken within a broader spatial restructuring framework, incorporating the principles of the *National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP)* and the *National Urban Strategy*

(Department of Housing, 2004:6-7)

Furthermore:

Enhancing the location of new housing projects through making interventions on accessing well-located state-owned and para-statal land acquisition of well-located private land for housing development, with funding for land acquisition and fiscal incentives. The fifth method is *supporting urban renewal and inner-city regeneration*, through promoting social medium-density housing and increasing effective demand. The sixth is *developing social and economic infrastructure* through construction of social and economic infrastructure that is well targeted and driven by municipalities, introducing a new funding mechanism for developing primary community facilities and tasking municipalities with the responsibility of being primary implementation agencies. The seventh measure outlined is *enhancing the housing product* which would be done in three ways: firstly through enhancing settlement design whereby the Department will investigate measures and incentives to include design professionals at the planning and project design stages, and develop design guidelines for designers and regulators in order to promote the development of a dignified sized that supports morality of family (such as giving privacy) and society; secondly through enhancing housing design where the Department would consider changing the face of the stereotypical uniform RDP houses and settlements through promotion of alternative technology and design; and thirdly through addressing the housing quality whereby the Department would introduce national norms and standards and a *National Home Builders Registration Council (NHBRC) Warranty Scheme*

(Department of Housing, 2004:7-8)

From these key measures presented under the enhanced housing policy, there is a solid framework for the achievement of integrated urban communities. However, these interventions still required a large budget to be allocated. A framework for integrated urban communities should not rely only on a massive amount of money which at this point might not be available. This could be regarded as ‘just throwing money at the problem’. Easier implementation of these policy measures could be achieved if the framework included the collective participation of government, private sector and the people themselves. Many of the policy interventions have cost the government huge amounts of money, which cannot be replaced. This includes poorly built houses and badly planned settlements which today still reflect urban fragmentation which still mirrors that of the apartheid city. Some of these neighbourhoods with low-quality houses and poor planning still remain unattended to and there have been no policy measures for re-building and re-redesign. On the other hand, this would require a major financial mechanism, and this is one of the reasons why some urban fragmentation remains unresolved.

There was a new policy intervention again in 2010, where a *National Planning Commission (NPC)* was established, comprising twenty-four external commissioners of diverse professional bodies, the chairperson and the deputy chairperson of the *National Planning Commission, 2016*. The fundamental aim of the commission was to organise a common set of priorities and objectives to drive development over the long-term, through well-researched and evidence-based input into policy processes that have long-term economic, social and political implications. Furthermore, the envisaged outcome was for the commission to take a broad, independent and critical view of South Africa, after meaningful consultation with and drawing on the skills and expertise of multiple stakeholders, to build consensus and to find concrete solutions to key challenges faced within the country (National Planning Commission, 2016).

After research and consultation with various sectors across the country, the NPC in 2012 finally produced the *National Development Plan (NDP)* (National Planning Commission, 2016). The

NDP is a long-term development plan for South Africa with the fundamental aim of ameliorating poverty and reducing inequality of all forms (race, class, gender, etc.) by the year 2030. A draft report released by the commission in 2011 outlined South Africa's achievements and shortcomings since 1994 and amongst the primary challenges diagnosed was spatial divides and the lack of inclusive development.

In addressing this particular challenge, the NDP outlines a plan of *transforming human settlements and the national space economy* to respond systematically, to entrenched spatial patterns across all geographic scales that aggravate social inequality and economic inefficiency (National Planning Commission, 2012). In transforming human settlements, the plan points out that "the state will review its housing policies to better realise constitutional housing rights, ensure that the delivery of housing is to be used to restructure towns and cities and strengthen the livelihood prospects of households" (National Planning Commission, 2012:259).

The NDP's call for housing policy review is an indication that South Africa is faced with a major challenge of policy implementation. The Housing Policy Reviews have reflected very few of the envisaged policy objectives. Similar objectives outlined in the NDP for ensuring that "the delivery of housing is to be used to restructure towns and cities and strengthen the livelihood prospects of households" was outlined again in the BNG under the seven key measures envisaged to facilitate spatial restructuring. With continuous policy reviews, with no significant achievements, urban fragmentation continues to persist. A new priority review should interrogate institutional capacity for effective implementation of policy objectives, and achievement of positive outcomes.

The plan outlines a range of challenges facing the urban communities which includes the fact that the South Africa's towns and cities are highly fragmented, which imposes difficulties for households and for the economy (National Planning Commission, 2012). The commission

argued that many of these challenges faced, in the form of urban inefficiencies are not just a result of a policy vacuum, but rather caused by insufficient institutional capacity, a lack of strong instruments for implementation and a lack of coordination. While the commission appreciated the positive direction taken by human settlements policy since revision to *Breaking New Ground* in 2004, it also outlines a number of remaining challenges that still needs to be addressed for housing delivery to be utilised as a mechanism to restructure towns and cities and to improve the lives of residents (National Planning Commission, 2012).

Some of these challenges according to the commission include, that besides the policy's effort to transform the urban communities, many housing projects still do not create efficient urban spaces (National Planning Commission, 2012). Secondly, attention is paid to housing development rather than to developing quality environments for low-income urban communities which are supported by necessary physical, social, and environmental services. Thirdly, while BNG housing policy emphasises the development of inner-city affordable housing, the municipalities focus on the provision of individual ownership units as a way to meet numerical targets and this is resulted in inner city housing still not being accessible to the poor (National Planning Commission, 2012).

The mechanisms suggested by the commission to address these gaps include ensuring that a long-term perspective on spatial transformation must always be considered, at the same time addressing the short-term needs (National Planning Commission, 2012). Furthermore, the commission suggests that there is a need for a national discussion on future funding mechanisms for housing and on the respective roles of the state, private sector and individual households for housing provision and creation of sustainable integrated human settlements. Most importantly, there is the need to improve the capabilities of municipal spatial governance and revitalisation of municipal integrated planning processes to transform these into practical instruments to guide municipal investment (National Planning Commission, 2012).

The NPC further points out that various factors contribute to weak capabilities of spatial governance. This includes legislation regulating spatial land-use management that remains untransformed and dates back to the apartheid era (National Planning Commission, 2012). The lack of capacity for the planning and implementation mechanisms for IDPs in the municipalities has been a major challenge, with municipalities' unable to hire qualified professionals like planners and urban designers. It is said that these challenges in spatial governance have resulted in spatial planning following the standards and patterns determined by the private sector investments. The commission suggested that there is a need for spatial development patterns to favour the long-term interests of the public. In addressing these fundamental spatial shortcomings, the commission formulated a vision to meet future spatial needs by suggesting principles for spatial development, development of a national spatial framework and a national discussion for future towns and cities (National Planning Commission, 2012).

The commission sets out five key principles that all future spatial developments should adhere to. These principles are in line with those set out in the *White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management of 2001*. The first principle, *spatial justice* demands the reverse of historic policy of restricting particular racial groups to limited spaces which promoted ghettos and segregation, and the unfair allocation of public resources between areas, as this will assist to accelerate addressing the needs of the poor. Secondly, *spatial sustainability* should be adhered to in order to support sustainable means of production and consumption and the ways of living to protect the natural environment from being damaged. Thirdly, *spatial resilience* is a key principle to be followed in order to reduce vulnerability to environmental degradation, resource scarcity, and climatic instabilities as a way to protect the ecological systems (National Planning Commission, 2012).

The fourth principle, *spatial quality* seeks to promote aesthetic and functional features of housing and the built environment as a way to create more vibrant and liveable places allowing access and inclusion of people with disabilities. The fifth principle, *spatial efficiency* directs future spatial developments to support productive activity and jobs, and further reduce burdens on business. Furthermore, they should encourage efficient commuting patterns and circulation of goods and services and ensure that regulatory procedures do not impose unnecessary costs on development (National Planning Commission, 2012).

The commission suggested development of a national spatial framework in order to strengthen the spatial policy as a way to manage development that should bring spatial, social and economic integration where there is even sharing of space, resources, and assets amongst the different classes and racial groups (National Planning Commission, 2012). The NPC has also suggested the development of social compacts that should have a spatial dimension. Such compacts according to the commission should vary in scale ranging from local neighbourhoods, to cities and regions where people from diverse sectors of society will be encouraged to present new ideas, creative designs and alternative proposals to restructure their living and working environments. These participants should include young people in townships, artists in inner cities, the elderly in rural areas, and thought leaders (these shall include political parties, religious leaders and other wealthy investors) across the country, and this will help stimulate a broad discussion on the future of South African cities, towns and villages (National Planning Commission, 2012).

As highlighted in the NDP, the fundamental factor that has delayed policy implementation has been a shortfall in the institutional capacity. This includes the less-skilled officials and insufficient capacity of municipalities to carry out all the work from within. As a result, many of the services end up being outsourced including the IDPs and SDFs which has created a challenge in compliance and accountability. The outsourcing of IDPs' formulation by

municipalities is a clear indication of a lack of institutional capacity and possible failure of policy implementation. Priority should be given to skills development for the current officials and where there are gaps, and a mechanism of hiring skills professionals should be designed and funded. Furthermore, communities must receive training on policies, so they can participate fully in decision-making and make the local structures accountable for the implementation of policy objectives.

Despite the detailed outline and recommendations that the NDP provides, it has faced various critics from different sections of the South African society, including labour movements, academics, civil society and so forth. The common objections have been that the NDP contains deeply problematic, incoherent, and un-implementable proposals. Critics include the deputy secretary general of the *South African Communist Party (SACP)*, Jeremy Cronin, who stated in the Chris Hani debate that the NDP was impossible to implement (Coleman, 2014). Amongst the issues raised by the *Confederation of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)*, is that the NDP fails to take forward key progressive policies adopted at various summits, forums and conferences including the *ANC Polokwane Conference of 2007*. Such policy objectives include the need to place the creation of decent work for all at the centre of economic policy; and to place redistribution, and combating economic inequality and poverty, as a fundamental pillar of economic development and the NDP reflects no clear direction on these issues (Coleman, 2014)

Further criticisms of the NDP were directed at its aims and objectives. Zarenda (2013:5), argued that the objectives, aims, and coverage of the NDP were ambitious, exhaustive, and incorporated a vision of a very dramatic transition by 2030 which was an unrealistic milestone. He further stated that the key to achieving stipulated targets rests mainly with implementation, monitoring, and capabilities of key role players. Despite these critics, mainly on the economic proposals of the plan, the federation noted that some of the areas of the plan were still

progressive, including the proposals in the chapter of on integrated human settlements (Coleman, 2014).

The recent policy developments on human settlements and spatial transformation have suggested that municipalities should play a primary role in driving spatial transformation as this has been reflected in the BNG housing policy and the NDP (*Department of Housing, 2004; National Planning Commission, 2012*). The *Spatial Land Use Management Act No. 16 of 2013* (SPLUMA) has been introduced as a response to policy suggestions in the NDP, as it is set to aid effective and efficient planning and land use management and it could be a possible tool to use to effect spatial transformation, (Padarath, 2015). SPLUMA motivated for the repeal of the *Development Facilitation Act (67 of 1995)* which was the only post-1994 legislation that dealt with spatial development principles and provided land use management mechanisms (National Planning Commission, 2012). The act was established to legislate for a single, integrated planning system for South Africa as a response to the challenges facing planning (Padarath, 2015).

The common critical components for spatial development and land use management that have been raised in the *White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management of 2001* and the *National Development Plan* include development principles, norms, and standards, the spatial development frameworks and powers of local municipalities. These are the three key components that have been emphasised by SPLUMA for the enforcement of spatial integration and urban transformation in particular. According to the act, the spatial planning of South Africa should consist of these components, whereas local municipalities should be one of the key spatial planning categories amongst the other spheres of government (Republic of South Africa, *Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act No. 16 of 2013, 2013*). Amongst the other changes brought by this act, as identified by the Department of Land Reform and Rural Development, the custodian of SPLUMA, are the following:

- a) Reiteration of the sole mandate of municipalities where municipal planning (land development, land use management) is concerned, placing municipalities as authorities of first instance invalidating inconsistent parallel mechanisms, parallel systems and measures or institutions that existed to deal with land development applications;
- b) Preparation of respective SDFs by all three spheres of government, based on norms and standards guided by development principles; and
- c) Strengthened intergovernmental support through enforcement, compliance and monitoring processes (Padarath, 2015).

SPLUMA therefore reiterated the development principles as set out in the *National Development Plan*. Chapter 2, section 7 of the Act outline with details mechanisms of these development principles as follows:

- (a) The principle of spatial justice, whereby:
 - (i) past spatial, development and other imbalances must be addressed through access to and use of land;
 - (ii) spatial development frameworks and policies at all spheres of government must address the inclusion of persons and areas that were previously excluded, with an emphasis on informal settlements, homeland areas and areas characterised by widespread poverty and deprivation;
 - (iii) spatial planning mechanisms, including land use schemes, must incorporate provisions that enable redress in access to land by disadvantaged communities and persons; and
 - (iv) land management systems must include all areas of a municipality and specifically include provisions that are flexible and appropriate for the management of disadvantaged areas (*Republic of South Africa, 2013: 18*).

- (b) The principle of spatial sustainability, whereby spatial planning and land use management system must;
 - (i) promote land development that is within the fiscal, institutional and administrative means of the Republic;
 - (v) consider all current and future costs to all parties for the provision of infrastructure and social services in land development;
 - (vi) promote land development in locations that are sustainable and limit urban sprawl; and
 - (vii) result communities that are viable (*Republic of South Africa, 2013: 18*).

- (c) the principle of efficiency, whereby:
 - (i) land development optimises the use of existing resources and infrastructure; and
 - (ii) decision-making procedures are designed to minimise negative financial, social, economic or environmental impacts (*Republic of South Africa, 2013: 18*).

- (d) the principle of spatial resilience, whereby flexibility in spatial plans, policies and land use management systems are accommodated to ensure sustainable livelihoods in communities most likely to suffer the impacts of economic and environmental shock; and
- (e) the principle of good administration, whereby:
 - (i) all spheres of government ensure an integrated approach to land use and land development that is guided by the spatial planning and land use management systems;
 - (iii) the preparation and amendment of spatial plans, policies, land use schemes as well as procedures for development applications, include transparent processes of public participation that afford all parties the opportunity to provide inputs on matters affecting them; and
 - (iv) policies, legislation and procedures must be clearly set in order to inform and empower members of the public (*Republic of South Africa*, 2013: 18).

Critics raise issues around the level of detail the principle of spatial resilience is not unpacked in specific detail, which will make it difficult to implement and to assess if the principle has been adhered to in the case of SDF. Furthermore, there is no order of preference given for these principles in order to allow them to be prioritised against each other of specific outcomes (Padarath, 2015).

Another fundamental policy intervention, which was a response to urbanisation and a directive of the NDP, was the development of the *Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF)*. This is an urban policy framework designed to provide direction on how the South African urban system can be reorganised, to ensure that cities and towns become more inclusive, resource efficient and better places to live, work, shop and play in, as it was envisaged in the NDP (COGTA, 2016). The projected key outcome of this framework is spatial transformation, with the fundamental objective of ensuring spatial integration, improving access to services and promoting social and economic inclusion, through the nine policy levers outlined in the framework (COGTA, 2016).

The IUDF notes that South Africa's urban areas continue to be affected by a legacy of persistent racial segregation, poverty, and exclusion from the key social and economic opportunities. This legacy is evident in continuous sprawl, low densities, functional segregation between home

and work, and overlapping racial and class separations (COGTA, 2016). The IUDF is also a response to the *Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)* as adopted by the United Nations Assembly in 2015, which amongst other things aimed at combating inequalities and creating more inclusive and just societies. These SDGs were derived from the *Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)* of the year 2000 (United Nations, 2015).

Goal 11 amongst the others entails *making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable*, and this incorporates various objectives. One of the key objectives of this goal is to promote inclusive and sustainable urbanisation and capacity for participatory integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries, which should be achieved by 2030. Furthermore, the objectives include increasing the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing the integrated policies and plans towards inclusion and resource efficiency (United Nations, 2015).

One of the critical policy levers, as outlined in the IUDF, is *integrated sustainable human settlements*, which noted that housing is one of the required interventions to create liveable, integrated and multi-functional urban environments, with more integrated and inclusive neighbourhoods. This policy lever according to the IUDF, will positively contribute to well-serviced, safe, cohesive and vibrant urban communities and improved access to social and economic opportunities. Amongst the opportunities suggested by the IUDF, is the devolution of human settlement functions (COGTA, 2016).

According to the IUDF, decentralisation of human settlement functions will offer an opportunity to integrate housing delivery with other sectors, public transport planning and social infrastructure provision in particular. This integrated approach will be more favourable to be implemented mostly in bigger municipalities/towns due to internal institutional capacity and resource availability and this will achieve greater transformation and alleviate

municipalities from the challenges and costs of fragmented development. Furthermore, the framework notes the need for development of a *White Paper on Human Settlements*, which provides an opportunity to progress to a model that views human settlements as more than just housing, offering various housing choices and appropriate technology options, and promoting tenure as envisaged in the BNG housing policy (*Department of Housing, 2004; COGTA, 2016*).

The Integrated Urban Development Framework therefore, proposed eleven key policy priorities to achieve integrated human settlements, and the short-to-medium term priorities are as follows:

- i) *Finalise the human settlements white paper*, which is regarded as an urgent priority in order to respond to key housing challenges faced and to promote housing development along transport corridors and areas with economic potential;
- ii) *finalise the devolution of the housing function*, in order to enhance the role of the local municipalities as mandated by SPLUMA for better implementation of the SDFs to achieve better land use and management, whereby human settlement can be better located closer to economic opportunities;
- iii) *accelerate the upgrading of informal settlements*, since the informal settlements are strategically located in areas promoting easy access to the city opportunities but in locations that are unsafe for human settlements and the environment. *Prioritise the regeneration of inner cities*, where the focus should be on providing affordable housing and on promoting urban management to make the inner-city areas safer, and to design a clear programme to protect poorer residents from displacement and exclusion;
- iv) *provide additional options for accessing urban opportunities*, to meet the diverse needs of households, encourage greater variety within housing stock, provide more houses to accommodate an expanding urban population, and develop land-use management systems that acknowledge and support different settlement typologies;
- v) *promote densification, including support for back-yarding*, through intensifying and extending suburban densification options like high-rise buildings and develop strategies to provide services to backyarders since these provide affordable accommodation for those not in need of permanent accommodation in the city and further create an income for the owners.
- vi) *redevelop townships*, since the majority of urban South Africans stay in townships and thus key focus should be on investment in public infrastructure and on strengthening transport links between townships and economic opportunities and to improve public health and education;
- vii) *develop a national policy on inclusionary housing*, since there is a potential for inclusionary housing to result in increased integration and to enable access for low-income groups to housing and employment in high-income areas;

- viii) *identify and fast track land for settlement interventions*, whereby safe land shall be availed to build settlements and associated development, such as public transport, open space, commercial activities and social facilities and ensure that development plans are integrated with broader city and other sector plans and aligned across government spheres;
- ix) x) *develop norms and standards for urban design*, to produce safe, liveable and inclusive urban spaces, resulting in an improved quality of life for all residents and introduce spatial contracts to ensure that all social and economic infrastructure services are aligned to housing and transport provision; and lastly
- x) *transform public spaces into safe places of community life*, by giving attention to creating, maintaining and activating quality public open spaces, such as parks, squares, playgrounds and transport interchanges and these spaces should be seen as shared centres of community life and generators of social inclusion and cohesion (COGTA, 2016: 63-66)

. The long-term intervention as proposed by the IUDF entails:

- iii) placing more focus on putting in place a regulatory and policy environment that allows other role-players to provide housing options that cater for different needs and less on government's role in providing housing;
- ii) redeveloping the inner suburbs of cities to accommodate apartment blocks rather than single/double-storey houses, while gated communities should gradually be eliminated as social cohesion improves; and
- iii) all the concepts and ideas for integration of human settlements need to continue to be informed by developmental thinking and further research, and through partnerships and alliances with various key national and international role-players (COGTA, 2016: 67)

The integration of these priorities in a way that will reduce gated communities in the long term should prioritise creating safer urban communities where the safety and security of all residents of different social groups are promoted. Furthermore, this will require the achievement of an advanced integration where multi-class and multi-racial urban neighbourhoods are fully socially integrated. It is for such reasons that the process of integration should put the local people at the centre with various forms of community education being accelerated. Public platforms should be broadened through IDPs where people are able to share their aspirations and shape the communities they wish to live in, while at the same time they can find an opportunity for social contact. The formulation of the IUDF had to be very careful in not introducing the similar objectives outlined in the BNG housing policy as if they were new. This

would cause problems in missing evaluation and review of such objectives as to why had they failed to be implemented in the first place before they can be re-introduced in a new policy or framework.

2.11.2 Delivery and planning interventions

Beyond the policy, programme and legislative intervention, there have been various practical mechanisms through delivery and planning in order to achieve more integrated post-apartheid urban communities. In the case of Durban, one of the biggest South African cities, which was largely affected by apartheid planning. The city became highly fragmented through racial lines with the establishment of Umlazi, KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu townships, which became residential areas of mainly the poor blacks and had very limited access to socio-economic opportunities offered by the inner city (Adebayo & Musvoto, 2010).

The further critical problem suffered by the city of Durban was disintegration resulting from rapid immigration of mainly poor people from rural areas and the simultaneous flight of the white middle class and most commercial services to sub-urban locations (Adebayo & Musvoto, 2010). The city embarked on various programmes to enforce urban spatial transformation. These focused mainly on inner city neighbourhood revitalisation projects, inner city redevelopment, creation of new mixed nodes for integration in buffer zones that had previously separated different races during the apartheid era as well as the upgrading of town centres in townships with limited social and economic facilities (Adebayo & Musvoto, 2010).

Part of the major development projects that have been implemented in the City of Durban, promoting integration includes the *Umlazi Town Centre Upgrading Project*. The principles set for the development of this project were fundamentally aimed at promoting the mixed-use method of social facilities amenities, and commercial, office and higher density residential land

uses. These uses were organised around an integrated network of pedestrian-oriented public spaces comprising landscaped avenues, concourses and squares (Adebayo & Musvoto, 2010).

The Bridge City Project is situated in the North West of Durban and is 17 kilometres from the city centre, located between the four townships created by apartheid planning i.e. Phoenix, Inanda, Ntuzuma, and KwaMashu (Adebayo & Musvoto, 2010). This project was initiated directly to remove the buffer zone that physically separated residential areas of different races leaving them with very limited access to socio-economic facilities under apartheid spatial planning in South African cities. The eThekweni Municipality noted that the use of a buffer zone to develop a town centre will be a catalyst for economic growth and the empowerment of surrounding communities. This should improve access for the previously disadvantaged communities to public transport and opportunities to work, travel, shop and do business within the INK area, through mutual relationships between the public and private sectors and it should foster the integration of the divided spatial form and create mixed use residential area for use by all races (Adebayo & Musvoto, 2010).

In the case of East London, a city highly affected by racial divisions in the Eastern Cape, records of residential property transfers from white to the black population in the period 1993 to 2008 indicate the potential for spatial integration in the post-apartheid planning. This was after the repeal of the *Group Areas Act in 1991* which cleared a way for integration in residential neighbourhoods in East London and legally supported black ownership of residential property (Bwalya & Seethal, 2014).

During the first four-year-period of 1993–1996, Amalinda South, Dawn, Haven Hills North, Haven Hills South, and Parkridge suburbs attracted the highest proportion of Black residential transfers (Bwalya & Seethal, 2014). Gonubie with 203 and Beacon Bay with 127 had greater absolute numbers of Black residential property transfers from 1993–1996, and these translated

to 26% and 18% of all transfers in the suburbs respectively. On the second four-year period of 1997–2000, ten suburbs registered proportional Black residential property transfers of at least 60%. Over the third four-year period of 2001–2004, eight suburbs registered proportional Black residential property transfers in excess of 60%. On the fourth four-year period of 2005–2008, seven residential suburbs experienced increases in the proportion of Black residential property transfers beyond the previous period of 2001–2004 (Bwalya & Seethal, 2014).

According to Bwalya and Seethal (2014), the majority of the Black residential property transfers into former white areas were in suburbs that were located closer to former Black group areas, these areas coincided with suburbs of relatively lower average property values, and suburbs with expensive residential property had very few Black buyers. Furthermore, the broader analysis on the scenario of East London residential property transfers was that there was a significant role of class in the nature of spatial integration, where income inequality became a major driving force for residential integration.

In the above case, the majority of Black population lacked economic power to benefit significantly from property transfers to former white residential suburbs in the immediate post-apartheid period, and learning from this, the trend of spatial integration in residential areas can be expected to continue increasingly to reflect class differences. Consequently, from the case of East London, it can be interpreted that the observed pattern of residential integration is caused by the continuing class inequalities between races and the likelihood is that separation based on income and class will continue to characterise urban residential space (Bwalya & Seethal, 2014).

Another case study for residential property transfers from white to black owners in the post-apartheid transition is in Margate, during the period of 1994 to 2001. This is a small town found in KwaZulu-Natal, located 130 km south-west of Durban, founded originally as a White group

area, where in 1972 the Black population was forcefully removed from the area and relocated to Gamalakhe, a nearby Black township (Lemon & Clifford, 2005). The property transfers included that of the undeveloped land and actual houses. For an undeveloped land plot, the average price was R20 000 and a minimum of R80 000–90 000 for a small house, and results after the transfers under review revealed that a majority of transfers were for the undeveloped land whereby an estimated 241 of the 793 White to Black transfers involved houses. For affordability purposes, Blacks preferred buying undeveloped land and hiring local contractors to build small affordable, adequate houses, as this mechanism also offered them a choice or housing design (Lemon & Clifford, 2005).

The area within Margate that experienced the highest number of Black in-movement was the one classified as Extension 3, with eighty per cent of Black buyers. This area had a higher concentration of undeveloped plots of land at the collapse of apartheid and, as a result, black people buying the property did not have to wait for white occupiers to move out, but land was readily available for construction of new houses. Affordability was still a driving force in the Black in-movements, as the majority of movements were highly concentrated on the inland (Extension 3) area rather than towards the coastline (Extension 1), which had houses that were approximately R40 000 more expensive than that inland. As a result, Extension 3 at Margate ended up with most black residents after the in-movements (Lemon & Clifford, 2005). The following discussion outlines some of the hindering factors in planning and delivery mechanisms to achieve socio-spatial integration.

In the case of Johannesburg, it is evident that housing has a potential of breeding social differences within an urban community. In the townships, such as Soweto there has been growing social differentiation reflected in a changing urban landscape, where a closer look challenges a notion of housing uniformity (Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002). From the 1990s, state reforms introduced home ownership while offering a better-off black minority the

opportunity to purchase housing of high standard at a reasonable rate. By the same token, state withdrawal from low-cost housing provision resulted in overcrowding of formal houses and the spread of shacks in backyards and vacant land. These marked sociological differences across housing types in the area were determined by income. Private sector houses are characterised by high-income earners, followed by government housing, then backyard shacks and hostels (Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002).

In a panel discussion at the *Spatial Transformation of Cities Conference*, it was argued that in order to transform townships for spatial integration, a township problem cannot be solved in the township, but the response has to be linked to the broader urban context (SACN & JDA, 2014). It was further pointed out that the major obstacle with the current planning is that it looks at the specific areas rather than at the broader urban picture. The 2011 census records reveal that there has been progress since 1996 in de-racialising selected neighbourhoods across all South African cities, although progress has been generally rather slow (Turok, Settlement Planning and Urban Transformation, 2014). According to Turok (2014), there has been more change in lower-middle income suburbs than in higher income suburbs and the reason for the slow progress is bound up with persistent income inequalities between racial groups, which was revealed in the *2011 Census report*.

A further issue arising from the review of the post-apartheid urban situation is that much attention has been given to physical renewal and poverty alleviation, whereby redress and equity have been mostly prioritised over efficiency and transformation (Turok, 2016). For example, the mass delivery of housing as physical shelters rather than integrated human settlements has reproduced a sprawling form of an apartheid city against the BNG housing policy of creating sustainable human settlements with more integrated communities (Turok, 2016; *Department of Housing*, 2004). Furthermore, the public transport system remains highly fragmented where different transport modes account to different institutions, transport

subsidies have been prioritised to already established bus and rail transport services instead of to the informal taxi industry used by most low-income commuters (Turok, 2016).

Since the take-over of a democratic government, there have been a number of factors contributing to resistance to integration. A critical factor contributing to the persistence of spatial segregation is the constitution's protection of private property rights. The major implication of the constitutional protection of private property is that it makes it very difficult for city governments to institute regulations that can be perceived as imposing negatively on property rights in the name of social rights or the public good (Pieterse, 2009). Most importantly, if there is a perception of the reduction in the value of property, it becomes interpreted as an infringement of a right. The middle class in South Africa is highly organised and their interests are typically advanced through rate-payers' associations and other specialist organisations (Pieterse, 2009). These organisations have no shortage of access to legal expertise to threaten litigation if they consider it necessary to block government plans or interventions and this threat is enough to neutralise ambitious planners (Pieterse, 2009). Furthermore, the middle-class have access to environmental and heritage legislation to mask their interests and recast the protection of their property values behind a veil of development (Pieterse, 2009).

2.12 Summary

Urban inequalities have been created and maintained through the capitalist modes of urban development, as explained in the review of literature and accounted for by the theoretical framework. Capitalist modes of urban development include privatisation of space, maintaining hegemony in the management of urban spaces through free market competition for participation in urban economy. Housing has been in the centre of the creation of space through urban development and utilised to maintain either integration or segregation of urban communities. In the South African experiences, housing has been a successful and significant

tool in maintaining urban residential segregation, during the era of apartheid separate developments. International experiences illustrate that private housing developments driven through the dominance of urban elites have contributed largely towards the persistence of urban fragmentation. By the same token, through strategic and effective policy implementation, urban fragmentation can be reversed, and socio-spatial integration can be achieved, where there are collective efforts from all urban role players.

Other views have criticised the use of housing as a mechanism for socio-spatial integration. These include the claims that integration that is created through housing location such as mixed-income housing developments are a forced integration with no voluntary commitment by the urban residents. In addition, others point out that through the process of residential integration, the vulnerable social groups, such as blacks and low-income earners have something to lose as they are expected to assimilate their cultures, lifestyle, and behaviour with those of the dominant social groups.

Neighbourhood multi-racial and class attitudes towards and perceptions of integration indicate that, beyond racial and class residential mixing, there is still a bigger challenge in dealing with social integration. This is more prevalent in communities that have a history of social hatred, like South African urban communities which have suffered under a long period of racial hatred during the apartheid and colonial era. It appears that there has been very complex policy, legislative and delivery interventions by the democratic government and that there have indeed been attempts to redress urban fragmentation to achieve urban socio-spatial integration. Recent policy and legislative developments on housing and planning, such as BNG housing policy, IUDF, SPLUMA, and some empowered by the NDP, are showing signs of progress and seem to be moving in a positive direction towards urban socio-spatial integration. However, spatial integration through strategic location of public and private housing development does not automatically mean complete integration but this is only a step towards advanced integration,

which is socio-spatial integration. South African urban communities remain with a challenge of attaining social integration amongst the urban inhabitants.

3. Chapter Three: Research Methodology and Design

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research methodology and design provide a detailed outline of different methods, techniques and instruments used to collect and process data. The chapter also motivates for the selection of the study area used and the sampling techniques for primary data. These methods were tools used in meeting the research aim and objectives and responding to research questions.

3.2 Selection of the Study Area

This is a case-study-based research conducted at the area of Shaka's Head, which is a sub-place of Ballito, one of the largest and well-developed towns in the KwaDukuza Local Municipality. The area is socially mixed according to racial and income population groups. These different population groups occupy different housing typologies ranging from private well-developed estates, low-cost government assisted houses and back-yard shack dwellings. Housing typologies are a key indication of the economic status of each population group. All these population groups and their varying attributes reside in one vicinity, forming one neighbourhood. The settlement pattern of this area reflects a potential for spatial integration. It is a pattern that has been envisaged by the post-apartheid policy initiatives towards urban spatial transformation.

Amongst the stated reasons for persistence of urban poverty is the shortage of available, well-located land where previously disadvantaged, low-income social groups can be located in areas closer to economic opportunities and well-developed social infrastructure. The BNG housing policy envisaged to integrate previously excluded groups into the city and to offer benefits through the acquisition of well-located land and other means (Department of Housing, 2004). The IUDF of 2016 further alluded that as urban environments develop and change, the need

and notion of well-located land close to urban opportunities needs interrogating. This would mean that the definition of ‘well-located’ should be changed from regarding well-located land as land located close to the inner city but across the span of the whole city especially in multi-nodal cities. Furthermore, the IUDF has diagnosed that the stubborn spatial challenge to achieve integrated urban development is the location of new housing projects, which are currently still found far from existing developments and are not easily connected to existing transport and economic networks (COGTA, 2016:62).

Shaka’s Head reflects the description of the envisaged urban communities meeting the attributes for integration, by the post-apartheid human settlement spatial development policy framework. This settlement portrays a very scarce socially mixed and multi-nodal urban community in South Africa. From this study area, important lessons can be drawn to inform further research on urban socio-spatial integration and the role that can be played by housing which would be relevant to address existing spatial planning and human settlements policy gaps.

3.3 Research Design and Methods

The study used primary data for key informants, and secondary data sources to lay a background and interpretation of the empirical findings. A qualitative approach was used for collection, analysis and interpretation of data. This approach was relevant since the study used in-depth interviews as a primary data collection technique. Government departments, organisations and households interviewed were expected to provide descriptive responses on their views and experiences of involvement in housing and integration, thus making a qualitative approach relevant to the study.

Furthermore, the theoretical interpretation and understanding of urban inequalities through neoliberal urbanism required a qualitative approach for analysis and description. The approach

was also necessary for the interpretation of other supplementary theories such as spatial assimilation theory with research findings and for developing recommendations. The approach assisted the study to validate recommendations and to substantiate solid conclusions. Furthermore, the study identified areas that still require further research.

3.4 Sampling

The study applied a purposive sampling technique in the selection of government officials which involved the Ward Councillor, KDZ Municipality Planning and Human Settlement Units and KZN Department of Human Settlements. This technique was also applied in the selection of an official from SANCO and Caledon Estates. The rationale for the use of purposive sampling was to carefully identify interviewees with in-depth information through the positions they occupy and experience they have in their fields as discussed in section 3.5. This was appropriate to match the data collection tool used in this study; the in-depth interviews. All these officials were the key informants of the study, as they provide information based on their field of expertise and experience, not general perceptions.

Stratified sampling was used for the selection of households. The rationale for this technique was to classify the households into two groups of homogenous population which are low-income and high-income households. The information from residents was based on personal perceptions and was very useful in supplementing the information provided by the key informants.

The overall sample size for respondents is 23 which included 17 residents, 1 representative from Caledon Estate Management, 1 official from the Department of Human Settlements, 3 officials from municipal housing and planning units and 1 representative from SANCO. The study applied various recruitment strategies to reach all respondents to participate in the study. A research assistant who is a local resident of KwaDukuza and well-familiar with the study

area was hired. The ward councillor was approached through a prior arranged meeting to introduce the study, make an arrangement for an interview and to obtain permission for access to the area to interact with residents, especially the low-income group.

The low-income residents were visited in their homes for in-depth interviews since there is no restriction of access in their homes. Only those who were persuaded and had sufficient time to participate in the interviews were selected. The very few high-income residents were reached through making appointments to meet them from where they work. These were known by the research assistant. To cover the sufficient views of the high-income groups, the researcher made arrangements to interview the management of the Caledon Estate for an in-depth interview.

The interviews with officials were organised through making prior appointments and sending interview questions before having an actual interview so that the officials could prepare themselves with the necessary information. This strategy worked with the municipal officials both in planning and housing divisions. The same strategy was used to arrange an interview with the SANCO leadership representative. Due to the challenges that were encountered with the availability of the Department of Human Settlements official, an agreement was reached between the researcher and the official that interview questions will be answered in writing. Upon the collection of the completed questions, the researcher and the official discussed areas that were not clear from the responses.

3.5 In-depth Interviews

The use of in-depth interviews became a relevant technique to gather most guide responses, sufficient and well-informed data to meet the study expectations. In addition, this technique was most relevant to overcome the limitations in the nature of the study area as explained in section 3.8. According to Boyce & Neale (2006, p7), “when choosing interviewees, one should

consider a sample that best represents the diverse stakeholders and opinions of those stakeholders”. The study selected diverse stakeholders directly involved in policymaking and implementation with regards to social and spatial integration in the area. These include government, civic and private structures and the residents, all responsible for human settlements, physical planning and development of the area. Boyce & Neale (2006), further argued that the general rule about interviewing is that you will know when you have done enough when you hear the same information from a number of stakeholders. The in-depth interviews, as used in this study, gave an advantage in the collection of data to determine the sufficiency of the information and knowing when to stop the interaction with respondents.

Interviews included open-ended questions to allow respondents to provide institutional structured information, general and personal perspectives in depth. Other interviews were conducted with government officials from municipal and provincial levels. The aim was to investigate the effective implementation of housing programmes that have been in place to address urban segregation. In addition, to assess the extent to which physical planning and housing policy objectives have been integrated towards the attainment of urban socio-spatial integration. The interview with SANCO aimed to understand citizen participation and involvement in the planning and development processes of their urban communities. Furthermore, it aimed to understand the trends of integration in the post-1994 era and effectiveness of the role of government. The residents provided personal and general perspectives and experiences of social integration/cohesion as different social classes in Shaka’s Head and the management of their place. Furthermore, they were useful to understand access to social and economic opportunities in their proximity. Each of the respondents were carefully selected according to their qualities in relation to the study.

Interview with the Ward Councillor

The ward councillor as democratically elected by the local people of Shaka's Head to be the mouthpiece of the area, has a better understanding of the local issues in that community. These include the history of the area, the views of both low and high-income residents, their daily needs and their standard of living which are mostly reported to him. He also has a better understanding of the issues that involve infrastructural development affecting the well-being of residents as a custodian of service delivery in the area. The ward councillor therefore is in a better position to speak on behalf of all population groups, including all classes and races. The councillor gave an in-depth analysis of the study area, the history that has led to how the community is socially and spatially constituted. This included the economic situation and the relations amongst the different classes and races in the community.

Interviews with low-income residents

The low-income households at Shaka's Head are mostly black residents occupying the government-assisted, low-cost houses, backyard informal dwellings and low-cost private houses. These residents rely mainly on government services for water supply, electricity, schools, government police, healthcare and so forth. However, there are a few Indian residents living in the section of low-income households but not necessarily in government-assisted, low-cost houses. Instead, they lease houses that were used by the first Indians to reside in the area and some are still living in poor conditions. All these residents live in a separate section of poor development including houses with a standardised design and low-quality houses which are adjacent to the well-maintained and high-quality estates in the same neighbourhood.

Interviews with high-income residents

High-income residents of Shaka's Head are of mixed-race, including blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds. These residents reside in private, well-developed gated estates. Their houses are characterised by private outsourcing and provision of services and they are less reliant on

government public services. They reside in the same vicinity with the low-income residents but they are separated by fenced high walls and gates as security features. High-income residents use the same shopping centres and malls as the low-income residents. Their standard of living is very different from that of residents residing in the low-cost, government-assisted houses which indicate class inequalities. The estates where these residents reside belong to private property owners. The closest estate to the low-cost public houses is the Caledon Estates. The rules and terms of lifestyle and maintenance of the property in these estates are all done by the management in charge, hence it was relevant for the management officials to be interviewed to supplement information from the high-income group.

Interviews with KwaDukuza Municipal Officials

The municipal officials included the head of the Planning Unit and the Chief Planner who were interviewed together. A role of the local government as stipulated by the *Housing Act*, is to ensure that the inhabitants of its area of jurisdiction have access to adequate housing on a progressive basis and that they create and maintain a public environment conducive to housing development which is financially and socially viable. The role of the Planning Unit in the Municipality is to deal with physical planning and settlement layout which includes mainly the location of the housing developments. According to the *Housing Act*, municipalities must plan and manage land use and development.

The fundamental spatial goal of the democratic government has been to redress spatial injustices through enhanced physical planning. The role of the local government, according to the act, includes ensuring that conditions not conducive to the health and safety of the inhabitants of its area of jurisdiction are prevented or removed. Furthermore, that services in respect of water, sanitation, electricity, roadways, storm water drainage and transport are provided in a manner which is economically efficient. The third official who participated in the interviews was the manager of the Municipal Housing Unit as it directly deals with housing

development and provision for the local residents. This Unit cannot begin or complete its work without considering the planning standards and regulations of the Municipality.

Interview with a KwaZulu-Natal Human Settlements Official

According to the *National Housing Act*, the role of Provincial Human Settlement Departments is to determine provincial policy in respect of housing development and to promote the adoption of provincial legislation to ensure effective housing delivery. The interview with the department official was intended to assess the effectiveness of the housing policy and development in the province so as to ensure that socio-spatial integration is ultimately achieved to a significant extent. Furthermore, the provincial department's role is to take all reasonable and necessary steps to support and strengthen the capacity of municipalities to exercise their powers effectively and to perform their duties efficiently with regards to housing development and to co-ordinate housing development in the province. The interview further intended to understand the relationship between the different spheres of government and the support given to the municipalities to implement policies in a way that will achieve socio-spatial integration.

Interview with SANCO

The South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) as an umbrella of civic organisations in South Africa, was also interviewed. The civic organisations played an active role in the formation of a new housing policy in South Africa, and were very active in the struggle against apartheid segregation laws and forced removals. In the post-apartheid period, the national civic organisations have also been active in fighting for effective service delivery and continue to be the voice of the urban residents, especially the poor. Speaking on behalf of the low-income urban dwellers, SANCO is significant in this study in understanding the participation and inclusion of the local people in decisions concerning development, especially urban planning and development.

3.6 Secondary Data

Secondary data that was used to formulate the conceptual and theoretical framework and the review of literature was sourced from published material including books, journals, media publications, government reports, policies and legislation and various other internet sources. The information from these sources also assisted to formulate the description of the study area. The literature included ideas from various other scholars and from local and international case studies. These enabled the study to compare this South African study with similar studies undertaken internationally. Furthermore, the reviewing of literature assisted to understand the growing debates and existing theoretical gaps in relation to the field of study.

3.7 Data Analysis

The study uses a qualitative method in analysis of data as this was the approach used for data collection and preparing of the research questions. Primary data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews with respondents. The data collected was analysed through the development of themes, which reflect the research objectives and questions. Information boxes and pictures taken during the field survey were used to validate some of the findings presented as they help to provide specific examples. All data was analysed through the assessment of research findings. Such data was further interpreted through being linked to the conceptual and theoretical framework and literature to develop a discussion of the findings. This analysis assisted the study to formulate recommendations and conclusions, including the addressing of some theoretical and policy gaps.

3.8 Limitations of the Study

Data collection for this study began in 2016 soon after the local government elections that had affected social order in local communities. On the eve of these elections, there was a turmoil of violent protest which escalated to where the Ward Councillor's house and car were set

alight, when residents demanded for the removal of the Ward Councillor (News24, 2016). There was anticipated reluctance of participation from the low-income residents. In overcoming this limitation, the household in-depth interviews were opted for where very few residents were selected to participate while providing in-depth information for the study. This was done to avoid interaction with a large number of residents.

Another limitation was due to the nature of the gated estates where there are security restrictions. This resulted in the inaccessibility of the high-income residents, residing at the gated estates. Only two residents were accessed from the high-income group. These were reached through the knowledge of the research assistant who was a local resident. In addressing this limitation, the two high-income residents were selected for in-depth interviews to provide very detailed information about the conditions of their residence in the area. In addition, the estate manager was selected for an in-depth interview to cover the required information from the high-income group.

4. Chapter Four: Presentation of Findings and Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The findings indicate a potential for housing to achieve socio-spatial integration. Various factors have however, hindered such potential in Shaka's Head. The hindrances to the achievement of socio-spatial integration include shortcomings in governance and local relations amongst residents and other institutions. The findings are organised according to various themes as a way to respond to research questions and objectives outlined earlier in this study. Data are also interpreted and discussed according to the theoretical framework that has guiding this study. The research areas not covered sufficiently in this study are identified and suggested for further research.

4.2 The role of housing in attaining socio-spatial integration

KwaDukuza Municipality planning and housing officials, and the ward councillor, recognised that Shaka's Head low-cost housing is strategically located in the midst of a high-income residential area which receives benefits of Ballito as a major economic complex within the municipality. Figure 8 depicts a settlement pattern of Shaka's Head, with low-cost government-assisted housing (bottom of the image) and the well-developed private estates (top of the image) located in the same vicinity. The different classes and races are occupying too different housing typologies in the same neighbourhood, a set up previously restricted by the previous residential segregation laws during the apartheid period according to racial lines. This figure reflects housing location being one amongst the cornerstones of socio-spatial integration and a fundamental tool towards the transformation of urban communities in post-apartheid South Africa. It appears to be a milestone in the redress of previously highly segregated settlement patterns.

The major instrument through which housing was used to create fragmented urban communities was through relocation and in the formation of separate locations. The findings illustrate a possibility for housing location as a foundation for creating an integrated neighbourhood at Shaka's Head. The significance of location in this regard is to bring people into the proximity of socio-economic opportunities that have the potential to improve their standards of living. The other significance is to encourage social mixing through placing together different social groups, races, and classes to allow an opportunity for daily social interactions and to build social relations. In such a way, social tensions that were created by the previous regime of apartheid can be minimised and hopefully eliminated over time through various activities that will emerge as a result of housing location.



Figure 8: Settlement View of Shaka's Head

Source: Field survey (2017). Photo: Taken by the researcher.

Figure 9 illustrates a fenced estate on one side of the community, with high walls, electric fencing, and an iron gate. The atmosphere around this estate is a complete opposite to that which exists on the other side of the neighbourhood where there are low-income residents in a

highly congested area with less space to move around, and it appears like two completely different worlds. Figure 10 illustrates a railway separating the high-income and low-income sections within the neighbourhood. This appears as the common feature in apartheid segregated areas where an object, such as a railway line, would exist between the different racial areas to separate them. But the railway line in this area is not cross cutting the entire areas as it enters the tunnel under the main road, and the gated estates can still be accessed from the off-ramp of the main road. Even if this is the case, the railway and the fencing within the neighbourhood of Shaka's Head play a significant role in keeping social distance between the low-income and high-income residents of this area. These two features prevent any attempt of everyday easy contact between the residents of low-cost and highly developed housing settlements, as a result, this undermines the potential role for housing to achieve socio-spatial integration.



Figure 9: Fencing at Estate Houses

Source: Field survey (2017) Photo: Taken by the researcher.



Figure 10: Showing Railway Separation Between Houses

Source: Field survey (2017). Photo: Taken by the researcher.

The other factor affecting the use of housing to attain integration mentioned was cultural subordination and imbalance as detailed in the information box 1 below.

Information Box 1: Cultural Subordination

A black high-income resident living in the private estate at Ballito, Shaka's Head was asked if he was satisfied with the place, he is living in. He responded that he is satisfied with the area because it is very safe. He added that there are things, however, that he cannot change but he must live by the rules of the estate. For example, he mentioned that they cannot practice their culture and rituals and that he has to go to his rural home if he has to do his rituals.

The integrated residential development programme has been cited by the KZN DHS as one of the most suitable programmes that continue to be implemented as a mechanism to integrate

private and public housing developments and it is said to be solving social classifications. According to the municipal planning unit, they always promote the requirement that in every housing project there should be a space set aside for economic opportunities. This was confirmed by the municipal human settlements unit that in all their recent projects they reserve a space for economic opportunities where the economic development unit will later come and development economic centres for the settlements to be economically viable and this has been done successfully in Rocky Park Integrated Residential Development Project. This is the housing project cited by the Municipal Planning Unit that seeks to promote racial and class integration in KwaDukuza Municipality through social mixing. In this project, there are different races and classes living together. According to the KZN DHS policy and product unit official, various programmes have been implemented to promote socio-spatial integration. This includes the introduction of the social housing programme as mandated by the housing policy, which has been the best tool in addressing fragmented urban spaces thus far.

When asked if multi-class and racially mixed urban communities help to achieve socio-spatial integration, SANCO believed multi-class urban communities contribute to integration in a very limited extent, as there remains a challenge. This involves the competition of classes; these communities experience class divisions which run parallel with housing typologies. In addition, the upper-class will always want to dominate such communities, and this hinders the achievement of socio-spatial integration. As depicted in figure 8, social inequalities can be identical through housing typologies between the well-developed estates and low-cost government assisted houses.

Shaka's Head, because of housing location, appears to be spatially integrated but it is still socially and economically fragmented. The fenced and barricaded housing estates (as shown in figure 9) existing within the same neighbourhood with the low-cost government assisted houses reveals hindrances in social relations between the low and high-class residents. This is

an indication that the different classes in the post-apartheid urban communities have not been able to accept each other as belonging to a common neighbourhood or space sharing common goals. The study demonstrates that spatial integration alone, which is through locating together different classes and races is insufficient in redressing social divisions and the poor living conditions of previously disadvantaged residents but that can only be a step towards socio-spatial integration.

4.3 The role of government and policy interventions in integration

Government's role in the attainment of socio-spatial integration through the delivery of housing is defined by the housing and planning policy and the legislative framework, the *National Housing Act*, in particular. In fulfilling this goal, the government receives its mandate from the BNG housing policy seeking to transform from basic housing to sustainable human settlements. The mandate is explained through the six key principles also discussed in detail earlier in chapter two. These include progressive informal settlements upgrading, promoting densification and integration, enhancing spatial planning, enhancing the location of new housing projects, supporting urban renewal and inner-city regeneration and developing social and economic infrastructure. The planning policy mandate to government also discussed in chapter two includes eleven key priorities towards the integrated human settlements with responsive planning.

The comprehensive policy intervention was effected through the *National Development Plan* which paved the way for the development of a more improved post-apartheid physical planning legislation: The *Spatial Planning and Land-use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA)*. This act according to the KwaDukuza Municipal Planning Unit is still to be tested if it is able to solve the fundamental challenge of socio-spatial segregation, with an advantage that the act has given powers to municipalities for decision-making. They noted that the act has been developed after there have been various attempts to come up with a policy to shape gated communities in

a way that they are not detrimental to municipal planning for integration. They added that the *Development Facilitation Act (DFA)* was made to cater for the poor, however, it was used to promote private development through decisions being taken at a provincial and national level. SPLUMA is therefore believed to redress these challenges.

The KwaZulu-Natal Department of Human Settlements official in the policy and product unit pointed out that in fulfilling the role of housing to achieve socio-spatial integration, the transformation from housing to human settlements was an attempt to echo the strategic move towards integration where people are spatially located in spaces that provide economic opportunities and neighbourhood harmony. She further stated that the Department has put in place systems to assist municipalities in ensuring that the Integrated Development Plans encompass the housing charter. Such systems include providing necessary funding for that purpose and the employment of town planners placed in all districts in the province to ensure that housing projects are not planned in isolation but are part of the broader municipal development plans. In addition, to ensure integration, the *Department of Human Settlements* does not approve funding for the projects that do not fall within the Housing Charter of the municipal IDPs.

For institutional development, according to a *KZN Human Settlements Department* official, municipalities are key stakeholders in housing delivery and are fully involved in policy development and reviews. These are conducted through contact sessions/workshops with the provincial and national departments where municipalities are given an opportunity to provide input and proposals regarding policies. According to the planning unit in KwaDukuza Municipality, the legislation provides for the establishment of the planning forums where different spheres of government can interact. In addition, there is a provincial planning forum where they interact with the district municipality and the provincial government to coordinate planning issues and it has been working positively.

In the view of respondents, there is a consensus that more intervention can be affected by government to achieve socio-spatial integration in Shaka's Head. One high-income resident suggested that government must build more sporting facilities which must be kept in decent condition so that all residents, low and high-income earners, can feel comfortable to go there and use such facilities. In that way, there will be a central point where people can meet and socialise and as a result, promote integration. When asked about the ideal place they wish to see created in Shaka's Head, the management of Caledon Estate suggested the establishment of a large cultural and sports centre where everyone can meet and interact. According to the ward councillor, integration in Shaka's Head can be achieved if people across classes and races can meet and share ideas.

Other suggestions on the role that can be played by government, included active community consultation and participation in decision-making. SANCO believes that there is a distance between government and people in communities. It is suggested that there should be an improved system of communication where government officials must create a programme to consult communities on decision-making. The KwaDukuza Municipality, Planning Unit officials also suggested that communities need to be included more in the planning phase of all developments. In the view of Caledon Estate Management, government must effectively communicate with the general community and include them in decision-making processes, and not just a few people. A high-income resident suggested the integration of government, private sector, and the community. This was based on the belief that many private developments happen without the knowledge of the low-income residents. With this recommendation, there could be a way whereby even the low-income residents could benefit from private developments if they are well communicated to everyone.

The low-income residents also believed that government should improve the system of communication with the community so that they can be aware of all developments and take

part in the decision-making process. In addition, low-income residents believe that government should make effective interventions for the improvement of their standards of living. Fundamental areas that they mentioned were employment opportunities offering decent jobs, improvement in basic services and improvement of the infrastructure. They believed that if their living standards can be improved, that will reduce the poverty gap between them and their high-income neighbours and in that way, they will more easily integrate as different classes and races.

There is a consensus from all respondents including government officials, estate management, civic movements and residents on the need for improved community consultation and participation in planning and development of the area. Such consensus indicates that there has been a huge gap between government, private institutions and the local people with regard to decision-making on planning and physical development. In addition, it suggests that physical planning and development in Shaka's Head has taken place only considering the ideas and interests of those in charge, such as government and private institutions and planners have ignored the broader stakeholders who are affected by such developments, including the general local residents. Poor community involvement in planning and development appear to be one of the major factors for a delayed achievement of social integration in the area, even after different social groups have been located together to form one neighbourhood.

4.4 Integration with economic opportunities

Table 1 has presented a picture and implications for the local economic status of Shaka's Head. The fundamental factor that determines access to economic opportunities according to the municipal planning unit is the level of education that people have, and which is very low in the case of Shaka's Head. According to the ward councillor, since the inception of this low-cost housing development in 1997, the lives of the people residing there have remained the same if not worse, regardless of the economic benefits that the area provides. The KwaDukuza

Planning Unit, one of the high-income resident born in KwaDukuza and other low-income residents also shared the same sentiments that the standard of living for the low-income residents has always remained low, since the inception of the housing project there. The low standards of living are indicated by very low education levels, high unemployment and low salaries for those who are employed as illustrated in table 1.

For example, according to the ward councillor, out of 5000 low-income residents who registered to vote in the 2016 local government elections, not more than 10 had professions. The lack of social capital is, therefore, a major contributing factor in the resistance to social integration. This prohibits participation in the social context and deprives social empowerment of individuals or groups resulting to low levels of individual participation in the broader social sphere as explained by Beresneviciute (2003) in the dimensions of social integration.

The low-income residents felt that they were not integrated into the economic benefits that the area offers. Furthermore, they believed that the surrounding economic centres were not useful to them in the improvement of their well-being. They pointed out that some were still unemployed, while those employed by the surrounding companies, including hotels and shopping malls are occupying low-paying job positions. The ward councillor alluded to the fact that in the nearest Lifestyle Mall and the newly developed Ballito Regional Mall, there is no single store or business place owned by local low-income people. He mentioned that this is because of the high unaffordable requirements, such as capital, that are set for anyone who may wish to run their stores in these malls, and which is disadvantaging the low-income groups. He added that it is for that reason that in their political perspective they are against the development of shopping malls near low-income communities because they do nothing towards uplifting the poor people.

According to the ward councillor, most low-income black people who reside there came to search for job opportunities and started working in the surrounding companies and other nearest places accepting any work opportunity available. However, the owners of those businesses did nothing to transfer any business skills to the low-income workers. For that reason, many families are still relying on social grants and low-paying jobs. Even those who try through local shops do not become successful and the reason for this, according to the ward councillor, is that they are unable to compete with recently established shops owned by foreigners. The ward councillor further mentioned that local people who try to run small businesses are doing so in an illegal way, like in running shebeens which has had a bad impact on the community. People who have tried to open their own companies are still sitting below level 4 on procurement standards, which can't give them good tender opportunities. They can only work as sub-contractors and make less income.

4.5 Neighbourhood perceptions and relations

The black low-income residents said that they had no or very limited relations with the white high-income residents staying in the nearest gated complex. This is the same view that was shared by the Indian low-income households. Some of the residents pointed out that they would only see the white high-income residents across the fence of the gated estates. When asked if they had any relations with black residents staying in the gated complex, the black low-income residents mentioned that they don't even know them, and some even saying they only hear that there are blacks staying there but never saw or met them. However, there is one black low-income resident who felt that she has good relations with the white high-income neighbours. This is to the extent that they assist her in running her local crèche, including donating the equipment needed for her crèche. However, the same resident also reported that she had no relations with the black residents staying in the estates. In addition, the low-income residents stated that the only time they get to meet their high-income neighbours was when they went to

the nearest shopping centre, which they all share, for the purchase of domestic items and it is highly likely that they would be meeting each other for the first time and still have no interaction. The gated estates can be accessed by the low-income residents only when they worked there as domestic workers. This suggests that estates are viewed mainly by the low-income residents as places of employment rather than as households that they can integrate with or make stable neighbourhood relations with.

When asked how low and high-income residents of different colours relate in Shaka's Head, the Estate Management said that the only way that they relate is through many of the staff members in the estate who come from the low-income residents next door. One high-income black resident said that he has relations with the low-income residents because he has relatives living at the low-cost government assisted houses. This is to the extent that he even attends the social functions there when invited. The other high-income black resident said that he had no existing relations with the low-income residents, but it is not a problem for him to go into the low-income side of the neighbourhood.

When asked if what they thought were the existing barriers that separate them with their high-income neighbours, some mentioned that their level of education and lack of advanced skills is what separated them. They believed that the white families have had access to good quality education that provided them with proper skills to have access to economic opportunities, something that they were deprived of. Furthermore, class inequalities were cited as a common fundamental factor by low-income residents as bringing barriers between them as different social groups. In the view of SANCO, class still plays a major role in maintaining residential segregation and in stopping blacks from moving to better-developed areas such as those in Ballito.

The class-differences according to SANCO, plays a major role in the persistence of segregation and in keeping blacks in less-developed sections of the urban areas. Furthermore, SANCO believed that it is still difficult to achieve residential integration between different races. In this case, they cited an example of suburbs in Durban such as Montclair and Woodlands that previously were 'whites-only' places. However as soon as blacks started to buy houses and moved into these areas, white residents moved out and they are now predominantly black.

Regarding whether social integration was necessary between themselves and the high-income residents, low-income residents believed that it was necessary. Amongst the reasons given for this, was a belief that if they can be socially integrated, it would help them to improve their standards of living. They believed this would be through the sharing of skills and opportunities that the high-income households would share with them. In addition, some felt that social integration would lead to a situation whereby the high-income households would share with the information and ideas on accessing different life-improving opportunities. They believed this would possibly work to improve their lives to a level of those high-income households.

A few of these low-income residents felt that integration was not necessary with their high-income neighbours. One believed that there is no need because they are not of the same economic class. Another felt that their rich neighbours look down on them because of their economic status and poor standard of living. Lastly, one resident pointed out that if social integration is forced between them and the high-income neighbours, the white residents living in the gated complex would relocate from the area as there is still social discrimination that exists between the residents.

The ward councillor alluded to the fact that some of the high-income residents who own businesses around the area would prefer to employ people from outside Shaka's Head and Ballito rather than the local poor residents. One low-income resident felt that the high-income

residents trust foreigners more than the local low-income black residents who they view as criminals. The reason for not hiring local black low-income residents according to the ward councillor was that they do not trust them.

The other factor cited as a difficulty faced in integrating the area according to the ward councillor is that tribalism exists amongst blacks since the area consists of mainly Zulu and Xhosa black tribes. In addition, racism exists, and white residents still view low-income blacks as criminals. He asserted that the place would be better socially integrated if racism and tribalism could be eliminated. Crime in the area is a concern, not only for the high-income residents but for low-income residents as well as detailed in information box 2.

Information box 2: Crime Concerns at Shaka's Head

High-income respondents – A high-income resident asserted that if in their estates there are any criminal incidents, they would normally suspect that the low-income residents are the perpetrators. The Caledon Estate Management mentioned that the location of low-cost houses next to them sometimes affected them because of crime. In addition, they said that they were not satisfied with the areas they are living in because of the ‘informal settlements’ next door. They believed that this was because of poor service delivery around their estate in terms of policing and streetlights.

Low-income respondents- Asked if they were satisfied with the area they are living in, a low-income resident mentioned that she is not satisfied at all because of too much crime in the area, with murder incidents being very high. She felt that one of the contributing factors is that there are no programmes that are aimed at mobilising and developing youth with skills and other activities. One other low-income resident also felt not satisfied with the area due to the poor security level. A resident who also expressed dissatisfaction with the area said

there reason was that the area is not a good environment for the kids due to the use of drugs being the main problem. She added that the area has no facilities to keep young people busy, as a result, they end up taking drugs.

The method of provision and maintenance of services is another factor that raises the tensions between the different classes in Shaka's Head. The two different classes do not share the same level of services. While some of these services are privately attained by the estates' residents, the low-income residents still claim that the high-income residents enjoy better government services than them. For example, one resident complained that the estates hardly suffer electricity problems which are provided by the same municipality. She mentioned that if those in the low-cost houses are experiencing an electricity shutdown, the estates will still have their electricity running or it will be restored earlier than in the low-cost houses.

When the ward councillor was asked if the high-income residents report any issues to him, he mentioned that they do not raise any concerns with him, but they used their own forums like business forums in attending to their issues of concern. He added that sometimes these residents will choose to go to the media and speak about their concerns, and he would only learn about it from there without such issues being raised with him as a community leader. On the level of participation in municipal urban planning and development, the Caledon Estate management felt that they are isolated by the local municipality from the decision-making process. Municipal planning done in the area is said to be open and well communicated, however as an estate, they do not receive any notification, but they have to rely on social media, mainstream media or general talk to get information.

4.6 Challenges facing interventions towards integration

Major challenges that prevented the area from becoming well-integrated included lack of proper planning. The municipal planning department admitted that there was no proper planning for social facilities in the area and there was no land reserved for population growth, while the area has been experiencing a huge flock of people who come in search of jobs since the area is close to employment opportunities. The ward councillor pointed out that people who flock to the area include those coming from the Eastern Cape because the area is perceived to be developing and might, therefore, have job opportunities.

Population growth has even made it difficult for the refurbishment of the area. The councillor said that more people have been flocking into the area while land shortage is experienced, making it more difficult to develop the area further. The housing design of the low-cost government assisted houses does not compare with the high standards of the estate houses located within the neighbourhood. The low-income households have even expressed dissatisfaction with the conditions of their government assisted houses but have only accepted them because they were better than not having a house at all.



Figure 11: Standard RDP House



Figure 12: Private Estate Houses

Source: Field survey (2017). Photo: Taken by the researcher.

Figure 11 illustrates a standard government-assisted RDP house occupied by the low-income residents of Shaka's Head. A comparison is made with a privately developed estate house depicted in figure 12 also existing in the same neighbourhood. The RDP house shown in the figure above clearly illustrates a very low quality and is less dignified for the users. The quality and the standard of that house cannot match that of the privately developed estates. The inadequacy of these houses develops a stereotype about the low-income users, which creates tension and a social distance is experienced between themselves and their high-income neighbours. Such houses are viewed as very poor in value and therefore difficult to be accepted by the users of the well-developed estates as they are believed to be compromising the value of the neighbourhood.

The quality of the standardised government-assisted RDP houses is not only an issue in relation to the well-developed private estates, but the low-income users have also raised concerns. Such concerns included flooding, leaking water, poor sanitation and the general design of the houses. The ward councillor of Shaka's Head and those in both the planning, and the housing units agree that the housing design for low-cost housing is not of sufficient standard to meet the quality of the privately developed estates. In addition, this is a contributing factor to the existence of a social distance between high and low-income households' factors

An official in the KZN DHS made the point that the fundamental challenges towards achieving socio-spatial integration using housing are that there are many factors swaying development on the ground. Such factors include the misuse of housing delivery as a political tool which frustrates the strategic direction where housing development can achieve socio-spatial integration. According to this view, political parties use the provision of housing to lobby for votes, putting it in their manifesto as part of the promises to the voters. This causes a huge negative impact on the geographic location of the housing projects where political parties only strive to meet the quantity targets according to promises made to communities /voters and they

are forced to compromise. This, therefore, is said to undermine the strategic plans, which include the strategic location of the housing projects where spatial integration can be achieved.

Centralisation of housing administration and management has been cited by the KwaDukuza Housing Unit official as one of the challenges hindering socio-spatial integration. Poor housing design of the government-assisted low-cost housing is a major concern for the high-income inhabitants at Shaka's Head, as the proximity to low-cost housing lowers the value of properties in their neighbourhood. According to the municipality, that design was made at a national level and had to be implemented by the municipality, meaning that the municipality was not given space to make an input into the kind of design for those houses.

According to the municipal planning unit officials, there is some degree of breakdown in the working relationship of the three spheres of government. This includes the imposition by the higher spheres on what should be implemented at a local level without knowing the conditions on the ground, and this is evident with the housing design at Shaka's Head. They further stated that the challenge includes that as the local government they find themselves only closely linked to the provincial *Department of Human Settlements* but remains very far from and not linked to the national Department

It was cited as part of the challenges that the financial years do not run concurrently, and this has a bad impact on the work that must be carried out in planning for integrated communities. According to the KZN DHS, the relationship of these spheres is followed as stipulated in the *National Housing Act*. However, it was also stated that the provincial Department sometimes finds itself overlapping on the duties that have to be carried out at the municipal level because, sometimes, the municipalities do not have sufficient capacity. The municipal planning unit pointed out there is indeed a clear legislative framework that guides cooperation of different spheres of government, however, there is a challenge in implementing that framework.

In the view of the *Provincial Department of Human Settlements*, the current housing policy has provided a variety of programmes in which socio-spatial integration can be achieved. The challenge does not lie with the policy but with planning and implementation, where such policy programmes must be translated into practice. The planning unit suggested that the Human Settlements Department should buy land closer to economic opportunities. This according to the housing unit in KDM, is a major challenge as the Department finds land prices very expensive and they are unable to afford them. For example, the land prices according to the municipal planning unit are very high to the east of the N2 in Ballito, an area where mostly high-income urban inhabitants live, and these are predominantly white. This is said to make it very difficult for the municipality to buy land in such a well-developed part of the municipality, leaving the only option to buy land away from economic opportunities, which promotes exclusion and urban sprawl.

Other challenges included the low education level as mentioned earlier, and this has restricted active participation of low-income residents in the urban socio-economic benefits. The municipal planning division stated that the education levels for the low-income residents were a major factor that would determine economic benefit and thus the upward housing mobility. However, according to the ward councillor, there has not been a single low-income resident that has moved from the low-cost houses to reside in the gated estates.

4.7 Discussion

This section focuses on the discussion of the research findings in relation to the theoretical and conceptual framework and literature that has informed this study. This will further reflect the relevance of the theoretical and conceptual framework related to the outcomes of data collection and will help to make conclusions and further contribution to knowledge.

4.7.1 Neoliberal Urbanism and persistence of urban inequalities

The research findings have indicated the persistence of social fragmentation regardless of the close spatial proximity of the different social groups in Shaka's Head. For the long period of existence of the Shaka's Head settlement, the low-income residents have remained poor while the economic status of the high-income households has continued to be stable. The findings appear to reflect the relations in phenomena explained by neo-liberal urbanism, the class domination through control of space and maintenance of economic benefits by the urban elites. Using neoliberal urbanism, the research findings prove how the potential for housing to attain socio-spatial integration has been hindered, which resulted in the persistence of urban inequalities. Evidence from part of the literature proves that urban spaces have been produced through capitalist ideas of planning where the urban elites through the power of money maintain hegemony and control over the urban spaces.

Neoliberal urbanism as explained earlier is an idea that follows neo-liberal economic restructuring of the urban spaces. It seeks to enlarge the role of market forces in the housing and real estate sectors, privatise the provision of urban and social services, and increase the role of elites in shaping the urban landscapes. The urban form of Shaka's Head according to the findings favours the lifestyle, needs, and well-being of the middle-to-upper-class residents and deprives those of the lower class. The higher class is in charge of the urban economy, which is not shared equally with the low-income inhabitants.

The low-income residents in Shaka's Head remain powerless, the common barrier identified by low-income residents separating them with the high-income households was the lack of money to afford a more improved quality lifestyle. Due to this, they have no power of control in the area, suppressed by the hegemony of the elites, thus ending up benefiting less or nothing from the socio-economic opportunities available. It also appeared that the rich business owners did not transfer business skills to the workers who are the low-income residents in Shaka's

Head. The transfer of skills, if used by the poor residents, could help to uplift their economic standards and to reduce socio-economic inequalities.

The area still remains hard to develop further with other necessary social facilities that could help to promote integration. Amongst the major challenges raised by government both at the local and provincial level is the unavailability of land, which is privately owned and can only be sold at an unaffordable price in Ballito. This is an indication that the control of space at Shaka's Head and Ballito is even beyond the control of government that attempts to deliver a better life for the poor. The private ownership of land and unwillingness to sell it at an affordable price for the benefit of the poor can also be interpreted as another means used by the urban elites to maintain their hegemony and control over space. If they chose to sell the land to the municipality, this will mean that they will no longer be able to control how land and the general space can be used, for example, for building private residential developments.

The socio-economic characteristics of Shaka's Head indicate a neoliberal urban settlement which includes persistence of uneven economic stagnation, intensifying inequality, and generalised social insecurity. In addition, the housing real estates are maintained through privatised provision of social services such as security and other characteristics typical of a gated settlement in the area. The urban form reflected has advanced urban inequalities and made it impossible for housing to attain socio-spatial integration regardless of housing location in well-developed and economically viable neighbourhoods.

The free market competition in the housing sector enabled by neoliberal urban policies continues to disadvantage low-income residents. The conditions of the low-income residents at Shaka's Head, according to the ward councillor, have remained the same since the development of their low-cost houses in the area and they are still unable to afford expensive real estate houses. As outlined earlier in literature by Fossett (2006), that for various reasons

motivated by status inequality and economic competition, lower income residents remain suppressed by the dominance of the urban elites. In this case, high-class residents choose to reside together and can do so because they have advantages in the economic competition for high-quality housing and desirable neighbourhoods, while households of lower status are disadvantaged in this competition. The residential setting of Shaka's Head, therefore, proves these claims correct.

4.7.2 The distribution of urban opportunities

Spatial assimilation theory portrays location of the vulnerable groups as a most important factor and a gateway to improved standards of living and consequently reduction of urban inequalities. The attainment of socio-spatial integration in the view of the spatial assimilation theory goes through the arrival of a vulnerable social group into an urban settlement that offers socio-economic benefits. Such benefits help to improve the socio-economic standards of these social groups, and as they improve, they begin to assimilate the values of a dominant existing social group and in that way, integration is achieved. The method for integration explained in this theory is biased and unfair and consequently cannot produce fair integration amongst the different social groups.

The efforts of integration as explained by Young (1999), whereby vulnerable groups move to places with economically privileged groups and with economic benefits, do not serve fair integration. He further argued that such efforts often suggest that the socially and economically dominant groups set the terms of integration to which the formerly segregated and vulnerable groups must conform in accordance with the expectations of the dominant group. This is the way the urban elites maintain hegemony and control over space or the urban community at large. The literature on critics of integration through housing, earlier asserted that if processes unfold in this way, in the name of integration, the underprivileged groups will be forced and expected to assimilate external behaviour, of the privileged groups and to abandon their own.

Bolt et al., (2010); and Cashin, (2004) as outlined earlier, pointed out that integration has been experienced and perceived as just a mere assimilation combined with the loosening of attachment to their original culture, which has frequently involved the accommodation of blacks into the lifestyle of middle-class whites. As a result, Ruiz-Tagle (2013) concluded that in the name of integration, the underprivileged groups have been forced and expected to assimilate external behaviour, of the privileged groups, and this appears to be the case in Shaka's Head with the black middle-class residents who have assimilated with white residents in the estates. This has also been the case in general urban communities, whereby integration follows the conditions and regulations of the urban elites. It appeared from a black resident residing in the estate in Shaka's Head, that although there is satisfaction with the quality of the environment and the safety measures ensured there, they were still unable to practice their rituals but must live by the rules of the estate.

It was mentioned earlier that integration can still be achieved through the movement of resources-to-people rather than people-to-resources and on the ability of households to reside in particular locations to maximise their opportunities and benefits voluntarily (Galster and Killen, 1995; Young, 2010). In another view, when poor people move closer to economic resources and opportunities, whether voluntarily as in the search for jobs or by housing relocation, that will not conclusively solve the problem of lack of access to resources. That way of access will mean that the poor have only minimal or limited access to resources. This is because, many urban communities in South Africa can still be defined through neoliberal urbanism, where the elites dominate the urban space and control over economic resources.

Therefore, that kind of movement (people-to-resources) pushes the urban poor to economic resources that do not belong to them, and thus cannot expect to have fair access to those resources due to privatisation and free market competition in such communities. This is the reason why although Shaka's Head low-cost housing is strategically located closer to economic

opportunities, the maximum benefits that people get are the low paying jobs and no means of ownership to those economic resources. In addition, it is part of the reasons that poverty and inequality have persisted for a very long period for low-income residents at Shaka's Head. If, on the other hand, economic resources are brought closer to the people, there can be a negotiated mechanism for a fair share and control of such resources.

The idea presented in the assimilation theory is that integration will be achieved only if the poor accumulate socio-economic status through access to jobs and improved housing conditions, which is not just. This idea promotes an unfair and defines conditional integration which is based on socio-economic status and is a reason for the persistence of urban fragmentation in South Africa. Furthermore, this asserts that the poor must be developed economically for the sake of achieving integration and that those who still remain poor and who do not improve their economic status, do not qualify for socio-spatial integration.

Integration must be attained by voluntary means of all social groups regardless of the economic status and it must be through efforts of urban governance of fair decision-making and willingness by the urban elites to share with the low-income urban inhabitants. Furthermore, decision-making processes should also address all neighbourhood concerns raised both by low-income and high-income residents. In a logical sense, the process shall begin with achieving integration so that the poor can be uplifted to better standards of living as they will gain access to urban opportunities and share in economic resources. This is a process that requires the use of housing in order to achieve socio-spatial integration.

4.7.3 Antagonistic Integration: The Case Study of Shaka's Head, KwaDukuza Municipality

The research findings and the literature in this study reveal that integration as a process is bias, unbalanced and not serving fairly the dual needs of classes in the socially mixed urban

communities. Housing delivery through building socially mixed urban neighbourhoods has indicated a potential for integration. However, the experiences thus far have pointed out that there has been an antagonism to the powerless social groups in such neighbourhoods. The fundamental underlying factors are the hindrances explained according to neoliberal urbanism as discussed in the theoretical framework, highlighting the dominance of the urban elites and their control of the urban space. These have antagonised the powerless social groups through the process of achieving socio-spatial integration.

Antagonism in Shaka's Head as a multi-class urban neighbourhood has occurred through the existence of contradictions between the social groups. Contradiction is defined by Baxter and Braithwaite (2006) as a dynamic interplay of unified opposites. In the second edition of Marx and Engels reader, it is outlined that modern bourgeois society formed from the remains of feudal society has not yet done away with class antagonism. This has thus established new classes, conditions of oppression and forms of struggle in the place of the old ones. A distinctive feature simplified in this process is class antagonism where society as a whole split up into two hostile camps directly facing each other.

As it is indicated with the case study, in the urban areas made up of multi-class neighbourhoods, housing has played a role in locating such classes together as a step towards socio-spatial integration. In such an urban set-up, lower class residents reside in an urban space that has not been created by them but the more privileged class. Earlier in the review of literature it was explained that urban spaces were created through capitalist ideas of urban planning as a way to maintain hegemony and to control distribution of urban socio-economic opportunities by the privileged classes over the underprivileged, a model through which the apartheid city was created (Lifebre, 1974; Landman, 2006). In such a way, the powerless low-income residents reside in neighbourhoods where they have no control over the socio-economic resources existing there regardless of their close proximity. As a result, the process of integration appears

to be antagonistic to the low-income residents while their socio-economic status may still remain unimproved regardless of their location, as is evident in the case of Shaka's Head.

In these urban communities, the large portion of land is privately owned and not available to be purchased for public use by the government or the state. In this case, architectural and planning developments are determined by the private owners, which includes private housing developments, shopping malls, and other private recreational facilities. The role of government remains limited in regulating these areas making it difficult to serve the needs and aspirations of the lower social groups. As a result, the terms and conditions set by the urban elites in ownership and use of space remain dominant in these areas.

Not only the lower classes are affected by this phenomenon, the former disadvantaged social groups, such the emerging middle-class are also victims. The emerging middle-classes staying in the privately developed estates are forced to live by the rules of private developers, compromise their values and submit to those set by the urban elites. Although they have integrated with other upper classes, they are unable to live by their original practices as these are prohibited in private housing developments. This makes this form of integration antagonistic to selected groups.

While there is a potential for housing to establish residential integration, class differences and tensions still remain as main features, the inequality gap also remains not eliminated in the multi-class urban communities. These class differences and tensions are the major obstacles to the achievement of an advanced form of integration, which is socio-spatial integration. This form of urban segregation is also maintained through neighbourhood perceptions and the inability for some residents to accept one another with a sense of belonging. A house has become a form of identity through which the different classes can view each other. Economic

status plays a major role in determining the form of housing occupied by each class of household in Shaka's Head.

The different housing typologies have contributed to the development of negative perceptions from higher income to low-income residents in Shaka's Head. These perceptions appear to be antagonistic to the less-privileged social groups as they create stereotypes and stigma towards them. Improvement in housing quality can have a significant role to play towards eliminating these stereotypes. In addition, poor consultation and involvement in decision-making processes by government, leave decisions of the urban elites, as dominant over powerless social groups and this maintains an antagonistic form of integration.

In essence, the antagonistic integration phenomenon entails that in urban communities, the process of integration is characterised by class inequalities and during this process, selected social groups are antagonised as a result of their powerlessness. In addition, even the emerging middle-class faces antagonism as they mix with the previously dominant groups who have ensured control of the space through private housing developments and urban planning. In this way, the emerging middle-class are compelled to subject themselves to living conditions and regulations of the economically dominant groups that have had control of the urban spaces. This means that they have to live in a fixed urban neighbourhood. This illustrates an unfair form of integration that does not bring about a balance of the interests of all urban inhabitants but only advances the interests of those in charge of the urban space and economy.

Housing through location for spatial proximity plays a crucial role as a step towards integration, but this submits the powerless and the former disadvantaged social groups to antagonism, while the multi-class urban neighbourhoods may still remain socially segregated. This, therefore, suggests that alternative ways of achieving socio-spatial integration should be explored, including building new quality urban neighbourhoods that accommodate the lifestyle of all

classes. Such areas should be institutionalised by local governments as a mediator to all social groups through facilitating means of communication and efficient consultation. This form will negate the process towards integration explained by the spatial assimilation theory and furthermore supersede the urban status quo explained by neoliberal urbanism.

5. Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Summary of Findings

In Ballito, Shaka's Head, there has been a perceptible role of housing towards the attainment of socio-spatial integration. This begins with social mixing through location of different classes, races and ethnic groups in the population and housing typologies within the same urban neighbourhood in very close proximity. This addresses the previous spatial segregation created by the apartheid residential segregation policies. The presence of the shopping malls, Lifestyle Centre and Ballito Junction as local places most residents use for shopping is also an important intervention whereby the varying classes are able to meet, although there might not be any significant relationships fostered in these places, a contribution is made, however slight.

Research findings have indicated that there has been a limited role played by housing as a mechanism in attaining socio-spatial integration in Shaka's Head. This is evident through the inability of the residents across classes to create social relations and to share the benefits that the area provides. This means that only spatial segregation has been achieved in this area, determined by proximity. There are ample reasons for the inability of housing to achieve socio-spatial integration at Shaka's Head. The settlement pattern of Shaka's Head has been one major contributing factor in this inability of housing to attain an advanced form of integration. This has been perpetuated mainly by class differences which promoted privatisation of space and has created barriers for residents to establish relationships between the two groups. The gated section of the private estate houses with fenced high walls and security gates has created patterns of fragmentation in the area.

Social differences in the economic status of residents in the area have been a fundamental contributing factor to social fragmentation, which has further constructed negative perceptions amongst the residents of different social groups. The settlement pattern of Shaka's Head has

reflected neoliberal urbanism and many of the problems that have hindered the process of socio-spatial integration are due to this unjust form of urban dominance of the elites against the powerless groups. The low-income residents have remained poor and are unable to move away from their poverty conditions regardless of their location in an economically active urban community. Therefore, although Shaka's Head may appear spatially integrated, the area still remains socially fragmented thus not qualifying it as a socio-spatially integrated settlement.

Research findings indicated that the success and failure of the use of housing as a mechanism in attaining socio-spatial integration also rely on the role of the government. The government's role in this regard has been defined by housing and planning policies: *Breaking New Ground, A comprehensive plan for sustainable human settlements* and the *Integrated Urban Development Framework*. The other national policy that has defined the role of government in the achievement of socio-spatial integration is the *National Development Plan*. The government has a responsibility to ensure that the implementation of the goals envisaged in this policy framework are achieved and to ensure that housing is utilised in a manner that should achieve socio-spatial integration.

The development of a policy framework for housing and planning so far has ensured the strengthening of the institutional capacity for effective delivery of housing as a way to achieve socio-spatial integration. This has included the shifting of powers to municipalities in driving the delivery of housing in a way that will respond directly to the needs of urban dwellers, the poor in particular. So far, provincial *Departments of Human Settlements* have provided financial and human capital support to municipalities to enhance the IDPs in outlining and attending to housing issues.

Respondents, in both low- and high-income, felt strongly that government still has a bigger role to play in Shaka's Head to achieve an advanced stage of integration which is socio-spatial

integration. This involves creating a platform for consultation whereby all classes and races form part of decision-making and participate in the development of their own neighbourhoods. Furthermore, efforts should be made to enhance physical development by creating quality public spaces that will allow all classes to meet and develop positive social relations.

It is evident from the findings that a share of local economic benefits of Ballito has not been extended to low-income residents. The poverty conditions of low-income residents of Shaka's Head have persisted despite their location in an economically vibrant urban community. The participation of low-income residents is limited to doing low paying jobs while the level of unemployment is very high. In the surrounding business activities, low-income residents have no share of ownership. Only the high-income residents are in charge. The low education levels amongst the low-income residents were cited as the fundamental reason for their lack of participation in the local economic activities.

Furthermore, there have been no attempts to transfer skills from high to low-income residents to capacitate them to run economic activities around the area. The low-income residents were only engaged in small-scale income generation activities such as tuck shops. However, it was also believed that even such small-scale activities were not successful because of the competition with local shops owned by foreigners. The economic viability of Ballito has not assisted in the improvement of the standards of living of low-class residents but continued to benefit the already rich and a few emerging middle-class individuals.

The social relations between low-income and high-income residents are very poor and almost at non-existent in Shaka's Head. This is an issue that involves all races, including black and white residents residing in the well-developed estates and those in low-cost government assisted houses. The development of the nearest shopping only created an opportunity for these residents to meet but with no interaction. The most common situations for contact amongst the

residents is when low-income residents work as domestic workers in private estate developments and some in companies around the area. There were no community initiatives or collaborative ventures involving both low and high-income residents.

There were no reasons given for personal hatred cited in the research findings. The other major reason that was believed to be the cause of social fragmentation in the area was material possessions which signal economic status, which has maintained a gap between the low and high-income inhabitants resulting in class inequalities. Physical planning of Shaka's Head has also played a huge role in maintaining social fragmentation. This is through the limitations of movements created by private fenced housing estates with security apparatus prohibiting access to those not belonging there. Furthermore, the absence of public facilities and spaces that allow both classes to meet, such as recreational facilities are another examples of bad physical planning. The poorly designed low-cost government assisted houses is also a factor of physical planning that has contributed to social fragmentation, creating negative perceptions and concerns about the value of property in the neighbourhood.

In the midst of poor social relations amongst different classes, both low and high-income residents felt strongly that there is a need for social integration. This is believed by low-income residents to be a way of bringing about some improvements in their standard of living as there is a possibility that they will gain from the high-income residents. Such benefits may include the transfer of skills and role-modelling which will encourage mostly the youth to uplift themselves. The belief was that the local government can play a meaningful role in ensuring social integration in Shaka's Head, and consequently that this should result in socio-spatial integration.

Further challenges that have delayed or hindered socio-spatial integration included ineffective government administration in the housing provision. Part of that includes non-aligned methods

of operation between the spheres of government whereby some of the decisions made at the national level are expected to be implemented at a local level without reasonable consultations. Politicisation of housing delivery programmes has imposed challenges where the housing programme ends up not fulfilling the envisaged policy goals due to political parties wanting to serve their constituencies with the delivery of housing.

These findings prove the existence of neoliberal urbanism which is as a result of the pattern of urbanisation that followed spatial assimilation theory. In Shaka's Head and Ballito as a whole, there is still dominance of a class that oversees the urban economy, referred to as the urban elites. The poor, low-income residents who came in search of employment opportunities still have no share or sense of ownership in the urban economy. This is because the urban space they live in was not created by them and must depend to those in charge of the urban space and who determine the share they will get in the benefits that the area provides.

The terms of neoliberal urbanism have been difficult for government to regulate due to private ownership of land which is not accessible due to unaffordable prices. The terms of share and participation in the economy of Ballito are dictated by the urban elites, while at the same time there is an expansion of private development. The low-income residents continue to suffer under these conditions, while the black middle-class is coping but have no powers to regulate.

5.2 Conclusion

Housing, through effective delivery, management and administration have a great potential to be used as a mechanism for the attainment of an advanced form of integration; the socio-spatial integration. Housing was used as a fundamental mechanism in creating highly segregated urban communities and thus, redress requires the use of the same method. Housing location is a central factor that is a first step towards the attainment of socio-spatial integration. Housing has been recognised as a powerful tool by the post-apartheid housing and planning policy and

legislation for the achievement of well-integrated urban communities, which are socially and economically viable. The *Breaking New Ground Housing Policy*, the *Integrated Urban Development Framework*, the *Spatial Planning and Land-use Management Act* and the *National Development Plan* all share common vision and objectives for the transformation of urban communities where housing and physical planning must be utilised to achieve socio-spatial integration and improvement in the living standards of all urban inhabitants.

However, the indication is that it has only been feasible to effect spatial integration in terms of proximity by location in some parts of urban communities, while social integration has still not been achieved due to different forms of resistance. These factors are the result of a process through which urban spaces have been created in the past and how they are managed currently. The dominance of many wealthy urban inhabitants referred to as the urban elites, according to neoliberal urbanism, is the major resisting factor against socio-spatial integration. Private ownership of urban spaces becomes a barrier to regulations on physical planning by the government and leaves the private owners determining the rules of physical planning and development. This has resulted to the dominance of private developments such as housing estates which are isolated from the urban surroundings through gated separate precincts urban neighbourhoods and which do not promote social interaction of urban inhabitants across all classes.

Such patterns of private developments have divided urban communities according to housing typologies. Access to well-developed housing is determined through affordability and the level of household income. This has defined a new form of segregation which is determined not just by race as before but through household income and affordability, thus creating a pattern of class segregation in the post-apartheid urban communities. The low-income households have remained in low-quality built government-assisted low-cost housing which does not match the standards and value of the private housing developments. This has further created some social

identities which have informed neighbourhood perceptions such as negative labelling of those residing in low-cost public houses. This includes being associated with criminal acts whereby they would be the main suspects in any criminal incidents occurring in the area.

Safety and security are a major concern used to motivate for the spreading of gated private housing developments. However, this concern has also been raised by low-income residents, in low-cost government-assisted housing. Lack of safety and security, therefore, remains a fundamental concern that is a barrier against the development of socially and spatially integrated urban communities. Fear of crime is a genuine concern in the urban communities since its impact is felt both by low and high-income inhabitants.

Mixed-income housing and neighbourhoods are crucial in building more integrated urban communities and it is a better way to address some of the social problems with poverty being a major one. However, this can be better addressed where both low and high-income groups have voluntarily resided in those mixed-income neighbourhoods and are committed to building such integrated communities. Government's intervention through housing programmes that advocate integrated neighbourhoods such as integrated residential development programmes have not been successful enough in fulfilling a desire for socio-spatial integration. This is because such programmes reflect a form of forced location and where there are no programmes to promote social integration. As a result, hostility remains as different classes and residents continue to regard each other as strangers within the same urban community.

Another major factor that has maintained social fragmentation in the urban communities is the unfair share of the local economic benefits that the urban areas provide. Most of the administration and management efforts have been focused on housing location and on the provision of basic services for low-income residents. There has been less focus on the development of urban economic infrastructure where both low and high-income residents can

have a fair share. Some low-income residents have been moved to urban neighbourhoods which are perceived to be well-located and economically vibrant, but where the economy is only regulated by the high-income inhabitants. The private ownership of land in the urban environments have left the low-income residents with no power to determine the development of infrastructure that will generate revenue where they can benefit. The spread of shopping malls in urban communities represents clear isolation of low-income communities from a share of urban economic benefits. The terms of business in such shopping malls cannot be met by the low-income residents and this leaves them with no access to ownership of commercial spaces, rental possibilities, or high-paying jobs. Therefore, the spatial proximity of low-income households to economic opportunities in mixed-income urban communities has not yet determined fair access to such opportunities.

This is an indication that the urban elites continue to keep the urban economy for their own gains. In the name of finding better housing locations for low-cost housing, the low-income residents, some who are victims of past segregation laws have been relegated to areas where they have no power to determine the local economic distribution or to gain a fair share of the economic possibilities. In such areas, they are forced to submit to urban elites for minimal gains through low paying jobs which determine their survival. This has therefore continued to thicken the dividing lines of class inequalities that have shaped social fragmentation patterns in the post-apartheid urban communities.

The means of integration in the mixed-income urban communities have therefore left the low-income inhabitants powerless. They have been unable to influence the channels for physical planning and development, including low-cost housing development. This has left many of them with unimproved standards of living. The effects of class inequalities have been felt mainly by low-income households. The emerging middle-class, who are former victims of spatial segregation laws and who have moved into private housing developments also have

suffered some effects from the integration process. In the spaces where they have settled, they are restricted by rules that do not match their cultural well-being and they are not at liberty to determine new rules which would favour their personal and cultural interests. They are forced to conform to the norms and values that have been created through the rules made by the urban elites who have been in charge of the urban spaces. As a result, the process of integration has been seen to be antagonistic to selected social groups.

There are areas that require further research, which this study could not look into. It appears that the achievement of socio-spatial integration is hindered amongst other things, fundamentally by the economic inequalities in the urban communities. Access to better housing options is limited by lack of income which is a result of the unfair share of local economic benefits generated by the urban environments. Further research shall, therefore, have to look deep into the role of housing in attaining local economic integration in post-apartheid urban communities. Such studies shall focus on factors that have led to an unfair share of local economic opportunities produced by the urban areas and what forms of intervention should be explored to solve these challenges. Furthermore, studies are needed to investigate how housing location and development can play a role in promoting the ability of urban residents across all classes to work together and to share in the local economy.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Institutional integration

The government should play a central role in ensuring that socio-spatial integration is achieved in the post-apartheid urban communities, utilising housing delivery as a strategy. Policies and programmes for integration at the development and implementation stages should be coordinated by government structures across all spheres. The effectiveness of such policies relies upon the government's institutional capacity to integrate these structures. The *Department of Human Settlements* has made little progress in integrating through physical

planning, from local to national level. Although planners have been placed in provincial and national departments, in municipalities planning and housing still operate in segments, with a less common vision.

Transformation through housing for human settlements must ensure the integration of physical planning and housing units from municipal to national levels. This should be done to reflect a new housing policy direction to move away from housing units towards development of sustainable and integrated human settlements. This, as a result, means a need for the re-alignment of the Department of Human Settlements by including physical planning as an as a crucial section from national to local levels. A new re-aligned department shall then be a custodian of all policies that concern both housing and physical planning to ensure implementation of their objectives as envisaged. This includes the *Integrated Urban Development Framework* which should be adopted by human settlements and planning and relocated from the *Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs*. This will help to ensure accountability for the implementation of all policy objectives as envisaged to achieve socio-spatial integration through housing development under one government department.

A new housing policy direction after the first review was to move away from quantity targets towards the provision of quality sustainable and integrated human settlements. Government should further work to isolate political influence from the housing development programme as this compromises the achievement of policy objectives as envisaged. This can be done through strict putting in place strict accountability measures for policy implementation. The three spheres of government should have an integrated plan that should decentralise policy development. Municipalities should not be expected to effectively implement policy objectives that are foreign to them. Policy decentralisation would mean that the upper spheres will rely on municipalities for the practical knowledge and needs assessments of the people on the ground

for which policies are designed. This, as a result, should enhance policy formulation that is responsive and practical to the actual needs of the people at a grassroots level.

5.3.2 Communication and participation

Socio-spatial integration can better be achieved if it is more people-centred and people-driven in terms of physical planning and development. This requires an effective mechanism and platform for communication and open participation of members of urban communities. The apartheid urban planning that was imposed on people deprived urban inhabitants of their social relations and maintained social fragmentation. Although spatial integration has been achieved in some parts through housing location, social tensions still remain between different urban social groups. There should be means to create social contact and interaction between the different urban social groups. This will provide an opportunity for such groups to start knowing each other better and to learn from each other's way of life.

Social contact and interaction should allow urban inhabitants to share their common challenges and to establish various ways in which they can address them together. As a result, there will be a common vision for everyone to rally behind. This can be done through establishing a platform for communication and participation. Integrated development plans offer an opportunity for community participation, however that has not been affected sufficiently in urban communities. Municipalities should find an improved method for direct community participation to occur in urban planning and development. Currently there is an indication that the methods used are not effective enough. This should include educating ordinary people about urban planning and development processes. This initiative should be administered by municipalities and championed by ward councillors.

The communicative platform should provide an opportunity for assigning a division of responsibilities for all social groups in an urban neighbourhood. This can include maintenance

of infrastructure, social security, sharing of skills, facilitating sport and recreational activities, promoting cultural diversity and so forth. Through these initiatives, there is a possibility to reduce negative perceptions of residents across social groups and consequently social cohesion could be achieved. Residents of different social groups can perceive each other negatively because they may never have been exposed to the better and more positive sides to their neighbours in all the different income groups. This is because some perceptions are formed out of assumptions and out of negative things that they have been told by others and they believed them. Communicative platforms should provide an opportunity for individual residents and social groups to discover that hidden side of one another and possibly to start working together as a community.

The communicative platform must be inclusive of government and of the low and high-income residents of all races. There should be public meetings that are accommodative to all classes and races with no language and that address issues and interests of all residents with low and high-income. Furthermore, formation of non-political community organisations that represents cross-cutting issues that affect low to high-income residents will also help to create platforms for residents to meet and discuss their issues. This should help to keep residents active in exploring common objectives in addressing developmental and other issues. Social and developmental activities could be tools for promoting communication and interaction. These can include, career and business exhibitions, cultural activities and sport events. It is through all these initiatives that social integration can be achieved in multi-class urban communities.

5.3.3 Reduction of urban inequalities

The unequal economic status of residents has created urban inequalities which have shaped urban patterns through varying housing typologies and the possession of other assets. Access to improved housing conditions in urban communities is determined by economic status rather than by constitutional right of access to adequate housing. As a result, one of the major barriers

to socio-economic integration is the economic status determined by household income. A fair distribution of income through fair access to economic opportunities would be a way of reducing urban poverty and of reducing urban socio-economic inequalities.

Economic opportunities should benefit all urban inhabitants across classes. New developments including shopping malls must be used to uplift the standards of low-income urban residents. This can include initiatives for skills development such as establishing a community trust to be dedicated to skills development and training especially for young people. Furthermore, other initiatives can include supporting small-scale business activities by the low-income residents. These will assist in capacitating low-income residents to participate reasonably in the urban economy and this could lead to a possible reduction to socio-economic inequalities.

A fair distribution of income and improvement of the living standards of low-income residents shall not be done only as a requirement to achieve integration. Social integration through social interaction and contact shall be promoted as a necessary ethical principle for post-apartheid urban communities. High and low-income residents should be integrated and build social relations regardless of differing housing typologies, unequal household income and asset ownership. Socio-economic inequalities are dangerous as they form tensions and divisions amongst urban social groups. They have a major influence on how residents perceive one another.

Other means through which urban inequalities can be reduced are through the formation of new urban communities that have no history of political hatred and socio-economic imbalances. Such communities should reflect new patterns of social integration that should be created through voluntary residence rather than forced location. Housing developments of the new urban communities should be through direct participation and initiatives of the people working with the government. The integrated residential development programme by the *Department*

of Human Settlements through mixed-income housing types has not been effective enough in building new socio-spatially integrated urban communities. Part of the reasons for this ineffectiveness is the minimal involvement of local people. In such developments, housing location, design and management is decided by the government. Furthermore, South Africa has a history of political hatred, thus urban communities still need to undergo a process of socio-political healing which can include some forms of community education and empowered through social activities that will promote interaction, so they can be able to accept each other, regardless of race and class identities.

Land ownership in the new urban communities must be through community initiatives such as a community trust. Thereafter, economic opportunities shall be brought into these new communities, mostly through communal means, where communities are composed of low- and high-income families so skills can be shared, and cooperative ventures mounted to the benefit of both income groups. This will help to minimise private developments that benefit only a section of individuals and ensure that all urban residents share benefits that the urban community provides. This method of urban development will also help to avoid hegemony of any social group over the other and thus negate neoliberal urbanism.

5.3.4 Quality infrastructure

Inefficiency in the provision of quality basic services and infrastructural development has been one, amongst other reasons, the cause for persistent urban fragmentation. It is for this reason the gated communities are characterised by outsourcing and provision of private amenities and services. Quality of services at Shaka's Head is one indicator of fragmentation in the neighbourhood. The low-income residents raised concerns about poor and non-provision of public services and felt that services at the estate houses were far better than theirs. Therefore, the sharing of amenities has a potential for uniting the community across classes and races.

Local government should enhance provision of quality services which can be used by low and high-income residents. This will help to create common interests and desires for all social groups. As a result, residents should be able to work together in the maintenance and management of such services. For example, if security services were provided by government for the entire neighbourhood, it is highly likely that when facing challenges, residents will all want to attend the same community meeting and speak in one voice on the supply of such services. In that way, social integration is entrenched.

The increase in the privatisation of services results in residents being less dependent on the local government and consequently the local government abdicates from any possible control over such residences. The local government must ensure the provision of basic quality infrastructural services to all residents to keep in contact with residents of all classes. This also helps in making sure that municipalities have power to govern the urban settlements through municipal regulations and other means. Municipal governance must work to minimise privatisation in the urban communities, and this is another better way through which integration can be attained.

Differences in housing quality and design have also contributed to fragmentation and inequalities in Ballito, Shaka's Head. These differences in housing occupation create some negative social identities through stereotypes. Furthermore, the poor quality of low-cost housing has raised concerns about deteriorating value of property in the neighbourhood. In some instances, the low-cost housing side was referred to as informal settlements by the high-income residents. This is due to backyard shacks that have been built as a result of housing inadequacy and shortage. The quality of low-income housing in Shaka's Head was not only of concern to high-income residents, but to the low-income income residents, the municipal planning division, and the ward councillor who are all concerned about housing quality in the area.

The housing policy must outline a clear programme for the refurbishment of badly planned urban settlements and houses built using low quality standards and the national Department of Human Settlements must establish a funding mechanism for this initiative. The refurbishment programme must also focus on addressing overcrowding. This may help in eliminating the backyard shacks but, if there is a need for them, they should be built as formal backyard dwellings which do not tamper with the quality standards of the neighbourhood. Houses must be redesigned to supplement the standards of private housing developments. This will contribute to improved dignity for low-income residents, as part of the objectives of the housing policy. In addition, it will help towards eliminating negative social identities and neighbourhood perceptions.

The *Settlement Refurbishment Programme* must also focus on broad physical planning. Such planning should include public facilities of good quality standards that will promote voluntary social contact and social relations between residents of all classes. These can include, sport facilities, multi-purpose centres, health facilities, cultural centres, libraries, skills training centres, community information offices, parks and so forth. Beyond provision of such services, the local leadership and organisations should ensure their active use through initiating social activities such as sports and cultural events.

5.3.5 Improved security

The improvement of urban security provision and management is one of the effective means towards achieving socio-spatial integration in the post-apartheid urban communities. Safety becomes a priority for all residents who choose a location. As a way to ensure comfort in residency, other residents, depending on affordability, resort to outsourcing private security measures or choose locations with extra security measures. This has contributed largely to the increased development of private enclaves; the gated communities in the post-1994 period.

Crime has been a major concern for both high and low-income residents at Shaka's Head which qualifies it to be a genuine concern in the achievement of socio-spatial integration.

The local government, working together with local residents of both low and high income, should develop a system for effective security provision in the urban neighbourhood. This will help bring interaction between residents and government and between social groups while solving the security problems. The hiring of private security services by high-income residents indicates a lack of trust in government services by those residents and shortfalls in the government's initiatives for security management in the urban communities. Government must enhance security provision in urban areas as a way to maintain neighbourhood stability.

A strategy for security provision by government working with local residents must include the hiring of qualified local residents to work as security personnel. This will help in creating a sense of responsibility as local people will be taking care of their own safety while creating employment opportunities. These initiatives should work under the supervision of the *Municipal Security Management Division*. The urban communities should establish community security forums that should work closely with this Division. Such forums must have a balanced representation of residents from low-income and high income. This will be another way to promote social cohesion, through working together for a common objective, residents should begin to trust each other.

Security patrols should be conducted on a 24-hour basis by municipal security personnel to ensure safety during the day and night. Such an exercise must be for the purpose of promoting the safety of residents and public amenities during the day and night. Improvement of road infrastructure such as ensuring that streetlights are always working, will assist to supplement the work of security patrols and will promote safety. Municipal security team must be well trained and equipped for effective performance. The most effective municipal security services

will help in eliminating private security services and consequently eliminate privatisation patterns which have shaped urban communities.

The housing policy on development of sustainable human settlements requires an enhanced strategy for security provision and management in the urban communities. This should form part of a comprehensive programme for creating socio-spatially integrated urban communities which have been overlooked in the *Housing Policy Framework*. Addressing the security concerns in urban communities must be a priority as a way to discourage the spread of gated communities that have perpetuated urban segregation in the post-1994 period. Improved security that is offered by the government in urban areas working with local people will assist in transforming negative neighbourhood attitudes and how different classes perceive each other and further strengthen good neighbourhood relations.

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7. APPENDICES

7.1 APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE WARD

COUNCILLOR

8. How would you describe your ward in terms of integration and social cohesion, considering different races and classes living there?
 - 8.1 Do you think there are any barriers between different races and classes living in this area?
9. How is the experience of leading a multi-racial and multi-class community?
10. Do you service the high-income residents? If yes, mention the services you provide them with?
11. Do you think low-cost housing delivery programme has made an effect to spatial, economic and social integration?
 - 11.1 If yes, how?
 - 11.2 If no, what have been the challenges?
12. What socio-economic opportunities do lower-class households have access to in this area?
13. With housing delivery programme in this area, did you have any mandate from your political organization that deployed you, seeking to achieve spatial, economic and social integration?
 - 13.1 If yes, explain.
14. Do you think the location of the low-income families close to high income families makes any significant impacts in their lives? Explain.
15. Does the community (across races and classes) have equal share from social and economic resources in this area? Explain.
16. What do you think has a major impact on segregation between race and class differences in this area, and can you explain the impacts of both?
17. Are there any centres or spaces in this area which you think they promote exclusion, and what do you think should be done to address that?
18. Are there any centres or spaces that promote social integration amongst different races and classes?
19. Do you think the low-income families in this area have reasonable benefits from the economic activities in this area?
 - 19.1 If yes, how?
 - 19.2 If no, what are the challenges?

20. What mechanisms are there to ensure that all residents are part of decision making in urban planning and development?
21. What do you think can be the role of the community in achieving integration?
22. What do you think needs improvement so that housing delivery can better achieve integration in your ward and other places in South Africa?

7.2 APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE KWADUKUZA MUNICIPALITY PLANNING AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS UNITS

1. How long have you served in this municipal administration, and in your current department?
2. How has past spatial segregation affected poor black population and how has it benefited white population in your municipality?
3. What is your understanding on the role of housing delivery as a mechanism to achieve spatial, social and economic integration in your municipality?
4. Do you think your municipality have sufficient powers in policy making and implementation to achieve integration?
5. How planning and housing policies have been merged and implemented so far, to achieve integration in your municipality?
 - a. What have been the challenges and successes with this regard?
6. What role does class differences play in promoting spatial exclusion and how can this be addressed through planning?
7. Do you think there is cooperation between all the spheres of government in implementing planning and housing policies? Explain.
8. What planning mechanisms does the municipality have, to ensure access of low-income families to economic opportunities?
9. Explain progress made so far in achieving social integration between different races and classes in your municipality, and how has location played a role in this regard?
10. What challenges does the municipality face in achieving integration through housing development?
11. With the case of Shaka's head, in terms of location of different races and classes, what lessons can be learnt for urban planning and urban spatial transformation?
12. What are the future plans for the municipality to achieve urban spatial, economic and social integration?

13. How do you think planning and housing policies and mechanisms can be improved and better applied to achieve spatial, social and economic integration in your municipality?

7.3 APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE KWAZULU-NATAL DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

1. How long have you served in this department?
2. What is your understanding on the role of housing delivery as a mechanism to achieve integrated development i.e. spatial, economic and social integration?
 - a. What is the role of Human Settlements Department in ensuring this?
3. What support does the Department provides to municipalities in ensuring that housing delivery is able to achieve spatial, economic and social integration?
4. Do you think municipalities are given enough opportunity for policy development and implementation? Explain
 - a. Do you think they understand their role in the whole process?
 - b. What measures are in place to provide education for municipal officials on policy development and implementation?
5. What progress has been made in reducing urban fragmentation created by apartheid spatial segregation policies, and what role has housing delivery played in this regard?
6. What challenges does the Department face in using housing delivery as a mechanism for integrated development?
7. How would explain the relationship and cooperation between three spheres of government in implementing the housing policy objectives?
8. What mechanisms are there to integrate private and public housing developments in urban communities and solve residential class contradictions?
9. What future plans are in place by the department to achieve urban spatial, economic and social integration in the post-apartheid urban communities?
10. Do you think the current housing policy is good enough to achieve spatial, economic and social integration?
 - a. If yes, explain.
 - b. If no, what do you think needs to be improved?

7.4 APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL CIVIC ORGANISATION (SANCO)

1. What role has your organization played in fighting against spatial segregation, in the past and current?
2. To what extent do you think what you were fighting for has been achieved?
3. How are your relations with the government departments responsible for housing delivery and spatial planning?
4. What is your role in ensuring social integration amongst different races and classes in the urban community?
5. Do you think the low-income families have reasonable access to socio-economic opportunities in urban communities such as Ballito? Explain.
6. Do you think economic resources are distributed fairly amongst races and classes in the urban communities such as Ballito? Explain
7. Do you believe that multi-class and racially mixed urban communities help to achieve spatial, social and economic integration? Explain
8. Does your organisation has influence on policy development how housing delivery can be utilised to achieve integration in urban communities? Explain
9. What is your programme of action in ensuring that integration in urban communities is achieved?
 - a. Do you think that will be achievable? Explain
10. Do you think there are gaps in policy development and implementation with regards to housing delivery as a mechanism for integration? Explain
11. What do you think needs to be improved so that spatial, economic and social integration is achieved, especially through housing delivery in the post-apartheid urban communities?

7.5 APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR CALEDON ESTATE MANAGEMENT

1. When was Caledon Estate developed?
2. What attracted you in this place, compared to other places?
3. Are you satisfied with the conditions around this area? Briefly explain.

4. With your knowledge and observation, how do residents of your estate relate with the low-income residents living next to your estates?
5. How do you feel about the location of low-cost houses closer to your property, does it affect you? Briefly explain.
6. Do you think the location of your property closer to low-income residents benefit them? Briefly explain
7. Are there any services provided by government do you use? Name if there are and are you satisfied with their provision?
 - 7.1 Which private services do you outsource?
8. To what level do you participate in municipal urban planning and development in your area, and are you satisfied with that level of participation?
9. To what level do your residents benefit from the economic activities/opportunities around the area?
10. What is the nearest place to buy domestic goods for your residents?
11. How do you think the economic resources in your area should be shared between high and low-income residents?
12. Do you think there is integration and social cohesion between low-income and high-income households in your area? Briefly explain.
13. Do you think integration and social cohesion is necessary between high-income and low-income residents?
 - a. Briefly explain why?
 - b. And if yes, what do you think can be the role of private housing developments in achieving this?
14. Describe your ideal place you wish to see in your area in a near future, in terms of integration?
 - a. What do you think should be done by government to achieve such?

7.6 APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR LOW-INCOME RESIDENTS

1. How long have you been a resident of this area?
2. What do you understand about integration?

3. How apartheid spatial segregations affected you?
4. Are you satisfied with the area you are living in now? Explain.
5. Do you think relocating to a new place can change your life for the better? Why?
6. How has your location affected your standard of living?
7. What social services and opportunities you have fair access to?
8. What economic opportunities you have access to?
9. How do you relate with white high-income households in your area?
10. How do you relate with black high-income households in your area?
11. Do you think you have equal share of economic and social resources with the high-income households? If no, what is the difference?
12. To what level does economic centres located in this area assist your standard of living?
13. What is your nearest place to buy domestic goods and other items, and do you think the nearest shopping malls assist in any of your needs, explain?
14. Have you witnessed any government's intervention in improving your standard of living? If yes, explain, are you satisfied and why?
15. Can you identify any barriers between you and the high-income families in your area?
16. To what level are you included on processes of urban planning and development?
17. Do you think integration and social cohesion is necessary between high-income and low-income households?
 - a. Explain why?
 - b. And if yes, what do you think can be your role in achieving this?
18. Describe your ideal place you wish to see in your area in a near future, in terms of integrated development and social cohesion.
19. What do you think should be done by government so there can be integration and social cohesion between low- and high-income households?

7.7 APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR HIGH-INCOME RESIDENTS

- a. How long have you been a resident in this area?
- b. What has attracted you in this place, compared to where you stayed before?
- c. Are you satisfied with the area you are living in now? Explain.
- d. How do you relate with the low-income families in your area, i.e. does their location affect you? Explain.

- e. How much of services provided by government do you use? Name if there are any.
- f. To what level do the economic activities/opportunities in your area affect your standard of living?
- g. What is your nearest place to buy domestic goods and other items, and do you think the nearest shopping malls assist in any of your needs, explain?
- h. How do you think the economic resources in your area should be shared between high- and low-income households?
- i. Do you think there is integration and social cohesion between low-income and high-income households in your area? Explain.
- j. Do you think integration and social cohesion is necessary between high-income and low-income households?
 - a. Explain why?
 - b. And if yes, what do you think can be your role in achieving this?
- k. Describe your ideal place you wish to see in your area in a near future, in terms of integration?
- l. How long you wish to be a resident of this area, and why?
- m. What do you think should be done by government so there can be integration and social cohesion between low- and high-income households in your area?