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Mixed-income housing developments as a social and spatial integration strategy: the case of Fleurhof integrated residential development

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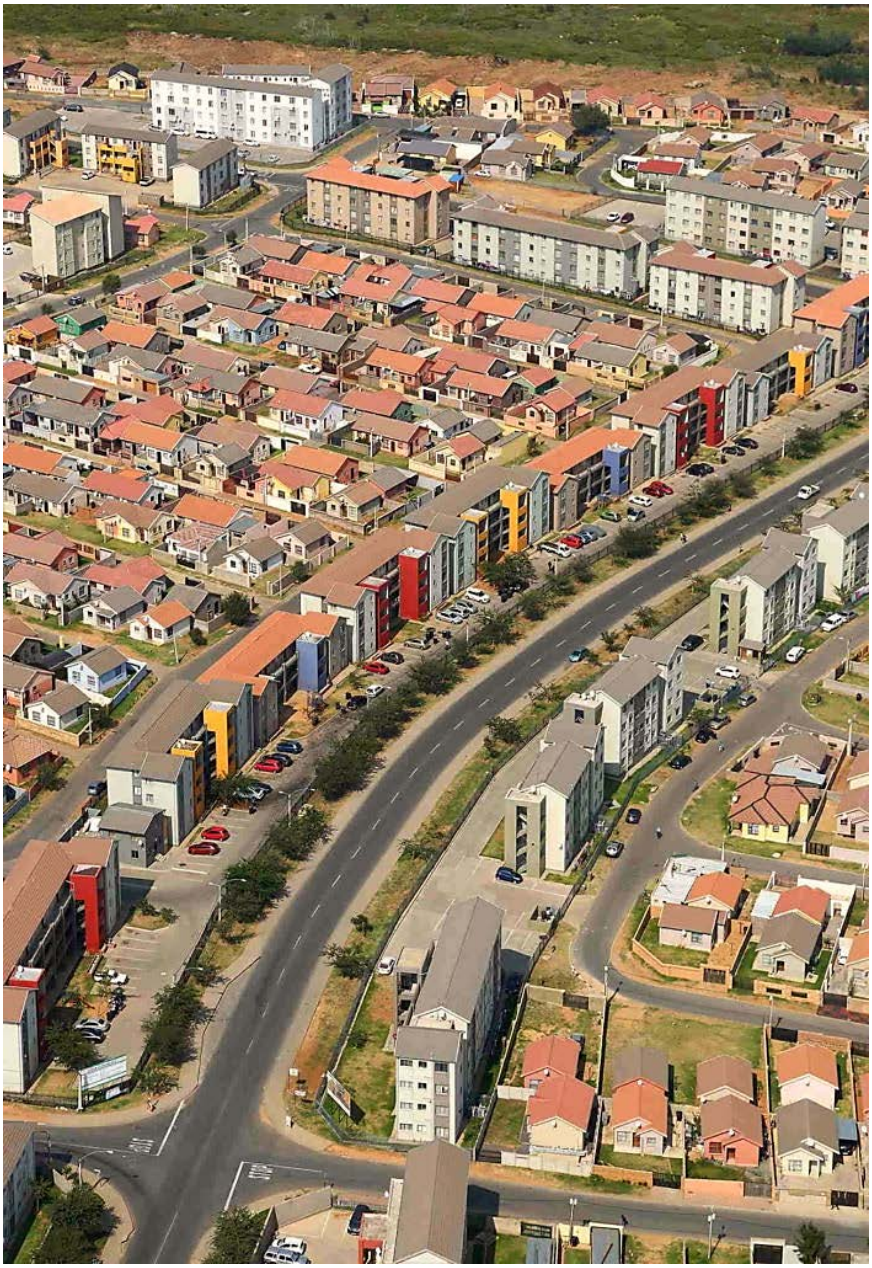
Mixed-Income Housing Developments as a Social and Spatial Integration strategy:

The case of Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development



Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development
(https://primepres.co.za/fleurhof/) Accessed: 29 September 2017

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ARPL 4029A Honours Research Report

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment at the University of Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment to the requirements for the Bachelor of Science (Honours) in Urban Regional Planning Degree.

Johannesburg 2017

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own work. It has been submitted for the BSc with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree to any other university.

……

(Signature of Candidate)

……Day of……Year……..

Abstract

The development of sustainable human settlements advocated in the 2004 *Breaking New Ground-A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements* has brought attention to the significance and meaning of integration. Mixed-income housing developments along with informal settlements upgrading are two approaches South Africa's local governments have implemented to address rapid urbanisation and the urban housing demand that has proven to be a challenge in South Africa. The rationale behind these two approaches has been to address the increasing challenge of urban poverty, urban redevelopment and the entrenched issue of socio-spatial segregation. Social and spatial segregation are challenges the City of Johannesburg has been facing and are in constant battle to address. Urban spatial policies express the requirement for social and spatial integration in the city in order to achieve the overarching vision of becoming a sustainable socially inclusive compact city.

Mixed-income housing developments have been touted as an approach that can achieve the implementation of social and spatial integration of urban neighbourhoods. They are seen as a method to integrating the urban poor, low-income individuals and families into the societal structures that will assist them in their upward drive in the economic ladder and influence their social behaviour, combating the social ills and notions of public housing; and addressing the spatial segregation of land use, transport and human settlements.

The purpose of this research is to explore mixed-income housing development with the objective of socio-spatial integration and investigate the structures of social interactions. The case study for this research is Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development-a private-public mixed-income housing development located south-west of Johannesburg Central Business District. This research aims to investigate the processes and methods of social integration in Fleurhof and the ability of this development in achieving spatial integration.

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- My parents, for your love, support and encouragement, this would not have been possible without you.

- Finally, my Lord and saviour Jesus Christ.

List of Acronyms

BNG	Breaking New Ground-A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements
CBD	Central Business District
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
CoJDDP	City of Johannesburg Department of Development Planning
DoH	Department of Housing
EMPEA	Emerging Market Private Equity Association
FIRD	Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development
FLISP	Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme
GCRO	Gauteng City-Region Observatory
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013
US	United States of America

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the Research

1.1) Introduction

South Africa's urban development is faced with major challenges to create access for the urban poor to affordable good quality housing in areas of economic opportunities (Onatu, 2010), due to the persisting socio-economic spatial segregation that exists in its cities (Lukhele, 2014). According to Todes (2006) the social and spatial schism in urban areas is no longer translated through race but through the economic gap that exist between the rich and the poor. This persisting economic challenge can be traced back to the history of apartheid policies of spatial planning (Lukhele, 2014). Those policies were largely focused on race, but they have influenced the economic statistics in the country which are still evident spatially in post- apartheid South African cities (Lukhele, 2014).

The City of Johannesburg (CoJ) experiences the above stated challenges and their urban development policies and vision for the city's growth, advocate to see these issues addressed through achieving integration. In that, the CoJ envisions itself as a sustainable socially inclusive compact city (City of Johannesburg, 2002) thus aiming to become a city that provides sustainable and adequate quality of life for all its citizens, while creating resilient and adaptive societies (City of Johannesburg, 2014). The 2040 Growth and Development Strategy (2011) listed the vision of developing sustainable human settlements by 2040, third in its priorities, highlighting the significance of addressing spatial, social and economic issues of fragmentation and segregation (City of Johannesburg, 2011). Furthermore, urban spatial policies such as the Integrated Development Plans and Spatial Development Frameworks embody and advocate for diversity and inclusion in the city (Todes, 2006).

Inclusion and diversity are not only expressed in spatial policies, but emphasised in housing policies in terms of integrating the three socio-economic groups (Low, middle and high income) (Malavolti, 2015). Housing policies are intended to fulfil the broader vision and principles of the 2004 *Breaking New Ground- A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements* (BNG) which promotes building socially integrated communities by developing sustainable human settlements, and delivering quality housing within the subsidy programme accommodating different socio-economic groups (Department of Housing, 2004).The BNG, represents a revised version of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), built on the previous housing policy of the 1994 White Paper on

Housing, however, introducing new strategies to approaching and addressing housing issues. The RDP's mandate was to solely ensure the delivery of housing structures unconsciously neglecting the fundamental amenities that compliment housing such as places of work and recreational activities (Lukhele, 2014). The BNG brought a fresh perspective to the delivery of housing by advocating for not simply delivering a house but ensuring that it is delivered in a form of a settlement that is sustainable and habitable (Department of Housing, 2004).

> *The Department of Human Settlement commits to the following objectives "Accelerating the delivery of housing as a key strategy for poverty alleviation, utilising provision of housing as a major job creation, ensuring property can be accessed by all as an asset for wealth creation and empowerment, leveraging growth in the economy, combating crime, promoting social integration and improving quality life for the poor, supporting the functioning of the entire single residential property market to reduce duality and Utilising housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements, in support of spatial restructuring"* -Department of Housing, 2004, p. 7

Hence, the main directive of the BNG is to promote the achievement of non-racial, socially integrated societies through the development of socially and spatially sustainable human settlements, and the delivery of quality housing structures (Department of Housing, 2004). These objectives of the BNG are meant to achieve the redress of barriers and dichotomy in first and second economy residential property markets and addressing social and spatial schism (Rust, et al., 2009).

According to Landman (2012) the BNG policy created a stir in the real estate market and housing development, as it has brought about more focus in the creation of more inclusive housing developments ranging from small scale integrated complexes to large mixed-income developments. It has challenged the controversies of public-private partnerships and the deterrence arguments made by (Jupp, et al., 1999; Lee, 2007) on the achievement of socio-economic integration in mixed-income developments.

> "*Spatial integration is a process that acquires its fullest significance in terms of movement and changes that is through a dimension that is too often hidden in the geography of modernization: the practice of space. Assuming that the political dimension is always present in the spatial*

practice, it follows that the complexity of socio-spatial differentiation must be viewed in the mutual causality of society and space"-Comtois 1986 p.49

Referencing from Comtois (1986), Landman (2012) states that social and spatial integration is shown in mixed-income housing developments, they address spatial mix through having a variety of housing units and facilitate for different land uses in proximity to residents, thus, these developments being useful initiatives to carrying out social and spatial integration and beginning to address the inherent patterns of low-density sprawl, fragmentation and segregation, and facilitate diversity in urban areas.

1.2) Problem Statement

Accomplishing integration in South Africa's urban areas is a substantial concern (Onatu, 2010). The Apartheid planning intentions were to enforce racial segregation of race groups. Post-apartheid this planning morphology is still evident in South African cities but translated through socio-spatial economic segregation (Todes, 2006; Turok, 2012; Lukhele, 2014). Johannesburg is significantly faced with and in constant battle to address this issue of socio-spatial economic segregation, and integrate the three socio-economic groups (high, middle and low-income groups) socially and spatially (Lukhele, 2014; Onatu, 2010). The CoJ aims to address the apartheid spatial planning through spatial restructuring policies and programmes. These policies are in hopes to bridge the spatial, social and economic gap in the city and achieve the overarching vision of a compact city. The concept of a compact city is a fundamental concept argued to mitigate and address issues of inefficiency, segregation and fragmentation (Ballard, n.d.; Mammon and Ewing, 2005).

The effects of socio-spatial economic segregation are evident on the complex debates on land issues and property markets and how the social economic status of an area can determine its local revenue and the quality and quantity of public infrastructure services invested in that area (Onatu, 2010; Greenstein, et al., 2006). This is also significantly highlighted in the variations of education quality, the ability to access services such as transportation and health care services (Greenstein, et al., 2006), thus mixed-income housing developments are promoted to address these socio-spatial disparities.

There is growing investment in mixed-income developments (EMPEA, 2012). However, there is limited documentation on the experiences of mixed-income development residents. It is necessary to understand the daily experiences of the residents to seek whether the mandate of achieving social and spatial integration is achieved through mixed-income developments. This is a contribution to

understanding the overall impact that mixed-income developments are having on the spatial legacies that they are trying to contend with.

1.3) Rationale

The spatial planning morphology of the CoJ highlights the challenges of socio-spatial segregation in a variety of ways: such as, in the intense pressures on green infrastructure, the discrepancies between where people live and where they work, spatial exclusions and disconnections caused by potential underused areas such as the mining belt and the creation of island gated developments (City of Johannesburg, 2011). In that, the CoJ has invested in the approach to deliver sustainable human settlements through the development of mixed-income housing.

Mixed-income housing development is a relatively contemporary concept in the context of South Africa, with the purpose and objective of addressing socio-spatial segregation (Lukhele, 2014). These developments have been advocated as a way of achieving social cohesion between historically segregated racial groups in the context of South Africa (Lukhele, 2014) and have been touted as potential tool and mechanism to guide social integration between different social groups with various social backgrounds and economic, political or religious identities (Schwartz and Tajbakhsh, 1997).

The purpose of this research is to explore the social integration dynamics in mixed-income housing development and the spatial impact of mixed-income housing developments. It also looks at how they are addressing the issues of social and spatial schism in the CoJ through examining the experiences of the residents of mixed-income housing developments of Fleurhof in the south-west of Johannesburg.

1.4) Research aim

This research aims to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of social integration, particularly socio-economic integration in mixed-income housing developments and the spatial impact of mixed-income housing developments in the City of Johannesburg.

1.5) Research Question

How do mixed-income housing developments address socio-spatial segregation?

1.5.1) Sub-questions

- What is socio-spatial integration?
- What is mixed-income housing and what does it entail?
- How if at all has Fleurhof addressed issues of integration?
- What evidence is there to demonstrate integration?

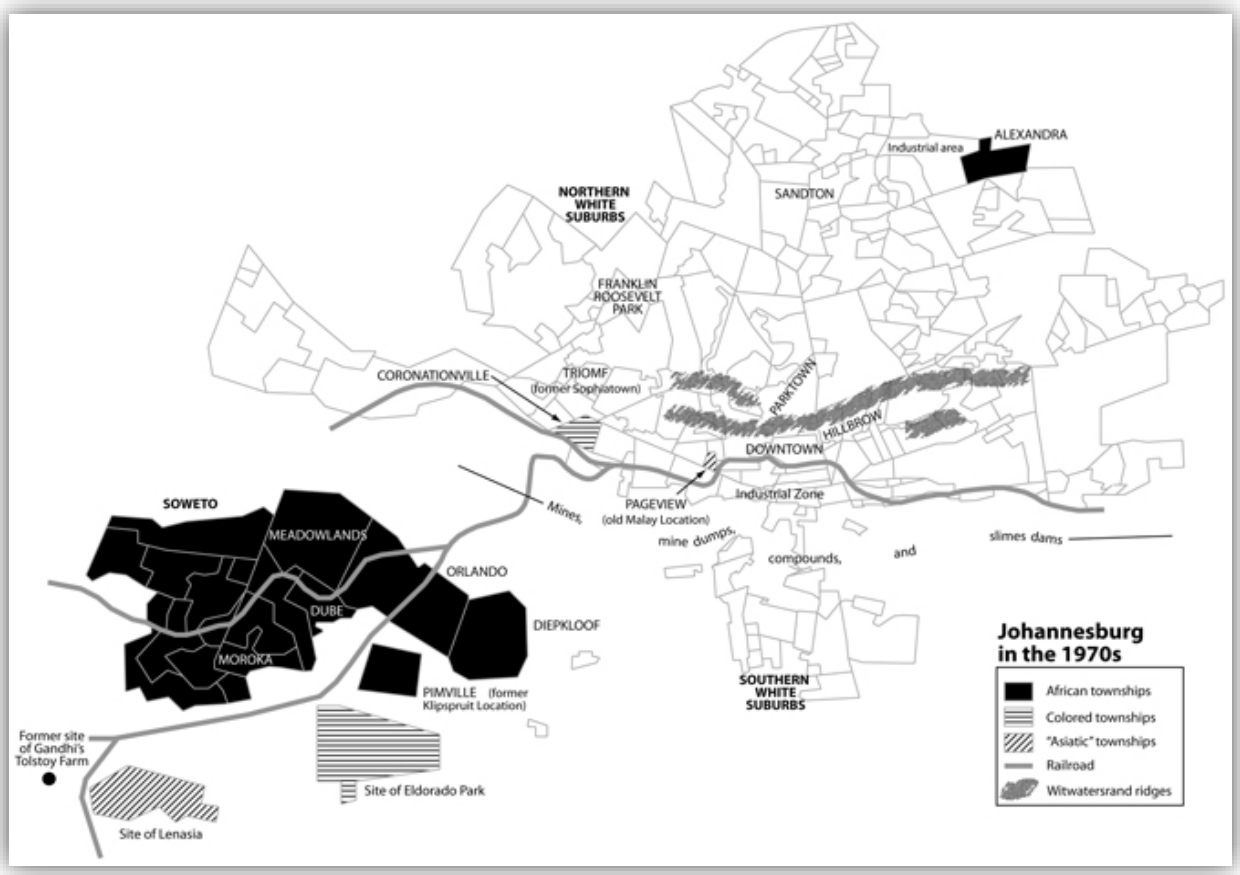

Figure 1: Map of the Johannesburg in the 1970s (Nightingale, 2012).

1.6) Background and Context

The CoJ is South Africa's economic powerhouse, experiencing rapid population growth and growing racial and class tension due to the challenging issues of inequality that exist in the city (CoJDDP, 2016). According to the City of Johannesburg's Department of Development Planning (CoJDDP) (2016) economic activities are clustered together in the same location and diverging from the patterns of where people live and this has been one of the major contributors to the issues of inequality along with land and property markets. It is argued that most of the city's residents commute long distances to access

the locations of economic activities and most of these commuters are poor (CoJDDP, 2016). The challenges of spatial inequality in the CoJ are a direct aftermath of the rise and fall of the apartheid policies, legislations and regulations (Pillay, 2008). These policies regulated beyond the physical structural boundaries of South African cities, they had an impact on the socio-spatial and socio-economic inequalities that became the fundamentals of urban policies that post-apartheid government developed (Pillay, 2008). Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA) currently is the bible of spatial planning, it serves as a practical guide linking policy to site-level decision making in the day-to-day practical implementation of spatial planning practices, with the mandate to redress the past spatial planning legacies.

1.6.1) The History of Social and Spatial Schism

According to Hindson (1996) the apartheid government drew on racial segregation approach and apartheid spatial management policies to restructure and establish a racially segregated city morphology. The apartheid legislations and regulatory policies, such as the Natives Urban Areas (Consolidated) Act of 1945 and the Group Areas Act of 1950, hindered the urbanisation of blacks as they were channelled in clearly defined spatial zones forcing them to dwell far from the city's urban and economic centres, and become labourers of white farmers in the urban peripheries (Hindson, 1996). These policies and regulatory methods used, developed and produced the existing social perception of white supremacy in the social and economic ladder (Hindson, 1996; Spinks, 2001). Post-apartheid, the democratic government has made efforts to redress the notions of racial supremacy and inferiority, however this has been replaced by economic status in society (Spinks, 2001; Todes, 2006).

1.6.2) Context of the study-area

Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development (FIRD) is one of the developments centred in the middle of the spatial argument which (Tomlinson, 2003; Benit-Gbaffou, 2008; Kracker Selzer and Heller, 2010; Murray, 2011) discuss on the need to redress the socio-spatial fragmentation in the CoJ. It is situated next to Fleurhof residential township, north of the historically racially segregated "poor" area of Soweto which was spatially defined and zoned for blacks and south west of Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) with adequate access to Johannesburg north "rich" suburbs. Its location is strategic with direct access to both south and north of Johannesburg with adequate public transport and transport

infrastructure. The development is claimed to create access to affordable housing to estimated 83 000 people and improving the quality of life for its residents (Who we areVision et al., 2017).

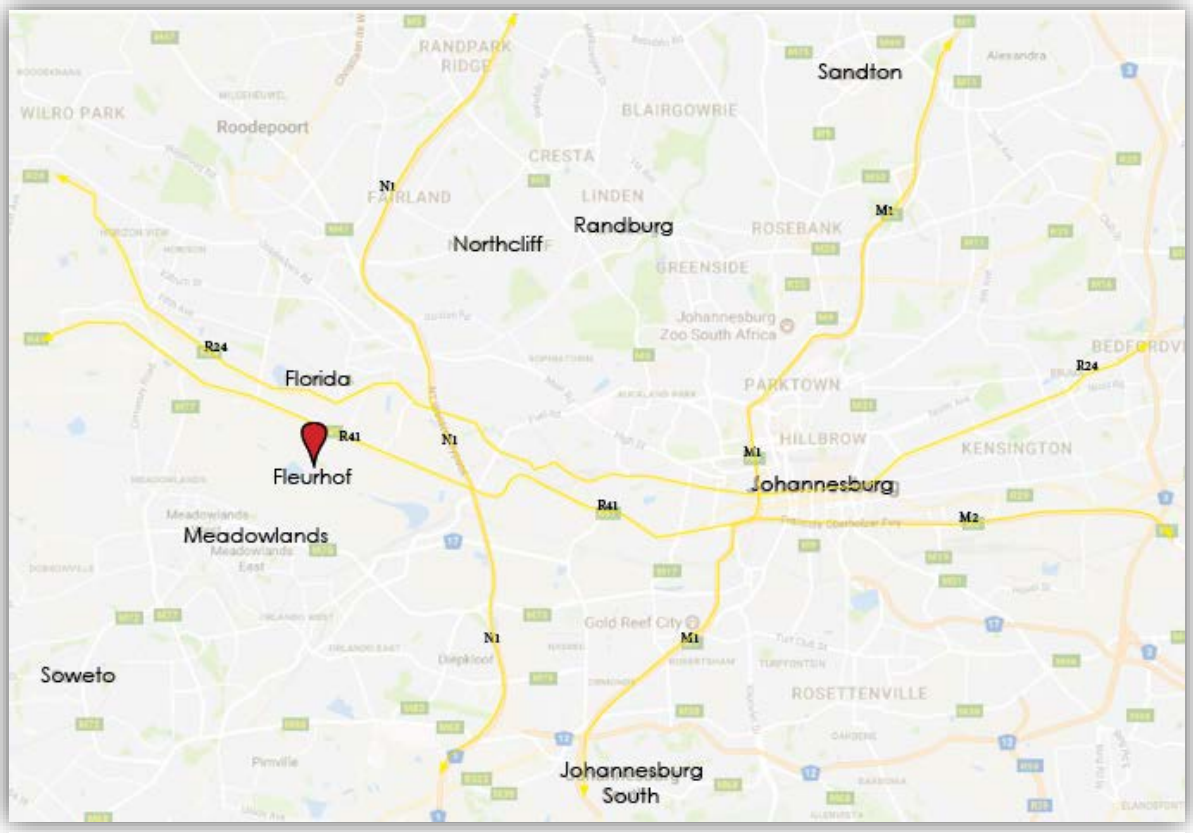

Figure 2: Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development in the City Context. Adapted from (Google Maps, 2017)

FIRD is a mixed-income housing development on a 440ha of land with different housing tenure groups (affordable open market bonded housing, Gap housing- FLISP, social housing, open market rental housing and RDP/BNG housing). The development upon completion will also provide socio-economic facilities being four mixed use business centres, seven crèches, five religious sites, a single community centre, three schools and about twenty to thirty recreational and environmental parks (Who we areVision et al., 2017). It is a joint venture between International Housing Solutions (IHS), a property equity manager focused on affordable housing projects, and CalgroM3, a listed development company specializing in mixed-income residential construction (EMPEA, 2012). Under the partnership, IHS has provided most of the equity financing and performs the financial structuring, while CalgroM3 manages and oversees the project (EMPEA, 2012). CalgroM3 has partnered with the Gauteng Provincial Government, DoH and the CoJ DoH for management and provision of public infrastructure such as roads, water, sewer, reticulation and storm water facilities (Who we areVision et al., 2017).

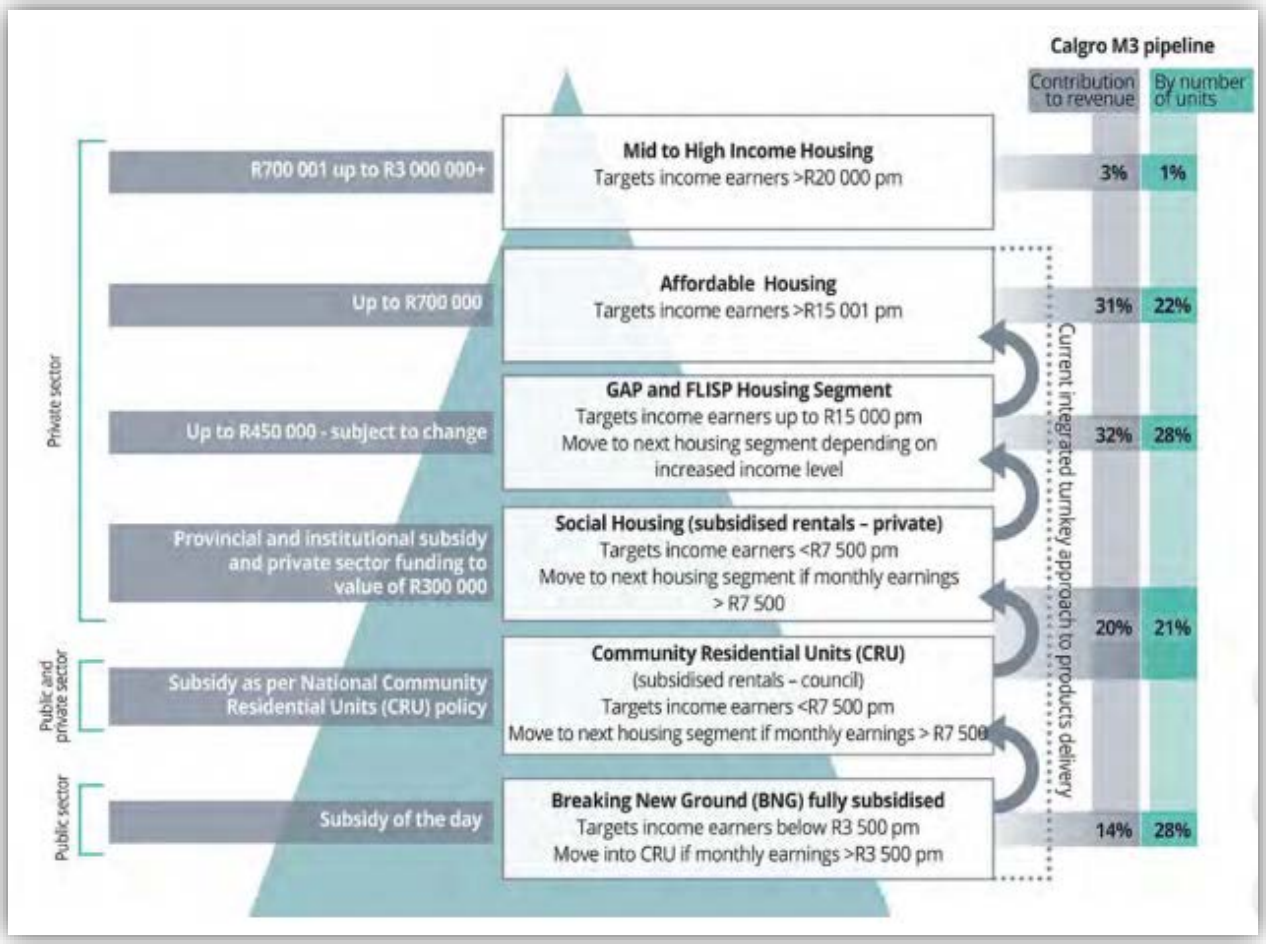

Figure 3: Housing Products Provided in FIRD (CalgroM3, 2016).

1.6.2.1) Housing Typologies in Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development

- Affordable Bonded Housing

  Affordable bonded housing is the open market non-subsidised free-standing and semi-detached units. Free-standing units range from 40m^2-45m^2 floor area on a plot of 116m^2-160m^2 and semi-detached units range from 45m^2-100m^2 floor area on a plot of 200m^2-400m^2 (Who we areVision et al., 2017) These houses sell for R500 000 to R800 000 (Property24, 2017), hence, provided for individuals or families with an income above R15 001 earned per month and qualify for a home loan to purchase residential property. The house features 2-3 bedrooms, a single bathroom and open plan kitchen and lounge area, burglars to open windows and security gate at front and back door. Upon completion of the development, 2 122 units of affordable bonded housing will be built (Who we areVision et al., 2017).

- Gap Housing

  “Gap housing” is a policy designed for the income group described as the “missing middle” categorised within the income bracket of R3 500-R15 000 earned per month (PropertyWheel_GLP, 2016). They are individuals or families that do not qualify for full government subsidised housing and do not qualify to participate in the private property markets. FIRD provides 3 719 multi-story units to cater to this income group integrating FLISP units with open market rental units (Who we areVision et al., 2017). These sectional title units range from R299 000-R500 000 (HelloHouse, 2017; Property24, 2017)

  - Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Program (FLISP)

    FLISP is a program for first time home owners, with a specific objective of only reducing the initial mortgage loan amount to render the monthly instalments affordable over the loan payment term for the beneficiary (NHFC, 2017). The beneficiary can only qualify for subsidy between R10 000 and R87 000 depending on their monthly income (NHFC, 2017). The residential property should be in a formally established town, where transfer of ownership and registration of mortgage bond is recordable in the deeds office also, the residential property acquired should not exceed R300 000 (NHFC, 2017). FLISP units are range from $40m^2$-$45m^2$ floor area (Who we areVision et al., 2017). The apartments are partially subsidised sectional title units with 2 bedrooms, a single bathroom and open plan kitchen and lounge area (Who we areVision et al., 2017). The apartments rage from R299 000-R311 000 (Hello House, 2016)

- Open market Bonded and Rentals

  These are multi-story units provided by the private sector (Who we areVision et al., 2017). They are non-subsidised sectional title units with a floor area that range from $40m^2$-$46m^2$ with monthly bond or rental that range from R3 000-R4 500 per month (Property24, 2017). The units’ features are 2 bedrooms, a single bathroom and open plan kitchen and lounge area (Who we areVision et al., 2017).

- Social Housing

  Social housing is the key model for housing delivery of affordable housing, which provides medium density affordable, rental housing too low to middle income households (JOSHCO, 2017). These are partially subsidised rental apartments with a floor area of 33m^2-43m^2 (Who we areVision et al., 2017). Individuals or families that earn less that R3 500, a 1-bedroom apartment rates for R884. 02 and a 2-bedroom apartment rates for R2 357.39 (JOSHCO, 2017).

- RDP Housing

  RDP/BNG housing are fully subsidised multi-story units with a floor area of 40m^2 (Who we areVision et al., 2017). FIRD comprise of 3 286 of this units given to qualifying beneficiaries with a total household income less than R3 500 per month (Who we areVision et al., 2017).

1.7) Methodological approach

The research methods will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three of the research project. The research was approached through the qualitative research method. According to Creswell (2009, p.177) qualitative research is an "*interpretive research, with the inquirer typically involved in a sustained and intensive experience with participants* ". The research is mainly based on the experience of mixed-income residents and how mixed-income developments are bridging the social and spatial schism that exists in the city of Johannesburg. Residents of FIRD were interviewed to gain knowledge of their daily experiences, positive and negative incidents they have encountered since living in FIRD and how it has impacted their lives.

1.8) Chapter outline

Chapter one

The first chapter of this research is the introductory chapter which focuses on laying the foundations of the research. This chapter looks at the research rationale-unpacking the motivation and questions behind looking at mixed-income housing developments and how they endorse spatial and social integration, providing the context and background of the research study.

Chapter two

The second chapter of this research is the literature review. This chapter explores three main concepts within the scope of housing, segregation and integration. In housing, it particularly focuses on the concept of mixed-income housing developments; reviews literature that defines and outlines the purpose of mixed-income housing developments. The second aspect this chapter explores is segregation; it reviews literature that explores the concept of socio-spatial segregation- the definition and the impacts and effects of segregation concerning society and urban morphology. The third aspect is integration; it reviews literature that explores the concept of socio-spatial integration-the definition and measures in which integration can be achieved.

Chapter three

The third chapter of this research focusses on the methodological approach followed in the research process. The chapter looks at the context in which the research was made as well as exploring the method of engagement and the challenges encountered with the methodology followed during the research process.

Chapter four

The fourth chapter of the research focuses on the presentation and analysis of the data acquired from the interviews with the residents of Fleurhof integrated residential development. It gives the synthesis of the interviews and how they feed into the understanding of the impact of mixed-income housing development in addressing the issues of socio-spatial segregation and achieving socio-spatial integration.

Chapter five

The last chapter of this research is the concluding chapter of the research. This Chapter goes back to the research question and is a reflection on how the research conducted answered the research question. This chapter also looks at recommendation of how social integration can be approached and advocated in mixed-income housing developments.

1.9) Conclusion

FIRD is a mixed-income housing development, under a private-public partnership of CalgroM3 limited with the Gauteng Provincial DoH and CoJ DoH. Mixed-income housing developments are advocated to bring socio-economic integration and address spatial segregation. FIRD shows social integration in the patterns of social interaction that happen in the development however, these interactions do not happen across the different economic groups or different housing typologies, the interaction actively happen within the same housing type. The development has a spatial impact in the CoJ's urban morphology. The development has the characteristics of a node, with adequate access to the north, south, east and west of Johannesburg. It is in line with the CoJ spatial policy objective of spatial sustainability- creating areas where people can live, work and play in proximity having adequate access to public transport.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1) Introduction

The concept of mixed-income housing development is a contemporary strategy in South Africa (Onatu, 2010). Local government planners, policy makers, politicians and developers promote this concept in their policy objectives to support their political arguments (Baily, et al., 2006). Mixed-income housing developments are often publicised as a politically, socially and financially pragmatic approach to addressing challenges of urban poverty, urban redevelopment and socio-spatial segregation; integrating low-income households into social and economic environments that will influence them to aspire economic growth and combat their dependence of state welfare (Brophy and Smith, 1997; Baily, et al., 2006; Vale and Shmsuddin, 2017). Behfourous, et al., (2014) and Joseph (2006) highlight the increasing literature on mixed-income housing developments due to philosophical arguments on their potential to introduce social integration among different social groups. This chapter reviews literature that will theoretically frame the research study. It focuses on studies that unpack the concept of mixed-income developments, socio-spatial segregation and socio-spatial integration.

2.2) Understanding the Concept of Mixed-income Housing

The philosophies of mixed-income housing began in the late 1800s in the United States of America with the intentions to reform tenements (Ellickson, 2009). However, the concept only got attention when federal government embraced it in housing policy with the passing of Wager-Steagall Housing Act of 1937 (Ellickson, 2009). According to Vale (2006) the objectives of mixed-income housing are not contemporary ideas, but previous housing policies have been in pursuit to achieve mixing of different social groups, public service improvement in neighbourhoods and creating a “ladder” for low-income households out of public housing. In the context of the United States of America, the concept became a pinnacle in housing policies in the 1990s with the release of HOPE VI in 1992 in efforts to combat urban poverty and achieve urban redevelopment (Ellickson, 2009). Fraser, et al. (2013) suggests that the concept of mixed-income housing goes back to Ebenezer Howard’s concept of the garden city. To Fraser, et al. (2013) the garden city planning advocated for integration and sustainability, realising the significance of social, economic and environmental integration for sustainable, socially and economically self-sufficient cities. This concept does not detour from the concept of mixed-income

developments, their objective is to realise sustainability and socio-economic self-sufficiency through the integration of different social groups, mixed land uses, creation of adequate access to social and economic facilities and spatial urban redevelopment (Fraser, et al., 2013).In Europe, specifically, United Kingdom, Germany, France, Finland and Sweden, the concept of mixed-income housing centres their policies of urban renewal and is focused on integrating homeowners and social renters-public housing residents (Fraser, et al., 2013). The concept of mixed-income housing in Europe, got attention with the United Kingdom Scheme Right to Buy (RTB) which was introduced with the Housing Act 1980, however, social renters have always had the ability to buy council houses (Public housing in the United Kingdom) since 1970 (Fraser, et al., 2013). The objective of mixed-income housing, in the European context is not only to encourage socio-economic integration and reduction of state service dependence but to encourage social renters to become homeowners, encouraging the culture of home ownership and asset investment (Wood, et al., 2010; Fraser, et al., 2013). In South Africa, the concept of mixed-income housing is relatively contemporary and was embraced with the publication of 2004 BNG housing policy (Landman, 2012). Similar to the United States of America and Europe housing policies, South Africa is in sought to achieve social mixing, public service improvement and the reduction of state service dependence expressly in attempts to redress the legacy of apartheid spatial policies. The government housing policy (BNG) puts emphasis on the need of socio-spatial integration, to create a range of socio-economic opportunity in proximity to residential dwellings (Landman, 2012). Local governments partner with private developers and investors to ensure the development and delivery of mixed-income housing developments in spatial settings with access to existing socio-economic opportunities also to probe new socio-economic developments in support of the municipality spatial policies (Landman, 2012). Mixed-income housing developments are encouraged to realise social, spatial and economic integration and sustainability in urban settings (Landman, 2012).

2.2.1) Definition and Purpose of Mixed-income Housing

“Mixed income” has been defined in various ways, various authors such as Brophy and Smith, 1997; Gray, 1999; Baily, et al., 2006; Joseph, 2006; Behfourous et al. 2014; Vale and Shamsuddin, 2017) acknowledge the existence of multiple definitions of “mixed income”. The most common ideas these authors share are the specifications mixed-income housing developments should entail such as ideas around having various housing typology and tenure, mixing of social groups and their purpose to initiate social and spatial integration.

> *Mixed-income development ranges from private-sector, market-rate developments that include a small percentage of affordable housing to developments built exclusively for moderate- and low-income families* - Joseph (2006, p.209)

The rationale on the purpose of mixed-income housing is largely to address issues of urban poverty, promote the economic ladder for low-income families and the redress of racial and socio-economic segregation (Sampson and Wilson, 1995; Jargowsky, 1997; Seekings, 2008; Onatu, 2010, Todes, 2012; Landman, 2010). These motivations are advocated by urban policy makers in their arguments for social and spatial urban redevelopment. However, Vale and Shamsuddin (2017) ague that there is a lack of critical analysis on key factors of the approach of mixed-income housing development in urban development policies. They (Vale & Shamsuddin, 2017), highlight four key dimensions that should be carefully considered:

- Firstly, is the distribution of units by subsidy types; it is questioning the level and range of subsidy levels included in the development and the propositions thereof of different income groups that are represented.
- Secondly is the spatial separation of income mix groups, which refers to the geographical area in which the development is to occur, and the key question is the spatial proposition of each income group and how they will interact.
- Thirdly is the distribution of homeowners' verses rental units which refers to the how much of the development is deemed for rental and for ownership.
- Fourth, the time limits for subsidies that preserve the income mix. The duration of the subsidy contracts affects the long-term stability of mixed-income and mixed-tenure developments.

With these factors, Vale and Shamsuddin (2017) discuss the lack of quantitative detail and justification analysis around the type of mixing in these developments and the lack of clearly defined "types" mixed in mixed housing developments. They (Vale and Shamsuddin, 2017) highlight that the types of social groups, types of tenure and income groups mixed, should be clearly defined and qualitatively and quantitatively justified. They (Vale and Shamsuddin, 2017) also argue that spatial distribution of the different group's impact interaction, thus posit that qualitative benefits of socio-economic mixing in

mixed-income housing developments should be accompanied by quantitative detail benefits of the spatial distribution.

2.2.2) Rationales for Mixed-income Housing Developments

2.2.2.1) Mixed-Income Development as a General Strategy to Redress Racial and Socio-Economic Segregation

In the context of South Africa, Lukhele (2014) interrogates the challenges South Africa's post-apartheid urban settlements planning face to bring about social cohesion. The fundamental argument posed in this text is that mixed-income housing developments can redress socio-spatial segregation as they have the ability to foster for inclusive compact city and administer socially integrated communities. In the text, Lukhele (2014) states that South Africa's history of apartheid has imbedded South African cities with the character of racial and socio-economic segregation and is in need for urban transformation. Harrison et al., (1997), Harrison et al., (2007) amongst others (Todes, 2012; Dewar et al., 2017) discuss these spatial challenges and that critical strategic spatial planning and urban spatial policies are the fundamental tools towards mitigating issues of social and spatial segregation in south African cities. Lukhele (2014) claims that grounding social cohesion on racial integration in post-apartheid South Africa is an unattainable vision. However, mixed-income housing developments administer social cohesion on the bases of socio-economic integration and is an innovative strategy to correct the "perceptions that the poor cannot cohabit with the middle-income households" (Lukhele, 2014: p37), and that these developments will introduce new culture, values and norms of coexistence of different income groups. Landman (2012) similarly argues that mixed-income developments facilitate opportunities of social-economic integration. The finding on this research (Landman, 2012) revealed that socio-economic diversity is achieved in mixed income housing developments. The developments range from fully subsidized housing tenures to bonded housing, households with monthly income of R0-R3 500 pm to households with R20 000 per month. Literature on South African mixed-income housing developments vividly document the potential of mixed-income developments to foster social, economic and spatial integration, largely focusing on the broad physical socio-economic integration that the development will achieve and less documenting the human individual social interaction to fully support the claims of social cohesion and social integration in these developments.

2.2.2.2) Mixed-Income Development as a Strategy for Addressing Urban Poverty and Promoting Economic Upward Mobility for Low-Income Families

Joseph (2006) documents theoretical arguments of the ability of mixed-income housing developments to improve the quality of life for the urban poor. The text discuss how mixed-income developments will attain the redress of urban poverty. According to Fraser et al., (2013), significant number of theoretical arguments on mixed-income housing developments combating urban poverty are nuanced. The first argument Joseph (2006) present in the text is that, low-income households will establish social networks with higher-income households and attain information that will give them opportunities that will assist them to promote their economic growth in society. De Souza Briggs (1997) and Elliot (1999) began with this argument highlighting the significance of these relationships and claiming that these networks either casual or instrumental relationships, will give them access to resources beyond their existing internal social network. However, recent empirical studies Chaskin and Joseph (2011) and Levy et al. (2011) suggest that, theoretical arguments on social networks between low-income residents and middle-high income residents are vague and the transfer of political, economic and social resources argued to benefit low-income residents is not definite, particularly the assumed benefits of access to employment, access to information, access to better schools and better public service infrastructure. According Fraser et al., (2013, p.89) to meaningfully understand the possibility of this argument, empirical studies commonly asked "*do mixed-income environments engender meaningful resident engagement across income lines and, if so, does this social interaction effect positive changes in the lives of low-income residents?"*. According to Onatu (2010), Chaskin and Joseph (2010, 2011), Kleit and Galvez (2011) and Levy et al. (2011) social interaction among the different mixed socio-economic groups, different housing typologies or tenures in mixed-income housing developments is rare, and there is no clear direct evidence to support that low-income residents benefit socially, politically and economically from being in proximity to their higher income neighbours.

The second argument is social control. The ideology of social control draws from the theory of social disorganisation (Warner, 2003). The theory of social disorganisation is based on structural and cultural factors characterising the social order of a place and directly links crime rates (street crime at neighbourhood level) to the economic character of a place (Warner, 2003). According to Warner (2003) the residential dwelling of an individual, substantially influences and shapes the individuals' livelihood strategies and according to (Brooks-Gunn, et al., 1993) the neighbourhood an individual resides

influences their behaviour, attitude, values and opportunities. Joseph (2006) argues that in mixed-income housing developments, higher-income households will create the norm of accountability and rules in the neighbourhood through the created casual and instrumental social networks, increasing the chances of order and security in the neighbourhood; therefore, the presence of higher-income households in proximity to low-income households will influence low-income households to be accountable of their surrounding and create collective supervision in prevention of local crime. High income neighbourhoods are associated with safety and security, walkability and adequate education provided in local schools (Brooks-Gunn, et al., 1993; Arvidsson, 2013). According to Brook-Gunn, et al. (1993), children who grow up in affluent neighbourhoods have a greater chance to socially and economically succeed in their adolescent and adult life because they are exposed to adequate social and psychological development facilities and programmes also they grow up in an environment that encourages the pursuit of economic success. Opposite to this argument, the theory of social disorganisation focuses on the characters of low-income neighbourhoods. According to Brooks-Gunn, et al., 1993) low-income neighbourhoods are characterised by criminal activities, poverty, and poor quality education in local school due to the lack of resources, thus children who grow up in poor neighbourhoods are most likely to continue in the cycle of poverty and engage in criminal activities in their adolescent and adult life because of the vivid exposure to criminal activities and lack of access to social and psychological development facilities and programmes. The theory of social disorganisation supports Brooks-Gunn, et al., (1993)'s arguments and posit that amongst the factors contribution to an individuals' involvement in illegal activities, the character of their residential dwelling, is as significant if not more as the individuals' personal character and identity- age, gender, culture, social and psychological background amongst other traits (Warner, 2003). This theory links to arguments made on the culture of poverty, crime and grime in public housing and informality (Jones and Luo, 1999; Gorski, 2008). Studies on solely delivered public housing commonly argue the link of public housing to concentration of poverty and criminal activities (Lens, 2013; Hartley, 2014).Unemployment, or rather the lack of monetary income to sustain an individual's daily needs and idling, are raised significant factors leading an individual to engage in illegal activities (Lens, 2013; Hartley, 2014). Thus, low-income neighbourhoods need support with social and psychological development facilities and investment in local education resources to expose children who grow up in poor neighbourhoods or are raised in a

poor family to possibilities and opportunities that will encourage them to pursue economic success (Brooks-Gunn, et al., 1993; Joseph, 2006; Hartley, 2014).

The second argument links to the third argument of *Culture and behaviour.* Joseph (2006: p.214) claims that low-income households will adopt high-income households' behaviour making it "socially acceptable and constructive behaviour". Auletta (1982), Crane, et al. (1991), Murray (1984), and Sampson and Wilson (1995) debate the "culture of poverty"; their text defines this concept as poverty being a destructive, disorderly behaviours that has been adopted by low-income inner-city individuals or families and is counterproductive to their well-being and economic growth. Scholars such as (Katz 1993; Valentine 1968) have criticized their thought, on the bases that, their notion of the culture of poverty is, offensive and their definition conforming "culture" as the defining fact of an adaptation to an economic structural position in society is naïve; also, to bias positive influence on income is demeaning and authoritarian. However, according to Joseph (2006), mixed-income housing will expose low-income residents to the daily activities of middle-high income residents, of working to attain their assets and their social involvement in programme that positively encourage social development for their children. This argument links to the comparative analysis of the characteristics of high vs low income neighbourhoods. Brooks-Gunn, et al. (1993) makes this comparison highlighting the behaviour of residents in affluent neighbourhoods as very cautious of the quality of security and safety, quality of education and social development in their neighbourhoods as compared to poor neighbourhoods that is characterised by the behaviour of apprehension on how they will attain their basic needs such as food, pay for water and electricity, however due to the lack of skills they cannot get better paying jobs thus resorting to illegal activities.

2.2.3.3) Mixed-Income Development as a General Strategy for Urban Redevelopment

Urban redevelopment is the concept of urban land readjustment involving, rezoning of low-density urban areas to high-density mixed-use development by the government, emphasised by the development of mass transit infrastructure development to support the high-density zoning (Fox-Gotham, 2001). Joseph (2006) argues that mixed-income developments succumb to urban redevelopment objectives. The spatial objective of mixed-income development is to address social and spatial segregation and encourage spatial integration of social, economic and environmental aspects (Joseph, 2006). In the context of South Africa, mixed-income developments are advocated to address the apartheid spatial

policy legacy that left the mark of social and spatial segregation and fragmentation. According to Onatu (2010) social and spatial segregation in South African urban areas, has been proven to be unsustainable for socio-economic development and growth and for environmental sustainability. Housing policies (BNG) and local government spatial restructuring policies advocate for mixed-income housing developments to be delivered as settlements rather than just housing and should be strategically located along major arterials, corridors adjacent or opposite to economic nodes in support the urban spatial redevelopment programmes (City of Johannesburg, 2014). Mixed-income housing developments are strategies to re-stich the urban morphology- combating urban sprawl and reduce the pressure on green infrastructure due to past fragmented urban spatial planning (Landman, 2010).

2.2.3.4) Conclusion

Planner and policy makers reciprocate to the concept of mixed-income housing developments with the conduct of policies, programmes and strategies to administer social, spatial and economic integration and achieve their given scope of vision for the cities being inclusive of all its citizens. However, what still remains missing in literature is firstly, the questions about how best to define mixed-income development-authors have succumb to the definition that best covey their argument. Secondly, how best to implement it-the objectives of mixed-income housing developments are achieved differently in different contexts and in that it is rare that all the objectives are covered. Lastly, what are its expected effects-particularly, with reference to the promotion of low-income households, to move towards the recycling of state subsided housing once they have attained their momentum in the socio-economic ladder.

2.3) Understanding Socio-Spatial Segregation

To understanding social and spatial integration, it is fundamental to understand what social and spatial segregation is. Thus, literature defining the causes of socio-spatial segregation will be reviewed to lay the basis for an understanding of the factors that integration should address. Murray (2004), Todes (2006) and Altinok and Cengiz (2008) commonly define socio-spatial segregation as the lack of spatial synergy in land use zoning and physical disintegration of social, economic, political and environmental aspects spatially. The fragmentation of land uses and its users is the common argument Murray (2004), City of Johannesburg (2013), Schoeman (2015) and Kleemann (2017) make. In the context of the city of Johannesburg, the lack of socio-spatial integration between where people leave and where people

daily commuting to (work), is highlighted in the CoJ 2013 Strategic Integrated Transport Plan Framework (SITPF). According to the 2011 GCRO survey, the CoJ commuters spent at least 36 minutes in traffic getting into Johannesburg inner city, and states this an improvement from the 2002 survey results. This is due to factors such as the lack of alternative routes, the grid iron road pattern and traffic lights, increasing number of vehicles on the roads and people traveling from their residential settlements at the same time and heading the same direction to work- the inner city (City of Johannesburg, 2013). Altinok and Cengiz (2008) and Murray (2014) highlights the impact of land use segregation. The spatial conflict of land use centres Murray (2014)'s argument of spatial segregation. He emphasises the inconsistency and disintegration of the three fundamental aspects to an individual, which are live, work and play. Murray (2014) deems this as a problematic urban morphology due to being inefficient and unsustainable socially, economically and environmentally in terms of pressure of green infrastructure, accessibility referring to travel distances and urban sprawl. Harrison and Todes (2015) similarly supports this rationale with the focus on spatial regulatory policies, advocating for "loosing of spatial controls" in attaining spatial transformation. They (Harrison and Todes, 2015) explore the urban spatial transformation of South African cities after the ending of apartheid and its impact on the urban spatial transformation. According to Harrison and Todes (2015) loosening political control over the spatial morphology shaped the state, private investment and daily mobility of households and individuals in interacting with urban space, shaping the urban form and creating integrating links that vividly highlighted the existence of urban socio-spatial segregation and the need for urban spatial integration. Altinok and Cengiz (2008) adds to the argument of urban land use segregation discussing the isolation of political administrations. According to Altinok and Cengiz (2008) the division of urban land in regions create disparities in through process plans, frameworks and zoning to achieve the overall city vision and objective. The oversight unaddressed is that the boundaries of administration cuts the synergy and integration of land use mobility, creating neighbouring islands of urban spaces (Altinok and Cengiz, 2008). This is due to the failure to collaboratively create a spatial development framework that links all regions creating an integrated urban morphology. Todes (2006) supports the notion, arguing that the lack of communication and collaborative planning between political administrates leads to distorted urban spatial policies and is counterproductive to the objective of integration. Another common argument Murray (2004), Bolay, et al. (2005) and Altinot and Cengiz (2008) make is on spatial segregation of social groups. These authors Murray (2004), Bolay, et al. (2005) and Altinot and Cengiz

(2008) focus on the social segregation narrative of different race and class groups spatially locating in different geographic locations. In the context of South Africa, racial segregation was not organic but structural and deliberate under the apartheid regime. Spinks (2001), Murray (2005) and Gans(2005) expand the narrative of racial and class segregation exploring social inequality within the racial and class segregation narrative. According to Bolay, et al. (2005) social superiority and inferiority in social settings is largely based on economic status, and it is largely found the inferior is of black race. Gans (2005) focus on South African context, and states that social status directly links to apartheid regulations. The separation and boundaries to economic opportunities to a black person amounted to black people being labourers and has since been the norm in society (Gans, 2005). Those policies (apartheid policies) did not only physically create racial segregation it also cultural schisms that become alien to the opposite race (Bolay, et al., 2005).

2.3.2) Conclusion

It is evident that the lack of synergy between land uses, social groups, urban spatial planning strategies and policies are factors that contribute to socio-spatial segregation. The oversight of these factors can be counterproductive to the sustainability and efficiency of urban development, as much as critically understating and strategically formulating innovative ways of collaboration between different regions and addressing the legacy of racial segregation, breaking the barriers of social status norms can sufficiently lead to socio-spatial integration. The redress of segregation of urban land regulatory policies and frameworks are features that should be critically analysed, they are mechanisms and tools that are used to direct the spatial developments and land use relations. Having a clear direction in policy of integration will address the issues of socio-spatial segregation and the sustainability of urban development.

2.4) Understating Socio-Spatial Integration

Durkheim is considered one of the founders of sociology in academia due to his significant contribution concerning modern societies and the fundamental foundations on the concept of social integration (Lukes, 1975).Durkheim (1912) argued that collective consciousness is a societal norm exerted as a powerful force on individuals, therefore, becoming the people's norm, belief and values of understanding of their world. This refers to how a community share information, consciously or unconsciously becoming an individuals' norm and a norm in the community governing their behaviour

and perception of world relations. The argument continues to pose that the shared consciousness advocates social interaction amongst the individuals, thus stating that collective consciousness brings individuals together and creates social integration through common interaction in sharing of information (Durkheim, 1912).

Following the theory on collective consciousness, Berkman and Glass (2000), Jeannette (2008) and Sonnenburg (2014) have documented their ideas on what defines social integration. Sonnenburg (2014) acknowledges that there are different definitions of social integration based on different understanding and context background in which integration is interpreted, however, the common finding have been the significance of a society having common norms and values which greatly contributes to the process of interaction and binding of individuals of the society through mutual exchange shared dependencies and tolerance of dissimilarities. This relates to Jeannette (2008:p.4) definition of social integration as the impact of interaction of different social groups specifically looking at race and class- "*when the minority and underprivileged in society are integrated in the mainstream society and they attain the ability to improve their quality of life*". Chaskin and Joseph (2011) and Sonnenberg, (2014) in their arguments assert that economic, political, social and cultural aspects have a pivotal role in encounters of social interaction and spatial integration. They break-down the notion of socio-spatial integration to defining social interaction being a means to achieving integration of socially mixed groups, and spatial integration as adjoined planning of social, economic and political physical factors. The conscious understanding of social integration and spatial integration in isolation probe the question of how achievable is socio-spatial integration.

2.4)1. Measuring Social Integration

According to Brissette et al. (2000, p.54), social integration is "the extent to which an individual participates in a broad range of social relationships"- social integration requires both behaviour and active engagement of an individual in shared social activities and the ability to create social relationships with a clear understanding of communality and their social role.

Box 1: Approaches to measuring Social Integration
Role based Measures • Assess the number of different types of social relationships in which individuals participate Participation-based Measures • Assess the frequency with which individuals engage in various activities Perceived Integration • Assess the extent to which individuals believe they are embedded in a stable social structure and identify with their fellow community members and social position

Adapted from (Brissette et al., 2000)

2.4.2) Measuring Spatial Integration

In the context of South Africa, spatial integration is in terms of the transition from the apartheid policy planning to post-apartheid planning to integrate the urban centre with the peripheries in order to bridge the between the city privileged and the peripheral under privileged (Haferburg, 2002). The 2040 Spatial Development Framework (SDF) advocates for creating equal opportunity for all social groups, regardless of their social identities. It advocates for all citizen within the city boundaries to have access to participate in collaborative planning processes and public resources (CoJDDP,2016). Spatial integration is prioritising the previously disadvantaged communities to have access to political, social and economic uplifting facilities.

2.5) Towards a Conceptual Framework

There are two concepts that frame this research, mixed-income housing and socio-spatial integration. This research questions the process of social and spatial integration of mixed-income housing developments. Thus the concept of mixed-income housing and socio-spatial integration centres this research. Theoretically, mixed-income housing developments are tools to combat urban poverty, urban restructuring and socio-spatial integration. Brophy and Smith (1997) advocates for mixed income housing in support of their ability to address the “culture of poverty”- in that mixing of different socio-economic groups will influence the poor to move away from behaviours that keep them poor, and be encouraged seeing the behaviour and lifestyles of middle to higher income residents to look for employment opportunities. Essentially, advocates of mixed income housing believed they can redress the social pathologies about poor households. Theory suggests that mixed-income housing

developments will bring about social and spatial integration. The different socio-economic groups will interact beyond casual encounters, but form instrumental social networks within the developments that will grant particularly the poor, opportunities of employment to move up the social ladder economically.

2.6) Conclusion

This chapter focusses on literature that shapes this research. Mixed-income housing developments across literature are advocated as the best strategy to address socio-spatial segregation in urban settings. However, there are counter empirical studies that oppose the theoretical argument of mixed-income housing developments ability to improve lives of low-income residents based on the geographic proximity to higher-income residents. Mixed-income housing developments can spatially integrate different socio-economic groups, however that does not necessarily initiate interaction between the different households. Socio-spatial integration is the ability of different social groups to coexist through conversation of their shared similar experiences, norms and values also have the ability to accept their differences to redress the existing socio-spatial segregation in urban areas.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

3.1) Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to clearly outline and define the methods used in approaching the research study. It outlines and discuss how the necessary information and data was acquired to fulfil the research objective and adequately respond to the research question, with given reason and justification to methods used to analyse and present data and information acquired.

3.2) Research Design

According to Heppner et al (1992, p.15) a research design is "*a plan or structure for an investigation or a list of specifications and procedure for conducting and controlling a research project*". It can be described as a masterplan, roadmap or structural guideline for conducting a research.

3.2)1. Qualitative Research Design

This research adopts a qualitative case study approach. Qualitative research is an exploratory research approach that focuses on understanding the reasons, opinions and motives of a case study (Baxter & Jack, 2008). According to Cornwell and Waite (2009: p.194) qualitative research encourages the researcher to engage and "*enter the informant's world and through on-going interaction, seek the informant's perspectives and meaning*". Qualitative research gives the researcher a good understanding of the participants' experiences and clarity of the researcher's observations of the case studied (Cornwell and Waite, 2009). Qualitative case study method is a qualitative study examining a specific context to contextualise the research. This research is based on understanding the dynamics of social and spatial integration of a mixed-income housing development. To acquire relevant data and information to support the research objective and respond to the research question, a qualitative case study approach is an adequate method to guide the research process. It affords me the opportunity to explore and describe the participants' perspective and lived experiences of their environment. This method also gives me the opportunity to share my perspective and experience throughout the research process.

3.3) Research Setting



Figure 4: Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development. Adapted from (Google Maps, 2017).

The research case study is Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development- a mixed-income housing development located south-west Johannesburg. The development is built on 440ha of private owned property under the partnership of CalgroM3 with Gauteng DoH and the CoJ DoH (Who we areVision et al., 2017). The development comprises of social and economic facilities such as mixed-use business centres, community centre, crèches, schools, recreational and environmental parks (Who we areVision et al., 2017). FIRD is an accredited settlement project for government subsidy housing, providing 5 different housing typologies- affordable open market freehold bonded housing, FLISP housing, open market rental housing, social housing and RDP housing. The development supports the Corridors of Freedom which its intention is to re-stich the CoJ's urban morphology- creating quality human settlements along transit corridors (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

3.4) Sources of Data and Information

This research is compiled with reliance on primary and secondary data to produce the findings and analysis of the findings to adequately respond to the research's objective and most significantly to the research question.

3.4)1. Primary Data

According to Hox and Boeije (2005) Primary data is data collected first hand during field work. Hox and Boeije (2005, p.594) defines it as data collected with" purpose for its original use". Primary data for the purposes of this research was attained through face to face interviews. I personally administered questionnaires to gather information from the participants who are residents of Fleurhof. The use of face-to-face interviews and personally conducting the interview is due to the open-ended nature of the questions I posed on the questionnaire. This ensured that any uncertainties on the questions can be simplified during the time of the interview, and that I can acquire more clarity if need be with regards to the participants response. The primary data collected during research field work, is the significant part of the research. The prime importance of this data is that, it is directly from the fieldwork and directly drawn from first-hand experience with the residents.

3.4)2. Secondary Data

According to Hox and Boeije (2005) secondary data is data collected with the purpose to support and critically analyse collected primary data. It is data that has been analysed and previously used for another purpose. It may be contemporary or historical data, qualitative or quantitative. Secondary data for the purposes of this research was attained from published literature. This includes, Journal articles, dissertations, honours research documents, websites and media articles. The use of secondary data in this research was to unpack and give understanding of the concepts this research looks at, the arguments that exist around these concepts, particularly mixed-income housing, social and spatial integration and be reference to the analysis of primary data.

3.5) Methodological Approach

3.5)1. Data collection techniques

The main instrument for data collection was the use of questionnaires and interviews. Complimentary to this, the observation technique was used. According to Edwards and Holland (2013) an interview is an interactive, engaging approach of two or more people engaged in a conversation initiated and coordinated by the interviewer to get information that is specific to a certain study. Face to face interviews were carried out at Fleurhof integrated residential development. I randomly approached my participants on the street, went to houses that the doors were opened and approached households whose details were given to me by previous participants asking them if they would be interested in participating in my research. When the participant seemed keen, I then gave them the Participation Information Sheet (PIS) and verbally explained what the PIS is and the information on the PIS. I then asked the participant to sign the participants consent form before conducting the interview. The participants that were keen to participate, invited me into their homes to continue with the interview. The interviews took longer than anticipated, as I thought the interviews would take about 20 minutes, however, due to the participants being keen and open to share their experiences also the language barrier, the interviews ended up taking 45 minutes to an hour of conversation. These interviews were guided by the set questions to assist me as the interviewer to not derail from the objective of the interview as well as assist to get relevant answers from the participants.

Table 1:The Set Sampling Criteria for the Residents of Fleurhof

Housing Typologies	Interviewees
Bonded Housing	Male (38) Female (51) Female (35)
GAP/FLISP	Female (29)
Market Rental	Male (31) Male (29)

	Female (29)
Social Housing	Male (50) Male (27) Female (21) Female (19)
BNG/RDP Housing	Male (26) Male (35) Female (45) Female (52) Female (31) Female (31)

In addition to the interviews, I attended a public meeting on the 29th of July, which was specifically to discuss the Fleurhof Urban Development Framework and surrounding areas. After the meeting, I met with a group of 5 individuals of whom 4 are residents of the old Fleurhof residential township and 1 is a bonded house resident of FIRD. We discussed the agenda of the public meeting and I asked them to participate in my research, and they were keen to answer the questions I asked.

Box 2: My experience in engaging with Fleurhof Residents

The first day of fieldwork on the 19th of July 2017, was a very exciting day as the residents particularly the residents of extension 9, were very responsive and eager to share their experiences and participate in my research. On this day, I, interviewed 6 people, they all invited me into their homes

and made the interview a conversation and making it very easy to engage with them and trusting me with their personal information in their personal spaces. I felt welcomed into their society.

The second site visit on the 29th of July, was very discouraging. After attending the public meeting, the plan was to interview bond and FLISP households. The experience of the first day to site, made me excited, hoping to find a similar response. I got many rejections before I could get 2 residents who accepted to partake in the interview. Both these interviews were insightful, however this process made me become more observant of the surrounding. The streets were very quiet, there were no kids playing on the street- this was during school holidays and one significant thing that heavily stood out was the detail to security- very high walls, dogs and security company stickers on the walls.

On the 8th of August, I went to site with a plan that I will not only approach people on the street but also knock on open doors and enter yards that a person or people were sitting outside and ask the participants to refer me or take me to their friends' homes. On this day, I managed to only do 3 interviews. I had great conversations with the participants and received honest responses, however, the plan to ask the participants to refer me to their friends on site, revealed that there Is little social-friendship networks that were taking place as only one could refer me to a friend however I did not get a chance to interview them since they have just arrived from work and therefore opted to not participate.

On the 15th of August, I went on site. I managed to interview a nursery owner, one of the helpers in the nursery and a business owner. Due to their employment, they are socially knitted in the community in comparison to other residents who are employed or school outside Fleurhof.

On the 18th of August, I went to site in the afternoon. The intention was to observe the environment on a Friday afternoon and look at social activities that the residents get up to on a weekend. I managed to do 3 interviews during this and the general feel was two folds- RDP housing development- there was a lot of movement on the street (music, cars and pedestrians) and single-story detached (Bond and FLISP) also Social Housing and Rental building there was minimum pedestrian and mobile movements happening. It was only a few houses were there people sitting

outside and based on the number of cars that were parked in front of the yard, I assume that the people are not from the neighbourhood.

The City of Johannesburg

I planned to have interviews with the City of Johannesburg Department of housing officials, a representative of the Integrated Human Settlements to discuss about their policy and research done in piloting mixed-income housing developments in the city, their partnership with private entities in achieving these developments and in their view, are these developments achieving their main objective and addressing the significant issue of social segregation and spatial fragmentation in the city. One of the officials in the Department of Housing responded to my emails with willingness to help, however, he did not think he was the right person to assist me, but responded by saying he will respond with the contacts of the right person I should speak with. This however, never happened as, he stopped responding to my emails. I also took the initiative to make telephone contact to the Department, however I was placed on hold for a while. I then dropped the call as I waited for about 5-7 minutes without anyone getting back to me. I realised that trying to pursue the interview with the department official, was delaying my research process because I could not move forward in structuring the report without all the information I needed.

CalgroM3 Holdings

I planned to have interviews with a representative of the CalgroM3 Holdings Company as they are the developers of the Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development. My attempts to access the initial project manager of the development failed as emails were not responded to and my attempts to make calls failed as well as the number provided on the website were not going through. I made use of social media, I sent a direct message to the Calgro Facebook page asking for contacts to access to the former project manager of FIRD detailing the reasons for the enquiry. I got a response with the contacts, however the first call I made I was told He was not available and the second time I was placed on hold- I then ended the call. I also tried to contact companies that were assigned to provide information of the project- Envirolution Consulting, Envisage Communications and Lebohang Project Management Services without any luck- the email does not go through or they did not respond. On the 7th of September I made an appointment for Monday the 11th of September through telephone to see the

project manager, I went to their office in Bryanston, Sandton, only to be told he won't be available for the day. Then I stopped making contact.

3.5)1.1. Observation

The method of observation was adopted to compliment the interviews that I had undertaken. Observation included being attentive to the physical designs of the buildings and the spaces around the buildings, activities that were happening and how people respond to those activities. I walked along the streets looking at these aspects.

3.5)2. Data analysis techniques

The analysis of data acquired was analysed using the inductive analysis

According to Bryman and bell (2015) inductive analysis is a method to data analysis in which data is observed and there after related to theory. This approach to data analysis is considered a "bottom up" approach to data analysis. This method is more relevant to analysing the research finding relating them to the literature review. This method is also relevant in reflection on the research process and substantiating on the recommendations made on the alternative approaches to achieve social integration in FIRD.

3.6) Limitations of the study

- The number of participants of the research is a limitation as the responses of the participants are not a full representation of the Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development.
- Language was a significant challenge as I am fluent in Setswana and English and struggle with Zulu and Xhosa which most of my participants preferred and could fluently express themselves through those languages. Having to translate the questionnaire in some cases led to question and answer responses.
- Some residents chose not to participate in the interviews due to being reluctant to attach their signatures on the consent form-some expressed the fear of fraud.
- Some of the participants were hesitant in their responses because of the recording.
- Accessing the City of Johannesburg Department of Human Settlements official to participate in my research, and share the department views on the subject and the CalgroM3 Holdings. Their views could have added more depth and richness to my research- supporting my research argument or in contrary to it.

3.7) Ethical Considerations

The following ethical considerations I took into consideration when conduction my research. They are drawn from Babbie and Mouton (1988) which were the moral, principle and norm guides to the research.

- This research will not physically, psychologically or emotionally harm its participants
- Participants will not be forced to participate and they are at liberty to choose to discontinue at any time
- Participants will be told prior to participation the purpose of the research and why they could be of help when they agree to participate
- Participants will not be deceived or promised incentives for their participation
- Information given by the participants will only be used for research purposes
- If need be confidentiality and anonymity will be guaranteed when requested.

3.8) Conclusion

The research was approach using qualitative case study method. This method guided me to attain qualitative data and information- the experiences, meaning and interpretation of participants regarding social and spatial integration. It gave me the opportunity to experience the study area and connect with the participants as they share their personal experiences to document on this research. This chapter outlined the challenges I encountered during the research process which to a certain degree affected the research outcome and the ethical principles I considered throughout the research process.

Chapter 4

The Case of Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development

4.1) Introduction

One of the significant arguments made on mixed-income housing developments is their ability to foster social and spatial integration along with achieving the objective of addressing urban poverty and promoting socio-economic upward mobility of low-income residents. This chapter introduces key findings that have emerged from the research process and present an analysis of the findings. The interviews were conducted qualitatively to explore how social integration happen among the different socio-economic groups and establishing the spatial impact of Fleurhof integrated residential development.

4.2) Nature of Social Interactions

The interviews aimed at unpacking the notion of spatial integration in mixed-income developments and to engage with participants finding out how they interact with their neighbours. All the participants interviewed acknowledge the need and the importance of social interaction with their neighbours. There are fundamental commonalities in the nature and extent of interactions among the residents, however the interactions differ qualitatively with the different housing typologies. In general, the responses revealed that there is low social interaction across different housing typologies in comparison to interaction within the same housing typology which appear to be higher. The interactions that the responded described are, casual, however there are instances of social capital networks and negative interactions.

4.2.1) Casual Social Interaction

According to Chaskin and Joseph (2011) casual social interactions are normally described as the exchange of greetings and small conversation in passing such as, with the security guard in the parking lot or while passing on the street or passing in the lobby of a building and engage on a small talk with your neighbour. Chaskin and Joseph (2011) argues that it is the awareness of one another and not an actual solid relationship that can be defined as social capital, however can be the first step towards the formation of social capital networks.

All of the respondents mentioned that they have casual interactions with their neighbours, some of the response were "*I Know everyone in this building"* said the 45 year old RDP housing resident, "*I do know the people in my street. We speak, not like full conversations but just hi, how are you. I mean everyone is busy, it's rare that you find people just sitting around in the street. Either people are at work or in doors minding their own business. I like that. I mean after work I want to study, I appreciate the quietness"* - 35-year-old women bonded house resident and *"I know some of the tenants on my floor, I smoke on the stairs…sometimes it would become a group of us and we'd chill there"* - 29-year-old female FLISP unit resident.

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To understand the participant's social circle and relationship with his or her extended neighbours one of the questions I asked the participants was to estimate the number of people they know they have casual encounters with across the different housing typologies (see Table 2). The results revealed that residents actively interact within their social and geographic setting and rarely with the neighbouring housing-type residents. Some of the respondents claimed to know more than five people well enough to have conversations with, however these people are their immediate neighbours. This was particularly evident in Market rental, Social housing and RDP residents. The residents explained that the reasons these social interaction in these setting is because the residents feel that they can relate to each other. Particularly RDP residents-"*…we get along fine here, its rare that you hear of people fighting" said the 26 year old male RDP housing resident;* during the interview with the 31 year old female RDP resident who sells chips on the street corner of her flat, she interrupted the interview to tell a young lady who stays in the building opposite where she sells that there was someone looking for her. Some of the respondents alluded that, most of the people they know are those who lived in the informal settlement they lived in. In Social housing apartment blocks, according to the 27 year old male resident, the building and floor meetings are an opportunity to meet your neighbours and it is grounds for social interaction- "*the first meeting I went to when I moved here in 2015, I met my best friend*".

Table 2: The Number of People they have Casual Encounters with:

	Bond	Market Rate Rental	GAP/FLISP	Social Housing	RDP
Bond	≤ 3	0	0	0	≤ 2
Market Rate Rental	≤ 1	≥5	≤ 2	0.	0
GAP/FLISP	0	0	≥2	0	0
Social Housing	≤ 2	0	0	≥5	0
RDP	≤1	≤1	0	0	≥5

This table represents the number of people in average the participants of a particular housing typology have casual encounters across the different housing typology. E.g. bonded housing participants on average have casual encounters with 3 or less people in bonded housing, all the participants responded stating not having casual encounters with Market rate rentals, FLISP, and Social housing residents however about 2 and less with RDP housing residents.

From the responses, it is evident that the physical design housing blocks separation, the distribution of the housing typologies does contribute to the levels of interaction and how these interaction happen. The respondents expressed their casual interaction differently.

For instance "*I do know the people in my street. We speak, not like full conversations but just hi, how are you. I mean everyone is busy, it's rare that you find people just sitting around in the street. Either people are at work or in doors minding their own business. I like that. I mean after work I want to study, I appreciate the quietness"* - 35-year-old women bonded house resident- this response highlight the lack of pedestrian activity also the limited social casual interaction. The 45 year old RDP housing resident response "*I know everyone in this building"* shows that she is more aware of other people around her- this is due to the active movement in her environment- the common areas such as the stairs. Her personality-welcoming and outspoken did confirm to the possibility of her knowing all the households in her building. Galster (2007), Joseph et al. (2007) and Popkin et al. (2000) all argue that some of the benefits of mixed-income developments include their ability to create social capital or instrumental networks.

4.2.2) Instrumental interactions

Instrumental interactions are social relations that are formed on the bases of trust (Chaskin and Joseph, 2011). They are social networks that are an asset to an individual in the society and an individual can capitalise on them-such as get employment thorough the relationship, free day care, loan money without interest (Levy et al., 2010), these interactions are beyond casual. The emphasis on this kind of interactions were expressed similarly in all the housing typologies on the bases of being able to depend on one or more of their neighbours during difficult times. Instrumental interaction were expressed in greater detail in the RDP housing typology in comparison to the rest of the housing typologies. The residents were asked the number of people they trust enough to ask for favours or help in times of need (see Table 3).

Table 3: The Number of people you trust enough to support you in need:

Bond	<1
Market Rate Rental	<1
GAP/FLISP	<1
Social Housing	<3
RDP	>5

The results showed that instrumental exchanges happen in the RDP housing typology and least in bond housing. Observing the site particularly bonded housing section, the walls are high, there are dogs and there are mounted security company boards, remote control gate and there is a car in the yard. These physical features, from my observation are hindrances to interaction, from the perspective of an outside individual. It was intimidating to knock on the doors of these households and ask them to participate in my research as I read these aspects as people who do not want to be bothered. However, one of the bonded housing respondents mentioned that it is for security reasons as there are criminal activities that happen in the area. In comparison to the RDP section where there are few gates, on every corner there is pedestrian activity and small stalls, children are playing outside and there are people sitting together having conversations.



Figure 5: Street in the bonded housing section (Sibanda, 2017)



Figure 6: Street in BNG/RDP housing section (Sibanda,2017)

The respondents were very open about their experiences, how they developed their instrumental relationships with their neighbours and how it has been beneficial to them on the daily bases. The following are the responses to the question regarding their relations and incidents that required them to depend on their neighbours.

> *"I didn't have money to bury my son or to take him home in KZN. We had to take his body out from this home….my neighbours helped me a lot. They contributed money to help me with the funeral, everyone borrowed us [sic] their chairs…Mr Nkateko's family paid for the tent. I am forever grateful for their help. We could not have made it without their help"*- 45-year-old Female RDP housing resident

> *"When I first arrived here in 2014 I was shamed for being a traditional healer [isangoma], I was told I make noise when I was hitting my drums at night [is'gubhu]… I felt like an outside. I met Sis P in 2015, we became friends because she helped me make the people accept me. She told me to go on each door to ask for permission, they were nice, they wanted to know when I am hitting the drums…now I feel part of them and some of them are my clients"*-52-year-old Female RDP housing resident

These responses stood out as they began to highlight social capital. The experience of both these women essentially express the need and importance of interaction within the community and the quality of relations that people in the same social group can be economically valuable, and the confidence that an individual gets when they begin to feel integrated in the community.

Common courtesy interaction was the most expressed social interaction by the respondents. They described "small" but very important acts of being good neighbours- The RDP respondents expressed

acts like being helped to carry the groceries to her unit, looking after their unit when they are not around for the weekend as there is a lot of criminal activities that take place, and in one case a her neighbour walking with her child to school in the morning and afternoon.

> "I buy my stock in bulks in Joburg CBD, the boys sitting by the corner always help me carry the plastics. I give them money when I have" -31 year old female RDP housing resident

> "When I work overnight shifts, my neighbour walks with my child to school and when she's working overnight shifts, I walk with her children"-45 year old female RDP housing resident

> "We do borrow money from each other…we used to have a stokvel last year, in December the money helped me put the burglars in these windows,...however I couldn't join again this year, the year began really tough for us"- 45 year old female RDP housing resident.

19 year old social housing respondent mentioned checking each other if they haven't seen each other in a while and when she's sick her neighbour will come see her and keep her company-"…she's my best friend, we have been friends for two years now. We check on each other, when she's sick…yea…" and 31 year old market rental resident described how he always borrows from his neighbour a bucket when he wants to wash his car and a pair of scissors because "my little girl always loses her scissors at school, I've bought 2 already this year". These interaction show the synergism that happen between the residents.

Bonded housing respondents expressed more of a dyadic interaction with their neighbours. Dyadic interaction is an inter-relationship between a pair of individuals, pair of families, co-workers (Gerber and Macionis, 2011). In this context dyadic interaction describes the instrumental network between two families. A 38-year-old male respondent who lives with his family, wife and two daughters, expressed his family's relationship with their neighbour a single parent headed family. Their children go to the same private school in Roodeport and they take turns to transport the children to and from school. The relationship came about because the children became very close and wanted to have sleepovers and their relationship has since blossomed then. "*We attend each other's family events, funerals, weddings…that's how close we are*" said the respondent expressing the tie the both families have. Another bonded housing respondent 35 year old female shared about her close friendship with the "newlyweds" that leave three houses from her. "*They came to order their wedding cake from me, before they moved to Fleurhof last year…they are in my age group and we just clicked*". Following their

wedding and from their recommendations, she also mentioned that "*I received a lot of clients from their wedding*". The expression the respondent had describing her friendship with this couple was different compared to describing her relationship with her immediate neighbour which was more of casual interaction-when I asked about how her relationship is with her next door neighbour, she casually said "Ok…the guy is hardly ever here, when his around it's a party" she followed by explain "it's a party" by saying "he and his friends would make braai meat and chill on the lawn". Bonded housing respondents only mentioned one household within the development they trust enough and have strong social ties with in comparison to RDP housing respondents. Instrumental relationships among the neighbours began from casual interactions and the relationships gradually grew. These relationships are held together by the daily need to support one another. Taking turns to transport children to school hold the daily interaction between the families along with acts of common courtesy.

4.2.3) Negative Interactions

RDP residents mentioned incidents where they felt belittled or looked down upon by bonded housing residents. These responses were to the question of whether they knew anyone beyond their housing typology. RDP residents felt as through the bonded housing residents saw themselves as better off than them and most of the RDP residents' respondents did not have any relation with anyone from the bonded houses or market rental buildings.

> *"I remember I greeted the lady who stays next to the tuckshop, she was standing on the gate as I was passing her house from the shop…she looked at me and kept quiet"-19-year-old social housing resident*
>
> *"People in the bonds think we are criminals"*-26-year-old male RDP housing resident
>
> *"…Anyway they are always locked in their houses"*-26-year-old RDP housing resident
>
> *"My grandchild went to play in the park, she came home crying because one of the kids told her that her family are criminals"…*-52-year-old RDP housing resident
>
> *"…Anyway they are always locked in their houses"*-26-year-old RDP housing resident

These experiences have created tension and negative assumption about the bonded housing resident. The social housing respondent alluded a negative casual experience that created an image about the whole income group/ tenure group. These responses illustrate how one incident with one individual can

frame a perception about everyone even those you have not met. Social interaction, either positive or negative has an impact of create a general image or perception about the people around you. Some of the comment made by the bonded housing resident did reflect some resistance such as referencing to RDP residents as “those people” highlight the lack of reaching out to and the feel of superiority.

> *“I don’t know anyone who lives in these flats”*-35-year-old bonded housing resident
>
> *“They need to address that area, that hostel needs to be destroyed…those people will end up selling drugs to our kids”*-38-year-old bonded housing resident.

Cattell (2001) states that people build relationships for social support and social acceptance. Social networks individuals’ build are their essential component of social capital, their immediate source of economic and social grounding where they find their identity and build their character. Berkman and Glass (2000) argue that an individual feels part of a social circle or a community through the social networks, social activities and their participation in organisations within the neighbourhood or community. Social networks are channels of sharing information in society, these networks inform the individuals’ belief, morals and values and how they perceive the world (Berkman and Glass, 2000). The patterns and reasons behind the social networks FIRD residents have created for themselves, are founded on support. The instrumental networks show the common need for each other, and based on the responses the relationships are not one-sided. The relationships are established under common interest or common circumstance- looking at the RDP residents, one of the respondents, a 45 year old mother, stated that ‘They understand each other and each other circumstances”. Regardless of them being “poor” they can assist each other as they do, and support each other in desperate times.

4.3) Views on Spatial Integration

In an attempt to understand the spatial impact of the development on the lives of the residents, asking how integrated they were into the rest of the city and surrounding areas, I asked questions about their experience of how they travel to perform their daily activities. All the respondent showed that they can easily access social, economic and recreational services even those who do not have private modes of transport easily use public transport. All the respondents mentioned Florida and Johannesburg CBD as the places they dominantly travel to, to access social, economic and recreational infrastructure. The RDP respondents specifically also highlighted the use of local spaza shops as places they buy their grocery when they do not have enough money to travel to Florida or Joburg CBD. However, one of the

RDP residents mentioned the negative perception emergency services (Ambulance) on RDP development residents -when they call the ambulance, they tell them that they must get police escort before coming to their area because of the fear of their vehicles being stolen-“there are countless incidents where we called the ambulance, the woman in third floor once fell on the stairs, we could not help her up because of her weight, the ambulance took 3 hours to get here, by the time it got here we had already found a van to take here to the hospital” she followed by saying that “we asked them why they took so long, and they said they had to wait for the police to escort them”.

The Fleurhof and Surrounding areas Urban Development Framework public meeting on the 29th of July that was led by Monica Albonico and the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), the residents attending the public meeting (both FIRD and Old Fleurhof Township residents) spoke largely on the development of Social facilities such as the library, a bigger community centre, health facilities such as the clinics; public transport facilities such as taxi facilities, and adequate bus station with seating and shade and the piloting of areas for business development. A key concern that the residents kept pointing out to the JDA was need for the development of municipal offices in their proximity to access their billings in close proximity. Furthermore residents felt that the involvement of the residents in the development of businesses that are proposed for the area, Fleurhof residents should be given first preference in the implementation and running of the businesses. One of the residents said “…we want the money made in the community to serve the people of the community…” The findings from this public meeting reflect that the residents want ease access to social and economic development that will not only serve the public in general but most importantly initiate social and economic growth for the community itself and that in should not be a necessity to travel to accesses facilities of social, health and economic development.

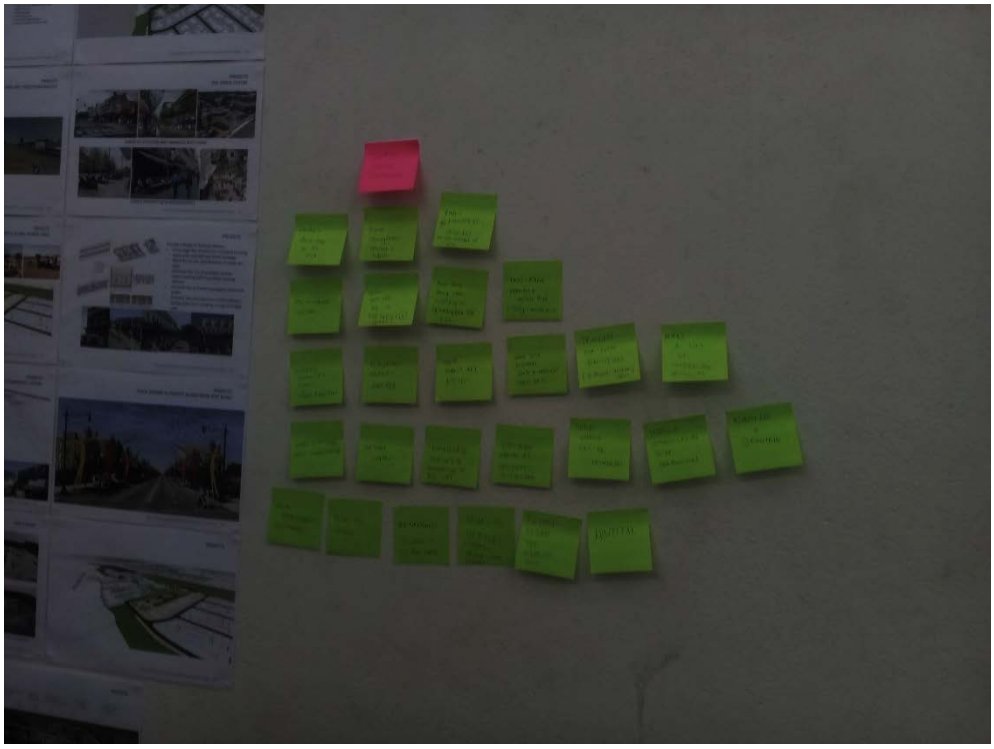

Figure 7: Residents Suggestions (Sibanda, 2017)

4.5) Spatial impact of Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development



Figure 8: Spatial movement networks (Sibanda, 2017)

The BNG prioritises the use of housing development to promote spatial restructuring (Department of Housing, 2004). Fleurhof integrated residential development is located within proximity and adequate transportation access to Johannesburg south and north. The strategy of CalgroM3 and the CoJ to locate the development south-west of the CBD, corresponds to the Spatial Development Frameworks (SDF) objectives to adequately re-stich the city, ensuring adequate access to public transport facilities to reach social and economic uplifting facilities specifically the poor. The BNG also states the objective of breaking barriers between the high-end residential property markets and informal poor-quality housing markets (Department of Housing, 2004). The incorporation of state subsidised housing, in mixed-income developments highlights the significance and efforts of bridging the gap between "formality" and "informality" and creating the linkage between the primary and secondary residential property markets. The socio-spatial impact of the development is spatially integrating different socio-economic groups and spatially including the "poor" in an area that is promising for economic opportunities, therefore having the ability to use their apartments for economic support. The development locates next to the old Fleurhof residential township establish as a mining workers residential area (Balch, 2015). The development is a stich that integrates this old residential township in to the urban fabric of the city. It has brought urban development-transport networks, public transport and socio-economic facilities to the people who lived in this township. The development centres meadowlands CBD and Florida CBD, low-income households have adequate access to these business districts with ease to seek economic opportunities in their spatial sphere.

4.4) Conclusion

FIRD has adequately integrated different socio-economic groups however these different socio-economic groups are socially segregated. Mixed-Income housing developments have mastered the concept of spatially integrating different socio-economic groups in the same spatial setting introducing different housing tenures that cater for different income groups, however has not adequately achieved the success of socially integrating the social groups-setting active spaces for social interaction to happen across the different social groups (Thurber et l., 2017). This is evident in FIRD; residents socially interact within their social network (housing typology) rather than interacting with the neighbouring housing typologies. Preconception of social status, actively play a role in the lack of interaction within the development. Incidents of negative interaction between the residents have allude this. Thurber et al. (2017, p.8) "*One third of the of the studies suggest the lack of social integration result from stigma*

and bias from higher-income residents and/or property management directed towards low-income residents". This is reflected in this research findings that particularly on the RDP housing residents' responses on the negative interaction incidents they have encountered on occasion while interacting with bonded housing residents- being referred to as "criminals" "those".

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1) Introduction

It is imperative to understand the experiences of mixed-income housing development residents and the dynamics of social integration and how the developments have impacted them-in efforts to better their lives. Mixed-income housing developments are quite a contemporary concept in South Africa, and local governments have partnered with private companies in efforts to see the developments being implemented and significantly seeing the objectives strongly advocated about the developments being achieved. This chapter is a concluding chapter of the research. It presents the summary of the research and gives recommendations which the Fleurhof integrated development and mixed-income housing developments in general can adopt to better social integration in their developments.

5.2) Conclusion

Literature suggests that the development of mixed-income housing is established by the purpose in which policy mandates it. The main arguments made on mixed-income housing is their ability to address urban poverty and redress social and spatial segregation, in that right, establish integration and urban redevelopment in urban settlements. Therefore in relation to the purpose of this study which seeks to explore the dynamics of socio-economic integration in mixed-income housing developments and the spatial impact of these developments on their residents; the study revealed significant presence of internal social integration and socio-economic segregation regardless of being spatially integrated within the development. It also revealed that the development is spatially integrated in the urban spatial morphology of the City of Johannesburg through the mobility networks linked to the development.

This determined the study on the measures to achieving social and spatial integration. The understanding of social integration is prevalently based on interaction of individuals. The type of social integration to be achieved needs to be identified prior to the advocacy on claims that mixed-income housing can achieve social integration in its broad sense, and spatially integrating different social groups does not amount to social integration. Despite the critical analysis on the theoretical argument

on the process of mixed-income housing developments achieving integration, mixed-income developments have the fundamental tools to deliver socio-economic integration.

5.3) Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on the analysis and interpretations of the findings. They are largely focused on ways to enhance social interaction between the different socio-economic groups.

- It is requisite that literature redefines the conceptualisation of mixed-income housing developments in relation to social integration. The process of how mixed-income housing developments would achieve social integration is rarely discussed.
- There is a need for strengthened policy and regulatory measures in these developments to ensure integration amongst the residents. Implementation of policy such children attending school with the development. This will encourage interaction between parents and children also encourage exchange of cultures between the different social groups. This will also encourage for better quality education provided in the schools, which will benefit poor children in the neighbourhood.
- Implementation of the set of by-laws that will discourage the design of high walls that are intimidating and encourage interaction with the neighbours and with activity in the street.
- Given the responses from the residents on criminal activities that happen in the area, security patrol can regularly surveillance the streets to give the residents sense of security and make them comfortable to freely engage and interact with each other on the streets.
- The location of public facilities such as the park and community centre in the case of Fleurhof integrated development, should have been inclusive of all housing tenures, were all children can be able to access without feeling like they are infringing or are not welcome in the public facility.
- Organised programmes, such as walks, runs within the area, where all tenures are invites to participate. Also, youth community programmes as suggested in the community meeting by the community. This will encourage interaction between the different social groups who participate.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guiding Questions for Residents

Questions for residents

Background Questions

- How old are you?
- How long have you been living here?
- Who do you live with?
- Where did you live before you came to Fleurhof?
- Why did you choose to live here?

Spatial Interaction

- Where do you work?
- How do you get to work?
- Where do your children go to school?
- How do they get there?
- Where do you buy your groceries?
- How do you get there?
- How long does it take you to get there?

Social Relationships

- Do you know your neighbours?
    - Do you socialise with them?
    - Do you help each other when there is a problem?
        - Can you remember an occasion when happened?
        - Can you tell me about it?
- Are you part of a social/community organisations in Fleurhof?
    - How did you join?
    - When did you join?
    - How many members?
    - Is it open to everyone?
    - Why did you join?

- What recreational activities do you take part in?
- Do you have friends in Fleurhof?
    - Were you friends before you came here or did you meet here?
    - What do you do together?
- where do your children play
- Who do they play with?
- Do you know their parents?
- Do you ever feel excluded from things happening In Fleurhof?
- Such as? Can you tell me about a time when this happened?
- Has your life changed since you moved to Fleurhof?
    - In what way?

Appendix B: Fleurhof Integrated Residential Development Layout







Fully Subsidised Units		Partially Subsidised Sectional Title Units		Non - Subsidised Sectional Title Units		Non - Subsidised Freestanding / Semi - Detached Units			
Freestanding / Semi-Detached / Row (40m²)	N/A	Social Housing (33m² - 43m²)	1334	Open Market / Bonded (40m² - 46m²)	76	116m² (40m²)	465	180m² (45 - 52m²)	N/A
Sectional Title (40m²)	3180	Rental (40m² - 45m²)	750	Rental (40m² - 46m²)	548	140m² (40m²)	336	200m² (45m² - 56m²)	341
Sectional Title (40m²)	N/A	GAP Classic (40m²)	1362	Student Housing	0	150m² (40m² - 45m²)	157	250m² (45m² - 65m²)	459
		GAP Premium (40m² - 45m²)	983			160m² (40m² - 45m²)	322	400m² (80m² - 100m²)	42
Fully Subsidised Units	3180	Total Partially Subsidised Units	4429	Total Non - Subsidised Units	624	Total Non - Subsidised Freestanding / Semi - Detached Units			2122

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP098/07/2017

PROJECT TITLE:	Mixed income housing development as a social and spatial integration strategy: The case of Fleurhof
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Amanda Enia Sibanda (Student no #872819)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	BSc (Honours) in Urban and Regional Planning
DATE CONSIDERED:	**25** July 2017
EXPIRY DATE:	25 July 2018
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	APPROVED

CHAIRPERSON _____
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE: 31 - 07 - 2017

cc: Supervisor/s: Margot Rubin

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Sibanda — 02 / 08 / 2017

Signature **Date**