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Addressing spatial segregation in South Africa: Housing and informal settlements upgrade

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Abstract

This study examines spatial segregation in South Africa. Through a review of related literature, the study uncovered the historical and more recent patterns of city divisions in the country. Historically, these divisions were enshrined in the Native Land Act of 1913 and the 1923 Native Acts. More recently, during the post-apartheid democracy, the government sought to address the divisions by employing mixed-use apartment buildings. However, this initiative failed due to in-built cultural, psychological, and socioeconomic differences among dwellers. It also precipitated informal settlements in the city landscape. To curb this and promote clean cities, the governments sought the incremental upgrading of the settlements. This was however supplanted by forced eviction and total relocation of residents rather than the planned incremental upgrading and fostered spatial segregation. The study contends that this attitude, as well as the failure of the mixed-use housing, is a fallout of inferiority complex syndromes owing to disparities in the socioeconomic attributes of residents of the mixed-use houses, city dwellers and residents of informal settlements. Finally, the study recommends revisiting the informal settlement upgrading initiative to address the spatial segregation. This, the study identified as a panacea to spatial segregation in South Africa.

Keywords: Spatial Segregation; Inferiority Complex; South Africa; UISP

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1. Introduction

The white paper report in the wake of post-apartheid democracy in South Africa indicates that the democratic regime inherited housing deficits and slum communities from its predecessors. The slum communities are evidence of spatial segregation that has continued to linger (Ziblim, 2013). Musvoto (2014) pointed out that residents of these communities are socially excluded, disaggregated and vulnerable, fostering inferiority complexes. Hence, Housing became a primary focus of the new administration. This included the plan to ameliorate social exclusion by providing affordable housing for low-income and, by so doing, eradicate informal settlements. Ten years after the resolve, 2.3 million housing units were constructed, but even with this, slum settlements increased from 300 to 2700. Considering this, the Cabinet revisited the Act and introduced the Breaking New Ground Act (BNG), which addressed informal settlements through the indirect approach of tenure security and upgrading rather than total clearance as was the usual practice. Notwithstanding this and the policy paraphrenia that supported it, reports indicated that the direct approach of total clearance was adhered to, and residents of the informal communities were often dislodged without appropriate consultation regarding their consent.

More often than not, the informal settlement dwellers are relocated to city peripherals where it is even more demanding to survive, owing to the unavailability of service sites or direct access to social services. As a result, their situation becomes worse (Fieuw, 2011), breeding resentment and discontent among them and municipal officials (Mistro and Hensher, 2009). These deepened the spatial inequality. Adeka (2019) observed that the manifestations of inferiority complexes breed socially problematic outcomes, aggression and hostile frustration further reinforcing social exclusion and the inherent divide between the social classes.

Given these plights and the uniqueness of the country's apartheid, South Africa provides a valuable context for examining spatial segregation and exploring potential responses. While several studies have addressed mixed-use housing and informal settlement upgrades, few have examined the latter as a tool specifically for addressing urban segregation. This paper responds to that gap by reviewing key literature, policy documents, and housing reports. The approach is conceptual and narrative in nature; sources were selected based on thematic relevance and contribution to understanding the socio-political and psychological dimensions of spatial inequality. Claims are supported through synthesis of this literature, with special attention to the role of psychological constructs—particularly the inferiority complex—as a factor influencing the outcomes of integration-focused housing strategies. However, this study is limited to theoretical frameworks and its subjective interpretations may increase bias and preclude generalizability.

1.1. The inferiority complex syndrome

The inferiority complex syndrome is a psychological phenomenon relating to an unconscious or conscious perception of oneself as a second-rate (Moritz et al., 2006). The phenomenon, associated with other constructs, was posited to explain personality in psychology. The manifestations of inferiority complex are overt when individuals are either discouraged or become conscious of a failed personality (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2013).

Sweeney (2009) went further to say that an inferiority complex arises when feelings of inferiority are pronounced and excessive (Sweeney, 2009). Therefore, it represents an extreme form of inferiority. According to Adeka (2019), the inferiority feelings in an inferiority complex are overwhelming, persistent, and

challenging to overcome. Venkataraman (2018) and Yang et al. (2023) stated that symptoms of this syndrome include social withdrawal due to fears of stereotyping and discrimination, feelings of disrespect, and anger. Yang et al. (2023) also noted that it can express itself through discouragement and difficulty in fitting into tasks or groups. Lamberson and Wester (2018) highlighted that the syndrome is linked to low self-confidence, self-doubt, and low self-esteem. Sweeney (2009) highlighting further, explained that an inferiority complex may lead to a negative outlook towards challenges (Tissington, 2010), ultimately impairing the quality of life (Sweeney, 2009; Yang et al., 2023).

2. Spatial segregation in South Africa

South Africa presents a unique situation for assessing the possibilities of addressing spatial segregation. The country itself has had a previous history of strong social and class division stemming from the apartheid regime. This regime discriminated against a sect of the community, segregating them as black into squalor settlements and social deprivation (Shikotshi, 2009). The resulting social and economic inequalities fostered a feeling of hopelessness, inferiority, and despair (Turok, 2001), culminating in the inferiority complex syndrome. One of the key legislative instruments that entrenched the divide during the apartheid was the Natives Land Act of 1913. This institutionalized racial segregation through a series of discriminatory laws and policies and resulted in the systematic marginalization of non-white communities. This Act, along with other apartheid policies, cemented segregation in the country and has continued to impede the redress of spatial segregation in the post-apartheid period.

Buttressing this, Brown (2006) pointed out that despite the transition to democracy, deep-rooted inequities persist. According to him, even after the formal abolition of the apartheid regime in 1990 and the subsequent democratic elections in 1994, spatial and socioeconomic segregation has bred informal settlements that proved to be remarkably resilient. As noted by Watson (1998), the transition to democracy in South Africa was a momentous event that ushered in new hopes, aspirations, and promises for the country's citizens. However, despite the significant political changes, the realm of urban development has been slow to adapt, and many of the inequalities of the apartheid are persisting (Musvoto, 2014). Succinctly put, Tewolde (2024) stated that "overt racism in the form of apartheid laws has been simply replaced by covert racism. Needless to say that the emerging informal settlements are depressed settlements and slums of despair where inequalities thrive. Adeka (2019) observed that the thriving inequality comes with psychosomatic outcomes on the residents. These outcomes are stubbornly resilient (Yang et al., 2023) and can result in inferiority complexes.

Nonetheless, the democratic government sought to redress these inequalities through the dissolution of the apartheid legal paraphernalia and the introduction of mixed-use housing. Indeed, since the end of apartheid, significant progress has been made in dismantling the legal and institutional structures that enforced racial segregation. This is evident in the Acts and Policies to entrench human rights, community participation, and incremental development of informal settlement areas. Buttressing this, Tissington (2011) pointed attention to the very tolerant manner in which the South African constitution was crafted to ensure individuals' right to adequate housing (Tissington, 2011) Even so, deep social and spatial divisions continue to persist, with recurring inequalities and a lack of meaningful integration, especially in the country's urban areas. So, despite the post-apartheid mixed-use residential housing and new legal paraphernalia designed to foster mutual

inclusiveness, the historic inequities that bred informal settlements and the inferiority complex have unfortunately persisted.

3. The concept of informal settlements and Informal settlements upgrading in South Africa

3.1. Informal settlements

Interpretations of informal settlements are notional and often depend on the context in which it is interpreted. This makes it difficult to achieve an overarching definition that classifies informal settlements with a common measurable denominator (UN-Habitat Annual Report, 2011). This notwithstanding, the commonly held perception described it by a broad variety of "poor human living conditions" and or "low-income settlements," demonstrating the most overt manifestations of vulnerability, squalor, and poverty (UN-Habitat Annual Report, 2011). Accordingly, the Cities Alliance Action Plan notes that:

> *Informal settlements are depressed areas of cities with atrocious living and housing conditions. This manifests as places of despair, sprawling at the edge of cities, or spontaneous squatter settlements without tenure rights or squalid central city tenements. It has also been reported to be described by other names but shares similar miserable conditions. (UN-Habitat Annual Report, 2011).*

The position of the Cities Alliance Action Plan above tends to be rather generic. This is primarily because it presumably places the definition of informal settlements across-the-board and fails to provide specific measuring indicators for identifying them. As a result, the UN-Habitat Expert Group Meeting at Nairobi in November 2002 attempted to rationalize the informal settlement definition discuss. Accordingly, the Group laid out precise details to identify a householder of an informal settlement as individuals in the same dwelling but deficient in one or more of the following: access to improved (i) water (ii) sanitation (iii) living environment (iv) secure tenure (v) durable housing structure (UN-Habitat, 2010).

The above conditions have constituted the criteria used for formal definitions of informal settlements for strategic planning. Nonetheless, this study adopts the definition provided by the Department of Human Settlements for the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme in South Africa. This Department under the Housing Code highlighted the following to establish a definition of informal settlements: (i) informality and illegality, (ii) social stress (iii) poverty and vulnerability, (iv) inappropriate locations, and (v) investment constraints (Housing Development Agency, 2014). Given this, this study adopts the definition of informal settlements to be any settlement that exhibits the above features.

3.2. Informal settlements in South Africa

The end of apartheid in 1994 left backlogs of housing deficits, which subsequent democratic regimes have sought to address (Hopkins, 2006). For this reason, the White Paper on Housing addressing the appalling housing situation, was launched by the African National Congress in 1994 (Department of Housing, 1994). This resulted in the Housing Subsidy Bill, charged with the provision of affordable housing for households earning less than ZAR3500 per month.

Moreover, a central objective of the 1994 White Paper was to procure an increase in housing delivery to a sustained target of 338,000 units per year. The plan was to achieve this by securing a five percent boost in the housing budget to reach the government's target of one million houses within five years (Department of Housing, 1994). It is worthy of note that a delivery of 2.5 million units of low-cost housing was realized within ten years after this plan, resulting in a significant achievement in this direction (Tshikotshi, 2009).

However, even with this, there was, since 1994, a burgeoning housing deficit observed to be associated with a persistent rise in the number of people living under life-threatening and precarious conditions in informal settlements.

3.2.1. The informal settlement upgrade

This situation necessitated the paradigm shift in housing policy that informed the launch of the Breaking New Ground (BNG) in 2004, which further introduced the concept of the Upgrading Informal Settlement Programme (UISP) (Tshikotshi, 2009). To do so, the plan was to provide them with basic social services and allocate freehold titles that would enhance the livelihood opportunities of informal settlement dwellers (Revised Housing Code, 2009). Indeed, the BNG's main aim was to have eradicated all informal settlements in South Africa by 2014.

Yet, even with this, this deadline remained a mirage to date. By 2014, there were approximately 2700 informal settlements compared to just around 300 across South Africa in 1994 (Bennett and Fieuw, 2012; Mistro and Hensher, 2009), and an estimated 2.1 million households continue to live under these conditions, either in slums, or informal tenements at the backyards of formal dwellings (WBI, 2011; Bennett and Fieuw, 2012) without electricity, portable water, and other amenities (WBI, 2011; Bennett and Fieuw, 2012).

Thus, after 2 decades of interventions (a decade of National Housing Subsidy Intervention scheme and the other, a BNG intervention), it was observed that the proliferation of informal settlements exceeded government efforts toward mitigating vulnerability and delivering adequate housing (Slum Dwellers International, 2012).

Part of the reason that can be adduced for this is that the incremental upgrading never took place. Ziblim (2013) observed fundamental disparities between the provisions of the BNG policies regarding the upgrading and implementation by municipal agencies. Shedding more light, Huchzermeyer (2010), noted that the prevailing political disposition to housing development is skewed towards direct efforts of eradicating informal settlements, by relocating dwellers to rural areas on the city outskirts. In 2015, barely a year after UISP, 1420 people, rather than incrementally upgraded, were evicted from their houses and forcefully relocated (UN-Habitat Advisory Report, 2007). These involved the forced eviction of informal settlers to greenfields. Unfortunately, the relocation was observed to disrupt their livelihood strategies and fragile community networks. Accordingly, Fieuw (2011) went further to say that they also lack access to water, electricity, sanitation, and other basic social services, while Madell (2025) observed that the greenfields are located at city edges and marginalized from employment opportunities and public infrastructure. Because of this, they become even poorer, incurring extra costs on transportation and limited access to schools, health and market centers, and other social amenities.

As a result, the BNG's planned approach to upgrade informal settlements was truncated and ousted by total relocation. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that these have provoked discontent and distrust between the

informal settlement residents and other members of the municipality, translating to a deepening of the existing segregation.

3.3. Examination of the barriers to the informal settlement upgrading approach

Despite the comprehensive legal and policy framework which has been described as pro-poor and enshrined in the 1996 constitution of South Africa and the 2009 Housing Code (Tissington, 2011) tailored to protect the vulnerable and informal settlement dwellers, the prevailing experience in South Africa is forced eviction of the informal settlement dwellers (Maliti, 2013). Thus, the UISP was only urban-poor friendly in "theory". The framework was nonetheless corroborated by Article 26 of the 1996 constitution, which states:

> *the right to adequate housing should be the prerogative of everyone. This Article in section (2), urges the State to adopt reasonable measures within her paraphernalia to achieve the progressive realisation of the same. It adds in section (3) that no legislation is to permit random evictions unadvisedly without thorough consultations and a court order. And this may only be effected after all circumstances have been exhaustively considered.*

Article 26 above provides support and legitimacy for all programmes and national policies on adequate housing in South Africa. This includes informal settlement upgrading.

For all this, the practice is not the same as the assertions. One possible explanation for this was described by Huchzermeyer (2010) as the South African government's resolve for clean cities. In truth, this concern has intensified so much that there seems to be a faddish development to follow the Cities Action Plan in their pursuit of "Cities without Slums" to create modern cities in the country. In some quarters and municipalities, this idea practically engaged repressive approaches to rid informal settlements and was characterized by brute force (Huchzermeyer, 2010). Given this, Bolnick and Baptist (2012) argue that one of the main setbacks of the UISP was the impact of government's overriding notion that to achieve clean cities, informal settlements should be eradicated rather than incrementally upgraded.

It follows that the government discountenanced the Acts and the 'water-tight' legal framework it adopted, by which it initially intended to protect the interests of the vulnerable. The government justified these by claiming that UN-Habitat and the World Bank have interpreted "slum eradication" as "slum-free" cities. Therefore, they contended that incremental upgrading would only incorporate the informal settlements into the broader urban fabric, which would not mean the same as slum-free cities. The use of tighter measures, such as criminalization and arrests to forestall emerging informal settlements has also been reported (Huchzermeyer, 2010).

Aside from this, the financial allocations to housing from the 1994 white paper to the present have also adversely impacted the progress made in the informal settlement upgrading programme. ONU Habitat (2012) reported that slum upgrading in 2022 required US$4,175 per stand, which was financed from budget allocations to the Department of Human Settlement. For the 2023/2024 budget year, a budget of ZAR 28.1 billion was allocated for housing, indicating an increase of ZAR 3 billion over the previous financial year (Republic of South Africa, 2023; South African Government, 2023). It is from this allocation that UISP is financed. Regardless of these, the allocations to UISP cover only the cost of surveying, land, engineering services, and project management fees but do not cover housing construction. Consequently, housing

construction costs are sourced through the Housing Subsidy Programme, which introduces other bottlenecks (ONU Habitat, 2012) and, as a result, hinders the timely implementation of the programme.

Moreover, in the wake of the hype about cities without slums, which left total eradication of the informal settlements as the only option, the most significant concern became land assets to relocate evicted dwellers rather than incremental development. Confronted with this reality, it became obvious that a complete relocation of slum dwellers under the UISP requires a vast area of suitable land. Due to land scarcity, however, municipalities turned to the state, privately, and communally owned lands. This informed the LASS (Land Acquisition for Sustainable Settlement) initiative (LASS is saddled with the responsibility of supporting and facilitating the management of acquiring and releasing private, communal, and state-owned land for human development and settlement (Misselhorn, 2008). This task regardless, LASS receives only a modicum of the budget which is woefully inadequate at meeting its needs and the demand for urban land. Given this, LASS support is rationed on a first-come, first-served basis and as a result, fewer municipalities benefit from the funding (Eglin, 2009). Thus, Misselhorn highlighted the main constraints to upgrading informal settlements in South Africa to inadequate budgeting and the corresponding land infrastructure. These outcomes call for the need to re-examine and introduce other innovative approaches to address the city divisions.

3.4. The need for a new approach

Strategies to facilitate cohesion and social integration have involved the use and implementation of mixed-income housing (MLukhele, 2014). These developments aim to provide a range of housing options to accommodate individuals and families from different socioeconomic backgrounds to foster more heterogeneous and inclusive cities (Ramoroka, 2014; Andrew et al., 2021).

In retrospect, however, it is obvious that this policy has had little success in promoting meaningful cohesion and integration. While in theory, it can be argued that the approach can dissipate spatial segregation, in practice, it tended to reinforce existing divisions, with low-income residents of the mixed housing segregated from the wealthier by other nuances that underlie social divide.

The inferiority complex syndrome provides a backdrop to explain these nuances. As earlier stated, Venkataraman (2018) pointed out that symptoms of the syndrome include social withdrawal, difficulty in fitting into tasks or groups, self-doubt, low self-esteem and a general scepticism of others. Moreover, Yang et al. (2023) stated that overcoming these symptoms could be particularly challenging. From these perspectives, mixed-use residents of low socio-economic status from informal settlements may find it challenging to integrate smoothly with middle- or other-income groups, even while living in the same building.

Similarly, the paper by Charlton and Silverman explores the potential of mixed-income housing development as a solace to social disaggregation. However, they noted that progress in this area has been negligible, with the apartheid spatial fragmentation and segregation reborn in new shades in the mixed-income housing (Lalloo, 1999; MLukhele, 2014). Hence, while the mixed-use housing was designed to foster social integration in South Africa, in reality it does not. Instead, it was supplanted by the inferiority complex syndrome and the UISP by total clearance and the hype for clean cities that reinforce the inherent spatial segregation (Figure 1).

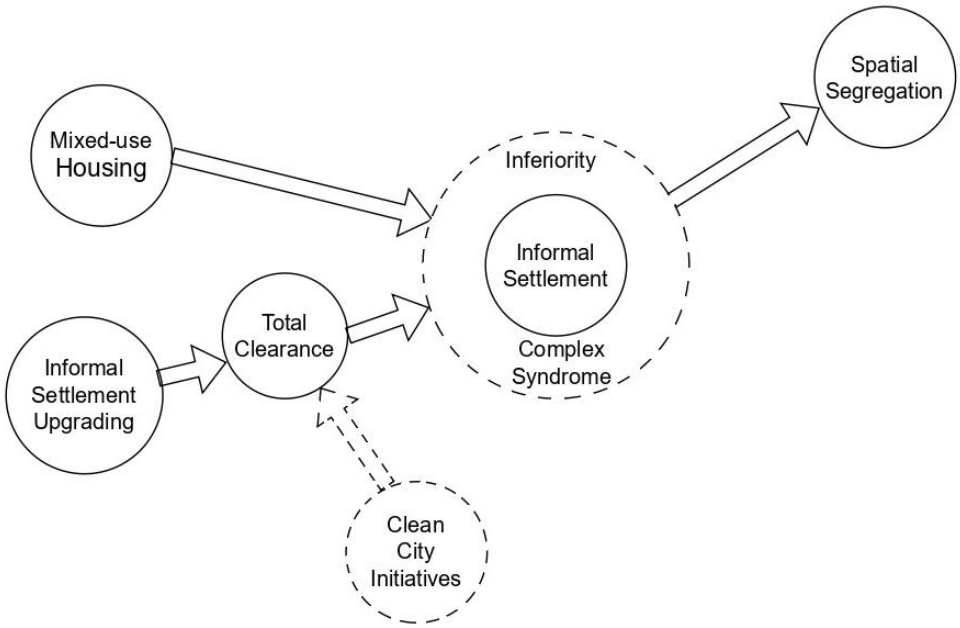


Figure 1. UISP, mixed housing, inferiority complex and spatial segregation

Against these backdrops, Reinman (2015), MLukhele (2014), and Turok (2001) agreed that overcoming these barriers will require a concerted, multi-faceted effort to address the deep-rooted legacy of apartheid and promote more equitable and integrated urban development. Reinforcing this position, Mosiane (2011) observed that the path of redressing social inequality in South Africa remains complex and would require good governance through innovative and inclusive approaches to urban development (Nqobile, 2024). This is more evident when viewed against the backdrop of previous measures, including mixed-use housing, that have yielded negligible results. Succinctly put, it can be stated that despite the introduction of post-apartheid mixed-use residential housing, inequities have persisted, lending credence to the need for a more innovative approach.

Overall, it is therefore on record that the use of mixed-use housing initiatives has failed to realize its objectives. It has also been reported that the plan for incremental upgrading of informal settlements has proved unsuccessful mainly because of the disconnect between the policies and the praxis. These outcomes call for multi-facetedness and innovation advocated by earlier authors regarding the redress of the social and class divide in South Africa (Niekerk, 2013; Peres et al., 2017; Reinman, 2015; MLukhele, 2014; Turok, 2001). Given these, this study puts it that the primary motivation for the upgrading initiative was slum eradication and attaining clean cities. This is evident from its ambitious mandate geared towards eradicating all informal settlements in South Africa by 2014. However, what remained unaddressed was the possibility of employing informal settlement upgrading to address the spatial segregation and not only to attain clean cities.

4. Discussion

Studies have shown that only a modicum of the historic inequities and spatial segregations in South Africa have been addressed in the post-apartheid regime. This historic divide was perpetuated by the apartheid-era

"homelands" system, which set aside certain areas for exclusive occupation by Black South Africans (Ramutsindela, 2013; Schoeman, 2018). The homelands were characterized by poverty, lack of economic opportunity, and poor infrastructure, reminiscent of the informal settlements, and continue to be largely disconnected from the country's urban centers worsening social integration. During this era, racial segregation was institutionalized through a series of discriminatory laws and policies, resulting in the systemic marginalization of non-white communities to informal settlements.

Following this realization, the transition to democracy in 1994 was propelled by a zest to bridge the age-old inequality and embrace a more equitable and egalitarian society. Armed with this zeal, the young democracy employed fresh ideas that sought alliance amongst different socio-economic classes, employing mixed-use housing. The approach proved to be largely unsuccessful, and two decades later, the number of informal settlements multiplied ninefold, from 300 to 2700, as earlier pointed out (South African Government, 2023).

Although the initiative was thoroughly planned, the Cabinet did not seem to realize the impact of the subtle nuances that were not captured in the planning. Cojoining different income groups in mixed-use housing appears to be an exemplary concept initially. Tipple and Willis (1991) however pointed out that in reality, the party line of class distinction persists owing to the inferiority complex syndromes that subtly infiltrate mixed housing, impacting social disintegration. So, in practice, dwellers in mixed-use housing remain socially disaggregated even though they live together in a built environment. In this way, apartheid persists but only with a different garb, whereas the underlying principles have remained the same. Though belated, it was eventually realized that these complex dualities could not be merged by built structures, and the BNG was introduced as more people slipped into informal settlements. Hence, it is worth noting that despite the attempts to address spatial segregation through mixed-use housing and the BNG, the possibility of the inferiority complex syndromes impacting these initiatives has not been captured. This study contributes by spotlighting this syndrome as a factor impacting spatial segregations that has remained largely unaddressed.

4.1. Housing, mixed-use housing, and the inferiority complex syndrome in South Africa

The manifestations of mixed-use housing in South Africa were a fallout of a noble idea to enhance social integration of racially divided and mixed-income groups. This housing was originally located at the city's periphery and lacked community participation (Vutivi, 2020). The result was counterproductive and contrary to the initial intention (Hoossein et al., 2016). It culminated in socially disadvantaged communities informally inhabited by the poor (Khan, 2014). Lessons from this led to the post-2000 integrated housing development, which involved situating the mixed housing units in accessible urban locations where local governments determine where and how. According was to follow Newton and Scholman (2013) that housing development in South Africa should be well-located mixed-use and mixed-income to encourage integrated settlements. Even with this, the project resulted in unintended outcomes ranging from poverty to social stress and vulnerability (Mohlakoana et al., 2017).

Thus, the situation of social integration through mixed housing has been largely unsuccessful requiring explanations otherwhere. In this regard, Tipple et al. (2007) noted that: “There is an element of urban consumption associated with the urban culture demonstrating what will be known as the *'bigman'* syndrome” (p. 114). According to Adeka (op. cit.), this bigman syndrome describes the narrative of a competitive world (albeit usually unspoken) that sought to identify and glamour in “whose house is most grandiose”. This aligns

with separate studies by Korboe (1993) and Tipple and Willis (1991) conducted in parts of West Africa, which demonstrated that a strong interest in house ownership in urban areas is influenced by ego and status-making. According to Adeka (2019), this behaviour has its roots in the inferiority complex syndrome, recalling Deorari (2014) and Encyclopædia Britannica (2013) that:

> *An inferiority complex often manifests as ego to show superiority (Deorari, 2014; Encyclopædia Britannica, 2013), such as a preoccupation with vanity, appearances, and affluence (Moritz et al., 2006).*

In a situation where one of the parties concerned cannot compete with the other owing to lower socioeconomic status, an invisible barrier is created, owing to the individual's inferior self-perception. This recalls the mixed-use housing environment where diverse socioeconomic groups are intended to live together, which is why the mixed-use system was largely unsuccessful.

Moreover, Adeka observed that in scenarios where individuals of mixed socioeconomic statuses are made to share a common identity such as the same habitable space or environment, individuals strive for control because of the ambition to be more successful and to dominate but if the means of doing so is not available, it can also lead to a false valuation of oneself" (p. 2). According to him, a false valuation emerges when an individual decides to mask inferiority by camouflaging superiority. Specially, those at risk for developing the complex are people of low socioeconomic status who have a history of depression and show signs of low self-worth and esteem. It also includes people with social limitations such as discrimination based on status, educational level, poverty, gender, race, and family (Lewis and Lockheed, 2008). These describe the lower echelon of society for which integration was sought through the mixed-use housing, which is why the mixed-use system has been largely unsuccessful. Hence, while the dividing line of segregation between White and Black was apartheid, Black to Black is the attitude that stems from inferiority complex syndromes.

4.2. Incremental upgrading, inferiority complex syndrome, and the spatial segregation

Dwellers of the informal settlement are typically people of low socioeconomic extraction sustained by fragile community networks (Asefa, 2020; Abunyewah et al., 2018). Because they share similar economic strata, the attitudes arising from inferiority syndromes are commonly evaded. In addition, class distinctions were similarly avoided. Within these contexts, incremental upgrading by infrastructure facilities, tenure security, health, education, and investments will improve community networks, and enhance capacity building for improved quality of life and socioeconomic development in the informal settlements. This, in turn will upgrade the informal settlements, avert inherent divide between them and the more affluent parts of cities to remedy spatial segregation (Figure 2).

Incidentally, this is the original purpose of the BNG before its shift to total clearance and relocation. However, this study points attention that UISP should not only attain clean cities and tenure security but that attaining these should bridge inherent segregations by addressing the negative impacts of inferiority complex syndromes. Hence, employing the BNG as a tool to address segregation rather than city beautification alone, will make a significant difference.

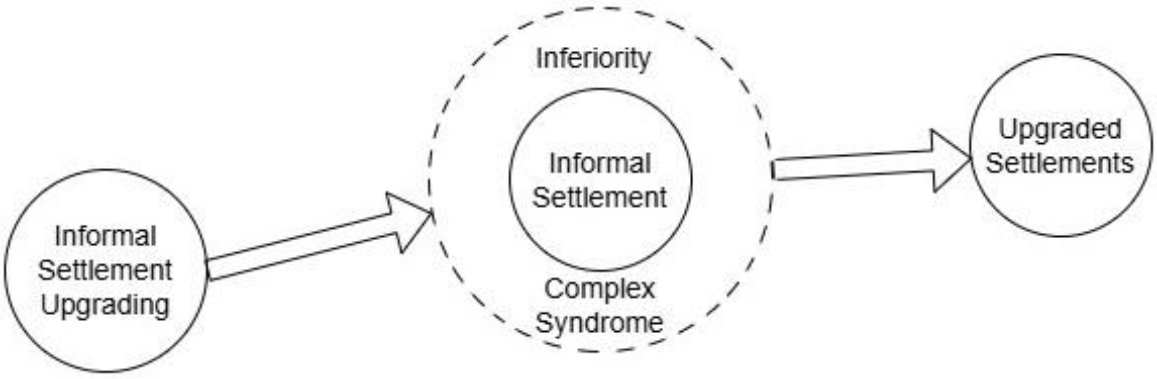


Figure 2. Remedying spatial segregations by ameliorating the effects of inferiority complex syndrome through informal settlement upgrade

5. Conclusion

This study highlights that the spatial segregation in South Africa has had a long history of White segregation from the Blacks and was enshrined in the 1913 Native Land Acts and the 1923 Native Acts, both entrenching spatial segregations. In the wake of post-apartheid democracy, the 1994 White Paper was formulated to redress segregations, employing mixed-use housing as a strategy. This goal was largely unrealized as more informal settlements emerged than in the apartheid era. Consequently, the BNG programmme was introduced in 2004. This was supplanted by the hype for clean cities, and its goal was replaced by the competitive preoccupation for modern cities. As a result, it became adversarial to the vulnerable group it was intended to aid. Realizing this, the government invoked the LASS initiative, which was ineffective because of budget allocation. This study, however, highlights that inferiority complex syndromes supplanted mixed-use housing and the UISP initiatives, thereby obscuring their effectiveness. It highlights that the inferiority complex syndrome precludes social integration and perpetuates social withdrawal. Moreover, the study asserts that the vulnerable groups are marked by a consciousness of a failed persona and feeling of inadequacy occasionally marked by aggression stemming from perceived or actual inferiority in a particular realm of enterprise. Manifestations of this syndrome may also lead to detrimental lifestyles, misanthropy, and a and a general scepticism of others. From these perspectives, the study recommends a gradual and developmental shift in the perceptions of one's personality by ameliorating self-doubts, negative perceptions about oneself through informal settlement upgrading. It therefore recommends a nuanced application of UISP that embraces employing it as a tool to forestall inferiority complex syndrome to ameliorate spatial segregations in South Africa.

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