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Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment

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Masters of Science in Development Planning

A Research Report by

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TITLE: Understanding the increase in demand for accommodation in the Johannesburg northern suburbs from the black middle class.

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Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the Degree of Master of Science to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination to any other University.

……

(Signature of Candidate)

……..day of…….year

Day *Month*

Abstract

The current increase in demand for accommodation in the Johannesburg northern suburbs is linked to the political and demographic changes that took place within South Africa post 1994. During this time there was a flight of affluent white South Africans away from what was then the centre of the country's economy, the Johannesburg Central Business District (Garner, 2011). There has been an increase in the size of South Africa's black middle class post 1994, due to the removal of racist legislation impeding the economic advancements of black South Africans, as well as due to the progressive affirmative action policies designed to fast track the advancement of black South Africans (Southall, 2016). Consequently, there has been a steady increase of black middle class people moving into the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. The study was conducted in the Sandton suburbs of Johannesburg, Gauteng. It sought to understand what factors have led to the increase in demand for accommodation in these suburbs from the black middle class. 27 interviews were conducted with participants in the case study areas of Illovo, Sandton Central Business District, Sandown, Bryanston and Sandhurst. The researcher made use of direct observations during the semi-structured interviews. The results showed that research in this area was imperative as it helped to explain the buying and renting patterns of the black middle class. This is important for property developers and the government because the black middle class is a fast growing economic subgroup within the country. This can impact on policy and property development in the country.

The study found that the black middle class are moving to the northern suburbs for pragmatic reasons and that proximity to their places of work, proximity to amenities and security are the most important factors causing them to move.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements 2

Declaration 3

Abstract 4

List of Figures 7

List of Tables 7

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND TO THE MOVEMENT NORTH 8

1.1 Rationale of the study 9
1.2 Research question 9
1.3 Definitions of key terms and concepts 10
1.4 Geographical location 11
1.5 Research methods 11
1.6 Ethics 12
1.7 Organisation of the thesis 12
1.8 Conclusion 13

CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING THE MOVEMENT NORTH 14

2.1 Explaining the movement phenomenon 14
2.2 South African black middle class 22
2.3 Factors that lead to an increase in demand 26
2.4 Conclusion 41

CHAPTER 3: TOOLS OF THE TRADE 43

3.1 Research question 43
3.2 Research method 44
3.3 Selection of the cases 46
3.4 Data Collection Technique 46
3.5 Sampling/Interviewee Selection 47
3.6 Instrument to Conduct Interviews 49
3.7 Limitations 51
3.8 Ethical Considerations 53
3.9 Conclusion 53

CHAPTER 4: WHAT THEY SAID 55

4.1 Results 55
4.2 Black Middle Class Residents 64
4.3 Marketing Companies 69
4.4 Targeting 80
4.5 Management 85
4.6 Conclusion 88
CHAPTER 5: BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER: 90
REFERENCE LIST 96
APPENDIX 104

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of the study site and the suburbs to be studied as case studies, (Rooms for Africa, 2015) 11

Figure 2: Apartment Complex in Sandton (Security features), (Mngaza, 2015) 29

Figure 3: Apartment Complex in Morningside, Sandton (Security Features), (Mngaza, 2015) 29

Figure 4: Map showing incidence of murder in communities in the Gauteng Province, (Institute for Security Studies, 2015) 31

Figure 5: Sign in Illovo advertising high rise apartment living, (Mngaza, 2015) 33

Figure 6: Traffic in Sandton CBD, (The Wedding Expo, 2015) 35

Figure 7: Black middle class South Africans using Gautrain, (Cox and Germaner, 2012). 36

Figure 8: Diagram of the conceptual framework of the study 39

Figure 9: Pamphlet advertising properties in northern Johannesburg, (Property Portfolio, 2015) 82

Figure 10: Advertisement for apartment in Rivonia 83

Figure 11: Advertisement targeting black middle class in Midrand 84

List of Tables

Table 1: Gender of participants 55

Table 2: Age of participants 56

Table 3: Tenure status of participants 56

Table 4: Factors rated most important by black middle class South Africans interviewed 57

Table 5: Factors rated second most important by black middle class residents 58

Table 6: Factors rated third most important by black middle class South Africans 58

Table 7: Total factors mentioned by black middle class South Africans 59

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND TO THE MOVEMENT NORTH

The focus of this study was the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from the black middle class. The current increase in accommodation in South Africa is occurring within a specific historical context. This increase in demand for accommodation is linked to the political and demographic changes that took place within South Africa pre 1994. Businesses began to move to the northern suburbs during the 1970s and early1980s, this was the first movement out of the Johannesburg CBD (Garner, 2011). Around the late 1980s, there was an influx of black residents into the inner city apartment buildings around Hillbrow, during this time there was a second flight of affluent white South Africans from what was then the centre of the country's economy, the Johannesburg CBD (Garner, 2011). The pre-1994 high density, high rise accommodation in the surrounding areas of the Johannesburg CBD such as Hillbrow was available to middle income white South Africans (Garner, 2011). The research report is divided into five chapters. Each chapter will add to the body of knowledge on the subject and assist in providing an understanding of the increase in demand for accommodation in the Johannesburg northern suburbs from the black middle class.

The demand for accommodation in Johannesburg's northern suburbs has been increasing rapidly in the last few years since late 2012 (Muller, 2014a). A topic of interest has been finding out exactly what has caused the increase in demand for this accommodation, specifically as this is the main economic hub of the country.

This increase in the demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs has been occurring at a similar pace to the increase in the black middle class of South Africa. There has been a steady increase of black middle class people moving into the northern suburbs, who previously held no links to the area. It is of interest to understand what the factors are that have led to this increase in demand specifically from the black middle class.

The number of black South Africans living within the northern suburbs differs between the different suburbs. For instance when looking at the suburb of Illovo there were 1653 black people, with 2282 white people, the suburb of Lonehill had 2504 black people with 7595

white people, while Paulsof had 2811 white people and 5113 black people (Statistics South Africa, 2011a). These results show that although the northern suburbs are seeing increasing numbers of black South Africans moving in, the area is still predominantly inhabited by white people. This trend will be investigated further on in this report.

The increase in the number of black middle class people living in the northern suburbs is exemplified by the suburbs of Bryanston and Sandhurst. Within the suburbs of Bryanston in 1996 there were 4824 black people living in the area, in 2001 the numbers increased to 5703 and in 2011 there were approximately 8795 black people (Statistics South Africa, 2011a). The same gradual increase can be seen in Sandhurst where the number of black South Africans living in the suburb increased from 436 in 1996, to 504 in 2001 and then to 989 in 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2011a). This trend is visible in other suburbs within the northern suburbs. Although it has been noted that at the same time there have not only been increases in the number of black people living in the northern suburbs, but there have been recorded increases in the number of white South Africans living in the areas, though the numbers are less significant.

1.1 Rationale of the study

The study will help to understand the buying or renting patterns of the new black middle class. This is important for property developers and government because the black middle class is a fast growing economic subgroup within the country. This has impacted on policy and property development and on housing trends within the city. The pattern of renting or buying helps us to understand South African social relations and to explain why black people want to move into these areas. This phenomenon is of interest as the middle class blacks have been historically resident in the south of Johannesburg and the new trends mean that they are further away from their families and friends. It is important to understand these dynamics because South Africa is a society with many changes that have taken place post 1994 and in depth studies of these factors will help government plan for future development. Furthermore it will be interesting to document adaptations in the property market to the changes with increasing numbers of young black professionals moving into the space.

1.2 Research question

What are the factors that have led to the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from the black middle class?

Sub questions:

- What are the theoretical explanations to the movement of the black middle class?
- Who are the black middle class?
- What motivates the black middle class to move to the northern suburbs?
- How have marketing companies responded to the increase in black middle class residents moving to the northern suburbs?

1.3 Definitions of key terms and concepts

In terms of this research black refers to anyone who identifies themselves as black. This is due to South Africa's apartheid history, currently racial distinctions and definitions are often more complicated than in other circumstances. This is so as some South Africans identify themselves as black but within the general South African context and within South African society they may generally not be regarded as black. Thus the definition of black, as those who identify themselves as black, is a definition which simplifies and removes all confusion that could possibly arise from preconceived notions of the definition of black within South Africa.

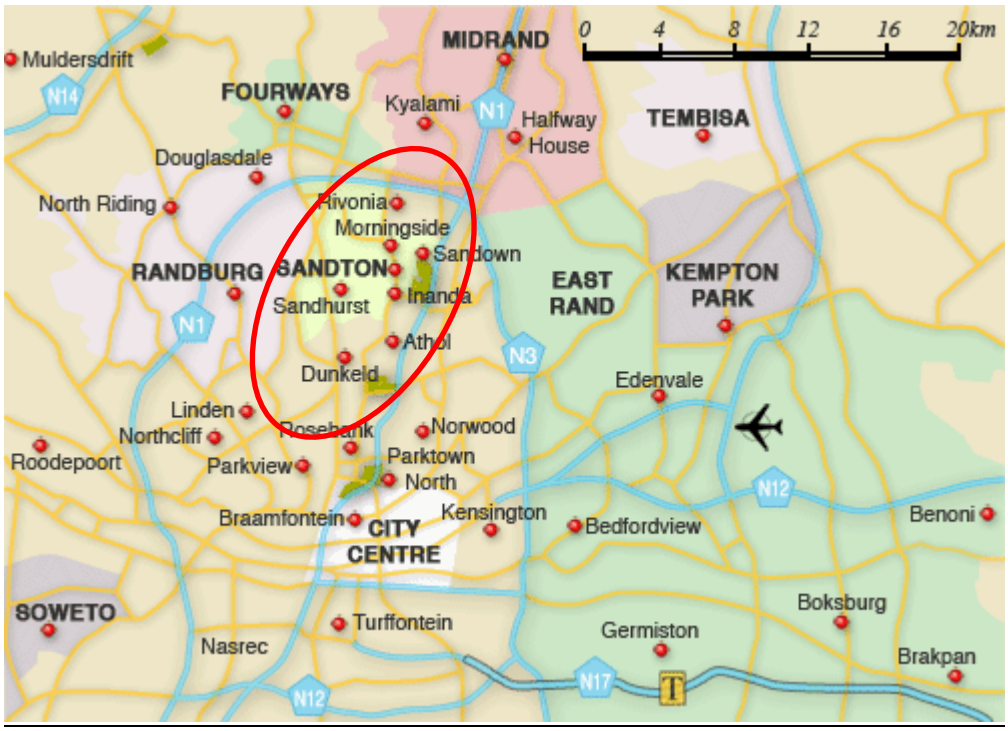
The definition of what constitutes black middle class is also a contested definition. There is no clear and accepted definition of what constitutes the black middle class in South Africa (Southall, 2016). It is generally agreed that the black middle class is a class straddled somewhere in between what would be generally conceived as working class people engaged in manual labour and the elite of society. As to the exact position of the middle class and what is required of one to become black middle class, that is contested (Southall, 2016). A deeper analysis of the black middle class will be given further on in the report.

For the purpose of this research the middle class is defined "in terms of occupational status and lifestyle. It neither owns the 'means of production', nor does it perform manual labour. Rather, the middle-class derives its livelihood from a salary earned on the basis of its specialized skills and expertise. It is made up of white-collar professionals, managers and traders. Not only is the middle-class distinguished by occupational status, but also by behaviour, life-style and world view" (Ndletyana 2014, 2).

1.4 Geographical location

The area of the northern suburbs of Johannesburg in this report refers to the Sandton suburbs of (Sandton CBD, Sandown, Illovo, Bryanston, Sandhurst) (see figure 1).

Map showing Study Site and Suburbs (Sandton CBD, Sandown, Illovo, Bryanston and Sandhurst) to be used as case studies



Legend	
◯	Suburbs to be used as case studies

Figure 1: Map of the study site and the suburbs to be studied as case studies, (Rooms for Africa, 2015)

1.5 Research methods

The research method chosen for this research report is that of a case study. The research question is exploratory. The question asked in this study pertains to the "what" rather than the

"how many" (Yin 1994, 5). A case study can be used for this research question because according to Yin (1994) case studies are useful when answering exploratory questions.

A case study is the preferred strategy because case studies are used when studying "city and regional planning research, such as studies of plans, neighbourhoods or public agencies" (Yin 1994, 1). Thus the case study strategy responds particularly to this research question because the case study will focus on neighbourhoods within the northern suburbs. More details will be given in chapter 3 of this report.

1.6 Ethics

It is important as an ethical consideration that the researcher guarantees confidentiality for all involved in the research. This will be done through various methods such as keeping the interviews locked away.

Further information on the ethics and limitations of the research report will be discussed in chapter 3 of the report.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

The study begins with the first chapter, Background to the movement north, which will provide a brief introduction to the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs. A rationale for the study will follow, this will explain why the writer chose to embark on this study and what this study will offer academia once complete. Next the research question that the study seeks to answer will be listed followed by a number of sub questions. The research question will act as a guide for the research report ensuring that the report remains focused on the topic at hand. This will be followed by a definition of key terms and concepts which will clarify the common themes that occur in the research. The geographical location of the area will then be researched in order to provide a deeper understanding of the area under investigation.

The second chapter, will research relevant literature relating to the topic of population mobility in cities, relating to the past and present dynamics of the black middle class in South Africa, as well as researching literature that relates to the potential factors that could have led to the increase in demand. Chapter three will look at the research methods used during the research. The research question and the sub questions that help to answer the research question will be explored. An explanation of the different data collection techniques that were

used in the research will follow. The chapter will also discuss some of the limitations and ethical considerations that were made while conducting the research.

Chapter four explains and analyses the information collected during the data collection phase of the research. Chapter five, the conclusion, will respond to the research questions and make explanations of some of the theories discussed in the literature review.

1.8 Conclusion

The above chapter has sought to provide a brief introduction into the movement of the black middle class to the northern suburbs. It sought to familiarise the reader with the key terms and definitions that will be used throughout the remainder of this report. The geographical location of the area under study was briefly explained. This chapter also served to provide a clear direction for the outline of the rest of the report.

It is clear from the above text that the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs is a new phenomenon within the northern suburbs. Furthermore the timing of this increase in demand for accommodation has occurred with a simultaneous increase in the numbers of South Africa's black middle class.

CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING THE MOVEMENT NORTH

This study focuses on understanding what factors have led to the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from the black middle class. This is a topic that has not been explored in the South African context. Therefore a wide range of literature was consulted in order to produce this literature review. This required researching property development literature regarding the area under study as well as literature regarding the South African black middle class. The anchor of this research is the economic consumption of goods.

This chapter is divided into three sections; the first section focuses on the theoretical viewpoints from which the phenomenon of the black middle class moving to the northern suburbs can be understood. The second section focuses on understanding how relevant literature can help to explain the phenomenon of the black middle class moving to the northern suburbs. Third there will be a conceptual framework summarising the important concepts affecting this movement phenomenon and this will assist in answering the research questions. This will be followed by a conclusion.

2.1 Explaining the movement phenomenon

There are a number of theoretical approaches that can be used to explain the growth in demand for accommodation in Johannesburg's northern suburbs from the black middle class. The theoretical framework assists to "explain, predict, and understand phenomena and, in many cases, to challenge and extend existing knowledge within the limits of critical bounding assumptions" (USC Library 2015, 1). The theories that will be researched in this report are the Post-Apartheid Democratic Syndrome (Sihlongonyane, 2015), Stigmatisation theory, Pragmatic theory and a theoretically mixed approach focusing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu. The different theories and how they contribute to an understanding of the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs will be researched.

Observations of the Post Apartheid Democratic Syndrome

The Post-Apartheid Democratic Syndrome was observed by (Sihlongonyane, 2015) and focuses on the postulation that post 1994 black South Africans were legally free to move to former white suburbs that had better services. This theory holds that this freedom of movement is the reason for the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from the black middle class. Although it should be mentioned that even before 1994, and as early as the 1980's, black South Africans had begun moving into what were then white areas of the city (Selzer and Heller, 2010). After the legalisation enforcing the legal separation of races (the Group Areas Act) was removed in 1991 the increase in black middle class people moving to the former white residential suburbs was facilitated (Selzer and Heller, 2010).

The freedom to move to areas closer to better quality amenities and facilities is the essence of the Post-apartheid democratic syndrome. Payi (2012, 1) illustrated this by writing that, "many people who could afford to buy homes in town…..picked up their families and moved". He further asserted that a lot of people gained the freedom to move to attain better services and amenities in the northern suburbs post-1994 and many that had the resources available moved. He emphasized that the black middle class people deemed to be 'better off' in the townships such as nurses, teachers, doctors and business people moved in order to pursue a better life and better education in the suburbs (Payi, 2012).

According to the same researcher, (Payi, 2012) some black South Africans make the move to the northern suburbs based on a desire to move to areas with larger white populations . This is illustrated by the researchers' description of a day when he went to view a potential apartment to purchase in Sandton. He describes the experience of finding a black couple who wanted to move into the apartment complex. The woman was interested in knowing the racial make-up of the apartment complex. On enquiring about the racial make-up of the apartment complex the women exclaimed and stated that she preferred an apartment complex that had a larger white population as opposed to 'too many black' residents. Her reasoning was that a large number of black South Africans living in the complex would decrease the value of her new apartment (Payi, 2012). This case is an example of the fact that after the removal of the

apartheid barriers, some black South Africans moving to the northern suburbs wanted to live in areas closely associated with white South Africans because they associated black people with a decline in their investment.

Despite the freedom of movement that the black middle class has gained post-1994, there have also been some obstacles impeding this freedom of movement (Prinsloo and Cloete, 2002). Comparisons between South Africa and the United States can be made in this regard. There are a number of mechanisms that have been used within the United States of America to keep African Americans from owning homes in certain majority white areas (South and Dean, 1993). This has been done to keep Africans Americans out of such areas and to keep the racial make-up of the areas predominantly white (South and Dean, 1993).

Similar techniques have been used in South Africa to keep black South Africans out of traditional 'white' South African suburbs (Prinsloo and Cloete, 2002). Some of these mechanisms that are used can be as crude as white real estate agents or landlords simply refusing to rent to black people or white real estate agents or landlords increasing the price of accommodation to levels that deem them unaffordable for potential black residents (Lemanski, 2006). These impact the post-apartheid movement of black South Africans to the northern suburbs to some degree (Lemanski, 2006). This research may uncover whether such incidents are taking place in the Johannesburg northern suburbs from the interviews with black middle class residents in the area.

Furthermore there are often negative connotations of areas with large black populations, even if these are middle class areas with large black populations (Prinsloo and Cloete, 2002). When large numbers of black middle class people move into such areas, white residents often become uncomfortable and move out (Prinsloo and Cloete, 2002). Although not necessarily inhibiting the movement of black South Africans to the northern suburbs this inhibits integration in post-apartheid South Africa, creating majority black middle class neighbourhoods such as those found in some parts of Midrand (Prinsloo and Cloete, 2002).

It is further evident that within post-apartheid residential spaces, there are often negative connotations associated with large numbers of black people, whether middle class or not, residing in certain neighbourhoods. This is evident in a recent incident involving an altercation between a black South African metro police officer and an Indian motorist (Cox, 2015). Arguing with the motorist, the metro police officer ridicules the area where the motorist lives saying, "there are too many blacks and thieves living in the area" (Cox 2015,

1). The police women said this negatively, linking a large number of black people as a negative trait within an area. This is a concept held by some residents of South Africa (Prinsloo and Cloete, 2002). The area under discussion during the argument was Bloubosrand a middle class area in the north of Johannesburg that contains a population that is 85 percent black (Cox, 2015).

It was also noticed that within areas where large numbers of black middle class South Africans moved, that the value of the real estate often decreased (Prinsloo and Cloete, 2002). This curtails the movement of black South Africans to an extent, despite theoretical democratic freedom. This occurs because black South Africans may become undesirable for certain real estate markets, as real estate agents would not want the value of their real estate to decrease and hence are unwilling to rent or sell to black South Africans. Thus possibly limiting the available accommodation that black South Africans can move into (Prinsloo and Cloete, 2002). Such an argument could also be used by real estate agents and landlords as a means to exclude black South Africans from certain areas in the city.

It is also important to mention that despite the movement of black middle class people out of the townships, the majority of middle class black South Africans chose to remain within the townships post 1994 (Lead2Buisness, 2015). These black South Africans felt more at home in the townships and decided to remain (Findley and Ogbu, 2011). Often living in wealthier middle class sections of the townships, such as the D section of Kwamashu township in Durban, which according to Kwamashu resident Shadrack Nzunza is the wealthier area of Kwamashu (Frank, 1994).

Stigmatisation

Another theory that is discussed to explain the movement of the black middle class to the northern suburbs is stigmatisation theory. This theory looks at the fact that people move out of poor communities due to the stigma attached to the high levels of poverty within such areas, as well as a desire not to be associated with the poor people that live in such areas (Steele, 1991). In the case of South Africa, this theory holds that once people make enough money, they immediately move out of previously black township communities to escape the stigma associated with such communities (Black Diamonds, 2010). This can be seen from comments made by Richard Ndlela in the documentary Black Diamonds where he states that moving out of the township into the suburbs was like coming out of hell into heaven. He

mentioned how in the suburbs he enjoys being able to walk around freely at night without the fear of being mugged (Black Diamonds, 2010).

The experience of stigma for black South Africans is in many ways similar to that of African Americans (Prinsloo and Cloete, 2002). Steele (1991) noted that despite the fact that African Americans are a diverse group of people, what it means to be an African American is frequently associated with poor, working class stereotypes. This emanates from the stereotypical opinion that race is understood as a united identity rather than looking at the complexities and individual differences within different racial groups. Historically, within the African American experiences, this view was evident during the 1960s when African Americans needed to be united against racial prejudice during the civil rights movement (Steele, 1991). He further stated that the reasons for black Americans identifying the poorest black person as the most authentic black person is due to a history of victimisation, because it was victimisation as an experience that unified all African Americans.

Within South Africa the same is said to be true for black people and the victimisation that they suffered under colonialism and apartheid (Moller, 1998). Thus a similar identification with the identity of the victim can be seen in South Africa where, if a middle class black South African does not associate with township culture they are often seen as not being black enough (Wa-Azania, 2013). According to stigmatisation theory it is exactly this identification with the poor victim that many middle class black South Africans are trying to break away from through moving to the northern suburbs and forging their identity from upper class life and values (Steele, 1991).

In the United States segments of middle and upper class blacks have historically, even since the time of slavery in the United States, aimed to mimic the lifestyles of their white 'masters', hence the dichotomy of the field negro and the house negro (Steele, 1991). Ekeh (1975) postulated that within the South African and the broader African colonial context there was a similar dichotomy where there were western educated Africans who developed similar lifestyles to those of their colonial masters through interactions with the colonialists and colonialist institutions. These western educated Africans were often fluent in the colonial language, often had a better standard of living and were often closer culturally to the European elite, while the majority of the African peasantry remained poor and marginalised A section of the African elites who had embraced European ways would often look down on the lower class Africans, while in other ways they were linked to larger populations of

African peasantry respectively in their fight to defeat white oppression and colonialism. Thus certain segments of the African middle classes have historically looked down upon and wanted to distance themselves from their poorer peasant cousins (Ekeh, 1975).

This remains the basis of stigmatisation theory today as this desire to disassociate from poor blacks still lives on in society (Steele, 1991). According to Stigmatisation theory middle class black South Africans for the most part want to be associated with middle and upper class whites (Payi, 2012). Sending their children to the same schools as upper class white South Africans and often adopting English as the language which they speak to their children (Wa-azania, 2013)**.** Hence after generations black middle class South Africans often have more similarity in culture with other middle class people of all races, rather than similarity to working class blacks (Steele, 1991). It should be mentioned that this is not the case for all middle class blacks, as some middle class blacks may strive to retain a close relationship with other African elites and the African working class and some of these black middle class people may strive to maintain their African culture and language. In this regard some middle class blacks retain a strong ability to code switch between two cultural worlds, the Anglo Saxon world of the formal state and the local African cultural context of their daily lives (Southall, 2016).

This desire to become set apart from poor black South Africans also links to negative stereotypes of cultural traits, lifestyles and neighbourhoods associated with poor black South Africans (Steele, 1991). According to stigmatisation theory (Steele, 1991) middle class blacks will often use such views and stereotypes to define themselves, in essence such stereotypes are everything the middle class blacks have worked not to become, by leaving the townships. Steele (1991) further mentions that this could also be linked to racist views that whites have towards working class blacks, which middle class blacks may have internalised and hence middle class blacks would like to separate themselves from poor blacks or aspire to middle class status, to themselves avoid being labelled with such racist stereotypes. Such a desire to detach from lower class black South Africans often works in conjunction with a societal pull and a desire in some middle class blacks to still somewhat identify with the image of blackness portrayed in lower class black culture (Steele, 1991).

Mixed approach

Another theoretical approach that will be researched is that of a mixed approach, this states that there are a wide variety of possible reasons that black middle class South Africans have moved to the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. This approach will be anchored on the work of Pierre Bourdieu that was conducted in Algeria amongst the Kabyle people and in France, looking at the French higher education system (Jenkins, 1992).

This approach holds that it is not one factor such as stigma of the townships or the freedom to move after 1994 but rather a confluence of all of these factors and more that has led to an increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from the black middle class. According to Bourdieu, what people or communities value will differ depending on the individuals in the community because people value things differently (Yang, 2006). Bourdieu is at pains to mention that people value certain things differently due to the upbringing and education that they have received and hence value is not intrinsic but a created phenomenon (Jenkins, 1992). Thus the desire to move to the northern suburbs is based on a number of different reasons depending on the individual concerned.

Bourdieu feels that lifestyle groups are not definitive and are always changing, as some lifestyle groups may join up with others, become popular, decrease or break away from others (Yang, 2006). For instance within the black middle class you may find some people embrace a lifestyle of joining cycling clubs and thus members feel the need to live in the northern suburbs to be near those clubs. Or if elements of the black middle class break away from this lifestyle and join golf clubs and a lifestyle which involves regularly playing golf, which then increases their interests of living in certain areas of the northern suburbs due to access to certain golf clubs.

Some researchers believe that specific lifestyle groups value certain things more than others, for instance “some lifestyle segments might primarily value hedonism and stimulation, while placing a low priority on tradition and conformity” (Yang 2006, 34). Bourdieu feels that this reasoning is too simplistic and that people understand different values differently, that for instance even within the black middle class lifestyle group there would be different ways that different members of the black middle class place value on certain things (Yang, 2006). For instance, some black South Africans would have moved to the northern suburbs because they value being close to quality education institutions for their children while others may have

moved to be closer to entertainment and others for less obvious reasons such as being close to their friends (Yang, 2006).

As mentioned above, Bourdieu highlights a number of different factors that could be of importance in explaining people's lifestyle choices. The education level of group members will greatly impact on their lifestyle choices (Yang, 2006). In this instance, the desire to have access to better quality education has caused people to move to the northern suburbs (Selzer and Heller, 2010). Furthermore, education played a role in that the higher levels of education held by the parents of the black middle class children enabled them to assist their children at home with education and engage better with teachers at schools ensuring the best educational experience for their children (Payi, 2012). In this sense "Bourdieu views income and education as different types of resources, labelled economic capital and cultural capital, respectively (Yang 2006, 35).

The position within South African society that the black middle class finds itself, could also be a potential reason for this movement to the northern suburbs, as "Bourdieu argues that lifestyle groups that are growing in numbers, wealth and prominence tend to have more optimistic worldviews and champion new product trends" (Yang 2006, 35). This fits the black middle class in South Africa today, although it is not a new group, it is a group that is growing rapidly in wealth, numbers and in prominence, hence the black middle class could desire to follow new trends for a middle class livelihood within the northern suburbs. This is in contrast to the older more established white middle class communities who may stick to traditional modes of living, linked with their longer established middle class history. Examples of this are white middle class communities that have remained in historic white middle class areas of the city.

Bourdieu (1984) mentioned that there are more dynamics at play where there are conscious efforts by the elite or more established middle classes "to get the larger culture to recognize the superiority of particular lifestyles" (Yang 2006, 35). In this sense, the demand to move to the northern suburbs could be the desire of the black middle class to mimic the living standards and the lifestyles of the more established white middle class (Yang, 2006).

Pragmatism

Another theory which can explain the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from the black middle class is the theory of pragmatism. Pragmatism is a form of

action taken by people that is in line with what would be considered common sense (Hoch, 1984). Pragmatists are not focused on theory necessarily but rather on doing what works best at a particular time (Brickell, 2012). This theoretical viewpoint holds that black middle class South Africans move to the northern suburbs because it is the most rational and logical move to make. Pragmatism holds that it is rational that everyone would like to be as close to the countries financial hub as possible and now that these middle class black South Africans have the finances to afford to make this move, they will. Accommodation within the area is often advertised in a way that shows the areas centrality as the economic hub of the city. This can be seen on the Capital Hydro Apartments website where it states "if you want to be in the hub of where it's happening, then staying at The Capital Hydro is spot on" (The Capital Hotels 2015, 1). Advertisements like this inspire pragmatists to make the choice to move to the northern suburbs. Furthermore there are other decisions that can be explained from a pragmatic point of view, decisions such as a desire from parents to move to northern suburbs so they are close to good quality schools for their children.

2.2 South African black middle class

In order to understand the current development of the black middle class movement to the northern suburbs a brief history of the black middle class will be given. This will assist to place the current developments within the black middle class into context.

The black middle class has been present in South Africa for over one hundred years (Fort Hare University, 2015). Ekeh (1975), proposed that the origins of the black middle class go far back into the history of early interactions of European colonialists with black Africans on the African continent. He stated that after the conquest of large parts of Africa including South Africa, certain black Africans became closer to the European rulers, learning the languages of the European colonisers and embracing their culture, often dressing as the European colonisers did. These were the beginnings of the black middle class in South Africa and the rest of Africa (Ekeh, 1975).

An important tool for the development of the black middle class within South Africa and other Southern African countries was the University of Fort Hare (Fort Hare University, 2015). From 1916 to 1956 The University of Fort Hare played a crucial role in creating educated black African elite, who formed the Western educated African elites and anti-apartheid freedom fighters (Fort Hare University, 2015). The descendants of these Fort Hare educated elites often form part of the South African elite today (Fort Hare University, 2015).

After 1956 the University was used to promote Bantu Education (Fort Hare University, 2015). A large alumni of African elite have come from this institution, figures such as Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Robert Mugabe, Julius Nyerere, Govan Mbeki, Sir Serertse Khama and more (Massey, 2010) . The meaning of the University of Fort Hare for black South Africans is captured by a quote from former president Nelson Mandela, "for young black South Africans like myself, it was Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Yale, all rolled into one" (Fort Hare University 2015, 1).

Current Black Middle Class

Selzer and Heller (2010), noted that after the fall of apartheid and the repealing of the segregationist apartheid policies which dictated where different races could live, there was a sizeable number of middle class black South Africans moving out of townships like Soweto (South Western Townships) to the more prestigious and entrenched middle class neighbourhoods of the northern suburbs. The black middle class that made this move to the northern suburbs were people from the upper echelons within the black middle class (Selzer and Heller, 2010). The middle and lower black middle classes either stayed in Soweto or moved to transitional former white areas, such as Rooderpoort but could not necessarily afford the prices to live in the northern suburbs (Selzer and Heller, 2010).

It is also important to take note of the fact that while there is a sizeable movement of black South Africans out of the townships, at the same time some other levels of the black middle class are moving to different parts of or staying within the townships, amidst an ever growing lower middle class within the townships (Selzer and Heller, 2010). Some of these black South Africans are deciding to stay in the townships as there has been a lot of investment and infrastructure development in townships recently as well as due to increasingly expensive properties in the northern suburbs (Lead2Buisness, 2015). "Although they may be financially capable of living in the suburbs, 53% of the black middle class chooses to live in the township because of social and family ties" (Mashaba and Wiese 2015, 3).

Providing an exact figure for the size of the black middle class that has moved to the northern suburbs from townships remains a difficult task due the difficulty in defining precisely who constitutes the black middle class. There are numerous figures given by different authors and researchers describing the exact size of the black middle class (Southall, 2016). These

numbers range from figures such as 2.5 million from the Human Research Council, 3.4 million from Carlos Garcia Rivero, 4.2 million from the Unilever Institute for Marketing at the University of Cape Town and 9.3 million from Eric Udjo of Statistics South Africa (Southall, 2016). These numbers often differ depending on what the particular researchers are aiming to achieve in their research and the methodology they use (Southall, 2016). Thus taking note of the lack of agreement on the size of the black middle class, it is equally difficult to estimate the number of black middle class South Africans that have moved to the northern suburbs. Opinions as to how many black middle class South Africans have moved to the northern suburbs vary widely.

Selzer and Heller (2010), stated that the black middle class is a heterogeneous group of the South African population. There are many different notions of what constitutes middle class depending on the institution or even the person discussing the subgroup, "the status or material well-being of the middle class is not derived primarily from property (the bourgeoisie) but rather from other power-conferring resources such as organizational authority or possession of valued skills that are either embodied (cultural capital) or institutionalized (educational capital in the form of credentials)" (Selzer and Heller 2010, 150). In relation to the South African context, a large segment of the new black middle class in South Africa is in the process of acquiring skills such as educational capital, while other more established members of the black middle class, as mentioned above have had these skills for generations, for example those educated at Fort Hare (Nieftagodien and van der Berg, 2007).

The importance of differentiating the black middle class into smaller sub groups is that within the black middle class, people often have very different levels of income and people with different levels of income often act in very different ways to one another (Heller, 2010). For instance it is the upper middle class black South Africans who are moving to the northern suburbs and not the other groups of middle class black South Africans (Heller, 2010). Different levels of the black middle class have different reasons for moving to northern suburbs, such as due to a demand for easier access to their place of work, access to prestigious schools and more, these factors will be the focus of this report (Heller, 2010).

Khunou and Krige (2013), made the observation that creating a fixed definition of the black middle class may actually "exclude important dynamics and processes" within the formation of the black middle class. Though it can be said that it is impractical to produce a report on

the black middle class without a clear definition or distinction between different levels of the black middle class, the black middle class is not a homogenous group (Selzer and Heller, 2010). There are many differences within the black middle class itself, such as differences in levels of income (Selzer and Heller, 2010). If these differences were not taken into account the research would produce inaccurate results.

In their research, Khunou and Krige (2013), also observed that the definition can depend on the context in which it is being used. For instance the definition may differ in relation to how those classified as black middle class see themselves. Many people one may describe as black middle class may not see themselves as middle class and many people do not actually like to be classified in this way. It is important to understand the dynamics of why some black South Africans may not want to be classified as middle class as this will help to explain some of the values and difficulties in relation to identity inherent within South Africa's black middle class. The researchers further found that one of the reasons that people may not want to be described as middle class is due to a stigma associated with being rich. This stigma exists in South Africa in that in being rich people do not want to seem to have lost their culture, having lost touch with their 'people' or in some instances people do not want to be seen as someone who is 'trying to be white' which is also termed colloquially as "being a coconut" (Khunou and Krige, 2013). Concurrently there is a stigma against being poor. Thus people may prefer to accept the identity of middle class, which places them comfortably in between the two extremes allowing them to escape the stigma associated with both extremes (Khunou and Krige, 2013).

Another reason that these researchers found was that black South Africans may reject the notion of being middle class is that they may regard it as an identity forcefully placed onto them by others, an identity that they do not feel represents them. Some may feel that the label comes with an imposed agenda or imposed characteristics about themselves that they do not want to be associated with (Khunou and Krige, 2013). Characteristics such as being a middle class person make one a 'snob'.

However, there is also a desire amongst some to be associated with opulence. There are those who enjoy being referred to by the term middle class for the status this gives them (Steele, 1991). This shows that the definition of black middle class is more complex than initially proposed and can depend on the situation in which individuals find themselves.

There has been a change in the relationship between the black middle class and other black South Africans. This change can be seen by looking at an area such as Soweto. Historically due to the apartheid regime's segregationist policies the black middle class was confined to live in close proximity to other black South Africans within townships where they maintained close interactions and close cultural ties (Khunou and Krige, 2013). Whereas with the post-apartheid shift to the northern suburbs a greater distance has been created between the black middle class and the rest of black South Africans resulting in differences in schooling and lived experiences, which sometimes leads to changes in language usage. This was accentuated by the large spatial separation that was created between middle class black South Africans and other black South Africans by movement to the northern suburbs (Selzer and Heller, 2010).

The lived experience of the black middle class has become more distant from the general lived experiences of other black South Africans (Khounou, 2013). This distinction and separation may also be what attracts some black South Africans to move northwards. In this sense black middle class South Africans may want to distance themselves from negative notions associated with the township or township life (Black Diamonds, 2010). This relationship is nuanced by the fact that some middle class black South Africans will regularly go back and visit the townships (James, 1994).

It is also interesting to note that other races, in some instances, do not enjoy being referred to as rich or middle class. I requested a colleague of Asian descent who lives in Illovo to assist me to find interviewees who live in Sandton. Her response was that she does not know anyone who lives in Sandton. I responded with a question regarding her neighbours. Her response was, "oh I have never thought of Illovo as Sandton, yeah I don't like that". She wanted to distance herself from the title of opulence that comes with Sandton. Thus the notion of not wanting to appear middle class or wealthy may not be confined to black South Africans moving to the northern suburbs.

2.3 Factors that lead to an increase in demand

There has been a large increase in demand for office space from companies moving into the Sandton CBD since 2013 (Muller, 2013). This is as "commercial real estate investors and developers continue to pour billions into the Sandton CBD" (Muller 2013, 1). This massive development is epitomised by the fact that in 2013 Sandton accounted for 61% of new developments across the country (Muller, 2013). According to Ndibu Motaung, in 2014

Sandton should have more lettable office space than the previous leaders Johannesburg CBD and then third Cape Town CBD (Muller, 2013). This rapid increase in office space, has simultaneously led to an increase in the demand for residential space within the area, as many of the workers within these companies want to live close to where they work (Gush, 2013).

The focus on property in this research is very important and links directly to middle class identity because where a person lives gives that person access to "cultural capital, social networks, and highly differentiated public and private services" (Selzer and Heller 2010, 151). Thus where one lives can dramatically improve one's economic prospects and opportunities for social mobility (Selzer and Heller, 2010). Thus property is vital in ensuring ones middle class status for generations. Hence securing property in prime locations is of great importance to South Africa's black middle class.

There are a number of different factors which could have led to this increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from the black middle class. These are factors such as the potential access to South Africa's financial hub, land and real estate prices, the prestige of the area, a desire for safety from crime and a change in the lifestyle aspirations of the black middle class. These potential factors will be researched in detail.

Security

In many instances safety has been the number one and most important factor impacting where people choose to live (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). This is visible as "safety and security is also the most important factor influencing the choice and success of affordable medium-density mixed housing development projects, as indicated in a CSIR study" (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). Gauging the importance of security for the black middle class, will assist in ascertaining how important a factor it is in explaining the demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from them.

With the demise of apartheid and the increasing freedom of movement for all South Africans, South Africa saw an increase in the fear of crime and a sense of vulnerability to criminal attacks on wealthy South Africans (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). This was not simply a perception of increased crime, as there were very real increases in crime in the country (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). This is visible particularly when looking at the case of homicide, looking at figures from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNOSOC), figures from 1995-2011 reveal that "South Africa – with 15,609 murders – was

ranked fourth out of 84 countries assessed" (AfricaCheck 2013, 1). This revealed a very high murder rate within the country. The desire for safety and security amid South Africa's changing political situation saw an increase in the fear of crime and what some may see as an obsession to protect oneself and one's family from crime in Johannesburg (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012).

Security is a pivotal factor that justifies why people choose to live in in the northern suburbs (Gush, 2015). There has been a large proportion of the South African population living in or wanting to live in enclosed or gated communities (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). This is due to the high crime levels within South Africa as a whole (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). The same is true for the current study area where perceptions of high crime levels exist and this manifests itself in a desire for high tech security within the accommodation (Lehlola, 2013). This is visible from the website of Sandton Executive Apartments which offers 24 hour security as one of their features aimed at attracting potential residents (Sandton Executive Apartments, 2015).

Residents' fear of crime is justifiable as crime rates have increased in Sandton in the past decade (Lemanski, 2006). Looking at different suburbs within Johannesburg, Sandton has a high rate of property related crime such as burglaries and house break-ins (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). Thus there is a real requirement for high tech and state of the art security to keep communities safe, but more importantly for communities to feel a sense of safety in their homes (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). Perceptions of crime or the possibility of being a victim of a crime creates a continuous sense of fear for residents even if the resident has not personally been a victim of a crime (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). State of the art security features are key in the advertising of properties on the internet (Sandton Executive Apartments, 2015). Properties are often portrayed as looking 'fortress like', with a range of security features depicted. High tech security measures such as CCTV cameras, boom gates, 24 hour private security guards and electric fencing are often used to secure the properties (see figure 2 and 3).



Figure 2: Apartment Complex in Sandton (Security features), (Mngaza, 2015)



Figure 3: Apartment Complex in Morningside, Sandton (Security Features), (Mngaza, 2015)

As mentioned above, Landman and Badenhorst (2012) found that gated communities are an increasingly popular type of residential form which is seen to enhance security. There are different types of gated communities in existence throughout Johannesburg. Similar kinds of security features are put in place in the different types of gated communities. Security features such as private security guards, boom gates and electric fencing are common in the majority of gated communities. The security features may differ slightly depending on the

management of the properties, the perceived threat of crime in the area, the income level of the community or the type of gated community (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012).

Looking at this heightened desire for security from a racial perspective, it could also be seen from white people in the city, as an attempt to protect themselves from other races that are now free to move and live where they want. This heightened sense of fear from the white population may be linked to heightened feelings of victimisation within the new South Africa (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012).

It is very interesting to see the need for security from the perspective of black South Africans, as in this case, black people want the same protection from crime (Frank, 1994). Often fears around crime are most frequently expressed from the white community in South Africa, though it is clear from research that has been conducted that in fact black people and poor people suffer more from violent criminal attacks than white South Africans (Geffen, 2009). Data from Statistics South Africa shows that from 1991 – 2001 male deaths by assault according to race were 81% for black Africans, 14% for coloureds, 1% for Indians and 4% for whites (Geffen, 2009). Despite differences in population size this shows that black men were affected most by assault (Geffen, 2009). Thus the lack of security could be a factor that contributed to black South Africans leaving the townships for the northern suburbs. The majority of attacks against black men occur in townships and squatter camps on the outskirts of the city as opposed to the northern suburbs (Mcgroaty, 2014). A map showing the geographic area in which murders take place in Gauteng is shown in figure 4. Sandton and Alexandra provide a clear example of this trend. The two communities occupy the same geographical area but have very different levels of poverty and crime, this is visible when looking at figure 4 (Mcgroaty, 2014). Sandton is one of the wealthiest areas in South Africa and Alexandra is one of the poorest and most violent suburbs (Mcgroaty, 2014). In 2013 there were 76 murders in Alexandra, while in Sandton there were only 4 murders (Mcgroaty, 2015). This can further be deduced from an excerpt from the documentary Black Diamonds where Richard Ndlela mentions that he feels safe from crime living in the northern suburbs as compared to the township (Black Diamonds, 2010). Thus in such circumstances the fear of crime transcends race and becomes about class.

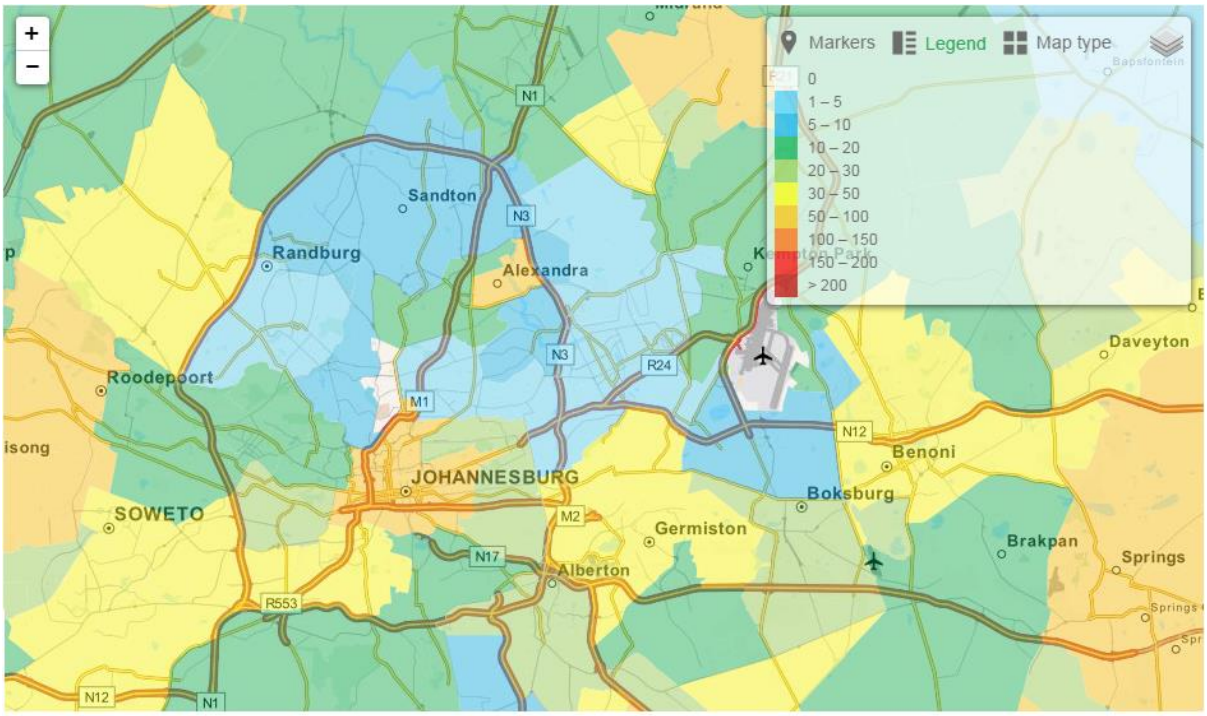


Figure 4: Map showing incidence of murder in communities in the Gauteng Province, (Institute for Security Studies, 2015)

The majority of people that are unhappy with policing within areas where they were historically resident are black and coloured people. White people are reportedly the most happy with the police in areas where they were historically resident (Lehlola, 2013).

It is also important to notice that the fear of crime within the South African context is not just amongst wealthy communities in the northern suburbs (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). There are even gated communities coming up in traditionally less affluent areas within the city (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012) This is due to increasing crime in such areas and because those wealthy residents who still live in or nearby such areas desire safety from the criminal elements within the community (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). This shows that crime is a very real issue for all income groups and that the obsession with security is justified.

It is important to understand that concerns for security are not uniquely South African and that security is an important dynamic internationally. The issue of safety was a main concern for residents within a middle class private Hong Kong housing estate, known as Tai Koo Shing (Forrest, La Grange and Ngai-Ming, 2002). Residents mentioned that they preferred to live there as it gave them a sense of safety (Forrest, La Grange and Ngai-Ming 2002). Residents mentioned how they only felt safe within or at least near the confines of their

middle class environment (Forrest, La Grange and Ngai-Ming, 2002). This is similar to the situation within the northern suburbs of Johannesburg where residents gain a sense of safety from living in privately owned gated communities and can be seen as an answer to why there has been an increase in demand for accommodation in the area.

Lifestyle

A change in lifestyle aspirations of the black middle class could prove to be an important factor in increasing the demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs. The post-1994 lifestyles of the black middle class and aspirations of the black middle class seem to have changed since moving from townships such as Soweto to the northern suburbs (Frank, 1994). For example one of these lifestyle changes is that within the townships, communities were more social and interactive with one another, whereas in the northern suburbs there is less social interaction between neighbours and families are more individualistic (Black Diamond, 2010). This represents a shift to a more individualistic lifestyle as compared to a more community oriented lifestyle in the townships. This is not necessarily something that caused people to move to the northern suburbs, but is rather an effect of this movement to the northern suburbs. Many black South Africans that have moved to the northern suburbs say that they miss the more community centred nature of the township life (Findley and Ogbu, 2011).

The lifestyles of the pre-1994 white middle class would have had an effect on the lifestyle aspirations of the current black middle class. This is visible in the documentary Black Diamonds where the wife of wealthy black businessman Vusi Mahlaba says that during the apartheid years when she was a child she used to admire whites and think they were perfect but she now lives in the same suburbs as whites and realises that they are just normal people (Black Diamonds, 2010). This is because lower income groups are generally influenced and aspire to the lifestyles of upper income groups (Jenkins, 1992). This aspiration for an opulent lifestyle is visible amongst the black middle class through the purchasing of expensive cars, expensive phones and the desire to own an expensive home or a home in a prestigious area such as Sandton (Wa-azania, 2013). It is important to understand that while the desire for an opulent lifestyle and a trend towards conspicuous consumption maybe common amongst some sections of the black middle class, this is not the case for the black middle class as a whole (Southall, 2016). It was observed by Southall (2016) that over time, members of the

black middle class engage less in conspicuous consumption, as they become more established members of the middle class.

Many of the properties or estates advertise themselves based on specific lifestyles that they offer to potential residents (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). Many of the gated communities on the outskirts of Johannesburg advertise themselves as nature complexes or golf estates (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). In the case of Sandton the accommodation in the area is often advertised under the "lock up and go" lifestyle and a luxury apartment lifestyle (Sandton Executive Apartments, 2015). This 'lock up and go' lifestyle generally refers to the easy access of the accommodation to the Sandton CBD and the ease and convenience with which residents can leave their apartments to access the main economic centre of the city. The emphasis on luxury apartment living, implicitly invokes ideas of luxury apartment living in major international cities such as New York or London, while selling the opulence and wealth of the area to the potential resident (Sandton Executive Apartments, 2015). The focus of luxury on apartments in the area can be seen in figure 5.



Figure 5: Sign in Illovo advertising high rise apartment living, (Mngaza, 2015)

The success of promoting these lifestyles will depend on the marketing and branding of the accommodation (Lancaster and Reynolds, 2002). The marketing of a new lifestyle can successfully sell the lifestyle to the public and make it appealing (Lancaster and Reynolds, 2002). This is already taking place with the black middle class seemingly embracing this luxury lifestyle and moving into this accommodation (Seekings and Nattrass, 2002). These black upper middle class South Africans will in turn act to influence the aspirations of the middle-middle and lower-middle class black South Africans (Selzer and Heller, 2010). This will all occur due to the explanations above regarding the fact that peoples aspirations are often shaped by the lifestyles of those wealthier than themselves (Jenkins, 1992).

Another major factor that contributes to the desire for people to live closer to Sandton is the desire to avoid the traffic delays that gridlock the area during morning and afternoon peak hours (Muller, 2014b) (figure 6). Traffic towards the northern suburbs, particularly Sandton is some of the worst traffic in the city and it can take up to 2 hours getting into and out of Sandton (Black Diamond, 2010). This can be further seen as "between 7.00am and 8.30am every weekday about 95 700 people travel into Sandton and just over 50 000 leave" (Dlamini, 2015, 1). Considering the fact that many black middle class South Africans would have had to commute to the northern suburbs from areas in the south such as Soweto, they would have faced massive traffic delays which would make their lives extremely difficult and waste their personal time, making them less productive at work (Black Diamonds, 2010). This is visible as Richard Ndlela mentions that he struggles with terrible traffic moving from his home in the north of Johannesburg to travel once a week to SABC buildings near the centre of Johannesburg where he works (Black Diamonds, 2010).



Figure 6: Traffic in Sandton CBD, (The Wedding Expo, 2015)

Amenities

Access to amenities is also a major factor that draws the black middle class to live within the northern suburbs. “The attraction to these estates is further enhanced by immediate access to various amenities and facilities within a reasonable distance” (Landman and Badenhorst 2012, 8). The accommodation in the heart of Sandton, the economic centre of the city, provide access to a wide range of amenities for example night clubs, leisure activities, shopping outlets, restaurants, schools or good public transport services such as the Gautrain, which is a mass rapid transit railway system in Gauteng Province of South Africa (Gush, 2013). Residents can leave their apartments and take a walk to access the various amenities, such as gyms, shops and more in their vicinity (Gush, 2013).

The implementation of the Gautrain transport system since 2010 has led to an increase in interest from foreign companies wanting to invest within the Sandton CBD (Gush, 2013). These foreign companies often bring foreign workers with them, which increases the demand for residential space within the area (Interview Marlene, 2015). This is demonstrated by the increase in Chinese workers, working for Chinese companies, living within the study area (Interview Marlene, 2015).

The Gautrain stations have led to an increase in demand for accommodation in close proximity to the stations, transforming the areas around the stations into very valuable and sought after properties (Gush, 2013). This has led to a large interest from buyers and investors wanting to live within a 2km radius of the proposed Gautrain stations (Watt, 2007). Between the year 2000 and 2007 property transactions within a 2km radius of the planned Gautrain stations increased from 3.8% to 6.0% (Watt, 2007). The prices of properties in close proximity to the planned Gautrain stations in Sandton have increased, showing an increase in the relationship to the increasing demand (Watt, 2007). It is possible that a proportion of this interest in properties around Gautrain stations has been spurred by the black middle class, wanting access to the efficient Gautrain transport, this was deduced from interviews with members of the black middle class.

The Gautrain station node development will have a significant increase in the availability of residential space as "in Sandton the total development area of the node is nearly 1.7 million square meters for office, retail and residential properties" (Watt 2007, 1).

The Gautrain is important to the black middle class as a high percentage of the Gautrain passengers are black, as of 2012, 35% of passengers were black, 45% white, 12% Indian and 8% coloured (Cox and Germaner, 2012) (See figure 7). Thus the Gautrain may play a role in encouraging the black middle class to move to the area.



Figure 7: Black middle class South Africans using Gautrain, (Cox and Germaner, 2012).

Some of the properties contain various facilities within the grounds of the property (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). This can be seen in accommodation such as the Capital Hydro apartments in Sandton where guests can access a swimming pool in the vicinity, laundry services, a barbeque area and a gym (The Capital Hydro, 2015). In this case, the attraction

may not be the amenities in close proximity to the property but the amenities that are provided within the grounds of the property. Providing a large array of amenities within the grounds of the properties changes the lifestyle of the residents and in a sense locks the residents within their homes, segregating them from the rest of the city (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012). It would be interesting to understand from the perspective of the management what inspires their choice of putting these facilities within the property and how this impacts the chances of the black middle class moving into the property or not.

Education and access to what are perceived as good schools is an important reason that inspires the black middle class to move to the northern suburbs (Selzer and Heller, 2010). Many people within the black middle class are moving their children out of government schools and into more prestigious private schools within the city (Sharp, 2014). Particularly at the upper income level there is a desire to access the schools within the northern suburbs which have proven to be the best performing schools within the city (Selzer and Heller, 2010). This shift towards private schooling has also occurred in the lower levels of the black middle class with the introduction and proliferation of low fee private schools (Sharp, 2014). There was a twenty seven per cent increase in private school enrolment in 2013 mostly coming from the black middle class (Sharp, 2014). Furthermore, education is a factor that increases the demand to live in the northern suburbs as many people who live in townships such as Soweto send their children to private schools in the northern suburbs, which requires them to travel long distances every day (Selzer and Heller, 2010). It is thus easier for such parents if they live closer to the schools their children attend in the northern suburbs.

Prestige

A major factor which has an impact on attracting buyers to the area is the fact that Sandton is the financial capital of the African continent (Muller, 2014b). This seems to be working well to attract African buyers into the area, making the area an attractive point for wealth from other parts of the African continent (Muller, 2014, b). Whether Sandton being the financial capital and gateway to the rest of the African continent is a factor encouraging black middle class South Africans to move to the area, still needs to be deduced from the interviews.

Many would regard the prices that buyers are willing to pay for these luxury properties as exorbitant and in some cases outrageous. Higher end penthouse apartments are being sold at a starting price of R25 million (Muller, 2014b). The exorbitant prices have been said to be linked to the prestige of the area, with guests being attracted by the allure of the Sandton

skyline (Muller, 2014b). Prestige must play a major factor in encouraging people to purchase apartments for the prices on offer because it is difficult to understand why even a wealthy person would pay such a massive amount of money for an apartment.

Prestige plays a role in attracting buyers to certain areas internationally. Within a middle class neighbourhood known as Tai Koo Shing in Hong Kong a sense of pleasure and community identity within the high rise estate came from the fact that properties were middle class enclaves (Forrest, La Grange and Ngai-Ming 2002). Residents took great pride in the fact that they lived in a middle class community and were pleased with the status that being associated with a middle class neighbourhood afforded them in society (Forester, La Grange and Ngai-Ming 2002). It will be interesting to see whether such a sense of prestige is a reason for black middle class South Africans moving to the northern suburbs.

Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework explains the variables that may influence the increase in demand for accommodation within the study area of the Johannesburg northern suburbs. One of the variables may be that people living in other parts of Johannesburg want to live closer to the economic hub of the city, hence the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs. Many of the people who have added to an increase in demand for accommodation in the area work in the area and would like to live closer to where they work. This is to reduce travel time to work and may also be due to the fact that people want to live closer to other services such as good schools for their children, restaurants, the night life, leisure facilities, and easy transport access to other parts of the city such as via the Gautrain.

There is a possibility that a reason for this increase in demand is that people's lifestyle aspirations may have changed. Young professionals may desire a simple one room apartment with easy access to their place of work and hence they may not feel the need to live in family oriented suburbs anymore.

Another reason that people want to live in the northern suburbs may be due to the increased feelings of safety that this brings. Thus having a large number of people living in close proximity to themselves as well as the extra defence provided by having a controlled entrance to the accommodation whether through a boom gate or an electric remote controlled gate, increases their feelings of safety.

Interest from middle class black South Africans moving into these areas may be due to the prestige that this brings them within South African society. This can be seen by the example that when someone mentions that they live in Sandton, due to the associations that the name of Sandton conjures up in the mind of ordinary South Africans, such as images of wealth and success, middle class black South Africans may feel a sense of pride and prestige in the distinction this name gives them (Chipkin, 2012). This can be seen from an interview from the work of Chipkin (2012, 48) where one black middle class participant said "my husband is a very glamorous person," Busisiwe says, "he loves the north, he goes to Melrose, Sandton [...], that's where he hangs out". Furthermore it maybe that living in such areas represents for the black middle class a very real material improvement in their lives and an access to the economic opportunities that were not readily available to them within townships such as Soweto. It is equally important to take note of the fact that the opposite could equally be true for some black middle class South Africans, who may show no desire to live in the northern suburbs or may not derive any feelings of prestige from associations of themselves in living in an area such as Sandton.

From the literature it is evident that the different factors that influence the black middle class to move to the northern suburbs are interconnected with one another and influence one another in a myriad of ways to form a complicated conceptual framework. A graphic representation of this conceptual framework is visible in figure 8.

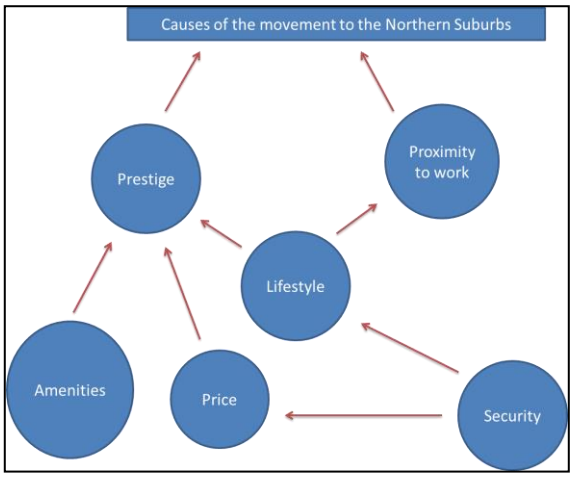


Figure 8: Diagram of the conceptual framework of the study

We can see from the literature that the access to amenities may also influence the prestige associated with living in the northern suburbs. A desire to live in a close proximity to amenities causes the move to the northern suburbs because people want close access to a

range of amenities as mentioned above. But the kind of amenities available can increase the prestige associated with a particular area. The ability to access such amenities can greatly impact residents' personal feelings of prestige. For instance the ability to regularly shop at or have coffee at an elite mall such as the Rosebank Mall can provide residents of the area with a sense of prestige related to the notion of luxury attached to the mall. Thus a desire to have access to amenities can be due to a desire to have the prestige which is attached to those amenities. In this case prestige is a factor that influences the move to the northern suburbs.

The price of accommodation provides a direct link to prestige. The willingness of some residents to pay exorbitant prices for accommodation in the northern suburbs is linked to the prestige of the area. There is a high value placed on having accommodation within a certain area or with a certain address and potential residents may be willing to pay exorbitant prices in order to attain the prestige associated with an area such as the Sandton CBD. The price of an apartment directly links to a desire for prestige, because apartments which are more expensive may be seen to be more prestigious by potential buyers and tenants. In this way a desire for an expensive apartment is caused by a desire for prestige which in turn causes the move to the northern suburbs.

The lifestyle aspirations of the black middle class can also be seen as a desire from the black middle class for prestige. The two factors link directly because as members of the black middle class move to the northern suburbs some of them change their lifestyle towards living a life of luxury. This newly acquired life of luxury can be seen by the driving of expensive cars or buying luxury items such as expensive jewellery.

The desire for a new lifestyle has a direct link with the price of the accommodation. By desiring a new lifestyle of luxury, the members of the black middle class may then desire an expensive apartment as a sign of this new luxurious lifestyle.

Moreover a desire for a new luxurious lifestyle impacts directly on a desire to be in close proximity to a range of amenities. These amenities may enable members of the black middle class to live out this new lifestyle they desire. For instance a person may desire a lifestyle of luxury that enables them to play golf on a regular basis. This person may then move into a golf estate which enables them to regularly play golf.

A change in lifestyle can also directly affect the desire of the black middle class to live in close proximity to their places of work. As mentioned in the literature review some

apartments in the Sandton cbd advertise themselves under the ‘lock up and go lifestyle’. Thus a person from the black middle class that desires to live a ‘lock up and go lifestyle’ will naturally desire a property in a close proximity to their place of work, which enables them to live this lifestyle. In this the desire for a ‘lock up and go’ lifestyle has a direct impact on the demand for a property with a close proximity to work, which then causes the move to the northern suburbs.

Another way in which the factors impact one another is that a desire for security can have a direct impact on changing the lifestyle of the black middle class. When members of the black middle class move to the northern suburbs they may move due to a desire for an increased level of security. This changes the lifestyle they lead and can encourage them to live in a high security estate or gated community. There is a change of lifestyle that takes place when people move into gated communities and this can lead to less social interaction than perhaps within more open spaces such as the townships.

The desire for increased levels of security also directly impacts the price of properties in the northern suburbs. This is because one can assume that the more security features a property has, the more costly the property will be. This was alluded to by Marlene (2015) when she mentioned that it would be easier to gain access to the less expensive properties because they have less security.

2.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to provide an overview of the theoretical framework and literature relating to the research topic. The theoretical framework was divided into four theories, the Post-apartheid Democratic Syndrome, Stigmatisation theory, Pragmatism and a mixed approach centred on the work of Pierre Bordieu. The Post- apartheid democratic syndrome states that people move to the northern suburbs, because of the freedom of movement that was gained after the repealing of the country’s segregationist laws in the early 1990s. Stigmatisation theory explained the movement of the black middle class to the northern suburbs as a movement that was due to the stigma black South Africans felt from living in the townships. The Pragmatic theory explained the movement to the northern suburbs as a logical movement, where black middle class South Africans want to live close to centre of the country’s economic activity. The mixed theoretical approach explained the movement to the northern suburbs as being due to a multiplicity of factors. The theories

helped to explore theoretical frameworks of the movement of black middle class people to the northern suburbs.

The literature revealed that there has been an increase in the number of black South Africans considered as the middle class. Their lifestyle aspirations have led to an increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs. A number of factors that motivated the demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs were investigated. The security provided in these suburbs, the available amenities, the prestige associated with the areas and the luxurious lifestyle believed to be attained were all factors that motivated black middle class South Africans move to the northern suburbs.

The following chapter will examine the research methods that were utilised during the course of this research report and show how these research methods were used to answer the research question.

CHAPTER 3: TOOLS OF THE TRADE

This chapter seeks to layout the research methods that will be used in this research report. A detailed description of the research methods utilised to answer the research question are explained. This chapter will examine the following, an introduction to the research question and a detailed description of the research methods used. An explanation of the selection of the case and an examination of data collection techniques will be carried out. The methods for interviewee selection and instruments used to conduct interviews will also be given. Lastly, the limitations and the ethical considerations of oral interviews will also be considered.

3.1 Research question

From the previous chapter we see that all factors, proximity to work, prestige, security, luxurious lifestyles, amenities and price impact directly on the move to the northern suburbs. Some of the factors also impact indirectly on one another. We can see that access to amenities, the lifestyle and the price of the properties affects the prestige. A desire for security causes an increase in price. A change in lifestyle affects the proximity to work and access to amenities.

From the conceptual framework we see that the research question is:

What are the factors that have led to the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from the black middle class?

To answer this question there are several sub-questions that need answering:

1. What are the theoretical explanations to the movement of the black middle class?
2. Who are the black middle class?
3. What motivates the black middle class to move to the northern suburbs?
4. How have marketing companies responded to the increase of black middle class residents moving to the northern suburbs?

3.2 Research method

As mentioned above the research method chosen for this research report is that of a case study. A case study will allow the study to be conducted with sufficient depth (Rule and John, 2011). This is because case studies focus on a specific topic in great detail as opposed to looking at a wide range of topics or issues superficially (Rule and John, 2011). This is particularly important in this case as the study is qualitative and will not involve a wide range of participants as a survey would (Rule and John, 2011).

Qualitative research is a more appropriate research method in this case because the research will be conducted in the 'natural setting'. This is conducted as "qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study" (Creswall 2009, 175). This is an important part of qualitative research because this allows the researcher to speak face to face with the people being interviewed and this gives the researcher a chance to view the people under study behaving normally within their normal context.

This study is further suited to qualitative research because the researcher uses multiple sources of data (Creswall, 2009). Creswall regarded this an important aspect of qualitative research because "qualitative researchers typically gather multiple forms of data, such as interviews, observations and documents rather than rely on a single data source" (Creswall 2009, 175). This is the case within this research report where interviews, observations and documents were used as sources of data.

A qualitative research design is more appropriate for this case because qualitative researchers generally use a theoretical lens to understand their topic of study (Creswall, 2009).This was the case in the current study as four theoretical explanations were used to offer potential explanations for the movement of black middle class South Africans to the northern suburbs.

Qualitative research is suitable for this research because the researcher operates as the key instrument. This is important in qualitative research because "qualitative researchers collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behaviour, or interviewing participants" (Creswall 2009, 175). This was the case within this study where despite the fact that there was an interview questionnaire used it was the researcher that was using the questionnaire to gather the information.

In relation to the issue of depth, the use of a case study is important due to its ability to extract information that other research methods may not. “Scientific literature concludes that approximately 95 per cent of thought is subconscious and that people have only limited access to their own thinking process” (Woodside 2010, 2). In this sense other methods of data collection such as surveys would not be sufficient as respondents may not fully understand their own thinking processes and hence may not answer questions as thoroughly. A direct interview allows the interviewer to probe where necessary adding to the depth of the research (Woodside, 2010). This is integral because this research is qualitative and the quality of results depends largely on the nuances of what each interviewee has to say.

A case study is an appropriate research method for this research because case studies are able “to portray, analyse and interpret the uniqueness of real individuals and situations through accessible accounts” (Rule and John 2011, 9). This is important for this case because South Africa has its own unique circumstances that require context specific understanding. For instance the situation that led to the racial segregation of Johannesburg is unique to South Africa. Although racial discrimination and segregation have happened in other societies there is no exact replica anywhere in the world of the South African case. Hence a case study which takes this uniqueness into account is the most suitable research method.

Case studies are also suited to the above research because they offer a sense of versatility (Rule and John, 2011). Case studies are versatile in the sense that they allow for other research methods or data collection techniques to be utilised side by side with the case study method (Rule and John, 2011). In depth interviews are often used side by side with the direct observation of a certain group of people (Rule and John, 2011). This direct observation assists in explaining the behaviour of the group studied and adds to the information that will be deduced from the direct interviews. In this case direct observation is utilised to study the behaviour of the black middle class, which will assist in providing a proper context to their responses to interview questions.

Case study research through interviews is also particularly important because non-verbal communication takes place during the interviews. Non-verbal communication, such as body language or tone of voice is very important and in some instances may provide more information regarding the state of mind, views and opinions of interviewees than verbal communication would (Segal, 2015). It is generally believed that 55% of communication is body language, 38% tone of voice and 7% of communication is verbal (Thompson, 2015).

Thus non-verbal communication can provide crucial information for the research. For instance a change in someone's facial expression when a certain issue is mentioned during the interview could provide a sign of how the interviewee feels about the topic and whether the interviewee is comfortable or uncomfortable discussing that topic.

3.3 Selection of the cases

The case study areas that were selected are the northern suburbs of Illovo, Sandton Central Business District, Sandown, Bryanston and Sandhurst. These suburbs were chosen due to the fact that they fit the geographical area of the northern suburbs of Johannesburg and because these areas have seen an influx of black middle class South Africans moving into them, moving away from the southern areas of the city, were they were previously forced to live.

The price range of properties under study varies from R4000 to R20 000 per month for rental (Muller, 2014b). The purchase price for properties varies between R1 500 000 to R20 000 000 and more in some isolated cases. By researching properties with a wide of range of prices in the area, this allows the research to cover the full spectrum of the different levels of income of the black middle class residents in the area. This will provide a more accurate overview of the black middle class.

During the research, interviews were conducted in Illovo, Sandton Central Business District, Sandown, Bryanston and Sandhurst. Respondents were also interviewed in areas not mentioned in the study area, areas such as Paulsof, Morningside (Sandton), Wendywood, Rivonia, Benmore and Lonehill. Many of these areas can be understood as being smaller suburbs of the suburbs mentioned in the study area. Limited access to interviewees in the areas selected led to the inclusion of additional areas. Hence the interviewer would travel to conduct interviews with willing participants in other areas, which could still be considered part of the Johannesburg northern suburbs.

3.4 Data Collection Technique

The main method of data collection used in the study was that of face to face interviews. An interview was chosen as the data collection technique because according to Yin (2014, 110) "one of the most important sources of case study research evidence is the interview".

Direct observation was also used to provide additional information to assist in the data collection process. Thus as mentioned in Yin (2014), direct observation is an important

source of additional information in case study research. Due to the fact that the interviews were conducted in public spaces often in the vicinity of the northern suburbs under study, direct observation provided valuable information about the study site that may not have otherwise been mentioned in the interview. An example being the general opulence of the area under study or the security features of the accommodation that the interviewee lived in. Another reason for the use of direct observation is that it is "useful in exploring topics that may be uncomfortable for participants to discuss" (Creswall 2009, 179).

Direct observation within case studies can differ between formal and informal observations (Yin, 2014). The type of direct observation used in this research was of an informal nature. This was done by observing the surroundings during the interviews, taking separate trips to observe the case study area and taking photographs.

3.5 Sampling/Interviewee Selection

The selection of interviewees was based on selecting those interviewees that would best be able to provide information relevant to the research topic. The kind of selection implemented was random selection. Random selection was used in this case, because it allowed for "generalization from the sample to the population it represents" (Patton 2002, 243). Snowballing sampling was also used. Snowball sampling is a "recruitment method that employs research into participants' social networks to access specific populations" (Browne, 2005). This allowed the researcher to build on the knowledge of interviewees to gain access to more potential interviewees (Patton, 2002). Three different groups of people were interviewed. The different groups of interviewees were the black middle class residents of the northern suburbs, the marketing companies that advertise the accommodation in the northern suburbs and the management teams of the accommodation. All together 27 interviews were conducted, 20 with the black middle class residents, four with the marketing companies and three with the management teams. The interviewees were representative of the area in terms of gender. The age range for the interviewees was between 21 and 70 years of age. The different interviewees provided different perspectives and viewpoints as to what caused the increase in demand.

The reason for deciding to interview 27 people, in relation to such a large study area was due to the fact that "an appropriate sample size for a qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research question" (Marshall 1996, 523). In this case the number of interviews selected was deemed adequate to answer the research question, by the researcher. The

number of interviewees selected may be understood by practitioners of quantitative research as small, but this is in line with qualitative research as “samples for qualitative research tend to be small” (Marshall 1996, 523).

The black middle class residents were interviewed because they provide an important perspective on the increase in demand for accommodation in the area. The residents can provide the most direct explanation of what caused them, on a personal level, to move to the northern suburbs. Once gathered, the differing views of all residents interviewed were analysed to examine what the most important factors that led to the increase in demand for accommodation are.

The management teams of the accommodation were interviewed to provide insight as to what in their opinion attracted the residents to the area. The management of the accommodation refers to management within gated communities in the northern suburbs. As mentioned in the literature review a large number of people in the northern suburbs live in gated communities, which in most cases have companies that manage the day to day affairs of the properties. This provided an important view point which assisted by at times contradicting and other times corroborating the view point of the residents, giving depth to the research.

The marketing companies were interviewed in order to provide insight into the marketing of the accommodation to potential clients. The marketing companies provided insight into what factors they prioritised when advertising the accommodation, in order to attract customers. For example whether they focused mostly on advertising the security features of the accommodation or whether they focused on advertising the available amenities in close proximity to the accommodation. Marketing companies also explained from their point of view what they thought the most important factors were that attracted people to move to the northern suburbs.

It was important to interview the marketing companies to find out whether they target specific groups, such as the black middle class, through their advertisements and if they did, it is important to find out how they targeted these specific groups. This led to an interesting analysis which assisted in understanding what effect this targeted advertising, had on the increase in demand to move to the northern suburbs from the black middle class.

3.6 Instrument to Conduct Interviews

A questionnaire was administered to each interviewee. The answers were interpreted and analysed to respond to the research question of what factors caused each interviewee to move to the northern suburbs. The questionnaire required the interviewee to weigh the factors on a scale of importance. This was done as it was likely that there would be more than one factor that caused the interviewee to move to the northern suburbs. Through such a questionnaire the interviewer could, during the analysis of the results, compare different factors and weight them in terms of their importance.

Each group of interviewees, the black middle class residents, the marketing companies and the management of the accommodation were given a set of interview questions (see Appendix A,B and C).

The type of interview implemented was a semi-structured interview (Simon, 2006). This kind of interview consisted of some formal rigid questions as well as more fluid questions that took the form of a guided conversation (Yin, 2014). Semi structured interviews "are probably the most widely used, since their mixed format makes them suitable in a diverse range of situations" (Simon 2006, 166).

Different interviewing techniques work well for different settings (Simon, 2006). Face to face interviewing was relevant for this case study because "in view of the more open-ended and subjective content of at least part of the questionnaire, face to face interviewing is normally recommended" (Simon 2006, 166).

According to Simon (2006) "a golden rule in designing semi-structured questionnaires is to commence with the most basic and uncontentious –usually factual – information using structured questions" (Simon 2006, 166). This was done in the design of the questionnaires for the black middle class, management of the accommodation and of the marketing companies (see Appendix A,B,C).The semi-structured interview was the most suitable type of interview to utilise because it allowed for the mixture of structured and more fluid questions (Simon, 2006). The structured questions were the initial questions asked at beginning of the interview and these allowed the interviewee to feel more comfortable. More open ended questions were asked at a later stage in the interview when the interviewee felt more comfortable with the interview (Simon, 2006).

Another important reason for using a semi-structured interview was to "corroborate certain findings that you already think have been established" (Yin 2014, 111). This was the case with this research report because the interviews were used to corroborate the theoretical framework which hypothesised the reasons for the black middle class moving to the northern suburbs.

The majority of the interviews were administered face to face. Face to face interviews are a good form of interview to administer because this allows the interviewer to gauge non-verbal behaviour such as body language. On two occasions telephonic interviews were administered. This was done in instances where the interviewee and interviewer could not meet in person for various reasons, this worked effectively, though telephonic interviews were kept to a minimum throughout the data collection process.

Despite the importance of interviews for case study research, interviews have often been criticized for having a number of shortcomings in relation to the responses of the interviewee's (Yin, 2014). Shortcomings such as, "bias, poor recall, and poor or inaccurate articulation" (Yin 2014, 113). Yin (2014) mentions that a way to deal with such shortcomings is to corroborate the responses of the interviewees with other sources of evidence. In this case this was done by corroborating the interviews with information from the literature.

The potential for bias within the data collection was one of the issues that had to be dealt with when designing the data collection method. There was potential for bias in relation to the interviewers interpretation of the data collected (Sarantakos, 2005). Due to the fact that this research was qualitative the issue of objectivity was dealt with through a normative academic view (Sarantakos, 2005). Thus it was generally accepted that removing bias completely would be impossible as all aspects of research contain the interpretation of an individual which inherently contain some amount of biased viewing, that bias within the research should rather be disclosed by the researcher (Sarantakos, 2005). This is not to say that the researcher did not try to limit the level of bias if possible.

Another issue of concern in relation to the data collection was whether the data would be representative of the black middle class residents. Representativeness "reflects the capacity of social research to produce findings that are consistent with (representative of) what appears in the target population" (Sarantakos 2005, 96). This was dealt with in the research by selecting interviewees that were all representative of the target population.

Testing the interview questions

Each questionnaire was tested and changed several times before the official interviews were conducted. The questionnaires were tested by carrying out practice interviews with the researchers' supervisor, colleagues and friends. The questionnaires were tested in order to ensure that the interview questionnaires remained well structured and were easily understandable. Some changes were also made to the questionnaires after pilot interviews.

The interview for the black middle class was tested and changed seven times. While the questionnaire for the management companies was tested and changed on four occasions and the questionnaire for the marketing companies was tested and changes were made three times. All the changes were based on comments from people playing the role of management or marketing companies and also some of my colleagues by playing the role of middle class black people living in the northern suburbs.

3.7 Limitations

A possible limitation of this study was in relation to access. Access is defined as "getting permission to investigate the case (where required), meeting the appropriate people and establishing contacts" (Sarantakos 2005, 213). There was difficulty in gaining access into the accommodation particularly in affluent areas such as Sandton because the accommodation has heightened levels of security that make gaining access difficult. Furthermore due to the fact that this is luxury accommodation and the residents are affluent South Africans this poses some difficulty to access them as wealthier residents are less likely to show interest in being interviewed.

Gaining access to black middle class individuals proved difficult. The main problem with contacting the black middle class residents for interviews was the fact that the researcher did not personally know many people within the study area. The first strategy employed was to contact people from the University that the researcher thought could provide access to black middle class people living in the study area. This worked for about three interviews, another method of gaining access to the black middle class residents was through attending church services in the study area. The internet provided a useful avenue as well, as the researcher searched for body corporates or residents associations within the different suburbs, the researcher searched for African names on such body corporates and tried to contact the people. Once contacted the researcher asked the interviewees if they knew of anyone else that

would fit the description of black middle class to be interviewed, four of the interviewees provided the interviewer with further contacts from their personal acquaintances.

In order to gain access to black middle class residents, the main strategy utilised in the end, was of going to high-end shopping malls within the northern suburbs and asking anyone judged as black middle class for an interview. The judgement was made on who the researcher believed to be black middle class individuals based on things such as what they were wearing and the cars they were driving. The researcher generally avoided asking people who were using minibus taxis in and out of the malls as well as people that looked as if they were domestic workers working in neighbouring suburbs because by the researchers' judgement they would not constitute middle class. Furthermore during the interview the researcher asked the black middle class residents what their monthly income was, this was also used by the researcher to judge whether the interviewees were in fact middle class.

The researcher chose which malls to interview people in by looking at the clientele present, the shops available in the mall, the cars the clientele were driving and the general opulence of the surrounding area. What the researcher found was that there were certain malls that generally catered for the elite in a particular area. The researcher went to malls such as Nicolway in Bryanston, Morningside Shopping Centre on Outspan road, Thyme on Nicol in Parkmore and many others. Approaching people in parking lots proved the best way to get sure access to the black middle class in a social space where the researcher could interact with them. In some instances the researcher found people unwilling to conduct interviews saying that they were too busy. In other instances people would prefer that the researcher emailed them the questionnaire so that they could answer it in their own time

On other occasions the researcher would wait outside the accommodation and approach potential interviewees as they entered or left their respective accommodation. This proved less successful as security guards were generally not comfortable with this and due to the fact that people generally enter into and out of their accommodation in cars, this made them inaccessible.

In terms of trying to get interviews from the management of the properties, the researcher would simply walk into properties and ask to speak to a manager or a caretaker. This proved less effective and the management was generally harder to reach. Though this was an easier method than trying to phone and get interviews with management, who were often not

interested and too busy. Occasionally the researcher would find very agreeable people working in management but this was not the norm.

Getting interviews from marketing companies proved easier and this was done telephonically. The researcher picked up pamphlets either from men handing them out at traffic lights or the free property magazines that are sometimes placed outside shops in shopping malls. Once acquired, the researcher would page through the pamphlets and advertisements and call all the marketing companies that were within the study area. Those that agreed to an interview were interviewed.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

It is important as an ethical consideration that the researcher guaranteed confidentiality for all involved in the research. This was done through various methods such as keeping the interviews locked in a safe place.

Interviewees will be given transcripts of all interviews and a copy of the research report, if they ask for them. Furthermore participants were informed that they could stop participating in the interview at any time if they felt uncomfortable.

The researcher received approval from the ethics committee of the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand and the approval is in the appendix E.

3.9 Conclusion

The research methods of the study were described in this chapter. The reasons for using a case study method was that case studies offer a sense of depth to the research, versatility as well as the fact that case studies allow for a context specific focus which was necessary to capture the unique nature of South Africa's history in relation to the movement north. The data collection technique administered was that of a direct interview. There were three different groups of people interviewed. These groups were the black middle class residents, the management of the accommodation and the marketing companies that advertise the accommodation. All interviewees were chosen by the researcher. The three different groups of interviewees, residents, marketing companies and management were all interviewed using different questionnaires. This is because all interviewees offered a unique perspective to understanding the movement to the northern suburbs of the black middle class. In the end access proved a limitation to the research because it was difficult to gain access to some of

the properties to speak to the management and residents. This was averted through a number of mechanisms such as interviewing people in parking lots of prestigious malls.

CHAPTER 4: WHAT THEY SAID

During the course of data collection a substantial amount of information was collected from the respondents. This information will be presented and analysed in this chapter. The results of the data collection will be analysed using the different theoretical frameworks laid out in chapter 2. The interviews of the residents, management and marketing companies brought a wide array of responses. In some instances, the responses of the three groups corroborated with one another and in other instances they were contradictory. The responses of the black middle class residents, the marketing companies and the management will be analysed separately. Within the black middle class the different factors that could have caused the movement to the northern suburbs will be analysed, looking at how many black middle class residents rated specific factors as important. The factors will be split into three categories, what the black middle class rated as the most important factor, the second most important factor and the third most important factor for moving to the suburbs. The marketing companies responses to what caused the movement north will then be analysed. This will be followed by an analysis of the results from the management of the accommodation. In conclusion the responses of all the stakeholders will be analysed together and the question around what caused the increased in the movement to the northern suburbs shall be answered. It is important to take note of the background which the interviewer brings into the study (Creswall, 2009). The interviewer is 27 years of age, male, black and a foreign national.

4.1 Results

A brief explanation of the demographics relating to the interviewees will be given. The gender, age and tenure status of the participants will be explained. This will assist to describe the participants in the study.

Table 1: Gender of participants

Gender of participants	No. of participants		
	Black Middle Class	Management	Marketing
Male	10	2	3
Female	10	1	1

Table 1 shows the gender of the participants. Amongst the black middle class residents there were 10 males and 10 females interviewed. Within the management companies there were two males and one female interviewed. From the marketing companies there were three males and one female interviewed. The gender of the participants was fairly even as the researcher made certain to interview an equal number of participants both male and female.

Table 2: Age of participants

Age	No. of participants
20-29	8
30-39	**7**
40-49	2
50-59	1
60-69	0
70+	0
No Answer	2

Table 2 shows the age of the black middle class residents interviewed. All of black middle class residents interviewed were below the age of sixty years. This was possibly due to the fact that the younger generation may be the majority living in the area. More research needs to be done to ascertain whether this is in fact the case. In two cases female interviewees were not comfortable to provide their ages.

Table 3: Tenure status of participants

Tenure status of participants	No. of participants
Renting	13
Owning	7

Table 3 shows the tenure status of the black middle class residents in the area interviewed. In this case the majority of residents were renting as opposed to owning their properties. The majority of the black middle class interviewees who owned their properties were from the older generation. In the 20 -29year age group, out of 8 interviewees only one owned the property he lived in, but in this case the interviewee was living with his family, who owned

the property. Within the 30 -39year age group, the numbers of people who owned and rented was more evenly balanced with three of the interviewees owing their property while four were renting. In the 40 -49 age group and the 50-59 age group all the interviewees owned the properties that they lived in. The perceived preferences of black middle class towards renting as opposed to owning will be examined further at a later stage in the report.

The tables below show the factors that influenced black middle class South African residents to move to the northern suburbs, these factors were proximity to work, social relations, price, prestige, security, amenities, spaciousness and whether the area was quiet. The right hand column shows the number of black middle class South Africans who mentioned these factors as important in causing them to move to the northern suburbs. Most interviewees mentioned at least three factors as important hence the need to create three separate tables for the most important, second most important and third most important factors. The last table shows the total of all the factors.

Table 4: Factors rated most important by black middle class South Africans interviewed

Factors	No. of black middle class
Proximity to work	8
Amenities	5
Social relations	2
Security	2
Price	1
Prestige	1
Spacious	1
Quiet	0
Total	20

Table 4 shows the factors that were rated as important by the black middle class in causing them to move to the northern suburbs. These factors are shown opposite to the number of black middle class residents who mentioned these factors as most important factors in causing them to move to the northern suburbs.

Table 5: Factors rated second most important by black middle class residents

Factors	No. of black middle class
Security	5
Proximity to work	2
Prestige	2
Amenities	2
Quiet	2
Price	1
Spacious	0
Social relations	0
No response	6
Total	20

Table 5 shows the factors rated the second most important factors by the black middle class residents.

Table 6: Factors rated third most important by black middle class South Africans

Factors	No. of black middle class
Amenities	4
Prestige	2
Price	1
Security	1
Proximity to work	1
Spacious	1
Social relations	0
Quiet	0
No response	10
Total	20

While Table 6 shows the factors that were rated the third most important factors by the black middle class. These were also the factors deemed least important by the black middle class residents in having caused them to move to the northern suburbs.

Table 7: Total factors mentioned by black middle class South Africans

Factors	No. of black middle class
Proximity to work	11
Amenities	11
Security	8
Prestige	5
Price	3
Social relations	2
Spacious	2
Quiet	2

Table 7 shows a holistic perspective of all the factors rated in the questionnaires that impacted on the decision to move to the northern suburbs. This included the first, second and third options of the respondents. This enables the reader to gauge overall which factors were rated highest when the black middle class residents stated the choice of factors that caused them to move to the northern suburbs.

The theoretical framework from chapter 2 will be used to analyse the responses of the black middle class residents. The theoretical approaches of the post-apartheid democratic syndrome, pragmatic theory, the mixed approach and stigmatisation theory will be used to examine which theory best explains the move to the northern suburbs from the black middle class.

Post-Apartheid Democratic Syndrome

The responses of a particular interviewee can be classified as belonging to the Post-Apartheid Democratic Syndrome by looking at the age of the interviewee and the time at which the interviewee moved to the northern suburbs. The interviewee would have had to at least have been above 21 years of age during the 1980s when people first began moving out of the Group Areas and in the year 1991, when the Group Areas Act was repealed, so that he or she could have made the choice to move out of the designated group areas. This reduced the number of respondents that could fall into this theoretical framework as many of the interviewees would have been too young at that time. Such people would have been under the authority of their legal guardians during the repealing of the Group Areas Act and hence could not have made their own conscious decision to move to the northern suburbs.

There are two interviewees who fell into the category of Post-Apartheid Democratic syndrome. The fact that there were only two interviewees that moved to northern suburbs due to this theory shows that this theory is not a major theory in explaining the movement of the black middle class to the northern suburbs. The lack of interviewees falling into this category can also be explained by the young age of the majority of interviewees because out of the 20 black middle class interviewees only three were above the age of 40. Both of the interviewees whose responses can be explained by the Post-Apartheid Democratic Syndrome theory moved from Soweto. They both lived in Soweto and moved to the northern suburbs after 1991 when the countries Group Areas Act was repealed. Both of the interviewees maintain close links to the township of Soweto. One interviewee regularly visited Soweto on weekends to attend church and the other said that she visited Soweto a couple of times in a month. The close links kept with Soweto show that despite the freedom to move to the different parts of the city, the social life and relationships within townships such as Soweto still keeps former residents regularly returning. This might explain why many black South Africans do not leave the townships and instead opt to keep these social links by remaining in the townships even after apartheid.

The issue of identity and identifying oneself with the township despite having left plays, a crucial role. This can be seen as one of the interviewees a woman from Soweto said “I am a Soweto girl, through and through”. Furthermore she still refers to Soweto as her home despite living in the northern suburbs. Some of the residents who came from townships from around the Johannesburg city region often spoke of the importance that townships still played in their

lives. There was a sense of pride the participant exuded when she referred to herself as a "Soweto girl". This is contradictory to the stigmatisation theory which states that residents moved to northern suburbs because they wanted to escape the stigma of the townships. This links to the ideas of Steele (1995) that even once some black people have left the lower class lifestyle and have become middle class they still identify with the working class lifestyle.

The Post-apartheid democratic syndrome is an observation that is difficult to measure because a person may have suffered from it a young age only for it to manifest later on in their life. If a person was young during the end of racial segregation they may not have suffered directly from racial segregation but they may still suffer from the Post-apartheid democratic syndrome due to a close association with the history of racial segregation. For instance a person may have grown up in the township at a time when the Group Areas Act did not apply but may remember the stories told to him or her by their parents about how their parents could not live where they wanted to and this may have inspired this person to move to northern suburbs later in life. This shows the psychological impact that apartheid may have had on the life of the black middle class, even if they personally did not live through it.

This phenomenon can be explained through looking at how the psychology of the black middle class has been affected by the apartheid racial segregationist policies. Due to suffering historically and facing great humiliation, black South Africans develop a desire to access that which was previously denied to them (Durrheim, 2005). This can be seen in Durrheim (2005) where a black beach goer in Durban is interviewed and asked about racial tensions on the beach, she says "the way we feel free, we blacks, after being slaved for such a long time, I can take my family to spend their holiday in any place they want to go to no matter what" (Durrheim, 2005). The woman is speaking about going to a beach that was once a whites only beach but the same attitude and scenario could be used to explain the movement to formerly white suburbs. This shows that in this case it is not just about accessing a nice section of the beach that was reserved for whites but is also about dealing with the psychological pain that one suffered from their childhood and breaking this by accessing that section of the beach later on in life. This psychological aspect of the post-apartheid democratic syndrome is likely to have affected many black middle class residents but is difficult to gauge practically within a resident. Hence the reason for using age as a way of gauging the presence of the Post-apartheid democratic syndrome. In the end it seems that in certain instances the Post-

apartheid democratic syndrome can work in explaining the movement to the northern suburbs from the black middle class, though further investigation is needed to describe it as a theory.

Moving to the northern suburbs can also be explained through practical reasons because the areas where whites lived have always had better services and infrastructure because of the skewed apartheid investments (Durrheim, 2005).

Pragmatic Theory

The largest number of responses from the black middle class residents fell under the pragmatic theory. This suggests that black South Africans are making logical decisions about their movement to the northern suburbs. Most of the residents are moving to the northern suburbs to be as close to the centre of the country's economy as possible. This move appeared to be what suites them best at this moment in their lives. Eight out of 20 of the respondents interviewed, mentioned that being close to where they worked was the most important reason for them moving to the northern suburbs (see table 4). This was an outcome that was expected and shows that people are making the most rational choices to live close to where they work. This shows a change in the mind-set of the South African middle class because historically South African society has been centred around the car and the highway, in the sense that if one owned a car one could live any distance from work and simply drive long distances to get to and from your place of work (Fraser, 2008). This change could be due to increasing petrol prices or as some interviewees mentioned due to the difficulty of getting to and from work due to high traffic volumes. This also links directly to the Post-apartheid democratic syndrome that more black South Africans are deciding to live closer to where they work, whereas before under apartheid the main aim was to keep black South Africans in certain areas no matter where their work places were. Thus today through the black middle class movement to northern suburbs the city's residential patterns are forming more naturally, with people making the most logical decision to live in areas that are closest to where they work.

The pragmatic theory further describes the movement to the northern suburbs due to the fact that a large number of black middle class residents rated living in a close proximity to amenities as an important factor for moving to the northern suburbs. This is a desire to be near amenities which are available particularly in the northern suburbs, such as the majority of the cities good quality schools. Five out of 20 interviewees mentioned that the proximity to amenities was the most important factor for them moving to the northern suburbs, this was

the second most important factor after proximity to work (see table 4). Furthermore many interviewees explained that their desire to live in the northern suburbs was due to the centrality of the area. When they mentioned the centrality of the area they explained the centrality being that the area was central in relation to available amenities, work opportunities, schooling opportunities for their children and the economy of the country. Therefore looking at the overall factors, including the interviewees most important, second most important and third most important factors the proximity to work and access to amenities ranked equally with the highest number (see table 7). Thus the pragmatic theory explains clearly the desire of the black middle class to move to the northern suburbs to be near the centre of the country's economy.

Caution should be taken that although the pragmatic theory was the most common to explain the movement to the northern suburbs, the majority of black South Africans still live in townships, hence it may be more pragmatic from their point of view to remain in the townships.

Mixed Approach (Bordieu)

A number of the respondents fell under the theoretically mixed approach based on the work of Pierre Bordieu. This approach was more difficult to gauge because the majority of respondents mentioned a number of factors that attracted them to move to the northern suburbs. This shows that for each individual there are a plethora of factors that attracted them to the area. The opinions of a few of the interviewees on what factors were the most important was not always clear because when asked to weigh which factors were the most important some of the interviewees struggled to place the factors in a hierarchal order starting with the most important and ending with the least important. The participants often changed them around before choosing a final order. This showed that the interviewees valued the factors equally and this is in line with the ideas of the mixed approach which states that the people will have moved to the northern suburbs not for a single reason but for a number of reasons.

The main aim is to see when all the major factors of the different respondents are aggregated whether there is a trend of a particular factor or whether there is an even spread of factors that encouraged the black middle class to move to the northern suburbs. Looking at the 20 interviewees and the factors which they rated as most important, it is clear that proximity to work remains the main factor for the black middle class. When looking at the total of all the

factors, the most important factor, the second most important and third most important factors then the most important factors were the proximity to work and the proximity to amenities. Both of these factors pointed to a desire from residents to be at the centre of the country's economy in the northern suburbs. Hence in this regard the mixed approach does not seem to holistically explain the movement to the northern suburbs of the black middle class.

Stigmatisation Theory

There were no black middle class South Africans that mentioned their desire to move the northern suburbs as a desire to escape stigma in the townships. This factor may have played a role at a more unconscious level, as respondents largely expressed themselves in terms of what they wanted to gain by moving to the northern suburbs as opposed to what they wanted to leave behind in the townships, if they came from townships. There were no interviewees who mentioned a stigma associated with the townships and hence this theory does not seem to adequately explain the movement to the northern suburbs of the black middle class particularly.

4.2 Black Middle Class Residents

Twenty black middle class residents were interviewed and there was a wide variety of reasons listed by the black middle class residents for moving to the northern suburbs. Of the 20 respondents, eight said that the main factor that made them move to the northern suburbs was that the area was close to their work place. This seemed to be an important factor for many residents as many of the respondents mentioned it as their second and third most important reason for moving to the northern suburbs. Two respondents placed having a close proximity to their place of work as the second most important factor causing them to move to the northern suburbs, while one respondent placed proximity to work as the third most important factor. This means that proximity to work was mentioned as a factor by a total of 11 respondents. This means that proximity to work was an important factor for residents who had moved to the northern suburbs. This also goes in line with what management and marketing companies felt, as a number of marketing companies placed proximity to work as what they thought would be an important factor for the black middle class.

Security was mentioned as a factor by a number of residents. Out of the 20 residents only two mentioned security as the most important factor that caused them to move to the northern

suburbs. Five respondents felt that security was their second most important factor and one respondent felt that security was their third most important factor for moving. Therefore eight respondents in total mentioned security as a factor which caused them to move to the northern suburbs. This places security as the third most important factor in total and shows that it is a very important factor relating to the movement to the northern suburbs. One interviewee even mentioned that "I want the area to be convenient for me, I want access to the highway and the surrounding shops that is very important for me but if the area isn't safe I will never live there". Security also played a major role in the marketing of accommodation where it featured in the advertisements of accommodation as a major theme. The marketing companies also felt that security would be one of the more important factors affecting the movement to the north and security was mentioned as a factor by management.

Another factor that played a role in the movement of black middle class to the northern suburbs was the prestige of the area. Prestige was something respondents often struggled to explain and they would often express it with terms such as 'upmarket', 'high standard of living', 'that the area has got a slick look' or that 'the area has got style'. This was something that many respondents may have felt uncomfortable mentioning and hence a number of other interviewees may have not mentioned prestige as a factor. None the less out of the 20 respondents one respondent mentioned prestige as the main factor that caused them to move to the northern suburbs. Another two respondents mentioned prestige as the second factor and two more respondents mentioned prestige as a third factor that caused them to move to the northern suburbs. Thus five respondents in total mentioned prestige as a factor causing them to move to the northern suburbs. The issue of prestige was mentioned more than initially expected as the researcher did not expect many residents to mention prestige as a factor openly. The idea of a feeling of high prestige from living in the area may be influenced by the way the marketing companies advertise the accommodation to potential residents. This was mentioned by one of the marketing companies, they focused on advertising the luxurious aspects of their accommodation to potential clients. The marketing will definitely play a role in creating feelings of prestige but the major reason for a sense of prestige in the area is probably due to the prestige that the area holds in the collective understanding of society. This collective understanding of prestige can be seen by a quote from one resident "I don't know how to explain it you know, the area has got style, you know that thing when you tell people that you live in Sandton". There is the possibility that more people moved to the northern suburbs for prestige because as mentioned above some of the respondents may have

felt uncomfortable mentioning prestige as a factor because as mentioned in the literature review people generally do not wish to be thought of as rich or to be seen as 'snobbish'. One such argument ensued between an interviewee and his friend during the interview when she said "you also want to live in Sandton because of class", the interviewee became defensive saying that he does not see class in society. This shows that although not overtly mentioned, the prestige of the area was an important factor for members of the black middle class.

The price of the properties proved to be less widely mentioned as a factor than initially expected. Only one of the 20 people interviewed viewed price as an important factor in making them move to the northern suburbs. This tells us that the black middle class is generally wealthy enough to move into such areas. Or possibly that the black middle class is generally not "price" conscious. This may also be because the people the researcher was able to access for interviews were generally not the wealthiest people living in the area, as the average rental and owning prices mentioned by those interviewed was about R10 000 for renting and R1.5 million for owning. These prices were lower than what the researcher expected to find when he first began data collection, had the researcher managed to get access to the more expensive properties in the area the price might have been more of a factor for the residents. One respondent mentioned that the price of her property was affordable in relation to the size of the property, in that although the property was relatively expensive due to the large size of it, the price was worth the purchase and hence the price was an important factor for her. Price appeared as the second most important factor for one interviewee and the third most important factor for one other interviewee. This means that overall out of 20 people interviewed the price of the property proved a motivating factor for only three respondents.

Social relations also played a role in encouraging the black middle class to move to the northern suburbs. Social relations ranged in some instances from family members having previously lived in the northern suburbs or people wanting to live close to where their friends live. Of the 20 interviewees two rated social relations as the main factors that caused them to move to the northern suburbs. Social relations were chosen as the second most important factors by one of the respondents. Thus three residents in total mentioned factors that relate to social relations as important factors inspiring them to move to the northern suburbs. This is a lower rating than one might expect for social relations, this may be because as mentioned in the literature review, according to some black South Africans living in the northern suburbs the social relations are not very good as people mostly keep to themselves. This was

mentioned by one interviewee as something that frustrated him about living in the northern suburbs.

Some of the black middle class stated a factor that influenced their move to the northern suburbs was that the area was quiet. This proved to be opposite to life in the townships for some. Many black South Africans who live in townships often complain that life in the suburbs is too quiet (Frank, 1994). Two out of the 20 respondents mentioned that the fact that the area was quiet was a factor which encouraged them to move there. Both interviewees viewed the fact that the area was quiet as the second most important factor that caused them to move. Though this is not just an issue relating to quietness between the township and the suburbs, as one resident mentioned that he moved from Midrand to Sandton because he felt Sandton was quieter. The appeal of a quiet area can be seen in how marketing companies advertise properties for example one pamphlet reads "luxury apartments with easy access to the Sandton CBD and surrounding areas, along with the peace and tranquillity of being situated off the main Rivonia road" (Currie Property Expertise 2015, 1). This shows that quietness is a factor marketing companies are aware of and promote to potential clients. Though for the majority of black middle class residents this was not a major factor.

The close access to amenities proved a very important factor encouraging residents to move to the northern suburbs. Of the 20 respondents five rated the availability of amenities as the most important factor causing them to move to the northern suburbs. Overall eleven residents mentioned the proximity to amenities as important factors causing them to move to the northern suburbs. This placed proximity to amenities overall as the most mentioned factor along with the proximity to work. There were a range of different amenities mentioned, good quality schools, restaurants, gyms, parks and others. A number of interviewees mentioned the close availability of good quality schools as specifically important. There were seven interviewees who had children, of those seven, four mentioned the importance of schools for their children. The availability of good quality schools is significant in explaining the aspirations and priorities of the black middle class, particularly in this case due to the historical disadvantages placed on South Africa's black population through the apartheid era education policies. This also shows the stage of life of the interviewees, some were young families with young children, while the majority of interviewees were young and did not have children. The results could contain a bias depending whether the researcher interviewed younger people. Access to shopping malls also proved important and was mentioned several

times by interviewees. Access to amenities was also something readily advertised on the pamphlets from different marketing companies, one such advertisement read “immediate neighbourhood features shopping malls, schools, gymnasiums, trendy bars and gourmet restaurants” (Currie Property Expertise 2015, 1). Thus close access to amenities is a factor that is very important to the black middle class residents and also to the marketing companies advertising to potential residents.

Access to transport networks was mentioned as a factor by some interviewees. The importance of the Gautrain was mentioned by one interviewee. The Gautrain also features often in the advertisements for properties which are near the Gautrain stations. Despite this the Gautrain featured less as a factor for people moving to the northern suburbs than expected. This was surprising as one assumed the Gautrain would play more of a role for the black middle class. The lack of mention of the Gautrain as a factor is possibly due to the fact that the Gautrain would most likely be used by people from outside the area, wanting to use it to get to work in the Sandton area, rather than by those already living there, who most likely already live close to their place of work. The importance of having good access to the highway was mentioned as an important factor by two interviewees.

Having a property that was spacious was also a factor for some residents. One would assume that this would be particularly the case for residents coming from townships, where one would not have had a large amount of space previously. This would seem to be a very middle class aspiration. An interesting case was that of one of the women interviewed, who moved from Soweto to Bryanston. She said that the main reasoning for moving to the northern suburbs was so that she could get a property spacious enough to fit all her extended family. This shows that social relations play an important role for the black middle class. Although a desire for space can be linked to the township due to the historically small homes built for black South Africans by the apartheid regime. It should be noted that many people living in townships today can and are building larger homes, though this is not generally the norm (Black Diamonds, 2010).

Analysis

A large number of the people interviewed had lived in the northern suburbs before moving to their latest homes, for twelve of the residents their current home was their second if not their third home in the northern suburbs. Others had moved to transitional areas, as mentioned in the literature review, before moving to the northern suburbs. Interestingly some interviewees

moved from other towns into Johannesburg and moved straight to the northern suburbs. This shows that even for people moving to Johannesburg from other parts of the country the northern suburbs are a popular location.

A number of the very young interviewees were clearly born and grew up in the middle class and were living in the northern suburbs due to their parents' hard work and success. While other members of the black middle class were newly middle class and had clearly worked their way there. This is in line with the literature which describes the different kinds of middle class black South Africans (Sanchez, 2013).

It is interesting that there is also the case of the generational middle class who were born into the middle class and do not have much connection with the townships. It is interesting to notice that some of these interviewees had extended family members who also lived in the northern suburbs and not townships. These interviewees mentioned regularly visiting their extended family in another suburb within the northern suburbs. While interviewees who come from other towns, mentioned that they kept contact with family and friends in the towns and provinces where they lived. This shows the heterogeneity within South Africa's black middle class.

While it was mentioned that people from the townships regularly kept contact with their relatives and friends from the township. It is important to mention that though this trend exists this may not necessarily be the case for all people who moved to the northern suburbs from the township.

4.3 Marketing Companies

The marketing of the accommodation plays an important role in attracting potential residents to the northern suburbs. Marketing is also an important factor in determining who gets to live in which properties and in which parts of the city. A large amount of information was collected regarding the marketing companies. This will be analysed in relation to the findings from the interviews with the black middle class as well as linked to the theoretical frameworks given in Chapter 2. Four marketing companies were interviewed, all of which work within the real estate sector in the northern suburbs, though the companies differ greatly in terms of their size. The companies vary from large companies with a large number of employees to one man companies. The difference in size contributes to a difference in how

the companies conduct their marketing. Thus interviewing different sized companies also provided the researcher a chance to get different levels of depth of information from the interviewees. For instance a large company may have employees who feel obliged to toe the company line during the interview whereas a one man company may feel more open to discuss intricate details with the interviewee.

Each marketing company produced a large amount of information explaining the dynamics around the increase in demand from the black middle class. This information varied widely between the different marketing companies. The companies explained what in their view, was the reason for the increase in demand and how it related to the black middle class. The information from each marketing company was analysed and a conclusion of what this information meant for the research will be given at the end of this chapter.

Marketing Company 1:

The interviewee works as a division manager, in project divisions within the company. He works on all new developments and has a wide field of knowledge in the property industry because he has been working in the property development industry for 15 years. An important point to note about this interviewee was his general ease in discussing racial matters. The interviewee spoke freely regarding racial matters and this made the interview much easier.

The company is a diversified company, working mostly in marketing. The company specializes in the renting of residential and corporate spaces, residential sales and building new developments. According to the interviewee the company is one of the major companies dealing with high density developments in the South African property industry. Construction of the buildings is done separately by another company. The interviewee mentioned that the company was one of three major companies that focus on high density accommodation in South Africa, others being Summercon and Balwin properties. These companies have been operating within the housing market in the northern suburbs for the past 20 years.

According to the interviewee the main factors that attract potential buyers to the properties was security. The properties have state of the art security with 24 hour protection. This may be linked to the fact that the majority of his customers are white South Africans and as

mentioned above white South Africans tend to have a heightened sense of fear of crime in the country (Landman and Badenhorst, 2012).

The company received the majority of their clientele through the internet via property websites, pamphlet distribution and print media also played an important role. According to the interviewee print media is just a tool for branding. It was very interesting to note the important role that pamphlets played in advertising residential properties to the public. When one drives in the northern suburbs one is bombarded with pamphlets advertising different gated communities within the area. This is a relatively cheap medium for advertising and it provides the marketing companies with a large audience. This was a large sophisticated company and at first it seemed surprising that such a large company would use such a seemingly unsophisticated marketing strategy, as handing out pamphlets at traffic lights. Though the strategy makes sense as the cars driving in the area are probably the cars of people living in the area or people that could afford to live in the area and hence the marketing strategy will target the middle classes.

Despite the importance of pamphlets, the internet has proved the most successful medium of advertising for this particular company. The internet allows the potential resident to research the property in detail in his or her own time. The focus on the internet shows that the target market for the properties are tech savvy and hence possibly from a younger generation.

Despite the focus of the interview being the black middle class, the interviewee mentioned that the black middle class is not the main driving force behind the increase in property developments in the northern suburbs. According to his estimates the purchasing of properties in the areas is still 80% white and 20% black. This provides an interesting angle to look at the increase in demand for accommodation. Although there is an increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs it is not driven specifically by the black middle class according to this interviewee. According to his view, the black middle class is not as influential as initially perceived within the property sector in the northern suburbs. This goes against the view expressed by Dhyer (2016) who states that the black middle class is playing an increasing role in the property sector. It is interesting to notice that in other areas in northern Johannesburg such as Midrand, the black middle class is clearly driving the demand for accommodation (Muller, 2007). Looking at the figures, it seems as if the black middle class prefer renting over purchasing due to a number of factors (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). This can be seen when looking at the area of Sandton where, the number of black

South Africans renting was 11830 while the number of black South Africans who owned their properties stood at 4409 (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). Meanwhile the black middle class in Midrand have a similar pattern whereby the number of black South Africans renting stood at 9497 and the number of black South Africans who owned their properties stood at 1183. This trend towards renting by the black middle class may also be explained by the fact that the black middle class may not yet have accumulated the wealth required to purchase property, as they have different responsibilities and additional expenses than their white counterparts. Examples are having to provide financially for members of their extended family, which can add strain to their individual resources (Southall, 2016).

While it is furthermore interesting when comparing owning and renting patterns between blacks and whites in the suburb of Sandton, it is clear that the white middle class is driving the property market, because in relation to both renting and owning there are more whites in the area (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). The number of whites renting in Sandton was at 12997 whereas the number of black South Africans renting was at 11830, while the number of whites owning in Sandton stood at 14271 while the number of blacks owning stood at 4409 (Statistics South Africa, 2011b).

Looking at the Midrand area the number of blacks owning in comparison to white is more equal with whites owning recorded as 1777 and the number of blacks owning being recorded as 1183 (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). In Midrand the number of blacks renting was 9497 and the number of whites renting was 2319, in this case it clear to see that although the Midrand area had a large number of blacks as opposed to whites, the majority of blacks in the area were renting and there is a slightly higher number of whites owning than blacks (Statistics South Africa, 2011b). It is important to note that this figure does not include the number of people who own their property but have not paid off the property. A large number of blacks own their property and have a mortgage, if this is included then more blacks own property than whites in the Midrand area. This poses the question; why are black middle class South Africans driving the demand for property in Midrand but not in Sandton? Sandton traditionally has a high concentration of white South Africans, this begs the question, are there gate keeping mechanisms keeping blacks South Africans out of the area? One view in Muller (2007) is that "FNB property strategist John Loos says he suspects
that Midrand's popularity among black buyers is also linked to the fact that the area has not historically been known to be a white suburb" (Muller 2007,1).

In relation to ownership, the interviewee stated that in his view 90% of purchasers are investors who buy properties to let out to other people. Around 10% of people purchase apartments to live in.

When questioned particularly around the movement of people from Soweto the interviewee stated that in his opinion black South Africans would want to move to the northern suburbs to be close to where they work. When questioned as to why he feels there is not more interest from the black middle class to move into accommodation advertised by his company, since he mentioned that whites were driving the developments, the interviewee paused and said "well I can tell you my opinion, it's not necessarily fact but is what I think, I think the black middle class has other priorities". He mentioned that he believes that the black middle class has other priorities such as buying an expensive car rather than a property. He went on to state that this would be a wrong priority because an expensive car would not constitute a sound investment since a car loses value immediately, while a property can gain value and wealth for the owner. While one may dismiss this comment as a potentially racist comment, promoting racists stereotypes, other literature has highlighted the desire and somewhat obsession of the black middle class to buy expensive cars (Fin24, 2006). While buying expensive motor vehicles is not necessarily wrong it should be noted that some people within the black middle class get themselves into debt buying expensive cars that they cannot necessarily afford (Southall, 2016). There seems to be a high level of importance and pressure placed on having an expensive car within the black middle class and a car seems to represent a very important status symbol (Fin24, 2006).

Another article argues against this view, stating that the black middle class has developed over the years and many segments of the black middle class are investing in other priorities such as education and property (Sanchez, 2013). This needs to be investigated further.

Marketing Company 2

The interview with this marketing company had some similarities and differences to the interview with the marketing company above. The interviewee in this case was the manager of a branch of the company. The organisation is a real estate company which started in 2013. She has been working in the property industry for 30 years. The average price for their properties is between R1 million and R3 million rand. The company deals with free standing houses and cluster properties. Prices ranged from R1 million for a one bedroomed property, R1.5 million for a two bedroomed property and R1.9 million for a three bedroomed property.

It is interesting to note that she seemed a little uncomfortable discussing the racial aspects of the question. She tried to focus on other things and had to be brought back to the racial question.

The interviewee mentioned that the factors that make people want to live in the area are firstly security as the suburbs are generally safe, there is a good residents association and there are fidelity guards patrolling in the area. Secondly she mentioned that the area is close to Sandton which provides good access to amenities as the area is close to four malls and located close to good areas for business.

In terms of racial composition she said that the area had a mixed population of both black and white residents. She also mentioned that the area was family oriented. It is interesting to compare such views with the residents of particular areas in the northern suburbs; some black middle class residents mentioned that in the areas where they lived, the majority of the population was white while others mentioned that the areas were racially mixed. Some of the marketing companies said that the areas they advertised for were racially mixed but it is difficult to verify how true this is verbally due to the discomfort of discussing racial issues in South Africa. This discomfort surrounding race is something which occurs in South Africa due to the countries complex racial history and sensitivities around discussing race openly. Thus the assertion that the area is mixed and caters for all races can in some cases be seen as a defensive attempt to avoid any discomfort in discussing racial issues. Statistics South Africa (2011a) revealed that the most of the suburbs in the area have a majority of white residents. Black South Africans were the next highest number, followed by Indians and then Coloureds. In some instances the number of black South Africans was close to that of white South Africans while in other instances the number of white South Africans was almost twice the number of black South Africans. For example in Sandhurst there were 1182 whites and 989 blacks, whereas in Bryanston whites were the outright majority with 17 461 whites and 8795 blacks living in the area (Statistics South Africa, 2011a). Thus the racial make-up of the area could be said to be relatively mixed though it depends on the exact suburbs under discussion. It was also interesting to notice the different words interviewees would use to discuss race, such as ‘them’ or ‘they’ to refer to black people. As the interviewer had to read through such coded words to try and extract the meaning from what the interviewees were saying.

According to the interviewee the majority of people wanting to buy properties in the area were young South Africans. In relation to price ranges, apartments costing around R1 million

were usually bought by buyers between 25-26 years of age, and buyers of properties costing R2 to R3 million rand apartments were usually 26 years and older. She said that many residents wanting to buy in the area did not get bonds and this made it difficult for them to get properties. She did not personally mention race but said "they want to come and live here but many of them don't qualify for bonds". When I queried her on this she mentioned that "even the whites don't get bonds". Thus it is clear from this statement that in relation to not receiving bonds, that she was referring initially to black South Africans. She mentioned that a lot of people are looking for properties but not getting what they want. This provides an interesting point to analyse; whether young black South Africans are struggling to buy properties due to a lack of bonds. She mentioned that people did not understand how purchasing a property worked and that she would assist them with this because some people thought that because they were earning a good salary they could buy a property, but they could not because they had debt. It has been mentioned by other authors that the black middle class is an indebted group and this may be playing a role in inhibiting their ability to receive bonds (Southall, 2016). For that reason it seems as though she made a fair argument and it does not seem like a form of gate keeping meant to keep black residents out of the area.

This company uses a wide variety of advertising mechanisms. As with other marketing companies they use the internet and pamphlets. They use websites such as property 24, to advertise their properties. If a potential resident likes a particular property they will be taken by the company and shown the property. The company also advertises in property magazines such as the Property Portfolio which is distributed for free in shopping malls and newspapers such as the Sunday times. She does not advertise on rubbish bins because she feels that this promotes a negative image for the company. There are aspects of limited distribution in their advertising because they produce their own magazine and newsletter which is only available for people who have come to view properties. Furthermore they have a wide range of advertising strategies as the company recently held a Halloween party as well as holding a wine tasting in Saddle Brook Estate in Midrand, the interviewee mentioned that this was important as it allowed her to network with other businesses. Furthermore she regularly networks with other real estate companies such as Herschel properties. This shows that although the company has open distribution advertising which is freely available to everyone in society, there are exclusive aspects of the advertising that are only available to a limited group of potential residents. She said that "it is better to do more talking and spend less on

expensive billboards". This shows the importance of word of mouth advertising in her business.

When advertising properties in the print media the company is aiming to show the garden, pool, the fact that the apartment is pet friendly, the levies and most importantly the prices. The price was mentioned as the most important factor that the interviewee was aiming to show potential residents. Interestingly the price did not come up for many of the black residents as a major factor determining why they move to the northern suburbs.

Marketing Company 3

The interviewee from this company was the head of marketing for a new development and has previously been the director of his own company for 10 years. He has done previous work within the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. The latest development that he is advertising for is a 16 000 hectares apartment complex.

In relation to the racial make-up of the development the interviewee mentioned that it was mixed Indian, black, white and Chinese. The interviewee said something very interesting; he said that it is difficult to target specific groups through marketing. He said that in the 'older days' it was easier to target a specific market but today it was not because the market is so broad. He mentioned that "in the old days it was easier to target a specific group, for instance if you had an old age home you could simply target older residents". This comment seemed to allude to apartheid where previously it was easier to target a specific race group. The example of an old age home did not seem to make sense as even today one could still target an old age home. It seemed this was again a way of speaking about race through a code, as it is not legal for companies to target specific races in the present day.

The price of apartments was R1.2 million for 1 bedroom, R2.1 million for 2 bedrooms and around R2.7million for 3 bedrooms. Around 60% of the buyers own their properties as investors and 40% live in the property as their final address. The residents are generally between 25 and 45 years of age. He mentioned that there is a wide variety of residents; young professionals as well as already established families. One got a sense from the interviewee that the apartments were generally rented by white South Africans.

In relation to whether there were any buyers coming from areas like Soweto the interviewee said "not really, not in this kind of market". There was one black buyer from Tanzania that he could remember. Because the interviewee seemed uncomfortable to talk about race it was

hard to pin point the exact number of black middle class people that were living there. In relation to the black middle class that has moved into the area the interviewer felt that the factors that encouraged the move would be demand, convenience, good transport routes, low maintenance, lock up and go lifestyle and that for the black middle class this kind of area was more aspirational. This comment was in line with the ideas mentioned in the literature that the black middle class aspires to the lifestyle of the wealthier upper class South Africans. This links to the notion of prestige; that black middle class South Africans aspire to have the prestige of the northern suburbs, particularly as this was a luxury apartment complex. He mentioned that security was a major issue for people wanting to move into the accommodation, he said "people feel secure in a block of apartments". This confirms what was mentioned in the literature review that residents feel safer living in a block of apartments as opposed to a stand-alone house.

The factors that this company focuses on when advertising the apartments to the public are firstly, the location of the apartments, focusing on the fact that the apartments are close to shopping centres, golf courses and the fact that the apartments are close to the Gautrain station. The second most important thing that the company advertises is the luxurious lifestyle on offer in the apartments. The aspect of luxury proved a major theme in his advertising because when asked what makes his apartments special or different from others, he mentioned the high level of luxury offered through luxury end finishes, porcelain tiles, down fittings, generally spending more on finishes and even back-up generators. The aspect of luxury was mentioned in the literature review as a potential important factor. The luxury factor links to the prestige that the northern suburbs offer the black middle class.

The properties are generally advertised through print media in the Sunday Star, free property magazines and property related internet sites such as Property 24. Properties are also advertised through holding launches from around the areas where properties are going to be built. Here the company will erect a stand and speak to potential buyers about the development. This according to the interviewee is done to create awareness and excitement about the properties before they are complete. This is done in the hope that when the properties become available the clients will already be keen to buy and move in. The internet was the most important medium of advertising for the company. This is in line with literature on the topic which claims the internet has become the main form of advertising for real estate companies (Fin24, 2015). The company also uses Facebook to advertise. According to the

interviewee, advertising on the internet is just a teaser used to attract the client; the main motive is to get the potential residents to physically visit the site. In this sense the marketing at this company was very open, allowing anyone to apply.

It is interesting that in this case the interviewee was very uncomfortable to speak about race and avoided the topic entirely. The researcher had to push to get him to talk about race and he only spoke about it towards the end of the interview very briefly. This made it difficult to get precise answers from him on some of the comments he made regarding the black middle class.

Marketing Company 4

The final marketing company interviewed was operated by one individual. The interviewee worked independently. The interviewee has previously worked for larger companies and has worked in the property industry for the past 10 years. He has also worked as an architect.

In terms of the racial make-up of the properties he advertises for, the interviewee mentioned that the area was equally divided between black and white. Most of the black population living in the area were young black professionals. This links to the information found from many of the other marketing companies who mentioned that many of the black residents moving in were young professionals. This was also corroborated by the interviews with the black middle class residents because many of the interviewees were young black professionals living in the area. The price range for properties the company works with is between R1 million and R20 million. Though there are not many properties on offer for the R20 million price range. The higher prices are usually bought by South Africans because they are more knowledgeable of the area, as opposed to foreigners who the interviewee feels are usually worried about the future of the country and hence do not want to make such large investments. He mentioned specifically that he does not work with rentals, though there is a large demand.

The interviewee felt that the factors that encouraged black middle class people to move into the area are that there are a wide variety of property choices with different kinds of residential housing within the area. He also noted access to amenities such as restaurants within the area as an important factor. He also advertises for some properties within close proximity to the Lanseria airport which is good as many of the residents regularly travel in and out of Cape Town. The northern suburbs are also more of a cosmopolitan area, in comparison to some

areas where people are more closed minded such as the east rand or the south of Johannesburg, this he said is also a plus for black middle class residents who move in. One can gather from that statement that black South Africans may face some resistance when trying to move into other predominantly white suburbs of the city. Added to that another factor he felt was important for the black middle class was that there is a large selection of good schools in the area. This was mentioned as an important factor by black middle class people with children that moved into the area. Invariably for black middle class people with children, the proximity to good quality schools was an important factor.

In this interviewees opinion, many of the residents moving into the area are coming from Durban because Johannesburg offers better salaries. Another smaller group of people moving to the area are coming from the south of Johannesburg, though this is not a very significant number. The majority of the people buying are people who had already lived in the area and were moving for various reasons such as possibly wanting a bigger property. Interestingly this is something that was mentioned by a number of the black middle class residents that were interviewed. The majority of the black middle class residents mentioned that they are currently living in their second or third house within the northern suburbs. Thus it may not be that a large number of black middle class South Africans are moving to the northern suburbs but that already wealthy black middle class South Africans are moving between properties within the northern suburbs.

The interviewee mentioned that he works with people of all races but there are certain agencies that only work with certain clientele. This shows that within the property industry there may be some gate keeping which keeps potential black residents from living in certain areas. Though it would be nearly impossible to get anyone to admit to this and is thus hard to quantify the extent to which such action takes place. It should be mentioned that during data collection the majority of black middle class residents interviewed said it was not difficult to get properties in the northern suburbs. This contradicts assertions by some black South Africans in the media who feel that as black South African renters they are often denied the right to rent properties in certain areas of the country based on their race (Donnelly, 2016). This they feel is done through subtle mechanisms such as some companies advertising properties in Afrikaans or simply by people being accepted to rent an apartment but when it appears they are black, getting denied by the estate agent (Donnelly, 2016). Such claims are often mentioned as occurring in Cape Town (Donnelly, 2016). Throughout data collection the

researcher did not come across such claims in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg from the black middle class.

The company advertises itself through the print media, the internet and by having “show” days where potential residents can come and view the properties on offer. The company uses print media and the internet equally. The company uses property websites such as IOL properties and Property 24. In terms of print media he uses a free property magazine, known as the Property portfolio that is circulated in shopping malls around the northern suburbs. This magazine produces 25 000 copies at a time. He stressed that a large part of his advertising is also done via word of mouth, this form of advertising has been argued to be one of the most successful in terms of real estate internationally (Stevens, 2015). A challenge that the interviewee expressed was that since he works alone he has to do the marketing for his properties alone and this becomes expensive.

4.4 Targeting

It was very interesting to compare what the marketing companies said about their advertisements with the actual advertisements one acquired in magazines, pamphlets and on the internet. This is important because the actual pamphlets and websites can provide information that a member of the marketing company might not have wanted to disclose overtly to the interviewer. While in other instances the pamphlets and websites may corroborate with what the marketing companies said during the interviews. The marketing pamphlets show what factors the marketing company’s advertise in their marketing campaigns as well as which clientele the marketing companies are targeting in their advertisements.

When looking at the advertisements for the accommodation one can see that in some instances the adverts clearly target the white population. In this instance the advertisement seems to be targeting young white South Africans (see figure 9). Another pamphlet for Rivonia apartments again shows a smiling young white couple (see figure 10). This shows that such advertisements are targeting the white market. One may not want to read too much into this advertising as it was said by one of the marketing companies that black middle class people are simply not driving the growth in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs. Hence one could argue that advertisements that focus on white people are simply following the market and not selecting where different groups of people should be encouraged to live. It must be said that it is not all advertisements in the northern suburbs that

show white people living in such apartments. In one advertisement acquired the majority of the people are still white but there are black people portrayed in the image. This portrays are more multiracial image to the particular accommodation. It is interesting that the black people in the image are still in the minority. It is interesting to note that when one travels to Midrand there are advertisements for available accommodation that clearly target the black middle class, such as this advertisement showing a picture of a smiling black family on the cover (see figure11). This is particularly interesting as Midrand has seen a large influx of the black middle class (Muller 2007, 1). This shows an awareness of the advertisers to target specific racial groups with the advertisements. The question remains whether this is done simply because this is the majority racial group living in the area or whether this is the racial group that the companies would prefer to have living in the specific apartment complexes.



Figure 9: Pamphlet advertising properties in northern Johannesburg, (Property Portfolio, 2015)



Figure 10: Advertisement for apartment in Rivonia



Figure 11: Advertisement targeting black middle class in Midrand

During the course of the data collection phase it became apparent that the real estate market was white dominant in terms of ownership. All the advertising companies interviewed were white owned and the people interviewed were white South Africans. Furthermore when

looking at the real estate pamphlets and property magazines operating in the area one could easily say that the majority of property owners and real estate agents were white South Africans. Recent figures state that black estate agents account for 17% of the countries real estate agents (Donnelly, 2016). The majority of black real estate agents work in the townships, though a minority work in the northern suburbs (Donnelly, 2016). The definition of the black race used in Donnelly (2016) includes people previously classified as coloured, black and Indian under the apartheid system. This shows the skewed ownership patterns within the real estate sector. This skewed ownership could impact the way in which the profession is advertised and to whose needs the profession works. As white South Africans are the dominant group in the real estate industry, this advertising would be done in their favour.

It is also important to notice that the interviewer being a black African may have negatively influenced the level of information and openness that one was able to get from the interviewees, particularly as South Africa is currently experiencing high levels of racial tension (Savides, 2016). In an attempt to combat this, the researcher would often mention that he was not from South Africa and in fact from Botswana in an attempt to ease potential racial tensions.

Interviewing the black middle class may have been helped by the fact that the interviewer was himself black middle class and thus could possibly relate to the interviewees.

4.5 Management

The management of the accommodation provide a different perspective to understanding the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs. Their perspective offers a unique vantage point to understand this movement to the northern suburbs.

Management Company 1

There was a heightened level of security within this apartment block. Once entering the apartment complex the researchers' driving licence details were taken and the researcher was then made to sign a handheld electronic device.

The interviewee explained that in his opinion the reason that people wanted to live in the area was due to the areas proximity to Sandton City. There are also guests who come to use the area as a tourist facility. Prestige was the next important reason for people living in the area,

the interviewee mentioned the fact that it is important to their residents that Sandton is a "big centre of activity". This was exemplified when the interviewee said "where we are, there is no one that doesn't know about Sandton, Sandton is the richest square mile in Africa". This shows the level of prestige that simply being in or near the area of Sandton brings. This corroborates the view of some of the black middle class residents who mentioned of importance of prestige for them in living in the northern suburbs.

Management Company 2

This property was one of the older properties within the Illovo area. The property has 62 apartments with an average of about three people per apartment. There are an equal number of residents who own and rent the apartments that they live in. The interviewee is the manager of the property and has been working in this industry for the past 20 years. His job entails fixing the electricity, plumbing and general maintenance of the property. The building itself is over 80 years old but has undergone extensive renovations adding in an elevator and 21st century facilities.

The racial make-up of the apartment block according to the interviewee was 50% black, 20% white, 10% coloured and 20% Indian. The interviewee mentioned that there was a large amount of diversity within the apartment block. The prices for owning an apartment range between R1million and R3.8 million. Prices for renting a one bedroom apartment are between R4000 and R6500, two bedroom was R10 000 and prices for 3 bedrooms was dependant on the owners but would range between R12 000 and R18 000.

The areas which the residents come from vary widely, Pretoria, Johannesburg and some overseas countries were mentioned. Although there are some overseas residents the majority of residents, 80 percent are South Africans. With around 80 percent of residents being South Africans, this debunks the idea held by some that the majority of black people living in the area are foreign Africans. There have been very few black residents within the property that have moved from Alexandra and some people from Soweto have moved to the area, according to the interviewee the reasons why they do move is that they generally work within the area and come to live closer to work. This is in line with the majority of black residents who when interviewed mention the proximity to work as the most important factor making them move to the northern suburbs.

The interviewee feels that factors that attract the people to live in the area are firstly that the accommodation is close to where they work, and secondly the fact that the accommodation is close to other amenities such as a cricket stadium, hotel and the Rosebank mall. This viewpoint of the interviewee is in line with the responses of the black middle class residents that the proximity to work is the main factor encouraging people to move into the area. The second factor listed by the interviewee is also an important factor of proximity to various amenities and also links to the views of the black middle class. The proximity to amenities ranked highly in the factors that have encouraged black middle class residents to move to the area. Of the 20 black middle class residents five ranked proximity to amenities as the most important factor encouraging the move the northern suburbs. That was the highest ranking factor after proximity to work. The importance of proximity of amenities can be summed up by one black middle class resident who said when speaking of the Sandton area "I like to live here, because everything is here. The banking sector, shops, other amenities and the nightlife!"

Management Company 3

This property is a 30 storey high rise building near the Sandton CBD. The interviewee is a portfolio manager, she works for the company managing the building. The company that she works for manages different types of accommodation, cluster houses, complexes and high rise buildings. She felt that the main reasons black middle class people moved to the area was to be closer to where they worked and for security. Security played a paramount role in this building as she mentioned the guests were very private and it would be impossible to access them.

In terms of the age of the residents; she mentioned there is a good mix, some are in their 40s and some in their 50s. Though she mentioned that a lot of the residents are in the age of 30 plus. She highlighted this as a sign that a lot of money is circulating. If such a young person can rent or buy an apartment in such an expensive building.

This property was in fact one of the more expensive properties, she mentioned that rents differ for instance in accordance with aspects like whether apartments are furnished or unfurnished. But generally rent is around R30 000 to R60 000 per month. Prices for owning used to be R2 million in 2007. She is not sure but believes prices currently are approximately between R5 million and R10 million.

The higher focus on security within this property seemed to be due to the fact that it is clearly a more expensive property. Most of the owners she mentioned were international owners.

In relation to how potential residents find out about the property she mentioned that many find out through agents. People who want to sell do it through agents. Sometimes management does not even know units are being sold. The internet is also one of the ways people know of the property. This gives weight to what marketing companies had said regarding the importance of the internet for advertising.

When queried about the number of black South Africans in the building she mentioned that they make up about 20% of the buildings population. This is not a large percentage of the population of the building and this figure is in line with previous comments made by marketing companies that black South Africans are generally not driving the developments in property in this part of the city. At the time of interview she mentioned that there were no black South African owners of any apartments in the building, those who lived in the building were all renting. There were 140 apartments in the building.

4.6 Conclusion

A large amount of information was gathered within the data collection phase of this research report. The findings from the black middle class residents, marketing companies and management in some instances agree with and in other instances are contradictory to one another. The different theoretical frameworks used to explain the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs were analysed. The post-apartheid democratic syndrome, mixed approach and the stigmatisation theory did not sufficiently explain the movement of the black middle class to the northern suburbs. The pragmatic theory was the most successful at explaining the reasons for the movement to the northern suburbs from the black middle class.

The factors that the black middle class rated as the most important factors causing them to move to the northern suburbs were analysed. From this analysis the proximity to work, proximity to amenities and safety emerged as the most important. The management and marketing companies choice of factors that have led to the increase in demand were also analysed. The marketing companies mentioned that security and access to amenities were the most important factors from their collective point of view. While the management companies mentioned proximity to work, proximity to amenities and security. Thus the factors

mentioned as the most important between the black middle class, management and the marketing companies were similar.

CHAPTER 5: BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER:

The increase in middle class black South Africans moving to the northern suburbs is a phenomenon that has been witnessed in South Africa's recent history. This movement has a profound impact on South African social relations as well as a profound impact on the future development of the city of Johannesburg. The many years of Apartheid spatial planning that aimed to segregate black South Africans from the economy of the country are gradually being corroded. While the rise in the black middle class in South Africa is a topic that has been researched regularly, the dynamics around the movement of black middle class South Africans to the northern suburbs is a phenomenon that has not been researched often. There are many factors at play that impact this movement to the northern suburbs. This research has sought to shed light on what the factors are that have led to this increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs from the black middle class.

These factors were defined into categories of proximity to work, access to amenities, security, lifestyle, prestige, lifestyles and the price of the property. During the research a number of other factors presented themselves such as the size of the property, quietness of the area and social relations. The research method chosen to conduct the research was that of a case study. While the study area was referred to as the northern suburbs during the research it comprised of the Sandton CBD, Sandown, Illovo, Bryanston and Sandhurst.

It is clear from the data collected during the research that the main factors that lead to an increase in demand for accommodation in the Johannesburg northern suburbs from the black middle class are firstly a desire for to live within a close proximity to work, secondly a desire to be in a close proximity to a range of amenities and thirdly a desire for security. The factors are separated into what the residents rated the most important factors, the second most important factors and third most important factors for moving to the northern suburbs.

When all the factors are added together to achieve a total, then the desire to live in a close proximity to ones place of work and a desire to be in a close proximity to a range of amenities scored equally; both becoming the most frequently mentioned factors by the residents.

The pragmatic theory approach best explains the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs. This is because both of the most frequently mentioned factors proximity to work and proximity to amenities can be explained using a pragmatic theoretical approach.

Pragmatism is understood as being a form of action taken by doing what works best at a particular time or acting in a manner that could be considered common sense (Hoch, 1984). In this case it is common sense to live near the financial hub of the country. Those wanting to move closer to their place of work are making a pragmatic decision because this reduces travelling time and costs on a daily basis. Furthermore it is a pragmatic decision because the northern suburbs are the centre of the country's economy, where the majority of amenities and services in the city are located.

Black middle class

As mentioned in the introduction to this work, there is no agreed upon definition for the black middle class, however, it is generally understood to be a group that sits somewhere between the working class blacks and lower end of society and the few elite black South Africans in the higher echelons of society.

Many black middle class interviewees wanted to be close to the centre of the country's economy and have access to amenities which are on offer in the area. For instance many interviewees mentioned a desire to be close to the good quality schools available in the area, the shopping malls, and the entertainment. It is not to say that such amenities are not available in other parts of the country but the majority of such amenities can found in the northern suburbs. Many black middle class interviewees mentioned that they wanted to be near the area because the area was central. This is in line with pragmatist thinking that such interviewees want to live in the heart of the country's economy which will give them access to all the amenities available within that area and potential jobs. It is also a pragmatic decision for black middle class people to want to live as close to the centre of countries economy because this was denied to them during the apartheid period.

It was interesting to see the importance placed on security by the black middle class. Although not as important a factor as proximity to work and amenities, security was still rated highly as a factor. Due to the fact that white South Africans were not the focus of this research and hence not interviewed, it could not be deduced from the data collection whether crime was more or less of a factor for the black middle class than for their white middle class counterparts. But looking at relevant literature on the topic reveals that perceptions or fear of crime are much higher amongst the white population than the black population, as 77% of whites believe that crime in the country is getting worse compared to 54% of blacks (Harris, 2007). Thus from this literature it can be assumed that although security was an important

factor for the black middle class, it would most likely be rated as a more important factor for the white middle class. This is interesting given the fact that black South Africans suffer more from violent crimes than white South Africans.

Marketing companies

The reasons for moving to the northern suburbs given by the residents can be supported by the views and opinions of the marketing companies. In some ways the marketing companies reiterate the views of the black middle class in terms of what the most important factors are. The marketing companies generally emphasise security, proximity to work and close proximity to amenities as important factors. Most of the marketing companies mentioned that the internet was their main form of advertising and this is in line with the generally younger population found living in the area. The majority of people interviewed were young people and the management companies mentioned that a lot of the people living in their properties were young people. Although this is not conclusive enough evidence to prove that the majority of black middle class people living in the area are young professionals because it was mentioned by some marketing companies that there are older families staying in the area as well. There may also have been some form of unconscious bias from the interviewer targeting younger residents to interview due to the ease in approaching interviewees of the same age. Thus what can be stated is that a number of the black middle class people living in the area are young professionals but more systematic research needs to be conducted to determine the numbers of young middle class black population in the northern suburbs.

A major theme that occurred with the marketing companies was around the theme of race. Particularly around whether such marketing companies target specific races with their advertisements or whether they work only with specific racial groups. There was a general discomfort discussing racial issues for the majority of the companies. In the end it became clear that some racial gate keeping does take place in the industry but rather that this is not on a particularly large enough scale to impede the movement of the black middle class into the area. Most black middle class people interviewed said they did not find it difficult to move into the area.

In relation to what makes some middle class areas become majority black like Midrand and others like Sandton remaining majority white. The researcher believes that this has largely to do with what was mentioned in the literature review; white middle class South Africans moving out of an area when a large number of black South Africans move in. This

phenomenon has been documented in other areas in the country where “desegregation has typically involved blacks moving into spaces that were previously reserved for whites; with whites leaving the newly integrated spaces for exclusive enclaves” (Durrheim 2005, 456). This occurrences has often been explained by both groups blaming the other, with whites feeling that blacks are taking over previously white spaces and pushing them out, while blacks feel that whites are running away from them (Durrheim, 2005). A similar phenomenon has been documented in other parts of the world. This trend could be happening here. Although there was no clear evidence of racial gate keeping mentioned from the black middle class people interviewed in this particular research, the regular mentioning of it by black South Africans in other research is testament to the fact that it occurs within the country and possibly in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

It is clear that there is a definite thrust within marketing companies to target specific racial groups in specific areas, despite the fact that most of these companies denied such targeted advertising. This targeted advertising is visible within Midrand where the advertisements were generally seen to target black people, whereas in Sandton the advertisements were generally seen to target white people, though there were exceptions to this. It is difficult to tell whether this targeting is done by the marketing companies to attract certain groups to an area or whether this is done because a certain group is already living in the area and is the majority in that particular area. The likelihood is that the marketing companies are simply targeting people they believe to be the most likely potential residents in the area because that would make the most economic sense. This does not rule out the possibility of some companies targeting specific racial groups in order to encourage potential residency with regards to a particular area.

Management companies

In relation to the management companies the factors which they stated were the main factors attracting the black middle class where in line with those mentioned by the black middle class and the marketing companies. Proximity to work was the most important factor mentioned followed by proximity to amenities, security and interestingly the prestige of the area was mentioned by one management company.

Overall the findings from the marketing and management companies did not differ significantly from the findings of the black middle class residents which stated that the most important factors that have led to the increase in demand for accommodation in the northern

suburbs from the black middle class are the proximity to work, the proximity to amenities and security.

There were similarities in the opinions of all the stakeholders interviewed with regards to the factors that had caused the increase in demand. This means that the factors transcended the different stakeholders' professions. The black middle class, the management and the marketing companies did not differ significantly on what the most important factors were, therefore this greatly strengthens the importance of the factors: proximity to work, proximity to amenities and security and shows that from whatever angle one investigates the movement to the northern suburbs these remain the most important factors causing this movement.

Recommendations

For future research a number of things can be done. To strengthen understanding on whether there are specific factors that relate to the black middle class as a group; a comparison of the factors that lead to the move to the northern suburbs can be made with other races in the country. This will create an interesting comparison to investigate whether different races may move to the northern suburbs for different reasons. This can lead to further investigation to understand why other racial groups move for different reasons, if that is the case. Moreover another point for further research can be the difference in age relating to the black middle class as an explanation of their move to the northern suburbs. For this research it was found that a number of people moving to the northern suburbs were younger people but more research would need to be done to see whether this was a definitive trend. Further it would also be of interest to find out whether different age groups within the black middle class moved to the northern suburbs for different reasons.

There are more areas of interest that could be looked into for further research in a bid to increase understanding on this topic. For instance in relation to the advertising of accommodation within the northern suburbs, it would be interesting to understand whether advertisements targeting certain race groups actually lead to a growth in interest in an area from that specific race group or not. Or whether there are other unintended consequences, for instance advertisements which were seen to target white people by portraying images of white people were for instance attracting an increasing the number of black people to move into the area. It would be interesting to find out whether portraying white people on advertisements could be a strategy used by advertising companies to attract the black middle

class. This requires a much deeper advertising specific analyses but would make for an interesting study.

Furthermore, a point of interest for further study would be the attitudes of realtors regarding the renting or selling of properties to people of different races. The study attempted to delve into the fact that in some areas there seemed to be some gate keeping in relation to accommodation within the area. The exorbitant prices of some of the properties on the market, such as those selling for R20 million, may act as a natural gate keeper, limiting the number of black middle class South Africans who can move into the houses and the areas. Although no black middle class residents directly complained about this in this study, comments by some marketing companies and previous studies done by other researchers have alluded to some racial bias within the real estate industry in the country and within the northern suburbs. It would be interesting to further study whether this bias exists in relation to real estate agents being more comfortable to rent or sell properties to people of different races.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A

Black middle class interview

Questionnaire: Movement to the northern suburbs
November 2015

Semi Structured Interview

Initials of Interviewer: _____ Date: _____
Gender of interviewee: _____ Time: _____
Location of interview: _____

Good Day,
My name is Banele Mngaza and I am a Masters student at Wits University working on a research project that is exploring the increase in demand for accommodation in the Johannesburg northern suburbs from the black middle class. The information I collect will only be used for academic purposes but the final document will be available at the university library. This questionnaire is completely anonymous and participation in this research is voluntary. You can stop the interview at any time. If you are uncomfortable with any of the questions, you do not have to answer that question. Will it be possible for me to ask you a few questions, it will not take more than 30 minutes?

1. How do you define yourself:
   a. Black South African_____
   b. Black African (not SA)_____
   c. White_____
   d. Indian_____
   e. Coloured_____
   f. Asian_____
   g. Other (please describe)_____

2. Your Age: (tick one)
   a. 20-29___
   b. 30-39___
   c. 40-49___
   d. 50-59___
   e. 60-69___
   f. 70+___

3. Where were you born? _____

4. Marital Status:
   a. Married _____
   b. Separated _____

c. Single ____
d. Divorced_____
e. Widowed _____
f. Lives with partner ____
g. Other (Please describe)_____

4.2 Do you have any children?
_____

4.5. Where do you live?
_____

5. What kind of unit do you live in?
a. Free-standing house_____
b. Flat_____
c. Semi-detached House_____
d. Townhouse____
e. Other (please describe)_____

6. How many people live in the house/flat/home?
a. 1-2 _____
b. 3-4_____
c. 5-6_____
d. 7-8_____
e. 9 or more_____

6.5 What is the size of your unit?
_____

6.6 How many floors are there in your unit?
_____

7. How long have you lived in the place you are staying?_____

7.5 Where did you live before?_____

7.5.5 Where did you live after 1994?_____

7.6 Where does your extended family live? (Parents, Cousins etc)
_____
_____

8. Do you:
a. Own your place ____
b. Rent your place _____
c. Stay with parents _____
d. Other (please describe)_____

9. If you own or rent your place, how much do you spend on:

i. Rental_____

a. R1501-R3000 ____
b. R3001-R4500 ____
c. R4501-R6000 ____
d. R6001-R7500 ____
e. R7501-R9000 ____
f. R9001-R11500 ___
g. R1151-R13000 ___
h. R13001 and above (define it in a higher bracket)

ii. Mortgage _____

a. R3001-R4500 ____
b. R4501-R6000 ____
c. R6001-R7500 ____
d. R7501-R9000 ____
e. R9001-R11500___
f. R11501-R13000___
g. R13000 and above (Define it in a more suitable bracket)

10. Education: (tick one)
a. Some university/technikon____
b. University/technikon graduate____
c. Post graduate_____

11. What kind of work do you do? _____

11.5 What is your position in the company?

_____

12. How long have you been doing that/engaging in this work?
a. 0-1 year_____
b. 2-5 years_____
c. 6-10 years_____
d. More than 10 years_____
e. More than 20 years_____

13. What is your household monthly expenditure? (this means everything household spends money on: food, transport, education, cell phones, cleaning products, domestics, clothes, money sent to friends and family)

a. R3001-R4500 ____
b. R4501-R6000 ____
c. R6001-R7501 ____
e. R7501-R9000 ____
f. R9001-R11500 ___
g. R1151-R13000 ___
h. R13001 and above (define it in a higher bracket)

Thank you for your responses so far, now I would like to ask you some questions pertaining to the area in which you live.

14. What are the factors that led you to move to the high rise, high density accommodation in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg? Give them a rating from 1 to 6 in the order of which factors you think have played the greatest role in attracting you to the area.

	Factors Causing Increase in Demand	Rating (1 to 6)
i.	Access to South Africa's financial hub, jobs, services etc (proximity)	*Example* 1
ii.	Land Prices/Real Estate	
iii.	Prestige	
iv.	Fashionable to live in a high rise building	
v.	Safety	
Vi	Change in Aspirations	

Thank you for your time

Appendix B

Interview Management

Questionnaire: Moving to the northern suburbs
October 2015

Semi Structured Interview

Initials of Interviewer: _____ Date: _____
Gender of interviewee: _____ Time: _____
Location of interview: _____

Good Day,
My name is Banele Mngaza and I am a Masters student at Wits University working on a research project that is exploring the increase in demand for accommodation in the Johannesburg northern suburbs from the black middle class. The information we collect will only be used for academic purposes but the final document will be available to the public. This questionnaire is completely anonymous and participation in this research is voluntary. If you are uncomfortable with any of the questions or do not wish to answer then that is fine and we can stop at any time. Will it be possible for me to ask you a few questions, it will not take more than 30minutes?

1. How do you define yourself:
   h. Black South African_____
   i. Black African (not SA)_____
   j. White_____
   k. Indian_____
   l. Coloured_____
   m. Asian_____
   n. Other (please describe)_____

2. Your Age: (tick one)
   a. 20-29___
   b. 30-39___
   c. 40-49___
   d. 50-59___
   e. 60-69___
   f. 70+___

3. What is the name of the company that you work for?
_____

4. What kind of work do you do? What is your position in the building?
_____

5. How long have you been doing that/engaging in this work?

f. 0-1 year_____
g. 2-5 years_____
h. 6-10 years_____
i. More than 10 years_____
j. More than 20 years_____

Thank you for your responses so far, now I would like to ask you some questions pertaining to the area in which you work.

6. What do you think are the factors that have led to an increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs? Give them a rating from 1 to 6 in the order of which factors you think have played the greatest role in attracting people to the area.

	Factors Causing Increase in Demand	Rating (1 to 6)
i.	Access to South Africas financial hub, jobs, services etc (proximity)	*Example* 1
ii.	Land Prices/Real Estate	
iii.	Prestige	
iv.	Fashions/International Trends in Planning	
v.	Safety	
Vi	Change in Aspirations	

7. Think of the area where you are currently working, when did the increase in high density buildings start occurring?

a. Within the last year
b. Within the last 5 years
c. Within the last decade
d. In the 90s
e. I am not sure
f. _____

8. Where do you capture most of your residents from?

_____
_____
_____
_____

How do they capture most of their residents?_____

9. Are there any changes you have noticed in the real estate market in the area since increasing numbers of black middle class South Africans moved to the area?

a. Yes ____(if yes please go to 17.ii)
b. No____
c. I don't know_____

9.ii Please can you identify/describe these changes?

_____
_____
_____

10. What is the average age of the residents?
i
   b. 60-69
   c. 50-59
   d 40-49
   e 30-39
   f 18-29

11. Are there facilities for children in the building?
   a. Yes ____
   b. No____

12. What is the price for owning? Renting?
_____

13. What is the racial make-up of the building percentages?

Black _____

White _____

Coloured _____

Indian _____
Other_____

14. How many people have moved in from around the neighbourhood?
   _____

15. How many people have moved in from southern areas of Johannesburg i.e. SOWETO?
_____

16. How do potential residents get to know of the building?
   a. e-mail
   b. brochures
   c. internet
   d. word of mouth
   e. from management
   f. other (if answered other please go to 23ii)

16ii. Please specify what you mean by other _____

17. Where do most of the black residents come from? (Are they local or foreign)

_____
_____
_____
_____

18i. If they are foreign, where do they usually come from?

_____

19. Do black residents usually own or rent?

_____

20. Where do the owners of the buildings come from?

_____

21. Do owners often live in the buildings they own?

_____

22. What is the percentage of owners who live in the buildings they own?

_____

_____

Many thanks for your time!

Appendix C

Interview Marketing Company

Questionnaire: Movement to the northern suburbs

October 2015

Semi Structured Interview

Initials of Interviewer: _____ Date: _____

Gender of interviewee: _____ Time: _____

Location of interview: _____

Good Day,

My name is Banele Mngaza and I am a Masters student at Wits University working on a research project that is exploring the increase in demand for accommodation in the Johannesburg northern suburbs from the black middle class. The information we collect will only be used for academic purposes but the final document will be available to the public. This questionnaire is completely anonymous and participation in this research is voluntary. If you are uncomfortable with any of the questions or do not wish to answer then that is fine and we can stop at any time. Will it be possible for me to ask you a few questions, it will not take more than 30minutes?

1. How do you define yourself:

o. Black South African_____
p. Black African (not SA)_____
q. White_____
r. Indian_____
s. Coloured_____
t. Asian_____
u. Other (please describe)_____

2. Your Age: (tick one)

a. 20-29___

b. 30-39___

c. 40-49___

d. 50-59___

e. 60-69___

f. 70+___

3. What is the name of the company that you work for?

_____

4. What kind of work do you do? What is your position in the building? _____

5. How long have you been doing that/engaging in this work?

k. 0-1 year_____
l. 2-5 years_____
m. 6-10 years_____
n. More than 10 years_____
o. More than 20 years_____

Thank you for your responses so far, now I would like to ask you some questions pertaining to the area in which you work.

6. Think of the area where you are currently working, when did the increase in high density buildings start occurring?

g. Within the last year
h. Within the last 5 years
i. Within the last decade
j. In the 90s
k. I am not sure
l. _____

7. What do you think are the factors that have led to an increase in demand for accommodation in the northern suburbs. Give them a rating from 1 to 6 in the order of which factors you think have played the greatest role in attracting people to the area.

	Factors Causing Increase in Demand	Rating (1 to 6)
i.	Access to South Africa's financial hub, jobs, services etc (proximity)	*Example* 1
ii.	Land Prices/Real Estate	
iii.	Prestige	
iv.	Fashion/International Trends in Planning	
v.	Safety	

Vi	Change in Aspirations	

8. Where do you capture most of your residents from?

_____
_____
_____
_____

8.i.How do they capture most of their residents?_____

9. Are there any changes you have noticed in the real estate market in the area since increasing numbers of black middle class South Africans moved into the area?

d. Yes ____(if yes please go to 17.ii)
e. No____
f. I don't know_____

9.ii. Please can you identify/describe these changes?

_____
_____
_____

10. What is the average age of the residents?

a. 60-69

b. 50-59

c 40-49

e 30-39

f 18-29

11. Are there facilities for children in the building?

i. a. Yes ____
b. No____

12. What is the price for owning? Renting?

_____

13. What is the racial make-up of the building percentages?

Black _____

White _____

Coloured _____

Indian _____

Other_____

14. How many people have moved in from around the neighbourhood?

_____

15. How many people have moved in from southern areas of Johannesburg E.g. SOWETO?

_____

16i. How do potential residents get to know of the building?

a. e-mail

b. brochures

c. internet

d. word of mouth

e. from management

f. other (if answered other please go to 23ii)

16ii.. Please specify what you mean by other _____

17. Where do most of the black residents come from? (Are they local or foreign)

_____
_____
_____
_____

18i. If they are foreign, where do they usually come from?

_____

19. Do black residents usually own or rent?

_____

20. Where do the owners of the buildings come from?

_____

21. Do owners often live in the buildings they own?

_____

22. What is the percentage of owners who live in the buildings they own?

_____
_____

23. How many buildings do you advertise for in the area?
_____
_____
_____
_____

24 What are the things that you advertise to attract potential clients to your buildings?
_____
_____

25 Where do you advertise? E.g Magazine – sold on the market or privately circulated, newspapers? Which ones? Property - is this sold on the market or limited distribution?
_____
_____

25i. Which groups are these?
_____
_____

25ii. What are the things that you focus on in your advertisements to attract these particular groups?
_____
_____

26. Which marketing campaigns have been most successful in attracting clients to your buildings? Which advertisement attracts the most people? Radio, bankers, afropolitan. Which ones brings more people?

_____
_____

27. Do you have marketing schemes?
_____

28. Do you do anything special in your apartments?
_____

Thank you very much for your time!

Appendix D



Mngaza, B (2015) One of the buildings black middle class interviewees lived in, in Bryanston.

Appendix E

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER SOAP/15/06/17/21**
PROJECT TITLE	Understanding the increase in demand for high rise, medium density accommodation in the Johannesburg northern suburbs from the black upper middle class.
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mngaza Banele Mompati (student#: 329018)
SCHOOL	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME	Master of Science in Development Planning
DATE CONSIDERED	11 August 2015
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	11 August 2016

CHAIRPERSON _____
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE 11/08/2015

cc: Supervisor: Prof. Aly Karam

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

_____ 20/08/15
Signature **Date**

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