The Long Road to Socio-Spatial Integration

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THE LONG ROAD TO SOCIO-SPATIAL INTEGRATION

1 SEGREGATION AND INEQUALITY IN THE CITY OF TSHWANE METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

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SAMENVATTING

Het conflict tussen planningsbeleid en haar implementatie is lang en al door vele auteurs aangehaald sinds de jaren zestig. Veel nieuwe plannings benaderingen, systemen en methodologieën zijn ontwikkeld met als doel dit onderwerp te benaderen, maar de zoektocht lijkt bijna tevergeefs. De situatie van post-apartheid Zuid-Afrika verschaf een ideale case study voor deze problematiek: in minder dan een decennium is het stedelijk planningsysteem volledig herzien, substantief en procedureel.

Stadsplanning was voor de apartheidsregering één van de belangrijkste instrumenten in het vijftigjarig sociaal experiment van aparte ontwikkeling. Door middel van stadsplanning werd er een ruimtelijke en economische afstand gecreëerd tussen verschillende rassen op wijk, stedelijk en regionaal niveau. Afgemeten aan de doelstellingen van de apartheidsplanning, was het een succesvol project. Niet alleen het marginaliseren van de zwarte minderheid werd bereikt, maar de scheiding tussen de rassen heeft ook bijgedragen aan het wantrouwen tussen de verschillende bevolkingsgroepen. Men is geneigd te zeggen dat dit wantrouwen in combinatie met de economische macht het mogelijk heeft gemaakt voor een minderheid om zo lang aan de macht te blijven als het gedaan heeft.

Echter in 1990 werd Nelson Mandela vrijgelaten uit de gevangenis en het ANC en andere vrijheidsorganisaties werden toegestaan. In 1994 kwam de eerste democratisch gekozen regering aan de macht. Omdat de stedelijke structuur zo een discutabel onderwerp was, vanwege de ongelijkheid en ellende die het heeft veroorzaakt, werd het een cruciaal beleidsdoel van de regering. De regering begon op alle niveaus het herzien van het planningsysteem geconcentreerd op de primaire benodigdheden zoals woningbouw en het herstructureren van de apartheidsstad. Het doel was een gelijke en geïntegreerde stad te creëren. Sindsdien zijn er tien jaar voorbij. Een goed moment om de bereikte resultaten van dit ambitieuze project te evalueren.

Over het algemeen is de herstructurering op een flascoc uitgelopen: in het geval van de stad Tshwane, de stad waar de regering zetelt, is ongelijkheid en segregatie vermeerderd ten opzichte van 1994. Het patroon van segregatie in de stad, dat zich sinds de stichting al in de stedelijke structuur bevindt, blijkt moeilijk te ontmantelen. De armoede in de buitenwijken van de stad is toegenomen door het arriveren van migranten in de stad die slechts behuizing kunnen vinden in informele nederzettingen aan de periferie. Dit wordt opgevangen door goedkopere woningbouw, die vanwege de hoge opleveringstijdsdruk ook aan de periferie worden gesitueerd. Tevens zijn aan de ene kant de reisafstanden naar plaatsen waar kans is op een baan toegenomen vanwege de spreiding van arme inwoners aan de noordelijke periferie en aan de andere kant vanwege de decentralisatie van de non-residentiële activiteiten vanuit de binnenstad naar het oosten en zuiden, aangedreven door de economische puls van de noordelijke voorsteden van Johannesburg. De moeilijkheden van de armen aan de periferie worden versterkt door de inefficiënte stedelijke structuur, welke sterk wordt bepaald door het privé vervoer.

Contrasterend hiermee is de snelle decentralisatie van de woningbouw voor de midden- en hogere inkomens naar het oosten en het westen. Welzijnshuishouding concentreert zich meer en meer in kleine gemeenschappen. In de apartheidshouding werd de woningbouw voor de witte bevolking met hogere inkomens breed verspreid over de stad, vandaag de dag echter...
concentreren ze zich meer in enclaves, vaak ommuurd of zoals Marcus he benoemt: totalisering suburbs.


Er is een duidelijke overlap tussen slechte toegankelijkheid tot services en sociaal-economische status, waarbij de armste deel van de bevolking tevens de slechtste toegankelijkheid tot services geniet. Nog verontrustender is dat de situatie aangaande de primaire services is verslechterd tussen 1995 en 2001 ondanks een grootschalige acties van de kant de regering op alle niveaus om deze situatie aan te pakken. Dit is vanwege de hoge toename van lage inkomens. Eveneens is er een duidelijke overlap tussen de goede toegankelijkheid tot telecommunicatiemiddelen en de hoge inkomens gebieden. De verscheidene niveaus van toegankelijkheid tot services is niet alleen een indicatie van armoedenniveaus, maar ook van levenskans en zodoende van het eeuwige patroon van buitenisvelling.

De redenen achter deze contradicte tussen plan en implementatie kunnen gevonden worden in het neolabile kapitalisme, de opvattingen van bewoner en stadsplanner en ook in inefficiënte planningssystemen.

Tijdens de apartheid overlappen de doelstellingen van de markt en de stedelijke planning elkaar. Aan de ene kant zorgde de apartheid voor concentratie van goedkope zwarte arbeid, die alleen maar mogelijk gemaakt in de informeel en onderdrukking van keus en mogelijkheden van de zwarte bevolking. De apartheidstaat subsidieerde transportkosten of sitewagenvoering. Deze waren echter dichtbij werkgelegenheid om op die manier de mensen voor het heen en weer reizen naar het werk zoveel mogelijk te reduceren. Aan de andere kant zorgde de apartheid voor de effectieve werking van de vraag en aanbod naar grond in de blanke woongebieden door de bescherming van grondrechtommen en de kwaliteit van de omgeving. Hierdoor kon er winst gemaakt worden op de grondontwikkelingen.

Na de val van de apartheid hebben de doelstellingen van de stedelijke planning complete veranderingen ondergaan: van het efficiënt functioneren van de blanke stad naar gelijkheid, integratie en duurzaamheid. Het is gebleken dat stedelijke planners niet de kundigheid bezitten om ontwikkelingen in deze omstandigheden in goede banen te leiden. Sterker nog, door het uitbuien van angst die heerst onder de hoge en middenklasse, is het zelfs zo dat ontwikkelaars een meerwaarde aan de buurten kunnen geven door veiligheid als een onverwacht aspect op te nemen in het ontwerp, waardoor ze de prijzen van hoge en midden inkomenshuizen kunnen worden opgedreven.

Private grondontwikkelingen hebben de segregatiepatronen alleen maar erger gemaakt door processen als decentralisatie, ex-urbanisatie het creëren van gated communities en ommuringen. Investeringspatronen zijn volledig in tegenspraak met de ruimtelijke visie van de lokale overheid. De ironie ligt in het feit dat ondanks deze tegenspraak de lokale overheid de moeite private investeringen wel heeft gedaan, waardoor de werkelijke en vastgestelde doelstellingen elkaar tegenspreken.

Om duurzaamheid tot stand te brengen geloven de stedelijke planners dat de markt beheerst zal moeten worden. Echter, ze zien zichzelf niet in een markt-controleerende, maar in een markt-volgende rol. Ontwikkelaars daarentegen geloven dat zij de stad vormgeven en dat stedelijke planning en publieke deelname het ontwikkelingsproces alleen maar vertragt. Hun enige doel is winst maken en ze tonen geen enkel respect voor het herconstrueren van de stad. Een motiverende kracht voor nieuwe ontwikkelingen is meer een trend dan een duurzame oplossing.

De voortzetten van apartheid in haar stedelijke vorm kan grotendeels worden toegeschreven aan de kracht van het ruimtelijke paradigma van apartheid in de menselijke waarneming. De staat heeft veertig jaar lang segregatie opgedrongen hetgeen heeft geleid tot wantrouwen, onbegrip en zelfs angst tussen verschillende bevolkingsgroepen onderscheiden naar ras en inkomens. Stedenbouwkundigen en projectontwikkelaars zijn in grote mate beïnvloed door hun eigen woonomstandigheden en de gebieden die ze kennen. En bij de ontwikkeling van modellen voor de toekomst laten ze zich hierdoor leiden het fies die alzonderlijke woonmilieus niet behorend zijn voor integratie of duurzaamheid en tegengesteld zijn aan de door de overheid gereguleerde doelstellingen.

De sociale constructie van de apartheid-stad is zo effectief geweest, dat het aan de ervaringen en waarnemingen van verschillende groepen vorm heeft gegeven en daarmee de vorm van de stad voorziet. Mensen, zelfs deskundigen, zijn gebonden aan hun eigen levenservaringen en woonomstandigheden. In een geselecteerde stad die wordt gekennmerkt door ongelijkheid wordt dit vertraagd in een gebrek aan begrip. Zo lang als de landelijke visie niet strikt wordt opgelegd, zullen plaatselijke opvattingen de besluitvorming met betrekking tot de toekomstige stedelijke ontwikkeling domineren.

In wezen was de politiek van apartheid een ruimtelijke politiek en speelde ruimtelijke planning bij de implementatie daarvan een belangrijke rol: zelfs wanneer het material deel was van de onderliggende filosofie. Onthands de plannen om de stad te integreren is de huidige Zuid-Afrikaanse stad minder geïntegreerd en duurzaam geworden. Ofschoon het totale beleid gericht is op een rechtstreekse aanpak, gebeurt dit niet omdat een vaste lijn bij de gemeentelijke planners inzake de toepassing van de richtlijnen van de DPA ontbreekt; het betreft met name integratie en duurzaamheid. Het is duidelijk dat een belangrijk aantal onder hen het niet eens is met de doelstellingen van beleidsmaatregelen en uitgangspunten.

Beleid en maatregelen op gemeenteniveau ondersteunen niet het idee van de ontwikkeling van een stad zonder rasseelscheiding. In sommige gevallen, zoals wanneer sprake is van herzoning, is het ideaal van de integrale stad opgevoerd vanwege efficiëntie en waarschijnlijk omdat het alternatief onbereikbaar of zelfs niet wensbaar lijkt. In andere situaties, zoals in gevallen van wagensluitingen, is het gebeurd om aan de vraag op de markt tegemoet te komen en ingegeven door het feit dat het een tijdelijke oplossing biedt voor de enorme hoge misdaadcijfers. Op de laatste plaats, in de ontwikkeling van betaalbare woningbouw, is het gebeurd om zo snel mogelijk tegemoet te komen aan de gruwelijke nood en eveneens om te voldoen aan verkiezingsbeloften.

De opgelegde en gebouwde structuren uit de periode van apartheid zijn een beperkende factor voor de vormgeving van de postapartheid stad, evenals kenmerken van het koloniaal erfgoed.
nog steeds aanwezig zijn in de ruimtelijke aspecten van segregatie, honderd jaar later. De infrastructuur van apartheid kan niet zomaar weggewist worden en een geïntegreerde samenleving is moeilijker te creëren dan te vernietigen.

De conclusie is dat de mislukking van de stedelijke planning met betrekking tot de realisatie van de doelstellingen niet zoveel te wijten is aan de instrumenten die dienen tot de implementatie daarvan, deze zijn in wezen neutraal, maar veel meer aan de opvattingen en vooroordelen van degene die zorg dragen voor de implementatie van beleid, de technici (planners, ingenieurs etc.), projectontwikkelaars en makelaars en de individuele keuze die wordt gemaakt door de betreffende bewoners met betrekking tot waar te wonen, te winkelen en te recreëren. De meest belangrijke factor die deze opvattingen beïnvloedt is de bestaande stedelijke vorm.
CHAPTER 1
BACKGROUND TO RESEARCH

1. INTRODUCTION

This document contains the written documentation of research undertaken and presented in partial fulfilment for the degree Philosophiae Doctor in the Faculty of Architecture, Sector Urban Renewal and Urban Management at the Technical University of Delft, on the role of urban planning in the restructuring of the post-apartheid city in South Africa.

This chapter addresses the problem statement and background to the study.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

South African settlements have been characterised by segregation since the first colonial outpost was created in the Cape in 1652. The first act of segregation is exemplified in the Dutch colonisers planting a thorn hedge between themselves and the native population as an attempt to prevent the theft of livestock and to protect themselves from outside attacks (Badenhorst, 1987). This action laid the foundation for an approach that was to determine the way in which conflict between White settlers and their descendants, and the indigenous people were resolved up till the time of the 1994 democratic elections in the country (Badenhorst, 1999). The concomitant pattern of segregated settlements that flowed from these initial conditions continued as a key feature in the Boer towns that developed in the north and later during the annexation by the British (Van der Merwe, 1999; Nel and Van Zyl, 1982). Key features of these settlements were the separation of inhabitants into different residential areas for 'Europeans' and 'Natives' and often the placing of barriers or buffer strips between these areas (Badenhorst, 1999).

By the time of the election of the National Party (NP) in 1948, the spatial development pattern of urban segregation was already deeply entrenched. The National Party however took segregation a step further with the creation of 'Apartheid'. Under the auspices of apartheid, cities were restructured in line with the ideology of separate development and the view that urban blacks were temporary sojourners in the city, only there to provide cheap labour when needed (Smit and Booyse in Badenhorst, 1987). This led to the consolidation of different racial neighbourhoods (White, Coloured, Asian and Black), the division of Black neighbourhoods into ethnic sub sectors, and the establishment of bufferstrips between the different race groups as well as increased spatial distance. Blacks were generally moved to the outskirts of the city, in underdeveloped townships far from job opportunities and social facilities. This urban

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1 The National Party came to power in 1948, elected on the basis of white Afrikaner nationalism. They ruled the country for more than 50 years and during their reign implemented the policy of apartheid thereby ensuring the disenfranchisement of 'non-whites'.

form was maintained at high cost to the government in terms of transport subsidies in order to get the poorest section of the population, who lived the longest distance from the city, to their places of work (Van der Merwe, 1993).

The Group Areas Act of 1950, under which thousands of people were forcibly removed, as well as the very visible separation and accompanied inequity between White and Black neighbourhoods, served as a tangible rallying point for the anti-apartheid movement. The eventual collapse of the Apartheid government in 1994 and the election of the African National Council's (ANC) as the first democratic government therefore brought many changes in terms of urban development ideologies. Some of the key issues for the new government were urban reconstruction and the need for integration and equity within the urban form.

Since 1994, and even prior to this, numerous new policy documents and acts have been drawn up for urban development and the restructuring of the apartheid city, all with one underlying theme, viz. urban restructuring to achieve spatial integration and to address the inequalities of the past. Yet, a brief overview of the type and locality of most new urban developments is sufficient to illustrate that the apartheid urban form is being perpetuated and reinforced. The Development and Planning Commission (DPC), even goes so far as to state that 'there are few signs that significant and wide-reaching improvements have been set in place since 1994' and that 'to this extent, the planning system must be judged to be ineffective' (DPC, 1999). This discrepancy between policy and planning ideology on the one hand, and implementation and the reality of urban development on the other, forms the focus of this study.

Within the current policy framework, and in line with international trends towards decentralisation of government functions and devolution of power, local authorities in South Africa are at the forefront of the implementation of new urban policies. They play a critical role in the achievement of spatial integration in urban areas and their actions will therefore be analysed in this research.

This study was inspired by the limited change in urban structure in the light of dramatic political and legislative changes that have occurred in South Africa since the fall of apartheid. It is a step towards understanding the contradictions between the reality of city building in the post-apartheid era and the idealism of planning for change; to understanding the complex interlinkages between social and spatial structures within the context of increasing social and economic disparities; to understand the limitations of policy making and public participation in the context of disempowerment of the state and weak implementation tools to achieve social objectives created by neo-liberalism. It is also an attempt to expose the negative externalities of large-scale housing solutions and ad hoc land use management dictated by sectoral policies that have not taken into account the objectives of integrated planning.

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2 The ANC was the leading organisation in fighting Apartheid and upon its unbanning transformed itself into a political party under the leadership of Nelson Mandela.
The City of Tshwane, previously known as Pretoria, the capital city of South Africa (together with Cape Town, which is the seat of the legislature) has been chosen as the object of research for the following reasons:

- It has always been one of the symbolic cities of apartheid, having been the capital, first of the Boer Republics and later of the National Party. It has now also become the capital of the ANC led government. In terms of government policy it is thus an important city and should be a model for implementation of urban restructuring.
- Because of the large governmental sector in the city, it is known for its stability and for its relative welfare, within the South African context. It is thus not a city that is characterised by extremes of income and welfare. It has a growing middle and upper class black population linked to government activities and does thus to some degree begin to bridge the divide between black poverty and white wealth, thereby reflecting the finer nuances and complexities of socio-economic segregation, rather than racial segregation.
- The researcher has been intimately involved with urban development in this city for the past fifteen years, first as urban planner at the local authority and then as consultant and adviser to the local authority and thus has an in-depth knowledge of the city and access to data.

4. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this research was to determine why spatial segregation has remained a feature of South African cities despite urban policies to the contrary. The objectives are twofold:

- Firstly, to determine the extent of spatial integration/segregation and inequality in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) and how this pattern has changed over the past ten years that have been marked by democratic rule.
- Secondly, to determine the role, overtly or covertly, that the local authority as the key role player in urban restructuring has played in abating or exacerbating spatial segregation in the CTMM through land use decisions, sectoral policies, spatial plans and guidance of market forces.

5. PREMISES

This research is based on several premises, which will be further elaborated on in Chapter 3.

- Firstly, that space is socially produced and that there is thus a link between spatial form and social processes. Furthermore that urban form can have an impact on the welfare of residents in that it impacts on opportunities and access to facilities and services. This is especially true in cases of extreme inequalities.
- Secondly, that a compact city characterised by mixed use and mixed housing typologies, that maximises the use of public transport and accessible public spaces is seen as an urban form that promotes integration whereas a mono-functional, sprawling, suburban type city that relies on private transport and promotes the privatisation of space is seen as increasing segregation. This is closely related to the topic of urban sustainability and will be expanded on in the literature study.

- Thirdly, that the aim of urban planning is to enhance social equity, amongst others.

6. LIMITATIONS

This study is limited firstly, to the CTMM and is thus not necessarily representative of all cities in South Africa, especially because of its role as capital city.

It is secondly, limited to the investigation of segregation/integration patterns and the reasons behind these patterns. Although there are many pressing problems in the cities of South Africa such as unemployment, high crime rates, high HIV/AIDS infection rate etc., this study will not address these issues directly. One spatial aspect of the apartheid/post-apartheid city has been selected, that of segregation, and other aspects will only be addressed where relevant, since segregation (or the form and spatial organisation of the city) does have an impact on these problems. The study does thus not aim at addressing all the pressing problems, but rather at the reasons behind the continued prevalence of segregation, in the hope that this can shed light on decision-making and the implementation of policies.

Lastly, although not limited only to spatial issues, this study does focus on spatial aspects of the city, not in the belief that mere spatial restructuring can solve all social, economical and political problems, but rather that space does play an important role in the lives and livelihoods of the inhabitants of a city.

7. STRUCTURE OF THE DOCUMENT

The structure of this document will be as follows:

- Chapter 2 will explore the history of the South African city, specifically the creation of segregation and inequality up until 1994. It will also document the legislative changes that have taken place in the field of urban planning since 1994.
- Chapter 3 deals with the theoretical underpinnings of this research. Theoretical explanations for segregation are explored, as well as the changing context in which cities operate and the resultant urban form.
- Chapter 4 discusses the methodology followed during this research.
- Chapter 5 gives an overview of the basic urban structure and development of the case study, the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipal Area, up until 1994. As such, it forms the basis for further analyses.
- Chapter 6 is an analytical chapter exploring the changes in spatial segregation and inequality since the fall of apartheid. Socio-economic segregation and inequality levels in 1998 and 2001 are compared to determine segregation patterns and their impact on life chances.
- Chapter 7 describes the perceptions and attitudes of municipal town planning officials, politicians, developers and communities with regards to integrated cities.
- Chapter 8 explores the contradictions between the spatial vision and actual land use changes over the past 10 years, to determine whether the local government is managing change towards greater integration.
- Chapter 9 contains an analysis of three prominent policies of the local government: that of street closures, rezoning and low-cost housing.
- Chapter 10 concludes the study by synthesising the main findings.
investment in affluent neighbourhoods will be shared by adjacent areas, and local facilities and amenities can be utilised by both high and low-income residents" (1998).

On the need for densification, The White Paper on Local Government (1998) expresses the following views: "Many cities have low-income, over-crowded townships on the one hand, and far less densely populated affluent areas on the other. [...] By densifying – that is, developing vacant land and allowing stands to be subdivided – the number of people living in sparsely populated areas can be increased. This is a way of giving more people access to land which is already serviced (by transport networks and bulk infrastructure) and increasing the efficiency of the city" (1998:161).

The Government’s viewpoint on densification of urban areas was reiterated in the Housing Act, 1997, article 2(e)(viii), which states that government must 'promote higher density in respect of housing development to ensure the economical utilisation of land and service', and in the National Land Transport Act, 2000, article 4(1)(e) which states that: 'Land transport functions must be integrated with related functions such as land use and economic planning and development through, among others, development of corridors, and densification and infilling...'.

The resource document of the DFA also stresses the need for higher densities when it states that the characteristics of positive settlement are amongst others higher dwelling densities.

Insofar as public transport is concerned, the National Land Transport Act, 2000, article 4(1)(e), states that: 'public transport must be given higher priority than private transport'. The resource document of the DFA also stresses this point when it states that the characteristics of positive settlement are amongst others scaled for pedestrians and people using public transport. The RDP under the key programme of meeting basic needs stresses the importance of access to jobs close to places of home and stimulation of public transport vs. private transport. 'The policy of apartheid has moved the poor away from job opportunities and access to amenities. This has burdened the workforce with enormous travel distance to their places of employment and commercial centres and thus with excessive costs.'

The Land Use Management Bill (2002) states that planning should be guided by 'availability of appropriate services and infrastructure, including transportation, which ensures the achievement of the overall best results' and it should 'ensure integration of and interconnectedness between modes of movement for persons and goods in order to achieve an efficient and viable transport system'.

Government policy has clearly been influenced by the need for more sustainable cities, which mean compaction and reduction of sprawl, densification of existing residential areas, mixed land uses and the restructuring of the city to enhance the use of public transport.

4. CONCLUSION

Apartheid was in essence a political system with a highly spatial implication. It was clear in its spatial objectives as manifested in the simple diagrams developed of 'ideal cities'. It was also forceful in its implementation as is exemplified by forced removals. It managed to transform a highly controversial political ideology into clear, apparently technocratic, planning guidelines and standards aimed at the orderly functioning of the city. In contrast to the lack of respect for non-white land ownership and land rights, while land ownership was entrenched in many acts and ordinances, thus enabling a 'healthy' and secure, if distorted, free market system within 'white' area.

These factors ensured the successful implementation of apartheid policy and had a tremendous impact on the structure of South African cities including increased poverty, marginalisation and inequality.

After almost 150 years of planning to ensure segregation between different race groups and the exclusion and deprivation of all but white urban residents, the ANC government has made the planning of inclusive, egalitarian and sustainable cities a priority. It is to be expected, that the destruction of the apartheid city, which was the cause of so much hardship through forced removals and constituted a key instrument in the apartheid government's strategy, should be at the centre of post-apartheid policies. However, the current urban structure was created and reinforced over many years through authoritarian planning and a negation of human rights. As such it remains almost as a monument to the achievements of a succession of white segregationist governments, and because of the permanency of the built environment, it is proving to be a monument that is difficult to dismantle.
CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. INTRODUCTION

Socio-spatial segregation has been an oft-debated topic in urban studies. The debate was initiated during the early 1920s when it was triggered by mass immigration of Europeans to the US. It has recently resurfaced with increased international migration of ethnic minorities in the north and the influx of rural poor to the periphery of cities in the south.

This chapter aims to explore the different theoretical dimensions of socio-spatial segregation as well as international experience to firstly develop a theoretical framework for this research and secondly to provide a context in which to understand the South African situation. To this end the linkage between society and space, the so-called socio-spatial dialectic of Soja (1996), is explored as a backdrop to understand segregation as a socio-spatial phenomenon and as a factor in marginality and inequality. Thereafter four different theoretical approaches to the causes of segregation are identified for the purposes of this research: functionalist, structuralist, behavioural and managerial.

Lastly, the impact of the changing macro-economic, demographic and institutional context on segregation and marginality is explored as well as the resultant urban form. The chapter is concluded with ideas on the possible spatial form of an integrated city.

2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPACE AND SOCIETY

There are substantial differences in opinion on the causal relationship between space and society, for example spatial determinism and spatial possibilities. This research subscribes to the view that urban form/space cannot be analysed without an understanding of the socio-economic context. ‘Few social values and actions are so abstract that they fail to be reflected in material forms’ (Kostof, 1991).

Castells (1983), in The City and the Grass Roots, states that ‘Space is not a “reflection of society”, it is society […] Therefore, spatial forms, at least on our planet, will be produced, as all other objects are, by human action. They will express and perform the interests of the dominant class according to a given mode of production and to a specific mode of development. They will express and implement the power relationships of the state in an historically defined society’.

These socially produced spaces are also known as social spatiality or the space of society. Lefebvre (1991) states that social spatiality consists simultaneously of material Spatial Practices, evocative and imaginative Representations of Space, and the complex, combinational and never fully knowable Spaces of Representation. Soja (2000) explains:
Social spatiality [...] is simultaneously real and imagined. It functions as form, configured materially as things in space as well as mentally as thoughts about space; but also as process, as a dynamic force that is always actively being produced and reproduced’. He calls the relationship between space and society the socio-spatial dialectic: in which urban processes/relations shape, for example, the spatial specificities of urbanism but are at the same time also significantly shaped by these specificities’ (Soja, 2000).

This point is also stressed by Harvey (1973) in Social Justice and the City, wherein he points to the importance of combining sociological and geographical theories: ‘The general point should be clear: the only adequate conceptual framework for understanding the city is one which encompasses and builds upon both the sociological and the geographical imaginaries. We must relate social behaviour to the way in which the city assumes a certain geography, a certain spatial form. We must recognise that once a particular spatial form is created it tends to institutionalise and, in some respects, to determine the future development of social process. We need, above all, to formulate concepts which will allow us to harmonise and integrate strategies to deal with the intricacies of social process and the elements of spatial form’.

This research builds on these approaches and is based on the idea that a society creates a certain urban structure that reflects its values and power relations. However once the urban structure has been created it influences the lives of its inhabitants, either benefiting them or limiting their opportunities, thereby perpetuating the social structure which created it in the first place.

However, although space is socially produced, an ‘ideal’ society cannot be spatially produced as is prescribed by spatial determinism and applied in many urban utopias. This deduction can have disastrous outcomes, such as the slum clearance projects of the 1960s, or the outcomes can be merely disappointing as in the case of spatial designs to foster a sense of community, as in the case of New Urbanism. Nonetheless, urban planning can address social problems though design, as is propagated by Omenya (2000) in his depiction of action theories, by creating certain spatial possibilities (or opportunities) through which social issues can be addressed. The outcomes can however not be predetermined.

Furthermore spatial analyses of urban problems must be placed within their context. Because of a general lack of a comprehensive body of analytical research for the African context, politicians and urban policymakers often act according to certain preconceived concepts of urban space, although many of the ideas are obsolete and have been abandoned at the theoretical level. This results in the tendency to solve social problems with spatial answers.

3. SEGREGATION AS SOCIO-SPATIAL PHENOMENON

Johnston et al (1986) offer the following definition of spatial segregation: ‘Spatial segregation can be seen as the residential separation of groups within a broader population. A group is said to be completely mixed in a spatial sense when its members are distributed uniformly throughout the population. The greater the deviation from a uniform dispersal, the greater the degree of segregation’. Ouezkren and Van Kempen (1997) add to this, by stating that: ‘Spatial segregation exists when some areas show an overrepresentation and other areas an underrepresentation of members of a group. The crux of the matter is spatial scale. Spatial segregation may exist between cities and their surrounding areas, between urban neighbourhoods, or even between housing estates within neighbourhoods. Segregation at one spatial level does not automatically imply segregation at another spatial level’.

They continue by adding that by definition spatial segregation implies spatial concentration. ‘If an area (neighbourhood) displays an overrepresentation of a certain group (compared to, for example, the share of the group in the city as a whole), we speak of a concentration area for that group. This definition implies that a concentration area may also house many members of other groups. For instance, a single neighbourhood may show an overrepresentation of Turks as well as Moroccans, of Asians as well as Pakistanis, of the elderly as well as the unemployed etc... A residential mix is defined as a situation in which groups of all kinds live together in a residential area. Residentially mixed areas and concentrations are not diametrically opposed concepts. If a neighbourhood is inhabited by 10 different groups, each accounting for 10% of the total population of this area, we might call it a residentially mixed area. But if all the Chinese of that particular city live in that neighbourhood, it is also a concentration area for the Chinese’ (Ouezkren and Van Kempen, 1997).

It must be stressed that the opposite, spatial proximity does not necessarily constitute integration as is stressed by Treanor (1998). Omenya (2000) quotes the work of Olivera and Nunez (2001) of elite sub-centres and gated communities in Brazil that are surrounded by low-income neighbourhoods and Lomnitz (1977) that ‘observed that the low-income cadres who migrated to live next to the middle-income groups in Mexico were not integrated socio-economically into their host community (Omenya, 2000). Another example is the inner city citadels identified by Marcuse (1997a).

Marcuse (2001) differentiates between clustering, segregation and congregating, defining them as follows: ‘Clustering is the coming together of a population group in space. It is the generic term for the formation of any area of spatial concentration. Segregation is the process by which a population group is forced, i.e. involuntarily, to cluster in a defined spatial area, in a ghetto. […] Congregating is the voluntary coming together of a population group for purposes of self-protection and advancement of its own interests, other than through domination or exclusion’.

According to Marcuse and Van Kempen (1997) and Marcuse (2001), socio-spatial segregation can take three forms:

- Cultural/ethnic/racial segregation (cultural divisions), is based on ethnicity, religion, place of origin or more recently lifestyle (albeit often artificially created by property developers) and is the result of manipulation or free choice of association. This is the most controversial form of segregation and is intimately linked with racism (Sabalini, 1990; Marcuse, 1997b).
Socio-economic/status segregation is based on differences in hierarchical status and refers to segregation between rich and poor and between people who occupy different status levels. It is based on relationships of power, market forces, domination or exploitation. The basis for segregation differs between countries: in the UK it is class, in India it is caste, in most countries it is wealth, in the US it is race and in Eastern Europe it was political power. Extreme examples are securely guarded luxury residences near CBD’s in the US or African townships in South Africa (Marcus, 1997).

Functional segregation (or divisions by functional role) refers to the spatial segregation intrinsically underpinned by the existence of different functions in different areas of the city. This is normally the result of economic or organisational logic (e.g. bid rent theory) and is closely linked to zoning. Such differences are essentially independent of cultural differences and do not denote relations of superiority or inferiority to other functions, simply differences. Functional segregation has been criticised by proponents of sustainable development (Jenks, 1996) as leading to unsustainable environments and by proponents of place making theories (Krier, 1984; Jacobs, 1962; Bentley et al, 1985) as creating monofunctional and unresponsive environments.

These divisions may overlap, contradict or reinforce each other and do not exist in isolation (Marcus, 1997, 2001). This research focuses on the first two processes as they have a direct bearing on equity. However, as these processes do not exist in isolation, functional segregation will be referred to when applicable.

Socio-economic segregation remains a prominent feature on the path from the industrial city towards the service (and informal) city. It was not until the outbreak of bubonic plague and the establishment of the link between poverty and disease that the rich actively sought to distance themselves from the poor. Increased industrialisation resulted in overcrowding and pollution in the cities, which acted to push those with choice, i.e. the rich, out of the cities, in search of better living conditions. This was made possible by improved transportation and the resultant process of suburbanisation. Whereas earlier segregation patterns consisted of vertical segregation within one building or different buildings within the same street block, suburbanisation allowed for substantial physical distances between groups (Kostof, 1992).

Ethnic segregation has also been a prominent feature of cities as the two powerful examples of segregation in history, the Jewish ghetto and colonial cities, attest to. In the case of the colonial city, which was also implemented in South Africa, the state instituted racial segregationist planning as an urban policy.

In other parts of the world, ethnic segregation was stimulated by international migration, which has had a marked impact on the patterns and processes of segregation. The creation of ethnic enclaves was seen as a natural process though and the segregated American cities were seen as a melting pot or a cultural mosaic where ethnic enclaves form a springboard for integration into the resident community.

Functional division was part of the modernist ideology of planning, which dictated that for reasons of efficiency and functionality, different land uses have to be separated, most prominently residential areas from commercial and industrial areas. These areas were to be linked by highways and well serviced by public transport. The designing of neighbourhood units and the system of zoning were instruments through which functional division was implemented.

4. CAUSES OF SPATIAL SEGREGATION

There are a myriad of theories on the causes of segregation, ranging from free choice of association to institutionalised segregationist policies and the exclusionary working of the market. Van Kempen and Ozuekren (1998) under the topic ‘explanations of concentration and segregation’, list two approaches: that of traditional approaches which includes the work of the Chicago School and behaviouralist approaches and an approach focusing on constraints and resources, under which they group Marxist and Neo-Marxist as well as Neo-Weberian perspectives.

Building on their analysis, for the purposes of this research, the causes of segregation are categorised according to decision-making bodies, processes and powers in the city, revolving around three main groups: residents (behalvialist approaches), market forces (structuralist approaches) and the state and its bureaucracy (managerial approaches).

However, no discussion on segregation will be complete without a discussion of the traditional or functional approach to segregation as embodied by the Chicago School of Sociology. According to Van Kempen and Oziekren (1998:1631): ‘Research into segregation and concentration processes is not very old. Only since the beginning of the present century have researchers tried to deal more or less systematically with these topics. The enormous influence of the Chicago School is well-documented and has been the focus of attention of the supporters and detractors of the “marginality theory” of the 60s and early 70s in Latin America, and have emerged again linked to explanations of the “fractal city” (Soja, 1996).

This section will thus start with a discussion on the Chicago School (functional approaches) before addressing the other approaches. The discussion will not only focus on the issue of migrants, as much research in this field, but also on socio-economic aspects and poverty.

4.1 FUNCTIONAL APPROACHES

Functional approaches focus on the work of the Chicago School as well as research inspired by them, which consider segregation as a natural outflow of urban development. According to the Chicago School, the city developed through a competition for space to produce concentric zones (Burgess, 1925), specific sectors (Hoyt, 1939) or multiple nuclei (Harris and Ullman, 1945), housing households with different resources and other characteristics.

Processes of invasion and succession involved a chain reaction, with each preceding immigrant wave moving outwards and being succeeded by more recent, poorer immigrants...
(Park et al., 1925). The final pattern of segregation, was seen as a "natural" equilibrium. It was a consequence of various processes: invasion, dominance and succession.

**FIGURE 3.1: CONCENTRIC ZONE MODEL BY BURGESS**
Source: www.geographyfieldwork.com

Another example of functional approaches is evolution theory, where social patterns in the city are associated with the various stages of evolution of the city itself. It considers urban processes such as industrialisation, de-industrialisation and suburbanisation as inevitable paths in the evolution of the city (Omenya, 2000)

Much criticism has been levelled at this school of research. Critics have pointed out that it was merely descriptive and based on very meagre theoretical notions (Bassett and Short, 1989; Yeates, 1989) and that the city takes the place of explanation (Sja, 1989). Pahl (1975) states that: "Paradoxically, the fundamental error of urban sociology was to look to the city for an understanding of the city. Rather the city should be seen as an area, an understanding of which helps in the understanding of the overall society which creates it" (Pahl, 1975). It thus ignores institutional and political factors and does not assign the individual a key role but analyses the city as a separate entity (Bassett and Short, 1989). Other point out that it is derived from a biological model rather than being based on cultural and social processes (With, 1944; Firey, 1947; Jones, 1960), and. Other critics pointed out that since most of the research had been done in the US, the results should not be applied automatically outside of the US context (O'Loughlin, 1987) and show the consequences of the uncritical adoption of such theories in the South. Finally, it has been criticised for seeing man as homo economicus: a fully informed individual with a perfect ability to act in an economically rational way (Bolt and van Kempen, 1997). Despite the criticism, this school has been and continues to be very influential.

**4.2 STRUCTURALIST APPROACHES**
Structuralist approaches, based on the French School of the 1970s (also called urban political economic, Marxist or critical geography approaches) focus on the workings of capitalist land markets and macro-economic processes. According to Omenya (2000), in this approach a structural understanding of society and modes of production is pertinent in understanding the production and reproduction of segregation in 'classed societies'. Structuralists placed power, and conflictive social relationships, values and interests at the centre of urban dynamics. This challenged, implicitly and explicitly, the longstanding
influence of the Chicago School's emphasis on spatial dominance and sociability and social integration as spatially defined.

Castells (1977), in his first writings argued that class relations and conflicting class interests were behind the unequal access to scarce urban resources, and put those at the centre of the analysis. Since the term often represents an ideological construction, its theoretical object should be redefined and stated as the production and transformation of social space. Principle components of social space (production, consumption, exchange, management and symbolic elements) are determined by the means of production and the reproduction of the labour force in any given social formation (Van Kempen and O zi e k re n, 1998). So the predominant forces in the urban space (seen as an instance of capitalist development) are class interests and the class struggle. ‘Space as a social product is always specified by a definite relation between the different instances of social structure, the economic, the political, the ideological, and the conjunction of social relations that result from them. Space, therefore, is always an historical conjuncture and a social form that derives its meaning from the social processes that are expressed through it’ (Milicic, 2001).

Harvey (1978, 1981) described the capitalist city as an inequality-generating machine by its very nature, thereby creating in the context of urban geographies and the interrelations of social processes and spatial form, a fertile terrain for the cumulative aggravation of injustices. Harloe (in Milicic, 2001) adds that ‘capitalist development is central to urban change and that it is fundamentally inegalitarian and exploitative’. Also writing from this approach are Massey & Denton (1987), analysing the relationship between capital and land in Britain and Logan and Molotch (1967).

The ‘normal workings’ of the urban system, the day-to-day practices and particularities of urbanism as a way of life, tend to produce and reproduce a regressive redistribution of real wages that persistently benefit the rich at the expense of the poor. Harvey (1978) specified this regressive redistributive dynamic in three realms. One was the normal operations of the free market in land, labour, retailing and finance, from the changing value of private property rights (especially when amplified or depleted by public investments) to the risk-avoiding redlining of banks and the location of the pricing systems of supermarkets to make the “poor pay more”. These free-market-generated inequalities arose, Harvey argued, not through conspiracy or corruption so much as from standard market conventions and competition, from how the unfettered urban space economy worked towards achieving maximum organisational efficiency for capitalist development.

Villaca (2001) considers social segregation as a process through which the upper class control the process of urban land production. He agrees with Castells (1977) that social segregation is an expression of class struggle where the upper income groups try to apportion themselves disproportionate urban space. Urban space is considered a resource produced, yet which cannot be reproduced by human labour (Castells, 1977), hence the desire of the upper class to control it, through control of the economy, the state and ideology.

According to Soja (2000) Harvey and Castells argue that ‘a particular landscape, a specific urban geography, is created by capitalism in its own image, designed above all to facilitate the accumulation process. But the very fixity of the urban built environment...creates problems for continued capitalist accumulation, for it looks into particular spatial locations investment that, over time and especially during periods of crisis, may no longer be as effective (profitable) as they were in the past. The impossibility of moving built forms...freely around the physical landscape when they no longer meet immediate needs, creates a perpetual dilemma for capital and for the social construction of capitalist cyberspace. Capitalist development must therefore always negotiate a precarious balance between the creation and the destruction of its specific geography, a knife-edge path that becomes most problematic during times of crisis and restructuring’.

Harvey (1982) would later add to this formulation the notion of a spatial fix to describe how capital seeks to reorganise its specific urban and regional geography in the attempt to respond to crisis and open up ‘fresh room for accumulation’. Although Harvey insisted that this search for a ‘magical’ spatial solution to the problems of capitalism can never be completely successful, his conceptualisation of the spatial fix, added to his observations on the built environment opened up a new and assertively geographical dimension to the study of urban crisis and restructuring to our understanding of the materialist geohistory and uneven development of capitalism (Soja, 2000).

The significance of the reproduction costs of labour for the process of capital accumulation is not new, it has been widely recognized since the early nineteenth century. The role of housing as a major element in determining these reproduction cost was established by Engels (1975). Wellerman (1979), Amin (1976) and Arighi (1973) have all argued on the principal mechanism for holding down wages in the periphery. For Portes and Walton (1981) the principal mechanism for keeping wages low is the ‘urban informal sector’ which is regarded as a permanent structural feature of the process of accumulation in the periphery. The ‘urban informal sector’ cheapens the reproduction cost of labour power of those working within the formal sector by allowing them access to cheap goods and services that are produced through the use of unpaid family labour or through labour that is paid at below minimum wage levels, but well below those for similar jobs of equal productivity in the core countries.

The French school accomplished its fundamental role: To integrate urban processes in broader social contexts and to put social conflicts, social change and power at the core of analyses. Marxists have helped researchers to look at broad (economic) developments in society: the Marxist perspective has helped to clarify the structural components of the racial inequalities. On the one hand, it has highlighted the wider structural forces within economy and society, of which the housing market is a small subset. On the other, it has provided a reminder that racial cleavages and discrimination reflect but one form of structural inequality in a basically inegalitarian society (Van Kempen and Ozisekren, 1998; Sarre et al., 1989).

The main criticism of this approach focused on the implied unitary scale of values of different housing consumers and the unclear basis of the conflict between the classes (Haddon, 1970; Dahya, 1974; Pahl, 1975; Saunders, 1979; Sarre et al., 1989). According
to Sarre et al. (1989), Marxists have failed to provide a convincing argument for the supremacy of class over other factors such as race. Social class alone cannot provide a satisfactory explanation of the pattern of residence of ethnic groups (Peach, 1981). Moreover, the Marxist approach conveniently ignores distinctions of religion, culture, ethnicity, origin, and return orientation of immigrants that are independent of their general working-class status. More importantly, it ignores the process of choice by which households distribute themselves within areas dominated by the same social class (Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998, O'Loughlin, 1987).

4.3 BEHAVIOURALIST APPROACHES

Behaviouralist models focus on the demand side of the housing market. Under this heading housing choice and racism as causal factors in creating segregation will be discussed. According to Van Kempen and Özüekren, (1998): 'There has been extensive debate on the importance that should be attached to elements of choice and factors of constraint. The authors who adhere to the behavioural and ethnic-cultural approach focus mainly on the preferences of the (ethnic) household and individual (and therefore on the demand side of the housing market)' (Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998).

4.3.1 Housing choice

The human ecology approach was followed by positivistic-empirical approaches like deductive social area analysis (Shevky and Williams, 1949; Bell, 1953; Shevky and Bell, 1955) and inductive factorial ecology (Murdie, 1969; Robson, 1969; Berry and Kasarda, 1977). Factorial ecology uncovered the socio-spatial layout of many cities in the world, though without focusing on causality (de Decker, 1965). Census variables were selected and ‘run through the statistical principal components analysis or factor analysis’ (Bassett and Short, 1960). Many analyses revealed sectoral and zonal patterns. Differences between urban neighbourhoods could often be summarised by three sets of variables: socio-economic status, family status and ethnicity (Bell, 1968). Although strictly speaking, these models follow functionalist lines of reasoning, they are included under the behaviouralist approaches, as they indicate household characteristics that influence housing decisions.

Other behavioural approaches took place utility as the central concept (Brown and Moore, 1970; Wolpert, 1985). Place utility can be seen as the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a certain location or dwelling. A discrepancy between the actual situation and one’s aspiration might lead to a decision to move. But before any such decision is made, a certain ‘threshold’ should be reached; not every feeling of dissatisfaction leads to a decision to move. Hooimeijer and Linde (1988) add that a decision to move is not always motivated by this discrepancy. The decision might be based on the idea of taking advantage of an opportunity (which may suddenly become available) to improve the housing situation, even though the household had not been very dissatisfied. In other words, push and pull factors play a role (Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998).

Innumerable large and small research projects of the behavioural type have been carried out in the field of housing demand, residential mobility, locational preference, and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the dwelling and the neighbourhood. The relation with the development of the neighbourhood and processes of segregation is not always clear. However, in any effort to come to grips with the position of a neighbourhood, the opinion of the inhabitants themselves is an essential ingredient (Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998). According to Bolt and van Kempen, (1997) to define a concentration area of minorities as a bad place to live, for example, is poor scholarship if it ignores the opinions of the inhabitants themselves, the position of the neighbourhood in their daily lives and their housing careers.

Herbert and Johnston (1976), argues that ‘persons belonging to the same class tend to group together in geographic proximity through the housing choices that they make […] Once they have obtained a home in the environment of their choice, residents will want to maintain their character as to protect their investment. In other words they will pursue positive externalities i.e. benefits produced by the actions of others, inter alia persons living or owning property nearby. Conversely, they will fight to avoid negative externalities’. They describes three positive externalities that residents compete for:

- The first is public behaviour of neighbours, especially important where the socialisation of children is concerned and thus the preference for ‘good schools’.
- The second is status and social advancement, which can be obtained through interaction with people who can assist in the achievement of social aspiration.
- The third is property values.

Explanations of segregation and concentration overlap with the explanatory factors of housing choice. This is not surprising when the same types of housing are located in the same areas. Normally, this is the case in cities. Or, to put it another way, urban neighbourhoods and districts are hardly ever characterised by a complete mixture of housing types in terms of price, age and size, and tenure. Therefore, a concentration of housing types almost automatically implies a concentration in specific areas (Van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998).
The behavioural approach has been criticised for its emphasis on demand and the concomitant lack of attention on constraints (Hammel and Randolph, 1988). Neither the supply of dwellings nor their accessibility (allocation procedures) gets much attention. Although this might be true in general, several behavioural studies have incorporated institutional variables or other constraints. The reality of all choices is that they are made under conditions of constraint (Cross, 1992).

The ethnic-cultural approach can be seen as a special form of the behavioural approach. The general argument within the ethnic-cultural approach runs thus: housing conditions and residential patterns differ between groups, and these differences can be attributed to cultural differences between these groups. There is a clear element of 'choice' in this approach. Important is the work of Clark (1992) and Robinson (1981). This approach concedes that differences within groups may be just as important as differences between groups (Van Kempen and Özlekren, 1998).

Qadeer (2001) motivates the patterns of segregation in Canada, which has virtually no discriminatory legislation with regards to the housing market as follows: 'Typically, the concentration of an ethnic group in a particular area is the cumulative outcome of its households' choices framed by its economic conditions. It is not dictated or planned or coordinated by any authority or agency. It arises from the market transactions, one by one adding up to a sizable concentration of an ethnic group in an area'. He goes further to explain these market transactions and the way in which they lead to ethnic segregation: 'Among the conditions and practices framing ethnic concentrations are patterns of rents and prices varying with the housing quality and locations, vacancy rates and affordability of housing; supplies; the requirement for the security deposit or advanced rent; credit history and source of prospective consumer’s income, inside dealings, access to information, etc. These are transaction costs, financial as well as institutional and informational, which sort consumers and channel them to particular types of housing and locations. They divide an area-wide housing market into distinct sub-markets, differentiated by the quality of housing, rents and prices, locations as well as the class and ethnicity of households. These transactional practices, particularly, affect the immigrants’ access to housing. They 'direct' them towards particular areas and neighbourhoods, thereby inducing residential ethnic enclaves. The sorting and channelling of housing consumers in general and immigrants in particular results in the income and ethnic segregation' (Qadeer, 2001).

The process of formation of an ethnic enclave is described as follows: 'housing opportunities (vacancies) - infiltration (of households of a particular ethnicity) - consolidation (build up of the ethnic households’ numerical majority and emergence of social networks) - entrenchment (emergence of community institutions and public market acknowledgement of the areas as particular ethnic groups’ territory)' (Qadeer, 2001). Essentially, this is a process of progressive territorialization of an ethnic groups’ housing. The displacement of other households is not an act of active flight, but a steady erosion of a neighbourhood’s attractability for them. The ethnic identity of the local housing sub-market becomes a defining characteristic of local neighbourhood’s supply and demand parameters, leading to its spatial specialization. Thus the ethnic housing sub-market is carved not through the ecological process of 'invasion-succession' but by the channeling and displacement of housing choice. There is often some fluidity in the ethnic sub-market, sustaining a small minority of others in a neighbourhood. Ethnic enclaves are expressions of spatial and social segregation by choice. The 'choice' is not unconstrained. It is exercised within the 'opportunity area' defined by a local housing system, transactional practices and public policies.

Although choice evidently plays an important role in creating segregated neighbourhoods, it is greatly influenced by overt factors such as racism and discriminatory legislation on the one hand and the limited housing stock available as well as the concentration of affordable housing stock in undesirable localities on the other hand. In countries of the South, where large supply side constraints exist, the possibility of choice is quite minimal and cost appear to be the determining factor of location and repetitive large scale developments constituting a critical mass for cost recovery.

4.3.2 RACISM

Theories that accord racism the role as the most important causal factor in segregation build on those of household choice. Although it is accepted that lifestyle and socio-economic status underlie patterns of segregation, they argue that household decisions are based on perceptions and that these perceptions are informed by racism. They argue that despite widespread acceptance and implementation of non-discriminatory legislation, racism continues to play a role in continued segregation patterns, that it is, in fact, the most important determinant. Numerous studies (Farley, 1995; Massey and Denton, 1993; Tauber, 1991; Jargowsky, 1997) have verified that the primary organising principles of the metropolis are race and ethnicity, and that racial segregation is not merely a proxy for segregation by class. Grannis (1998) notes that as quickly as anti-discriminatory programmes are enacted, old patterns of segregation are transformed into new ones.

Racism in housing policies and legislation led to an active struggle against discrimination based on race, especially during the 1960s in the US. This has been achieved officially and, although racial segregation continues, the attitude towards it has changed. According to Jacoby (1998), 'the change is we used to think that kind of separation [based on race] was deplorable; now, we think [it is] acceptable, and perhaps preferable. Today, we [do not] call it segregation. We call it strong communities. The spin has changed'.

According to the Detroit News (2002): 'Segregation at the beginning of the 21st century doesn’t involve restrictive covenants or cross burnings or, in most cases, even conscious intentions. Public surveys as well as residents interviewed by The Detroit News say that race plays little or no role in their home choices. Yet the reasons often cited, such as, income, home values, crime and quality of schools are shaded by perceptions of those with different colour skin. Those perceptions are part true, part myth, and part legacy from a time when racism was rampant'.

The first explanation for continued segregation is that blacks are segregated by income rather than race and that property values would fall if blacks moved into a neighbourhood. This is however unfounded, at least in case of Metro Detroit where Farley (1995) found that income level accounted for only about one-sixth of segregation and education level for one-fourteenth. Historically, the average sale prices of homes in majority-black communities is lower than that of many white communities. In black neighbourhoods,
home values traditionally rose less because more than 70% of home buyers, whites, didn’t want to live there. According to Rusk (2001) the fear among white home buyers, that they might lose their investment if they bought in black neighbourhoods, became a self-fulfilling prophecy. This pattern ended abruptly in Metro Detroit since the late 1990s, during which homes in many black neighbourhoods appreciated faster than those in white neighbourhoods, shrinking the historical gap (Detroit News, 2002).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why don’t we live together</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fear of discrimination</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower quality schools</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower property values</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main reason behind segregation</th>
<th>Blacks</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfort with own race</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial barriers</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where most likely to see each other</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/work</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RESULTS FROM SURVEY BY DETROIT NEWS ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS LIVING APART
SOURCE: Detroit News, 2002

The search for better schools for their children is a common cry among people looking for new homes. Matching a common perception, black-majority school districts tended to do badly. However, those differences narrow or disappear when the wealth of the community is considered. Fear of crime is often cited by whites when choosing not to live in black neighbourhoods. The region’s majority-black cities have higher than average crime rates. But when wealth of the community is taken into account, the disparity often decreases or disappears.

Experts say that while problems with crime and schools in predominantly black areas are real, those reasons are more sociably acceptable to cite as reasons to live separately. Citing fears of school quality, for instance, doesn’t have the taint of racism that comes with admitting to not wanting to live near blacks. Those are code words meaning they are really apprehensive about having more than one or two black neighbours. As a result, true prejudice is often harder to root out from euphemisms (Farley, 1995).

As evidence that real prejudice sometimes go deeper than people admit, research points to the large difference between what people say they would do and what they think their neighbours would do — among both blacks and whites. A survey conducted in the US exhibit the following results: when asked whether they would move if people from a different race moved into their neighbourhood 4% of blacks indicated that they would move, but four times more think their neighbours would move (16%). 21% whites would leave, but twice as many (44%) think their neighbours would move. For both races, age and income made little difference in attitude. According to Cutler et al (1997), people of all races tend to see themselves as being more tolerant than people in general. When they mention property values, they are basically saying other people won’t be willing to pay to live in these areas.

Furthermore few neighbourhoods remain integrated over time (Farley & Frey, 1994). Few neighbourhoods gain a substantial number of blacks without sparking whites to leave. Neighbourhoods may be racially mixed for a few years, but they rapidly become majority-black. Generally, whites are reluctant to move into areas where there is a substantial black population, or that are viewed by whites as likely to become predominantly black. That means that few whites have moved into predominantly black neighbourhoods, while whites leave neighbourhoods that are becoming black.

Whites are less likely to move into an integrated neighbourhood than blacks and are quicker to leave. Blacks say they are more comfortable moving into a neighbourhood that consists mostly of another race, and are more comfortable staying in a neighbourhood where whites are moving in. Blacks are three times more willing than whites to move into a neighbourhood where up to half the residents are of a different race and five times more likely to stay in such a neighbourhood. This trend of ‘white flight’ is well-documented as well as the practice of real estate agents to take advantage thereof through the practice of ‘block-busting’.

People of both races approved of enforcing laws banning housing discrimination. But blacks were twice as likely as whites to approve of busing or low-cost loans to minorities as fixes. According to Darden et al (1997) this means that the status quo is preferable to the remedy and that means the status quo is not likely to change.

According to Vigdor (in Detroit News, 2002), the five most segregated US cities in 1910 are still the most segregated today. He cites the following factors that they have in common:

- Geography and history: most are clustered in the industrial Northeast and Midwest. All developed rapidly beginning with the industrial boom at the start of the 20th century and attracted millions of rural Southern blacks in the early decades of the last century. Those blacks typically lived in crowded, cramped areas [...] until rising black incomes and open-housing laws allowed the greater freedom. And ever since blacks began escaping those neighbourhoods, whites have been moving out of neighbourhoods where blacks began arriving. All were shaken by racially tinged rioting between 1965 and 1968.

- Slow growth: there is a strong relationship between population growth and segregation. Fast-growing regions tend to integrate more quickly; slow-growing regions [...] have seen only small decreases in segregation, as measured by the index of dissimilarity. New communities built from scratch seem to be more open to diversity. There are many new neighbourhoods that don’t have the reputation of being either all-black or all-white.

- A substantial black population and a black-white character: regions with small black populations tend to be less segregated (of the 5 least segregated metros, none is more than 3% black, whereas segregated areas have black populations exceeding 20%). There is also a connection, although not as strong, between lower segregation and the presence of a third large majority.
The perceptions of some Metro Detroiters are documented below (Detroit News, 2001):

Mark Douglass, 54 (white in mixed neighbourhood)

'The way to end the segregationist mind-set is to get rid of the egos and self-centredness and to just go up to people who are different and talk. It brings us together here. Jobs dictate where people live. Would like to see an end to the bull's eye. Detroit is the dot, then there's this white ring, the black ring, the white ring and so on. Why is that? It's because for too long we have put up boundaries. We have to stop doing that and take the attitude the true freedom is making a choice: adjust or move. In the end, the lesson is, good people make good neighbours, no matter who they are.'

Jodoin family (culturally mixed neighbourhood but not racially mixed)

'A lot of people associate poverty and crime with black neighbourhoods, which may be a barrier to integration. It also has a lot to do with how you are raised. If you look around, whites are raised with whites and blacks are raised with blacks. I'm not sure why, but it's never been any other way. Measures to fix segregation can also backfire, such as moving government-assisted housing to the suburbs. I think it might frighten people away because people are not open to that. People assume they live in public housing because they are all poor.'

Steve Awaad, 18 (white in white area)

'I do not see the problem, all people mix and many do not notice race. Being younger has nothing to do with your attitude. I think it has a lot more to do with how you are raised.'

Martin Tepatti, 65 (going back to the city for the first time in 10 years for culture e.g. jazz)

'We have a lot of blacks out here, and they're all well-educated and have good jobs. But in Detroit you have a poor class of people. Not all of them, of course, just pockets.'

Geneva Edwards (moved from black neighbourhood to white)

'As early African-American newcomers to a largely white neighbourhood, we faced tension, uncertainty ... and Christmas carolers. Earlier events had given cause to worry. Days after we moved in, we overheard a white neighbour cursing loudly, apparently about our arrival. That neighbour moved out not long after. My sons were stopped by a man - claiming to be a police officer although not wearing a uniform or badge - who told the teenagers they didn't belong in the city. Once we moved in and saw they weren't going to destroy the neighbourhood, the neighbours were pretty friendly. I think in this area it is better, more open now.'

Segregation re-enforces racism. According to Smith (1983) the process of racial differentiation and crucially the imagery of racial segregation have played key roles in the social reproduction of race categories and in sustaining material inequalities between black and white. Central city decline, suburban and edge city growth, the changing nature of the ghetto, increase of fortified enclaves are linked to race and racism. Current racial segregation causes white suburban residents to be not just ignorant of but actually afraid of the city. They see it quite literally as a case of the 'other', the alien, the hostile and the dangerous. In the social climate of the 1990's and in the midst of the growing number of gated communities, it is worth recalling that suburbialisite antipathies towards city people and their neighbourhoods long predate the drug violence that today suffocates so many people with fear, inner-city residents included.

Local government or housing associations might decide to allocate dwellings in a certain neighbourhood exclusively to non-immigrants. Housing associations can subtly refuse to register immigrant families by saying that no large dwellings are currently vacant or by asking high registration fees (Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 1991). The crucial role of these and other 'managers' is stressed in the work of Pahl (1975,1977) and Lipsey (1980). These authors examine the role of the housing officer in the allocation of resources. Pahl (1977) suggests that social gatekeepers (like housing officers) can allocate resources according to their own implicit goals, values, assumptions and ideologies. This means that stereotypes and racism might influence their decisions.

Setting a quota is a negative allocation procedure. Under a quota, no more than a certain percentage of immigrants are allowed to live in a given neighbourhood block of houses. In France, for example, HLM organisations have a one-for-one rule. In other words, they only house an ethnic minority applicant in an estate when another ethnic minority household is leaving (Blanc, 1993). It is even easier for private owners to discriminate. As a result, when rental units are unavailable or inaccessible, households may be more or less forced to buy a sub-standard dwelling (Van Hoorn and Van Ginckel, 1986). Owning property may well be the housing choice of last resort. This is clearly the case where rental housing is scarce or inaccessible because of bureaucratic procedures or discrimination (Van Weesep, 1984).

Discrimination, both direct and indirect, also exists in the private rented sector. Discriminatory practices may be encountered among private landlords as well as among the intermediaries between landlords and prospective buyers or tenants. For instance, landlords might offer a vacancy to a friend or acquaintance rather than rent it to an ethnic-minority household. Also, landlords can place restrictions on prospective tenants, and rental agents may classify the applicants accordingly (Kam, 1983). Studies in the US have shown that real estate agents are primary information brokers and major agents of change (Galster et al., 1987; Turner and Wnek, 1993). According to Teixeira (1995) 'They accelerate, decelerate, and prevent neighbourhood change, particularly in racially segregated areas of U.S. cities [...] Racial and ethnic steering by real estate agents not only limits the ability of minority groups to exercise neighborhood choice, but also contributes to the perpetuation of residential segregation patterns in major American cities'.

Exclusionary policies of local authorities and private landlords may force ethnic minorities into owner-occupation, even, or especially, in an early stage of their housing careers (Phillips and Kam, 1992). Some neighbourhoods may thereby become virtually closed to them, forcing them into areas where accessible housing is available (Ward and Sims, 1981; Van Hoorn and Van Ginckel, 1986). Exclusionary practices may also exist in the owner-occupied sector. An estate agent may fear that selling a house to immigrants would lead to lower prices in the neighbourhood. Kemery (1987) reports that some estate agents in the US deliberately sell to blacks in order to create a chain reaction of sales by whites at knock-down prices. This approach can be very profitable to the estate agent.
In the event of a declining supply, rules may be more influential. Rules, however, are subject to interpretation; for example, they are interpreted by officers who are responsible for the allocation of housing or money. These officers may find themselves torn between all kinds of ideas and pressures that originate from the management board, the housing consumers, colleagues and, of course, from their own preferences.

4.4 MANAGERIAL APPROACHES

Urban planning has as its essence the efficient functioning of the city, but coupled to this also the just distribution of resources. Several planning programmes and instruments exist to achieve these dual goals. They are however at times contradictory and their outcomes are sometimes unexpected. Special attention was given to the role of constraints on the housing markets and resources of individuals in the more (neo-)Marxist-oriented analyses and (neo-)Weberian ideas. The role of government, and consequently the role of institutional discrimination, lay at the core of managerialist approaches. Other authors tend to focus on the constraints households face and the resources they use to overcome these constraints. In the latter view, the structure of the supply of dwellings—which includes the factor of accessibility—determines the social and spatial layout of the city. A focus on the supply side of housing includes the role of governments as institutions and the role of individuals within these institutions.

4.4.1 Housing

Housing policies aimed at achieving a balance among spatial areas and different groups are some of the most prominent programmes to address spatial differences and inequalities. A spatial dispersion policy where housing plays a central role is often used. According to Marcus (1998) segregation can be addressed by an expanded provision of social housing in different urban areas (not only in areas that already have substantial social rented dwellings), planned as part of an overall program for the mainstream of housing provision. He added that ‘in areas that still have to be developed social housing should also be included. In the Netherlands, for instance, on large building sites adjacent to existing cities, 30% of the new dwellings are provided as affordable.

In many west European countries, the state has had a strong influence on housing markets. Especially in countries like the Netherlands and Sweden, the number of social rented dwellings has been very important in the supply of housing. By providing social rented dwellings, the state ensures that low-income households have the opportunity to live in decent housing (Van Kempen and Oosterveer, 1998). However, in other countries for example, in the UK—the social rented sector has either been declining very rapidly (Meusen and Verschueren, 1995; Merle and Musterd, 1998) or has never been very large as in Belgium (Kesteloot, 1997).

In the USA context, Siebow (2001) recommends that well integrated residential neighbourhoods should be guaranteed through inclusionary zoning. By inclusionary zoning is meant remedial zoning to prevent exclusion of lower-income groups from housing opportunities (Van Vliet, 1952). It can involve; use of incentives for developers constructing lower income housing in upper income areas; a ‘mandatory set aside’ for low income housing; mobile homes; ‘fair share’ obligations and least-cost development (Van Vliet, 1952). Integrated action involving improvement of buildings, taking into account the socio-economic and residential needs, both of the individuals and of the overall neighbourhoods, should be undertaken. Positive image, social support, cultural integration and permanent and sustainable housing provisions are desirable.

According to Betancur et al. (2001) mixture of races, ethnicities and income levels in a neighbourhood results in reduced criminality, good neighbourhood fit and increased private rentals. Such mixtures can be attained through: government rental subsidies to increase the affordability of rents by low-income groups in high income neighbourhoods; provision of subsidised low and moderate rental units to counter the market; requirement that developers include a percentage of low income units into high income residential and commercial developments; citizens’ involvement in zoning reforms and tax relief for developers who include low-income units into their middle and high-income developments (Betancur, et al., 2001).

A problem is the reluctance of the population to cooperate has undermined the philosophy of mixing. Social housing is often used as a vehicle in increasing integration. However, in most cases social housing is abandoned as soon as people can afford to move out of it. Thus when the economy is growing the social rented sectors tend to become residual. Furthermore, only when a sizeable social rental stock is available under circumstances of scarcity and a relatively small inequality in income will low income as well as middle income households in a certain mixture find housing in the social-rented sector. Housing distribution systems under those circumstances may reduce the segregation of the population. However, if one of these conditions is met, an increase in segregation is most likely to follow. Spatial and housing policy will only achieve a differentiation of the population in those areas that already show an upgrading tendency (Musterd & De Winter, 1998).

A less overt strategy is the development of more expensive dwellings in a deprived area or the sale of rented dwellings. This in reality is often more for economic goals especially where the local tax share in the municipal budget is large. Successes are mostly achieved in areas that already show an upward tendency. In the long term it becomes a homogenous richer community. In other instances it has been used to legitimise the construction of more expensive dwellings in low-income areas where the local community has resisted this (Musterd & De Winter, 1998).

A good example of the unintended outcomes of social housing can be found in the Netherlands. Over the past decades, new concentration areas have emerged in the early post-1945 neighbourhoods. The reason for this is that numerous vacancies of affordable dwellings occur, especially in these areas. This is due to the ageing of their indigenous households and the expansion of housing options for socially mobile households elsewhere (Van Kempen, 1996).

The supply of housing can be a direct effect of political decisions. In Britain, for example, the promotion of home-ownership under the 'Right to Buy' led to the heavily subsidised sell-off of council housing. But it also led to strict controls on the production of council houses as well as to higher rents (Phillips and Kam, 1992). It is well known from the British
housing literature that not everybody profits from the sale of council houses. In particular, the impact on the housing of black households has been highlighted (Mullings, 1992).

However, there are some success stories: Cleveland for instance has a history of efforts to combat segregation. Certain suburbs have remained relatively stable in their racial make-up, thanks in part to programs promoting integrated neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods focused on attracting white residents, while still being open to minorities (Detroit News, 2001). In Chicago the Gautreaux Project was the outcome of a 1976 lawsuit by Chicago housing residents. A portion of the city’s minority public-housing population was given a chance to move to new facilities in the suburbs, resulting in better economic, educational and social circumstances for those residents (Detroit News, 2001).

According to Marcuse (2001) other strategies include:

- Inter-municipal agreements with respect to housing low-income households. Such agreements might especially be useful between cities and suburbs. Often, lower-income households are located in central cities, while suburban environments house the middle-income and higher income households. Building low-rent dwellings in suburbs, and giving high-income households the opportunity to move to central city areas by offering them good alternatives in these areas, may foster de-segregation.

- Legalization of squatting through national legislation affecting land titles and evictions and prohibition on confiscation or buying up of land by non-farmers, actions against landlessness, land reform, thus keeping down the push pressure of rural immigration to the cities. Measures such as these, often as part of comprehensive restructuring of property rights and property reform, have been extensively done or are under consideration in countries as diverse as Brazil, Turkey, and South Africa. Care needs to be taken, however, that such measures, which improve living conditions while affecting segregation only in the long run, are coupled with longer-term spatial planning that will improve the opportunities for former squatters also to find decent housing outside of illegal settlements.

4.4.2 Area based projects

Area-based programmes target areas of deprivation for concentrated allocation of resources. One example is the policy of empowerment zones, which supports employers within the ghetto in hiring residents living in the ghetto and the focus is on developing the ghetto. This is criticised for not creating opportunities outside as well as inside the ghetto, thus increasing the separation, the walled in of the ghetto. It can also create a problem of negative stigmatisation. Such programmes are also criticised on the grounds that the processes underlying spatial segregation (technological innovation, economic restructuring, centralisation of management and control, changing role of the state and suburbanisation) are taking place throughout the society, the remedy must thus also be found throughout the society. According to Mustard & De Winter (1998) area-based programmes should be replaced with sectoral policy e.g. focussing on the unemployed. The problem is that area-based programmes are hampered by budget cutbacks and that areas have to compete against each other to obtain the money.

Neighbourhood reinvestments can take place through gentrification (Betancur, et al., 2001). Betancur asserts that prevention of displacement of the poor from the gentrified

neighbourhoods and stabilization of mixed income communities should be the aim of gentrification. The government, community based organisations and other stakeholders should protect the poor from displacements. Gentrified neighbourhoods should aim at attaining an appropriate socio-economic mix of residents.

Radical critics of capitalism, such as Harvey (1989), consider gentrification as inevitable in the cycle of capital accumulation. They postulate that as properties get run down, higher income groups vacate them. The trend continues until such time when purchasing such property is so cheap that one cannot conceivably make any loss. Therefore the capitalist invests in the property, improves it marginally and attracts a much higher income bracket and business into the neighbourhood. This raises the value of the property dramatically. Thus gentrification is an important tool for capital accumulation by the land owning classes. This leads to rise in rents and displacement of the poor, from inner-city locations, by the ‘gentry’. In fact, Williams and Smith (1986 in Savage and Ward, 1993:86) consider gentrification as geographical polarisation of the city, spatially differentiating the new, privileged, inner city, middle-class residents from other working class inhabitants.

Location of land use projects often has serious redistributional impact on residents of a city. Some, usually the poor and unorganised are displaced by such projects. Proximity to a facility may benefit some, by giving them easier or less costly access to a good or activity. But it may also be an inconvenience causing noise, pollution and even danger. Although a person’s own material situation may remain constant, his or her life opportunities may nevertheless change significantly because of surrounding changes (Harvey, 1973). The loss by urban change may cause monetary burdens, inconvenience, loss of access to resources and services but also the loss of the very environment that help define a person’s sense of self or a group’s space and culture (Etkin, 1987).

4.4.3 Zoning

Zoning has been associated with protection of land values and property markets. It can be argued that management of a scarce resource such as land, with a tool like zoning, has resulted in state regulation of capital. Harvey (1989) considers investment in land as ‘capital switch’. He postulates that when there is over-accumulation of capital in a particular sector, demand may outstrip supply, hence the need for ‘capital switch’ into the ‘second circuit of capital’, in this case, land. The individuals investing in land look at it as part of their capital accumulation. Given that the state is more often than not run by the capitalists (Castells, 1978), they protect their interests, to ensure that property values remain high. Flexibility in the modern ‘larded property markets’ enable ‘capital flight’ from zones where capital accumulation in ‘larded property’ is perceived to be threatened. The state widens another tool, namely, legislation (Castells, 1978), which it can use to further the interests of landlords through development control and zoning.

Lowder (1993: 1246) considers zoning as responsible for the highly differentiated urban neighbourhoods - by income - in the USA. He considers technical plans done by a planner at the social apex, focusing on formal land use, ignorant of local economic and social needs.
According to Marcuse (2001), zoning regulations enforce class segregation and to a large degree racial segregation as well by for example excluding multifamily dwellings from prosperous neighbourhoods and even from entire municipalities. Planning tools such as environmental regulations, and zoning and density controls are at times used in place of actual gates and walls to limit economic or even physical access to suburban developments. Kostof (1992) gives the example of how the Chinese were removed from certain areas in Chicago when laundries, which were their livelihood were banned from certain neighbourhoods through zoning regulations.

Omenya (2000) states that as long as zoning serves the will of the property owning urban classes, zoning will continue to be one of the instruments of perpetuation of urban segregation. However, there are examples where zoning has been used to tackle segregation. One such example is the “fare share concept” in the US. It is a legal requirement in the US that each metropolitan area develops a quota of low-income housing (Huchzeremey, 2003). Human rights activists and middle-income households who rely on domestic services of the low-income population have created the pressure for its implementation. Other initiatives include: incentives for developers, who are allowed to build higher densities if they produced affordable units; and a mandatory quota of affordable units in new subdivisions (Mandelker and Ellis, 1998, in Huchzeremey, 2003). In Brazil Zones of Special Interest have been used to protect those who occupy land informally from speculators whose interests are driven by the market (Huchzeremey, 2003).

Marcuse (2001) adds the following possibilities:
- Provision of infrastructure and land use controls for local and equitable benefit, so that development desired for its contribution to equity and integration are favoured and support for citadel-like construction of insulated enclaves of the rich and powerful are discouraged.
- Regional planning and land use controls geared to equalizing benefits and burdens of development, so that suburbs are not permitted to escape the costs of urbanization while reaping all of their benefits. Proposals and policies discussed in Minnesota and by the Regional Plan Association in New York are examples.
- Anti-redlining and pro-greenlining legislation, often part of such efforts. Thus, the use of zoning and land use controls to steer new construction and commercial development in desired areas and limit it in undesired areas.

4.4.4 Democratisation of planning

Many authors stress the need for popular participation as ideally it implies the move towards a more empowering sort of planning, inclusive democracy (Friedmann 1992). A prerequisite is that a feeling of mutual trust exists between the government and its citizens and that the citizens are both well informed and emancipated (Devas & Rakodi, 1993; Schubeler, 1996; UNCHS, 1996). The democratization of planning (which includes concepts such as public participation and good governance), although successful in the north, is problematic when applied to Africa specifically.

Young (1999) criticises a predominant tendency in participatory democratic theory to deny or think away social differences by appeal to an ideal of community. She argues that the lowest level of governmental power should be regional. As greater local autonomy would be likely to produce even more exaggerated forms of inequalities. While standards and policy would be regionally based they would be administered locally. The legal separation of municipalities contributes to social injustice. It leaves room for exploitation between cities and suburbs enjoy the facilities but do not pay the taxes. Some municipalities by means of their legal autonomy exclude certain kinds of people and certain activities from their borders. Funds that are generated are used for social facilities resulting in differences in quality.

Further problems with participatory planning or the democratisation of planning are:
- Usually when participation comes to mean more than the mobilisation of the supposed free time and savings of citizens it meets severe constraints which are insufficiently recognised.
- Participatory methods to assess the urban environments have been developed in Latin America to enable local groups to decide their priorities (Balvin Diaz et al, 1996), but these are effective only where there is a direct possibility of transfer of choices into the decision-making process (Hardy & Satterwaite, 1998).
- Good governance as a democratic capitalist regime in conjunction with a minimalist state conflicts with the experience in South-east Asia where authoritarian governments continue to exist.
- In many African countries, democratisation does not lead to more accountable and responsive government. It can foster political instability and social conflict, which the state is increasingly unable to manage as a result of its incessant weakening.

Furthermore, according to Mabongunje (1990) democratisation is problematic in Africa because:
- It needs a strong civil society, whilst in Africa most people are involved in a struggle for survival.
- It could serve to deepen deep ethnic, regional and religious differences.
- In the face of severe economic crisis, governments are forced to make unpopular decisions.
- At times there is marked contrast between actual development spending and popular priorities.
- Appointed officials continue to exercise great influence on local decision-making and action.
- The relationship between elected representatives and the general public is under severe strain.

However, Marcuse (2001) stress that community information as to public decisions, with broad decentralized control over neighbourhood developments are important. This can enable local communities to resist segregating tendencies, whether gentrification or the dumping of undesired polluting or otherwise undesired facilities in already neglected ghetto or ghetto-like areas; New York City’s Fair Share regulations are intended to be a step in this direction.
4.4.5 Privatisation

There has been a plea for the resurgence of the market. The growing disillusion with the results of state intervention and the dominance of the neo-liberal theory in the 60s have led to a widespread adoption of policies on privatisation, contracting out and deregulation. A government’s primary task is to negotiate with and enable both private and public sector providers of goods and services. The private sector has a more prominent role, and public-private partnerships are propagated, particularly to provide public services. At the same time, however, most authors acknowledge that the state must provide a clear framework for urban development and intervene in those areas where the market will not adopt the task of its own accord (Devas and Rakodi, 1993; COUTEAU-LEVINE, 1982). Success is largely determined by degree of political commitment. The problems in Africa are the lack of political support inside the country and overestimating the capacity of the private sector to take over public responsibilities. These contribute to the erosion of already feeble state authority or evoke strong countervailing forces.

4.4.6 Urban marketing

Urban management and city marketing is proposed as a way in which to address the shrinking budgets of local authorities. These however, seldom benefit the poor. Centralisation of control ownership and management functions has lead to growing competition to attract these functions. The city marketing strategies seldom benefit low-income neighbourhoods. The ideological underpinnings of urban management are value-driven and ideologically motivated. It has a limited social concern. With regards to Africa, the record of urban management and planning across the continent has been dramatically poor (Mabongunje, 1990). The African condition is unique. Structural changes in the global economy and the international political order have resulted in Africa’s increased marginalisation and impoverishment. An increased awareness of the crucial role of politics is needed, one that must be seen as the framework within which plans are designed and implemented. There is an urgent need for accurate political analysis to identify different kinds of vested interests, to ascertain how they influence decision-making and to assess how the excluded segments of society may participate and mobilise. The outcome of policy reform is to a large extent dependent on the commitment of those who are in power as well as on the disposition of government officials (Batley, 1993; Devas and Rakodi, 1993).

Marcuse (2001) propose the following strategies to prevent urban competition from increasing segregation:

- The banning of competition among cities, including giving tax advantages, under-cost sales of land or provision of infrastructure, where such competition results in increasing inequalities both among and within cities, as it almost always does.
- Inter-municipal agreements (or regulation at higher levels of government) can be used to prevent destructive competition among cities, such as often results in tax incentives or other financial incentives offered to businesses seeking new locations, generally resulting in a regressive redistribution of tax benefits and an increasing disparity among aided and unaided businesses and their employees.

4.4.7 Macro-economic interventions

Treasor (1998) considers segregation as an eventuality we can do nothing about. He contends that segregation is beyond planning and zoning. Although urban unity, multifunctional cities, open interactions and classless societies are desirable, he believes that trying to mix different classes together is futile. “You cannot put sheep and wolves together, they won’t coexist” (Treasor, 1998). He calls for structural change as the predominant model’s of production are seen to determine socio-economic and spatial patterns of the society.

The range of policies that might reduce segregation should in fact include the wide variety of measures that would reduce that inequality which is the underlying cause of partitioning. In the long run, for instance, measures such as steeply progressive income taxes, protection of the rights of women, limitations on the concentration of ownership and control of economic activity, environmental protection measures taking into account the just distribution of burdens and benefits, would all also reduce segregation. To the extent that global/international pressures lead to or accentuate segregation, international agreements establishing standards and limits on private actions from outside national borders should also be considered. Segregation may also be seen as a phenomenon at the international level, with immigration restrictions being in effect a form of state-enforced segregation, and rural-urban migration on a regional level.

There are however ways in which to address this (Marcuse, 2001; Omenya, 2000):

- Use of tax incentives to promote local economic development and job creation/expansion, within a broad integrative framework. This will give possibilities for unemployed people to get a job and a higher income and to move to better dwellings, permitting them to move from distressed areas, and permitting those remaining in such areas to change their economic status.
- Progressive real estate taxes, that would make local real-property-based taxes progressive, redistributing some of the benefit of land appreciation to the entire community; Porto Alegre, in Brazil, has begun such a practice successfully.
- Capital gains and anti-speculation taxes, such as have been adopted in some places in the United States, which impose a high tax on profits resulting from purchase and sale of a property within a short time, at high levels if no significant improvements have been made justifying the profit; such taxes discourage speculation and displacement from rising prices in areas of gentrification.
- Strengthening national democratic control of the provision of services and goods to meet basic needs, in ways that couple the contributions of the traditional welfare state with the efficiencies of the market – for instance, large scale national public subsidies for housing, with either direct provision by government or by competitive private builders.
- Redistribution of nation-generated and collected resources among localities so as to equalize resources and prevent partitioning resulting from real or perceived local fiscal crises.

Deindustrialisation and housing segregation are prime forces that have created, or perpetuated modern ghettos. Eliminating concentrated inner-city poverty would require...
one or both of the following: significant investments to create jobs and increased social services (child care, medical insurance, drug treatment) and massive state desegregation efforts. Either approach is however expensive and politically explosive and neither is likely to be realised because funding on all levels for job programs, social services, and housing anti-discrimination efforts in cities is diminishing.

Welfare acts as a buffer against the dividing influences of technological innovation and economic restructuring. Most welfare states have however experienced an erosion of the state’s redistributive power and public functions are increasingly handed over to private market organisations. This has led to increasing economic inequality. The changing role of the state offers new instruments to stimulate these parties to live up to this responsibility. The effectiveness of this must still be judged. Ironically, the greater reliance on market forces may lead to a diversification of populations even though it leads to a net worsening of the housing situation of the poor.

Race is a major reason why there is so little political support for programs to reduce inner-city poverty. Wilson (1991) and Skocpol (1991) have developed important arguments against direct appeals for racial justice (for particularist demands) in favour of advocating universalist approaches to social welfare programs. Massey and Denton (1993) brought needed attention to the effects of housing discrimination on the production and concentration of poverty. Both Wilson’s and Skocpol’s universalism and Massey and Denton’s plea for desegregation seek more support for low-income inner-city communities, African Americans in particular. Wilson focuses on developing a common material interest, and Skocpol a common cultural identity, between whites and African Americans through the creation of universalistic social welfare programs. Massey and Denton seek to create a shared cross-racial common interest by increasing geographic proximity in neighbourhoods. According to Thompson (1998), both universalist and desegregation policy prescriptions are flawed because they minimise the force of white racism in politics and civic life, wish away the force of African American politics and civic life, and consequently have little ability to generate popular political support.

### 5. SEGREGATION AND INEQUALITY

Segregation is not a uni-dimensional phenomenon. Neither is the interpretation of the development of segregation a matter of reference to a few simple processes in society. Similar remarks have to be made as far as the effects of segregation are concerned. Mustard and De Winter (1998) state that segregation becomes an issue when linked to negative impacts on society. Fears of segregation are often sparked by riots and right wing voting which have bolstered the fear of large differences between population groups. Segregation is also seen as negative when it is associated with deprivation. “Attention is seldom given to groups who are segregated and well-off. It is thus not only the spatial dimension of deprivation but relative deprivation itself.”

The question as to whether segregation actually contributes to increase inequality or whether it represents a survival strategy, is often debated. Most of the debates that stress the role of segregation as a survival strategy are based on the idea of concentration of a certain group within a geographical area. Some argue that segregation stimulates ethnic entrepreneurship because of the market created by the concentration of potential customers. Furthermore ethnic entrepreneurship provides valuable employment in times of high unemployment levels or for new arrivals to the city (Portes & Zhou, 1996; Wilson and Portes, 1981; Bailey and Waldinger, 1991).

Another argument points to the political power that can be achieved, at least at local level, by concentrating voters in one electoral ward, e.g. the case of the homosexual community in San Francisco (Mustard and De Winter, 1998). It is also stated that the spatial concentration of a disadvantaged community can make it possible for government to focus programs for upgrading and development in such areas (Mustard and De Winter, 1998). The most convincing argument however is that of reciprocity and the development of tight community networks that can develop because of the concentration of spatial proximity of a group, be it ethnic, racially or income based (Peach & Smith, 1981; Burgers, 1997; Aldrich et al., 1991; Baol, 1981).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A protected housing sub-market for immigrants of a specific ethnicity</td>
<td>Constrains immigrants housing choices by channeling them to poor quality areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of access to housing for immigrant ethnicities</td>
<td>Under certain conditions, may ‘Ghettoize’ immigrant-ethnicity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustains ‘community life’ and helps foster social networks, neighbourhoodliness, mutual support and recreation, particularly for stay-at-home women, reducing immigrants isolation and facilitate their resettlement</td>
<td>Curtail opportunities for mixing with others and participating in the civil society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotes the viability of community-based facilities, services and institutions with the concentration of consumers and self-help initiatives, e.g. Eldercare, day care centres, religious congregations, mosques and temples</td>
<td>Isolate children of immigrant and impinge their acculturation to diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help meet threshold levels for culturally and linguistically relevant public services, e.g. heritage language ESL classes, cooperative housing</td>
<td>Stereotyping of immigrants-ethnicities become easy being identifiable with a neighbourhood. In extreme cases could make their easy targets for prejudice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps base of ethnic economy and the emergence of ethnic business district</td>
<td>Restrict immigrant employment opportunities by limiting their encounters and networking with people of different backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote cultural and physical diversity of a city’s neighbourhood, creates centres of interest and entertainment for a city</td>
<td>Impede the social integration and growth of civic life of the city/society</td>
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SOCIAL ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF ETHNIC ENCLAVES

SOURCE: Qadri, 2001

Qadri (2001) states that certain forms of segregation (ethnic enclaves) are a relatively ‘voluntaristic’ segregation and it should be distinguished from publicly sanctioned forms of discrimination. Exclusionary policies and social practices resulting in the separation of races and cultures should be differentiated from the segregation by choice. Differentiating between the two forms of segregation is necessary (Moghadam 1994): One is acceptable on moral as well as pragmatic grounds, but the other is condemnable in both counts.
Segregation per se is thus not necessarily negative and could be a positive characteristic of well-functioning cities. In classical human ecology, the concept of segregation has been used as a neutral concept to analyse the internal spatial differentiation in cities along social class, life cycle and ethnic lines (Park et al., 1925). As we move into a new era, the nature of segregation has however changed, and has taken a more malign form linked to dysfunctionality and injustice.

5.1 SPATIAL SEGREGATION AND LIMITED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Segregation can lead to the curtailing of opportunities for people to participate in civil society because of their isolation. This can happen in a variety of ways: firstly, it may limit job opportunities as residents have no information on jobs when they are surrounded by the unemployed (Hughes & Madden, 1991). Burgers (1997) argues that this is also true for jobs in the informal sector. Households with a high income can generate demand for services that low-income households can provide such as housekeeping. Spatial separation of these groups may limit opportunities for contact between them. This becomes even more prevalent in the globalised 'corporate' economy where according to Sassen (1994) the devalued sectors (low-wage, non-professional) of the urban economy actually fulfill crucial functions for the centre.

Segregation does not only influence access to job opportunities or information of opportunities, but also the skills needed to be employed, such as language skills for instance (Ballard 1990). Some also argue (Schill, 1992) that there are extra negative effects of living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods on the aspirations and opportunities of an individual resident e.g. education, crime, moral values and types of behaviour as is argued in the work of Lewis (1983) and Wilson (1984). Wilson (1987) developed the term ‘ghetto underclass’ referring to poverty linked to spatial concentration and segregation. He argues that the concentrated poverty of the ghetto generates problems that differ in size and kind from the problems the poor face in other environments. He argues that members of the underclass suffer from prolonged labour-market marginality and have virtually no chances to alter this situation, even across generations. They display deviant or illegal behaviour like gambling, drug abuse, crime, teenage pregnancy and dropping out of school. They are economically and politically isolated. Their lifestyle, often a matter of survival, differs from that of the other poor. Because their lifestyle differs from that of mainstream society, they find it hard to take part in that society (Wilson, 1987; Hughes, 1989; Kasarda, 1990; Sheppard, 1990).

It must be noted however that the debate on the culture of poverty and the underclass has been discredited on the basis that the blame for the existence of poverty is shifted to the characteristics of the poor instead of on the structure of society or the workings of the market. This ‘personalisation’ of poverty is linked to the next argument of stigmatisation and negative imagery.

5.2 DEFINING ‘THE OTHER’

Spatial segregation and concentration leads to restricted contact between different groups within the city. Segall (1970) and Goldsmith (1997) show how isolation of people in separate neighbourhoods and suburbs can lead not just a lack of sympathy but also to misinformation and misunderstanding. ‘Living in separate neighbourhoods they are unable
to learn to develop an understanding, to be tolerant, to work things through, to compromise’. Furthermore, it can lead to an inadequate and superficial understanding, based on the newspapers, hearsay or television reports. And ignorance often begets intolerance and fear. Segregation can thus lead to negative stigmatisation by people from outside. Concentrated areas of poverty may become ‘isolated territories viewed as social purgatories; urban hellholes where only the refuse of society would accept to dwell: black holes of misery in the global economy’ (Wacquant, 1996; Castells 1996).

Negative stigmatisation could influence the success of residents when applying for jobs, finance and insurance to name but a few (Wacquant, 1996).

In an interesting thesis Goldsmith (1997) puts forward the opinion that the spread of capitalism from the US to the rest of the world is, at least in some part, due to the segregation of its neighbourhoods. The argument is that Americans do not see the vagaries of the system of capitalism as this is hidden in poor ghettos away from the experience of the average citizen who therefore does not realise the downside of capitalism. ‘Segregation has led to reinforcement of a traditional American reliance on free markets rather than co-operation, planning and regulation of markets. In the absence of strict regulations, markets generate high degrees of inequality of income. If whites and blacks lived together in the same neighbourhoods, whites might have observed more directly the successes and failures of the economy and they would have suffered more of the consequences. In stead, they excuse the society and blame the victims. The world-wide marketing of the US model of deregulation, free trade and privatisation threatens to cut into the guarantees of social democracy nearly everywhere’.

Spatial segregation can also create tensions within the society as a whole. Extensive and intense isolation of one group from another can distort, damage and ultimately poison any chance for coalition and co-operation. According to Steward (in Detroit News, 2001): ‘the people most damaged by this dynamic are children who are separated from their peers of different races and ethnicities by school district boundaries and whose educational experience is stunted and narrowed as a result’. Castells (1994) states that the exclusion of the other is not separable from the suppression of civil liberties and a mobilisation against alien cultures.

Segregation and concentration can have another effect (Burgers, 1997). The negative image of an area could lead to all kinds of self-fulfilling prophecies. Thus, concentration neighbourhoods can turn into breeding grounds for misery because they are so perceived (Wacquant, 1996).

The question as to the causal relationship between segregation and negative stigmatisation, however remains unclear: does segregation exist because of negative perceptions of a certain group as is put forward in the following argument: Group segregation is produced by aversive perceptions that deprecate some groups defining them as entirely other, to be shunned and avoided. Banks, real estate firms, city officials, newspapers and residents all promote an image of neighbourhoods as places where only certain kinds of people belong and others do not, deeply reinforcing aversive racism and the mechanism by which some groups are constructed as the despised others’.

Young
disadvantage of the spatial concentration of population groups (Ballard, 1990; Ozuekren, 1992).

Commercial development can be influenced by segregation as the concentration of poverty may erode the economic base for commercial services (Massey & Denton, 1993; Sarkissian, 1976), leading to a process of decline caused by cumulative causation.

5.4 TRAVELLING DISTANCES

Segregation can have an impact on the time and cost of travel. Preston, McLafferty and Liu (in Fortuin et al., 1998) in their analysis of commuting behaviour in New York in relation to racial, migration status and gender differences, concluded that ethnicity is more important for commuting time and therefore for access to employment than place of birth. This is exacerbated by what Kasarda (1993) calls the jobs-skills mismatch, where jobs move from the inner city to the suburbs. In general terms, the mismatch hypothesis suggests that the increase in the educational and skill demands of the urban economy have outstripped the skills of an increasingly large segment of the urban population. Thus, minority populations that have traditionally relied on low-skilled employment will no longer have access to the urban job market (Bailey and Waldinger, 1991; Schill, 1992).

5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although the right to freedom of choice and freedom of association cannot be disregarded and surely impacts on people's quality of life and satisfaction with their living environments, when the freedom of association means the lack of freedom of choice or movement of other groups it cannot be condoned. Furthermore, when the resultant segregation is linked with inequality or if it has an impact on the access and quality of services, it does become detrimental and should start to impact on the freedom of association.

There is some indication that US citizens do realise that segregation is negative as has been shown by a recent survey of the Detroit News (2001) whereby the following problems and costs of segregation acknowledged by residents:
- deteriorating housing for blacks
- urban sprawl for whites
- high infant mortality rates among blacks
- inflated suburban housing prices
- long commutes

Those costs are real and they are shocking: segregation makes it difficult for some people to get a good education and earn a good living. Segregation makes some of life's amenities difficult if not impossible to achieve for many people. Even benign segregation condemns some [...] residents to live lives of lower expectations.
6. MACRO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS ON CURRENT SEGREGATION PATTERNS

It is not a new idea that cities are part of a larger society: cities are the central elements in the spatial organization of regional, national, and supranational socio-economies by virtue of the interregional organization in a total ‘ecological field’ of the functions they perform (Berry and Kassarda, 1977).

Because of this interrelatedness, areas within the city are also influenced by developments and decisions on higher spatial levels. Many sociologists and geographers now agree that patterns of segregation and concentration change as a consequence of individual household decisions in response to the complex interaction of a variety of structures and developments on different spatial levels. General processes, like economic restructuring at a global level, have their impact on local situations and developments (Sassen, 1990; Burgers and Engbersen, 1996) and on choice patterns of households (Clark et al., 1997).

Households operate within the societal, demographic, economic and political context of their countries, regions and cities. The competition between households and individuals in the housing market (as well as in other markets) may result from changing ideas on the part of an individual or household. Those changes, in turn, may be caused by changes in local structures. But they may even be related to changes at a national or transnational level. In order to explain (spatial) changes at the local level, we have to incorporate structures and developments at other spatial levels (Serre et al., 1989; Karm et al., 1985).

We should be aware of a close and dynamic relationship between individual strategies, institutional behaviour and the wider social, economic and political structure, as housing purchases and institutions respond to each other within a framework of local and national change (Phillips and Karm, 1992; Clark and Dziekan, 1996).

Most theorists agree that cities and society have changed dramatically during the latter decades of the 20th century. One of the important factors contributing to change is globalisation. The impact of globalisation has changed the ways in which cities operate and thus also the nature of segregation.

Beck (1997) states that globalisation occurs at four levels: technological, economical, cultural and ecological. According to Marcuse and Van Kempen (1999), globalisation in its present configuration is a ‘combination of new technology, increased trade and mobility, increased concentration of control and reduced welfare-orientated regulatory power of nation-states’.

Several authors have stressed that globalisation has lead to increasing poverty and social and spatial inequalities (ECLAC, 1997). The world proletariat has almost doubled in the last 30 years working under conditions of gross exploitation and political oppression and geographically dispersed across a variety of massive urban concentrations.

6.1 CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE

Even areas that profit from the new economy have problems with regards to inequality and poverty such as gentrification and displacement of the poor to least desirable localities. The opportunities for lower incomes have been largely dependent on the preferences of those with higher incomes and it takes strenuous efforts by resisting communities to counter that dependency (Herlyn, 1989).

Probably the most dramatic shift has been the post industrial tertiarisation of the economy based on advances in production technology and ITC. The post-industrial restucturing of the economy in the late 20th century has affected the economic backbone of the cities: the traditional goods-processing industries. Restructuring has meant job losses in manufacturing, routine office work and government administration and few people can take new jobs in information-based business services. These industries in particular provided entry-level employment opportunities for the lesser skilled (Kassarda, 1993).

The shift to a service economy implies a growing demand for high- as well as low-status and low-wage jobs (Bailey and Walidinger, 1991). While high-income jobs in the business service sectors grow, an increasing number of workers have to resort to the informal sector of the economy for employment (UNCHS, 1996; Harris & Fabrioulus, 1996; Sassen, 1994).

This leads to a polarised economy. The essence of a polarised economy is the idea of the vanishing middle (Malecki, 1984; Robbeek, 1987; Scott and Storper, 1987). This shift might create employment opportunities for marginalized communities (Sassen, 1991), but it also points to the disappearance of a career ladder (Weiss, 1983) and an increase in junk jobs. There seems to be slightly better chances for people with little formal education. In the long run, however, their position will remain weak and their prospects bleak. ‘Jobless growth’ seems to be the general perspective. The number of new entrants and the number of people seeking to re-enter the labour market will continue to expand and even though the number of jobs might grow, in many sectors of the economy, supply and demand will probably remain unbalanced. This will result in structural unemployment.

Rocco (2004) defines the following economic trends of the current stage of capitalist accumulation: liberalisation of markets; flexibility of production; free flows of capital; privatisation of services; and global competition, all leading to the devaluation of labour.

The drive to substitute capital for labour and to lower the price paid for labour is an ongoing one; it is structural to a private market capitalist system. Although the jobs ancillary to highly paid jobs are increasing, it is clear that a pool of uneeded labour is increasingly being created posing problems of social peace and social justice.

Furthermore, the global restructuring of the economy and the consequent transfer of manufacturing to newly industrialising nations leads to higher unemployment among manual workers in the West countries and a devaluation of labour in the peripheral countries beyond the possibility of satisfying human needs.

Coupled to the jobless growth and structural unemployment is the shifting of job opportunities from centrally located areas to the suburbs, the mismatch theory as explained in paragraph 5.4. Because of the low incomes of the poor, they are unable to
move to other (higher-status) areas. They are confined to areas with low rents and often, low-quality housing. ... the weight of the evidence supports the argument that the location of inner city poor households [...] creates a disadvantage for them in escaping poverty (Schill, 1992).

The spatial distribution of employment opportunities is severely biased. The 'city-suburb paradox'—good jobs for suburbanites in the cities and (vulnerable) jobs for the poorly skilled urban population in increasingly remote places within the metropolitan areas—will lose some of its relevance. This more balanced picture comes from spreading the better jobs to the suburbs, which are the growth zones for quality employment. The growth rate of employment in the big cities will continue to lag behind that of the suburbs (Dieleman and Poulos, 1992). These trends will ease the burden of commuting for the suburban population. But they will not improve the outlook of marginal city-dwellers.

6.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND MIGRATION

The shrinking world together with economic inequalities and conflicts between nations and within countries are leading to increased migration. In the case of the north, the result is growing ethnic communities, asylum seekers, economic refugees, both legal and illegal. In the case of Africa the most prominent impact on cities is continuing high levels of rural-urban migration and the growing number of newcomers on the periphery of the city.

Eversley (1992) points to an interesting relationship between economic development and immigration. Economically expanding regions tend to attract migrants. The economic well-being of a region thus seems to be important as a pull factor. Migrants gravitate to places that offer them the greatest opportunities in terms of both jobs and housing. Chain migration may then add to the number of migrants in a region (Saule et al., 1989).

Political developments affect rights and legislation. They may refer to gaining entry to a country (migration laws). Or they may concern rights to residency and work, social rights and political rights in the place of destination. In many countries, conflicts about these topics emerge for any number of reasons. Conflict may arise when immigrants are seen as competitors for housing, jobs and social benefits. Or they may be seen as a threat to the alleged cultural homogeneity of the indigenous population (Faist and Haussermann, 1996). If immigrants are allowed to stay in a country for a limited time only, it is unlikely that they will invest in their residential situation. It seems self-evident that only if immigrants have the assurance of being able to stay permanently in the country of residence will they be prepared to put down roots, to integrate fully into their new society, and to identify with it (Murray, 1995).

Massive growth in the number of households within a relatively brief period may cause shortages if all those households are looking for the same kind of dwelling in the same area. Newcomers are often among the weakest parties in the competition for housing; they have a low income and little knowledge. Therefore, migrant labourers tend to settle in cheap residential areas in the poorer sections of the city, close to their place of work (Saule et al., 1989). According to Peach (1985), it is not that newcomers generally create a space for themselves; rather, they fill a vacuum. In this way, the choices of others are very important. Other people create vacancies in the existing stock and in particular neighbourhoods. Other people's choices often have to do with rising incomes and new additions to the housing stock (Herlyn, 1989).

European cities are threatened with social stratification, especially ethnic and racial segregation; these in turn fuel costly suburban sprawl. According to Rhein (in Fortijn et al., 1996) segregation in Paris is no longer between working class and middle class. It is more and more polarization between blue-collar, one-earner, foreign-born households and professional/managerial, two-earner households of French origin. Pelisseris (in Fortijn et al., 1996) also observes increase in social polarisation between 1981 and 1991 in Italy (Milan, Turin, Genoa).

Another challenge regarding urban development and segregation is the accelerated intra-city and rural-urban migration. The migration threshold has been overcome in most Latin American countries but is still a mayor issue in African and Asia as has been highlighted in main World demographic reports. South Africa is in the middle path, since cities present an average migration growth of 3%, although the large metropolitan agglomerations are receiving the greatest population flows.

Past and current disappointments with macro-level policies are gradually being understood by analysts in terms of insufficient linkage to the micro-level realities of the African economy and society. There is also a realisation that micro-level policies are bound to fail if implemented in an unstable macro- or global environment. The few success stories seem to be those where macro and micro policies – by design or luck – have been combined correctly.

Globalisation and racism reinforce each other. The one does not cause the other. What is different though is that the new poverty created by globalisation (Mingione, 1996) overlaps strongly with minority racial or ethnic status, so that pre-existing patterns of racism and racist spatial distribution are deeply exacerbated, forming the new patterns of racism and hyper-segregation (Massey & Denton, 1993) that we find increasingly in the US but also elsewhere. Suburbanisation is not class neutral and cannot in the US be separated from the issue of racism.

Cultural diversity—and social conflict—will also be sustained. In spite of an aggressive policy and some hopeful responses (improved language skills, raising naturalisation rates), the cultural and social integration of the minorities will remain problematic. Differences in educational attainment levels prove to be highly resistant to change. This points to persistent social deprivation and exclusion of the groups concerned.

6.3 RETREAT OF THE WELFARE STATE

Another important factor is the retreat of the Welfare state, which was based on the principles of support for those who are in a weak position through subsidies. The welfare state had been an almost unquestioned part of the post-war political compromise in every Western European country, but is much on the defensive there, and is being limited more and more around the world; in some, such as the United States, it has never been fully accepted. 'The general social climate of the 1980s was marked by the rise of the new
right'. It was the era of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the USA and Britain, in which funding from government declined ...' (Milicic, 2001).

The present trend is for government to retreat. There are no indications that this direction will be reversed soon. The heated discussion on the affordability of the welfare state in general and of the plethora of social benefits in particular continues unabated. Even the minimum-wage regulations have come under fire.

Where these disappear groups become more isolated because they cannot afford certain types of housing anymore but are relegated to the cheapest forms, thus exacerbating the process of concentration and segregation. In a retracting welfare state, the number of affordable rented dwellings will almost inevitably decline, especially in the newly built stock. This is exactly what has happened in most western European countries since the second half of the 1980s (Ozuek and van Kempen, 1997).

The retreat of the welfare state has an obvious effect on the income position of households of all kinds. When governments pursue a policy of cutting budgets, everyone who depends on the state (pensioners, the unemployed, the handicapped, etc.) will inevitably feel the pinch. The austerity programme may lead to lower subsidies for housing. Consequently, fewer affordable dwellings might be built or less maintenance may be done on the existing stock. More generally, transforming housing markets may alter the opportunities for all kinds of groups, including immigrants and newcomers.

The state has shifted many of its responsibilities for housing to the local authorities. Incurred major risks and being strapped for funds, they will have to comply even more closely with the prevailing market forces than the national government found necessary. This implies that they will have to change their priorities. Instead of providing adequate housing for low-income households, the local authorities will have to exercise responsible financial management, which entails the avoidance of risks. The housing-market position of all households associated with elevated risks will thus suffer.

The Dutch society is moving away from the welfare-state model toward a liberal market model. Until recently, international assessments of the Dutch housing system applauded the care for the weakest households. Recent publications are already much more critical, as even these low-income households are being left to their own devices. The Netherlands' housing system is moving down the path already taken by other European countries, where intervention by the public sector has been much less comprehensive.

Especially for those who are in the lower segments of the labour market, alternatives in the housing market may decline. Those who have low incomes and unsure expectancies in the labour market may have only limited choice of neighbourhoods to live in.

6.4 NOT A FOREGONE CONCLUSION

Current trends indicate increased segregation within the context of globalisation. The Post Fordist period (since 1970) in the US is characterised by the overarching phenomenon of increasing separation of the parts of the city from each other, reflecting in space and an increasing economic, social and political separation. Sabatini (1990) states that with the globalisation of the economies, residential segregation seems to be becoming especially negative in the poor districts. It contributes to deepen the problems of social disintegration.

Inequality and the difference between access of the rich and the poor to private urban services are however not only a function of these new dynamics. According to Bailey (1997), the problem of persistent inequality in Latin American cities is endogenous and cannot be ascribed only to globalisation but also to urban policy. ‘If growth is to be inclusive it requires either to be very dynamic or that a government with adequate territorial range, powers, sources of revenue and political support should tap and redistribute resources.’

The spatial manifestation varies according to:

- The pre-existing form of the built environment
- The stage of development of the productive apparatus of the country
- The level of integration into international trade and finance
- Its state traditions and international political location
- The balance of political and economic forces – capital and labour

These processes of globalisation further affect only a fraction of what happens in cities even though it is related. The new pattern is built on older ones.

The US experience is enlightening: A study by the Brookings Institute (2002) came to the following findings:

- Racial and ethnic diversity in suburban areas rose substantially in the last decade. Racial and ethnic minorities make up more than a quarter of suburban populations (27% up from 16% in 1990).
- Melting pot metros (large proportion of Hispanics, Asians, American Indians etc) such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, Houston and New York have the highest minority suburban populations. By contrast, suburbs in slow-growing northern metropolitan areas have low minority populations.
- Minorities were responsible for the bulk of suburban population gains. Most pronounced in diverse melting pot metros and in the south where black and Hispanic populations increased. Many of melting pot metros had drops in white suburban population.
- Asians are more likely to live in major metro suburbs than cities. Half of Hispanics and 39% of blacks live in suburbs

7. THE URBAN FORM OF SEGREGATION

Areas of spatial segregation and concentration – ghettos, enclaves, fortresses, concentration areas and slums – have always existed, however new tendencies are emerging in what Soja calls the 'Post-metropolis'. Soja (1997) states that the 'space economies of post war urbanism' have been 'radically altered' such that the form of the city has 'exploded to an unprecedented scale, scope and complexity'. According to Marcuse
European and American cities are continuing to sprawl, despite a stabilisation or decline in urban populations as people seek to enhance amenity and strive towards the suburban dream (Breheny, 1996). The preference for single-family housing has become more widespread. Several recent studies have shown that this type of housing remains the peak of housing ambitions among renters and home-owners belonging to many types of households, from all social groups and under all circumstances (Priemus et al., 1994; van Kempen et al., 1994; Wassenberg et al., 1994). There are no indications that this pattern will change significantly in the foreseeable future. Those who can afford it, seize the opportunity to secure a dwelling of this type. Sprawl in less urbanised regions is however still stimulated by continued growth based on rural to urban flows (Devas & Rakodi, 1993; Gilbert and Gugler, 1992). Not the slow growth of the total population, but the continued boom of household formation is the most significant population trend. In the Netherlands between 1960 and 1990, the number of households doubled from 3 to 6 million (de Jong-Gierveld and van Nimwegen, 1992).

The flight from the inner city to suburbs of the more well-off residents started in the 1950s because of the push factors of inner city congestion etc. and the pull factors of the suburban environment and was made possible by the advent of mass private car ownership.

It was not long before traditional inner city functions such as retail and offices followed the trend. An important factor in decentralisation is the new spatial requirements of firms, which favour suburban localities. These are summarised by Carter (1995) as follows:

- Good accessibility, especially for private transport;
- High visibility, especially from inter city mobility routes;
- Away from crime;
- Away from grime, urban dilapidation and degeneration;
- Towards park-like environments and natural settings;
- In proximity to ports;
- Into controlled and managed environments; and
- Away from the CBD.

This led to increased flow of traffic between locations and even between cities. Increased traffic led to infrastructure investment, which in turn influenced changes in urban spatial patterns entrenching new decentralised forms.

The continued processes of suburbanisation have been described by Pacione (undated) as:

- Disurbanisation or counterurbanisation (population loss of the core exceeds the population gain of the suburbs and exurban ring);
- Reurbanisation (population loss of the core tapers off or turns around).

In the process the inner city has become a victim and has experienced dramatic dereliction and parts of older central cities and inner suburbs, dependent on mass manufacturing, stagnate or decline.
Coupled to high-income suburbanisation, cities of the South are also characterised by growth of squatter settlements on the periphery of the city, which accommodates the most marginalized new arrivals to the city.

Linked to decentralisation is greater fragmentation. The city is becoming increasingly fragmented, partitioned and precarious, consisting of enclaves of global finance co-existing with 'third world' neighbours: multiple business centres, gentrified neighbourhoods, hollowed-out zones of manufacturing and immigrant neighbourhoods. Segregation is enhanced: downtown neighbourhood segregated by class and race and sharp distinctions among functional areas. Partitioning of land uses whether due to land value differentials, planning controls, social affiliations or localisation economies continue to occur.

Two new landscapes are particularly linked to segregation: that of the hyperghetto and the totalising suburb or exclusionary enclave.

![Diagram of Urban Structure](image)

**FIGURE 3.8 KENNEDY: A MODEL OF POSTMODERN URBAN STRUCTURE**
Source: Dear and Flusty, 1998

### 7.2 THE HYPERGHETTO

Johnston et al., (1986) define the ghetto as a residential district that is almost exclusively the preserve of one ethnic or cultural group. Van Amersfoort (1980) applies a stricter definition: a ghetto is an "institutionalised" residential area in which all the inhabitants belong to a single ethnically, racially or religiously defined group and all the members of this group live in this area (they do not live in other areas). "Institutionalised" means that the inhabitants did not choose their dwelling or residential area themselves: they were to some degree coerced by society. In the words of Peach (1992): the black ghetto is not just a voluntaristic temporary phenomenon. According to Clark (1965), the existence of the ghetto is the consequence of a deliberate policy of those who wield power in mainstream society. The dark ghetto's invisible walls have been erected by the white society, by those who have power, both to confine those who have no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness (Clark, 1965). Without the element of coercion, the ghetto may be more appropriately described as an ethnic enclave (Marcuse, 1997b).

Marcuse (1997b) states that in the urban ghetto of today, residents are excluded from the mainstream formal and informal economy, that it is not Clarke's (1965) ghetto of tape and exaggeration but Wilson's (1987) ghetto of oppression and imprisonment. Earlier racial ghettos are transformed into excluded ghettos separated from other parts of the city by social, economic and often physical barriers. Wacquant and Wilson (1993) have made a distinction between the organised ghetto of yesteryear and the hyperghetto of today. In the hyperghetto, activities are no longer structured around an internal and relatively autonomous social space that duplicates the institutional structure of the larger society and provides basic minimal resources for social mobility. Living in the hyperghetto is living outside mainstream society. Especially in a situation like this, immigrants might be thrown back on each other's company, resulting in cultural 'fossilisation' (the continuance of the lifestyle they had in the home country) or even radicalisation (Ozuekren, 1992).

The ghetto of the excluded is where race is combined with class in a spatially concentrated area where residents' activities are excluded from the economic life of the surrounding society which does not profit significantly from its existence. The confinement of residents to the ghetto is desired by the dominant interests out of fear that their activities not controlled may endanger the dominant social peace. The new ghetto is different as its primary characteristics are the convergence of class with race and poverty with minority status. Other forms of ghettos were also racially defined but an integral part of the mainstream economy, with residents of different classes and a variety of prospects in the labour market. Segregation of unneeded people in specific areas lead to hyperghettos or advanced marginally or the new urban poor.

The excluded ghetto is the spatial result of the process of hyperurbanisation and continued racial discrimination: Welfare recipients are on welfare not because they do not want to work or because they do not have the skills, but because there is no work paying a living wage. They are permanently excluded from the labour force, hence the desperation and helplessness that underlie so much of the drug use and crime in the poorer sections of our cities today.

The most striking example of the hyperghetto comes from the US. A University of Chicago study shows that racial segregation in the US is much worse than previously thought. Blacks and whites in the cities rarely interact outside the workplace and blacks isolated in central cities have even less contact with whites. Indicators for hypersegregation are:

- Unevenness of racial distribution
- Lack of potential contact between black and white
- Clustering of black neighbourhoods
- Concentration of blacks in the inner city
• Population density of black neighbourhoods.

The American ghetto is becoming more poor and less dense. Even though the middle class African American is more mobile, he is not less segregated. Middle class African Americans move out of the ghetto, which renders the ghetto poorer and less dense. As they move into other areas whites move out, meaning that they do still not become integrated.

7.3 EXCLUSIONARY ENCLADES AND TOTALISING SUBURBS.

Suburbanisation of high and middle-income groups and the development of edge cities contribute to concentration of deprivation. However, Marcuse (1997a) has pointed out that there are two trends that separate the suburb of yesterday from those of the postmetropolis: firstly that of walled in, that they are more cut off from their surroundings, symbolically or actually. Walled does not consist only of physical walls but also social patterns and legal restrictions. Secondly the totalising trend which internalises within its boundaries all the necessities of life. Edge cities are created combining residential, business, social and cultural areas removed from older central cities, representing a dramatic and expanded form of the exclusionary enclave.

The totalising suburb is often motivated by a fear of crime. Suburbs were originally designed to be inclusive not exclusive e.g. subsidised housing provision but today they are only for those who are there. The walled private communities that are becoming prevalent in parts of the US, are a form of discrimination, just as restrictions on access to public facilities were in the past. This economic segregation represents a heightened middle-class that feels the need for added security. It suggests that Americans have given up on the idea of racial and class integration. The rationale for building and living in walled suburbs is that the city is simply a place of violence. High walls and security guards are necessary to maintain their economic and social advantage.

Economic segregation is scarcely new. In fact, zoning and city planning were designed in part to preserve the position of the privileged by subtle variances in building and density codes. But the gated communities go farther in several respects. They create physical barriers to access. And they privatise community space, not merely individual space. Many of these communities also privatise civic responsibilities such as police protection and communal services such as schools, recreation and entertainment. When offices and retail complexes are placed within these walls, the new developments create a private world that shares little with its neighbours or the larger political system. The fragmentation undermines the very concept of civitas — organised community life.

The fortifying up also has policy consequences. By allowing some citizens to internalise and to exclude others from sharing in their economic privilege, it aims directly at the conceptual base of community and citizenship in the US. The old notions of community mobility are torn apart by these changes on community patterns.

7.4 CITADELS AND GENTRIFIED CITY

To the hyperghetto and the totalising suburb, Marcuse (1997) adds the citadel and the gentrified city. Citadels are spatially concentrated areas in which members of a particular population group, defined by its position of superiority in power, wealth, or status in relation to its neighbours, congregate as a means of protecting or enhancing its position. It is exclusionary through the use of social and/or physical means of fortification, although some restrictions of access may be very subtle. Residents of citadels benefit disproportionately from their economic and political relationship with others. Gentrified cities house professionals, managers and higher technicians. They are the yuppies, the cosmopolitans, and the careerists. Families mostly consist of one or two persons. Gentrified cities are often found in the inner city in abandoned buildings caused by displacement or government policy but can also be found in exurbs and the fortified enclave.

They are based on the fact that amidst the processes of decentralisation, spatial centralisation of management, financing law and politics is increasingly important despite new communication techniques and fast modes of transport. Thus new centres of cities have become important. Even though the inner city is regaining a foothold, according to Sassen (1988), it is now one of a number of centres and only fulfills specific functions. The concentration of high order services has also led to concentration of lower order services: salad bars, printing and cleaning.

8. AN INTEGRATED URBAN FORM

Without following a spatial determinist logic, it is possible to theorise about the type of urban form which could be conducive to socio-spatial integration, or at least an urban form which would not prevent integration. This includes what Omenya (2000) refers to as pragmatic or structuralist action theories. A mono-functional, sprawling, suburban type city that relies on private transport and promotes the privatisation of space is seen as increasing segregation. On the other hand an urban form which promotes integration would have the following characteristics:

• Mixed land uses and different housing typologies creating varied socio-economic and spatial opportunities

According to Omenya (2000), integrated cities exhibit qualities of complexity, interdependence, interrelatedness and positive re-enforcement among their residential, social and commercial components. They have a variety of land uses and reconcile residential and commercial components of land uses. Sedg (2001) suggests fundamental changes in mono-functional neighbourhoods, by infiltration of new building types, new lifestyles, development of distinguishable neighbourhoods, integration of living and work places, breaking the monstony of built forms, demolition of problematic buildings and replacing them with unique buildings, and qualitative ecological improvements. He recommends varied housing typologies; composed of flexible and attractive housing units and residential areas, which function socio-economically and environmentally, and which are appropriately integrated into the urban design.

• Public transport, pedestrian orientation and public transport orientated development
Public transport and an environment suitable for pedestrians is seen as creating equity, whereas private transport is seen as increasing inequality, as only few people can afford cars and it promotes sprawl, increasing the distances between different groups. According to Dewar et al (1977) movement routes that are multifunctional, with an intensity of activities are desirable. He stresses the importance of structural changes to the city to achieve higher densities within walking distance to public transport. Behrens and Watson (1996) stress the importance of creating walkable neighbourhoods through open movement systems. Marucuse (2001) adds that provision of mass transportation with stations and stops in different kinds of areas may lead to the increase of economic activities in neighbourhoods that did not have good connections before

- **Compact or at least not sprawling**
  Sprawling cities are seen as creating larger distances between communities and also reducing the ability to implement successful public transport.

- **Accessible public spaces**
  According to Marucuse (2001) expansive provision of public space and opportunity for public communication is needed, so that the movement in the direction of private control, with its market-based tendencies to segregate, can be counter-acted, and the general sense of a diverse community be reinforced. Semnet (1990) also stresses the importance of public space for different people to meet and get to know each other.

- **Integrated public facilities**
  Public facilities and services should be located at borders between partitions, to help unify disparate areas spatially and bring their residents together more (Marucuse, 2001).

It must be stressed that these principles will not necessarily create a socio-economically integrated and equitable society. These physical aspects are mentioned, but cannot be overemphasised as physical aspects of integration, which when attained, is normally a reflection of hidden layers of socio-economic integration.

9. **CONCLUSIONS**

From the literature there seems to be a clear indication that both segregation and inequality are increasing and also increasingly overlapping and that in these conditions, segregation has a negative impact on society at large. More worrying is the apparent acceptance of the inevitability of these processes and the inability of urban planning within the context of globalisation and neo-liberalism to address these issues.

There also appears to be a variety of reasons why segregation takes place: from the normal functioning of the city, the choices that people make to live amongst their own kind and racism, overtly or covertly. It is also clear that the socio-economic context cannot be ignored and has to be addressed if socio-spatial segregation is to be lessened. Although urban planning can play an important role in addressing segregation, it often enhances segregation, mostly in a manner which Crane describes as 'inadvertent' design. For urban planning to increase integration, it has to look for innovative methods and has to understand the city in its socio-economic context.

The current urban form has resulted in greater segregation because of processes that are not necessarily linked to the desire to segregate such as increasing sprawl and decentralisation (although some would dispute the fact that suburbanisation is not driven by this desire) as well as overt actions to place distance between the rich and the poor such as waling.

Segregation in South Africa differs from the rest of the world in quite a couple of instances.
- Firstly, as with many other countries, especially colonial and us cities, segregation was institutionalised from early on. In most other countries institutionalised segregation was disbanding by the 1950s to 60s and in many instances private segregation or discrimination was outlawed. However, in 1948 South Africa embraced the policy Apartheid, which further institutionalised and increased segregation. This led to extreme levels of segregation e.g. segregation indices.
- Secondly, by the 1980s segregation became an issue again in many European cities, because of the high influx of immigrants and in the US the idea of the melting pot was disbanded. In contrast, in South Africa at that time it was realised that institutionalised segregation was not possible and many of the related acts were scrapped.
- Thirdly, whereas in the rest of the world minority groups were being segregated and marginalised, in South Africa the majority was being segregated. The whole issue of minority-majority etc. The number minority but political majority controlled access to land and occupied the largest share, e.g. Pretoria.
- Fourthly, in the rest of the world the segregated groups are still marginalised and on the periphery of power, in South Africa the previously segregated and marginalised groups has taken political power and is starting to make inroads into economic power through acts such as Black Economic Empowerment.
- Fifthly, whereas the rest of the world is struggling with immigration minorities, SA struggles with the marginalised majority.
- Lastly, after the fall of apartheid it was assumed that all barriers would fall and that economic barriers are not as serious as institutional barriers. The rest of the world has understood that economics and racism is almost as powerful as institutionalised discrimination.
3. CONCLUSION

The legacy of apartheid left Tshwane with:
- An urban core (inner city) surrounded by an ‘inner periphery’, where 40% of the population live and which contributes 91% to the economic output of the city.
- An outer periphery to the northwest and northeast, which is home to 60% of the population and only contributes 9% of the economic output.
- High volumes of long-distance commuting, which require huge transport subsidies.

(CTMM, 2002)

The apartheid government made Pretoria its model city. The history of Pretoria since 1950 is in many respects the history of a city self-consciously built around both ethnic exclusion and ethnic patronage. Traditionally, Pretoria has been perceived as the apartheid capital, a symbol of Afrikaner political dominance and cultural pretension, the home of those benefiting from entitlement and political patronage under the previous government, and a city dominated by a staid and arrogant public service. In few other places in South Africa has intra-metropolitan segregation and apartheid been so pronounced. Pretoria has become what it is today – a highly fragmented and divided metropolis – through a concerted political programme of division lasting more than 50 years.

Pretoria exhibits the typical characteristics of the apartheid South African city that has been shaped more by political ideology and uncontrolled market forces than by urban planning. It is in essence similar to the colonial dual city in which a formal well-developed city co-exists along side a poorly developed informal city.

The spatial pattern of Pretoria can best be described as distorted, fragmented, sprawling and highly dysfunctional:
- Low-density sprawl, which is based on an anti-urban ethic of the freestanding house on an erf. In the case of lower income housing, this means housing estates generally located on the periphery.
- Fragmentation, which means that the grain of development is coarse with isolated (introverted) pockets of development connected by roads and frequently separated by buffers of under-utilised open space.
- Separation of functions, which means that land uses, and thus also urban functions and facilities, are separated by great distances (CTMM, 2002).

To this has to be added, extreme spatial separation between different races and income groups and a spatial form that severely disadvantages the poor in terms of access, level of services, transportation options, environmental quality etc.
7. CONCLUSION

From the above the following conclusions can be made:

- Racial segregation between the white and black population has decreased, especially in centrally located suburbs and low-income areas next to former townships.
- Areas that become integrated tend to over time become uniracial again, indicating white flight.
- Although integration has taken place, the segregation pattern of apartheid is still clearly visible.
- Economic inequality and access to services tend to follow racial segregation.
- Although many projects to correct the service inequality have been implemented, the growth in the poor population, especially on the periphery, has largely negated the impact of these projects.
- The woes of the poor on the periphery are exacerbated by the inefficient urban form, which creates enormous travelling distances and makes it virtually
impossible to provide efficient and affordable public transport because of the low density.

The pattern of marginality is reinforced by patterns of socio-economic segregation and inefficient urban form. The legacy of apartheid is being reproduced by a government actively struggling against it. The following chapters will attempt to discover why.

In the South African case the following trends are clear:
- In the South African instance the negative impacts of segregation is strongly manifested and understood.
- In terms of the disintegration of urban society and lack of understanding or compassion between groups and stigmatisation, 40 years of state enforced segregation has created distrust, misunderstanding and even fear between the different racial groups. This will become clear in the discussion of the attitudes of different role players in the city.
- Apartheid created large residential enclaves for blacks that lack all forms of amenities and services, and where these services existed, they were often of an inferior quality. These areas are also located on the periphery of the city, resulting in long and costly travelling patterns for the most disenfranchised members of the community to access jobs, and facilities.
- Opportunities are curtailed and deterioration is taking place.

CHAPTER 7
PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF DIFFERENT STAKEHOLDERS TO URBAN RESTRUCTURING

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the different role-players who have a part in shaping the city. The three groups that were investigated are: the technicians (town planners working for the Municipality), developers (representing capital investment in the city) and the residents of the city (as represented by the ward councillors and the ward committees). These are the groups who, knowingly or unknowingly, implement different policies and guidelines issued by higher authorities. The aim of this chapter is to develop an understanding of the motives behind the actions and decisions of these groups and the extent to which these support the national ideal of integrated cities. For the purpose of this research, integrated cities have been identified as cities that are based on public rather than private transport, as well as on pedestrian access, have mixed land uses and mixed housing types, focus on the development of active public spaces where different groups can integrate, and focus on infill development rather than sprawl and suburban type development.

The first section of the paper deals with the attitudes and perceptions of town planners employed by the local government and the attitudes of important developers in Pretoria. The second part deals with the perceptions of communities.

2. PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF TOWN PLANNERS EMPLOYED BY THE CITY OF TSHWANE METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

2.1 BACKGROUND

The town planners working for local government are seen as important role-players in shaping the city as they are responsible for informing decisions with regards to the future of the city, specifically decisions surrounding land use changes and development. The research methodology is described in Chapter 4.

Two incidents gave rise to this section of the research. The first is an experience obtained when training a variety of people in the basics of city building specifically based on the new normative principles of the Development Facilitation Act (DFA). Most trainees agreed with the principles of the DFA but when asked to design a city, fell back on the ideas of the apartheid city. Most trainees, even when using the new principles, came up with ideas that are strikingly similar to the current inefficient and inequitable cities that they live in. Very few were able to imagine a truly new form of city building. This led to the idea that even though people supported the principles, they could not envisage how to implement them. This could be because the principles are too general and wide.

Secondly, a variety of meetings have been held to explain the principles of the DFA to planners. The impression was created at these meetings that it was not that planners did
4.3.4 The South

The new industrial areas to the South performed much better than any of the older industrial areas, achieving rentals of up to R30/m², similar to office rentals in the inner city. Smaller industrial spaces reached higher rentals than larger spaces.

Figure 8.39 – RENTALS FOR NEW INDUSTRIAL AREAS TO THE SOUTH OF TSHWANE
Own elaboration. Source: Rode

4.3.5 Discussion

Industrial activity in Pretoria until 1998, even in the new industrial areas, was limited. However, building plans to the value of 582,426m² were passed in 1998 which indicated an increased level of activity expected in 1999 and 2000 (Sapoa).

In the south rentals were almost double that of in the other areas and have also doubled since. This area is seen as the rising star in Pretoria’s industrial market. Distribution centres, mini-factories and other industrial space are in evidence in the node – especially Samrand, Hennoespark and Highveld Park. But activity is not limited to industrial projects but also office and retail projects (Sapoa).

All the other nodes were slow performers with rentals in the north and the east of approximately R6/m² in 1994 and doubling to R12/m² by 2003. Rentals in the west were marginally higher in 1994, but have barely doubled since. Enquiries tended to be for larger industrial premises, rather than mini-units or mini-factories and is was difficult to accommodate this demand for larger space. With high interest rates, new developments were seen to be overly expensive and this exacerbated the market inability to cater to demand. Traditional industrial nodes such as Wallco and Rosslyn were quiet and there was a perception that they were starting to look run-down and old. At the bottom end of the market, premises were available for as little as R2/m² (Sapoa). However, the Blue IQ project (a provincial strategic project, targeting foreign investment) for an automotive cluster in Rosslyn started showing results by 2004.

4.4 RESIDENTIAL

Overall, the residential property market experienced a boom with house prices increasing by 12.5% pa. Even in the inner city, similar to Johannesburg, conversion of office to residential started taking place from 2000. An area that once seemed doomed to become a ghetto became a lucrative market again and it involved the conversion of untenantable office buildings into quality residential accommodation. This was made possible by two forces: firstly, the decline in property values in the inner city because of high vacancy rates and the insolvency of many buildings because of the non-payment of rates and taxes and secondly the growing demand by black yuppies for centrally located accommodation.

In contrast, township markets remained stagnant as is illustrated by research done by TRPM (2004):
- The extent of the secondary residential property market in African townships is extremely limited with very few formal transactions occurring. Levels of secondary market transactions in a selection of sites in African townships over a 5-year period were found to be about 8%, compared with 30% over the same period in suburbs with similar socio-economic profiles but not located in African townships.
- The secondary residential property market in African townships is clearly dysfunctional. It is estimated that a significant proportion of the estimated R68.3 billion worth of residential property in African townships is ‘dead capital’ in the de Soto sense.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Urban planning under the apartheid governments was characterised by differential treatment of ‘white’ and ‘non-white’ areas through development control; it was distinctly non-participatory and it focused on physical plans enforced through draconian control measures, such as the Group Areas Act. Planners, developers and the government agreed what the ideal city should look like, and were very effective in creating it because their goals overlapped, albeit for different reasons. The character of planning has changed dramatically since then, largely in reaction to apartheid planning and in line with emerging international trends, such as increased competition between regions (Brotchie et al., 1995), communicative planning (Healy, 1992) and urban governance (World Bank, 1999).

Procedurally, planning has shifted from blueprint or master planning towards a strategic development planning process, which integrates social, institutional, economic and
physical factors. It has also been influenced by the notion that government is only one of a variety of role players in planning urban areas, and that shrinking government budgets restrict the capacity of government to provide in the needs of all residents. Government thus has to play an enabling role, and work together with a variety of actors, resulting in an emphasis on public participation and consensus (Burgess et al., 1997). There has been an over-reaction on the part of urban planners leading to excessive participation and the neglect of physical planning. This is ironic, as the creation and reconstruction of post-apartheid cities require strong control measures. South African planners are still suffering from the loss of faith in urban planning first experienced in the 1970s - they have become mere pragmatists’ (Fishman cited in Breheny, 1996).

The result has been a restriction in the means and the ability of both government and urban planners to dictate urban development. According to the Development and Planning Commission (DPC, 1999), the reason behind the lack of implementation of stated principles, is the lack of understanding of these principles and wilful recalcitrance, which must be added the limited use which is made of the various means available to planners.

First, it is clear that implementation is guided more by private developers than by planners. Pickavance’s analysis (in Taylor, 1998) found that market forces have had a bigger impact than planners because private developers have powers and initiative to build, whilst planners have mainly negative powers, i.e. powers to refuse permission for development. The role of private developers in creating the distortions associated with the apartheid city has not been properly analysed.

Second, local government development control powers have been eroded by the application of an inappropriate system. Despite the current use of the concept of land use management, there has been little change in the system of zoning based on the British system of segregation of land uses and minimum densities. This system was only applied in what were white areas and now has been adapted to include all areas. Mabogunje (1990) has pointed out how inappropriate this is for African urban realities. The lack of efficiency of this system has been reinforced by the culture of lawlessness and a focus on private short-term gain, which currently permeates South African society.

The need for areas to compete with one another has further weakened the power of government to enforce certain types of development within its jurisdiction. Government is forced to accommodate development in order to stimulate growth and attract investors, even if it contradicts its own plans. According to Taylor (1998), when the economy is buoyant developers can be convinced to comply with official plans and to provide for the public good, but when it is weak, as in South Africa, planners cannot dictate the nature of development. But competition has also eroded the scope of planners to control development for the greater good, even in countries with strong economies. Wignams (1998) has, for example, shown how the focus on attracting foreign investment has led to the disregard of the plight of the poor in Rotterdam in the Netherlands.

Another factor, which complicates the enforcement of restructuring, is that strategic plans and policy documents are vague and unprescriptive, but the development control system is based on individual lots. None of the plans have been elaborated into detailed plans that clearly indicate the minimum density and intensity of development. This has resulted in a gap between policy and implementation. Given this fact, it is almost impossible to judge the merit of an application to develop an individual lot. The decision to draw an urban boundary around one of the urban agglomerations (at Gauteng) is a step in the right direction, but this has to be supported by the restructuring of existing areas. Yet there are no effective incentives and measures to promote or enforce the densification and intensification of the existing vast, low-density and monofunctional areas.

Third, the emphasis on public participation has brought the needs of individual communities to the forefront at the expense of the common good. It has also focused on short-term needs as opposed to long-term sustainability goals. In the drafting of integrated development plans for Pretoria, the process of public participation was executed simultaneously at three levels (metropolitan, city-wide and the planning zone) following a similar process. It became clear that people were only concerned with their own areas, and had little concern for the effects on the rest of the city (Schonraad and Van Huysteen, 1997).

A fourth problem is that decision-making powers lie with politicians. This problem originated in an era when planning was the handmaiden of apartheid politicians (Boden, 1989). The Development Planning Commission (1999) has identified the solution for much of the current urban malaise, such as transferring decision-making powers from politicians to technical experts. However, the apartheid legacy, which taints the planning profession today, has discredited planners in the eyes of the public.

From the above analysis it is clear that the change in policy towards integrated cities has been largely ineffectual. Processes of decentralisation of office and retail which started in the late 1990s continued in a south-westerly direction unabated by local government plans to redirect it towards the poor west, north and north-east. The only factor that did seem to have an impact on investment logic was oversupply of space. It is ironic that despite their blatant disregard for official development policies and strategies, developers blame the oversupply on a lack of municipal control over development.

There are some success stories, most notably the inner city and probably the node of Rosslyn. In the first instance, extensive governmental intervention coupled with a certain market logic has led to the revival of the inner city, albeit in a different manner, not as the most important node of the city but rather as a governmental node coupled with high quality residential accommodation.

Harvey (1978) describes the influence of capitalism on urban form as follows in his book The Urban Form under Capitalism: ‘Under capitalism, there is then a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of crises, at a subsequent point in time. The temporal ebb and flow of investment in the built environment can be understood only in terms of such a process’. This seems an appropriate description of the development processes in Tshwane.
4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter it has been shown that council policies and guidelines are not supportive of the idea of developing integrated cities. In some instances, the ideal of an integrated city is sacrificed in the name of efficiency and probably because the alternative seems unattainable or undesirable even. In other instances, such as in the case of street closures, it is done to address a need in the market, and motivated by the fact that it is a temporary solution to the exorbitant crime rates. In yet other instances, that of low-cost housing development, it is done to address a dire need as soon as possible and also to fulfil election promises.

It seems that pragmatism and business as usual are more important criteria in shaping the city, than ideology or policy.

CHAPTER 10
CONCLUSIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

In this section, the conclusions to this research will be addressed combining the findings to the problem statement (How has spatial segregation and inequality in the City of Tshwane changed since the fall of Apartheid and to what extent has local government influenced these changes?) and subproblems and linking it to the theoretical framework. Thereafter suggestions for future research will be discussed.

2. FINDINGS

2.1 CHANGING PATTERNS OF SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION IN TSHWANE

After almost 150 years of planning to ensure segregation between different race groups and the exclusion and deprivation of all but white urban residents, the ANC government has made the planning of inclusive, egalitarian and sustainable cities a priority. It is to be expected, that the destruction of the apartheid city, which was the cause of so much hardship through forced removals and constituted a key instrument in the apartheid government’s strategy, should be at the centre of post-apartheid policies. However, the current urban structure was created and reinforced over many years through authoritarian planning and a negation of human rights. As such it remains almost as a monument to the achievements of a succession of white segregationist governments, and because of the permanency of the built environment, it is proving to be a monument that is difficult to dismantle.

The first subproblem to be addressed was; ‘What is the extent of spatial segregation and inequality in the City of Tshwane and how has this pattern changed since the fall of apartheid?’. The stated hypothesis was; ‘Spatial segregation patterns have changed since the fall of apartheid and the retraction of discriminatory legislation and are increasingly taking the form of socio-economic segregation rather than racial segregation. However, spatial inequality has been aggravated.’

This was found to be true.

The legacy of apartheid left Tshwane with a sprawling and racially and economically imbalanced city:
- An urban core (inner city) surrounded by an ‘inner periphery’, where 40% of the population live and which contributes 91% to the economic output of the city.
- An outer periphery to the northwest and northeast, which is home to 60% of the population and only contributes 9% of the economic output.
- High volumes of long-distance commuting that require huge transport subsidies.

(CTMM, 2002)

This pattern is still in place today, and the form that has been fossilised since the founding of the city in the 19th century is proving difficult to dismantle. Poverty on the outskirts of the city has increased with poor new migrants arriving to the city and only
finding accommodation in informal settlements on the periphery. This is compounded by low cost housing which because of the need for expedient delivery is also located on the periphery. Furthermore, travelling distances to places of job opportunities have increased because of the sprawl of poor residents on the northern periphery on the one hand and on the other hand, the decentralisation of non-residential activities from the inner city towards the east and south, attracted by the economic pulse of the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. The woes of the poor on the periphery are exacerbated by the inefficient urban form, which is biased towards private transport.

In contrast, the middle and higher income residents of the city are rapidly decentralising towards the east and the west. Wealth is furthermore being concentrated in small localities. In the apartheid city higher income white residents were widely distributed throughout the city, today however they are increasingly concentrated in enclaves, often walled or what Marcus refers to as totalising suburbs.

Although poverty and race still overlap to a large degree, some integration between different race groups has taken place. The pattern of racial integration clearly follows the lines of invasion and succession: areas that were integrated in 1996, most notably the inner city and poor ‘white’ neighbourhoods adjacent to the townships, have become resegregated and are now inhabited by an overwhelming majority of black residents. Areas adjacent to the newly resegregated neighbourhoods were integrated by 2001. This is indicative of a process of white flight. White flight has led to the development of medium density neighbourhoods on the eastern and southern periphery.

There is a clear overlap between low levels of access to services and low socio-economic status, with the poorest section of the population also experiencing the lowest level of access to services. More worrying is that the situation with regards to basic services has deteriorated between 1996 and 2001 despite large-scale actions on the side of all levels of government to address the situation. This is because of the rapid growth of low-income residents. Furthermore high levels of access to telecommunication also clearly overlaps with high income areas. The differing levels of access to services is not only an indication of poverty levels but also of life chances thus perpetuating the pattern of exclusion.

2.2 THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN CHANGING PATTERNS OF SOCIO-SPATIAL SEGREGATION

Subproblem 2 related to the role of local government as key agent in urban development and the impact of its actions on the changing patterns of segregation and was: "How and to what extent has local government, through the drafting of urban policies and spatial plans and through the application of land use controls influenced patterns of segregation and inequality?"

It was addressed by means of three subproblems related to the attitude of planners, the control of market forces, the influence of community groups and planning instruments and are repeated below:

**Subproblem 2.1**
To what extent does the vision of spatial integration guide decisions of private developers?

**Hypothesis 2.1:** Land use changes driven by private developers and approved by the local government contradict the goals for spatial integration.

**Subproblem 2.3**
To what extent do local government’s design guidelines and sectoral policy plans support the vision of a spatially integrated city?

**Hypothesis 2.3:** The design guidelines and sectoral policy plans of the local government contradict the goals of creating a spatially integrated city.

All three hypotheses were found to be true as is explained below.

2.2.1 SEGREGATION AND THE MARKET

During apartheid, the goals of the market and that of urban planning overlapped: on the one hand apartheid ensured concentrations of cheap black labour, possible only because of the informality and suppression of choice and opportunity of black urban residents. The apartheid state subsidised transport costs or located black residential areas close to places of employment, thereby reducing commuting costs. On the other hand apartheid ensured the effective working of land markets in white residential areas, protecting land ownership as well as environmental quality, thus allowing profits from land development.

After the fall of apartheid the goals of urban planning has changed around completely, from the efficient functioning of the white city to equality, integration and sustainability. It has been shown that the urban planners have now ability to guide development under these circumstances. In fact, the exploitation of white and middle class fears has allowed property developers to give added value to neighbourhoods by including safety as a design feature and thus pushing up prices for not only prime but also middle income housing.

Private land development has exacerbated patterns of segregation through processes of decentralisation, gating/walling and exurbanisation. Investment patterns are completely contradictory to the spatial vision as developed by the local government. The irony is that despite this contradiction, most private development has been approved by the local government, thus indicating a contradiction between its real and stated aims.

Planners believe that in order to achieve the principles of sustainability, market forces have to be controlled. However, they do not see their role as one of controlling market forces but rather as deference to the market. Developers on the other hand, believe that they are shaping the city and that planning and public participation only serves to slow down the process of development. Their only goal is one of profit and they do not show any concern for the restructuring of the city. It is fashion rather than long term sustainability that serves as a motivating force behind new development.
2.2.2 SEGREGATION AND PERCEPTIONS

The continuation of apartheid urban form can to a large extent be ascribed to the power of the spatial paradigm of apartheid on people's perceptions. Forty years of state enforced segregation has created distrust, misunderstanding and even fear between the different race and income groups.

Both townplanners and property developers are heavily influenced by their place of residence and the areas that they know and see these as the models for future development. This is despite the fact that these particular environments do not promote integration or sustainability and are in direct contradiction of the stated goals of government.

Social engineering of apartheid city has been so effective, that it has shaped the experiences and perceptions of different groups, and thus continues to shape the city. People, even professionals, are captive to their life experiences and places of residence. In a segregated city marked by inequality this translates into a lack of understanding. As long as the national vision is not strictly enforced, local perceptions will be will dominate decision-making with regards to future urban development.

2.2.3 SEGREGATION AND PLANNING INSTRUMENTS

In essence the apartheid policy was a spatial policy and urban planning played an enormous role in its implementation, even if not partial to its underlying philosophy. Today, despite having plans to integrate the city, the South African city is becoming less integrated and sustainable. Although all the policies are in place to direct development, this does not happen as there is no consistency on the part of the municipal planners on how to implement the principles of the DPA, viz integration and sustainability. It is also clearly evident that a significant number of them do not agree with the relevant policies and guiding principles.

Council policies and guidelines are not supportive of the idea of developing integrated cities. In some instances such as with rezoning conditions, the ideal of an integrated city is sacrificed in the name of efficiency and probably because the alternative seems unattainable or undesirable even. In other instances, such as in the case of road closures, it is done to address a need in the market, and motivated by the fact that it is a temporary solution to the exorbitant crime rates. In the last instance, that of low-cost housing development, it is done to address a dire need as soon as possible and also to fulfill election promises.

The structures imposed and built during the apartheid era act as a restraining factor in fashioning the post-apartheid city, just as features of the colonial heritage are still apparent in the spatial aspects of segregation practices 100 years later. The infrastructure of apartheid cannot be readily erased, and an integrated society cannot be brought into existence as easily as it can be destroyed.

3. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This research lays the basis for a variety of future studies in this regard:

- Future research could cover all land markets i.e. residential, commercial, industrial and office and not only industrial and office markets.
- This research methodology could be extended to cover other South African cities in order to determine whether the same processes are being manifested and if not, what are the variables that effectuate change.
- Strategic projects can be measured to determine whether they have an impact over time, whether it is the expected impact and what the cost-benefits of such projects are.
- Research focusing on neighbourhoods that have become integrated can be researched to determine which factors play a role in it becoming resegregated.
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PROPERTY/EIENDOM. Friday 6 August 1999


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RSA, (1923), Natives (Urban Areas) Act.

RSA, (1934), Slums Act.


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RSA, (1985), Town Planning and Townships Ordinance and Regulations.


ANNEXURE A
MEASURES OF SPATIAL SEGREGATION AND INEQUALITY

A.1 Measures of Spatial Segregation

There are several well-known measures to determine the extent of segregation such as the index of dissimilarity, index of segregation, index of isolation, exposure index. The most important are discussed below:

- Index of Residential Dissimilarity/Segregation Index

The index of residential dissimilarity is a traditional measure of exclusion. It deals with the segregation between two different population categories. On a scale of 0 to 100, this index measures roughly the proportion of a smaller dichotomous group that would have to move to equalise proportions of residents across all districts or the percentage of population groups that has to move to a different area to achieve an equal population distribution of this group over the subsets of a geographic unity.

The standard index of segregation as defined by Duncan and Duncan (1955) provides a numerical definition of segregation levels. The index of segregation is defined as:

$$IS = \Sigma[(x_i - z_i)/2]/1 - X/Z$$

Where $X$ represents the total of subgroup $X$ in the city; $Z$ represents the total population of the city; $x_i$ represents the percentage of $X$ population in the $i^{th}$ tract; and $z_i$ represents the percentage of the total population in the $i^{th}$ tract. The index is expressed on a scale ranging from 0.0 (completely integrated) to 100.0 (totally segregated).

There are a number of problems with the interpretation of the index, the most notable being the scale factor, whereby index value can be dependent upon the size of enumeration tracts. In general index values rise with a decline in the size of enumeration tracts (Winship, 1977; Peach, 1981; Page, 1988). Also urban expansion through time results in varying levels and a tendency for indices to rise with increasing town size. The indices must therefore be viewed as illustrating broad trends rather than absolutes. However, the index provides the best available measure of spatial inequality for comparative purposes where the material is of a broadly similar character (Massey & Denton, 1988).

Neighbourhood dominance can occur well short of full-fledged exclusivity. According to Kantrowitz (1979) and Massey & Denton (1989) definitions of highly segregated cities have indicated indices of 60% - 70%. In a study by Jargowski, it is shown that although 50% might provide the most conservative line, even 40% would enable certain groups to dominate the interests of a neighbourhood. Jargowsky and Bane (Jargowsky, 1997) have recently found a parallel 40% threshold in poverty rates to mark a qualitative distinction between “ghettos” and other neighbourhoods. In most US settings, African-Americans remain segregated at especially high levels.
Metropolitan indexes approach or exceed the 60% level that Massey and Denton (1993) designate as extreme.

- **Index of Absolute Centralisation**
  This index developed by Massey and Denton's (1988) provides an absolute measure of how certain residents have settled in relation to the centre of the city. It is calculated through comparison of proportions of all metropolitan land and residents of a certain group at successive points moving out from the centre, this index indicates how the proportion of a certain population group expands as the proportion of land does. The index varies between -1 and 1. Since zero corresponds to a perfectly even distribution between more central and more peripheral districts, cities generally fall between zero and 1.

- **Index of Proportion of a Certain Population Group Within the Central City**
  A much simpler index measures the proportion of a certain population group within the central city. As the various sizes of both central cities and metropolitan areas suggest, this index remains subject to the vicissitudes of local jurisdictional boundaries. To ascertain political effects within local jurisdictions, however, these boundaries can provide critical information.

A.2 **OTHER SEGREGATION AND INEQUALITY INDICATORS**

As this study focuses on urban form and structure, most of the indicators of inequality chosen relate to urban form in some way, and not on purely socio-economic indicators such as health.

- **Gini Coefficient**
  The Gini coefficient is a number between zero and one that measures the degree of inequality in the distribution of income in a given society. The coefficient would register zero inequality (0.0 = minimum inequality) for a society in which each member received exactly the same income and it would register a coefficient of one (1.0 = maximum inequality) if one member got all the income and the rest got nothing.

  In practice, coefficient values range from around 0.2 for historically equalitarian countries like Bulgaria, Hungary, the Slovak and Czech republics and Poland to around 0.6 for places like Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama where powerful elites dominate the economy. The coefficient is particularly useful to show trends. It reveals the change towards greater equality in Cuba from 1958 to 1986 (0.53 to 0.22) and the growth of inequality in the USA in the last three decades when the Gini coefficient went from 0.35 in the '70s to 0.40 in the '90s. Most European countries and Canada rate around 0.30, Japan and some Asian countries get around 0.35, some reach 0.40 while most African and South American countries exceed 0.45 (http://berclo.net).

- **Distribution and Access of Services and Facilities**
  Access to services and facilities can be a measure of inequality. Access to services can be understood in terms of distance to access a service (both in terms of travel costs and time of travel), costs of accessing services and the quality of the service.

- **Segregation of Social Facilities**
  Social facilities can also be an indicator of segregation especially schools. Schools are an important indicator as the quality of a school gives an indication of future opportunities, and there is often a strong relation between socio-economic status or race and quality of a school. Gramberg writing on school segregation in the US, concludes that ethnic segregation in primary education is closely related to residential segregation, although schools are becoming more segregated than neighbourhoods. Segregation in secondary education is less related to residential segregation and is predominantly dependent on educational performance of the parents, although the behaviour of headmasters, pupils and parents intensifies school segregation.

- **Use of Public Space**
  According to Karsten studying ethnic segregation in playgrounds in Amsterdam, children in playgrounds are even more ethnically segregated than the schools these children attend of the neighbourhoods in which these children live. Although in some neighbourhoods where the upward mobile immigrant families reside, ethnic mixture in playing begins to appear.

Yeoh and Huang analysing ways in which immigrant female domestic workers obtain access to public spaces in Singapore state that these immigrants have no ethnic segregation – they reside in the homes of their employers – but they visit ethnic and gender specific public spaces in their free time.


TRANSVAAL. (1922). The Transvaal Local Government Commission (Stallard Commission), Photostat Copy.


WASSENBERG et al. (1994).


