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Discovering and exploring existing perceptions of densification: The case of Orange Grove and Soweto.: What are the existing perceptions attached to residential densification in suburban Johannesburg?

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Discovering and exploring existing perceptions of densification: The case of Orange Grove and Soweto.

What are the existing perceptions attached to residential densification in suburban Johannesburg?

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree: BSc with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning



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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the BSc Honours degree in Urban and Regional Planning to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

Nkosikhona Mfusi

_____2016

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Abstract

As the years go by, as the countries and cities continue to urbanise, the population growth of the world increases, and there emerges a growing concern of how to better equip cities to accommodate the rapidly increasing population. The prevailing question then becomes how do we develop cities to be able to withstand and to house the increase in population? Some cities have dealt with this predicament through creating new cities, or though encouraging the sprawling of existing cities. The cities that have chosen to think of a more sustainable solution for development have opted for using densification as a means to curb urban sprawl and resource consumption and in the process create more compact cities. The issue with opting for increasing densities is the fears that are associated with densification such as fears of overcrowding, loss of privacy, but most important the presiding fear of the myths and the memories of past failed densification attempts. The association of density with slums; degrading tower blocks; overcrowded, crime ridden neighbourhoods instead of with cities Paris, Toronto, Barcelona, Vienna or Singapore which are all examples of cities that have successfully densified in order to ensure survival.

This report seeks to explore the perceptions that residents of suburban Johannesburg have regarding densification in attempts to help with the city's progression towards a compact city. It aims to create and explore possible historical, economic, social or psychological links that may explain why residents have formulated or adapted the perceptions that they have.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH OF EXISTING PERCEPTIONS REGARDING DENSIFICATION

1.1 Research topic

Discovering and exploring existing perceptions of densification: The case of Orange Grove and Soweto.

1.2 Research problem

My interest lies in the spatial configuration of the post-apartheid city which is highly segregated and exclusionary to certain groups of people. The City of Johannesburg has been moving towards densifying and thus bringing people that are in previously black townships situated far from the city centre, back into the city where they can access all the opportunities available within the CBD in attempts to integrate the historically segregated city. The problem comes in trying to sell the idea of high rise density living in the inner city to people who are not use to that type of living. While some individuals may be on board and open to the idea of living within walking distance from anything and everything you would need in the city, from work to shops to leisure activities to recreational spaces, there is however still a significant group of people who aspire for suburban living. These are the people that still view owning a house with a big yard in the suburbs and having a car, as the benchmark for success. My interest lies in understanding the different perceptions existing about densification, particularly from the suburban community.

1.3 Research question

What are the existing perceptions attached to residential densification in suburban Johannesburg?

1.4 Subsidiary questions

1. How are perceptions derived and sustained?
2. What makes people prefer certain kinds of densification over other kinds?
3. What is it about high rise density that frightens people?
4. How can planners help in addressing the existing perceptions attached to high rise residential densification?

1.5 Argument/Position

The cities of South Africa still bear the burden of apartheid spatial planning. 22 years down the line and the cities remain as segregated as they were during the apartheid government rule. The City of Johannesburg has embarked on a journey of integrating the city that is so vastly and quite visibly segregated. One of the initiatives created to combat the segregation is the Corridors of Freedom. It promotes the creation of transport corridors throughout the city that connect different areas in Johannesburg while encouraging and facilitating a pedestrian friendly

environment. In addition to promoting non-vehicular modes of transportation, the Corridors of Freedom also promotes mixed land use and residential densification.

Densification has been occurring more frequently in the city in recent years. While this move towards a more densified and compact city has been accepted and welcomed by a few it has also been approached with scepticism, fear and resistance from other residents living in areas of proposed densification. The problem arises when the city has formulated a utopia that includes densification and has already taken steps in implementing this vision whereas the residents still hold deep reservations. The residents are often not adequately informed nor consulted on the changes that are to occur. This then hinders the development that the city has planned and causes unrest and animosity within the residents of the city.

1.6 Research Aim

The aim of the research report is to address the problems that planners face in attempting to direct development towards a more sustainable manner while having to cater to the needs of a diverse group of individuals living in the city. In the recent time densification has been said to be a more sustainable way of developing cities while preventing exhausting resources, although this is currently being debated worldwide, it is the way that most cities are directing their development. Johannesburg happens to be one of the cities that are encouraging more densification as well as transport corridor developments in order to create a more compact city. One that is less dependent on the motor vehicle and more on public transportation and non-motorized forms of transportation.

I aim to uncover what informs the perceptions that people form. In doing so I will explore the backgrounds of the interviewees and see whether the different themes of culture, religion, race and class have an impact in the perceptions people generate subconsciously regarding high density living. Exploring these themes will give an indication of whether these are perceptions that can be changed through persuasion and convincing or whether the perceptions are deeply rooted within an individual's beliefs and the way they have been brought up which presents as a problem to city planners who are primarily advocating for densification in the city in order to slow down the rate of urban sprawl and the reduce the usage of resources.

In the completion of my research report I aim to have answered the following questions in attempts to answer the bigger, previously mentioned sub questions. Are people for or against densification? What are their reasons for their current stance on densification?

What has informed their current views on densification? What could be the psychological aspects that affect the formation of perceptions? How does an individual's background (given South Africa's racial and spatial history) affect the views they have on densification? How do we as planners address the reservations people might have with regards to a more densified city? What role does the concept of 'Not in my back yard' (NIMBY) play in the formation of perceptions regarding densification?

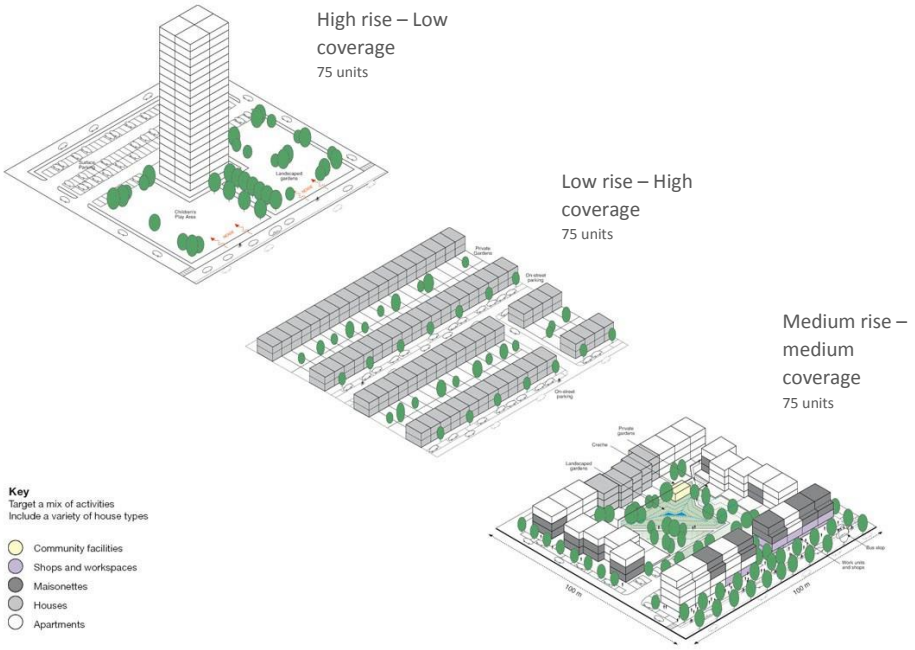


Figure 1: Image showing the different forms density can take
Source: https://i0.wp.com/urbiumetorbi.files.wordpress.com/2015/07/wpid-wp-1436536198653.jpg?w=1344?w=1090

1.7 Research methods

In conducting my research of the various perceptions that exist with regards to residential densification in suburban Johannesburg, I saw qualitative methods as most fitting for acquiring and extracting the results that would benefit and enrichen the research. My research is based on finding and understanding residents' individual perceptions, thoughts, views and opinions on residential densification and in so doing uncovering where the resistance, if any, is originating from.

Qualitative research is effective in finding and gathering information that is culturally specific regarding a particular population's social context, opinions, values, and behaviours (Mack *et al*, 2005). This type of research provides the human side of an issue that often is conflicting and contradictory involving behaviours, opinions, beliefs, emotions and relationships of individuals (Mack *et al*, 2005). Qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of particular populations (Mack *et al*, 2005). In qualitative research, gaining a complex and deep understanding of a specific social context or phenomena takes precedence over producing data that can easily be generalised to other populations or geographical areas, however findings can be used on people that

have similar characteristics as those in the study population (Mack *et al*, 2005).

Since my research is primarily based on exploring and finding out the perceptions people have with regards to densification in the city, high rise densification in particular, it was thus fitting that my research take on a qualitative form. The research involved conducting a set of interviews with a fixed set of questions that 5 individuals living in the currently densifying neighbourhood of Paterson Park (Orange Grove) and 5 in apartheid planned, previously black, peripheral, somewhat suburban area of Jabulani (Soweto) were asked. These 10 people, in total, were selected through general observation that first aimed to see if they fell within the set age group before commencing with approaching them. I specifically interviewed individuals between the ages of 18 to 39 who constitute the 'young adult' bracket in both Paterson Park and Jabulani.

My research strategies comprised of two case studies of Orange Grove and Soweto. I chose to specifically deal with two sites because I wanted to have a comparative study which would deal with and explore various different perceptions that I believed would be richer and most beneficial to my study if they came from populations from different sites with different backgrounds. In comparing the various perceptions I aimed to reveal certain similarities and differences while also uncovering the cause and reason behind these and whether the current neighbourhood bared an influence on the views and opinions they hold regarding high rise densification.

My sites are from opposite parts of the city and have contrasting historical and spatial backgrounds but both are currently experiencing and have experienced densification. My expectations were that this would generate people with different perceptions informed by different factors which would make for an interesting read. I also expected that the different backgrounds and the types of residents currently there might give an indication as to what informs the perceptions people make and views they have regarding densification. I wanted to find out whether the historical spatial planning of each site individually factors into the types of densification people are open to and the types that they oppose. My thoughts were that perhaps people were used to a certain kind of densification because of the planning system that exposed them to that particular kind of densification which made them more open to the densification that know than to a new type of densification.

Even in instances where the 'new' densification would be most beneficial to them, when given a choice they still opt for the

densification they know. I believed that there had to be a reason why people were against high rise densification in particular seeing as there are other forms of densification, namely horizontal, that have been a large part of the spatial arrangement of South African cities that have not been receiving as much opposition and resistance as high rise densification. According to Schell (1992) case studies are the most flexible of all the research designs which then allows the researcher to be able to capture holistic characteristics of reality and the events that take place within that reality. Case studies contribute to the construction and validation of theoretical propositions (Levy, 2008).

I conducted a series of 15-20 min interviews with people living in Paterson Park and in Jabulani. The aim of these interviews was to find out their views on living in high rise apartments closer to opportunities and public services; what had informed the views they held; and whether those views were views that could potentially still be swayed in the long run by so doing assist in getting an indication as to how planners and city officials can begin to address those views. My primary aim was to find out the perceptions of the people between the ages of 18-39, in other words young adults, have regarding residential densification. I wanted to find out what exactly informed these perceptions, whether it was where they came from, their culture, religion, race, economic status or whether it was just based on personal preference. I chose people of this particular age group because they tend to be the most informed generation and more vocal in terms of expressing their views and beliefs on any topic at hand. I thus believed they would be the age group that would produce most insightful and informative responses and perspectives.

I conducted interviews with people on the public realm, such as at the taxi stop and the sitting areas at Jabulani Mall and the streets of Paterson Park. I did this as I believed that the public realm would allow for a more genuine and relaxed interaction and interview with the residents. I did not want to encroach on the residents' private property and create any kind of discomfort thus I chose to conduct my interviews in public areas that had a variety of people constantly moving or present at any given time. This was in order to establish a comfortable, easy and relaxed interview setting that would assist in generating honest and personal answers therefore giving me a better understanding on the interviewees' perceptions and views.

I decided to create a trail run for my questionnaire in order to assess whether the questions within it were clear, unambiguous and direct while also being able to generate answers that would ultimately answer my subsidiary and main research questions. Before commencing with the interviews, I initially observed the

living conditions and the environment of the selected sites from the view of an outsider observing. This was in order to witness the differences or similarities in the housing typologies and in the residents of the two sites. I chose to enhance these differences and similarities using various images that I captured on site. The structured interviews were in the form of a questionnaire where I captured the residents' answers in writing as I saw that this allowed for them to focus only on their answers and not on writing which made it possible for them to be able to speak freely and without any limits. The interviews were recorded in the form of hand written notes on site. This presented to be the best way to make the residents feel comfortable and relaxed. The interviews were conducted on weekends and on Fridays as these were the days anticipated to have most people on the public realm. I also explored international cases where significant densification has occurred and saw how the residents there responded to the densification and how they dealt with opposing views and learnt from the methodologies that were used.

The Paterson Park lies exactly in between Norwood (west) and Orange Grove (east) neighbourhoods and ultimately the proposed development in the park will have an inevitable effect on both neighbourhoods. I conducted my research for the Paterson park area in Orange grove which presently is a predominantly low income area, that is and has been experiencing horizontal densification in the form of semi-detached housing and backyard housing. The plot sizes are smaller than those of the Norwood area suggesting that the economic status of the residents in Orange grove and in Norwood is quite different. Given the history of Orange Grove I had anticipated the area to still have a significant portion of the white population present, but contrary to that I found the area to be mainly dominated by the black population from low and middle income status.

The white/Jewish population that have been the most vocal on their disapproval and resistance in terms of the densification that is proposed and currently being implemented in the park are mostly found in Norwood, west of Paterson Park. Their resistance and complaints have been heavily documented either on the official COJ websites or within filled documents of complaints in the municipality. I thus thought it more fruitful to deal with the residents in Orange Grove who will also be affected by the densification and capture their views and opinions which have not been documented as much as the opinions of the Norwood residents.

Jabulani, Soweto was and still remains dominated by the black population. The neighbourhood is of low income status which is

primarily as a result of previous spatial planning and ruling system. I thought the area would be a good fit for my research as the area was spatially planned to mimic the suburban layout although it was perverted in this case to enforce the segregation of different races. Horizontal densification in the area is a phenomenon as old as the township itself. I believed the residents of Jabulani would bring in an interesting perspective on densification. I wanted to find out if the spatial, economic and social history of the area had an impact on the perceptions that they hold regarding densification. I thought it would be interesting to find out the perspective and perception of the resident that lives in an area that was solely created to be far away from the city and segregated from all the opportunities it provides. Their thoughts on the compact city concept that attempts to counter the segregation and aims to integrate the city while curbing urban sprawl would be beneficial to urban planners that are tasked with the job of bettering the countries cities and making the city accessible to all its residents.

1.8 Ethical considerations

Since my research is based on finding out people's perceptions and thoughts on densification, it required me to conduct in depth and structured interviews with various people. It was therefore made clear from the beginning of the interview stages that the interview was a voluntary process which they could dismiss at any point if they felt the need to or if they changed their minds on participating in the study. My research dealt with interviewing specifically young adults between the ages of 18 and 39 therefore it did not include interviewing those that fall under vulnerable groups such as children (under 18s), the migrant population, or pregnant women.

My research relied strongly on interviews and thus required me to produce a consent form stating that the interviewee had been thoroughly informed on the aims of the research. The consent form was given to the interviewees and the decision was theirs to make on whether they were comfortable with signing and stating their names on it or not. All the residents I interviewed preferred verbal agreement as their form of consent as they were not comfortable with signing anything.

It was made abundantly clear that there are no rewards for participating in the study and that if they agreed to partake they did so without expectations of any kind of favours or gains in return. The anonymity of the interviewees was maintained as stated and agreed upon. The interviewees, when directly mentioned were referred to using the term 'Resident 1'. A transparent, honest and professional relationship was maintained with each of the interviewees firstly in order to avoid creating an awkward and

uncomfortable environment and secondly to ensure the atmosphere was conducive for a genuine and honest interview.

The main objective was to create an environment that encouraged the interviewees to be comfortable and free in order to be able to provide me with their true and unfiltered opinions. My research was conducted on the public realm at various points within the Jabulani Mall in Soweto and on the streets of Paterson Park in Orange Grove. This was to ensure that I do not encroach on the private space of my interviewees as well as also trying to create and maintain a safe environment for both myself and the interviewees. The limitations I experienced in Paterson Park were with regards to the lack of people on the streets or outside their homes thus finding willing and interested residents presented to be quite the challenge. I had no intent to encroach on the private realm of the residents which added on to the list of challenges faced.

CHAPTER 2: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND RELEVANT CONCEPTS

2.1 Exploring literary grounds

2.1.1 Introduction

This literature review analyses certain literatures that have been identified as important in unpacking my topic area and in understanding the concepts that inform the basis of my research. The review also aims to highlight the different areas of research where more work needs to be done, where information might be lacking and where further research is still needed. The literature will help identify as well as inform the different concepts that are covered within the research question.

Johannesburg much like many South African cities is battling with finding its feet and developing a new identity that is not tarnished by or soaked in the apartheid ideals. Murray (2008) refers to Johannesburg as having a 'schizophrenic' urban identity that shifts from sacred to profane. In his book his main argument is that spatial dynamics of Johannesburg after apartheid have resulted in an unstable urban landscape where horizontal growth has created additional strain on planning regulations, and where there is an indisputable tension between the urban rich and the urban poor who break out in conflict in unforeseen parts of the city (Murray, 2008). His book gives an understanding of the state of South African cities specifically Johannesburg which helps in putting into perspective the reasoning behind the city going towards a more compact and integrated city using densification as one of its main tools.

2.1.2 Densification

Densification is a multi-faceted and complex topic that is currently being debated across the world. People that are pro-densification arguing that it is the sustainable way of developing our cities and curbing the rapid urban sprawl that is taking place while also reducing the rate at which resources are being used up. This means that open land in urban areas will be built on instead of the farmlands or the natural areas of the urban fringe which urban sprawl would inevitably do (Pauleit *et al*, 2005). Those that are against densification argue that it may not be the most sustainable way to develop. They also question the quality of life that is being provided available to residents in a compact city. They note that even though compaction may seem alluring in order to reduce the consumption of land and energy and the emission of greenhouse gas, there is the possibility that it may compromise the ecological quality in the city and its ability to adapt to climate change (Pauleit *et al*, 2005).

Arrigone (1995) describes urban densification as a term implying an increase in residential density with residential density here referring to the number of dwellings per hectare. He goes on to describe urban compaction as implying an increase in building density which is the total built residential floor area per hectare. Although Arrigone's book is quite thin and it is very architectural and design focused, it does however give a brief description of the terms 'density' and 'compaction'. Density can be expressed in different forms, residential, population and building densities. For the purpose of this research residential densification is the form that is of interest.

Density: Drivers, Dividends and Debates by Clark and Moir (2015), gives a good overview on density and the factors that attribute to the increase and decrease of density in an area. It talks about the cities that have been seen as successful in densifying while also going into detail in explaining the qualities that may help in making a city densify successfully and qualities that will do the opposite. In the article population change is seen as the root cause of recent densification taking place in cities all over the world (Clark and Moir, 2015). However there are other drivers that are important to understand. Physical limitations and topography, the location of public transport infrastructure and facilities, as well as the design, lifestyle, culture and development of a city all have an impact on the spatial arrangement of the population (Clark and Moir, 2015). In the modernising and highly global world, there are additional drivers that play a role in creating and moulding people's preferences for or against high urban densities. The article is essential in giving a well-rounded explanation of what density comprises of, as well as giving information on what density means for the future of those densifying cities (Clark and Moir, 2015).

There are 4 parts to the book *Designing high density cities* by Ng (2010): the first part attempts to define and understand the concept of high density; the second looks at the relationship between the climate and high density; the third part talks about the effects of high density on the environment; lastly the forth part analyses the social aspects of living in high density buildings. The parts most useful to my research are the first part as it gives a good foundation on understanding density and densification; and the fourth part as it starts to analyse the social challenges that may arise in living in high density buildings. This book proved to be viable in assisting me in terms of defining the type of densification I was interested in exploring as well as also giving an insight on the social impacts of living in high density.

Part one explores the 2 categories that fall under physical density: people density and building density. People density according to Ng

(2010) is defined as the number of people or households per given area, while building density is defined as the ratio of building structures to an area unit. Within people density are 3 different measures to determine this type of density such as regional, residential and occupancy. Regional density is the ratio of a population, the land area of a region usually used as an indicator of population distribution in national planning policy. Occupancy density refers to the ratio of the number of occupants to the floor area of an individual habitable unit. It is an indicator for estimating the services required in order to measure building services. Residential density, which is the density I am most concerned with, is the ratio of a population to residential land area. According to Ng (2010) this can further be divided into two categories, Net residential densities and Gross residential densities based on the definition of the reference area.

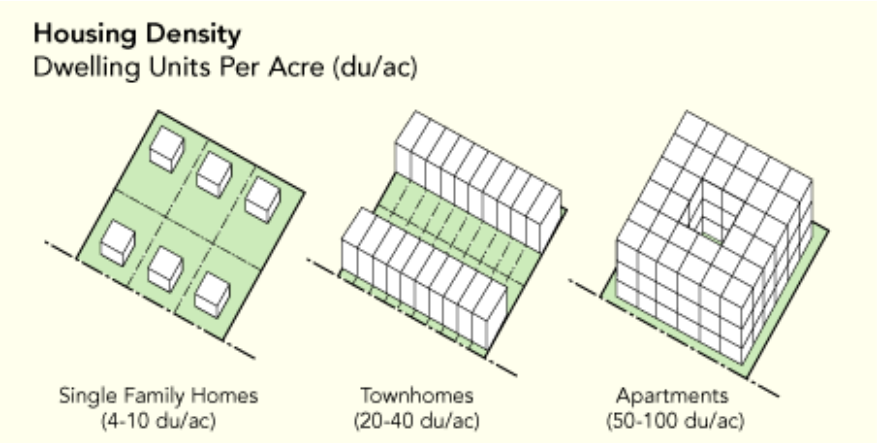


Figure 2: Different housing typologies and their densities.
Source: https://playingwithpolitics.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/ch_densitytypes.gif?w=453&h=240

Turok (2011) article looks at the issues involved in central city densification. It looks at residential densification as a developmental issue that is located within a city and national context rather than a physical investment and neighbourhood alteration. The author states that a density strategy should provide the means to allow a shift in the growth route of a city in a direction that is sustainable, efficient and equitable. Since 1994 urban integration and densification have been identified as government objectives. The article defines density and confronts the negative image that communities have of densification due to what is largely portrayed by the media. Turok (2011) suggests that there should be a density ceiling that would act as a guideline in order to create awareness of the dangers that come with over-crowding and encourage constructive solutions. The Turok (2011) article is based on study of the City of Cape Town but has valuable sources of information on the spatial changes and dilemmas that are faced by post-apartheid cities and how densification can be used constructively in discouraging urban sprawl. This article highlights the need for more research to be done in figuring out whether densification is a viable, sustainable and effective long term solution to fighting urban sprawl (Turok, 2011).

2.1.3 Perceived density

Perceived density is an individual's estimate on the number of people in a given site (Nematollahi, 2015). Certain activities people are associated with, the space organisation and the space available are all factors that affect how people perceive space. Perceived density lies between a spectrum of two extremes of 'Crowding' and 'Isolation' (Nematollahi, 2015). Perceived density and crowding according to Churchman (1999) are based on the idea that the same kind of density can be perceived, evaluated and seen in varying and contrasting ways by different people with different cultures, from different areas, and under different circumstances. In the Churchman (1999) article perceived density is explained to be an individual's perception and view of the number of people that are within a specific area, the amount of space that is available in that area as well as the organisation of that space.

Perceptions are subjective in nature as they are determined by the individual thus unique to the specific individual and they do not include any kind of evaluative component (Churchman, 1999). Crowding, a concept largely associated with existing perceptions regarding densification, is defined as a state of psychological stress that accompanies density that is seen as too high. It is an outcome of an experimental and subjective process. The problem with most literature on density and densification is that it mostly portrays the negative subjective aspects like crowding and hardly ever mentions the positive. The assumption in most cases is that low density residential accommodation would keep residents protected from the troubles that come with high density residential areas thus making low density living alluring (Churchman, 1999).

2.1.3.1 Psychological aspects of perceived density

One of the most common perceptions regarding density is that of overcrowding. According to Fleming *et al* (1987) one of the most important steps in trying to understand and deal with 'crowding stress' is by first discovering the distinction and separation of physical properties of density and psychological experiences of crowding. Looking at density only as a physical condition provides certain opportunities and problems alike for people. Some of these opportunities or problems can cause the distress referred to as *crowding* (Fleming *et al*, 1987). Physical density can be attained through the increase of people or through the decrease in the space occupied by people. Increase in people reflects changes in social density and creates problems related to regulating social contact, overload, and goal attainment. The decrease of space results in special density and creates problems related to intimacy regulation, constraint, and interference (Fleming *et al*, 1987). The extent to

which the problem is acknowledged and understood as *crowding* is determined by personal variables that affect how density is encountered and perceived. The way people experience density such as through social, psychological and social constraints also help in determining *crowding*. Physical constraint, overload, and lack of control are seen as potential results of high density.

Several investigators suggested that high density effects were mediated by perceptions of control. High density can prevent the ability to regulate the frequency and the nature of social interaction as well as the ability to attain certain goals (Fleming *et al*, 1987). The assumption is that as the number of people living in the area increase, it becomes more likely that people will get involved in undesirable behaviour and unproductive interaction and thus creating problems in attempting to avoid or terminate social contact. The act of density in itself is not the stressor but the uncontrollable nature of social interaction that is predicted to emerge resulting from socially dense environments may be the cause of crowding stress (Fleming *et al*, 1987). Social interaction that occurs in exterior spaces of high density neighbourhoods may also affect whether the residents perceive the neighbourhood to be crowded.

2.1.4 Effects of high rise densification on green spaces in an area

The densification process for high rise residential accommodation often results in an increased amount of people in the area thus more people relying on the public services and spaces provided in a specific area (Arnberger, 2012). Each area has a certain number of green areas available for the local population, densification in residential areas leads to an increase in the usage of these public areas and spaces. Heavy usage of green spaces results in crowding, degrading environments and recreational conflicts. It is assumed that long-term visitors of urban green spaces are affected by densification processes. They perceive a decrease in the quality of the recreational space and thus inevitably end up avoiding using the spaces (Arnberger, 2012). The visitors that have the most experience with the space often develop strong emotional ties to the green space and may see the permanent change and increase in the amount of people using it as a threat to their space.

The knowledge of the recreational quality perceived by users of the green space is necessary in order to properly manage the green space in a sustainable way, especially when there is densification processes happening that will have a direct effect on the green space and bring in more people (Arnberger, 2012). Crowding in this case is explained as a form of social interference that prohibits

people with the love of enjoying recreational spaces from finding silence and solitude that they usually get from recreational spaces (Arnberger, 2012). Researchers have found that the factors that influence crowding in a particular area include people density, their activity, type of people and their behaviour and culture (Arnberger, 2012).



Figure 3: Image of an over -crowded city park near high rise density.
Source: https://imgs.6sqft.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/03131332/sheep-meadow_crowd.jpg

2.1.5 International cases of densification (responses from the residents)

Density is a very heated topic in development currently. In most neighbourhoods the news of a potential new project that is likely to result in an increase in the number of dwelling units per acre creates uproar. This is very unfortunate since density has arguably been the most powerful tool for creating a sustainable city and helping in preserving agricultural land as well as the open spaces beyond its borders. Strategic densification offers benefits that are far greater than an individual metropolitan area. Taking into consideration the growth in the world population and the continued migration of people across the globe, the densification of urban settlements has the ability to play a crucial role in the improvement of the health of the planet as a whole (Toderian and Holland, 2008).

During a study of densification that took place in Greater Lyon, the results showed that the density was perceived as a threat to the community of Lyon's western suburbs. The particular fear within this community was losing their 'village cachet' thus resulting in them becoming 'real cities' which makes them forfeit their status of being a purely residential, socially homogenous area to becoming the intensely urbanised spaces open for diversified functions (Toderian and Holland, 2008).

2.1.6 Compact city approach

The first chapter of Harrison *et al* (2003)'s book '*Fragmentation and globalization as the new meta-narrative*' mentions the concept of the compact city approach and spatial integration. Spatial disjuncture and fragmentation have always been a huge concern for planners. The concern use to lie on separating and ordering land uses but recently the focus has shifted to combating low density sprawl as well as integrating areas that are spatial separated. The compact city approach includes 'smart growth', 'transit oriented development' and 'the new urbanism' (Harrison *et al*, 2003). The key aspects of compact city approach include support for public transportation, mixed use development, containing sprawl and increasing urban densities. The instruments used are infill development, strategic infrastructural investments, urban growth boundaries, the designation of urban corridors and road pricing (Harrison *et al*, 2003).

On the other hand, Smyth (1996) in Skovbro (2001) suggests that a compact city approach or policy will have very similar side effects as to urban renewal projects, the poor and disadvantaged will suffer more from the inevitable high land prices resulting from densification. Ultimately social segregation will continue as densifying areas will become too expensive for the urban poor therefore preventing them from living or using those parts of the city (Skovbro, 2001). Densification developments are thus likely to lead to places in the inner city being too expensive for the people that currently reside there thus pushing them out and displacing the disadvantaged and the urban poor into transitional zones and the periphery (Skovbro, 2001). The article highlights a close relationship between densification and gentrification. This is particularly interesting as this article makes one think critically about this relationship and thus question whether densification can in fact occur without intentionally or unintentionally resulting in gentrification.

One of the main ideas behind compact cities is that they will reduce urban consumption patterns and urban sprawl by concentrating urban development. It is based on the principles of intensifying the use of space in a city through the promotion of higher residential densities, centralization, mixture of land uses and restrictions on development within the city limits. Dave (2010) makes reference to the scepticism that researchers have with regards to the compact city and intensified city concept mainly arguing that it is not a concept that is transferable to cities in developing countries. The article goes on to talk about the two dimensions that density has namely physical density and perceived density. Physical density being measured using the number of buildings, households and

people within a given site. The higher number of households or people in an area is beneficial in terms of sustainability through the optimum use of land, cost efficiency, infrastructure layout and energy consumption (Dave, 2010). The articles also talks about perceived density which is most useful to my study. The way residents perceive density could have significant impacts on social interaction, satisfaction with built environment, preference for moving to or away from an area, and community cohesion. It becomes apparent that perceived density can have a significant impact on the acceptability of physical density varying from each individual depending on the cultural preferences and lifestyles in different areas. These can have a large impact on the policies created for compaction and the intensification of urban areas. The article raises the issue that sustainability is not properly defined in theoretical terms and in policies which then leads to some cities lacking the strategic direction for sustainable growth (Dave, 2010).

2.1.7 Not In My Back Yard (NIMBY)

NIMBY is the acronym for the phrase 'not in my back yard' in land use terms it is described as a syndrome that is emotional, narrow-minded and self-serving community response or reaction towards locally unwanted land uses (LULUs). The NIMBY syndrome is also at times viewed as an attitude of local hostility to LULUs. The 7 assumptions made with reference to NIMBY phenomenon are as follows:

1. The locational issue of the negative external effects of LULUs are the base of NIMBY
2. The legitimacy of the unwanted land uses lie on the hands of the people who represent interests higher than those of the local community members that are resisting the specific LULU.
3. Most people, if not everyone, agree and understand the importance, usefulness and necessity of the particular unwanted land use but no one wants it to be situated in their backyards.
4. The higher interests mentioned earlier are seen to refer to a centralised body for example the government or a committee. This body is thus seen as being responsible for fixing problems that arise in the local area as well as handling negotiations and trade-offs between different local interests.
5. The central body is seen as similar to national or public interest.
6. The opposition of the unwanted land uses is in most cases portrayed as deeply rooted within the local interests that are perceived to be short-sighted and self-serving.

7. The solution that is suggested is to reduce the cost of the resistance put forward by local communities that are trying to protect their back yards.

2.1.8 Post-apartheid Johannesburg (City redevelopment)

In 1994, in the midst of political uncertainty, traditional white businesses moved from the inner city accompanied by their residential base change to the suburbs. The inner city thus inevitably experienced rapid social change. Buildings could not be sold for sufficient prices which lead to the white owner abandoning or mothballing them (Garner, 2011). This was quickly followed by a large influx of new city dwellers that were previously denied access to acquire accommodation in the centrally located inner city due to the barriers of the apartheid planning system. Unlike other cities across the world that experienced inner city decline, Johannesburg city centre was not abandoned but instead experienced radical social change. The apartheid city council was caught off guard, unequipped and unwilling to handle the social change that was occurring (Garner, 2011). The council was seen as illegitimate as they were an institution created in the apartheid system and only represented the white residents and therefore neglected the needs of other population groups. It was thus unable to enforce its own bylaws leaving home owners free to turn into slumlords, and tenants free to hijack buildings. The result was large scale overcrowding with no repercussions for those that do not make their municipal payments. Service delivery, maintenance upkeep, and municipal structures started to be neglected and inevitably collapsing. Not long after the first democratic elections, and the division of local government into separate regional councils, Johannesburg developed the reputation of a crime ridden and dirty precinct that should be avoided (Garner, 2011).

The inner city was not completely abandoned, as some companies and corporations stayed loyal to the inner city remembering the heydays of the inner city. Eventually the new local government structures turned things around and brought back legitimacy into the city and the public realm which thus created a new generation of property investors emerging in the city. Twenty years later and the city is still mending and growing into an inner city that is very different to the one that was. A city that is energetic, vibrant, full of life and accessible has emerged. Garner (2011) states how the journey and transformation of Johannesburg from the divided, white, apartheid city to the dirty, crime-ridden city and now to a vibrant, energetic, accessible city is a very complex one. Hillbrow is one of the residential areas of the inner city that experienced the most devastating decline. The lack of municipal governance as well

as a malfunctioning property sector created the disastrous inner city decay that was and still is Hillbrow (Garner, 2011).

Once a single united Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council was established, vital regeneration efforts began taking place in the city, and with the assistance of the formation of the JDA in 2001 regeneration projects in declining parts of the city commenced. Since then until the present the signs of regeneration in the city have been through the public art throughout the inner city, revitalised interest in retail businesses through the establishments of hotel, hospitality and leisure nodes in the city (Garner, 2011). There are a significant number of new commercial and office developments within the inner city as well as the infrastructure for public transport in particular the Rea Vaya Rapid Bus system and the Gautrain. The JDA has had various successes in its regeneration initiatives of public spaces and residential development. The latter involved the upgrading of existing residential buildings or refurbishing the offices and industrial buildings into apartments (Garner, 2011).

The literature review has explored the main themes and terms that make up the foundation of this research. The following Conceptual framework section will explore more specifically the concepts that emerged from the literature review while also providing a conceptual diagram that will seek to illustrate how the concepts link and feed into each other.

2.2 Conceptual framework

Through the analysis of the literature that makes up the literature review a few main concepts emerged that create the basis and foundation of the research report. These concepts guide the direction the research ultimately takes. The main concepts of the research report that have been identified are *densification, perceptions, NIMBY, spatial integration, compact city and home making*.

The literature mentioned above help in tackling the research question and topic area of the research, as well as informing and understanding the concepts that collectively, make up the conceptual framework. In attempting to answer the questions posed I needed to have a well-rounded understanding of the different terms used as well as the concepts formulated. The city over the years has been moving towards integrating Johannesburg which is still quite visibly segregated into the similar patterns that apartheid planning created and enforced. This move to integration has been pioneered using densification as a tool to bring people closer to the city thus closer to the economic and social opportunity found within the city while also containing development that was using up a lot of resources and land. Densification thus presents itself as the sustainable long term solution to city development. The issue arises in convincing people who have grown up in very low density suburbs that high density accommodation is the way to go in terms of sustainably developing the city. For me to be able to find out people's thoughts and possibly how planners can mitigate the negative perceptions, I needed to fully understand the concepts highlighted in the research.

Compact city is the movement that encourages a shift from the sprawling city to an integrated and compact city which is largely based on the residential densification of nodes between the inner city and the periphery. This movement also encourages the creation of transport corridors and the bringing in of mixed land uses in the city thus creating inclusive and compact city areas that are within a walking distance to everything a person may need. The compact city also discourages the use of motor vehicles and encourages non-motorised modes of transport in turn emphasising the importance of the pedestrian in the city. When using the compact city phrase within the research report it is with reference to the residential densification aspect of it and not on the mixed land uses nor on the transport systems. This concept is one of the main concepts of the research as the densification concept goes hand in hand with the compact city concept. These are directly proportional concepts, the more densification that takes place in the city, the more compact it becomes.

NIMBY is the acronym for 'Not In My Back Yard' which refers to the opposing tactics and protectionist attitudes of community members that are facing an unwelcome development within their neighbourhood (Burningham *et al*, 2006). The residents usually acknowledge the need of the facilities or the development but oppose it being next to their homes which explains the "not in my back yard" term. The NIMBYism term in some cases is misused and equated with local opposition, which is not the case (Burningham *et al*, 2006). This is an essential and important concept to unpack in the understanding and exploring of residents perceptions regarding densification as in most cases the residents understand the benefits that come with densifying the city and moving towards a more compact city where everything that is a necessity to the resident is within walking distance or is close to public transport nodes meaning that the resident can move thoroughly in and out of the city easily, efficiently, and without it leaving an irreparable dent on their finances. This concept is thus an essential component of this research and helps in understanding the perceptions people hold and how they arrive at those perceptions.

Following densification, **perceptions** are the main concept of this research. Perceptions are a complex concept to decipher in terms of where they originate and for what reasons, but they hold the key to better designed cities through enhanced communication and interaction of residents and city officials. The perceptions of the residents; how they are generated; and sustained are the some of the questions aimed to be answered through the progression of this research report. Knowing the perceptions that exist, and understanding where they originate from will help planners and city officials in dealing with them and designing a better city for the residents, one that is more responsive to its citizen's needs. If the city is to progress in a sustainable manner all parties that play a role in its functioning need to be communicating and in unison.

The term '**home**' is very subjective. Some people associate it with where their families are situated and based, to some it is where they have made the most memories, and for others home is wherever they are. Other people equate home with characteristics such as the presence of a garden; trees; pets; space for children to play. This is an important concept for this research as it tackles the issue of what people view as a home, and seeks to understand whether there is a relationship between what people view as a home and the reluctance to certain kinds of development and residential densification.

Densification as explored in the literature review, densification is a very complex and multifaceted issue. A topic/issue that has both positive and negative outcomes accompanied by successful and

failed case studies around the world. Such a topic as densification sparks many debates and discussions as well as being inevitably accompanied by certain myths and perceptions by residents. This is the main concept explored in the document as understanding it and being accustom to its complexities will help us better under the challenges that city's face when planning for and guiding development.

Ultimately the aim is to give more importance to the residents' voice as I believe that they are what can either help the process of development in the city or derail it. An improved communication channel between those that plan for the city and those that use and live in it, is needed in order to reach the dream of creating a sustainable and compact city.

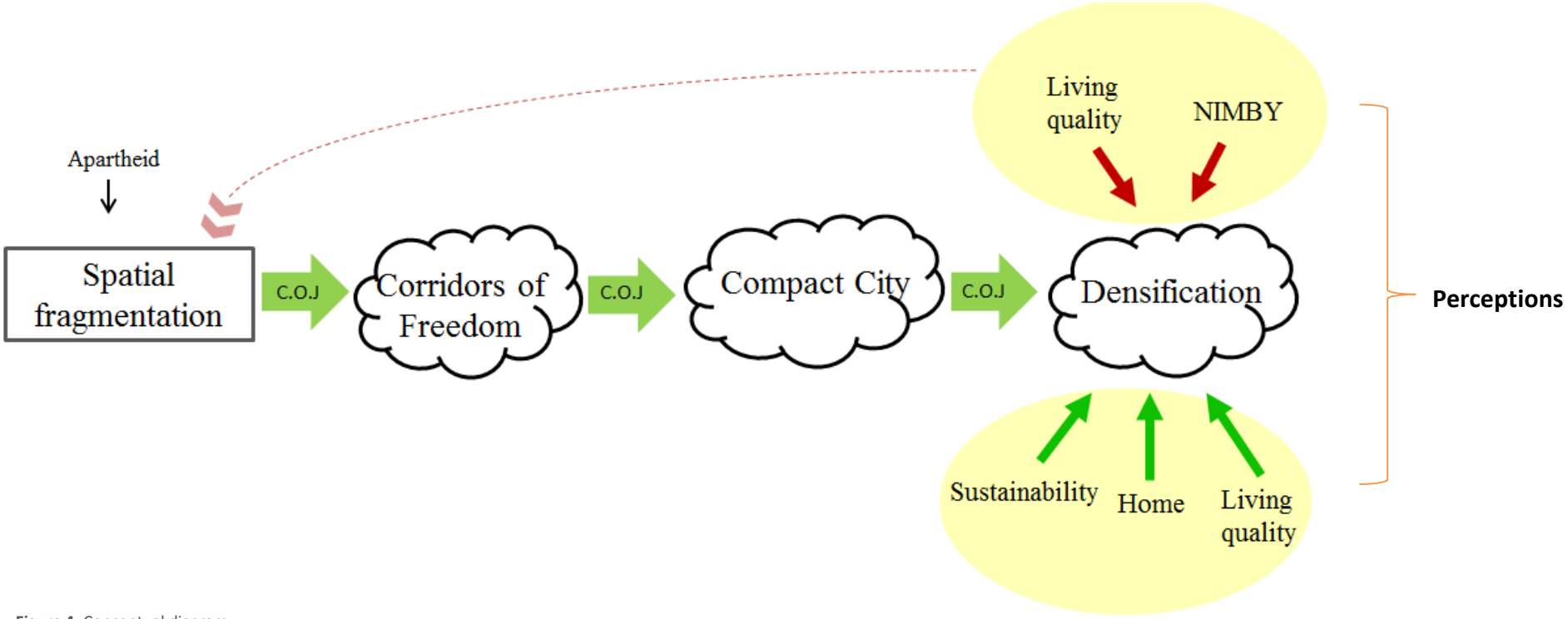


Figure 4: Conceptual diagram
Source: Mfusi, 2016

CHAPTER 3: RECAPPING THE SPATIAL HISTORY OF JOHANNESBURG

3.1 Introduction

South Africa is a unique and complex country, one that is faced with countless issues regarding spatial, social and economic inequalities and segregation which are as a result of its long and severe history of oppression and violence encapsulated within the apartheid ruling system. It facilitated and encouraged the separation of all races from any sort of interaction on any level. It was justified as the separation of skills in order for optimal functioning of the country. In other words the different races would work better, use their skills more effectively and efficiently when divided. This rule followed a hierarchy of the White population on top followed by the "non-whites", which constituted of the Coloured population, the Indian population and lastly the African (Black) population at the bottom of the hierarchy.

This chapter will look at the spatial history of Johannesburg which requires a recapping of the detrimental and significant role apartheid played in the spatial arrangement of South African cities as well as its role in influencing the currently existing perceptions of different housing typologies. This will shed light into the reasoning behind the creation of proposals such as the Corridors of Freedom that encourage transport oriented development and densification in order to counter the segregation and spatial inequalities that were created, enforced and left behind by the apartheid spatial planning system. It will also help in understanding if the spatial arrangement of cities during apartheid has influenced how people think of space and housing typologies as well as why people hold certain perceptions regarding certain forms of densification.

The purpose of the chapter is to examine the history of the housing typologies in both Jabulani - Soweto and Paterson Park - Orange Grove. In understanding the spatial history of the areas, it will start to fall in place and we will start making sense of why the residents of these areas prefer a certain kind of densification over others. Analysing the past housing typologies with help in connecting the dots as to what may inform their perceptions. Determining a pattern that explains the foundation of the perceptions that exist will assist in attempting to discover if there is any way to change them.

Off-the-record conversations with family members living in the suburbs have revealed that there seems to be a reluctance to accept certain types of density over others. Residents seem to prefer high density that is not evident, in other words backyard shacks and semi-detached housing however a 10 storey building

seems to scare them and often holds more stereotypes. People mostly relate high rise density lifestyle to that of Hillbrow. Since Hillbrow has maintained quite strong and persistent stereotypes, it makes it harder to convince people that there are different forms that density can take besides the overcrowded, crime-ridden unhygienic image they have.

3.2 The fragmented city

Apartheid is the system that governed South African cities from 1948 during the rule of the National Party (NP) to the 1994 the beginning of the rule of the African National Congress (ANC) and the beginning of a new democratic era (Welsh, 2009). It was the system that facilitated the division and segregation of people according to race, with the white race being on top of the hierarchy and the black race being at the bottom. Johannesburg, like all the other cities in South Africa, was spatially designed to make interaction and integration of people from different races difficult and in some cases close to impossible. Different zones allocated to specific races where separated using buffer zones. Most non-white residential areas were placed outside the city on the outskirts along the periphery of the city with the sole purpose of keeping that specific race as far away from the city as possible in order to make sure they were far enough to be out of sight but close enough that when needed they could still make their way into the city. Soweto was one such township, dedicated to the black population situated on the outskirts of Johannesburg. The apartheid planning system was one that encouraged and perpetuated urban sprawl and horizontal growth of the city with absolutely no intent to make accessing the inner city any easier for those living the furthest away.

South Africa was not the only country that discriminated harshly on the grounds of race, it just happened to do so in an open and unapologetic manner. Even before 1948 racial discrimination was present, such as the fence that was to be put to separate black people from white people as early as 1659 and the Native Land's Act which only permitted Africans to buy land only in reserves (Welsh, 2009), it just got officially institutionalised in 1948. The justification of the segregation of races, which were categorised as White, Black, Coloured and Indian, was that the separation would reduce friction between the races. Ironically the separation that was meant to avoid friction resulted in perpetuating and heightening said friction in turn creating animosity, violence and unrest within the masses (Welsh, 2009).

3.3 Site 1: Soweto

3.3.1 Welcome to Soweto

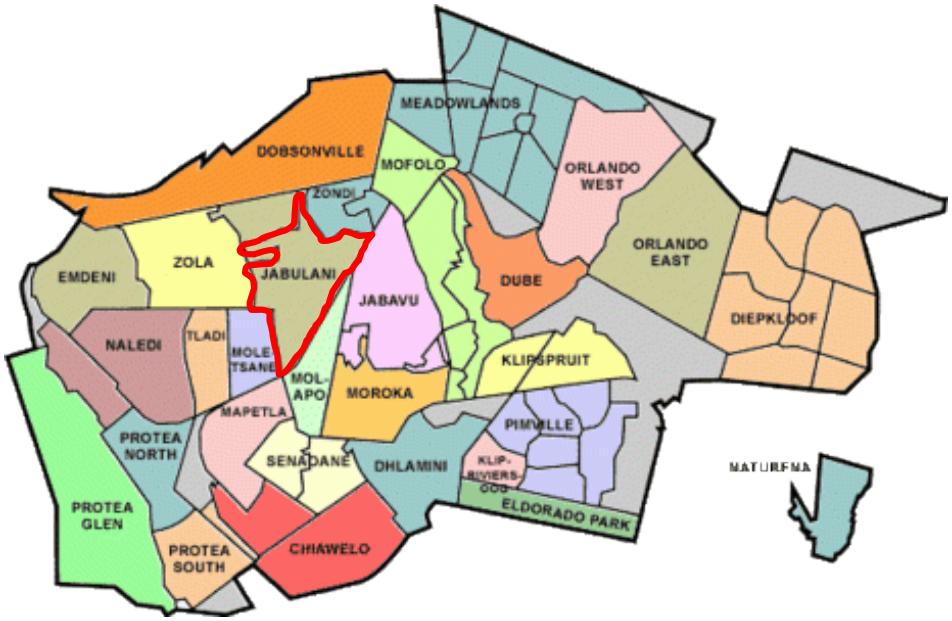


Figure 5: Map of the townships that collectively make up Soweto
Source: http://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/styles/large/public/images/soweto-map-web.slideshow.gif?itok=6SkiJFCi

The south western townships were colloquially first known as *Vukuzenzele* (translated as 'get up and do it for yourself') by the early inhabitants of the area and became officially known as the acronym 'Soweto' (from **So**uth **We**stern **To**wnships) in 1963 (Beavon, 2004). Soweto was the contrast of the then white Johannesburg. This 'suburban' area would be created on the dusty veld, south west of the city and was then to be termed 'township' which would identify the residential area created for the African population, to be viewed by white 'Joburgers' as a part of a town that was separate from their own (Beavon, 2004). The African population grew to eventually exceed that of white Johannesburg. However regardless of their numbers Soweto never had its own distinct town centre nor did it have distinct employment zones within its boundaries. It had no recreational or leisure areas nor did it have any formal industries (Beavon, 2004).

From the period 1940-1976 the township sprawled regardless of the lack of true urban amenities. Single storey match box houses between 40 m2 and 44 m2 in size that obtained light through candles and oil lamps and cooking was done on paraffin- and coal-stoves. This monotonous identical match box houses were separated by unpaved dusty roads. Items needed and classified as bare necessities were found only in Johannesburg thus forcing the African population to rely on the inadequate public transport system from the white city.

During the Second World War, South Africa was on the side of the Allies in 1939. South Africa quickly became a supplier of war *materiel* due to its mineral wealth and industrial capabilities. The factories in the country grew from 6 543 in 1933 to 9 999 in 1946. This growth of industries added to the rapid increase in the African population of Johannesburg from 229 122 in 1936 to 384 628 ten years later and to about 455 000 by 1948 (Beavon, 2004). This increase had an immediate impact on the limited amount of

housing and accommodation in the South western townships. In 1939- 1940 there were 101 000 people living in the African Locations/ Townships of Johannesburg. Approximately 47 000 people lived in the then two south western townships of Pimville, with 12 000 residents and Orlando with 35 000. Pimville, which was previously known as Klipspruit Location, was condemned in 1920 by Council for being too squalid to be a residential area. The houses in Pimville at the time were made of an unusual mix of wood, iron and brick buildings constructed on small yards with water that was supplied by only 63 standpipes (Beavon, 2004).

Overcrowding and the eviction of African people from white areas brought even more people into Orlando. When Orlando could not accommodate any more people, they started setting up squatters adjacent to the location (Beavon, 2004). This area first known as *Masakeng* and *Sofasonke* became collectively known as Shantytown and the original shacks were demolished and replaced with houses. More people continued to squatter at open plots near the other townships and eventually *Jabavu* was formed, and then followed *Dube* where the Council offered 99 year leases since the clause created in 1912 excluded African people from owning land (Beavon, 2004).

Around 1956, houses were built in the newly developed townships of Meadowlands and Diepkloof (ShowMe, 2016). In that same year townships were divided for ethnic groups as a strategy that was intended on sifting the African population into groups that would become the initial phases of creating Independent Homelands (ShowMe, 2016). The R6 million donation to the South African state by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer for developing housing in the area. The townships *Naledi, Mapetla, Tladi, Moletsane* and *Phiri* were created for Sotho and Tswana speaking people. *Dhlamini, Senaoane, Zola, Zondi, Jabulani, Emdeni* and White City were created for Zulu and Xhosa speaking people. Lastly *Chiawelo* was created for Tsonga and Venda speaking people (ShowMe, 2016).

The area that is now collectively known as Soweto has no specific date of birth, however its origins can be traced to abrupt removals of African mine workers from their homes to a sanitary camp on the Klipspruit farm after the city experienced an outbreak of bubonic plagues in 1904 (City of Johannesburg, 2011). It was there that the township that would go down in history, the infamous Soweto, began to develop gradually over time. The township was made up of Africans that were forcefully removed from other townships such as Sophiatown, Martindale, Prospect and Newclare. The township is 15 km south west of Johannesburg CBD. Soweto's perimeter consists of the West Rand District on the West, the N 12 in the

South, the N1 in the East and a mining belt in the North. It is by far the largest township in South Africa and is at times called a city within a city (City of Johannesburg, 2011). The population of the township is estimated at approximately 1.3 million. It covers 150 km^2 which is slightly more than 9% of the 1644 km^2 that is the City of Johannesburg, and is home to 43% of the population of the city. It has an estimated density of about 8 667 people/km^2 as opposed to the 1 962 people/km^2 for the city area as a whole (City of Johannesburg, 2011).

Soweto developed with idea of it becoming a shelter for transitory workers which is why it never developed its own economic base. This has resulted in most of the residents of Soweto having to travel daily to other parts of the city for employment opportunities. This is gradually changing though with more private sector investments coming into the area, in the form of office, transport, retail, residential and small scale manufacturing activities.



Figure 6: Private mini-buses that are known as "Taxis" which were used to provide transport in and out of the townships during apartheid. They still remain one of the most affordable and efficient transport mode for the lower income population that live in the city and in the townships on the periphery.

Source: (Ogbu, 2011)



Figure 7: Township located on a barren tract outside Johannesburg.

Source: (Ogbu, 2011)

3.3.2 Jabulani Precinct Development

The start-up of the Jabulani Precinct development project was initiated in 2008 along with the completion of the upgrading of the Orlando Stadium and the preparations of Soweto Integrated Spatial Development Framework. Improvement of road infrastructure in Soweto commenced after the announcement on the 11th of September 2003 by the then mayor Masondo that all the streets of Soweto would be resurfaced and tarred by 2005. The city made good on its promise and all roads within the 27 townships making up Soweto were resurfaced and tarred (City of Johannesburg, 2011).

Some of the objectives the City of Johannesburg had for Soweto included:

1. ***Developing a solid, responsive and supportive developmental state-governance structure***: In countering the apartheid state that caused years of oppression and damage, a functioning and legitimate as well as responsive government structure had to be established. Soweto needed a state that would be able to turn the tide on the damage that had be done and direct the economy to serving the residents of the township. Plans and strategies for progressive change were essential and required strong intergovernmental collaboration to direct the intentions, actions and the budgets of the three spheres of government.
2. ***Providing an affordable, safe and reliable public transport to and from Soweto and the wider region***: The apartheid era and the years of oppression it came ensured that most residents living in the townships would only be able to find work in other further parts of the city. A new system was essential in achieving the long term goals and intentions of creating new nodes of economic development in Soweto.
3. ***Creating an inviting area for household investment and local and external investors***: Townships were created as temporary areas of accommodation with no intent to make the area desirable or worth being proud of. This mentality constructed during apartheid needed to be destroyed and turned into one that sees townships as places that could be attractive for business location and residential accommodation.
4. ***Strengthening, developing, and diversifying the local economy***: If the areas are allowed to develop within supportive frameworks, with sensible regulations that focus on long term viability and sustainability, they are most likely to develop into areas with a diversity of economic activities. Diversity and robustness needed to be part of the thinking

from the get go seeing as Soweto was lacking basic activities and a new start was imperative.

The city of Johannesburg made significant changes in the creation of such a model in the 10 year term of Mayor Amos Masondo (From December 2000 to 2011). The model became a driver of investment by taking on the process of tarring all the roads in Soweto. It prepared strategic plans for the economic and spatial development of Soweto unlike the apartheid plans that were previously prepared for Soweto in the 1980s, the Soweto Integrated Spatial Development Framework and the Five Year Soweto Economic Development Plan had the best interest of the residents at heart. The model created an area based Section 79 Committee for the township in accordance to the Municipal Structures Act bringing together the public stakeholders and the ward councillors. This committee is only one of two such committees in the city. It allowed for the people of Soweto to be able to govern and decide what goes where in terms of future development. The model ensured that it had sufficient information to be the lead agent in the local economic development in Soweto. It also was involved with the Johannesburg Business Forum including the Soweto Business Chamber (City of Johannesburg, 2011).

3.3.3 Jabulani Urban Development Framework

The Jabulani Precinct is gravely important for the development of a mixed use high intensity area in Soweto. In 2008 an Urban Development Framework for the precinct was created and approved in 2008 in order to guide development in the precinct. The following main elements were identified in the Framework as necessary in the support for the development of the node through strategic public sector investments:

- A train station and Rea Vaya station
- A network of public open spaces
- Social and institutional uses (including regional offices of government departments)
- Mixed-use developments (including office and retail uses)
- A theatre (The Soweto Theatre)
- **Higher density residential typologies**

3.4 Site 2: Orange Grove

Earlier settlers (mostly from the white population) of Johannesburg will remember a place called *Lemoen Plaas* which then became Orange Grove. It was developed on the Klipfontein farm and was eventually named after orange seedlings planted by the Voortrekkers. The name Orange Grove appears on an advert in The Diggers as early as 1889 that stated that Orange Grove was

available on lease for a potential business site located a mere 3 miles from town on the main road to Pretoria (Norwich, 1986). This advert also targeted private individuals urging them to obtain plots in the suburb which was nested among the hills to the north of Johannesburg, hidden from the dust storms of the city. The suburb was known for its orange and other fruit orchards. There was a cascade of water falling down rocks that ensured that there was a constant supply of water for the house dwellers and their gardens (Norwich, 1986). This fountain still exists and is visible as one of the north-flowing streams flowing under Louis Botha Avenue at the site where the remains of the original block house that stood at the bottom corner of Louis Botha which is unfortunately known as Death Bend. The waterfall ends in a pool which before was a swimming pool. The stream runs under the Houghton golf course, passing Oaklands then on to Sandton with it terminating in the Jukskei River (Norwich, 1986).

The Wayside Hotel was built directly opposite the top end of what later became Lloys-Ellis Road joining Louis Botha Avenue. The wayside hotel was a popular spot regularly visited by President Kruger when he came for official business in Johannesburg. In 1908 a new hotel was built on the corner of the intersection of Louis Botha Avenue and Osborn Road, standing across what is now known as Great North Garage (Norwich, 1986). Along Louis Botha a tram route was proposed, which would extend to Osborn Road. It branched from the Yeoville tram terminus on Bedford Road. This was later on extended to Gallagher's corner turning from 8th Avenue into Iris Road with its terminus near the old Matulovich shop in Grant Avenue (Norwich, 1986).

Orange Grove grew into a booming area for white residents and businesses with places of entertainment, places of worship, and places of education. During the early 1890s the Orange Grove Tea Gardens were created in Llyods-Ellis Road (Norwich, 1986). This became an area popular amongst the white population for weekend resorts. Sunday concerts, air balloon ascents (started in 1893 by Professor Price), and a coach ride from town were some of the attractions offered (Norwich, 1986).

In the rent past of Orange Grove, specifically post-apartheid Orange Grove, there has been a significant shift in the demographics of the area. The area that once was dominated by the white population, now houses a majority of the black population. The area once created and planned for the white population which at the time was generally the wealthier population group, now is home to low and middle income residents, mostly black. This change in demographics inevitably has had an effect whether it be directly or subconsciously, on the kinds of views received due to the difference in racial

backgrounds as well as how those differences inform the way people of a certain races may view certain spaces and typologies.

3.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to provide a historical background for both sites and avoid looking at the sites in isolation. This is in order to explore the effect that the history of the sites might have played in the formation of the current perceptions of the residents regarding densification. The historical context of an area can have an effect on the present context and can also pave the way for future development by providing learning material for the future. From this chapter we have learnt that Johannesburg was created and designed to be a sprawling, vehicle dependant, somewhat suburban, segregated city which I believe has affected what people view as normality and what they see as good spatial development. The people have got use to a specific type of development, outward development, that anything different is often initially met with hostility and resistance. Both sites were designed to follow the suburban layout however the sizes of the houses in correlation to the number of people living in those house were different in each of the sites. In Soweto the norm was a smaller house with a larger number of people and in Orange Grove the houses were larger housing a fewer number of people. The exposure of most black people, who constitute majority of the city, to horizontal densification in townships and locations may have led to those residents and their children to only have a one sided view on the forms densification can take.

CHAPTER 4: THE MOVE TOWARDS A MORE DENSIFIED AND COMPACT CITY LOOKING AT THE CORRIDORS OF FREEDOM.

4.1 Introduction

Densification is one of the major and vital components in compact city development which has been argued to be a sustainable way to approach future developments. Johannesburg created a policy called the *Corridors of Freedom* which was aimed at linking different parts of the city using defined transport corridors while making movement throughout the city easier for residents living in areas that are spatially disadvantaged due to previous apartheid spatial planning. This policy combines transport corridors, mixed land uses, pedestrian friendly development and densification collectively to create development that is more compact and sustainable, hence countering the current rate of urban sprawl in the city. This chapter looks into the future and current plans that the city has made with regards to densification in the selected areas of study which are the Jabulani Precinct and Paterson Park development. The aim of this chapter is to familiarise and educate the reader on the densification related plans that have been made and those already in implementation.

4.2 The densification phenomenon

Before motorised forms of transportation, town and cities used to be developed in a compact manner in order for everything that was a necessity to be walking distance from the residents. Ensuring accessibility was essential in maintaining the functionality of the cities, whether by foot or by earlier forms of transportation such as carriages or horses. The industrial revolution of cities brought about high levels of urbanisation, overcrowding, unhealthy environment and poor living conditions (Weakley and La Mantia, 2015). The cities then started opting for a spread out and decongested spatial arrangement leading to city expansion through the advances and improvements in transport technology. The invention of the automobile had a major impact in the rate of urbanisation, sprawling and de-densification of cities. In the case of South African cities, the sprawling and the physical make-up of the cities were as a result of previous laws and spatial policies adopted from the Garden City model but largely altered and perverted to enforce and encourage the segregation of its citizens according to race (Weakley and La Mantia, 2015).

Worldwide city expansion through urban sprawling and industrialisation increased and so did its reported negative impacts which promoted the shift in development from expansion and horizontal growth to densification and infill. Continued rapid urban

sprawling reduces the accessibility of residents to city functions and services (Weakley and La Mantia, 2015). It reduces walkability; public and non-motorised transport use; the efficiency of service delivery; and segregates society while simultaneously contributing to spatial inequality. Urban compaction and densification, often linked with the concept of the 'Compact city', have thus become popular traditions in cities worldwide (Weakley and La Mantia, 2015). South African cities are no exception. The city of Johannesburg is one such city that has created Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) since 2002 serving the purpose of curbing the rapid urban sprawl while simultaneously fixing the spatial inequalities created by apartheid planning. Which, by so doing, places more importance on strategic densification and infill within the metropolitan area (Weakley and La Mantia, 2015).

Some of the concerns that exist on densification are centred on the perceived quality of the environment of high density areas. Some critiques of densification see densification as 'ghettoization' of residential spaces, where the mobility of the residents increases as people try to find a way out of the overly dense environment and then end up spending the bulk of their time in other neighbourhoods besides their own. Research literature states that there is no simple connection between the urban density and perceived environmental quality. A study conducted in Bramley that focused on small to medium sized towns, showed that the perceived quality decreased the denser the urban fabric became. Finland and Helsinki also were found to have the same results. The relationship between urban density and the perceived overall quality of the living environment appeared to curvilinear. The perceived environmental quality increased until the density level was at 100 housing units per hectare and from there it then decreased. It is suggested that the benefits of density are only visible in settings that are 'right' level of urban, but if the density is too high, that can reduce the perceived quality (Säynäjoki *et al*, 2014).

Most of the residents of the City of Johannesburg live in formal dwellings. The households within this category increased during the period from 2001 to 2011 for 47% to 51% (Weakley and La Mantia, 2015). The greatest change has been within the category of households that live in cluster housing, townhouses, and semi-detached housing. In this period households in general have increased by more than 100%. Backyard dwellings have also experienced a significant and rapid increase from 145 872 in 1996, to 161 700 in 2001, to 219 586 in 2011 (Weakley and La Mantia, 2015). There has been a larger growth within the informal backyard dwelling category as opposed to the formal backyard dwelling

category, with a recorded increase of 57%. The households in the informal settlements has increased during the years 1996 to 2001, however the percentage of households in this category has been on the decline from 13.1% in 1996 to 12.7% in 2001, and 8.8% in 2011. The actual numbers of the households increased from 95480, to 133 426, then decreased to 125 745 in the years 1996, 2001 and 2011 respectively (Weakley and La Mantia, 2015).

4.3 Densification in European cities

Densification is not a new phenomenon, and as a resulted it has had its failures. In 1960s and 70s public housing in Europe and North America had the unintended result of concentrating and grouping poor people together in one place. This place in most cases had very low levels of public amenities and facilities (Clark and Moir, 2015). The buildings dilapidated quickly as a result of the low quality materials and poor design of the building as well as the rapid and not so thorough construction of the building. This further exacerbated the poor living condition of the developments (Clark and Moir, 2015). Developments in Paris and London at the time were criticised for the lack of support of good quality infrastructure, shops, restaurants and other leisure activity facility. They were single use meaning they did not serve as 24 hour destinations (Clark and Moir, 2015). Through these experiences it can be concluded that there are certain factors of 'bad' density, which should be avoided. These factors are as follows:

1. Single land use
2. Reliance on only one source of transport which is often the private car
3. Lack of public spaces and amenities
4. Lack of the provision of a 24hr environment with safety zones.

To further elaborate the differences that arise between what can be termed 'good' density and 'bad' density refer to the table found in the Appendix (figure 16).

In a survey for ULI members conducted in the Clark and Moir (2015) *Density: drivers, dividends and debates* article, the results for the cities that appear to have tackled density successfully include London, New York, Singapore and Paris. The important thing to recognise that good and bad density will look differently depending on who it is for. Some density typologies are preferred by one social group over another. For example families with young children in most cases are less likely to opt for high rise living. Some of the people interviewed in the compilation of the article mentioned that there is a fundamental human need for a release from the density, to spend time in areas of lower densities. For residents that do not

have the means to 'go out of the city' certain release mechanisms should be built in high density areas in the form of a park or any other open space. In as much as density can have benefits such as wealth creation, sustainability, productivity, and social cohesion, it can also however have its downfall. The combination of density with ethnical segregation or insecurity and informality, will result in each of the tendencies being worse off, while also increasing the concentration and risks of the challenges. Therefore planners and city officials need to be extremely cautious of where and the manner in which densify as well as those consequences density.

> *"Overall I would say good density is about trying to achieve balanced development. Achieving a good economic outcome, building a competitive economy, making sure that people have a decent quality of life, good homes, and maintaining a sustainable environment. It is about trying to achieve these liveability outcomes."* – **Khoo Teng Chye** (Executive Director, Centre for Liveable Cities, Singapore) (Clark and Moir, 2015:14).

For density to be executed properly there needs to be efficient transport infrastructure, however infrastructure investment relies on density in order to justify the mobilisation of resources and to achieve returns. Most of the faster Asian cities have opted to manage their urbanisation and population growth through a joint strategy of investing in transport infrastructure and clusters of dense land uses close to transport stations and interchanges. This is usually done using an integrated transport system to frame the spatial form, usually being a compact one. Asian cities that have been successful in densifying such as Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Seoul perfected the compact city approach and the result of this has been well managed densification supported by high capacity transport systems as well as high quality public services.

4.4 Future plans for the City of gold

According to Margot Weimers, a senior specialist on the City of Johannesburg's spatial development framework team, Johannesburg is changing its methods of development from what use to be the outward approach of the past (urban sprawl) to inward and densification approaches for all the city's future projects (City of Johannesburg, 2008). The city is aiming for infill developments where some developments have already started as opposed to the Greenfields developments of the past which led to urban sprawl on land that was open and available.

High priority areas – the most important criteria for development is the link with public transport system. The 'high priority' label is thus given to areas situated around the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) routes and marginalised areas. The major developments will take place in

the areas that have been identified as high priority areas. The Ellis park stadium precinct is an example of an area that falls under the high priority areas category. The Ellis Park Stadium BRT consists of three sections, and the construction for these sections started in January 2007. The north-south corridor consists of five sections that goes from Regina Mundi Church in Soweto to Parktown. The second north-south corridor has two sections and runs from Parktown to Sunninghill (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

Medium priority areas – less development will take place in these areas over the next few years. These are areas of development that had a timeframe of five to ten years and were classified as consolidated and expansion areas. These included suburbs such as Brixton and Diepsloot and Dainfern. Places that should not be expecting any development in the upcoming years (10-20 years) are areas situated in the peri-urban areas, however according to city representatives or officials limiting development in those areas does not in any manner mean that growth is not allowed to take place but rather that they are targeting priority areas first before moving on to other areas (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

4.5 Corridors of Freedom

Past apartheid rule left the city sprawling with areas of low densities without the provision of an adequate and sufficient public transport system. Living on the fringes of the city is the majority of working class and poor citizens, who are forced to commute long distances in order to access work and economic opportunities. The residents of the city are mostly dependant on private car transportation for their daily commuting, and this is a major contributor to the energy consumption and greenhouse emissions in the city. It is vital for future planners to address both the issues of inequality and sustainability. The urban form that is most efficient is one that is compact, has mixed land uses, has highly functioning public transport network with corridors of high intensity movement, and has attractive environments conducive to pedestrian activity and non-vehicular modes of transport. A compact city is efficient, promotes social cohesion, a vibrant urban environment, and also provides residents with greater access (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

The key features of the Corridors of freedom are as follows:

1. Mixed-use developments with schools, shops, office parks, residential areas and other public services are within close proximity to each other which in turn stimulates economic activity and growth while also simultaneously creating opportunities for entrepreneurs.

2. Black and white, rich and poor living together in harmony through the provision of housing options that cover a range of typologies and prices including rental accommodation.
3. Limited and reduced amount of land devoted to parking in order to further discourage the use of private transport.
4. Safer neighbourhoods with designs that prioritise cycling and walking, and have sufficient facilities and attractive street conditions.
5. Safe streets where traffic speeds are controlled and the use of private transport is discouraged.
6. Sufficient and convenient transit stations.

The main aim is for there to be a clean break with apartheid spatial distribution and people living on the outskirt and the periphery will be able to move closer to the city centre and closer to places of economic opportunities (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

The creation of such an integrated transport corridors is envisioned to bring about countless advantages for the city as a whole. Some of these advantages include the demand for private cars being significantly reduced and the length of trips on public transport being shortened. The high density housing typologies that are envisioned will assist in stimulating opportunities for the SMME sector as well as small scale businesses in the informal economy (City of Johannesburg, 2013). The environmental impact of the public transportation within the high density areas will be less than that of private car dependent low density sprawling typologies. This is beneficial to the residents as they will spend less of their time and money on transport expenses. The compact city initiative will be beneficial to residents, students, workers, employers, and people looking for employment. The high density accommodation will be within close proximity to schools, employment opportunities, economic as well as social facilities that will assist in creating an environment that encourages a well-rounded lifestyle (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

The corridors of freedom aims to create an era where access is vital and is the key to opportunities and to the choice for residents to stay work and play within the same environment thus forfeiting the high costs of traveling long distances. The development of the corridors of freedom is intended to correct past spatial injustices that resulted in racial, economic and socially segregated spaces existing today. This is to be done through the development of an effective public transport system accompanied by high density neighbourhoods strategically placed close to economic opportunity making for sustainable human settlements (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

4.6 The future for Paterson Park (Orange Grove)

The Paterson park development has, for quite some time now, been a topic of discussion between the City of Johannesburg and the residents of Orange Grove and Norwood where about 80 new residential units are proposed to be developed while the remaining land continues to function as a park. The Paterson park precinct plan of 2005 lodged a town planning application on a portion of the park in order to create a low-density residential development on the site known as Victoria Ext 3 (Giokos, 2016). The city's vision for the area took a new turn in 2013 and new planning processes were undertaken that would be used to guide development in the area. The strategic location of social infrastructure, schools, clinics, police stations and government offices was promised by the city in order to support the growing population. The intention of this plan is to allow people to live closer to their workplace as well as being able to live, work and play without using private motorised transport (Giokos, 2016).

The Joburg Property Company (JPC) stated that it intended on creating safe, affordable and convenient buses, while also encouraging cycling and walking to reduce the domination of carbon-burning private vehicles. These plans however have not been accepted with open arms. The Norwood Orchards Residents' Association (Nora) have opposed the plans and have encouraged neighbours from the surrounding suburbs to object to the proposed rezoning. Brett McDougall, Nora Chairman raised some concerns with regards to the development (Giokos, 2016). There will be more motor vehicles introduced into the area, between 2106 to 4212 additional cars to be exact. Public schools in the area are already overcrowded and underfunded as is, an additional 2000 to 4000 children will only put additional strain on the education structure in the area. McDougall says the plans that have been drawn up do not include any additional educational facilities. He continued to say that the 6 and 10 storey high buildings that are to be constructed will in some cases be next to single dwelling homes affecting the desirability as well as the privacy of homeowners of the single dwelling unit (Giokos, 2016).

A precinct is being created around Paterson Park, including the revitalisation of old buildings going from Pine Street in Orchards to Paterson Road in Norwood in attempts to turning the area into a lively neighbourhood. This envisioned precinct goes through Orange Grove, Orchards, Norwood and Victoria-Fellside. In this precinct will be an art complex which has been built in part with the built up part in use; an urban agricultural training centre at one end of the precinct with the Norwood and Northern Reference libraries at the other end; a redeveloped Paterson Park; the recreation centre; and

the proposed township of cluster house on a portion of the park (City of Johannesburg, 2009).

These developments can be linked back to proposals made in 1998, 2001 and 2004 which were rejected. After numerous public meetings and input from the Joint Oversight Committee and the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC), a precinct plan was eventually developed by town planner Noel Hutton which included land in the vicinity that is owned by the council. The entire Paterson Park area is now under development. The Joint Oversight Committee, comprising ratepayers and residents' associations of Orange Grove and Norwood, has been created in order to provide input from community members that are affected by the development. It also severs as a public forum (City of Johannesburg, 2009).

4.7 The future for Jabulani (Soweto)

The Spatial Development Framework created by the City of Johannesburg identifies the Jabulani area as one of the precincts that will be developed in attempts to improve the infrastructure in the general Soweto area. The Jabulani precinct is marked as an investment node and seeks to include diverse land uses that will benefit the residents and the neighbourhood as a whole.

The Jabulani CBD development framework falls under the larger Urban Design Framework (UDF) for Johannesburg. Paradigm architects are part of the comprehensive professional team that provide the architectural designs and urban planning in order to sustain a successful tender bid that is currently underway. The design planned for the area includes retail, commercial and high density residential development. In addition to the above mentioned, the design also include the development of large parkland areas and the upgrading of cultural landmarks. The design aims to create a distinct precinct that houses a mixture of different land uses. The goal is to address the need for development with aiming to integrate the space with pedestrian activities and cultural facilities thus ultimately creating a living environment that responds to the needs of the residents and provides an area where people can live out fulfilling lives.

There is currently a BRT route that is proposed that is aimed at making transportation easier and quicker which is predicted to result in an increased influx of people in Jabulani and an increased customer pool for the Jabulani mall. The spatial framework of the Jabulani precinct proposes the development of housing, retail and hostels on the current available open green fields.

One of the latest initiatives to be launched is the Jabulani Community Residential Units Housing Project. The community housing project is worth R487 million and was launched by the then deputy president Kgalema Motlanthe; the minister of human settlements Tokyo Sexwale; and Premier Nomvula Mokonyane on the 29th of March 2012 (City of Johannesburg, 2012). The project falls within the Jabulani Hostel and is few steps away from Jabulani mall. It consists of 1919 rental housing stock and fully subsidised RDP housing units. The hostel is anticipated to be demolished in order to make way for more housing in the future (City of Johannesburg, 2012). By 2012 the three storey flats were complete with only the installation of water and sewer infrastructure left. Sexwale said the project is providing hope for the poor, along with dignity. He went on to state that the project is an attempt and a new strategy to offer people land. It offers people property as an asset (City of Johannesburg, 2012).

The flats are meant for the gap market, the people that are earning no more than R 3500 and thus cannot qualify for a government subsidy for an RDP house and earn too little to be afforded a bank loan. Previously Hostels were used to discriminate against Africans who were not seen as permanent residents of the city (City of Johannesburg, 2012). On top of that discrimination the hostels were also anti-family in the sense that women were not allowed to stay there with their husbands. The aim with the project is to provide affordable rental units as well as fully subsidised RDP family units of high quality thus restoring the dignity of the hostel dwellers (City of Johannesburg, 2012). The development was a response to the rapid in-migration into Johannesburg and the province as a whole. Mokonyane stated that the COJ is committed to doing away with hostels and formalising informal settlements around Gauteng which is estimated to cost approximately R8, 5 billion (City of Johannesburg, 2012). There are 18 of these projects across Gauteng that are committed to revitalising townships and changing the quality of life of the residents. The Jabulani precinct has been dubbed Soweto's Melrose Arch as it includes retail, community development components and housing. The Jabulani community residential unit housing project is only one part of the economic and housing plan in Jabulani (City of Johannesburg, 2012).

4.8 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to bring to the reader's attention to the plans that the city has in store for the selected sites. The plans of compaction and densification in attempts to reduce the urban sprawl that is taking place in the city. The aim was to outline the direction that the city is taking after having explored the legacy of the apartheid spatial development that took place throughout the city. The chapter explained the densification phenomena that has

swept the world and also touched on the *Corridors of Freedom* document that includes the development plans that will inevitably have an effect on both residential areas. The densification taking place in European cities, as well as the failure and success stories of those cities were explored in order to draw lessons from those particular cities that have densified; moved towards compact city development; and have faced the challenges and setbacks that come with densifying.

This chapter then acts as a build up to the next chapter that will go through the process of exploring and discovering the type of spatial development that the residents are exposed to, live in, and want or are more open to as well as the type that they oppose. It combined with the previous Historical chapter forms a foundation and gives context for the subsequent Findings chapter.



Figure 8: The Jabulani CBD Development in Soweto as part of the greater urban design framework of Johannesburg
Source: http://www.paradigmarchitects.co.za/index_files/Jabulani_CBD_Development_Soweto.htm



Figure 9: The current residential densification taking place behind the mall which falls part of the units from the housing project.
Source: Mfusi, 2016



Figure 10: The Jabulani Flats along Koma Street
Source: Mfusi, 2016

CHAPTER 5: EXPLORING THE PERCEPTIONS OF RESIDENTS LIVING IN FORMER BLACK TOWNSHIP JABULANI AND FORMER WHITE SUBURB ORANGE GROVE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will be analysing the in depth interviews conducted with the residents from the sites of Paterson Park (Orange Grove) and Jabulani (Soweto). The 15/20 minute interviews were structured in such a way as to extract as much information as possible from the residents' responses in order to assist in the assessing of their level of awareness (or lack thereof) with regards to densification; understanding their current views and position on high density living; finding out what informs these views and whether or not they can be changed. This chapter seeks to address the problem that negative or positive perceptions have in terms of the resistance or compliance of the residents and the citizens of Johannesburg. It also seeks to highlight the significance of perceptions in shaping the discourse of the growth of the city.

The interviews were captured in questionnaires as the residents were not comfortable with being recorded nor were they comfortable with signing the consent form. They preferred to provide verbal consent and for me to capture their answers in writing.

5.2 Findings from trial run interviews

I carried out a trial run of the interviews in the form of questionnaires that was conducted on the 16th of July 2016 at Paterson Park. This trial was essential in seeing whether the questions posed were clear, unambiguous and easy to understand. It was also vital to see if the questions posed generate answers that will ultimately help in answering my main sub questions. I conducted 3 interviews in total for the trial run in Paterson Park. The outcome of the interviews were the realisation that some of the questions posed were not interpreted nor answered the way that I intended them to and in the way that would be most informative to my research. Communication seemed to a large obstacle in the process as terms such as densification, compact city, high density, low density, transport corridors, Corridors of Freedom seemed to be a foreign language to most if not all the interviewees. I found myself in the predicament of having to explain the terms while also trying not to sway their responses in a certain direction. That posed to be more difficult than anticipated as I seemed to be getting answers that are quite similar. The uncanny resemblance of the answers made me aware that there was a communication barrier that needed to be solved. This then made me go back to the drawing board to revise some of the questions to make them yield more informative and engaging answers. In cases where vocabulary was

problematic and communication was hindered, I revised the questions to make them clearer and straight forward and in cases where my description of a term could influence the answer I receive, I provided images to better explain without swaying the answers.

The most evident problem experienced when conducting the interviews was language. Language is the medium in which we as humans make sense of things, where meaning is produced and through common access to language (Hall, 1997). Language is thus essential to culture, meaning and especially for efficient communication. How we use things determines how we assign meanings to them. We attribute meaning to objects by how we represent them. These meanings can only be exchanged, understood and shared.

The general consensus was that the residents were not familiar with the Corridors of Freedom document as well as the densification the city has planned apart from areas where the implementation process was already underway. It was abundantly apparent the lack of knowledge of densification plans within the community, highlighting the divide, the non-communication and the lack of a transparent relationship between the people and the city officials. Mostly the residents have no particular problem with densification happening in their area as they acknowledge and understand that people as humans need shelter, a place to call home, constructing high rise residential accommodation means more people can have access to housing now which will ultimately play a significant role in the reduction in the numbers of homeless people and the number of overcrowded houses. The residents interviewed in the trial run showed collective caring for another life, they accepted the densification happening though without their knowledge or consent because of their belief that everyone deserved to have a home. If building in a portion of their park meant providing a home to those in need then that was a sacrifice worth making.

One of the major problems for residents that fall under the earlier part of the age group 20- 39 was the lack of employment opportunities in the area, thus forcing them to travel to other areas in search for employment opportunities. For the older residents their main concern was the safety element of the neighbourhood, it was already relatively populated and with the construction of more accommodation more people would come into the area thus increasing the probabilities of crime rising. Along with the probable increase in crime so will the competition for jobs, resulting in more unemployed people in the area. In majority of the interviews the people had no problem with densification and high density living they just did not want it for themselves as they perceive high

density to be associated with overcrowding, lack of space, lack of privacy and less secure. They associated high density with places like Hillbrow along with the stigmas attached to it. They do not comprehend that a flat, apartment, loft can be spacious enough for a household, they immediately thought they would have to share facilities like kitchen and bathroom. Even in cases when a different picture is painted through description and images, their perception remains unchanged. People are reluctant to explore the unknown, they prefer staying in a typography they are familiar with, which is suburbia in this case, and are guaranteed to have enough space and security to raise a family in.

The older residents would rather bare the expense of transport and traveling every day for the benefit of having a home in the suburbs. They do not see living in a high rise building as a permanent living arrangement but as one that is fitting in a certain period in one's life before they have to settle down, get married, and start a family. The latter is viewed to be best suited for a suburban house typology with adequate security, ample space for children to grow and play and enough room to be able to conduct recreational activities such as gardening, planting or even just to relax and enjoy fresh air and whatever bit of nature you have. 2 of 3 residents did however agree that high density would be a more affordable living typology with reference to a significantly reduced transportation cost due to being situated close to work opportunities, schools, and public services. When asked about the meanings attributed to what a 'home' is the residents that were mother mentioned aspects regard having a house that can provide their children with enough room to live fulfilling lives. Their answers were emotionally based drawing from a desire to live in a space that allows them to be able to raise their children.

All three of the interviewees had not heard of the Corridors of Freedom nor were they aware of the densification beforehand. Besides finding out through observation, one resident had heard about it through word of mouth. This further highlights the lack of communication between the state and the residents, leaving room for disputes and unrest. When asked about the affordability of living in the neighbourhood, 2 answered with reference to having a source of employment, that should one have a job then it could be affordable living there. 1 woman had employment though still maintained that it was not affordable living in the area. Affordability much like beauty is subjective.















The different housing typologies found in Orange Grove

Source: Mfusi, 2016

5.3 Findings from Paterson Park

5.3.1 Introduction

I conducted my interviews in Paterson Park with the help of my friend and research partner Jokudu Guya. The observation section of this sub heading will serve to paint a general picture of the neighbourhood and in so doing help in understanding and unpacking the perceptions uncovered from the questionnaire done on site. The perceptions extracted from the questionnaire will form another section divided into 3 themes (Experiences, Densification, and Concept of 'home') which collectively aim to ultimately answer the main research question, which is: *What are the existing perceptions attached to residential densification in suburban Johannesburg?* Lastly conclusions will be made from the gathered information and points drawn from the literature review in answering the sub questions and the main research question.

5.3.2 Observation in Paterson Park

The times that I went on site were always during the weekend. The neighbourhood, contrary to my initial thoughts, was quiet and empty in terms of street activity with at most sporadic 2 or 3 people walking. The vehicular traffic was quite frequent, but mostly comprised of passer byes. The houses were quite closely arranged next two each other, comprising of single units and semi-detached units. The community seemed to lack the community aspect of neighbourhood, there seemed to be no community atmosphere – no children playing, no people talking on the streets, just people in rush to get to their destination. The facades created by the barbed wires and security systems installed, was that of an unsafe place plagued by crime and house break-ins. The people on the streets were mostly from the black population but from varying nationalities.

5.3.3 The Paterson Park 5

Experiences of the neighbourhood

I conducted a total of 5 interviews in the area during weekends shifting from Saturdays to Sundays. The people that I saw and approached comprised of people falling in the older age ranges, from 30-39. When asked about their experience in living in the neighbourhood, the 30-34 age group answered by saying that the area is safe at any time of the day while also being a quiet place. The people falling under the age group 35-39 seem to express that the area is not safe at all and not nice to live in due to the expenses they have to bear in living there, as well as due to the presents of homeless people that roam the streets at night. Although they all mentioned that they work close to Paterson, only one could walk from home to work while the other four rely on public

transportation which takes them on average 15-20 mins (even up to 40 mins in the case of resident 5) spending R20+ daily. Resident 4, who had lived in the area for 8 months said he found living in the area affordable whereas the other 5 interviewees, having lived in Paterson park for 6, 2, 15+, and 8 years respectively, all collectively found the area to be unreasonably expensive, leaving them with very little money for themselves or their families.

4 out of the 5 claimed that the neighbourhood is over populated. The perspectives varied when asked if they saw the overpopulation as a positive of negative thing for their neighbourhood. The reasons behind why some of the interviewees said yes was the fact more people meant the area would be busier making it safer to walk around as well as being good for business. Another interviewee expressed that more people in the neighbourhood will help in terms of bringing in development while also creating a community network of people who can support and depend on each other. The interviewees that found the growing population to be a problem was due to the assumption that more people would result in overcrowded areas as some of the houses are already facing challenges of overcrowding at the moment. One resident went on to express her dissatisfaction with the country as a whole as well as with the increasing influx of foreigners into the country who she sees as "taking over" the country due to their significant presence in quite a few high rise buildings within the city.

Densification

Residents 1, 2 and 3 answered no to being asked if they understood the term 'residential densification' while Resident 4 and 5 attempted to break up the phrase in trying to understand it better. They both extracted the word 'density' to be a measure of how many people live in the area, linked to the demography of Paterson Park community. Resident 5 continued to give Hillbrow as an example of a dense area. 4 of the residents lived in a house with 1 living in an apartment in the area. The residents living in houses preferred them over high rise buildings as they justified that living and owning a house in the suburbs means more security and safety for you and your family and discredited flats/apartments as overcrowded spaces with no privacy or security offering no longevity. Resident 3 went on to say that flats usually have too many foreigners and the common rooms get over crowded and unhygienic while also being expensive. They all seemed to be for residential densification once the term was explained, however some still emphasised that they did not personally want to live in that kind of housing typology highlighting the NIMBYism mentality explored in the literature review. They did however understand that

densification will help many families get accommodation, while also preserving the environment and services. Most importantly people loved the idea of living closer to job opportunities, educational facilities, public services and ultimately saving money that would've been spent on transport. The residents seem adamant on their lifestyle choice of suburban living but 3/5 mentioned how they could be persuade into moving into more densified areas if it meant that they save money on transport and rent and if it meant a safer environment than their current one.

There seemed to be an overarching theme of uneasiness for the future densification. Most particularly in terms of the effects said densification would have on the environment. Most raised concerns of security that would be compromised with the increase in the population of the neighbourhood. Residents 2 suggested that the problem may not be the new people coming in the area but rather if the police will do their job (step up to the plate) and assist in maintaining order. Other concerns were regarding noise levels that are anticipated to largely increase with more people in the area. Resident 3 raised the issue regarding the possibility of them being forced out of their current homes because of a foreseen influx of people that might result in an increased demand of accommodation.

Two of the residents believed that living in an area of higher density would be cheaper that buying one's own house, two were in different raising the fact that it depends on a variety of factors and they could essential be each equally expensive, and lastly 1 who expressed that she believed owning her own home would be cheaper than paying rent every month for property that you do not own. The residents that I had the pleasure of interviewing and conversing with, expressed that they had no knowledge of the plans to densify the park up until construction started and questions were raised. The residents also were not familiar with the compact city concept. Once explained they had varying answers as to whether they believe it to be a good or bad initiative. Resident 1 and 4 were convinced that it seems to be a good idea as it is based on the premise of bringing people closer together and to the city as well the perks that come with living in the city such as living in close proximity to job and economic opportunities while also having easy access to public transportation. Resident 2 was very opinionated in his despondence to the compact city concept. He questioned the idea of wanting more people in an area as that, in his opinion, would complicate civilisation. He believed that it would be a better idea to fix other areas in terms of development and access, in so doing preventing the need for people to move to other areas but

instead to remain where they are. He raised concerns regarding overcrowding. He posed the question:

> *"At what point do you stop densification before it becomes overcrowding?" – Resident 2 (Male, 35-39 age group)*

He went on to state that compact city living is not conducive to family life and family building. He would not chose to live in high density but could be forced to if it means he gets to cut down his expenses but he still believes that it is not a suitable long term living arrangement.

Concept of a 'home'

A home is a concept that the residents mostly related with the presence of family. They emphasised that a 'home' to them is wherever their family is. With that being said, they continued to add that space and privacy are also essential components in home making. Though most would not like to live permanently in high rise density areas, they did however mention that it does not factor into what defines a home. The presence of family and their wellbeing is home to them. As the explanations continued it became apparent that they prefer the stage of their lives when they are raising children and are married to take place in a suburban house but do not mind temporarily living in high rise density at the moment to save money.

5.3.4 Conclusion

What became apparent to me after having interviewed the 5 residents in Paterson Park was that people seem to prefer horizontal densification as opposed to vertical densification. I came to this conclusion from a mixture of observation and analysing their answers to the questionnaire. The Paterson Park area is a fairly dense neighbourhood with semi-detached houses and people renting out rooms, however that type of densification does not arouse as much fear as high rise density does. When people think of high rise they immediately think of overcrowded spaces where sanitation and hygiene are not maintained. Whereas in most cases horizontal densification in terms of subdivided houses, rented out rooms, backyard shacks tend to experience the most overcrowding.

Initially I selected the Paterson Park site knowing about the densification plans, and the backlash it was receiving on social media (and the COJ website) from the residents of Paterson Park (mostly from the white residents). The objections from the white population is quiet vastly documented and known whereas the views and perceptions of the residents that I came across on site , mostly from the black population, has not been documented or

explored as much, this thus lead me to focusing on those perceptions that need to be explored and documented more.

My initial intention was to interview the residents whose voice was not and had not been adequately captured before. I wanted to provide a platform where they could be heard and try to understand their views, perceptions and what might have led them to creating those. Seeing as though the complaints that have been captured were mostly from the white population, this meant that the views that I focused on were from the black population which is dominant population group in Orange Grove. The black population in Orange Grove is from very diverse backgrounds, cultures, ethnicities and nationalities which generated different perspectives and sometime similar perceptions.














The different housing typologies found in Jabulani

Source: Mfusi, 2016

5.4 Findings from Jabulani

5.4.1 Introduction

Much like the process in Paterson Park I conducted my interviews in Jabulani with the help of Jokudu Guya. The observation section of this sub heading will serve to paint a general picture of the neighbourhood and in so doing help in understanding and unpacking the perceptions uncovered from the questionnaire done on site. The perceptions extracted from the questionnaire will form another section divide into 3 themes (Experiences, Densification, and Concept of 'home') which collectively aim to ultimately answer the main research question. Lastly conclusions will be made from the gathered information as well as the points drawn from the literature review in answering the sub questions and the main research question.

5.4.2 Observation in Jabulani

The interviews with residents of Jabulani I chose to conduct at Jabulani Mall reason being that it is the central magnet of the area and always has large numbers of people on site be it weekdays or weekends at any given time during working hours/operational hours. The mall has various seating areas for customers whether it is the areas near the food court or near the taxis or within the mall in between stores, given me plenty of opportunities to approach people that were not busy at that moment. The area is largely dominated by the black population mostly due to it being a previously black township during apartheid. The area showed signs of densification with the presence of the Jabulani flats that was within close proximity to the mall. The area has more horizontal densification in the form of backyard housing than vertical densification. The areas as opposed to Paterson park that had houses with fences that blocked the entire house with barbed wire on top, the houses of Jabulani had average height fences that allowed you to see the house but could also prevent toddler and pets from walking out while also preventing thieves from walking right in. The neighbourhood is alive with people walking, talking and playing on the streets. The houses are very tightly packed with very little space constituting the front and back yard.

5.4.3 The Jabulani 5

Experiences of the neighbourhood

The residents I had the pleasure of interviewing were from the younger age groups compared to the interviewees in Paterson Park. 3 of the residents were in the age group 18-24, 1 was in the 25-29 age group, and 1 from the 30-34 age group. The responses were mixed when it came to their individual experiences of the neighbourhood, 3 of the residents liked living in the area. Resident 1

justified it with the fact that everything is accessible and in close proximity. Resident 2 who is in the 30-34 age group talked about the progress that he saw and continues to see throughout the neighbourhood, the happy people, the job opportunities emerging and those being created by individuals themselves. He talked about how people are not waiting for things to happen anymore they are waking up and creating their own opportunities. He sees poverty reducing in the area, tarred roads and the presence of pavements. Resident 3 praised the area reluctantly. He described the lifestyle as being a tougher life with forces them to get tough and learn various skills at a young age. The only two female residents I interviewed talked about how living in that area motivates them to make it out of it and achieve better. They mentioned how the mentality of the area is “doomed” and how the people in the area do not grow out of the same old mentality.

Most of the interviewees used public transportation, mostly taxis. Resident 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 spend R30, R27, R50, R20 and R50 respectively on a daily basis on transport. None of them worked close to the area, Ormonde, Molapo, White City, but the furthest was Resident 5 who worked in Sandton. Resident 1 and 3 take about +-20 mins to get to work, Resident 2 works wherever he is at any given time and Resident 5 takes about 2 and half hours every day getting to work. They all were unanimous in the affordability of living in Jabulani, which Resident 1 attributed to having everything they need in close proximity such as police, theatre, train stations buses and taxis thus reducing the amount of money one would use going in to the city centre for these services. Resident 3 backed up what Resident 1 had said which was that the increased accessibility to various services and needs has lessened the need for the residents to travel anywhere else. Resident 4 added that it depends on whether you are renting or hiring out, because if you are renting you only have to worry about paying the monthly rent. Resident 5 expressed that the only factor making living in Jabulani unaffordable to her is the fact that most of her income goes into her travelling to work day in and out. Residents 2-5 agreed to the fact that the area is populated but Resident 1 disagreed as he believed the people that seem so many in the area don’t live in Jabulani but instead came for the mall which is a central magnet for people in surrounding areas. He went on to explain that it is a good thing that they do not live in the area because more people would mean more demand for services such as electricity thus hiking the prices up. Resident 2 draws on it creating healthy competition between the residents. Resident 3 expressed that the different types of people present in the area allowed him to interact with people from different backgrounds and it encouraged interaction and support within the community. Resident 4 and 5 both saw the populated

neighbourhood being a negative characteristic as electricity becomes a struggle to attain during winter when its demand is at its peak. The pressure put on electricity then affects the efficiency of its circulation. Privacy and space get compromised with an increase of people in a fixed space. This was a major concern for Resident 5.

Densification

Resident 1, 4 and 5 all answered no when asked if they understood the term 'Residential densification'. Resident 2 and 3 attempted to answer what they believed the term to mean. Resident 2 believed it to refer to people that live in a certain area, their identification to that certain place and the lifestyle they have. Resident 3 related the term with a crowded place in which people reside in. Resident 1, 4 and 5 preferred living in the suburbs as opposed to high rise high density setting as they associated high rise with being noisy, not having enough space for a family and not having privacy. They also associated that type of living with a stressful life. Resident 3 loved suburbia due to it being what he has known his whole life, what he has become accustom to.

4 out of the 5 residents were for the idea of densification because of its promise of getting people closer to job opportunities, transport nodes. Resident 1 saw it as development that is an opportunity that would create job opportunities that would absorb some of the population in the unemployed pool. Resident 2 ,4 and 5 see the benefits that densification will provide people with such as being able to access different modes of public transport, as well as being closer to job and economic opportunities in city centres. Resident 3 was against densification and thought it better to keep building horizontally instead of promoting crowding in the city.

Most of the residents did not know what densification entailed there did not have specific views regarding the term. Resident 1 has a sister that lives at the Jabulani flats and thus has seen densification personally. After I had explained densification, Resident 2 started making sense of it in that moment. More people in Jabulani were open to having their minds changed than in Paterson Park. Resident 1 and 4 were firm on stating the inflexibility of their views on densification with their reason regarding the fact that flats are only a temporary living arrangement in a man's life.

"As a man, once I get married I need to be able to provide for my family, and that can't be in a flat with no back yard, no space and no privacy."
– Resident 1 (Male, 25-29 age group)

The main concern from the residents firmly against densification was due to lack of belief that a flat could accommodate children, nor does it have the essential facilities needed to accommodate a child's lifestyle. They all mostly were on board with densification

and living in high rise and high density because of the high demand existing in South Africa for housing, they also expressed that if they were a bachelor or bachelorette they would not mind living in that typology but when they settle down, get married and start a family they do not envision it being in a flat. My personal experience with being a Black South African woman from the Zulu culture, I know that family relatives play a large role in where we choose to settle down. They visit periodically, and in some cases unannounced, and one needs to be ready and able to accommodate them at any given time. I believe that this psychologically might have an influence in the way the residents see high rise high density living. There were concerns raised when referring to the effects increased densification would mean for the Jabulani neighbourhood. These concerns revolved around an expected rapid increase in people in Jabulani that will, most probably, not be accommodated by an equally rapid increase of jobs resulting in more competition for job opportunities and more unemployment in the area. I gathered that the residents had no particular problem with densification besides the fact that they only saw it as a temporary solution to the housing challenge, but eventually one would need to settle down at a suburban home at some point in their lives.

The residents all preferred suburbia over high density living making reference to it being better suited to raise a family and grow old in. Suburbia deemed more attractive due to its promise of a quiet, private and safe environment. The prospect of owning one's own home over paying monthly for property that you do not own also swayed the residents' decision towards suburbia. One of the residents also mentioned the benefit of eventually owning the property of your suburban house and it thus becoming a lifetime investment. 2 residents thought high density living to be cheaper living typology as opposed to suburban, while 3 thought otherwise. The 3 associated living in a flat as having to *"pay every month for the rest of your life for property that will never be yours"* (Resident 2) whereas buying a house, though it may be expensive, eventually becomes your property and investment for the rest of your life. The interviewees need to be made aware of the fact that one can have ownership of a flat via sectional title.

I found that much like my encounter in Paterson Park, none of the interviewed residents knew what the Corridors of Freedom was, nor were they aware of the densification plans the city has and had already put in motion. They all seemed to be somewhat sceptical with the policy and the concept of a compact city. They raised questions regarding the jobs of the taxi drivers in the dawn of the creation of a new improved public transport system. Resident 3 questioned why the city is reluctant on horizontal expansion when

there is still space to do so, why they (the city) thought compact would be a better form of development than expansion.

Concept of a 'home'

The common characteristic the residents related with the concept of a home was the presence of one's family. In this case family is associated with peace of mind, comfort, happiness and love which are qualities people need in their lives. Resident 1 and 5 expressed that it did not matter whether it was a suburban house, an apartment in a high rise building, or a shack in an informal settlement, what mattered was the ability of that space to make them feel free, relaxed and able to have good people around. He alluded to the fact that it is not necessarily about the form the physical structure takes but about the company you keep within that structure. In essence any place and any structure can be considered a home depending on the people you share that space with and the memories you create.

The feeling of safety is also an important aspect. Resident 2 described his home to be a place that has a yard big enough for his children (that he hopes to have in the future) to be able to play in; a place that has a visitors room that will accommodate friends and extended family members that tend to visit spontaneously and sporadically; and a place that had the presence of a wife and kids, trees and a dog or two. Resident 3 described home as a place you look forward to going back to. It is the reassurance and the guarantee that one has a roof over one's head.

5.4.4 Conclusion

From the 5 interviews conducted at the Jabulani Mall I realised that people prefer living in a suburban typology but because of their financial constraints and the benefits that the densification in the neighbourhood provides them, they are willing to live in high rise apartments. The biggest problem or obstacle that is preventing the growth to compact city ideal is that people do not see themselves living in a high rise building for the rest of their lives, they only see it as a temporary solution to their housing problem and this is largely due to the perceptions people have created in their minds about what life in high rise apartment must be like. It's the assumption that there is no sense of privacy in high rise high density areas, the idea that everything is shared amongst strangers where as there is actually more space and privacy in vertical densification than there is in horizontal densification such as backyarding.

5.5 Overall conclusion for findings in Paterson Park and Jabulani

In interacting with the residents of both Jabulani and Paterson Park I discovered that residents mostly spire to a suburban lifestyle as

opposed to living in high rise accommodation. I discovered that in their view of suburban lifestyle they also included back yard housing in that category. In the case that they have an idea of what densification may be or may incorporate, they do not seem to associate it or the idea of it with backyard housing and other forms of horizontal densification. It became apparent that they prefer that kind of densification as opposed to the one that involves building vertically. What became apparent was the discovery that the residents only saw flats or apartments in high rise buildings as rentals that one can never be own nor could they ever be property investments like houses can. They are not aware that flat just like a suburban home can also be an investment and can also be owned. You could also not only own in but have the ability to rent it out thus becoming another source of income.

The problem seems to not be the increase of people in the building, as they are fine with living in high density low rise accommodation. The problem however seems to be with residents being use to a certain kind of living and being taught by society that that type is what symbolises success, in this case 'that type' being suburbia. It's a matter of people's reluctance to embrace change and to experience a different housing typology. In the black community I have found that people base a majority of their decisions on what other people in their community will think of them. And since most people still associate high rise residential buildings with places like Hillbrow, they then automatically think that high rise living is for low income people; is overcrowded; has no privacy ;and no security to ensure your safety. This then ultimately sways people's decision when choosing what housing option to go for.

5.5 Analysis of findings

From the interviews I conducted in both Paterson Park and Jabulani, I have come to the realisation that there is a significant lack of knowledge of the spatial issues in both communities. The residents are not aware of the benefits that different types of living arrangements have for them as citizens of Johannesburg. The urban planners for the City of Johannesburg are not putting in enough effort nor are they putting enough priority on educating the residents on the spatial plans proposed for their areas and on the effects these plans will have on them. If the city seeks to minimise the resistance from residents on the move towards a more compact Johannesburg, they (local planners and councils) need to put in more of an initiative to create an open and transparent communicative relationship between the city officials and the residents. A more open and trusting relationship between them will have reduce animosity for future development proposals and prevent the residents from being caught off-guard with developments happening in their neighbourhoods.

It is vital for city planners to understand and engage with the residents they plan for, and the residents whose lives are affected by what they plan. Engaging with the communities will help in understanding how the people use the space, the challenges they face and the needs they have thus reducing creating spaces that people will not use or will use differently then what was planned for it. This communication will help planners plan better cities that relate to its citizens and their needs and ultimately a well-functioning and sustainable city. Residents are not being communicated with when it comes to densification proposals and other spatial plans the city has, they only start finding out once decisions have been made and construction has started. I came to the realisation that the residents need to be educated on the different types of development that would be the most beneficial to them so as to reduce perception created that do not reflect the truth. Perceptions mainly are formed due to lack of information on a particular subject and due to generalisation, thus I believe if a platform was created to engage the residents with spatial and societal issues and the types of development proposed to deal with those particular issues will help in ultimately reducing misinformed perceptions.

I believe the history of apartheid in South Africa has had a psychological effect of the thoughts people have regarding certain kinds of living typologies. The hierarchy that was enforced and the lifestyles the people highest on the hierarchy lived compared to the people at the bottom had a lasting effect, and a foundational effect on how people view certain typologies and which kinds they choose to aspire to. White rich people, top of the hierarchy, lived in suburbs with huge houses and spacious front and back yards while driving expensive cars. This then slowly, over the duration of the apartheid rule, became embedded in the minds of non-blacks as the aspiration for success and as the equivalent for success. This would explain the reason people associate suburban lifestyle with success.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The process of urbanisation in South Africa has led to large numbers of people migrating from rural areas to urban areas resulting in an influx of people in South African cities especially Johannesburg the economic hub of the country. This rapid increase of people in the city exacerbated the rate of urban sprawl along with the issues that accompany it. This then prompted the city to come up with a development plan that would curb the sprawling and would be a more sustainable mode of development. This with the help of a place-based Transport Oriented Development initiative, the *Corridors of Freedom*, took the form of a compact city model which involved and largely relied on residential densification along transport corridors, near transport stations and around areas of mixed land uses. This move from sprawling to compaction brought about different views from city officials and the residents on the ground. The problem arose when the views of the city officials are not coordinating with those of the residents and when there is a lack of communication and transparency between the different parties. That then results is the hindering and slowing down of development.

Throughout the process of collecting data and findings through interviewing various people for this research report, it became evident that there was resistance and opposition coming from the residents towards the proposed densification within their neighbourhoods. After more investigating and discussions with the residents it became clear that the one of the main reasons of the resistance and the debates coming from the residents is due to the lack of communication from the government in terms of informing them of the developments that are envisioned for their residential areas. This conflict was a response to the growing disjuncture and disparity between the future plans the city official have in store for the sites and the individual spatial plans the residents have for their neighbourhoods. There is a need for enhanced and clear communication and compromise between city officials and the residents if the city is to ever grow in a sustainable and cohesive manner.

I believe most contested spaces and developments occur as a result of the incapability of the state and city planners to include the residents in discussions that are had about developments that the city is proposing in their neighbourhoods. In order for the city to develop in the manner it deems most sustainable and efficient, there needs to be an open dialogue and transparent relationship between the city officials and the residents in order to also prevent the derailing and slowing down of progression and development of the city as a whole.

6.1 Lessons learnt from perceptions

Through the in-depth interviews conducted both in Jabulani and in Orange Grove it became evident that the residents are not adequately informed on development that is to take place in their neighbourhoods. The residents in most cases, from what I uncovered during the interviews, find out when decisions have already been made and implementation already underway. At that point even if they were to be against the type of developments proposed, it would already be too late to do anything about their disproval.

The perceptions that the residents portrayed generally were that if given the choice and if money was not the determining factor they would much rather prefer living in a suburban setting with a large front and backyard and sufficient space to comfortably house their families. The overarching issue that kept arising throughout the one-on-one interviews was the issue of privacy, rather the lack thereof in high rise residential units. The underlying concern embedded in all the interview sessions was the question of privacy within high rise living. The residents believe that when living in high rise density privacy and personal space is sacrificed.

In most high rise residential accommodation there is a significant reduction of privately owned spaces and an increase in communal spaces as compared to suburban residential set up. This reduction of private space and increase of communal spaces does not seem to fit into the image of success most residents have created for themselves. What I have come to realise is that people like the idea of owning something; to most owning something is what signifies moving up the ladder of success. To them you are much closer to success when you own something than you are when you sharing it. Through that logic the communal aspect that is so predominant in high rise residential buildings is the very thing making some residents reluctant to that type of living typology thus pushing residents to alternatively opt for the suburban typology.

When you look back on the spatial history of black people in South Africa you can see a pattern of sharing spaces and never owning property, I believe that is carried through to the current time. Most black people might see living in high rise densification as moving backwards rather than progressing from the apartheid times. Instead of owning one's own property it – living in high rise – is seen as reverting back to sharing spaces. This is primarily due to their misinformed perception that high rise density means crowded spaces, no privacy, rental space, loud and noisy and a general lack of maintenance and hygiene.

What has become evident throughout this report is the realisation that residents need to be more informed and need to play a larger role in the decision making process of developments proposed to take place in their neighbourhoods that will inevitably have an effect on them. There is an evident lack of communication between the state and the residents in terms of developments and spatial plans the state has for their neighbourhoods. This lack of communication creates conflicts between the residents and state officials which become barriers to progression and development.

Sometimes the perceptions are based purely on preference thus making it hard to decipher a way in which to deal with and address those perceptions. Personal preference plays a relatively large role in the formation of individual perceptions regarding the two types of housing typologies focused on in this research. Personal preference unlike perceptions and myths is much more difficult to address and change. However it serves as a learning platform for city planners and built environment professionals on the different things to factor into consideration when planning the city.

Communicating and engaging with the residents form both Jabulani and Orange Grove has brought to question the effectiveness of high rise density in providing the necessary qualities that people require in order to live fulfilling lives. Is the designing of spaces in high rise density accommodation conducive to a well-rounded life for singles, couples, and families alike? Could more be done in the design process to make the spaces more accommodating and inviting to people of all backgrounds?

6.2 Recommendations

Through conducting this research it was clear that most of the residents had a false knowledge of densification and what living in high rise density means. Below are some of the assumptions/myths:

- Most of the residents were under the impression that one **cannot own** a flat or an apartment but rather can only rent it for the duration of their stay
- That high rise accommodation means that you **share** most of your space with strangers
- That **overcrowding** is a given in high rise density
- That **privacy** is a forgone luxury in high rise accommodation

All of these myths have played a significant role in the past when having to decide to either move into a flat or to a suburban house. I thus believe that in order to combat the myths and false assumptions regarding high rise density the state needs to invest time, money and effort into create a workshop programme where they education the residents of a particular area about densification and compact city; the different types of housing typologies; the

advantages as well as the disadvantages of each; the developments that are envisioned; and the impacts of these developments on the neighbourhood. I believe if the residents had all the facts and knew the truth in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of certain developments, they would make more informed and sound decisions when deciding on a housing typology that is in their best interests.

As previously mentioned in the findings chapter, most people associate living in high rise density with the loss of privacy and space as well as with the harshness of overcrowding. It is these main factors that have swayed most of the residents that I interviewed from high rise density. The myth that one cannot own a flat and can only rent it is also only of the detrimental false myths existing about high rise density, and thus plays a large role in the perceptions the residents create and hold. If they were to be exposed to high rise density that proves the inaccuracies of their perceptions they might be more willing and open to change their views.

Most of the residents mentioned their concerns for maintenance, services and hygiene with regards to high rise accommodation, thus if the level of maintenance and cleanliness is increased that would easy some of the residents that were sceptical of high rise solely due to issues of maintenance. It seems as though the residents are well informed on the negatives that can be associated with high rise density but are not as well informed on the positive of it. The state and city officials must advertise and expose the positives of high density and densification to the residents so as to help make their decisions better informed.

A transparent and communicative platform for engagement must be established between the residents and city officials in order to ensure that all that parties involved can be on the same boat on the direction the city is to take thus avoiding conflicts and contested spaces.

6.3 Concluding thoughts

This research report has brought to attention the importance of resident participation in decision making with regards to spatial development changes that are planned and implemented for their residential areas as well as the importance of an open and transparent communicative relationship between the residents and city officials. The resistance from the residents has the power to slow down the rate of development of the city, which is the reason why doing this research report was so important in creating and facilitating a transparent and interactive city that works with its residents in directing development. The research was aimed at

emphasising the importance of the voices of the residents of the cities that we plan for.

It has become clear that perceptions are very unique to each individual. The spatial perceptions are formed through the individual's personal views and their historical or past exposure to a certain kind of development thus making them subconsciously bias to a certain kind of development and housing typology. People seem more likely to opt for the type of housing typology that they are used to, that they know, and that they associate with progression and success in one's life, rather than a typology that they are not familiar with and associate mostly with negative myths and perceptions. Change is not an easy concept for the human to accept, it is easier for things to remain the same and for people to follow a certain routine that they have grown used to rather than facing unknown and unfamiliar territory. According to a blog by Rick (2011) these are some of the reasons why people resist change:

- *Misunderstanding or lack of clarity around the reasoning for the need of the change* – if residents believe that their current way of living work well for them they are most likely to resist changing their living arrangement even when that particular change is expected to bring about positive outcomes.
- *Fear of the unknown* – this is one of the most common reasons for resistance to change. People will only agree to change when they feel as though their current living arrangement is doing more damage than another living arrangement would. "Rather the devil you know than the devil you don't"
- *Connected to the old way* – general people grow accustom to a certain way and it is always a difficult task to persuade them to change what they have grown comfortable with to try something new they have no experience with.
- *Low trust* – people are most likely to be resistant when they believe that they cannot manage a change in their living arrangement.
- *Lack of consultation and poor communication* – when people are invited and allowed to be a part of the change and the decision making process there are less likely to be as resistant as if they were not included at all. People like knowing what is going on around them and 'being in the loop' especially when they will be affected by the change.
- *Change of routine* – people have certain comfort zones and routines they have grown accustom to. These routines help maintain our sanity as humans therefore it is inevitable that there will be some kind of resistance experienced when

people are told to change their routines and do things differently.

- *Changing the status quo* – resistance can often be linked to the perceptions that the people hold. If the residents believe that they will be worse of in a high rise building, they are unlikely to support the move to densify the city.
- *Rewards and benefits* – when the estimated rewards and benefits expected for the change are not seen as sufficient of adequate, then the resident is most likely going to resist the change.

Expecting the resistance that will come with proposed changes in terms of the development of the city will help the city officials and planners manage the objections effectively and thus help them in dealing proactively with the anticipated and foreseen resistance. Simply put when people are engaged about the change, they are more likely to support it. When they are not, they are more likely to resist it.

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APPENDIX



Figure 11: Building footprints of the housing project in Jabulani



Figure 12: Building footprints of "suburban" style houses in Jabulani

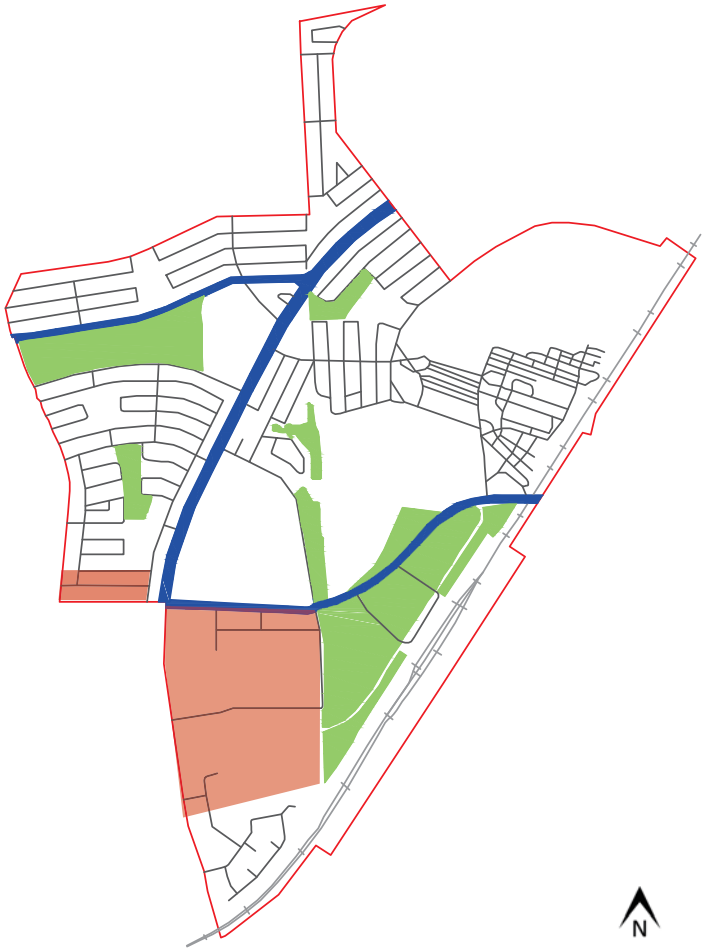


Figure 13: Street map of Jabulani

Jabulani is a previously black township which under the apartheid regime is planned as a perverted version of the garden city model which was based on a suburban lifestyle, outward growth and over dependance on the motor vehicle. As explored in the historical chapter Jabulani was spatial designed to be a low rise, high denisty suburban township dependent on the vehicle and public transportation even though it housed the low income who had no private vehicles and the city provided no sufficient public transportation. this page is to emphasis the difference in layout of the new densification housing project flats compared to the apartheid planned 'suburban' home.













Figure 14: Street map of Orange Grove

Figure 15: Building footprints of the part of Orange Grove closest to Paterson Park

Mfusi, 2016













Orange Grove was a previously white suburban neighbourhood. Now 22 years into democracy there are still traces of racial spatial segregation however the roles have reversed with the area being largely occupied by the black population and Norwood having a larger White population presence. Orange Grove in general is a very suburban neighbourhood that has densified quite significantly over the years. The area is characterised by a low rise, high density housing typology. There is a significant presence of communes, semi-detached dwellings and single detached dwellings in Orange Grove with a few high rise buildings along Louis Botha Avenue.

Characteristics of 'good' density	Characteristics of 'bad' density
Mixed use of land. Combining residential, commercial, retail, transport and green space creates a vibrant urban landscape which is used at all times of day and by different groups.	**Monotonous.** Dense single land use appears to prevent the advantages of density from being leveraged and fosters negative externalities instead.
Connected. Includes high volume reliable public transport and leverages existing infrastructure. 80% of ULI members surveyed identified good infrastructure as an essential component of successful density.	**Isolated.** Without transport infrastructure density is not able to fulfil its key role of facilitating access, and can lead to unmanageable traffic challenges.
Planned in advance and incremental in pace. Good density is the product of an overarching strategic vision about place-making and specific / explicit project choices.	Occurs at a rapid and **unmanaged** pace. Places and people become overwhelmed by rapid density which prevents assimilation and the investment needed to make density work.
Cohesive. Meets social needs as well as economic needs. The aim of good density is not just to create capital assets but to serve people who live and work in the city.	The concentration of single income populations (whether high income or low income) or single ethnic groups. If density is combined with income or ethnic **segregation**, it can have the unintended effect on increasing 'ghettoisation' or spatial inequality.
Liveable. Enhances quality of life and liveability for residents. Good density mitigates the liveability stresses caused by concentration and takes advantage of the opportunities it creates to enhance public services and quality of life.[11]	**Unliveable.** Without good public and private services density can become monolithic, scary, and imprisoning. Bad density can breed crime and insecurity, making dense spaces fearsome and unattractive.
Spacious. Good density provides public and open spaces for citizens to decompress regardless of their income.	Absence of public and open space / connectivity. Without the space to decompress density can become oppressive and feel **crowded.**
Has flexibility. Good density can be increased or added to **incrementally.**	Lack of adaptability to changing economic and social circumstances. Dense buildings that are **inflexible** can prevent a whole district or neighbourhood from adapting. It can have a blighting effect.
Has **design** built into it. High density does not always have to mean high rise, but should always mean high quality urban design.[12]	The absence of good urban design. Density can be created in ways which are perceived to be **ugly.**
Green. Has an environmental benefit and uses energy, waste, water and transport systems more efficiently. Encourages shared facilities and services.	**Polluting.** Traffic congestion and heat island effects stemming from poorly planned density can be detrimental to the environment.
Appropriate. Minimises impact on existing settled neighbourhoods and places. Good density reflects and accentuates the local character of existing neighbourhoods. Planners take measures to accommodate and provide for existing residents.	**Conspicuous** and inappropriate to existing scale of buildings and character of city scape. The blend of buildings in the same neighbourhood is key, each city or district has its own vernacular or narrative that dense buildings need to be in tune with.

Figure 16

This table categorises the different characteristics that make up 'good' and 'bad' density

Discovering and exploring existing perceptions of densification: The case of Orange Grove and Soweto.

Questionnaire for potential interviewees in Patterson Park (Orange Grove) and Jabulani (Soweto)

1. Do you live in the area? Yes/no
    a. How long have you lived in the area?
2. In which age group do you fall in?

    18-24 25-29 30-34

    35-39
3. What is your experience of living in the area?(Do you like it? Or not? Is it a nice area? Why?)

4. **How much** do you spend on transport daily? (If reluctant to give figure what fraction of your income do you spend on transport?)

5. Do you work close by? Yes/No If no, Where?
6. How much **time** do you spend commuting to and from your job?
7. Would you say living in this area is **affordable**? Why do you say so?

8. Would you say the area is populated? Yes/No
9. Do you think that's a good or a bad thing? Why?

10. What do you understand by the term 'residential densification'?

11. **Why** do you stay in a house in the suburbs instead of a flat in the city?

12. Are you for or against densification? For/Against
    a. Why (not)?

13. What informed your current views of densification?
14. Can your views of densification be changed? Yes/No
    a. If yes, how can they be changed?

    b. If no, why not?

15. **What** effects do you think densification (having more people in the area and higher buildings) will have in your area?

16. Do you prefer suburbia or high density living? Why?

17. Which of the two do you think is a more cost effective living typology in the long run?

18. Do you know what the **'Corridors of Freedom'** is? Yes/No
    a. If Yes, Are you aware of the densification plans within this policy? Yes/No

19. Do you know what a compact city is? Yes/No
    a. If yes, are you for or against the concept? And why?

    b. If yes, what are its advantages or disadvantages?

20. What do you consider a home? (difference between house and home) (Can a flat/apartment be considered a home?)

21. Do you prefer low rise or high rise density?

22. If the benefits that are said to come with densification were delivered, would you opt for that type of living?