

## **SOCIAL POLARIZATION and ROLE OF PLANNING – THE DEVELOPED and DEVELOPING WORLD**

### **Introduction**

***... physical, economic and social handicaps are self reinforcing resulting in spatially concentrated poor and creating a culture of poverty.***

Third world countries, as a result of globalization, are experiencing widening economic disparities. The divide between established urban socio-economic groups is now deeper and more pronounced.

Metropolitans like Bombay and Delhi in India, experience excess migration and supply of labor leading to unemployment of immigrants. Illiteracy and lack of skills causes incompatibility between the migrants and the recipient city. This incompatibility perpetuates a vicious circle leading not only to unemployment, but ghetto type, socially polarized, spatially segregated neighborhoods.

Incompatibility between demand and supply of labor is responsible for the creation of an 'urban underclass' with totally different standards and values. This phenomenon is followed by degradation of such settlements and an increase in crime.

Such is the way that social polarization acts as a major cause of spatial segregation. Where experience has shown that physical proximity may not guarantee socio-economic integration, can physical land controls reverse social polarization. Especially in a land like India, with traditions deep-rooted in the class system, can social integration truly be achieved? Can the new globalized economy open new markets and opportunities, give increased purchasing power to the poor and effect the social positioning of the underclass.

In this paper we understand the forms of social segregation and the causes in various contexts. We will look at social polarization as it manifests itself in different parts of the world, in both developed and undeveloped countries. Subsequently we look at various attempts that have been made to address this issue and bring about integration of the socially disadvantaged and, the successes/failures of such attempts.

### **1. Polarities: The Developing World**

#### ***1.1. India***

India, a developing nation, is recognized to be at its peak of economic development since independence 50 yrs ago. A rapidly developing economy, it is placed to be the third largest after China and the US.

However, a close study of the economic and social structure of the country unravels the bizzarely contradictory nature of the predicted superpower (see Garewal, 2005). India experiences concentration of high economic development around major centers, while a majority of the country shows a very low rate of development. The driving engines of the country have been the metropolitan regions Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras. They have historically been the employment magnets, education centers, industrial hubs and trade cores making them the most developed cities in the nation as well as the most diverse economies.

These developed cities have, as such, historically attracted migrants from varying backgrounds, eventually leading to overpopulation of these cities, low levels of education and extreme poverty only resulting in disintegrating social and physical structures. Extreme polarities between urban and rural areas in a country, such as in India, trigger patterns of rural-urban migration into developed cities, in search of better standard of living and employment. This trend of migration, to already overpopulated cities, contributes to elevated levels of poverty, illiteracy and crime. This phenomenon is observed in most developing countries, as we will see in the continuing discussion.

### **1.1.1. Workings of the Informal Sector**

An underlying phenomenon experienced by urban centers is the evolution of dichotomous economies where, an informal economic sector is created by the low-income groups. Although the employment generating capacity of cities like Bombay attracts migrants, the bulk of new jobs created in recent years have mostly been in the unorganized service sector. Due to the inherent nature of the unorganized sector, employment results in abysmal living conditions, where although migrating for better opportunities in cities, migrants lack skills and knowledge to enter the formal sector.

Workers migrating from rural areas are forced to take up informal sector jobs due to their lack of skills and education, which translates into lower wages and standard of living, contributing to proliferation of slums in the city. Thus while the economy of the city flourishes, the social and physical aspects of the city suffer degeneration.

### **1.1.2. Slums**

This degeneration is most visible in the proliferation of 'slums' or, as they are popularly referred to in the western world, 'ghettos'.

As discussed above in the case of India, major regions like Africa, Asia, Latin America are highly dependent on the informal sector for employment generation. Breman describes the realities of the informal sector as vividly expressed in the existence of slums. In developed cities like Bombay, a major reason is traced to the scarcity of land and unrealistic real estate prices. Developing countries, marked by vast poor populations, see a rising trend of abysmal living conditions and a divided urban social landscape.

Brazil saw an increase in its slums during the forties and fifties, due to migration from rural to urban areas. The phenomenon of spatial concentration of the Brazilian low-income population in slums was a by-product of the urbanization process and might be explained by the existing attraction and repulsion forces between rural and urban areas (Morais, Cruz, and Oliveira).

The term ghetto is derived from the medieval term 'borghetto', meaning 'settlements outside the city walls.'

The *ghettos* or *slums* of large Asian cities are informally built settlements, often in the outskirts of large cities because poor migrants from the rural areas cannot find affordable formal urban housing. Such settlements are usually in form of dwellings inconspicuously and quickly constructed on public land by the squatter overnight. This is in most cases sufficient to afford the squatter a legality of tenure unless the government decides otherwise. Such settlers are often of distinct regional or ethnic origin.

Asia's largest slum, Dharavi sits on 427 acres in the heart of Bombay - the financial capital of India. With a population estimated anywhere from ½ to 1 million, this settlement epitomizes the reality and efficiencies of the informal sector in developed cities. Katyal and Lengade describe Dharavi as "rows of makeshift shanties, cobbled together with nothing more than asbestos sheets, plastics, bamboo sticks, discarded canvas bags, wooden planks and old

car tyres". The population density of Dharavi is 110 people per acre, with chief occupations leatherworking, embroidering, and pickle-making.

### **1.2. South Africa**

In his discussion on segregation in post-apartheid South Africa, Omenya explores the structural understanding of, and modes of production & reproduction in, classed societies. In discussing the factors unique to production in the capitalist society, he stresses the mismatch between demand and supply of labor and capital mobility. These result in a change in the role of neighborhoods, from being pools of labor to being areas of social reproduction and segregative market practices. Such are the most evident, current causes of socio-economic segregation which is often expressed spatially.

Where it is believed that social polarization is a leading cause of spatial segregation, it is considered that the country of origin and destination are linked through the global macro-economy. The mismatch theory suggests that inappropriateness of supply of labor leads not only to unemployment of migrant labor, but also to ghetto type, socially polarized, spatially segregated neighborhoods (Mustard and Duerho, 2002). In the South African context, the Alexandria Township in Johannesburg clearly demonstrates this fact. Immigrants mainly from Zimbabwe and Mozambique, occupy the poorest environment in the settlement – an informal settlement lacking basic services and security of tenure. Mustard and Duerho assert that incompatibility between demand and supply of labor is responsible for the creation of an urban underclass, resulting in a counter culture which has standards that are completely different where having a job, good education, and steady relationships are not the dominant values. This is followed by degradation of such settlements and an increase in crime.

## **2. The Developed World**

### **2.1. United States of America**

Planners in the US continue to debate on the major contributing factors in increasing social and economic inequality. Where several believe that race is the principal cause of economic segregation, Weitz is of the opinion that income disparities and economic segregation must be included when defining the discrimination against lower income classes. Economic segregation is seen to be on the increase since the 1970s and Drier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom point that low-income people are increasingly unlikely to escape from their poverty. They observe that areas of urban blight more than doubled in land area between 1970 and 1990, and while the gap between rich and poor suburbs is widening, in some cases suburbs are doing worse than their central cities.

In examining increasing economic disparities, it is observed that US has the greatest income and wealth disparities of any advanced industrial society. Today, economic, political and social inequalities are increasing and, low-wage workers are falling further behind high-wage earners. As suggested by voluntary segregation (discussed in section 3), families choose to live in places based on their class and status aspirations, and households with more money move away from those who make less money. While this pattern clearly indicates segregation due to income disparities, we must acknowledge that race is implicated in concentrated poverty, and that blacks are many times more likely than whites to live in areas of concentrated poverty.

De Rango, in the context of racial inequality in the US, looks at the repercussions of segregation in housing. She outlines some of the negative impacts of segregated neighborhoods as poor job performance; poor education attainment; high infant mortality rates among others. She identifies voluntary sorting (see also Villaca 2001), socio-economic status and discriminatory rentals as the major causes of residential segregation.

De Rango's studies based on low-income, segregated neighborhoods suggested that segregation lowers the individuals' productivity. This led her to conclude that although segregation is caused by the structures of society, the capitalists do not willfully create these structures.

### **2.1.1. Exclusion or Inclusion**

Per census 2000, the most segregated in terms of African-American population was Milwaukee-Waukesha, Wisconsin and the least segregation in Orange County, CA. Anas contemplates the sharp contrast between two areas maybe due to higher racial prejudice in the Midwest than in California. However he observes that since other cities in California (San Francisco and Los Angeles) have swaths of concentrated African-American ghettos, then why should Orange County be different. He draws a conclusion that the Milwaukee ghetto is one of self segregation; not exclusionary prejudice by whites but inclusive prejudice by blacks.

Racial segregation is often driven by income differences, inducing self-selection. Choices depend on a durable land use and housing pattern that is inherited from the past. Residential densities in Orange County are lower and housing values higher than in Los Angeles and much higher than in Milwaukee. Based on the assumption that ghetto life is that of inferior quality and suburban life is the norm, the blacks who move to Orange County owing to their income status have no interest in forming ghettos and can easily be integrated in, and accepted in predominantly white neighborhoods.

## **3. Segregation**

*"exclusion is an institutionalized policy that prevents minorities from locating in specific places"*

### **3.1. Voluntary or Involuntary**

Omenya opines that segregation, as in the case of South Africa, is 'involuntary' as people are forced into particular locations as a result of underlying socio-economic factors. Several policy documents (see Omenya) address the issue of integration which suggest creation of mixed-income developments, where all residents contribute to and enjoy the tax base. However, mid-term implementations of such policies have shown no change in the segregated nature of the South African city.

Under South African apartheid, blacks and whites were required by law to live in separate areas. On the other hand, black ghettos in large cities of the American Midwest and Northeast emerged, as freed slaves moved to the north to seek a new life within a white majority that was racially prejudiced. Although there were no laws restricting location by race, privately initiated racial and religious restrictive covenants were prevalent well into the 1950s inducing racial exclusion.

In today's Europe, Algerian ghettos in France or Turkish ghettos in Germany have emerged much like black ghettos have in the US, as immigrants were injected into a society with a different culture, language or religion. Many large central cities on all continents have vibrant Chinatowns, Little Italy and Little Indias. Where Chinatowns and other ethnic agglomerations are voluntary, African-American of the US and muslim and other minority ethnic ghettos of India are thought to have been caused largely by exclusion.

Involuntary ghettos form due to prejudice, discrimination or exclusionary policies targeting an ethnic minority. The reason for involuntary *ghettoization* is that people join a ghetto to find safety. Voluntary ghettos however can form due to atomistic decisions.

As John Kain argued in 1968, African-American ghettos are involuntary. He observed that whites controlling hiring, excluded blacks from suburban jobs. Since residential zoning also excludes blacks, many don't apply for suburban jobs or cannot commute to them. Kain argued that the resulting exclusion cloisters blacks in inner city ghettos and is responsible for the high rates of black unemployment. This is exacerbated by many blue collar jobs having moved out of central cities to suburban and exurban areas. This separation of the inner city minorities from suburban jobs is known as spatial mismatch.

This separation is further aided by lending institutions who are less likely to approve home loans to African-Americans. The term red-lining refers to refusing loans to people in certain neighborhoods because they are perceived as risky borrowers.

Examples of exclusionary policies exist in both Western Europe and North America. Western European governments build housing projects in suburbs that often institute large lot zoning which dictate that houses be of a certain size. This results in expensive homes being built which remains unaffordable for many minorities. On one hand these could be preferences of residents for lower densities and on the other hand it is believed that poorer residents share the school offered by the suburban community but pay less by residing in a small house, since schools are funded by ad-valorem property taxes. This free-riding is prevented by disallowing smaller houses. Thus practicing exclusion by income not race or ethnicity. But African or Hispanic American are on average poorer (see Anas, 2004) and are inherently excluded. Thus resulting in suburban schools that are segregated and schooling benefits of integration remain unrealized.

### **3.2. Cyclic Effect of Disadvantage**

Omenya notes that stigmatisation of spatially alienated zones occupied by the 'social underclass' results in broader disadvantages in the open market. People from stigmatized neighborhoods in some cases may have the desired qualifications, however, the negative perception attached to their neighborhood becomes a disadvantage for individuals (Mustard and Duerho, 2002). The result is the reduction in prospects of finding a job which translates into a lack of socio-economic status that comes from being employed. Such is the case when an area is impacted by a concentration of individuals of the social underclass, and in turn causes the segregated built environment to impact the individuals. Thus, it has been argued that concentration of disadvantage results in the perpetuation of the same. Schorr and Schorr finds this reasoning sufficient to discredit closed-loop programmes for the poor. Kesteloot, would concede with this rationale since he is of the opinion that physical, economic, and social handicaps are self-reinforcing and they result in intergenerational, multiple deprivation of the spatially concentrated urban poor, creating a culture of poverty.

### **3.3. Impact of Land Use Controls**

In analyzing segregation, there is an urgent need to study and create solutions for the implications of development tools such as zoning, urban renewal etc., and how they determine socio-economic and spatial patterning of society. Most built environment practitioners tend to focus on spatial integration without considering the structural aspects of segregation – 'unfounded pragmatism' (Anas). A major cause of failures in integrative efforts is lack of appreciation of the underlying socio-economic substructures of the segregated society and the various modes of urban space.

Gist and Fana observed that city dwellers are independent in their struggle for a social position and convenient location in the city. The space different groups consider viable and the extent to which they are able to occupy it are dependant on group characteristics, resulting in persons with similar characteristics occupying similar spaces. This results in 'ecological segregation'.

Villaca (2001) considers social segregation as a process through which the upperclass control the process of urban land production. Urban space is considered a resource produced, yet which cannot be reproduced by human labor (Castells, 1978), hence the desire of the upper class to control it, through control of the economy, the state and ideology.

Treanor (1998) claims that segregation is beyond planning and zoning. Although urban unity, multifunctional cities, open interactions and classless societies are desirable, he believes that trying to mix different classes together is futile. Surely, this is only true for a society organized along classes.

### **3.4. Zoned vs Non-zoned**

In discussing spatial integration, Dewar, Uytendogaardt, Hutton, Levi and Mendir (1977) found that the old non-zoned settlements of Salt River/Woodstock, Harfield and Wynberg, in Cape Town, South Africa, achieved integrated living in commercial and industrial environments. The older Cape Town settlements have rich, unique and varied socio-economic and spatial opportunities and exhibit qualities of complexity, interdependence, interrelatedness and positive reinforcement among other residential, social, and commercial components. They have a variety of land uses and reconcile residential and commercial components of land uses. They capture the uniqueness of place and have movement routes that are multifunctional, with an intensity of activities (see Dewar et al. 1977)

Dewar et al (1977) observed that the latter day zoned neighborhoods of Hannover Park, Boutehouwel and Sun Valley, also in Cape Town, tend to be spatially differentiated. The routes of movement are mono-functional and unidirectional and residential units are inwardly oriented with no opportunity for any economic activities. There is no interface between the city and the neighborhoods and no spatial continuity.

Traditional non-zoned urban environments must be considered in the context of traditional modes of production. Segregation of work and living environments was necessitated by the industrial mode of production. Industries offering particular type of services tend to conglomerate together to enhance their capacity through networking, exploiting sub-urbanisation and leading to further alienation of the poor.

## **4. Attempts at Integration**

There are several examples of programmes that have attempted to break the trend of self-reinforcing poverty in the US, and UK along with other countries. The sheer numbers of these programmes suggests a conviction that the cycle of disadvantage can be broken. However, as Omenya suggests that in other contexts, proximity of the poor to the rich has not brought about improvement in the poor.

As Edulbehram (1996) observes in the case of India, reduction in interregional inequality does not necessarily result in reduction in interpersonal inequality. He supports the findings of studies that have shown, promotion of rapid growth in some poor quarters may result in greater interpersonal inequalities.

Lomnitz (1977) suggests in the case of Cerrada del Condor, Mexico City that expansion and poverty of the lower income groups is necessary to sustain a growing middle-class who depend on the underclass for menial services.

Some housing developments have attempted to put different income groups together, eg Charles Correa's housing scheme in Belapur, New Bombay, India, accommodated an

income differential of 1:5 amongst the residents, in plot sizes ranging from 45-75 sq. m., thus housing the very lowest income households alongside middle-income households.

Treanor claims that even physical proximity may not guarantee or spur socio-economic integration. This is the case around the world in several countries that have elite sub-centers and gated communities surrounded by low-income neighborhoods in Brazil, India, USA etc. Lomnitz (1977) also observed that the low-income cadres who migrated to live next to the middle-income groups in Mexico were not integrated socio-economically into their host community.

What is not clear is whether these inequalities are systematic and cumulative or 'just another round of reordering the material inequalities that are endemic to the capitalist societies' (Savage and Warde, 1993:86). The process of urban living is complex. Good housing design is only one part of the complex equilibrium, which describes high quality and balanced neighborhoods (Omenya). He calls for a multidisciplinary assessment of poverty and a multi-agency approach to housing the urban poor, especially in urban South Africa. Considering the similarities of unequal housing and land distribution in India, such an approach is well qualified for consideration in the context of cities like Bombay, Delhi etc.

There are several non-structural attempts to dissociate segregation with the processes of capital accumulation. Some architectural and urban design theoreticians have vouched for integrated built environments without considering the socio-economic and political underpinnings of the zoned settlements. Rowe and Koetter call out their disillusionment with the modern movement in architecture and its tools that created the zoned town. In their book *Collage City*, they questioned the rationale of producing mono-functional urban space. They pointed out that old cities that developed gradually, eg Imperial Rome presented a more harmonious network of buildings, places and people, than cities that followed modern architectural planning principles.

It has been argued (Huchzermeyer, 2001) that capital subsidy perpetuates segregation as it forces the poor into segregated fringe locations. This is compounded by the issue of securing well located land for low-income housing, and in the case that such land is available, the 'Not in my backyard' syndrome makes it impossible for housing the poor.

#### **4.1. Integration: Redevelopment Efforts**

Several redevelopment efforts are underway as a solution to the deteriorating housing and in several cases, its absolute absence, for the lower-income groups.

##### **4.1.1. Bombay**

As a megacity's population continues to grow, it struggles with the problem of providing housing to people with a good living environment. Where it is argued that high land costs dictate high density development that cannot support communal services and open space for family living, a progressive project has proven the opposite.

Charles Correa, in providing a solution to housing for mixed income groups in Bombay, derives from traditional building styles that have been removed from the built environment in megacities altogether. He brings back the courtyard style of buildings which inherently has communal spaces built in their layout. This housing project in Belapur, New Bombay, popularly know as 'Artists' Village' is aimed at accommodating densities close to those achieved by high rises while providing the environment and lifestyle that is associated more closely with rural and semi-urban areas in India. Charles Correa calculates that low-rise courtyard housing can achieve densities equal to that of high-rise, a range of 100-400 persons per acre (Willis). Its objective is to create a closely knit, secure, convenient, urban-family-with-children community for living and working in the heart of the city — one in which the quality of life competes with that of other cities and the suburbs.

Despite the project's relatively small site, Correa managed to endow every home with its own private "open-to-sky" space and a shared courtyard. The community's site plan divides the units into groups of 21, then further sub divides them into seven-unit clusters. The individual houses rely on simple floor plans and building methods, enabling local masons and craftspeople to construct them. The courtyard serves the necessity for a protected family "private communal" space.

The homes are freestanding, so residents can add on to them as their families grow. Differently priced plans appeal to a wide variety of income levels. The development supports Correa's theory that low-rise architecture and high-density planning are not contradictory approaches to housing.

#### **4.1.2. Yonkers**

In a landmark case in 1985, federal district court judge ruled that the city of Yonkers and its school board had deliberately located public housing and schools in a racially segregated manner. Virtually all public housing was concentrated in the city's southwestern quadrant, with a disproportionately high percentage of the city's black and Hispanic population. In the housing case, Judge Sand ordered construction of 200 scatter-site public housing units outside this southwestern area. Repeated refusal by the City of Yonkers to comply with the court's remedy order resulted in Oscar Newman being appointed for locating housing sites. With pressures like phenomenal land costs, political pressures and social discrimination, the project was made possible by involving developers to build mixed housing, and in turn giving them the incentive of density bonuses and favorable zoning if they build certain percentage of affordable housing. Additional support was sought through community development block grants which aided in reducing the land costs for the developer, and at the same time zoning was altered to accommodate multi-family housing instead of single family housing, which contributed to the success of the projects' implementation. By avoiding high density 'public housing projects' and also the use of 'section-8' certificates, Newman was successful in integrating the segregated blacks relatively seamlessly into the otherwise racially biased, high-income neighborhood.

#### **4.1.3. Slum Demolition and Redevelopment**

Bombay, the financial capital of India, is facing a crisis where two thirds of its population lives in slums. Apart from its several slums, it is the home of the largest slum in Asia covering prime property in the heart of the city. Part of the city's plans for a makeover involve turning Dharavi into a commercially running tourist destination – with housing for the slum's inhabitants, a hospital, schools, a golf course, and India's largest cricket ground. The project is planned to be a public – private partnership with high interest from property developers to rebuild Dharavi. However such plans for development usually lack any say from the inhabitants of the property, or a guarantee of relocation. On one hand the architect, Mukesh Mehta intends this project to integrate slum-dwellers into the mainstream claiming "if we give them surroundings that are dignified, they will live a more dignified life", on the other hand, the slum-dwellers have been thrown out of their homes with a notice of one day to find alternative housing, rendering close to a million people homeless in severe weather conditions.

The authorities claim that housing in the form of council flats will be provided to residents who can produce documents of their tenure in the city. The question arises for the undocumented families. Most of the occupants of such slums are workers in the informal sector and are undocumented although residents of the city for decades and contributing to the success of the city's economy.

Where we condemn unaffordable housing as the root cause of slum formation, they are not the creation of migrants alone. Municipal authorities, policemen and politicians have

connived over the years to build slums and settle migrants. The slumlord grabs the land, pays off the police, municipal worker and the local elected representative. The land is then disposed of for huge sums of money, turned into parcels and huts on these lots are sold to the poor. Such slum demolitions and redevelopment plans are rampant all over Bombay, expanding the monopoly of the rich and excluding the low-income groups who lack political and social status.

#### **4.1.4. Neo-Traditional Planning**

Throughout the US, planning and development is moving toward more traditional ideologies. There is an increasing awareness of reclaiming the city center and moving the focus from suburbs back into a vibrant downtown. New towns all over the US are being planned on the principles of 'New Urbanism' (see Garewal, 2003a) which dictate walkable neighborhoods, around central facilities including schools, commercial areas and, parks. Redevelopment efforts in older cities are stressing on infill development, and economic revitalization of downtowns. The larger objective of such efforts is to bring back activity into the inner cities, where due to white flight, black ghettos have formed and are characterized by crime, violence and deteriorating social structures. Such revitalization aims at creating a mix of income groups, ethnicities and thus creating stable social cultures where there is mutual benefit for all to coexist.

### **5. Zoning: a critique**

*"As long as it serves the will of the property owning urban classes, zoning will continue to be one of the instruments of perpetuation of urban segregation"*

Zoning has been associated with protection for land values and property markets. Given that the state is, more often than not, run by the capitalists, they protect their interests, to ensure that property values remain high. Flexibility in the 'landed property markets' enable 'capital flight' from zones where capital accumulation is perceived to be threatened. Lowder (1993) considers zoning to be responsible for the highly differentiated urban neighborhoods (ranked by income) in the US.

The question is raised, "If zoning has to continue being used as a central planning tool, how can it help to attain integration?". As long as it serves the will of the property owning urban classes, zoning will continue to be one of the instruments of perpetuation of urban segregation. The state wields another tool, legislation (Castells, 1978) which it can use to further the interests of landlords through development control and zoning.

#### **5.1. Initiatives**

There are examples such as the 'fair share' concept in USA which have attempted to tackle segregation. It is a legal requirement, as part of housing plans that, each metropolitan area develops a quota of low-income housing. In the form of incentives, developers are allowed to build at higher densities if they produced affordable units, which is usually mandated in the housing plans, general plans.

In Brazil, Zones of special interest have been used to protect those who occupy land informally from speculators whose interests are driven by the market.

Illinois has enacted a legislature on Affordable Housing Planning which requires every county, city and township to have atleast 10 percent affordable housing. An increasing number of local governments are adopting IZ laws to meet that goal.

New Jersey, with the double edged sword of Regional Contribution Agreements, authorized by the state legislature, allow wealthy suburbs to sell back upto half of their fair share

affordable housing quota to poor cities, thus escaping their court-ordered duty under the Mt. Laurel doctrine.

New York City has a community coalition of 30 organizations successfully pressuring the city council to set aside 20-30 percent for affordable housing in recent major upzonings on a case-by case basis.

## **6. Conclusion**

Through the above discussion it is evident that, any solution offered for attainment of integration must not overlook economic realities. In discussing land distribution we see that zoning has been used to impose abstract principles on complex urban realities, resulting in the termination of many desirable qualities of urbanity, along with keeping the interests of higher income groups extremely secure. Were it not for zoning amongst others, housing would have remained where it traditionally was – as a part of complex urban reality.

Although we see emerging patterns in society towards traditional planning that is inherently inclusive in nature, the damage done by zoning practices will warrant innovative and skillful reversal of way urban society functions. While superimposing inclusionary zoning provides a short- to mid-term fix for cities and neighborhoods that excluded all minorities and lower income classes, a more radical approach to changing planning theories is essential to create societies that are balanced and whose inhabitants mutually benefit from proximity to each other.

Neighborhoods need to attain an appropriate socio-economic mix of residents. Mix of races, ethnicities and income levels in a neighborhood results in reduced criminality; good neighborhood fit and increased private rentals. Socio-economic integration should be further aided by government rental subsidies to increase the affordability of rents for low-income groups in higher income neighborhoods.

Physical disparities between locations of where poor people live and where the jobs are must be reduced through regional jobs-housing balancing policies. Planners need to perfect models of new development that allow for neighborhoods with households of diverse incomes –mixed income housing.

There exists an urgent need to combat the continued sprawl of our regional and local settlement patterns, which facilitate the further separation of income classes. For this I suggest implementation of tools such as urban growth boundaries (Garewal, 2003b) which restrict outward sprawl, encourage infill of inner cities and, protect land prices from speculative developers. Such an implementation may help stall current social, economic and physical trends from further polarizing the “rich & poor societies”, while we implement some fundamental changes in policies and reverse the way we perceive and plan our built environment as inherently divided between – residential and commercial, high-income and low-income, rich and poor.

Based on the discussion in this paper, following are a few recommendations to initiate and further integration as it relates to housing;

- Provision of subsidized low and moderate rental units to counter the market
- Requirement that developers include a percentage of low income units into high income residential and commercial developments
- Citizens involvement in zoning reforms and tax relief for developers who include low-income units into their middle- and high-income developments

- Focus on planning of complete urban districts, where residents are involved in socio-economic and cultural activities that sustain the districts
- Formulate policies with a view to develop local democracy and self-help in socio-economic spheres
- Fundamental changes in mono-functional neighborhoods, by infusion of new building types, new lifestyles, development of distinguishable neighborhoods, integration of living and work places, replacement of problematic buildings with unique buildings
- Revitalization of neighborhoods through reinvestment by gentrification; prevention of displacement of poor from gentrified neighborhoods, thus stabilization of mixed income communities

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