Antagonistic Integration in the Private Sector-Driven Housing Developments in South Africa

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Abstract

Cities in apartheid South Africa did not exhibit inclusivity traits and city developments thereafter have not differed significantly. Neoliberal urbanism asserts that the city is envisaged as a playing field for the elites, and growing socio-economic inequalities are managed by creating privatised, customised, and networked spaces for consumption by the urban elites. This ideology seeks to enlarge the role of market forces in the housing sector, to increase the role of elites in shaping urban landscapes. This paper, anchored on the theory of neoliberal urbanism, showcases the difficulties of integration and inclusivity in a socio-economically mixed neighbourhoods in post-apartheid SA, using Shaka's Head in the Ballito area of the KwaDukuza Municipality as the case study. The study engages literature on the production of space to demonstrate how the economically dominant urban classes have maintained hegemony over urban governance and suppressed the efforts of local governments to shape urban neighbourhoods and the interests of the previously disadvantaged groups. Data were obtained through in-depth interviews with role-players in physical planning and human settlements developments and supplemented with household interviews with residents of Shaka's Head. Research results showed that the type of integration observed in the area can best be described as 'antagonistic integration'. The paper recommends an increased role of the government in land ownership, physical development, and regulation of private developments.

Keywords: Housing, Private developments, Urban communities, Integration, Antagonism

Introduction

The South African Cities Network (2016, p. 5) asserts that "while we may often think that the problems we have in front of us just started yesterday, the legacy that has brought the idea of exclusion is now being fed by a consumerist, capitalist agenda". Different kinds of vehicles have led to where we are today. Therefore, as argued by the South African Cities Network (2016, p. 5), "without understanding historical discourses, we are shooting in the dark and being completely arrogant about our knowledge and about how we are moving forward". If we then study the challenges and various other phenomena that are faced by our cities today, it is important to understand how the urban spaces were created. This can be achieved by understanding the various ideologies that motivated them. According to Lefebvre (1974), social space is a social product; it does not exist in itself, it is produced.

The production of cities' urban spaces in the 21st century is largely motivated by the theory of neoliberal urbanism, just as it was in the latter part of the 20th century. This theory advocates for the enlargement of the role of market forces in the housing sector, privatisation of the provision of urban and social services, and an increased role for elites in the shaping of urban landscapes (Peck et al., 2009). The prospects of social integration amongst the social groups using the urban spaces are very slim using this theory, and what might be viewed as integration may not really serve everybody's interests. As much as social mixing may lead to assimilation, class domination in these urban environments may appear as antagonistic to other social groups. The fundamental indicators of social mixing, according to Galster (2007), are income mixing and housing tenure mixing.

The South African Cities Network (2016) also states that urban areas around the world are facing greater challenges than they did years ago with urban issues that include exclusion and rising inequality. In South Africa there is a desperate need to address this imperative for inclusivity, both socially and physically, whilst also growing the country's economy, both locally and globally (South African Cities Network, 2016). To address the trend of urban challenges, there should be strong economic nodes and a growing emphasis in government policy and programmes to increase the number of low-income households in the core of the cities (McKenna, 2019).

It is against this background that this paper examines the patterns and character of the integration of different social groups in the socially mixed urban communities driven by private sector developments. The study is anchored on the concept of integration and the theory of neoliberal urbanism to demonstrate how private sector-driven residential developments undermine the prospects of socially integrated urban neighbourhoods. This is supported by literature on class antagonism to convey an understanding of the relations between the classes in capitalist urban societies. Other literature engages the production of space, with the aim to trace the origins of the character of the integration that we find

in urban communities today. Research methods are presented, followed by the findings, a discussion, and the conclusion.

Integration

Integration is perceived by Durkheim (2007) as the interdependence between individuals, where all parts of society work towards a common goal and to achieve a unified end. This is also in line with Marcuse (1997), who argues that integration represents the eradication of barriers to free mobility and the establishment of positive and non-hierarchical relationships, which is more than mere non-segregation. It has also been asserted that integration occurs as an automatic consequence of segregation and it may be reaffirmed as the opposite of territorial exclusion (Lemanski, 2006; Ruiz-Tagle, 2013). This implies the significance of the call for integration in a country like South Africa, which still lives with the devastating impacts of racial and spatial segregation more than two decades after the advent of the democratic dispensation. As discussed in the following section, neoliberal urbanism provides the background/gives an account of how urban spaces in South Africa have been prevented from achieving and maintaining integration.

Neoliberal Urbanism

Neoliberal urbanism builds from neoliberalism, which is proclaimed as a socio-political ideology advocating for strict adherence to the principles of private free market enterprise to guide and implement solutions to critical social problems (Beatty, 2014). The notion of 'social' in this case includes housing, security, the provision of social services, and the management of urban neighbourhoods. According to Genis (2005), neoliberal urbanism, which accompanies neo-liberal economic restructuring, seeks to enlarge the role of market forces in the housing and real estate sectors, to privatise the provision of urban and social services, and to increase the role of elites in shaping the urban landscapes. When this happens, the role of government in urban planning and development is minimised and the inclusion of lower classes and consideration of their interests are totally neglected, while the majority role is left in the hands of private developers. With the neoliberal urbanism ideology, the city is envisaged as a playing field for the elite, where growing socio-economic inequalities are managed by creating privatised, customised, and networked spaces for consumption by the urban elite (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003).

Neoliberal urbanism is therefore a primary hegemonic discourse that shapes political and economic processes, the governance of institutions, and the making of places and spaces (Peck & Tickell, 2002). According to Peck et al. (2009), the outcomes of this neoliberal political practice have been pervasive market failures, new forms of social polarisation, intensification of uneven spatial development and a crisis of established modes of

government. These are evident in the urban challenges faced today, such as persistent inequalities and forces against possible means of achieving social integration.

While Peck et al. (2009) argue that cities have become strategic sites of unfolding neoliberal urbanism, Beatty (2014) explains two ways in which neoliberal urbanism negatively impacts urban communities. Firstly, it fragments the urban space and, secondly, it reinforces and normalises socio-economic inequalities through exclusionary policies and practises. This ideology encourages enclaves with their gates, and private governments and privately provisioned collective goods are among the socio-spatial expressions of this global trend. These are aimed at privatisation and commoditisation of urban space, governance, and the provision of urban services (Genis, 2007). Consequently, neoliberal urban development fragments the space and strengthens the social exclusion of the already marginalised urban populations and in this way, the low-income residents are excluded from engaging meaningfully with urban spaces (Beatty, 2014).

Peck et al. (2009) proclaim that neoliberalism exploits and produces socio-spatial differences, thus cities have become strategically important arenas where neoliberal forms of creative destruction have unfolded. The resultant dysfunctional effects of neoliberal approaches on the capitalist restructuring of cities include the persistence of economic stagnation, intensification of inequality, destructive inter-locality competition, wide-ranging problems of regulatory coordination, and generalised social insecurity (Peck et al., 2009). The findings of this study attest to this assertion.

Class Antagonism and Housing Contestation

The Marxist ideology asserts that every capitalist society consists of two classes; the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, who are hostile to each other (Marx & Engels, 1967). At the same time, these classes are inseparably connected to each other, in the sense that one cannot exist without the other (Mitin, 1931). A class struggle exists in a capitalist society as a result of fundamental conflicts of the two classes' interests, and these may not be resolved with a capitalist form of production. Holländer (1982) refers to these antagonistic interests as class antagonism. This antagonism between these classes originates from pre-existing contradictions, and Baxter and Braithwaite (2006) define this antagonism as a dynamic interplay of unified opposites. The Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels (1967) states that the modern bourgeois society formed from the remains of feudal society has not done away with class antagonism.

Lefebvre (1974) mentions that social differences can never be totally eliminated. Even if they can be overcome temporarily, they will live on and surface from time-to-time to reassert themselves and transform society through struggle. He explains that class struggle is continuous; it is sometimes underground and at other times in full view, and it is not an

easy matter to get rid of it. This accounts for the current class and racial tensions that arise in the sharing of urban spaces in South Africa. There have been various policy and legislative interventions to silence the racial differences and tensions, but class inequality has built on those racial differences, and social differences and tensions still live on as a result of this. According to Thurber et al. (2018), this is also the case in the United States where 50 years after the Fair Housing Act was introduced to try and prohibit residential racial discrimination, US urban neighbourhoods still remain starkly segregated by both race and income. As a result, the US's mixed-income developments today represent a deviation from the norm, and they are engineering a spatial mix that is not yet naturally occurring (Thurber et al., 2018). According to the Centre for Social Development in Africa (2019), post-apartheid South Africa inherited very high levels of income inequality and despite policies that have led to the reduction of income poverty, the country has become a more unequal society after 1994, rather than a more equal one. With the introduction of housing programmes such as the Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP), government has made an intervention to curb the intensifying social tensions. The programme allows a platform for social mixing where various classes can reside in the same neighbourhood. The Cornubia Housing Development, a venture between the eThekwini Municipality, the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Human Settlements and Tongaat Hullet, is an example of this initiative (Tongaat Hullet Developments, 2018). This is one of the largest mixed housing developments in the country and it has been made possible through joint intervention by the public and private sectors (Pillay, 2014). It is yet to be established if such developments respond positively to curb the existing class differences and tensions in the country.

Chen and Shen (2019) argue that housing is at the fore of the urban crisis of contestations for the right to the city. According to The World Cities Report by UN-Habitat (2016), the inherent conflict between housing use and exchange value will continue to place housing at the forefront of political contestations. Chen and Shen (2019) add that the commodification and financialization of land and housing play an important role in the contemporary rise of this urban crisis of contestation.

Production of Urban Space: The South African Experiences

Escobar (2011) points out that planning has a long history of engagement with repressive regimes and is associated with various attempts at social engineering in cities through the rearrangement of the built environment. Mabin (1992) argues that planners in South Africa effectively made use of modern town planning ideas to create the apartheid city. The masterminds of the apartheid city identified an ideal opportunity to implement their own ideology to ensure their control of the urban space. This is in line with Lefebvre (1974), who asserts that capital and capitalism influence the practical matters relating to space, from building construction to the distribution of investments and the universal division of

labour. The formation of labour dormitories such as townships and hostels where cheap and unskilled labour was managed by the apartheid segregation laws is an example of this. Many of the post-apartheid low-cost housing developments have continued to maintain communities as a source of cheap labour for high-income communities. This implies that development and management of urban neighbourhoods do not occur automatically or by coincidence but rather are rooted in ideologies to achieve vested intentions. In South Africa, many of the urban spaces that are inhabited and sought after for their benefits were previously created to favour the interests of a particular social group and to suppress the powerless through strict control of the space.

It is therefore evident that the deprivation of the poor from the opportunities offered by the cities or general urban communities is not a coincidence that is due to the shortage of resources like land where they can be well-located or other resources. Under apartheid, this was deliberately orchestrated through unfair urban planning that aimed to create and maintain hegemony over the urban space. The current urban arrangement in many South African cities still reflects this form of biased physical planning.

Marcuse (2005, as cited in Ruiz-Tagle, 2013) suggests that segregation is deliberate, as it reflects social causes such as prejudice, discrimination, and a sense of superiority. Furthermore, he claims that it has physical manifestations that include denial of access to space and the spatial concentration of particular income groups, as well as social consequences like social dislocations, and this reflects the formation and maintenance of a ghetto through hegemony. It was in this context that the apartheid city was created, and separate and discriminatory developments were ensured. In this process, while planning was a foundation for the ideology, housing was a major tool used to establish the apartheid city.

Robinson (1997) states that power and space were very significant in shaping the South African urban order and he emphasises the close relationship between the creation of state power and the organisation of space. The dominant social processes that were significant in shaping the urban segregation are identified from Robinson's (1997) account. They include land-use processes which comprised of competition for residential land, property interests, the growth of the building and construction industry, and the demand for commercial land. Beyond shaping segregation in many cities, these contributed to the sense of urban crisis and degeneration, which then occasioned state intervention. The IRDP stated above is therefore relevant as part of the public-private partnership to minimise the crisis.

Research Methodology

This was case-study-based research conducted in the area of Shaka's Head, a sub-place of Ballito in the KwaDukuza Local Municipality, which is one of the four local municipalities under the Ilembe District Municipality. It is located along the north coast of KwaZulu-Natal province, about 40 kilometres north of Durban. The study looked at the neighbourhood made up of free-standing low-cost houses and the high-income private housing estate developments. Shaka's Head is inclusive of government-assisted low-cost housing and private sector-led housing developments such as Caledon Estate, Brooklyn Estate, Simbithi Estate, and the Umhlali Golf and Country Estate occupied by the high-income groups. The population of this area is dependent on the local economic points for daily living activities, such as the retail developments of Ballito Junction Mall, the Lifestyle Shopping Centre, and other local industries for income generation.

The study used a qualitative research methodology. Purposive and representative sampling were used, where only respondents with essential information and who represented a larger population of Shaka's Head were selected to participate. These included one ward councillor of Shaka's Head, one official from the Department of Human Settlements, three officials from the KwaDukuza Municipality's housing (1) and planning units (2), one representative from the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), and one representative from Caledon Estate Management. The data obtained from these participants were supplemented with data obtained from additional in-depth interviews with 17 households. These included low-income residents living in the government-assisted low-income housing and high-income residents from the Caledon Estate. A total of 25 participants were selected to participate in the study. This selection was also based on the challenges identified in accessing the area. For instance, some participants from the households in the gated estate had to be visited at their workplaces and others had their interview questions emailed to them due to restricted access to the gated estate. Furthermore, the research was conducted immediately after local government elections and the area was characterised by social disorder which led to the ward councillor's house and car being set alight. It was therefore not advisable for the researcher to stay in the area for a long period. For secondary data, sources like aerial photographs and other internet photos were used to explain the settlement pattern and some of the economic activities taking place in the area. In addition, some literature was used to support the presentation of the primary data and its analysis.

The study sought to understand the challenges faced during the process of integration in the socially mixed urban neighbourhood. Therefore, the collection of data focused on the residents and other stakeholders' experiences and perceptions of social integration. This was important to understand if the perceived social integration in the socially mixed urban neighbourhood favoured all social groups. In the collection of primary data, government

officials, private developers, and civil society were considered as key informants, and residents were included for supplementary data. This selection was based on the diversity of the stakeholders directly involved in policymaking and implementation regarding social and spatial integration in the area. According to Boyce and Neale (2006, p. 7), "when choosing interviewees, one should consider a sample that best represents the diverse stakeholders and opinions of those stakeholders". Low-income respondents were selected by identifying houses in the area with the assistance of the ward councillor. High-income households were identified through the knowledge of the research assistant who was a local resident. The key respondents were selected based on their role in the development and management of the area. The data collected was analysed using thematic analysis.

Research Findings and Discussion

a) Social Integration dynamics in Shaka's Head

There were different dynamics and experiences of social integration in Shaka's Head. It was noted that by virtue of the high economic activity in the area and dominance by the private residential developments, the area reflected a competitive housing market and the dominance of private developments. There were two social groups historically from outside the area that were attempting to integrate into the area. Firstly, the low-income residents who resided in the same neighbourhood as the high-income residents. Secondly, the formerly disadvantaged who had improved their livelihoods and who could afford to stay in the privately developed housing estates, and who were thus in a higher income bracket than the low-income residents.

Figure 1: An aerial view of Shaka's Head

Figure 1 depicts the settlement pattern of Shaka's Head, where the government assisted houses are surrounded by several privately developed estates such as Caledon Estate, Simbithi Estate and the Umhlali Golf Estate. Although not shown in the image, the Brooklyn Estate is part of this settlement. In the north-east corner are some of the nearby local industries/businesses. The number of private estates and businesses shown in the image illustrates the strong role of private market forces in taking up residential and commercial opportunities, but it also shows state-investment in the area, in the form of detached houses transferred through freehold ownership to eligible low-income housing beneficiaries. Contrary to the apartheid patterns of distinct spatial segregation, this shows different income groups settled in relatively close proximity to one another, though not within the same neighbourhood. This settlement pattern has therefore set out the different dynamics of the integration experienced in Shaka's Head, and these are presented below.

b) Integration of the Low-income Groups with Higher Income Groups

I. Economic exclusion of low-income residents

In the interviews the representative from the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Human Settlements (Policy and Product Unit) pointed out that the 2004 national policy's transformation from housing to human settlements was an attempt to support social integration. This made a way for people to be located spatially in spaces that provided economic opportunities and neighbourhood harmony. The KwaDukuza Municipality's Planning and Housing Department representatives and the ward councillor pointed out that Shaka's Head low-cost housing was strategically located in the midst of a high-income residential area and the social housing beneficiaries benefited from Ballito as it was a major economic complex within the municipality. They believed that the low-income residents had been well integrated into the area from a spatial perspective. Shaka's Head and the surrounding private estates' high dependence on the shopping centres offered a platform for all social groups to interact during their retail activities. However, it appeared that the low-income groups were not fully integrated into the economic opportunities offered by the local hubs. According to the ward councillor:

> *In the nearest shopping centres, there is no single space that was reserved for the low-income groups who may wish to run businesses, but they only participate in the low-income job market. This is mostly the general unskilled and semi-skilled jobs such as cleaning, security guards, maintenance, cashiers, sales, and others.*

Figure 2: Ballito Junction Mall
Source: IOL (2019)

Figure 3: Ballito Lifestyle Centre
Source: Holiday Apartments (2021)

Figure 3: Businesses located near Shaka's Head
Source: Researcher 2023

Figures 2 and 3 show parts of the major economic node of Ballito, which includes the Ballito Junction Mall and Ballito Lifestyle Centre, both located about 4 kilometres away from Shaka's Head. The billboards in Figure 4 advertise some of the businesses which are near Shaka's Head and these are located near the Shaka's Head neighbourhood entrance, thus signifying the close proximity of businesses to this community. The significance of the location here was that these lower-income people lived in close proximity to socio-

economic opportunities that had the potential to improve their standards of living and create an opportunity for social interaction amongst different classes and races. However, according to the ward councillor:

> *Since the inception of this low-cost housing development in 1997, the lives of the low-income people residing there have remained the same, if not worse, regardless of the economic benefits that the area provides.*

The low-income residents verified that they could interact with high-income residents in the area easily when they were employed as domestic workers in the private estates. Social interaction, however, was limited because as with other such urban communities, a large portion of the land was privately owned and not available to be purchased for public use by the government. The architectural and planning developments, such as private housing estates, shopping malls, and other private recreational facilities were determined by the private developers. The role of government thus remained limited in the regulation of these areas, making it difficult to serve the needs and aspirations of the lower-income social groups as they were excluded from these large areas.

II. Promotion of social interaction

The low-income households that were interviewed stated that they had no social interactions with the high-income groups, and it was only the few who were hired as domestic workers in the private estates that had any sort of interaction with them. The management of Caledon Estate stated that although they were not happy with the housing typologies of the government-assisted low-cost houses as they believed that they were lowering the value of the area, they did want to see a socially integrated neighbourhood in the near future. They felt that this would be possible if the government intervened and developed, for example, a cultural centre where all social groups could meet to learn about each other's cultures.

Although there were very distinct socio-economic characteristics between the two social groups in the area, the existence of each was necessary to the other. This is in line with the Marxist ideology that every capitalist class consists of two classes which are inseparably connected to each other. They are inseparably connected as the one cannot exist without the other, and this is explained as the dynamic interplay of unified opposites (Baxter & Braithwaite, 2006; Mitin, 1931). In addition, according to Smets (2009), 'strangers' in the gated communities cannot be removed or escaped completely because they are necessary for the provision of services.

When asked if multi-class and racially mixed urban communities helped to achieve social integration, the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) stated:

Multi-class urban communities contribute to integration in a very limited extent, as there remains a challenge. This involves the competition of classes; these communities experience class divisions which run parallel with housing typologies. The upper-class will always want to dominate such communities, and this hinders the achievement of social integration.

III. Physical barriers to social integration

Figure 4: State of low-cost houses and segregative features
Source: Researcher (2023)

Figure 5 shows the varying housing typologies between the two classes, which were a significant feature hindering social integration in the area. The high-income residents in the adjacent private estate were not satisfied with the housing typologies of the low-cost houses as they believed that they lowered the value of their property. The figure also shows significant physical features that are barriers to social interaction in the area, as they prevent physical contact between the two social groups. These include the railway line, the concrete fence, and the small forest which separate the low-income area from the Caledon Estate (shown by the grey roof at the top of the image). One may not want to conclude that there were clear intentions with these features separating the two sections of this neighbourhood. However, the choice of location across the railway line revealed a settlement pattern with characteristics which were similar to those of apartheid segregation where physical barriers were used to separate the different racial communities. This segregation supports the literature that tells that segregation is

deliberate in neoliberalised urban areas, and that it has physical manifestations that include denial of access to space.

c) Integration within High-income Groups

The respondents from the KwaDukuza Municipality's Planning Department mentioned that they were concerned that there were no mechanisms in place to regulate the development of gated communities. This had been the case for a long time and private developers had the leverage to determine their own regulations in relation to physical developments. According to the officials, there was now hope that this could be remedied:

> *With promulgation of Spatial Planning and Land-use Management Act 16 of 2013. This Act is still to be tested [to see] if it is able to solve the fundamental challenge of social and spatial segregation, with an advantage that the Act has given powers to municipalities for decision-making. The Act has been developed after there have been various attempts to come up with a policy to shape gated communities in a way that they are not detrimental to municipal planning for integration. Development Facilitation Act (DFA) was made to cater for the poor; however, it was used to promote private development through decisions being taken at a provincial and national level.*

Some of the high-income residents who occupied the units in the privately developed estates were historically disadvantaged Africans, who had gained access to economic opportunities post-1994 and could afford to purchase housing units in the gated private estates. This group had therefore been able to integrate spatially with residents who were previously in control of the urban wealth, and they were active in the private housing market. They now shared the same services and had similar residential interests. These high-income African residents thus had direct interaction with white high-income residents and would have similar grievances whenever there was poor service provision in the estate.

i. Restriction of freedom inside private gated estates

However, although they had integrated to that extent, the African residents still felt that their freedom was restricted and their sense of belonging in the private gated estate was impacted as they lived by the rules set by the private developers. They felt that their cultural well-being was compromised within the estate, and regarded this as cultural suppression as the rules prohibited the practice or expression of their traditional lifestyle and thus did not promote cultural diversity. A high-income Caledon Estate resident reflected on both these negative as well as positive aspects of living in the complex:

> *I am very satisfied with the place; it is peaceful and very safe. Sometimes I don't even feel a need to lock my car when parked in the estate premises.*

However, there are things that I cannot change but have to live by the rules of the estate. For example, I cannot do my cultural practices within the estate, and would have to go to my rural home if I needed to do such as it is not allowed in the rules set by the management.

These findings were in line with Smets' (2009) assertion that gated communities in reality lacked a true sense of community as the term 'community' was only used as a marketing strategy by private developers, who aimed to re-establish an idealised small-town community where everyone knew and cared about each other. He further argued that these communities offered residents the assurance that their neighbours would behave according to the prevalent norms, which were stipulated in the contracts they were compelled to sign when purchasing property in gated estates. These contracts explained the bounds of acceptable behaviour (Smets, 2009). However, there could be no community with shared values if the norms of some cultures dominated and there was no room to deliberate and agree on a common position so that all cultures were accommodated.

ii. Independence of the private gated estates

The common findings from the ward councillor and the Municipal Departments of Housing and Planning were that there was little that the municipality could do to regulate the activities inside the gated estates. They stated that the municipality was unable to interfere with private property rules due to the tenure type of these areas. Furthermore, municipal workers' access to these areas was also restricted. The gated estates mostly used private services, including safety and security services that were used to enforce the estates' rules. At the same time, the estate's management team felt that it was putting maximum effort into ensuring that peace and safety were maintained inside the estate. They were of the opinion that this was ensured for residents of all social groups in terms of race and culture. The estate's management team was furthermore of the opinion that it was only through application of strict rules that peace and safety could be achieved and maintained.

Discussion

Housing delivery through the development of socially mixed urban neighbourhoods has the potential to provide and promote social integration. This is good as it signifies a change in the living standards of low-income residents. Without socially mixed urban neighbourhoods, Melis et al. (2013, pp. 26-27) caution that "a concentration of poor households in certain areas produces disadvantageous social effects including social isolation or weak networks and declining social capital influencing individuals' ability to move out of poverty or disadvantage". Despite the potential benefits for the lower socio-economic groups, the experiences in Ballito thus far point out that there has been antagonism to integration with the current and previously powerless social groups in more affluent neighbourhoods and so they remain outside of the production of space. This

antagonism is evidenced by economic and regulatory suppression and other physical barriers. The fundamental underlying factors are the hindrances explained according to neoliberal urbanism, which highlight the dominance of the urban elites (private developers who are mainly historically privileged) and their current control of the urban space, which is antagonistic towards the powerless social groups (Beatty, 2014).

In multi-class areas, such as the study area, lower-class residents reside in a broader urban space that has not been created by them but by the privileged higher-class that controls the private physical developments and land-use. Literature enlightens us as it reveals that most urban spaces have been created using the capitalist ideas of urban planning to maintain hegemony and the privileged class's control of the distribution of the urban socio-economic opportunities. This maintains the privileged class's control over the underprivileged, and this model was used to create the apartheid city (Landman, 2006; Lefebvre, 1974). With this model, the powerless low-income residents reside in neighbourhoods where they have no control over most of the underlying socio-economic resources such as retail, land ownership, and business ownership, regardless of their proximity to these resources. The process of integration appears to be antagonistic to the low-income residents and their socio-economic status remains largely unimproved regardless of their location, as is evident in the case of Shaka's Head. Melis et al. (2013, p. 27) support this assertion as they state that "some research has suggested that the life chances of poorer households in socially diverse neighbourhoods are not necessarily any better than in deprived areas".

The former disadvantaged social group, in this case the emerging African middle-class, is not immune to antagonism. Although this group from the resides in private gated estates such as the Caledon Estate voluntarily, they do so on condition that they accept the strict rules that are imposed on them by the property boards. These rules compel them to compromise on their cultural values and practices and they have to submit to those rules set by the urban elites. This attests to the characteristics of neoliberal urbanism, where the city or urban space is envisaged as the playing field for the elites. The hegemonic discourse of neoliberal urbanism shapes political and economic processes, the governance of institutions, and the making of places and spaces (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003). Although this emerging African middle-class has integrated with other middle- and higher-classes, they are unable to live by their original practices as these are prohibited by private housing developers and they thus experience antagonism.

While housing has the potential to establish residential integration, class differences, tensions and the inequality gap remain prominent features in multi-class urban communities and perpetuate segregation. This form of urban segregation is also maintained through neighbourhood perceptions and the inability of some residents to accept one another as equals and to foster a sense of belonging. The different housing

typologies have contributed to the development of negative perceptions by the higher-income residents about the low-income residents in Shaka's Head. These perceptions appear to be antagonistic towards the less privileged social group as they create stereotypes and stigma. Improvement of the housing quality through new government design standards can have a significant role to play in eliminating these stereotypes. In addition, poor consultation and lack of involvement in decision-making processes by the government leave the spatial integration decisions to the urban elites, so they remain dominant over the powerless social group, and this maintains the gap for antagonism to prevail.

Conclusion and Recommendations

According to the antagonistic integration phenomenon in urban communities, the process of integration is characterised by class inequalities and during the integration process, selected social groups are antagonised because of their powerlessness. Even the emerging middle-class faces antagonism as they mix with the previously dominant groups who have ensured control of the space through private housing developments and urban planning. This is because the emerging middle-class who choose to live in these private estates are compelled to subject themselves to the living conditions and regulations of the economically dominant groups that have control of these urban spaces. This means that they must live in a fixed urban neighbourhood where they cannot change or improve anything according to their own tastes and interests. This illustrates an unfair form of integration that does not bring about a balance of the interests of all urban inhabitants; it only advances the interests of those in charge of the urban space and economy.

Multi-class urban communities where there is a mix of private ownership of land and low-cost housing side-by-side will always remain segregated and unequal as the private owners will preserve the segregation and inequalities as they are empowered by neoliberal urbanism. Even when social mixing occurs, differences are still maintained through neoliberal forms of planning and governance. This attests to the assertion that social differences can never be totally eliminated. Even if they can be overcome to some extent, they will still be present and manifest from time-to-time when one of the classes tries to reassert itself. Neoliberal urbanism has entrenched inequalities and segregation in the urban communities and any interventions intended to promote social integration are undermined because of deeply entrenched class differences and antagonism. It is therefore recommended that the government play an increased role in the ownership, management and development of land in order to counter the antagonistic nature of social integration and so that people from all social groups can participate meaningfully in the production of space.

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