

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL



Assessing mixed-income housing as a mechanism for social integration: A case study of the Durban Point area

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CLAUDIA LOGGIA

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I have always been one to start something and finish it on time. Writing this dissertation was a different experience, I was super motivated at the beginning of it all, but I lost motivation and became distracted. At some point I thought of giving up but my inner self wouldn't let me.

- Firstly, I would like to thank God for giving me the strength to push through despite the tough challenges I was faced with throughout this journey.
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to God, my gran -Mimi Msweli, my mom Mbali Msweli and my little brother Mondli Tshobeni, who have shown me immense support throughout my schooling career and research process. Thank you for constantly believing in me and never giving up, you are my constant motivation. This dissertation is also dedicated to my late paternal gran Busi Dzingwa, rest easy Queen.

ABSTRACT

South Africa has a history of socio-spatial segregation which has been a major problem when it comes to addressing urban issues and housing delivery. Twenty years into democracy, it has been evident that there has been a huge backlog in the delivery of housing. Moreover, the rolled-out policies have not addressed issues but rather perpetuated the legacy of Apartheid namely social, racial and economic segregation. However, the South African government, throughout the years, has been working tirelessly to rectify these past injustices. For these reasons, the mixed-income approach has become popular in urban transformation interventions in South Africa. Such an approach aims to bridge the gap of socio-spatial, and economic integration by bringing people of different races and social classes into one environment whilst also providing affordable housing for citizens.

This dissertation sought to formulate an argument that assesses and challenges the notion that social integration can be established and sustained through the mixing of incomes into one environment through the mixed-income approach. The significance of the study is to contribute to the understanding of the policy of mixed-income housing and its correlation to fostering social integration. It seeks to provide an assessment of whether the assumptions, that mixing of incomes into one neighbourhood, results in positive social patterns and integration amongst people in South Africa. This will be evident in the relations created including the level of interactions amongst the residents of Point. The dissertation provides a snapshot of the impact of the mixed-income ideology as well as the state of integration in the Durban Point Area and future prospects.

To obtain the findings, the researcher used a mixed-method approach which involved qualitative and quantitative research; however, the bulk of the information was obtained from the qualitative research. The study made use of primary and secondary data collection methods. The secondary data includes statistics, online publications, books, and newspaper articles whilst the primary data includes interviews, focus groups and observations. After engaging the mentioned methodological approaches, the findings have shown that there is little to no integration fostered in the Durban Point as it is evident that little to no interactions occur in the area. The approach of mixed-income housing in the Durban Point area is further perpetuating social isolation which is the opposite of the envisioned outcome of this approach. According to the eThekweni

Municipality, once the area is fully developed, then interactions will naturally occur. With the adoption of this neo-liberal approach, the municipality, unfortunately, has failed to take into consideration various factors that will continue hindering the establishment of integration in such areas such as inequality, race, social backgrounds, unemployment as well as historical aspects. Therefore, the researcher concludes it is important that the South African government needs to focus on making these adopted Western approaches more tailor-made to fit the South African context, for them to achieve the intended outcomes.

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ACRONYMS

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

PIE – Prevention of illegal eviction of informal settlements

GEAR- Growth, Employment and Redistribution

SDP- Spatial Development Programme

IDP – Integrated development Planning

SDF – Spatial Development Framework

BNG – Breaking New Ground

IHP – Integrated housing process

CHA -Chicago Housing Authority

iTRUMP – Inner-city eThekweni Regeneration and Management Plan

NUT- New Urbanism Theory

HUD- The U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

StatsSA – Statistics South Africa

SPLUMA- Spatial Development and Land-Use Management Act

NDP – National Development Plan

LUMS – Land-Use Management

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

1.1 Introduction/background

Spatial segregation and concentrated poverty have been key issues in the South African urban planning context. Mixed-income housing reinforces the vision to promote the accomplishment of a non-racial society which is integrated through the development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing. The vision was to foster and create a sense of social integration amongst different classes of people utilising an advanced and sustainable approach to addressing both social integration and provision of housing in South Africa (Lukhele, 2014). Mixing of income groups into a settlement does not only provide low-income earners with a better standard of living but it also ensures that the historical patterns of segregation are addressed by bridging the gap between the different classes (Joseph, 2006).

South Africa has a history of socio-spatial segregation which has been a major problem when it comes to addressing urban issues and housing delivery (Smith, 1992). This dilemma has been caused and perpetuated by the Apartheid legacy which sought to racially segregate people into separate locations. It was also characterized by the oppression of blacks and the promotion of white dominance which resulted in the socio-economic injustices and social isolation faced today. This was entrenched in Act No. 41 of 1950, also known as the Group Areas Act, passed by the ruling government at the time. This Act separated residential areas racially and ethnically, defining areas for Blacks, Whites, Indians and Coloureds to live in. Forced removals in areas such as District Six and Sophiatown were the result of this, which left millions displaced (Johns & Davenport, 1978).

Furthermore, non-whites were marginalised and unable to gain access to urban facilities and housing resulting in concentrated low-income housing in urban peripheries (Maresce, 2013). Such marginalisation resulted in several social and economic conflicts amongst different races in South Africa; in fact, it can be said that the existing social isolation and exclusion faced today is a consequence of those conflicts. The isolation not only affects races but also different classes in the same racial groups (Lukhele, 2015).

In response to this, the government sought to establish and adopt an approach which tackled both delivering sustainable housing to the people of South Africa and rectifying the injustices of the past. There was an obligation for the government to give back to its people in an economically viable and sustainable manner; a manner which would address holistically urban transformation and social and economic injustices faced by the marginalised groups in South Africa. This was introduced in the form of integrated sustainable developments which included mixed-income housing.

Mixed-income housing, originally a western approach, was adopted in South Africa through the Breaking New Ground Policy in 2004. According to Joseph (2006), mixed-income housing's rationale is to reverse decades of racial and socioeconomic segregation. This study aims to evaluate mixed-income housing as a mechanism for social integration to measure and understand the successes or failures of the approach so that recommendations on how it can be packaged better will be made.

1.2 Problem Statement

Apartheid planning consigned the majority of non-white South Africans to live far away from central business districts, places of work, where services could not be sustained and where it was difficult to access the benefits of society or participate fully in the economy (Economic Development Department, 2011). This was further perpetuated by the Natives Land Act of 1913, a law which regulated the acquisition of land, which continues to haunt the majority of black South Africans. Poverty was entrenched by such Acts because black people's economic stability was grounded in the use of land. Opportunities for non-white people to purchase and own land, especially, in affluent areas were minimal to none which resulted in the existing fragmented settlement patterns and the cycle of poverty today (Maresce, 2013).

Housing was also delivered through a fragmented system of race and ethnicity-based administrations. The housing policies passed during the apartheid period were categorized by various legislative measures to enforce segregation and control the influx of black people in urban areas (Tagg, 2012). Concluding from the sourced research, it was evident that these policies only favoured migrant workers and it was a form of controlling labour. So, there was never a solution that favoured non-blacks during that period.

The end of the apartheid regime was an extraordinary human accomplishment but it did not change the enormous structural gap in wealth between the majority black and minority white populations. Instead, it set in motion neoliberal approaches that exacerbated class, race, and gender disparity (Bond, 2004). The legacy of Apartheid still lives on today, with the spatial segregation and different socio-economic classes living separately. This is noticeable even in the urban structures and housing provision itself, where low-income earners are seen residing in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing or social housing for the poor. This has amalgamated into concentrated poverty where people have neither economic opportunities nor facilities at their disposal. These environments usually have negative connotations attached to them such as crime, drug abuse, violence and much more (Lukhele, 2015).

Faced with such a challenge there was a need to address it sustainably and beneficially. Not only looking at housing but also addressing our history, the social issues or aspects and economic status' and wellbeing of communities. Tackling this issue needed to be from a holistic approach rather than individualistically looking at aspects and trying to fix each one separately. In restructuring the urban setting and addressing the spatial segregation dilemma, an increased need for mixed-income housing was noticed. Mixing of incomes into one living space would result in positive social pathology patterns especially for the low-income earners whilst also providing better quality housing and facilities for the marginalized and bridging the gap (Lukhele, 2015).

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

This study aims to assess mixed-income housing as a mechanism for social integration, in order, to understand the impact and the successes or failures of the approach. Furthermore, the study aims to make recommendations on better implementation processes for mixed-income housing.

The objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To explore why mixed-income housing is a catalyst for social integration
2. To investigate the benefits and challenges of mixed-income housing for beneficiaries
3. To explore the roles played by the private and public sector in mixed-income housing
4. To assess the processes used in the allocation of residents in these mixed-income communities

5. To investigate the extent of integration achieved through mixed-income housing

1.4 Research Questions

The key research question of the study interrogates whether mixed-income housing provides a platform in which social integration in communities can be achieved. To underpin the main research question, the research study framed the below research questions:

1. Why is mixed-income housing a catalyst for social integration?
2. What are the challenges/barriers experienced by the residents in mixed-income communities?
3. What roles do the private and public sectors play in the processes of mixed-income housing?
4. What is the policy articulation around mixed-income housing and the allocation processes in South Africa?
5. To what extent has integration been achieved through mixed-income housing?

1.5 Structure of the Dissertation Dissertation Outline

Chapter One: Introduction

This section introduced the aim of the study alongside the study area's background. It also specified the research problem, objectives and subsidiary questions which guide the outline of the complete dissertation.

Chapter Two: Research Methodology

This chapter centres on the research collection methodology utilised for this research that comprises a mixed-method approach (interviews, observations, sampling and secondary data) as well as the sampling methods employed during the study.

Chapter Three: Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

This chapter reviews the concepts used in this study and outlines the theoretical framework which forms the basis of the study. The main theories of the study include Neoliberalism, Social Mixing and Integration. In addition, existing theories on local government and housing delivery were included.

Chapter Four: Literature Review

Chapter two introduced the literature of social integration in mixed-income developments from international and national perspectives. Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks are part and parcel of the literature review in shaping the attributes towards the rationale of the study. Key concepts are well defined, and theories cohesively respond to the research problem at hand.

Chapter Five: Introduction of the Case Study: Durban Point Area

This chapter will further explain the historical background of the case study and how the approach of mixed-income housing came into play for the Durban Point area. It will further indicate the rationale of addressing and assessing social integration in mixed-income housing contributed towards the case study area. A case study is used to provide a clear understanding of the research phenomenon.

Chapter Six: Research findings, Data Analysis and Interpretation

In chapter six the research findings and data analysed thematically are presented. The focus group and interviews data will be analysed through coding data capturing which will highlight the overall response. On the bases of the analysis, interpretation will form part and parcel of the conclusion of the research findings.

Chapter Seven: Summary of Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter will re-analyse the research problem, summarize key findings and derive recommendations from the research findings.

1.6 Significance of the Dissertation

This dissertation is considered valuable in contributing to the understanding of the policy of mixed-income housing and its correlation to fostering social integration. It seeks to provide an assessment of whether the assumptions, that mixing of incomes into one neighbourhood, results in positive social patterns and integration amongst people in South Africa. This will be evident in the relations created including the level of interactions amongst the residents of Point. The dissertation provides a snapshot of the impact of the mixed-income ideology as well as the state of integration in the Durban Point Area and prospects.

1.7 Ethical Consideration

The study acknowledges the work of other academics to avoid plagiarism. The researcher has disclosed, to the respondents, that contributing to the research is on a voluntary basis and the information gathered will be used for the researcher's academic programme. The researcher has also afforded respondents the right to remain anonymous throughout the study. Most of the respondents were willing to be mentioned in this research, in addition, the questions posed during interviews were not to evoke any emotions such as agony or anger or to hurt the respondents in any way (Babbie, 2010). The personal data collected from the respondents will be used only for this study and kept anonymous thereafter.

Furthermore, the research was accepted by the University's Research and Ethics Committee, along with the data collection methods utilised in the study. The author of this study has received permission from the eThekweni Municipality to conduct the study in the Durban Point Area. Utmost professionalism was maintained throughout the process; therefore, ethics were taken into consideration.

1.8 Limitations of the study

The limitations of the study stemmed from the fact that the Point area was not initially a mixed-income development project. Therefore, the mandate of the area was not initially entrenched in the fostering of integration. Since the area has been dilapidated over the years there was a need to regenerate the area due to its pleasant location. The area has now become a mixed-income and mixed-use development area, where it encompasses residential units of people with different incomes and nationalities, commercial businesses, restaurants and other economic and social activities thus adapting a mixed development approach which includes mixed-income housing.

The area is still undergoing rejuvenation projects so the limitation in the project would be that since it is a recent development the research will be limited to those who have resided in this area for three years and over. The key informant greatly assisted with identifying such individuals who have resided in the area for a longer period. The method used to sample respondents from the study area was non-probability in the form of purposive sampling.

1.9 Conclusion

The chapter has outlined the background, problem statement, research questions, the aim, objective and significance of the study in brief as well as the limitations of this study. In South

Africa, the ideology of mixed-income housing is very new, Due to the ever-growing population coupled with the injustices encountered by the majority in South Africa, the government has rolled out programmes and policies to govern the housing delivery system in South Africa.

Mixed-income housing has become popular as it is seen as a means to provide affordable housing whilst breaking the spatial, economic and racial segregation dominant in South Africa. The main focus of this study is to establish if mixed-income housing is a mechanism that can foster social integration amongst societies. The next chapter presents the literature that was read to inform the research on housing issues; the review assisted in shedding light on both the international and the local South African experience.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

There are several definitions that have emerged to describe the phenomenon of research designs. Agreeing to Durrheim (2004), the research design could be a vital system for activity that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or the usage of the research procedure. Whereas, Akhtar (2016) characterizes the research plan as the structure of an investigation; which is the stick that holds all components in research together. In quintessence, it is the course of action of conditions for the collection and investigation of information.

Henning, Van Rensburg, Jenkins and Smit (2004) believe that methodologies are groups of strategies that coordinate one another and that have the capacity to fit to provide information and discoveries that will reflect the research question and suit the purpose of the research. Chapter two will outline the description of the study, research design and methodology, data collection and the analysis process for the data obtained which will assist in achieving the research objectives of this study. The methodological approach adopted during the study was mixed-methods, which included qualitative and quantitative research, but the most dominant approach was the qualitative one.

According to Creswell (2002), qualitative data involves listening to the participants' voice and subjecting the data to analytic induction. Whereas quantitative research, generally involves collecting numerical data, that can be subjected to statistical analysis. Qualitative research is focused on understanding some aspect of social life; the methods used generate words, rather than numbers as data to analysis (Patton & Cochran, 2002).

The study is presented as a case study and has espoused the historical composed with the normative research design. According to Spilackova (2012), the purpose of the research technique is to validate and describe the history of human activities, events or subjects by employing scientific processes. The use of this technique assisted in creating a link between the past and the present to understand human behaviour. Case studies allow for deeper evaluations

of research variables and related factors that might be relevant in similar areas, making it really difficult to generalize.

The study will also adopt Historical Research, which involves investigating past events thoroughly to provide an interpretation of happenings in the past (Tan, 2015). Moreover, to create a flowing and dynamic description, which, assists with recapturing their implications (Tan, 2015). The inspiration behind the use of the historical research design is based on the claim that the apartheid government has utilized housing to make the prevailing social prohibition apparent within the country (Landman, 2010).

2.2 Data Sources and Collection Methods

In assessing the level of integration fostered by mixed-income communities, the study used both empirical and secondary collection methods further discussed below.

i. Secondary Data

According to Ajayi (2017), secondary data is the data already collected or produced by others and is for purposes other than the problem at hand. Secondary data collection sources include literature, journal articles, academic books, websites, newspapers, government publications to name a few. Secondary data is easy to access but it has undergone many statistical treatments making it impure (Ajayi, 2017). Information obtained from secondary sources helped to frame the theoretical and conceptual framework of this as well as the literature. Historical information, as well as the current information, has been obtained, from secondary sources, relating to the failure and successes of integration of classes into one environment.

ii. Primary Data

Primary or empirical data is data that is collected for the first time by a researcher and is factual and original, this data is collected to address the problem at hand (Ajayi, 2017). Primary data collection sources include surveys, observations, questionnaires and interviews. In this study, primary data was obtained from the Case study of Durban Point in eThekweni Municipality (refer to Map 1; locality Map).

The following techniques were used during this study; interviews, observations and focus groups;

a) Semi-structured interviews: Key Informant and Individual Interviews

Interviews are incorporated to get additional information, to clarify unclear statements, expand on the qualitative findings, supplement the exploration of research topics and produce a more in-depth realistic account of the extent of mixed-income housing as a tool, for social integration (Patton and Cochran, 2002). Semi-structured interviews are characterized by open-ended questions and topics that need to be covered during a conversation. The open-ended nature of the questions defines the topic under investigation but provides an opportunity for flexibility and probing for some topics especially for historical information (Burgess, 1984). Individual interviews were held with certain respondents who were selected from the sample. An interview schedule was created and respondents were asked varying questions relating to levels of interactions and integration amongst the different classes in the area, the level of safety, government involvement within the area and the discrimination of fellow residents. The interview schedule contained both open and closed-ended questions.

Interviews were held with an eThekweni Municipality Urban Renewal Department Official and an official from the Inner-eThekweni Regeneration and Urban development (ITrump). The key informants for this study were interviewed face to face in order to understand the success implications and give the interviewers a chance to probe and ask more in-depth questions. The views and contributions made by the key informants helped in shaping the study and obtaining a more personal and in-depth perspective on the phenomenon. It also clarified some assumptions and beliefs in this regard and helped in reaching a consensus on the study. The eThekweni officials provided information relating to the renewal strategy of the Durban Point area and their plan of how they are integrating the entire area as one as well the ITRUMP strategy.

b) Focus Groups Discussions

A Focus Group Discussion is a discussion held within a group which provides in-depth views and opinions which assists with the shaping of the study. The focus of this method is on the interaction amongst a number of individuals (Freitas *et al*, 1998). Focus group discussions provide a more natural environment than that of an individual interview and provide a high

level of face validity (Dilshad & Latif, 2013). Moreover, focus groups have been utilized for this research because group discussions provide relevant information about matches and variances in the participants' opinions and experiences as opposed to reaching such conclusions from post hoc analysis of separate statements from each interviewee (Morgan, 2011). A small focus group which consisted of five people was utilized for data collection. In total, three focus groups occurred in each demarcated area of the Point Area in Durban. The three focus groups were separated into classes namely low, medium and high-income. The data collected is concerning their household incomes, house tenure, opinions regarding mixed developments and the rejuvenation of the area they reside in.

c) Lastly, data related to housing typologies and socio-economic facilities in the study area was collected through observations. A gatekeeper's letter was obtained from the municipality and the key informant who was the eThekweni official and myself, accompanied by his colleague, visited Durban Point and there were some interactions facilitated him with some residents. The initial respondents which were introduced by the official were known to him through various projects conducted by the municipality in the Point Area. Thereafter, 6 more visits were done without municipal officials and observations were made during these visits, and pictures were taken, which highly assisted in writing this research paper.

2.3 Sampling Design

Sampling Method

According to Mack, MacQueen, Guest and Namey (2005), it is not a necessity to collect data from each person in a community to get valid findings. It is critical to choose your test in a precise way to guarantee that the community, clients or outside on-screen characters see it as a sound and indicative test (Patton and Cochran, 2002). The research objectives of the study along with characteristics of population decide which individuals to choose (Mack *et al*, 2005).

The bulk of the information was sourced from interviews with key informants, who had technical knowledge and experience regarding the study area. In terms of identifying the key informants a non-probability sample technique was used, namely purposive sampling. This is one of the most

common sampling strategies in qualitative research. In this sampling method, a selected criterion which is significant to the research question is used to group participants. Sample sizes depend on the objectives of the study and time as well as the resources available.

The study was conducted with 30 respondents separated into the different areas of Durban Point namely:

- The new Point Development area,
- The dilapidating area of Point (Point Road) and
- The rest of Point.

A total of 32 people were recruited for the study which included five respondents per demarcated area, three focus groups with five people per focus group and two key informants were also selected for this study. According to Gentles, Charles, Ploeg and McKibbin (2015), the general aim of sampling in qualitative research is to acquire information that is useful for understanding the complexity, depth, variation, or context surrounding a phenomenon; hence why smaller samples are utilized. The type of sampling employed was purposive sampling, namely the snowballing method. Snowballing, in simple terms, is a research sampling method which involves identifying respondents who thereafter refer researchers to other respondents. The method is advantageous because it accesses impenetrable social groupings. Furthermore, the method plays a vital part in studying the lifestyles of different groups (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). The senior planner at eThekweni Municipality fostered a meet and greet with a few members of the community and thereafter referrals were from the respondents from the different class levels.

2.4 Target Population

According to the 2011 Census, there is a population of about 3728 residents in the Durban Point Area. For this study, 30 respondents were interviewed from Durban Point. These groups of respondents are split into 3 income groups namely based on their geographical locations in Point, this included low, medium and high-income residents. They have different house tenures and are mixed in terms of sex and race, consequently their experiences and views on social organizing, social arrange, culture, and place attachment are critical. All mentioned respondents are

appropriate for the study based on their diverse experiences, views and knowledge about the topic being studied.

2.5. Description of the study area

Durban Point is one of the most historic and significant urban housing located south of the Durban Central Business District and along the harbour. Mahatma Gandhi Road is found on the South and uShaka Marine which covers 10ha of the site area on the west. The site is bound by the harbour mouth and the ocean on the east. Over the years Durban Point has seen a huge influx of people resulting in the increase in population and the degradation of the infrastructure. Developers have abandoned certain buildings, which in turn have been hijacked and havens for drug addicts, prostitutes and drug lords have been established. This has seen economic, functional and traditional blight creep into the area causing the decay that exists today (Maresce, 2013). Unexpectedly, it represents one of the most under-utilized assets within the city. This has made the area unappealing aesthetically hence the initiation of the Point Waterfront Development which involves the rejuvenation of the waterfront as the initial point for redevelopment of the area. The renewal strategy initiatives have been focused on the implementation of the uShaka Marine World project and the new property developments.

2.6 Data Analysis

Rossmann and Marshall (1999) describe data analysis, of qualitative research, as the method of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. It is characterized as being time-consuming and messy but also seen as a creative and fascinating process. Based on the findings, the study allows for analyzing the data in a number of ways to make sense from research participant's views and opinions on situations of the phenomenon being studied. The methodology adopted for this study was a thematic analysis; which is the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). This methodology is the most common in research as it pinpoints, examines and records patterns within information.

This is the most common form of analysis in qualitative research. It emphasizes pinpointing, examining, and the recording patterns or themes within data.

This method allowed for the categorization of thematic ideas, making it easier to manage the data. The researcher was able to pick up on very interesting and important patterns which were used to address the research or a particular issue. As Clarke and Braun (2013) famously believed that a good thematic analysis interprets and makes sense of data. The audio recorded as well as all the data collected during fieldwork also assisted in realizing the patterns in the research since it had very important information. The fieldwork contributed to the researcher making informed conclusions and recommendations regarding the study's findings.

2.7 Validity and reliability

Validity is focused on the accuracy and truth of scientific findings, where a study demonstrates what exists (Brink, 1993). Validity defined if the research really measured what it was aiming to measure and how reliable the results of the research were. Many researchers have debated that validity is not applicable in qualitative research while others argued that there should be a qualifying check or measure for research. To enhance the validity of the information, the researcher used triangulation research technique to obtain validity. Triangulation is a research approach that used numerous data sources, academics, theories, or research methods to ensure that the information, analysis, and conclusions of the research study were as comprehensive and precise as possible (Moon, 2019). However, the purpose of triangulation was to capture varying dimensions of the same phenomenon not cross-validate data.

Reliability is the degree to which the results are consistent over a certain period and a precise representation of the whole population involved in the study (Goetz, 2003). The proposed study was based on reliable methods and was also very delicate to its respondents. Utmost professionalism was maintained throughout the study especially during data collection when engaging with sources or respondents. The study was delicate and approached with great caution noticeably since the research was dealing with people with varying opinions, assumptions and backgrounds. Evaluation before data analysis of the findings took place to determine the meticulousness of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Conceptual Framework

3.1.1 Mixed-income

Mixed-income housing is a concept that was derived and gained its popularity in Western countries. The concept does not have a formal definition; it differs on several dimensions including scale, intent, income mix, tenure type and design (Levy, Mcdade & Dumlaio, 2010). According to Brophy and Smith (1997), mixed-income is a measured effort to create and possess a development that is multifamily centered and that has mixed-income groups as a vital part of its economic and functioning plans.

The ideology of mixed-income increased interest taking after the release of William Wilson's work titled 'The Truly Disadvantaged' in 1987. His work reported the negative effects of high poverty concentrations, counting poor school performance, low earnings and employment levels, and high rates of criminal activity and high school pregnancy (Hoving, 2010). However, credit goes to the current housing policy for the 1992 launch of the HOPE (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) VI program which focused on mixed-income housing (Hoving, 2010).

This phenomenon has gained popularity in the transformation and renewal of urban areas, it sought to deconcentrate poverty and address the social exclusion in societies. It involves people of ranging incomes residing together in one environment, this was a more innovative and sustainable approach to housing delivery and addressing the injustices imposed by the past legacies.

3.1.2 Integration

Integration may be a precarious concept in that it can be negative or positive depending on the setting. Integration is characterized as the act of combining components into a one. Different disciplines make use of the word 'integration' in an unexpected way, in this setting, integration is

almost social integration. Social integration is the degree to which a person takes an interest in a wide range of social connections. With regards to social theory, the concept is established in Emile Durkheim's work on social condition and suicide, in which social interaction is related to greater well-being. The theory assumes social integration to be mutual moral support or cohesiveness (Baller & Richardson, 2002).

There are three distinct ways of comprehending the integration concept, specifically; as an inclusionary objective, suggesting equal opportunities and rights for all human beings; secondly as a mechanism of improving life chances and lastly viewing it negatively as a way of fostering an image of an unwanted obligation of uniformity. The concept itself does not imply either a negative or positive state, it simply describes the patterns of human relations established in any given society (United Nations, 1994).

3.2 Theoretical Framework

This section outlines the theories underpinning and guiding this study, the different segments that will be explored are as follows; the origin and principles of the theories, the critiques and strengths of the theories and the applicability of the theories in the context of this study. The following theories will be explored in this section; neoliberal theory, new urbanism and social policy.

The theories identified, support the mixing of different incomes into one environment. They see the mixing of incomes as a new age innovation of development that fosters access to housing markets, the interaction of different classes and the improvement of the quality of life of low-income earners.

These theories further explain why the mixing of incomes is a strategy being adopted in new urban planning. The theories will allow for a linkage between ideas and reality which in turn will assist in shaping the study. It will shape what we see and how we see it, it will also allow for the interconnection of ideas and the organization of knowledge within the study. It will help give a concise understanding of the evolution and progression of mixed-income housing and social integration over time.

3.2.1 Neoliberal theory

Introduction and origins

The neoliberal principles are entrenched in the conviction that the free market should shape society and also encourages economic liberalisation and privatization (Conte & Li, 2013). In other words, what works in the private sector will work in the public sector. The neoliberal theory depicts the importance of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework. This is characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. This further highlights the extent of how the state's role is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices (Harvey, 2005).

The neoliberal theory can be accredited to Adam Smith, who in 1776 coined the idea of a liberal economy and government in his book, 'The Wealth of Nations'. Neoliberalism is not a new concept; several academics believe it is, in fact, a variation on the classical liberalism of the 19th century when the British and the other imperialist rulers used this philosophy of competition and free trade to legitimize expansion and colonialism (Sandhu & Korzeniewski, 2004). The concept of neoliberalism developed on the global development scene within the 1980s. This emerged from an increasing realization that the state had not been able to deliver and nothing significant had been accomplished in terms of progressing the livelihoods and welfare of the poor and access to housing and facilities, especially for the lower sections of the society (Sandhu & Korzeniewski, 2004).

Based upon the neo-liberal plan and its advancement by institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there was a major shift and reform in economic policies towards integration into the global economy. The motivation thus assigned the state to play the role of a facilitator instead of a controller. The housing policy within the 1980s pointed moreover at rationalization and scaling down of the subsidies as much as possible. The World Bank moreover bolstered cutting subsidies and focusing on them more specifically, only to the very needy. The focus was to be on extending housing credits and demobilization of savings, it would improve the families, financial conditions and thus diminish the burden on the

governments which prior had been in the frame of subsidies for the lower-income groups (Pugh, 1995).

3.2.1.1 Applicability to the study

The neoliberal approach looks at introducing private and federally-assisted properties to public housing because changes to public housing policy alone could not adequately decrease the negative connotations attached to public housing. The focus is to introduce better facilities and social amenities, the public-private partnerships between various community stakeholders, private developers, residents, public housing authorities, and non-profit organizations (NPOs), are central to this process of transformation (Conte & Li, 2013). The use of this theory is to shape the discussion around the transition to a public-private partnership in the development of public housing. It is also to understand the market-related issues and relations that are associated with mixed-income housing.

3.2.1.2 Arguments against Neoliberal Theory

Pierre Bourdieu's Critique

Pierre Bourdieu, a sociologist from France, was considered by other authors as one of the most important sociologists of the second half of the 20th century (Mitrovic, 2005). Bourdieu believed that the ideology of neoliberalism in development expressed the interests of the neoconservative restoration forces in the world, the mega-capital forces that indorse ultra-right utopia (Tittenbrun, 2016) Neoliberalism is a philosophy of the forces of historical restoration, a form of conservative revolution whose actors want to tarnish and dissolve all relationships and institutions of solidarity among people in the cold water of calculations.

Moreover, this ideology is said to relate to human rights and flexibilities whereas, in truth, it centers on the interests of the mega-capital forces, of transnational enterprises. The conviction is that ideology could be a work of their mastery and authority at display. Additionally, the neoliberal ideology has driven to the devastation of the institutions of solidarity within the world as well as the socialist states and the social-democratic show of capitalism. It has led to mass unemployment, colossal uncontrolled exploitation, the pulverization of the guidelines within the space of labour and welfare legislature and relationships at national and worldwide levels.

Bourdieu's critique is underpinned by John Gray's study *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism* published in 1998, which espouses that the state of free markets is not natural, it is not a firm law of the historic development but a project led by politics so that there is no accord but inconsistency between social democracy and international free markets in the contemporary world, where democracy and the market are competitors (Mitrovic, 2005).

According to Bourdieu, the linkage between the neoliberal ideology of development with interests of mega capital, those of transnational corporation at present as well as the efforts to justify, by the neoconservative revolution with its appeals to progress, reason and science through the process of historical restoration (Tittenbrun, 2016).

Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira Critique

Bresser-Pereira has strong feelings when it comes to the ideology of neoliberalism and this is conveyed through the tone and title of the study called *Assault on the state and the market: Neoliberalism and Economic Theory* (Bresser-Pereira, 2009). Bresser-Pereira's critique is based on the belief that the ideology is an otiose attempt to increase the power of the market by weakening the State. By weakening the state, it allows national economies to be a playground for large enterprises, their top executives and financial agents to obtain all kinds of rents, reasonable trade profits and proficient compensation; the legitimate forms of reasonably the economic elites. It was a strategy that the wealthy used in the late 20th century against the poor, the workers and a social-democratic State. In his critique, it is noticeable that Bresser-Pereira has his ideas entrenched in that a country that's created in financial, social and political realms may be a country that's well served by a solid-state competent of controlling a free and efficient market. He has a strong belief that the state and the market are institutions of society, with the primary instrument being the state and the market being its complement (Bresser-Pereira, 2009).

The vital role of the State is that of a regulator, defining and creating itself as the constitutional-legal system. The state also plays a number of other roles such as protector, an enabler, an inducer and a producer. Not only did Neoliberalism reject a state with such qualities, but its discourse was also classical doublespeak that says the opposite of what one it means. They wanted minimal involvement of the state so as to regulate the market when in fact their goal was to deregulate the market

In summary, Neoliberalism was the dominant ideology from the early 1980s to the early 2000s. After the turn of the century, be that as it may, its inherent irrationality, its failure to empower economic development in developing nations, its adequacy in concentrating income for the wealthiest 2% of every rich or developing society that adopted its ideas and the expanded macroeconomic precariousness made it apparent that it was an eminently reactionary ideology. It is an ideology that was fortified by the neoclassical economic theory of rational expectations, by what they call the modern institutionalism. This has come about within the ideology, nowadays, being a humiliating recognition that owes its haunted presence only to the awful consequences it had on the societies it victimized.

David Harvey's Critique

David Harvey's work 'A brief history of Neoliberalism' is a breath-taking impression of the neoliberal world through Harvey's neo-Marxist and anti-capitalist lens. Harvey has strong beliefs that under neoliberalism, wealth is increased by the manipulative concept of 'accumulation by dispossession' and enormous social inequalities and environmental degradation have been a result of this (Harvey, 2005). Harvey (2005) makes reference to how this theory has been criticized for not being particularly successful as a tool for restoring conditions for a steady economic and capital growth.

This is because neoliberalism has been a redistributive rather than a generative programme, driven by strategies. One result of neoliberalism's accentuation on individual freedom is that social developments, activists and NGOs, which ought to have been oppositional to neoliberalism, are susceptible to integration into the neoliberal fold (Harvey, 2005).

Neoliberalism emphasizes free markets, efficient allocation of resources and individual liberty to reduce poverty. Yet these very emphases are the ones which undermined the HOPE VI's ability to address the structural and economic and racial inequalities underlying poverty. In his critique, Harvey argues that the pursuit of a free market is incompatible with poverty alleviation especially in the form of wealth redistribution and social justice (Harvey, 2005).

In summary, Harvey contends that neoliberalism may be a form of political economy that endeavours to achieve only one mission which is to re-establish the class power of the global economic elite. It was an ideological ambush but moreover an economic assault, it was a political venture that the bourgeoisie and corporate capitalist class put into motion bit by bit (Harvey, 2005).

3.2.1.4 Arguments for Neoliberal Theory

One of the greatest impacts that neo-liberalism had on the housing sector was the acknowledgment that housing was not an area of policy to be created in relation to evidence of need but was basically about expanding homeownership and the market roles (Sandhu & Korzeniewski, 2004).

Another strength of neoliberal institutionalism is that it provides an outline of the international regime which includes principles, rules and decision-making procedures. It offers a limited chance to identify that the dispersal of control which has occurred has not undermined the capability of any one state or any institution to create order (Corrales, 2011).

Mixed tenure was seen to be a great thing since renters and owners are the same and tenure mix gives the opportunity for individuals of distinctive tenures to interact, hence advancing a sense of equality. In addition, permitting renters to purchase a home within the area, mixed tenure further encouraged individuals to invest in and care for their neighbourhood (Kearns, McKee, Sautkina, Cox & Bond, 2013).

In conclusion, Neoliberalism was able to illustrate the legitimacy of a few of its convictions: financial teach and low inflation can be pro-growth and dynamic; secured property rights produce efficiencies that liberate resources as well as trust-based institutions (Corrales, 2011).

3.2.2 New Urbanism/Sustainable Urbanism

3.2.2.1 Introduction and Origin

New urbanism was one of the newest programming approaches in urban design and suburbs of American cities which had been formed in the late 80's early 90's. This movement and a new

viewpoint of urban planning were one of the broad endeavours that looked at tackling the issue of deterioration in urban centres and unsustainability of rural areas of metropolises and big cities (Rahnama *et al*, 2012).

New urbanism, also known as sustainable urbanism, refers to mixed-use developments, typically known as ‘neo-traditional developments’. It was initiated by the United States in the late 20th century and has become one of the most influential movements. New Urbanism shows the influence of American culture, on the other hand, shows the direction of the development of the contemporary urban design theory (Liu, 2012). It is a design method that enhances the mixed-income model as it addresses issues such as amenities, accessibility and mobility, all of which are critical factors in attracting households to a development (Ruiter, 2009).

In addition, socially, the design method combines different but appropriate dwellings of different tenures, sizes and types, and a variety of spaces and buildings for recreational and community activities. They also cater to service providers and commercial enterprises to ensure economic and job opportunities (Liu, 2012). In another definition, new urbanism provides a set of principles for planning to create liveable neighbouring units and create a friendly atmosphere for pedestrians as its main points (Rahnama *et al*, 2012). Some of the underpinning principles of new urbanism include attempting to create relatively high walkability and having mixed-use developments. Another principle which makes this theory applicable to the study is its attempt to coordinate with market needs and demands and different needs and views and different income classes too (Rahnama *et al*, 2012).

3.2.2.2 Applicability to the study

A purpose for the developing application of New Urbanism in inner cities is to bolster more policies intended at promoting diverse mixed-income neighbourhoods by decreasing high concentrations of poverty. The principles of new urbanism support the goal of creating neighbourhoods with residents of varying incomes. This is achieved through a broad range of housing types and price levels to bring people of different races and incomes into daily interaction (Bohl, 2000). The need for people to have face to face and close interactions is normally considered in new urbanism (Rahnama *et al*, 2012).

New Urbanism was used in the revitalization of distressed public housing in America, it was involved with the HOPE VI program. One of their core principles was creating mixed-income neighbourhoods. It was being applied to public housing projects involving the rehabilitation and retrofitting of existing buildings and adding new sections (Bohl, 2000). In South Africa, the mixed-income model has been adopted in response to the failure of the public housing system. Some of the principles of new urbanism align with the vision and plans of the South African government which include creating an integrated, sustainable and friendly, in a sense of accessibility and movement, neighbourhood for all.

3.2.2.3 Arguments against New Urbanism

The New Urbanism ideology and its principles are supported by many professionals and institutes, in contrary, some scholars argue that the ideology is a remodelled suburb that keeps real estate values high. Many current critiques draw on this legacy in labelling New Urbanism as an attempt to employ quick real estate fixes to deal with complex social and economic problems. Some critiques go further stating that you cannot deal with complex problems without a physical framework (Lajeunesse, 2016).

Another critique is that the new urbanism approach functions very similarly to suburbs and the neighbourhoods resemble suburbia. The fear with the approach is that it seeks to combat contemporary suburb by building on the urban fringes and rural places. These conflicts, however, with the principles of new urbanism itself and has the potential to create the new urban sprawl (Lajeunesse, 2016).

Most New Urbanist developments achieve their goal of mixed-use developments with a range of housing types and bringing diverse people together to achieve diverse land uses. However, there are no thresholds for determining how diverse housing options are valued in New Urbanism. The diversity in housing options and prices allows for greater socioeconomic diversity within the neighbourhood. Even with the growth in the number of New Urbanist infill projects and HUD activities, much research done on new urbanism is based on suburban applications, not the city (Bohl, 2000).

The new urbanism ideology failed to observe the community as a whole but instead saw the community as an independent entity. The physical environment produced by the majority of New Urbanist neighbourhoods is not progressive enough in its transportation or land use standards either to truly combat contemporary issues of sustainability or to create a significantly more environmentally and socially sustainable neighbourhood pattern (Lajeunesse, 2016).

Furthermore, new urbanist communities are characterised by easy internal mobility but lack proper connections to their auto-oriented surroundings. Amenities are nearby for residents to walk to but most residents still need cars to commute to work and other further places. Jacobsen (2006) advises that new urbanists should not only take serious consideration of the historical character but also of community participation, which takes a role of utmost importance, as it is the community that lives in the spaces, not the Planner (Jacobsen, 2006).

One of the biggest criticisms of the New Urbanism idea is from David Harvey (2005). The author argues that New Urbanism seeks to alter conventional structures, but not the concept of spatial planning. Spatial planning falls into the same issue of the modern movement, which favoured the spatial forms of social processes, it is through the association between the spatial forms and the social process where the building design and the ideology of the community may be connected (Lajeunesse, 2016).

In summary, New Urbanism replicates some of the worst aspects of Modernism, the very same ideology it seeks to replace. It promotes styles of universality which depend on visual indications to produce social effects. Instead of actual successful neighbourhoods as per their principles, the developments under the new urbanism approach look like the ordinary urban neighbourhoods.

3.2.2.4 Arguments for New Urbanism

One of the strengths of the New Urbanism approach is that it focuses on three basic aspects when planning developments, namely: environmental, social and economic. Economically, developments contain business activities and opportunities capable of providing jobs for many of their inhabitants. Socially, since the approach provides a range of housing options and a wide range of buildings and spaces for community and recreational activities. These can enable self-sustaining and balanced communities to develop, thus providing households with increased

options as to where they can live and work. Lastly, environmentally, it enables residents to adopt an ecological awareness and lower carbon lifestyle. The layouts that the new urbanism proposes enable people to walk to facilities and amenities rather than use cars (Ruiter, 2009).

3.2.3 Social Mixing

3.2.3.1 Introduction and Origins

The government, policymakers and other researchers believe that living in underprivileged neighbourhoods has negative effects on the life chances of residents over and above the effect of their characteristics. Policymakers embraced the concept of a social mix because it became a popular strategy to tackle the supposed negative neighbourhood effects by creating neighbourhoods with a balanced socioeconomic mix of residents (Manley, van Ham & Doherty, 2011). Social mixing does not have a distinct and widely accepted definition, the lack of a definition makes the concept largely subjective and unverifiable (Ng W, 1984).

Looking at the history of modern urban planning, the ideology of socially mixed communities has been a major interest to planners dating back to the nineteenth century. It was seen as a method that would assist in fostering a spirit of community cooperation. It has made a significant influence on the theory and practice of residential planning in many places. The adoption of this concept was usually in response to conditions of socially imbalanced communities, where there are expected benefits to accrue from socially mixing communities (Ng W, 1984).

Social mixing is an idea espoused as a tool or vehicle for the creation of socially integrated communities. According to Ruiter (2009), the notion of combining homeowners with tenants would create a more varied socio-economic blend in neighbourhoods thus removing the potential of negative neighbourhood effects.

3.2.3.2 Applicability to the study

Responding to the increasing spatial concentration of deprived and disadvantaged racial groups, the dominant focus has been on social mixing for the transformation of housing both in developed and undeveloped countries. Social mix strategies aim to boost profitable interactions between the residents of underprivileged communities and the new social groups coming from

outside the area. Issues such as stigmatization, misbehaviour and crime are reduced where there is more social variety in communities (Lel vri r, 2013). Limited social networks have resulted in minimal interactions occurring in these communities which have also led to the restriction of residents' access to information and resources (Lel vri r, 2013). Research recognises several barriers to the development of social ties and the transfer of norms and resources in these mixed-income communities; building ties is not an overnight thing, it takes time. (Kearns *et al*, 2013). This study will be focused on that aspect, trying to establish, assisted by this ideology if social interaction and social ties are created within these mixed-income developments.

3.2.3.3 Arguments against social mixing

Another criticism of social mixing initiatives in low-income areas is that the poor population becomes subject to being pathologized which further perpetuates social isolation. According to August, (2008), social mixing initiatives which were motivated by social congruence and equality, are driven by neoliberal economic factors. These factors result in social mix policies that leave certain people excluded and displaced to achieve their desired social composition (August, 2008).

Another problematic aspect of the policy discourse on social mixing is that the focus is often restricted to the level of the neighbourhood and that there is a lack of attention for possible negative aspects of social mixing (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). Advocates of this approach argue that mixing incomes in one setting ensures that any public housing will fit more effortlessly into that community and will not be viewed as a centre of poverty within an affluent neighbourhood. In some cases, social mixing policies have even been exposed to impede equality and encourage further urban ghettoization (Ng W, 1984).

According to Van Kempen and Bolt, (2009), it cannot be assumed that mixing different ethnicities and incomes in communities leads to positive social patterns. This can only be argued if the community has evident negative neighbourhood effects. The idea that integration leads to more social versatility for poor and minority ethnic families is excessively optimistic. Realizing networking between higher and lower-income groups is difficult at best, and it has not been possible to ascertain upward social mobility.

3.2.3.4 Arguments for social mixing

Lewis Mumford was against segregation, he strongly believed that a city with a single class, industrial activity and social strata, offered fewer possibilities than a diverse urban environment; and that was his basis for the support. He saw social mixing as a remedy for desegregation and upward mobility of communities (Ng W, 1984). Social mixing is said to improve social integration, social mobility opportunities, more social capital, better services, improved neighbourhood reputation, residential stability and provide a safer space (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009).

One of the arguments for the social mix is that it decreases distrust and hostility by creating networks for communication and interaction and promotes a better understanding between classes. Many social theorists believe that social mix policies have the power to restore equal opportunities for all. Mixed-income communities are seen as essential to a society that has freedom of choice and the freedom to move up socially and occupationally. In addition, they have the opportunity to fully participate in economic and political life (Sarkissian, 1976).

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter defined the key concepts and further discussed the relations of the concepts to this study. Within the chapter, the concepts of mixed-income, integration and Breaking New Ground were explored. The theoretical framework provides an understanding of the theories that shaped today's housing delivery system and policies underpinning it.

CHAPTER FOUR

LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Introduction

In reaction to the growing spatial concentration of the poor and the spatial segregation of different races and classes in South Africa, inherited from the Apartheid era, mixed-income housing has become a policy approach that has gained immense popularity in urban development and planning. This approach was adopted to rectify inherited injustices and transform the urban environment whilst improving the lives of others (Lukhele, 2015). The policy consensus underpinning this approach is based on the certainty that mixing individuals of different incomes into one environment can first address the issue of concentrated poverty. Secondly, improving the low-income earners standard of living, through exposure to better social amenities and facilities. Lastly, to advocate relationships for neighbourhood improvements, observe mainstream norms and learn about job opportunities (Graves, 2010).

The topic of mixed-income housing has sparked a great debate around the purpose, the intended outcomes, the consequences and the policy backing around this approach. Literature explored for this dissertation reveals contrasting views and supporting statements from authors regarding the notion of mixing different incomes into one environment to tackle concentrated poverty and address the segregation of races and classes in society. Most authors, such as Graves (2010) and Joseph and Chaskin (2010a), espouse the idea of mixed-income housing and believe it has positive connotations attached to it. While other authors such as Onatu (2010) contend that prevailing class differences inside these mixed-income developments can worsen disparities and start strife instead of cohesion among these residents.

Literature relevant to mixed-income housing explores what mixed-income housing is, where it originated from leading to its popularity, its adoption in the South African context and its intended outcomes. The review will also outline the basis of mixing incomes into one environment in urban development and the assumptions that mixed-income housing can foster social cohesion. Indulging in literature, it is apparent that there are contrasting views associated with mixed-income developments and its associated links to fostering social integration. Mixing

of incomes into one space or environment is an approach envisioned to address and combat the issues of socio-spatial segregation and concentrated poverty in South Africa.

Brophy and Smith (1997) highlight that mixed-income housing does not have a formal definition; it has different meanings for different people and differs by the housing market. Mixed-income developments differ in their implementation, the number of income groups included, the collaborating that occurs and the quality of housing occupied by differing income-level residents (Schwartzn & Tajbakhsh, 1997). The mixed-income phenomenon has gained popularity in the transformation and renewal of urban areas. It involves people of ranging incomes residing together in one environment, this was a more innovative and sustainable approach to housing delivery and addressing the injustices imposed by the past legacies.

4.2 History and Origins of Mixed-Income Housing in the U.S

According to the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), mixed-income generally includes one-third of public housing units, one-third market-rate units and one-third affordable housing. According to Elickson (2010), a mixed-income project entails that government subsidizes rents in parts of the project dwelling units and the aid is project-based. It is an approach that has played a progressively predominant part in broader urban improvement endeavours, in reaction to the inherent challenges of adjusting arranged development and the elements of relocation, gentrification, and displacing of people (Joseph, Chaskin, & Webber, 2007).

Mixed-income housing became a key part in the planning of the US public-housing, in spite of the fact that it was not a new ideology, Mixed-income housing owes its revival to these variables: unfavourable impacts of concentrations of poverty, poor perceived quality of subsidized housing, and a lack of reasonable housing. Even though its popularity, it is important for policymakers to understand that mixed-income developments will not achieve all the goals it is intended for (Smith, 2002).

Moreover, a variety of objectives have been accredited to the mixed-income housing approach including giving low-income families access to better-quality housing, expanding the tax base and steadiness of the inner city by drawing in more affluent families, making an environment to spur more prominent upward portability among low-income families, and catalysing broader physical and economic recovery (Smith, 2002).

Mixed-income housing is not a new phenomenon; the seed was planted in the 1960s when the search for alternatives to conventional public housing was underway. In the US, there was a shift from public housing to a more sustainable and integrated housing strategy due to the obsolete failures in the public housing strategy. It became evident that the concentration of public housing perpetuated concentrated poverty resulting in urban decline and other negative social aspects (Elickson, 2010).

Another major contribution to the concentration of poverty was the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). The CHA deliberately segregated public housing according to race and was later sued by public housing tenants in this regard. The CHA was forced to segregate public housing and one of the dispersals programmes that came out of that was the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) programme. To promote the de-concentration of poverty, public housing residents were provided with section 8 vouchers so they could move to affluent areas (Golafshani, 2003). The ultimate aim of the programme was to study if new neighbourhoods impacted the life chances of participants, through an experimental design (Duke, 2009).

This programme, however, was faced with a lot of resistance not only from residents of communities, where people were being relocated to but from governmental and administrative leaders too. Homeowners feared a decline in property values and increased crime. Looking at the resistance from homeowners to share a space with public housing residents makes one wonder how integrated poor or low-class people can be with regards to social and political integration. If there is resistance from the middle to high class then mixed-income communities will not work because they are inextricably linked to the success of this approach (Duke, 2009).

Another programme that was introduced in 1992 was the Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere. The US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) funded the HOPE VI programme which sought to replace and transform existing public housing by including mixed-income populations into the developments (Brophy & Smith, 1997). The aim was to revitalize the dilapidated and distressed public housing through the redevelopment of both low-income subsidized households and medium-income market-rate tenants (Graves, 2010). The programme permitted cities to apply for grants to redevelop their public housing stock through demolishing the existing stock and replacing it with lower density mixed tenure units.

The HOPE VI programme included a unit based project and tenant-based dispersal programme. To further elaborate in some cases residents were given vouchers to relocate to temporary or permanent housing. This was because not all public housing residents could return to their neighbourhood due to the fact housing units developed were fewer than the residents relocated (Brophy & Smith, 1997).

Key contrasts that differentiate the mixed-income approach incorporate the more prominent precarious form of lower-income families close to one another; the presence of a single development entity with obligation for the general housing area; the physical plan and social designing outcomes represented by building a modern development, and the opportunity for low-income families to stay in recognizable areas of the inner city instead of moving to the rural areas or unfamiliar areas of the city.

Levy *et al* (2010) share extensive knowledge by Joseph and Chaskin (2010a) on how mixed-income housing gained its popularity globally. What can be picked up from Joseph and Chaskin's (2010a) work is that the popularity can be credited to two factors namely; the realization that concentrated poverty is detrimental to the social pathology patterns and the lives of those who reside in those environments, and the existence of the need to revive urban centres to boost economic purposes.

The promotion of the mixed-income approach has been in many forms. It was first introduced as a programme and given congressional authorization in 1986, this programme was called the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC). The LIHTC became the core project- subsidy financing mechanism for aided housing in the US. To receive the tax credit, developers needed to set aside 20% of project units for qualifying households (Levy et al, 2010).

In 1990 the federal programme known as the Mixed-Income New Communities was later introduced. This HUD demonstration program permitted household's with an area median income of 80 percent to lease between 25 and 50 of the units in a public- housing development. Legislation was introduced in 1998 known as the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act, it overtly moved towards a mixed-income approach by requiring public-housing specialists to bring higher-income occupants into lower-income ventures and lower-income inhabitants into higher-income ventures (Smith, 2002).

Researching different literature, it is apparent that there are contrasting views associated with mixed-income developments and its associated links to fostering social integration. Mixing of incomes into one space or environment is an approach envisioned to address and combat the issues of socio-spatial segregation and concentrated poverty in South Africa.

Considering global research concerning mixed-income housing, there is some consensus in its origin. Some studies show that mixed-income housing was introduced to deconcentrate the poor and eliminate social exclusion. While other studies show that mixed-income housing was an economic integration approach. This approach combined low and high-income households in the same development. Its dispersion strategies were focused on attracting high-income households to areas where the poor occupied developments (Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997). Mixed-income housing advocates suggested that providing diverse household incomes in one neighbourhood would boost social interactions and social control which in turn improves neighbourhood characteristics (Fraser & Kick, 2007).

Building on this model, arguments backing mixed-income housing appear to rest on the suspicion that switching the method of concentration by mixing incomes will deliver better results (Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997). Levy et al (2010) highlight, using Duke's (2009) study as support, that assumptions are usually made by mixed-income advocates that integrating people of different incomes will provide a platform where people from diverse backgrounds learn about and gain tolerance for people different to themselves (Levy et al, 2010).

In a case study of Lake Parc Place, like all mixed-income mandates, the assumption was that mixed-income housing would create frequent interaction amongst residents. This assumption was not entirely correct, especially for a high-rise building. This study by Rosenbaum, Stroh and Flynn (1998) notes that despite some mixed-income housing succeeding in pulling in high-income earners; it has failed to fully involve these groups within these developments. It showed that within mixed-income developments, simple interactions are most common.

The research found that residents only interact with their neighbours, of a different income level, for more than 10 minutes about once a month and shared a meal at least once a year. The most common and frequent interactions come from residents of similar income groups (Rosenbaum et al, 1998). Mixed-income developments in Chicago were designed to liberate the poor from high poverty areas. Instead, it has created a well, outfitted prison where houses are constantly checked

for good upkeep. Residents, renting, could not have friends over freely which results in feelings of disempowerment and isolation (Dukmasova, 2014).

However, on the other hand, there have been positives that have been noted within this Lake Parc development. Some non-project residents stated that they interacted with project residents, some interactions were recurrent, and others even resulted in employment opportunities for project residents as babysitters, assistants and beauticians. Lake Parc Place was one development that succeeded in persuading non-project people to move in and reside in an extreme poverty neighbourhood. Moreover, it made both groups of residents feel safe and satisfied to interact and form friendships; whilst also following all rules to maintain order and help the community (Brophy & Smith, 1997).

However, other studies have also observed limited interaction across income levels in mixed-income developments. Looking at the seven mixed-income developments studied by Brophy and Smith, (1997) the residents themselves state that there was little to low interaction levels amongst residents within the developments. Many respondents stated that they did not know the names of their neighbours. It was also quite evident, with regards to the interaction that the market rate and subsidized tenants coexist within these developments (Brophy & Smith, 1997).

Furthermore, looking at interaction patterns over time, it is noticeable that the level of interaction amongst residents of different tenure relatively decreases over time. Looking at the respondents' feedback in some studies, they mostly complain about the stigma and judgement they receive from their higher-earning neighbours. Within these developments, there have been more negative social interactions rather than positive ones. Levy et al., (2010) cite other research that concludes that levels of trust amongst residents decrease as the diversity amongst residents increases (Levy et al, 2010; Joseph and Chaskin, 2010a).

Joseph and Chaskin (2010a) found that the administration arrangement of a multi-tenured building has exacerbated the division of low-income tenants and owners of units. This notion is further supported by Brower (2009), where he highlights that the absence of resident interaction can be accredited to a lack of mechanisms that help foster activities and build relationships across classes. These mechanisms include community organization, shared facilities and responsibilities which all perpetuate interaction indefinitely (Levy et al, 2010). According to Schwartz and Tajbakhsh's (1997) until it is possible to establish greater knowledge of why and

how mixed-income housing would work, support of mixed-income housing will be based on belief and displeasure.

In her research, Graves (2010) focuses on five propositions that influence interaction amongst residents in a mixed-income development. A basic principle for mixed-income housing is that social interaction is endorsed by proximity. Studying research from other authors, Graves point is reiterated, closeness has some effect over active support and network formation. These articles specify that common areas or community centres, known as appropriate spaces, can encourage interaction. With regards to racial and cultural ties in creating networks of social sustenance, another mechanism is homophily. Residents are familiar with each other in stable and regular places and immigrant prone areas.

A third mechanism is shared institutions; the level of interaction needed to continue the interchange of information may not be facilitated due to sharing the same space. According to Graves (2010), positive social relations can be advanced by contact on an equivalent premise especially when the contact circumstance is organized to upgrade positive relations within the group such as working together to reach a common goal and in participating in cooperation. Once people start seeing each other as equal then interactions are likely to form. The fourth is the involvement of private corporate partners; Graves (2010) suggests that private corporates have an influence on how social relations in the current mixed-income housing communities are structured.

Lastly, the forces of macro-structural and formal status differential are the fifth preposition. This encompasses private corporate players, who epitomize for-profit entities with legitimate power over development, whose responsibility is to ensure profitability. In addition, mixed-income communities function within macro-structural realities of inequality. The many discrepancies that affect social relations and structures can spread to institutional dynamics. The leverage or the power that the high-income residents have on management is different from that of the low-income residents with respect to the use of the same institutions.

4.3 Mixed-income and social integration in South Africa

This section will firstly focus on the housing context in South Africa as well as evolution of housing policies and delivery since the democratic era. Secondly, it will explore the adoption of the mixed-income approach and its intended benefits and consequences. Lastly, the section will explore the different housing typologies as well as the policy assumptions associated with mixed-income housing.

4.3.1 Housing Context

Spatially, South Africa's urban landscape is one where different races reside in separate locations. Most recently, the segregation has amounted to different levels of classes in society. These dilemmas have been perpetuated by the legacy of Apartheid. Apartheid, an Afrikaans word meaning separateness (Unesco Press, 1974), was introduced by the Nationalist party which had strong beliefs in white dominance. This racial division was to separate social order through white privilege, where cities were entirely for whites and black people could only access the city through work.

Black people could not access housing in the city, they were pushed out of cities and placed in the peripheries which had inadequate facilities and limited services. This segregation was further perpetuated by the laws passed by the ruling government at that time, which saw division grow immensely, the legislation included the transfer of African housing to Department of Native Affairs; Trespass Act of 1954, Prevention of illegal Squatting, the Native Bill of 1936 and the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 (Unesco Press, 1974).

Since the Democratic Party came into power in 1994, their mission was to rectify the injustices imposed by the apartheid government on black people. The democratic government had a lot to tackle and address in order to meet the needs of its citizens, one of these, was the housing backlog. The ideology of producing mass housing to reduce the housing backlog came in the form of the Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) which was introduced in 1994. The focus was merely on the delivery of mass housing units to meet the demand. The vision was good but the implementation and associated benefits of such were not sustainable. This approach

further perpetuated segregation and created concentrated poverty environments and left the poor in peripheries (Ruiter, 2009).

According to Lukhele's (2015) study, the focus was on the mass delivery housing; several factors were overlooked, and a mass poverty-environment was created which perpetuated further poverty. They were oblivious to other aspects that come with the housing such as the affordability and being able to maintain a house. They also failed to take into consideration the social aspects of housing thus concentrating all disadvantaged people in one place. There was a dire need to address housing holistically to reverse the damage.

4.3.2 Evolution of the Policy Framework in South Africa

A fundamental turning point for South Africa's democratic transformation was marked by the country's 1994 elections (Lukhele, 2015). The enactment of the new democratic government saw a vision of transformation come alive. The vision included rectifying the damage and injustices enforced by the apartheid government and addressing the needs of the citizens of South Africa. In an attempt to mitigate the harsh, negative effects of the settlement patterns imposed by the apartheid government, new legislations were introduced to create more compact, sustainable and adequate settlements.

Housing White Paper - 1994

Faced with a large backlog of 1.5 million inherited from the apartheid government, which was characterised by increased land invasions, overcrowding and squatter settlements in urban areas, the democratic government was tasked with addressing this backlog along with a number of housing injustices faced by blacks in South Africa in the Apartheid era (Ruiter, 2009). The year 1994 saw the enactment of the Housing White Paper, which set the pace for future housing policies, legislation and programmes in South Africa (Lukhele, 2014). The Housing White Paper's emphasis was on meeting the needs of the poor and previously marginalized, through the mass delivery housing and the encouragement of planning techniques that encouraged social cohesion and had an impact on costs and effective resource utilization.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

This was done through the Reconstruction and Development Programme, in which one million houses needed to be delivered in five years (Mooya & Musvoto, 2016). This programme aimed to address and amend the inherited gross inequalities of apartheid, socially, economically and spatially. There were some successes in the programme, particularly in social development but it did not deliver as intended particularly in terms of economic growth which impacted negatively on the policy itself. Planning-wise, the programme was seen as further perpetuating spatial segregation and creating concentrated poverty settlements. In addition, since there was a high demand for housing, the quality ended up being compromised in order to meet the demands which tainted the programme (DoHS, 2008).

The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Policy

Faced with the RDP challenges, the government sought to replace the RDP. In June 1996, the National Treasury formerly known as the Department of Finance introduced the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy. This key policy aimed to establish a route for economic transformation in the post-apartheid era which focused on encouraging economic growth which was required for the provision of resources to meet social investment needs.

The vision was to create a competitive fast-growing economy through the creation of a society in which sound health and education were available to all, adequate jobs for those seeking work and a reorganisation of income and opportunities in favour of the poor (Mathe, 2002). The strategy aimed to create policies which would tackle the rapid economic liberalisation in South Africa; this was to be done through medium-term policies (Heintz, 2003). The strategy had set clear goals namely being an economic growth target of 6% per annum by the millennium and the creation of 400.000 new jobs yearly (Mathe, 2002).

GEAR as an ideology is entrenched in the belief that through the achievement of economic growth, issues including the development of human resources, growing the level of participation in civil society institutions and meeting basic needs will be achieved (Mathe, 2002). Concerning planning and housing delivery, land use management and planning were recognized, by the program, as key sectors requiring organizational transformation, with emphasis on integrated planning and the delivery of services by all spheres of government. A Spatial Development

Framework (SDF) had to be included in each metropolitan Integrated Development Planning process and the IDP (Mooya & Musvoto, 2016).

There has been substantial growth since the introduction of GEAR; however, higher economic growth has not been translated into significant employment ((Heintz, 2003). This resulted in a number of people still dependent on the government for housing and other social needs. The burden of the apartheid housing backlog has remained an issue even after the introduction of such a policy. The policy had its success and improvements have been made in finalizing procedures for the quick release of land and the introduction of a settlement grant.

The Breaking New Ground (BNG) Policy

Regardless of the well-intended policies, the measures taken were not sufficient. The inequalities and injustices of apartheid remained unsolved and there was too much damage already done. Many authors have argued that some of these policies further perpetuated the discrepancies of the apartheid government. Upon realization that the policies were inadequate and unsustainable, a new plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements was introduced, by the minister of Human Settlements, in 2004. This was the Comprehensive Housing plan which incorporated redirecting and enhancing existing mechanisms to move towards a more responsive and effective delivery (Burgoyne & Ewert, 2008). This is when the concept of mixed-income housing was adopted and implemented in South Africa. This programme was famously known as the Breaking New Ground.

The Breaking New Ground (BNG) had four primary objectives (Ruiter, 2009);

- Sustainable Human Settlements- these are units which have been well-managed and where there is equilibrium between social and economic growth with the carrying capacity of the natural systems which result in wealth creation, equity and poverty alleviation.
- Integration – focuses on spatial restructuring and using housing as a tool for the development of sustainable human settlements.
- Housing Assets- guarantee the property as an asset for wealth which can be accessed by all citizens

- Upgrading Informal Settlements- this aims to eradicate informal settlements rapidly and promote urban inclusion

The BNG advanced the execution of mixed-income housing to change the social and spatial isolated development patterns (Lukhele, 2015). The main aim is the advancement of mixed-income housing in South Africa to improve interactions amongst different racial and social groups while attempting to address the housing backlog and concentrated poverty problems inherited from the apartheid government (Onatu, 2010). The democratic government's goal is to remove the stigma that poor households cannot live in harmony with other income groups namely middle and upper- class households (Lukhele, 2014). The government has committed to providing sustainable urban areas which will be dominated by modern planning philosophies; a system that guides the development of sustainable human settlements which has been created to act as an instrument of promoting urban reconstruction and creating a decent urban environment (Lukhele, 2015). Moreover, the guiding framework for sustainable human settlements demonstrates the development standards and principles which mixed-income housing planning and design specifically comply with (Landman, 2010; Lukhele, 2015). The Human Sciences Research Committee gives a great premise for evaluating the status of social integration in terms of the economic, socio-cultural and public spaces. It is noticeable, in South Africa, that the housing typologies have particular rules that they put emphasis on but these rules differ with each other.

The government does not have the necessary capacity or resources to solely drive this policy. So, to fill the gap between affordable housing and address other pressing issues such as segregation, they have encouraged developers to include affordable housing in their developments. This is done through incentives such as tax deductions or regulation relaxations in the development approval processes (Ruiter, 2009).

The Inclusionary Housing Programme (IHP)

Low-income groups were still marginalized to the outskirts of the cities, with little or no amenities and services, whilst the wealthy, in their gated communities and secure estates, controlled economic Centers (Verster, 2016). The realization of the above saw the introduction of the Inclusionary housing policy (IHP) in South Africa in 2005. The IHP implied that in the interest of delivering houses to middle and higher-income residents, the association of private

initiatives should also incorporate affordable housing to attain stronger socioeconomic stability in these developments (Department of Housing, 2004).

The approach was presented to form densified cities and to advance social integration. Other aims of this policy included; contributing towards accomplishing residential developments that have a balance of race and class and providing housing prospects to low wage and lower and middle-income groups in places or neighbourhoods where they normally would be prohibited from because of the underlying forces of the market (Department of Housing, 2004). According to Mokonyane (2007), a social contract was enacted for the rapid delivery of housing which encouraged every commercial housing development to include a percentage of low-income units for those qualifying for housing subsidies (Mokonyane, 2007).

No formal policy framework was created, the government offered incentives to developers including selling municipal-owned land to developers as well as reducing the planning application time. This was so, the area would benefit from the delivery of reasonable housing (Verster, 2016). The department of housing stated that this policy would not solve the housing backlog but will create an opportunity for low-income earners to access inexpensive housing in good locations.

National Housing Code

The national housing code was introduced to replace the National Code of 2000, this code aligned with the Comprehensive Plan for the development of sustainable human settlements. Under the code, each programme did not need cross-referencing with other programmes because each programme was a complete unit. The discretionary guidelines within the code provide maximum flexibility to housing practitioners and decision-makers (DoHS, 2008).

One of the core programmes of the code was the Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP). The emphasis of this programme was the social, economic and spatial integration. Furthermore, the code provided a tool for inclusionary housing and facilitated the development of the projects with a variety of land uses and income groups (Verster, 2016).

The national housing code has had its success, but an overall review of the code reveals that low-income settlements are still situated on the urban periphery, lacking the socio-economic amenities.

National Development Plan

Since most of the rolled-out policies seemed to have unintended consequences and exacerbated the apartheid geography, the South African government sought to find a more sustainable approach of redressing the inherited apartheid legacy. The government decided to transfer the attention from short-term-symptom based to longer term based policies, which were based on the opinions and perspectives of the South African community (NPC, 2011). This is one element that the government had failed to include in all the other policies, the people's opinions. The shift resulted in the launch of the National Development Plan (NDP), this long term plan sought to eradicate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. The approach was to 'unite South Africans of all races and classes around a common programme to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality', with a focus on strengthening institutional and infrastructural capacity. The NDP called for public funding to be redirected towards developing public infrastructure and public spaces to improve the lives of poor communities (NPC, 2011).

Moreover, Under the NDP, it was recognised that far reaching reform of the legislative system currently regulating planning was required. This might resolve the current fragmentation within the planning system, which divides sectors, for example, land-use management, environmental management, transportation planning and heritage. The repealing of the Development Facilitation Act in 2009, which was the only post-1994 piece of legislation that dealt with spatial development principles and land use management mechanisms (Duke, 2009), saw the promulgation of Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA)

According to a report by the South African Cities Network (2015), SPLUMA was a piece of legislation that explained the planning system, tools, processes and instruments and addressed the normative direction. The principles contained in SPLUMA are from preceding policy and legislation but they are regarded as being a more detailed description of the general normative direction. One of the levers in SPLUMA included spatial transformation in which spatial development planning was emphasised to ensure that access to opportunities and amenities at the local and metro scale were equally available to all communities through the protection of natural resources. Moreover, the government and private sector had to have an understanding of the varying challenges and potential of each area to mitigate the use of a one-size-fits-all approach

but rather a location-specific approach. This was done through integrated development planning and the creation of spatial development frameworks for each region (NPC, 2011).

The SDF seeks to promote sustainable functional and integrated human settlements through efficient use of resources and enhancing the uniqueness of the different places. The SDFs also have to play the role of integrating and coordinating mechanism, not only being the link between development principles and implementation, but also between different spheres of government, between different sector plans and sector requirements, as well as budgeting and investment (South African cities network, 2015).

The NDP also looks at providing incentives for new private developers for the inclusion of a portion of affordable housing in their developments. This is beneficial as it will allow for the development of different housing tenures and types to accommodate varying incomes.

According to an article on the website ‘the conversation’, the NDP contains so many ideas for change that not even the most efficient government in the world could implement it in less than a decade or two (Friedman, 2017). It will take time to implement such a plan and there needs to be institutional and infrastructural capacity for all sectors in order for successful implementation to occur.

4.3.3. Mixed-income housing Typologies

Traditionally the planning of settlements in South Africa has been largely influenced by apartheid ideologies alongside the modern planning ideologies. Given the modern compact cities, high and medium density is the most significant form of housing delivery. The housing typologies that configure mixed-income housing are high rise buildings, terrace housing and gated townhouses (Lukhele, 2015).

High-Rise Apartments

In South Africa, we have a major crisis when it comes to land; the land is a scarce resource, especially in urban areas, which is at a very high demand (Lukhele, 2014). So, due to the lack of availability of land and the pressure to supply, planners have adopted high rise developments as a form of delivering housing. This allows for the maximum use of the little land available. A high-rise apartment is a multi-storey structure which is used as a mixed-income building with walls, floors and ceiling separating households (Lukhele, 2015).

In spite of the fact that the stature of the apartment generally attracts high density, it appears the higher the residents' unit the more they become uncomfortable and discontent. In any case, the accessible common interior spaces within the apartment may encourage social interaction on different floor levels.

Terraced Housing

Another form adopted in mixed-income developments is terraced housing, which refers to row house units. These units are linked by a shared wall and have a similar building style (Lukhele, 2015). The inclusion of various sizes of housing units has facilitated people with different incomes to become neighbours. This means that households with different incomes share the same buildings and streets (Landman, 2010).

Apart from sharing a building, these house designs are usually located close to shopping malls, schools, restaurants and government offices. In this manner, the house plan together with the provision of these facilities empowers the residents to enhance greater access to a range of socio-economic opportunities and propels the potential for building solid social cohesion within the area (Lukhele, 2014).

Gated Communities

According to Hyra (2015) complexes that have controlled access through a gate and are fenced are known as Gated townhouse complexes. According to Landman (2004), the walls express a place in terms of identity and belonging. The walls allow people inside to trust each other and have the confidence to go out of their homes into the shared spaces. All the residents within those walls become part of an extended family thus creating a platform for social integration to occur.

4.3.4 Case study

Cosmo City

Cosmo City was South Africa's first fully integrated mixed-income housing development in the Gauteng Province. This development allows a range of income groups to access housing opportunities within the City of Johannesburg (Onatu, 2010). The housing delivery varies from

market to subsidised housing which comprises of 5000 low-income units for families with an income of R3500 or less per month. It also includes 3000 credit-linked housing for families with salary extending from R3500 to R8000 per month, as well as 3300 bonded housing for families with a salary of R15000 monthly (Onatu, 2010).

This mixed-income development can attribute some of its success to the abundant funding the project has received. The financial resources available to this project resulted in the development of high-quality public spaces and improved quality of life (Ruiter, 2009). There is still some debate as to whether Cosmo City is a truly integrated development as the income and housing typologies are segregated (Ruiter, 2009). A clear division is evident between the different housing types namely subsidized and bonded units. It becomes quite doubtful that integration can be fostered in such a setting.

It can be noted however that the residents of Cosmo City are benefiting from the location, notably through increased service levels and access to amenities, which are the fundamentals of integration and which add value to a property. This project has had its successes and its failures and has given the government the blueprint for other developments similar to it.

4.4 Benefits and consequences of mixed-income

4.4.1 Benefits of mixed-income housing

There is little done, in terms of research, to understand the processes that result in positive or negative outcomes of mixed-income neighbourhoods (Duke, 2009). Noticeably, from literature, the benefits associated with mixed-income housing can be looked at in two ways, benefits from living in mixed-income developments and benefits from living with high-income earners.

Advocates for mixed-income housing strongly believe that mixing low-, medium and high income residents spatially will result in opportunities for individuals from diverse backgrounds to gain both knowledge and tolerance for individuals different from themselves (Duke, 2009). Joseph and Chaskin (2010b) discovered that there were both positive as well as negative interactions amongst the different income-level residents even though these interactions were minimal. A few higher-income residents interviewed detailed giving up on endeavour's to associate with lower-income residents since they felt unwelcome.

Benefits associated with place include getting access to better services, quality housing, better neighbourhood facilities and an environment which is safe. Benefits associated with people include getting to network and access opportunities through high-income neighbours as well as learning from their behaviours and lifestyles. (Levy et al, 2010). Mixed-income housing provides a platform for social networking between lower and higher-income earners. People get to access information and opportunities towards enhancing their upward mobility. They also get to tap into resources and markets that they would not have access too solely and get to appreciate and understand each other's backgrounds and perceptions.

4.4.2 Consequences of mixing income housing

There are many challenges associated with mixed-income housing. Even though residence might feel a sense of pride in where they live, they still face stigmatization. A classic example from the CHA developments is that renters can't have grills on their balconies whilst homeowners are permitted to. There is already a clear line drawn between homeowners and renters which gives rise to conflict and decreases any chance of interaction amongst residents due to these injustices (Dukmasova, 2014).

The aim of the approach was to address certain injustices, but the management of these developments has resulted in more oppression and stigmatization. Mixed-income housing initiatives seem to not tackle the issues of discrimination, race and class that have continued segregation, but some have resulted in perpetuating social isolation and differentiation.

4.4.3 Incentives for developers

The lack of or limitation of funding to address the housing issues and to meet the demand for housing of low-income families has resulted in policymakers and developers, looking at new creative means of leveraging private sector resources to produce affordable housing (Smit, 2008). The government has rolled out certain tools and attractive incentives to encourage developer involvement and commitment to the provision of mixed-income housing.

In addition, there are several subsidy programmes introduced by the state which may not in themselves encourage or attract private sector participation, but which certainly helps reduce developer risks (Lukhele, 2015). The following are some of the benefits that developers get to enjoy;

- Tax benefits

Some Tax benefits introduced include Tax credit schemes (DoH, 2007)

- Land

All spheres of government possess or have authority to acquire land for housing purposes. So, the government generally make the necessary effort to acquire and mobilize free land for inclusionary housing purposes (Smit, 2008).

- Fast-tracking of approval procedures

Fast-tracking of development approval processes will be a motivating force which can for the most part only be offered in deal-driven activities (Smit, 2008).

- Development and Use Rights

Density rewards and allowances, and in certain occurrences, use rights. The density reward permits the designer who builds a certain percentage of affordable units to incorporate a certain percentage of market-rate units in expansion to what would otherwise be allowed under the zoning limitations for specific areas (DoH, 2007).

- Bulk and Link Infrastructure

Generally, developers and local governments will negotiate on who provides various mechanisms of bulk and link infrastructure in development projects (DoH, 2007).

- Access to Government Housing Subsidies

A variety of government subsidies will be accessible to bolster developers in satisfying inclusionary housing necessities these incorporate but are not limited to Credit Linked Individual Subsidies and Social Housing Subsidies (DoH, 2007).

4.4.4 Policy Assumptions

The notion of mixed-income housing was adopted and introduced in South Africa through the Comprehensive Housing Plan which is famously known as the Breaking New Ground (BNG) as stated in Chapter 1. In theory, the programme is brilliant because it seeks to address all the issues inherited from the apartheid government and the issues that have been perpetuated by post-apartheid programmes. In reality, the programme is not as good as it is on paper and has its flaws and shortfalls.

Policymakers little knowledge regarding the results of mixed-income housing, but the implementation is becoming extensive despite proper research (Brophy & Smith, 1997). There are many assumptions underlying current policies, it is expected that public housing residents will benefit from employment opportunities through new social networks and role modelling. Are there specific measures or tools to analyze such assumptions?

Moreover, is there a foundation or a basis for fostering communication or social interactions amongst residents in a mixed-income development? Policies are more focused on propelling the economic and racial aspect of integration through mixing people into one physical space when they should also be concerned with the prospects for social integration within these mixed communities to ensure that these assumptions are successful (Duke, 2009). Support, from policymakers, is fundamental to the success and functioning of these communities.

4.5 Conclusion

Some authors question whether desegregation through integration efforts can lead to social justice. Marion Young's theory 'together in difference' echoes the idea that physically integrating people is not enough. The author believes that there should be appropriate resources beyond just the physical aspect of space in order to achieve social integration. Mixed-income housing has the power to overcome some barriers that are intensified by segregation, but it will have to go beyond just physical integration. This can be achieved through diversity, respecting one another's cultures and through participation (Duke, 2009).

Mixed-income housing isn't a silver bullet to overcome the difficult challenges confronted by families seeking to elude from poverty or the realities of the housing market. Hence, it is fundamental to be clear about what a developer or policymaker is attempting to accomplish (Smith, 2002). Studying literature, the mixed-income housing concept has different results in different places and countries. Literature has shown that the mixed-income housing concept has been successful in its implementation abroad but in South Africa, it is a different story. The concept has not been tailored to suit or fit local context and its contributions are likely to be the establishment of more integrated neighbourhoods with a focus on race and class. In so doing it will offer important opportunities for those historically excluded in South Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE: CASE STUDY OF DURBAN POINT

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the Durban Point area as the case study which is located in the eThekweni Municipality. This chapter also presents the rationale for the selection of Durban Point as the case; it will also include Durban Point's physical location along with its background which includes demographics and the differences in income levels.

5.2 The rationale for choosing the Durban point as the case study area

No part of the Durban Point area has ever adopted a formalized mixed-income housing approach. The location and the different land uses, within the Durban Point, make it an interesting yet complex but unignorably enticing area to study. This interest is due to the mixed-use approach the area has adopted over time, which encompasses lovely, beach hotels, restaurants on one end, residential and commercial property and student accommodations on the other. The area also has run down, dilapidated and low rent buildings just in the middle. The Durban Point area was identified as the case study since it encompasses similar principles to what a mixed-income approach offers. People with different incomes reside in the same physical space and share the same public services and facilities. Another reason why the area was chosen as a case study is that the researcher is familiar with the area (refer to locality Map 01).

5.3 The extent of the site

The Durban Point area falls under the eThekweni Municipality, under ward 26. UShaka Marine on the west covers 10ha of the site area, which is surrounded by the ocean on the east and the harbour mouth. Durban Point has been affected by creeping blight, over the years, which has left the area largely abandoned and vacant. Unexpectedly, it represents one of the most under-utilized assets within the city. This has made the area unappealing aesthetically hence the initiation of the Point Waterfront Development. The renewal has been focused more on the implementation of the uShaka Marine World project and the new property developments in the Point Waterfront. However, there are many buildings which have succumbed to urban flight and

dilapidation. These buildings have been hijacked and occupied by drug lords, foreigners and the poor.

5.4 Physical location of Durban Point

The Point is geographically located on the south-eastern side of the central business district, parallel to the coastline. It is a narrow parcel of land that extends out toward the Bluff, creating a divide between the sea, in the northeast, and the harbour in the south-west (Kirby, 2014). Durban Point is one of the most historic and significant urban spaces in Durban, moreover it has a lot of economic potential.

MAP 1: MAP SHOWING LOCALITY OF DURBAN POINT



Source: eThekweni Municipality [Accessed October 2017]

5.5 Brief background of Durban Point

Historically, the Durban Point was an important piece in the development of the city and the Port of Durban which occurred pre-1990s. The Durban point was the arrival gateway for many early travellers, it sought to provide them with a safe refuge off the ocean. The entrance of the bay was frequently under threat from the growth of the sandbar. Eventually, the sand bar was removed and the entrance ensured continuous access, which resulted in increased trade in the area. With increased trade came with the need for space for expansion, the Port underwent a phase of expansion with new docks being developed south of the Port, in Maydon Wharf. Unfortunately, the expansion caused a steady decline of Point as trade and all harbour activities relocated from Point. Consequently, urban blight set in and Point went on to become synonymous with the social ills of the time (eThekweni Municipality, 2008).

Even so, with the aesthetic decline of the Point, its strategic location, social significance and economic potential led to a series of attempts at urban renewal. In the nineties, several attempts, at urban renewal were made but none materialized. In the late nineties, eThekweni Municipality's Department of Economic Development proposed a series of interventions to turn around the economy of Durban which included the rejuvenation of the beachfront including the Point area (eThekweni Municipality, 2008).

5.6 Demographics of the study area (based on StatsSa or census)

5.6.1 Population of Durban Point

According to the statistics obtained from Stats SA, the total population of Durban Point is 3728.

5.6.1.1 Population by gender

According to Statistics South Africa (2011), the total number of females residing in the Durban Point area is 1996 which constitutes 53.54% of the total population. The males make up a total number of 1732 which is 46.5% of the total population.

5.6.1.2 Dwelling Type

Table 1: Dwelling types found in Durban Point.

Type of dwellings	# of dwellings	%
"House or brick/concrete block structure on a separate stand or yard"	379	25.2
"Traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials"	34	2.26
"Flat or apartment in a block of flats"	1050	69.81
"Cluster house in complex"	2	0.13
"Town house (semi-detached house in complex)"	16	1.06
"Semi-detached house"	-	-
"House/flat/room in back yard"	15	1
Informal dwelling/shack in back yard	4	0.27
Informal dwelling/shack NOT in back yard; e.g. in an informal/squatter settlement or on farm	1	0.07
Room/flat let on a property or a larger dwelling/servants' quarters/granny flat	3	0.2
Caravan or tent	-	
Total # and % of dwellings	1504	100

Source: Statistics South Africa, 2011

From the data obtained from Statistics South Africa, it is evident that the predominant dwelling type in the Durban Point Area is the apartment or flat.

5.6.2 Education Levels

Table 2: The literacy levels of the residents of Durban Point

	Male	Female
No schooling	12	26
Some primary	182	204
Completed primary	37	42
Some secondary	302	409
Grade 12/Std10	493	533
Higher	534	595

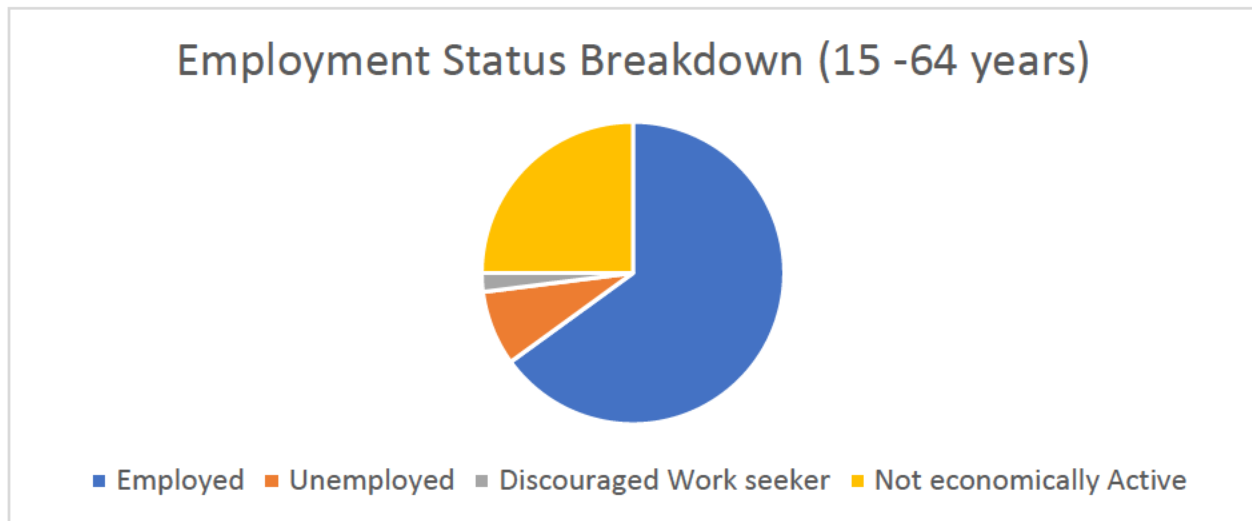
Source: Statistics South Africa, 2011

5.6.3 Socio-economic Characteristics

5.6.3.1 Employment Levels

According to Stats SA, about 32% of the total population is unemployed. A good portion of people in the area is self-employed, working in the informal sector. The chart below shows the percentage of employed and the percentage of unemployed broken down into three categories. They are namely unemployed, discouraged work-seeker and economically inactive, which may refer to students or ill persons. Employment is a huge contributor to some social issues faced in the area, namely crime and discrimination. Residents believe that there is widespread crime due to the fact that people are unemployed.

Figure 1: illustrating the employment breakdown in Durban Point



(Source: Statistics South Africa, 2011)

5.6.3.2 Income levels

Table 3 below shows the incomes of the population of Point in gender form. A shocking number of people, who reside in the area, receive no income. These people are usually dependent on family, hands outs, other people or their significant other. As stated above, a huge number is also self-employed, so they generate their income. The gap between the low and high income is great, but what also needs a lot of attention is the number of people in the area that fall into the low-income bracket.

Table 3: Income levels of the residents of Point.

	Male	Female
No income	490	690
R 1 - R 4800	40	61
R 4801 - R 9600	38	39
R 9601 - R 19200	124	246
R 19201 - R 38400	99	117
R 38401 - R 76800	165	192
R 76801 - R 153600	219	245
R 153601 - R 307200	232	156
R 307201 - R 614400	127	47
R 614401 - R 1228800	37	13
R 1228801 - R 2457600	12	5
R2457601 or more	12	6

Source: Statistics South Africa Census 2011

5.7 Urban Regeneration Strategy

After South Africa gained democracy, the Durban Point Area experienced an increase in population, namely rural migrants and foreign nationals. Thereafter, Point was affected by the processes of transformation which in turn resulted in urban decline. The decline was characterized by dilapidating buildings, crumbling infrastructure, poverty, crime and racial discrimination (Potter, 1992). The continued decay of the Point area resulted in some affluent people vacating the area and relocating to the outskirts in fear of the rising crime and degeneration of the area.

It was a challenge for the government to control the economic growth in the area thus resulting in a rise of urban degeneration. Various attempts were made by the municipality to address the degeneration and mitigate further decline (Maresce, 2013). Some of the attempts were partly successful and others were not and further perpetuated other social issues. The Point saw a huge gap between the well-off and the poor which resulted in racial and social exclusion. The affluent; neither wanted to reside nor co-habitat with the poor, in fear of crime and for their safety in the environment.

The growing frustrations of poverty and living conditions saw a new phenomenon develop known as xenophobia. Xenophobia, in simple terms, is the fear or hatred of foreigners; it is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviour and often ends in violence, and exhibitions of hatred. The manifestation of xenophobia undermines social cohesion, peaceful co-existence, and good governance, and constitutes a violation of human rights (Solomon & Kosaka, 2013). This prompted a number of initiatives by eThekweni to ensure that peace and social rest was restored. The municipality partnered with the private sector in order to tackle and address the rising issues in the city namely Point.

One initiative by the Municipality was the inner-City eThekweni Regeneration and Urban Management Programme (ITRUMP) which was introduced in 2016. The idea behind this initiative was to create a vision and framework to direct the regeneration of the Inner City of eThekweni, this programme was accompanied by a local plan. The Local Area Plan provided the essential spatial vision for the Inner-City region and became a planning and coordination

instrument that coordinates municipal department activities and expenditure and gives the private sector with direction and certainty within the future development of the area.

Most regeneration projects or efforts have been flagship initiatives which incorporated a major element of attracting businesses back into the city rather than balance development between the inner-city and its outlying areas (Maresce, 2013). This kind of regeneration facilitates an increase in land values thus making the area economically exclusive. This further fueled social exclusion in the area.

Major examples of flagship projects in the Durban Point area include the Point Waterfront Development and uShaka Marine World. According to Robbins (2005), the two Point projects did not promote socio-economic equity. The projects had little to nothing to make them relevant to the poor, apart from the obvious trickle-down effects from employment and economic growth.

5.8 Conclusion

The case study aimed to provide background to Durban Point and also further furnish an understanding of the social issues and demographics the area holds. Durban Point is a beautiful area filled with major investment opportunities. Durban Point is already a mixed income area in an informal manner, with people of different incomes living in the same space but highly segregated in that too.

CHAPTER SIX

ASSESSMENT OF MIXED-INCOME HOUSING AS A MECHANISM TO FOSTER SOCIAL INTEGRATION: PRESENTING THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings pertaining to mixed-income housing as a foundation or mechanism for fostering social integration. The section further addresses the objectives presented in Chapter 1, furthermore, it will display data and information collected processed and analysed. This section of the dissertation enables the researcher to explore and respond to the research question. The discussion is guided by the sub research questions and objectives, literature obtained, and data collected from the study field.

6.2 Identification of the different class levels in the Durban Point Area

Durban Point is an area which has a varied population and people of different incomes living in the area. This is evident in the segregated locations within the Durban Point area, the structures in which people reside in, employment statistics and the lifestyles of the different people. Walking through the Durban Point Area, visually the diversity is evident. Moving from Mahatma Gandhi Road to the Point Waterfront, you see the differences in style, speech, interaction levels and way of life. Some classes were evident in the Point area, namely High Class, Middle and low class

Durban Point has a demarcated urban environment; there is the Point Waterfront, which is mostly for high end, high-income residents who can afford sea-facing luxury apartments. There is the South Beach area, which is mostly occupied by the middle class, medium income-residents. Then finally there is the Mahatma Gandhi Road and its surroundings which is the rundown part of the Durban Point area which is usually occupied by low-income residents. This part is characterized by a high population, filth, crime, drugs and prostitution. In the midst of the Mahatma Gandhi road, the area has seen a rise in student accommodation, so within the population of the Point, there is a huge pool of students.

Figure 2, 3 and 4 illustrating the different quality in accommodation for the three income groups

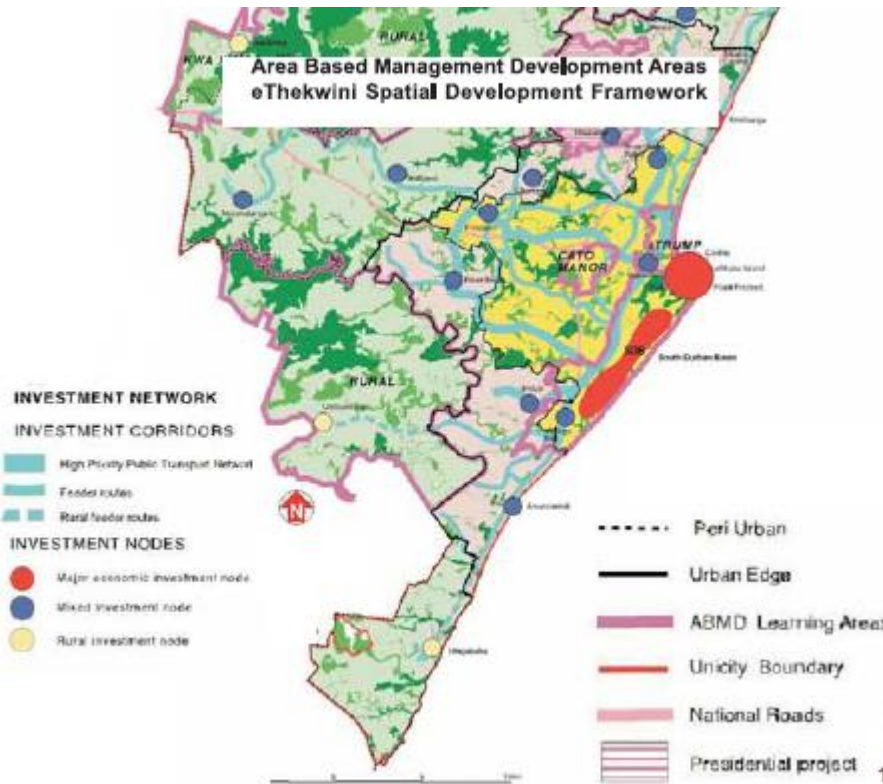


(Source: Fieldwork, 2017)

6.3 Municipal plan for Durban Point

In an interview with an official from eThekweni Municipality Urban Renewal Department, it was made evident that Point, being one of the 9 districts in the inner-city, has tremendous development potential. The Durban Point area is supported by several key strategic planning documents of the city. These documents include the city's IDP which has identified the regeneration of Point in which enhanced job opportunities are envisioned. The Spatial Development Framework which identifies the need for a compact, integrated city with a strong urban core and the ITPs population and employment forecasts for increasing housing and job creation.

Map 2: showing eThekweni’s SDF Plan which highlights Durban Point as a major economic investment node



Source: eThekweni Municipality [Accessed October 2017]

As stated in the introduction, Durban Point was not a planned mixed-income community, it organically became one. The municipality has taken it upon themselves to formally include principles of mixed-use and mixed-income housing into the redevelopment of the Durban Point area as per the Breaking New Ground policy for development. The city has to work backwards because Point is already a full-formed community in which different incomes have been living in the same space for a number of years. The area just needs to be formalized and redeveloped in order to ensure sustainability whilst also attracting investments. The rejuvenation was inspired by the booming economy and the investment opportunity of the Durban Point.

The Master plan: a Vision for Durban Point

The eThekweni Municipal official shared the vision of Durban Point as follows;

“The mission is to rejuvenate Durban Point and create a unique blend of historic buildings and streets whilst also embracing the multicultural backgrounds the area has to offer. The city wants to create a neighbourhood where people can live, work and play.” – EThekweni Official, 2018

Figure 5: illustrating the Masterplan for Durban Point



(Source: <http://www.durbanpoint.co.za/master-plan/>)

This will allow for a full, healthy mix of all sectors of society to populate in one environment without the predominant issues experienced before. The city’s plan includes investing in the infrastructure of Point whilst also densifying the area thus stimulating more investments and further developments. The investment in infrastructure includes the refurbishment of the dilapidated and inhabitable buildings along the precinct.

The dilapidation of the point occurred due to a slump in the economy which saw a degeneration of the area and its infrastructure. This was due to property owners not looking after the buildings which resulted in people not paying their rent. Certain buildings became inhabitable and were abandoned resulting in the invasion and hijacking of these buildings in Point. The city has decided to adopt an Australian ideology, alongside the principles of mixed-income, where dilapidating buildings are refurbished rather than demolished. The adoption of this ideology stems from the notion that an approach needs to be tailored for the local context.

In refurbishing these buildings and allocating them to new residents, there will be a few casualties like in all projects who will not be able to be accommodated for in the redevelopment. They will most likely be moved into a transit camp around the Umbilo area until another permanent location is sourced. The eThekweni official firmly assured that 40% of the accommodation will encompass a mix of affordable, gap and social housing to accommodate the lower and medium-income groups. He further stated that;

“We are not trying to run people out of Point just because they cannot afford, what we want to do is remove those who are contributing negatively to the environment. We are not looking to displace people but rather looking to enhance the area and make it more aesthetically pleasing with the right blend of people”

According to the eThekweni official, the city is working tirelessly to improve the Durban Point area; it is part of the city’s inner-city regeneration project famously known as the ITRUMP. The city sees the notion of mixed-income as a great way to boost the economy whilst tackling the social issues that are faced in the area.

How will interactions be facilitated by Municipality?

According to the EThekweni official, the city does not have a structure in place to facilitate the interaction of residents in the Point Area. The city believes that the improved infrastructure and the initiatives and events brought to the Point Area will help facilitate and enhance interactions amongst residents. He reiterated his statement saying

“Social interactions will occur naturally in the environment. The idea is that when people are sharing a space eventually, they will be forced to interact in some way.” - EThekweni Official, 2018

The blend of residents in the Point area was not a selected group, it happened naturally, with that being said, there is an imbalance in social classes. The city does not want to force interactions because it will create further issues and create conflict. However, the city is adamant in creating a space and an environment which fully facilitates the potential for interactions to occur.

The allocation process of residents

The EThekwini official explained that in public-private partnerships there is a principle which is, whoever takes development and marketing risk controls is the one controlling allocations. In simple English, if the developer is in charge of the development and the risks associated with it, then they have full rights to allocations unless, if the government has brought forward significant resources then the allocation becomes a partnership between a government implementing agent and the developer. There are government standards that need to be followed as per the public-private agreement by the developer, which is that 10% of the total development needs to be allocated to affordable housing.

6.4 Challenges and barriers faced by the residents

In theory, the mixed-income approach is envisioned to deliver positive outcomes, but studying the subject area, it is quite evident that there is plenty of work needed to be done to fulfil the vision. The dynamics of the community have an impact on the approach not being successful as envisioned. There are some stringent factors that still hinder the progress of creating an integrated community;

Crime and Substance abuse

Crime in Durban Point seemed to be the most prevalent and mentioned social ill during both the interviews and the focus group meetings. The residents of Durban Point have reached high levels of frustration due to the ever-growing crime rate in the area. Most of that anger is directed to the municipality, the community feel that the municipality is doing minimal to address the issue of crime and violence in the area.

Due to the increased abuse of substances such as alcohol and drugs, the area has seen a huge incline in both crime and violence. According to Participant 3 (Female);

“There are a lot of drug dealers in the area, the police know about them, but they do not do anything about it. Most of them are happy to take bribes instead of doing their jobs.”- Participant 3 (Female), 2018

Furthermore, the majority stated that they had lost hope in authority because of their negligence and lack of passion with regards to their work. An analysis of the focus groups showed that the

high- and medium-income respondents strongly believe that low-income residents are responsible for the growth in crime in the area. Participant 1 confidently stated that

“The residents of Mahatma Gandhi road are responsible for the filth and the disgusting conditions of Point.” – Participant 1 (Male), 2018

Due to this stereotypical sense of thinking, it has caused a lot of friction amongst the residents. Quite surprisingly the low-income residents strongly believe that the foreigners are the root of all things wrong in Point. The majority of the respondents believe that the drugs they sell perpetuate a bad culture of crime, filth, prostitution and abuse in the area. A minority of the respondents believe that Point has lost its pull factors and its investment opportunities due to this factor.

Durban Point, once viewed as a go-to destination, has become a haven for druggies, prostitutes and dealers. The dynamics of the Durban Point area, namely Mahatma Gandhi Road has resulted in the area being characterized as unsafe and infested. Not all hope is lost for Point, there are still some beautiful landscapes such as uShaka Marine and the greater Durban Waterfront. With the help of the municipality and local authorities, Point can become a safe place again

Unemployment Levels

With the introduction of the Point Waterfront Development and the regeneration strategy to Point, the idea was to offer new employment opportunities to people in and around the Durban Point area. The area has the potential to provide greater access to employment and other urban opportunities. The claim is that it has the potential to reduce the separation between home and work, which is suggestive in current urban forms due to the influence of modernism. In terms of the case study, it was evident that unemployment is a major contributing factor to the conditions in Durban Point and government needs to efficiently find ways to address this issue.

A majority of the low-income respondents strongly feel like they were not consulted when the redevelopment of Durban Point was introduced. Furthermore, they were never engaged regarding the role they could play in the redevelopment. Participant 2 (Male) stated;

“If the municipality cared for its people, we, the people of Point would have been part and parcel of the redevelopment of the entire Point Precinct. Some of us are unemployed, the

municipality could have rolled out training workshops in order to empower us, the people of Durban Point.” – Participant 2 (Male), 2018

Participant 2’s statement was further furnished by the majority of the respondents who believe that the notion of mixed-income will never work in Point Area as long as there is no empowerment for the poor or less than. Participant 4 (Female) concluded saying;

“It is not a nice feeling, seeing people who live around you; driving expensive cars, living in posh apartments whilst we struggle for food daily, living in filthy, broken-down buildings. If the government wants us to live in harmony and engage each other as residents of Durban Point, we need to be balanced.” – Participant 4 (Female), 2018

Lack of empowerment

The lack of empowerment was one of the emerging issues which affected the residents greatly. Majority of the residents feel out casted by the City’s Municipality because they have never been involved in any decision- making pertaining to Durban Point. A few residents feel like they have no voice nor are they entitled to an opinion. They strongly feel that since Durban Point is an investment node for eThekweni Municipality, the main aim is to make a profit. All ideas and strategies are based at maximizing the potential of the area and enhancing it for more investments. There are no workshops hosted by the city in assisting residents especially the lower-income and unemployed, in gaining more knowledge and being exposed to opportunities. Participant 3 (Female) stated that;

“There are never any active community meetings where residents can share their opinions about what is right and wrong about the area. They do not have a platform where grievances can be heard, investigated and addressed.” – Participant 3 (Female) 2018

Social Exclusion

Another major factor that is a challenge and hinders the processes and success of the mixed-income approach in the area is the social exclusion aspect. In a focus group held with the high-income respondents, majority of the respondents clearly expressed their disapproval of being associated with the less than residents of Point. They have a strong belief that they will not benefit anything concrete from interactions with the lower-income bracket residents and they

don't feel safe in the presence of most of the residents of Durban Point. Participant 1 (Male) reiterated this point saying;

“The redevelopment of the Point Waterfront makes economic sense; the area is filled with rich potential to attract investments. The government should focus on enhancing the area to capture larger crowds in terms of tourism and luxury living, the space is fitting. This notion of mixed-income is the reason Durban Point is the way it is today.”- Participant 1 (Male), 2018

Surprisingly the lower-income bracket respondents strongly feel that they would not learn anything from the high-income residents because they are predominantly white and have never gone through the struggles of black people. Interactions would be fake and meaningless especially because of the judgmental nature of the high-income residents.

Social identity is a contributing factor to the behavioural patterns of all the classes in Durban Point. People feel comfortable associating with people they know or have similar characteristics and backgrounds. Role modelling, which is supposed to be one of the intended outcomes of the approach, seems difficult to execute in Durban Point due to the social exclusion dominant in the area. The different classes do not see the need for and importance of interactions across classes. This lack of interest will interrupt the intended purpose of the whole approach. The approach is not only focused on the housing component, but it also focuses on strengthening human interactions and integrating people of a different race, colour, classes socially, economically and physically. Participant 5 (Male) furnished this by stating;

“The government wants us to use our networks to assist the poor in getting jobs but does not want to take into consideration the risk that comes with that. It is good to envision plans, but it is also mandatory to note the practicality of such plans. It is good to say that this approach is for the betterment of the low- income earners but what are we benefitting as high-income investors?” – Participant 5 (Male), 2018

The whole social exclusion aspect is one that cannot be ignored because it hinders the implementation of the mixed-income principles in the Point community. An integrated settlement cannot be created when there is social exclusion within the community.

6.5 Social Interactions created within Durban Point

Durban Point as diverse as it may be, is not necessarily racially nor economically integrated. Most of the respondents interviewed for the study strongly believe that Durban Point is a predominantly black area. The only part of Point which is deemed wealthy and might offer varying races is the Point Waterfront. The social divisions along class, race and nationality still hinder a lot of people's interactions within the community. One respondent strongly stated they would never live in harmony with people who see no fault in destroying young people's futures with the drugs they sell. Due to such perceptions, the notion of mixed-income housing becomes stagnant in terms of producing the results it was intended for because people become closed off to the idea of interactions and integration.

Another hindrance to the notion of mixed-income housing is the fact that there is no facilitation of interactions in the area. People share one environment but do not interact at all, which poses the question of 'how do you learn from someone who you do not get to interact with? How do you break free from a fixed mindset when you don't get to experience a different mentality or mind-set? Participant 6 (Male), a medium-income resident, believes that people within Point will not get along unless there is facilitation by the city and government. He reiterated by stating that;

"There will never be integration established based on living in the same environment, especially in Durban Point. The differences in the classes make it hard for interactions to happen. The government needs to provide a platform and initiatives to spark interaction and gradually it will happen." – Participant 6 (Male), 2018

Furthermore, the discrimination of black people themselves is another issue which was predominantly brought up in most of the interviews. The lack of understanding of one's culture, one's beliefs and one's way of living have resulted in a misconception that one person is better than the other. A fallacy which has seen the rise in a phenomenon known as xenophobia, which is the discrimination of foreign nationals, namely African nationals. The perception is that foreign nationals come into the Durban Point area and exhaust all the opportunities supposedly meant for the citizens of the country. They start their businesses and build their empires; some believe that their businesses are associated with drugs and prostitution which in turn, results in fuelled frustrations and jealousy.

Moreover, the fact that there are temporary accommodation facilities, namely student accommodation, for people in and outside of Durban Point also shines a light on the lack of social integration. The frequency at which rental occupants enter and exit the area makes it difficult to create genuine and sustainable relationships. It also makes it difficult to measure interactions within Durban Point.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MAIN FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

In conclusion, this chapter provides a summary of the research findings which are presented in two sections. The first section presents the main findings of the research, and the second section provides recommendations to improve the planning and implementation of the mixed-income approach in South Africa. These recommendations are based on the research findings as well as lessons learnt through observations and international practices. The conclusion will highlight and summarize the key issues presented in the research paper.

7.2 Main Findings of the study

The research focused on assessing the Durban Point Area's mixed-income community. The research was driven by the need to assess the level of integration established through mixed-income housing initiatives and communities, and ultimately, come up with recommendations to improve the implementation of the approach in the South African context. In an effort to respond to the aim, the following objectives were considered: exploring why mixed-income housing was a catalyst for social integration and investigating the benefits and challenges of mixed-income communities. In addition; assessing the roles played by both the private and public sector, and investigating the levels of integration achieved in this mixed-income community. The rationale behind the need to consider all these issues stemmed from the recognition that Durban Point area has become a mixed-income and mixed development community meaning that it focuses on providing affordable housing while promoting the integration of all forms.

Durban Point, being a huge investment node for eThekweni, is a priority in terms of the city's strategies and development plans. Theoretically, the mixed-use and mixed-income approach seem like a silver bullet which seeks to address issues holistically but its practicality and implementation needs a lot of work. Moreover, an element of community participation is vital to the success of any approach. If the community feels empowered, then they are more susceptible to adopting and endorsing the ideas of the approach, making it easier to implement.

The municipality strongly believes that they have been working tirelessly to develop and facilitate the area which in turn will facilitate natural relationship building amongst the residents. The idea is that the development of the area will force interactions amongst people in the area thus resulting in integration. One of the visions includes developing a strip that runs from the Point Waterfront to the Blue Lagoon in order to connect people geographically, socially as well as allow for more foot traffic around the area. This, in turn, will allow people to meet and interact and form relationships easily. According to the research obtained there are several factors that the municipality as well as policymakers have overlooked which may hinder the level of interactions within the area.

Another emerging issue which has been overlooked by the city is the inability of low income and some medium-income residents to maintain their homes and buildings. This is largely based on the lack of income and high levels of unemployment in the area. This has bearing on the overall outlook and status of the neighbourhood. There is another contributing factor to the dilapidated state of Durban Point which the city needs to take cognizance of, which is vandalism. The residents strongly feel that the municipality is lagging in terms of implementing development in the area; the focus is solely on the wealthier Point Waterfront precinct. With this mind-set, people are already closed off to interactions with people they feel are more entitled to them. Consistency should be the main focus when bringing together different elements into one, no element should be greater or more prominent than the other.



Figure 6 illustrating the delays in development and the vandalism

According to the eThekweni official, the strategies aimed to make Durban Point a place to work, live and play and also ensure the creation of a sustainable, integrated community. However, there is a lack of flexibility in implementing development and regeneration plans. A major finding from the study is that the Durban Point redevelopment notion is further perpetuating apartheid planning standards. Thus endorsing social exclusion, which is underpinned by the spatial plan and locality of each class in Durban Point. The municipal plans emphasize the need to include people of different incomes into one space but fail to mix the incomes within Point. There are clear demarcations of where each class needs to reside. Durban Point Waterfront development is majorly focused on increasing investments but fails to include principles of spatial and economic integration. The Waterfront development is in isolation which in turn will hinder the holistic development of the Durban Point area.

Based on the interviews and focus groups conducted, very strong opinions were noted. There is a lot of anger amongst the different classes residing within the Durban Point area which makes the vision of social integration seem like an unachievable dream. During the study, a big concern was towards the safety of the area. Many people, interviewed, deemed the Durban Point area very unsafe and not pedestrian-friendly. The residents of Point don't feel safe in their environment amongst their neighbours. The lack of control measures in the area has resulted in people shying away from interacting with fellow neighbours thus limiting any form of integration. People who also visit the area, due to its high tourism attractions, generally do not feel safe around the area this can be connected to the high level of crime and lack of safety measures in the area. The community members expressed their frustrations regarding how the municipality only focuses on safety, in the area, during peak season when there is a high influx of people. Generally, the municipality does not provide the necessary manpower and safety methods to ensure that the area is safe and patrolled regularly. This also has bearing on the levels of interaction in the area.

In concluding this section, integration mainly speaks to settlements that are socially inclusive, economically flexible and culturally diverse. The residents of Durban Point are resistant to interact; the need and the motivation are not there. The facilitation by the government is non-existent thus resulting in residents sticking to social circles they know and are comfortable around. The idea and resources are there but the 'know-how' to implement the plan effectively

to suit a particular place is still lacking. A number of factors are continuously being overlooked or undermined, in the hopes that they will not be contributing or hindering factors to the lack of integration, forgetting that a missing piece in a puzzle makes all the difference.

7.3 Recommendations

Providing mixed-income housing will not be an overnight solution to the racism, segregation, socio-economic injustices and other social issues faced in South Africa. The mixed-income ideology has good intentions, but it is extremely confident and fails to consider certain problems which might hinder its success. It is an international ideology which has been adopted in South Africa, it should be tailored for local context in order for it to work. The policy itself has a futuristic vision of peace and harmony but it lacks consideration for the human element.

The mind-set and mentality are very important factors to consider when imposing a certain programme or policy in a community in South Africa especially if it is an international ideology. People are filled with a lot of anger and hatred due to historical events and previous injustices and also see things from their perspective unless properly engaged. People may have forgiven but they have not forgotten, so, in this context, when imposing the mixed-income ideology, the racial component, the income gaps and the backgrounds of residents need to be considered to facilitate a healthy, blended social environment.

The city should make it a priority to create safe and secure settlements for people to have a sense of space. The environment needs to be pedestrian-friendly for those who actively engage and occupy the space. Facilities or platforms, such as parks, should be provided so that cohesion and memorable spaces can be enabled. The role of the government should be of a facilitator in order to open up the possibility of interactions so that the theoretical aspects of the approach are brought to reality, which is creating a platform that fosters integration. It should be a priority to organize area events which allow people to come together despite their earnings or backgrounds.

The Durban Point area is rich in investment potential and generates a lot of foot traffic due to its locality to tourism hotspots. The city needs to develop a clean-up plan to eradicate all the misfits such as the drug dealers, prostitutes and drug addicts residing on the streets of Point to make it more attractive and increase its investment potential.

In providing affordable housing namely gap and social housing, the city needs to look into assisting those residents who cannot maintain their homes. A risk management plan needs to be in place to also mitigate any issues and further accommodate buildings which may end up abandoned by private developers to mitigate the invasion, hijacking and dilapidation of buildings.

To ensure longevity in Point, the city needs to focus on supporting local existing and upcoming entrepreneurs. Informal trading should also be allowed in demarcated areas. Another key factor is the empowerment and upliftment of the residents of Durban Point. The government needs to focus on empowering its people so that they have a sense of belonging. Furthermore, communities need to be engaged properly regarding the implementation of policies to get feedback and properly plan for issues that may arise from these engagements.

7.4 Conclusion

Government has made the mistake of using an international template or blueprint to implement mixed-income housing in South Africa, without taking into consideration, the historical element and the local context of South Africa. The mixed-income approach has not been carefully examined and tailored for our local context. Experiences are different, backgrounds are different, so, a one size fits all approach will not work, that has been evident in existing policies.

On paper, the policy envisions role-modelling, information sharing and mentorships occurring in these environments. In reality, such interactions might not be feasible especially where there is limited or minimal interaction amongst residents. Government is not doing enough to facilitate an environment of interaction in these communities. Residents' perceptions of one another will not change if they are not given nor allow themselves to open-mindedly interact with other races and class groups.

Therefore, in relation to the aim of the study, which seeks to assess mixed-income housing as a mechanism to foster social integration, the study revealed that the lack of safety measures can hinder the manifestation of social integration. The study also found that there are neither social networks nor connections in the area amongst the different classes. There is no compliance to the

laws due to a lack of social order in the community and the lack of communal space is another contributing factor to the hindrance of integration.

Despite the various inefficiencies outlined above, theoretically, the notion of mixed-income housing is brilliant and futuristic, however proper and holistic implementation needs to be achieved to realize the greatness of the mixed-income approach. The dissertation concludes that the idea of mixed-income housing as a mechanism to foster social integration will not work unless the real discrepancies of its implementation are dealt with.

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Annexure 1: Interview/Focus Group questions for respondents of Durban Point

1. How long have you been staying in this area?
2. Male or Female?
3. Do you stay alone or have a family?
4. What is your income bracket?
5. Why did you decide to stay in this area?
6. How were you informed about the area?
7. How was the area before the introduction of the Point Waterfront Development?
8. How has the municipality engaged the community regarding development in the area?
9. Has the municipality empowered the community in any way?
10. Have you been impacted positively or negatively by the regeneration project/phase of this area? Why?
11. Do you feel a certain way about the different income groups residing in the area?
12. Do you have interactions with the residents of the other income groups?
13. Are all the different income groups integrated? How?
14. Are there programmes or initiatives by the municipality to facilitate interaction in Point?
15. Are there enough economic activities {restaurants, retails, office spaces} to benefit your living environment?
16. Is there a sense of safety in the area? Why?
17. Is this area best suited for you or your family? Why?

Annexure 2: Interview questions for EThekweni Municipality Urban Renewal Department official

1. How involved is the municipality in the rejuvenation of the inner-city namely: Durban Point area?
2. How has integration of different incomes been incorporated in the rejuvenation project?
3. What ways is social sustainability implemented for inner-city regeneration projects
4. What challenges has the Municipality experienced or is still experiencing in relation to inner-city regeneration projects?
5. Are there any developments in the pipe line to revitalise the declining areas within the Durban Point?
6. Have there been measures put in place to ensure safety?
7. What is the bigger vision for this Durban Point area?
8. How will social interaction amongst the residents, especially those of different income, be administered?
9. How sustainable is this project?

Annexure 3: Interview questions for EThekweni Municipality Urban Regeneration Strategy official

1. What was the vision and foundation of the regeneration of Durban Point?
2. What were the social and economic aims behind regenerating this part of Durban Point?
3. Who was the project targeted at?
4. How will the Durban Point Area be integrated as one (Waterfront and the Declining point area)?
5. Would you say this development is beneficial for all those who live in the Durban Point area?
6. What measures have been put in place to ensure economic opportunities and sustainability of the area?
7. What challenges have you faced thus far with regards to rejuvenation of the area?
8. Has the project succeeded in meeting its primary objectives?
9. How safe is the Durban Point Area?
10. Why should the private sector invest in this redevelopment strategy?
11. How is the private sector involved in the development?

Annexure 4: Informed Consent (English template)



COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES: MASTERS/PHD RESEARCH INFORMED CONSENT FORM

TO BE SIGNED BY THE PARTICIPANT AT THE START OF EACH INTERVIEW

One copy of the form to be left with the respondent; one copy to be signed by the respondent and kept by the researcher.

My name is Noluthando Msweli 213517921. I am currently doing research on a project entitled: **Assessing mixed income housing as a mechanism for social integration: A case study of the Durban Point area**. This project is currently being supervised by Dr. Claudia Loggia and co-supervised by Mrs Judith Ojo-Aromokudu at the School of the Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

- **Student Contact Details:** Noluthando Msweli. School of the Built Environment and Development Studies. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. **Cell:** 0787652751/0725748283; **Email:** nolumswelly20@hotmail.com or 213517921@stu.ukzn.ac.za
- **Supervisor Contact Details:** Dr Claudia Loggia. School of the Built Environment and Development Studies. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban; **Email:** Loggia@ukzn.ac.za
- **Co- Supervisor Contact Details:** Mrs Judith Ojo-Aromokudu. School of the Built Environment and Development Studies. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban; **Email:** Ojoaromokudu@ukzn.ac.za
- **HSSREC Contact Details:** P. Ximba. HSSREC Research Office, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. **Tel:** 27(31) 2603587; **Email:** ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Firstly, I would like to thank you for agreeing to take part in the project, and I would like to emphasize that:

- your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences.
- your participation in the research is limited to this interview only, and there are no other expectations of you.
- you may be contacted for any possible follow- up queries, or to verify any interview transcripts.
- you are free to refuse to answer any question; or refuse to discuss a topic, without judgment or prejudice.
- you will be given access to all interview notes for verification, and all findings will be made available to you.

Please note:

- The interview will be kept strictly confidential and will be available only to members of the research team. However, excerpts from the interview may be made part of the final research report.
- To facilitate the interviewer's job, the interview will be audio recorded your consent (interviewee). However, the recording will be destroyed as soon as it has been transcribed.
- All interview data will be handled to protect the confidentiality of any victims involved - no names will be mentioned or included in the research transcripts, analysis or coding.
- All data will be destroyed at the end of the project.

Do you give your consent for the following: (please tick and initial the options below)?

To have your role within the organization mentioned in the research:	
To have this interview audio-recorded:	
To be contacted for any possible follow-up queries:	

I _____ (full name) hereby declare that I have read this Informed Consent Form, and both understand and agree with the parameters of the research interview.

Participants' signature: _____ (signed) _____ (date) _____ (print name).

Interviewer's signature: _____ (signed) _____ (date) _____ (print name).

Annexure 5: Informed Consent (IsiZulu template)



UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

Imvumo yesaziso

Isihloko Socwaningo: Assessing mixed income housing as a mechanism for social integration: A case study of the Durban Point area

Isihloko Socwaningo: Ukuhlola imizi exubene ngokwehholo ukubheka ukuthy iyayvuna inhlalakahle nokuhlanganiswa komphakathi: Ucwangingo lwesigameko sase ndaweni yase Durban Point

Sawubona

Igama Lami ngingu-Noluthando Mandisa Msweli. Ngenza iziqu ze-Masters ngaphansi komkhakha we-Housing phansi kwesikole se-Built Environment and Development Studies eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natal eThekwini. Njengelunga lomphakathi wasePoint uyamenywa ukuba yingxenye yalolu cwanningo. Injongo yalo cwanningo ukuthola ukuthy abantu abahlala endaweni eyodwa kodwa bahhola ngokuhluka futhi bahlala ezindlini ezibiza ngokwehluka bangakwazi yini ukwaka ubdlelwane emphakathini. Lolu cwanningo lungasiza ezinhlelweni zokusiza uhhulumeni ukuthy ahlanganise izinhlelo zokuhlanganisa umphakathi, kungasiza nakwi Planning yayo indawo yasePoint. Lolu Cwanningo lulindeleke ukuthi cwanninge iqembu labantu abangama-30 abahlala e Durban Point kanye nomuntu osebenza kwaMasipala. Lolu cwanningo luzobuza abahlanganyeli imibuzo futhi lubanike nesikhathi sokuphendula imibuzo. Kuzothathwa izithombe zendawo abantu bendawo abahlala kuyo. Kuphinde kubhalwephansi okubonwayo.

ocwaningwayo. Awukho umuholo ozowuthola ngokuba ingxenye yalolucwaningo. Uvumelekile ukuphuma kulocwaningo noma ngabe yinini, noma ngabe yisiphi isizathu. Uyakhunjuzwa futhi ukuthi ukuzibandakanya kwakho kulolu cwaningo angeke kube nasici kuwena.

Ocwaningayo angalifihla igama lalo cwaningwayo. Ulwazi lwalolu cwaningo luzofihlwa emahhovisi aseNyuvesi futhi luzobonwa umcwaningi nabaphathi bakhe. Lolu lwazi luzohlala eNyuvesi isikhathi esingangeminyaka eyi-5, kanti futhi luzovikelwa imithetho yaseNyuvesi. Kuzothi uma sekuphele iminyaka emi-5, lolu lwazi luzolahlwa.

Lolu cwaningo lubuyekwezwe lwaphasiswa yihhovisi le Nyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natal Humanities and Social Development Research Ethics Committee

Uma unemibuzo ethile ngalolu cwaningo ungashayela kule mininigwane

Umcwaningi: Noluthando Mandisa Msweli – 0787652751 – 213517921@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Abaphathi: Dr Claudia Loggia – 0312601771; loggia@ukzn.ac.za

Dr Judith Tinuke Ojo-Aromokudu – 083 992 4644; ojoaromokud@ukzn.ac.za

Ihovisi Locwaningo: UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Administration
Research Office, Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building, Private Bag X 54001 Durban 4000,
Kwazulu Natal South Africa

Tel: 27 31 260 4557; Fax: 27 31 260 4609; email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

ISIVUMELWANO

Mina.....(amagama aphelele ophendulayo) sengichazekile ngocwaningo, isihloko: Assessing mixed income housing as a mechanism for social integration: A case study of the Durban Point area. Ngichazelwa uNoluthando Mandisa Msweli, ngiyaqiniseka ukuthi ngiyakuqonda okuqukethwe yilombhalo nesimo socwaningo, ngithi ngiyavuma ukuba yinhlanganisela nengxenye yalo lolucwaningo.

Annexure 6: Gate keepers letter



Date: 03 August 2017

To whom it may concern

Noluthando Mandisa Msweli is a Masters of Housing student in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The student requests an interview with the an official in the eThekweni Municipality Urban Renewal Department (Project Coordinator) to collect data for dissertation entitled "Assessing mixed-income housing as a mechanism for social integration in South Africa: A case study of the Durban Point Area". The interviews will take place in September. The dissertation will acknowledge you and your contribution.

Thank you

Supervisor Name: Dr Claudia Loggia
Supervisor Contact: 0312603144

Co-Supervisor Name: Mrs Ojo-Aronukudu
Co-Supervisor Number: 0312602427

Permission to use data granted by:
Name.....*Ineliso Msweli*.....
Signature.....*[Redacted]*.....
Date.....*03 Aug 2017*.....



School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban 4041.

Annexure 7: Gate keepers letter



Date: 03 August 2017


To whom it may concern

Noluthando Mandisa Msweli is a Masters of Housing student in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The student requests an interview with the community of Durban Point to collect data for dissertation entitled "Assessing mixed-income housing as a mechanism for social integration in South Africa: A case study of the Durban Point Area". The interviews will take place in September. The dissertation will acknowledge you and your contribution.

Thank you

Supervisor Name: Dr Claudia Loggia
Supervisor Contact: 0312603144

Co-Supervisor Name: Mrs Ojo-Aromokudu
Co-Supervisor Number: 0312602427

Permission to use data granted by:
Name: *Thomas Masimula*
Signature: 
Date: *04-08-2017*



School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban 4041.

Annexure 8: Ethical clearance



10 November 2017

Miss Noluthando Mandisa Msweli 213517921
School of Built Environment and Development Studies
Howard College Campus

Dear Miss Msweli

Protocol reference number: HSS/1867/017M

Project title: Assessing mixed income housing as a mechanism for social integration: A case study of the Durban Point area

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 19 September 2017, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/s/

cc Supervisor: Dr Claudia Loggia IT Ojo-Aromokidu
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Oliver Mtapuri
cc School Administrator: Ms Nolandi Mzolo

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shonuka Singh (Chair)

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Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

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Annexure 9: Turn it in report

Assessing Mixed-Income Housing as a mechanism to foster social integration: A case study of Durban Point

ORIGINALITY REPORT

10%

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PRIMARY SOURCES

1	Submitted to University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Paper	1%
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3	Submitted to University of Witwatersrand Student Paper	1%
4	Submitted to The University of Memphis Student Paper	1%
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6	J. Duke. "Mixed income housing policy and public housing residents' `right to the city'", Critical Social Policy, 02/01/2009 Publication	<1%
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