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Harrison, Philip. Zack, Tanya.

2014-06-16
South African Geographical Journal
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/37721
Harrison and Zack, 2014

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South African Geographical Journal

ISSN: 0373-6245 (Print) 2151-2418 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rsag20

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To cite this article: Philip Harrison & Tanya Zack (2014) Between the ordinary and the extraordinary: socio-spatial transformations in the 'Old South' of Johannesburg, South African Geographical Journal, 96:2, 180-197, DOI: 10.1080/03736245.2014.924863

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.2014.924863

Published online: 16 Jun 2014.

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South African Geographical Journal, 2014
Vol. 96, No. 2, 180–197, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03736245.2014.924863

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Between the ordinary and the extraordinary: socio-spatial transformations in the 'Old South' of Johannesburg

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A recent discourse on 'ordinary cities' represents cities as unique assemblages rather than as imperfect representations of an ideal such as the 'world city'. The 'ordinariness' of cities is, however, constructed at the intersection of the 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary'. We use the case of the 'Old South' of Johannesburg to show how the ordinariness of everyday life has been shaped by continually shifting transnational, or extraordinary, flows and relationships. Strong locally inscribed spatial loyalties emerged historically in the Old South, although these were always overlain by ethnic territorialities. Recently, new socio-spatial configurations have emerged in the context of post-Apartheid migration flows. The emergent identities and territorialities associated with these flows remain fragile and ambiguous, but may offer pointers towards our new urban futures.

Keywords: Johannesburg; southern suburbs; ordinary cities; transnational migrants; spatial identity

Introduction

Recent decades have witnessed a robust debate in the urban studies literature on the representation of cities within a context of rapid globalization. Notions of 'world cities' and 'global cities' became progressively more prominent and, eventually, nearly hegemonic, in scholarly and policy-related discourse (e.g. Friedmann, 1986; Hall, 1966; Sassen, 1991; Taylor, 2004). There was a rejoinder, however, from around 2000 when a number of writers responded to the growing representation of cities in terms of a position within a common hierarchy of global connectedness by arguing that each city is a unique assemblage of political, economic and socio-cultural relationships, and should not be represented only in terms of its relationship to the other (e.g. Amin & Graham, 1997; Legg & McFarlane, 2008; Robinson, 2006; Ward & Jonas, 2004). Amin and Graham (1997) and Robinson (2006) used the term *ordinary city* as a counterpoint to the notion of the global or world city. The debate continues with Brenner (2013), for example, insisting that place-based narratives and accounts of local assemblage are thoroughly inadequate descriptors of an urban world that is increasingly shaped by extra-territorial networks of capital, labour and communications infrastructure.

There is clearly a fault line in representation that may lead to a sharp divide between studies that foreground the connectedness of space and those concerned with localized place-based narrative. Or, more productively, the debate may provoke a new synthesis that relates extra-territorial process to the specificities of place-bound localities. Our study takes its cue from this debate. It is concerned with the exquisite specificity of space within cities but is also concerned with the ways in which this specificity is

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configured by external and transnational process and influence (which we refer to below as 'extraordinariness').

Finding ordinary/extraordinary space

The study is located in Johannesburg, a city which does feature modestly in world city hierarchies but which has also been frequently discussed in terms of its unique configurations of developmental challenges and social inequalities (e.g. Murray, 2008, 2011). Writers on Johannesburg tend to analyse their particular cases of study through either end of a spectrum of ordinariness and extraordinariness. They focus either on places of poverty and disconnection from global networks such as informal settlements and townships (e.g. Bonner & Nieftagodien, 2008; Harber, 2011; Huchzermeyer, 2004) or on places with a global aesthetic that cater for a globally connected elite (e.g. Mbembe, 2008; Nuttall, 2008, 2009).

What is, arguably, missing in the literature on Johannesburg is attention to the ways in which spaces discernibly represent *both* the ordinary and the extraordinary. We selected the so-called 'Old South' of Johannesburg as a space that is not connected to global corporate networks in the way that places in Johannesburg such as Sandton or Midrand are but is also not marginalized from these networks such as informal settlements or historically black African townships. The Old South is an in-between space that has locally rooted identities, but which has also been profoundly linked through its entire history to the shifting networks of a global diaspora. Within the 'Old South', there is a complex entanglement of global, national, citywide, local and interscalar processes and loyalties.

This entanglement is revealed in a highly differentiated pattern of racial integration and continued segregation at neighbourhood level. The study indicates a complex spatial mix of areas where low black Africans renters have largely replaced a mix of previous white owner-occupiers and renters; low-income black African renters and owners exist alongside the previous white renters and owner-occupiers; white owner-occupiers retain their dominance; black African and Indian local middle-class owner occupiers have replaced white lower-middle class owner occupiers and so on. It is a study which challenges earlier, more generalized, representations of post-apartheid residential desegregation. The study follows on from other investigations which have explored the relationship between changes in the built environment and demographic transformations in Johannesburg (e.g. Crankshaw & White, 1995; Morris, 1999)

Our method draws together quantitative data, drawn mainly from official census reports, with the outcomes of focus groups, individual interviews and commentary from blogs and other social media. The release of results from Census 2011 at a sub-place aided the identification of contemporary socio-spatial processes. These data were mainly accessed through Quantec as this private agency has retrofitted the sub-place demarcations for 1996 to the demarcations used in Census 2011, allowing for comparison across the census years (Quantec, 2013). To gain a closer understanding of the intersection between spatial and social identities, we conducted three focus groups with a total of 20 participants – the first consisting of former residents of the 'Old South' who recall 1960s and 1970s; the second of recent migrants from Cote d'ivoire and the Democratic Republic of the Congo; and the third of recent migrants from Mozambique. We cite them in the text as Focus Groups 1–3. In the Focus Groups, and in specific interviews, we explored the nature of spatial identity through probing the sense of belonging to the Old South and to specific neighbourhoods within this broader spatial construct, and also through probing the ways in which different groupings relate to each other in shared spaces.

Introducing the 'Old South'

The 'Old South' is the historical working-class residential core of the southern suburbs of Johannesburg; for some, the ugly stepchild of Johannesburg. The 'New South', by contrast, is a more recently developed belt of middle- to high-income suburbs attractively located on the slopes and ridges of a range of hills known as the Klipriviersberg. The 'Old South' is located close to the historic central business district and immediately to the south and east of the historic mining belt – now a disorderly clutter of derelict land, mine dumps, slime dams, industry, recreational space and disjointed residential developments. The 'Old South' is also separated from its neighbours – the 'New South', the inner city of Johannesburg, Soweto and Alberton in the Ekhurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality – by an extensive network of freeways (the M1, M1, N1, N12 and N17) (see Figure 1).

The development of the 'Old South' began the year in which Johannesburg was founded and township proclamations continued there until the 1950s when there were around 40 suburbs of varying sizes (Hart, 1968). There was further development in the far south of Johannesburg from the late 1960s until the 1980s when the freeway system was constructed, but this 'New South' catered mainly to a white middle class. It has a very different demographic profile and spatial identity from the 'Old South', and so we have not included it in the account provided in this article.

The heart of the 'Old South' was the suburb of Rosettenville proclaimed in 1889, and followed shortly by suburbs including Booysens, Turffontein and La Rochelle. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the extension of the tramline led to new development including Regent's Park, Kenilworth, The Hill, Townsview and Haddon, with the next wave of developments coming in the 1940s with the proclamation of South Hills, Linmeyer, Mondeor and Robertsham. There were minor extensions in the 1950s linked to

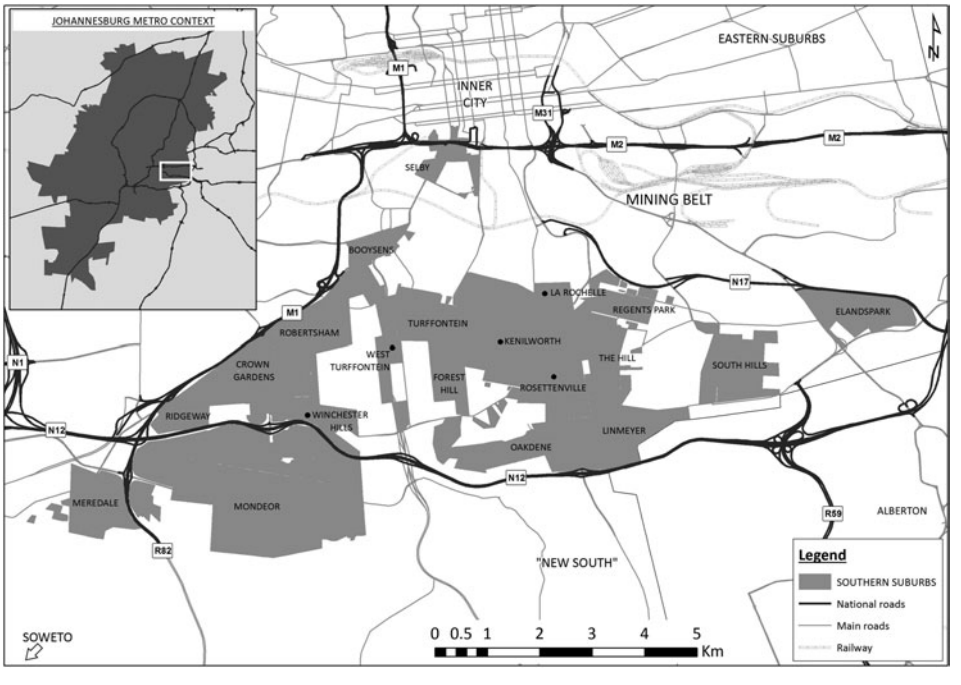


Figure 1. Map of the 'Old South' of Johannesburg.

state-provided housing for railway workers, and some extensions towards Soweto in the west (Hart, 1968).

Although the 'Old South' was predominantly white working class, it was diverse in terms of ethnicity, language, occupation and income level, and there was always a black African minority in the area mainly living in backyards as domestic workers. The population grew until the 1950s, stabilizing at around 80,000 people, but grew again from the mid-1990s, through densification of existing suburbs, to around 170,000 by 2011.

Four waves of migration have produced the variegated socio-spatial patterns of the 'Old South'. First, there was the arrival of international migrants from diverse places of origin in search of fortune on the newly proclaimed Witwatersrand gold field. Second, there was a stream of Afrikaans-speaking arrivals from the *platteland* (or farmlands of South Africa). Third, there were the migrants from Southern Europe who arrived mainly in the aftermath of World War II, and also the colonial Portuguese who came in the 1970s with the decolonization of Mozambique and Angola. Finally, there were the migrants who arrived after the massive political transformations in South Africa in the early 1990s, including black, Indian and coloured South Africans, but also international migrants from across Africa, and elsewhere. Each wave of migrants is discussed is below.

The spaces of the white working class (1880s–1933)

The discovery of the Main Reef along the Witwatersrand in 1886 was the magnet for fortune seekers from diverse parts of the world, including all corners of the UK; the dominions of the British Empire; large areas of Continental Europe; the Russian Empire and the gold fields of the USA. A collective white working class identity was forged from these diverse streams largely in response to the threats posed by less costly black African and indentured Chinese labour (Davies, 1979; Wolpe, 1976).

It was, however, a fractured and fluid identity, with persisting divides along ethnic, religious and income lines. This was reflected spatially with different segments of the working class occupying different parts of the city, producing a local geography of the white working class that has received little scholarly attention (an exception being Lange, 2003).

English speakers generally formed the upper strata of the working class and occupied the better located suburbs, near to the mines and the centre of town, and also close to the tramway, the public transport network of the time. The English-speaking working class was the most unionized, forming the powerbase of the Labour Party of South Africa – which was highly influential in local politics, even gaining control of the Johannesburg Town Council for a period after World War I (Dubow, 2009; Lambert, 2005).

The Jewish, and Yiddish-speaking, immigrants from the Pale of Settlement in the Russian Empire were petty traders rather than miners, and found an entry into the city in slums of Doornfontein; later moving in a north westerly direction, through Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville, as they climbed the income and social ladder. They rapidly assimilated into the white English-speaking community, while retaining their religious traditions (Rubin, 2005).

The Afrikaner working class was lower down the social hierarchy, and was a struggling minority grouping in English-dominated Johannesburg. Afrikaners established a foothold in the city's western suburbs, close to areas of black African, Indian and coloured occupation. They resisted assimilation into the majority English-speaking society, consolidating their own identity and developing their own social, religious and educational institutions (Stals, 1978, 1986).

The newly developing southern suburbs of Johannesburg were not attractive to Johannesburg's middle-class and social elite as they were downwind of the mines, and had

a generally harsh micro-climate. They were, however, relatively well positioned for white workers and, importantly, were serviced by a tramline. The southern suburbs were thus dominated from their early years by the 'labour aristocracy'; English-speaking artisans and mine-workers. And although they became more ethnically mixed from the 1930s, these suburbs retained a white English-speaking majority until the 1990s. There were enclaves of Afrikaner preponderance, and a small minority of Jews clustered around the La Rochelle and Ophirton synagogues (Rubin, 2005).

In 1896, the Johannesburg Sanitary Board, an incipient Town Council, conducted a census of the town and its surrounding areas. At that time, there were 2912 people living in the southern suburbs of which 1997 were white, 763 black, 137 of mixed race and 42 Asian (Johannesburg Sanitary Board, 1896).

The black population was divided equally between Basotho and Zulu speakers, was overwhelmingly male and almost all in the working age category. The white population on the other hand had come mainly from the Cape Colony (42%) and Great Britain (22%) with smaller percentages from other parts of South Africa, and tiny minorities from Australia, Holland, Russia and Germany. The population was overwhelmingly Protestant (91%) without the Jewish presence of other parts of town (Johannesburg Sanitary Board, 1896).

There was a well-balanced demographic structure, unexpectedly family-oriented for a new mining town, with around 80% of adults married and living with their spouses, and 46% of the population under the age of 19. The embryonic 'South' was, it would seem, a place to bring up children; a space of 'working-class respectability'. It was not the stereotypical rough 'n tumble, male-dominated domain that is conjured up by images of early Johannesburg (Johannesburg Sanitary Board, 1896).

The population was distinctly working class with only 5.2% of the working age population in the professions, one-half of the average for the town. The dominant activities were domestic work (34.3%), industry/mining (31.5%) and trade (22.9%) (Johannesburg Sanitary Board, 1896).

This did not, however, translate immediately into a working class identity. More important than class identity was a sense of 'Britishness'. In the 1910 General Election which inaugurated the Union of South Africa, the Turffontein Constituency, returned H. Wyndham, a resolutely pro-British Unionist as its Member of Parliament (MP). He was elected again in 1915 (AHI, 1987).

A sense of white working class solidarity evolved gradually, almost certainly spurred on by the success of the 1913 General Strike and the threats of cheaper black labour replacing whites on the mines. In 1919, Turffontein returned a Labour Party MP but loyalties vacillated and a year later the constituency voted in an MP from General Smuts' South African Party (SAP) which represented the emergence of a broad white South African identity, rather than class or language interests.

In 1922, white workers along the Witwatersrand took to the streets in a bloody rebellion. The 'southern suburbs', with its ambiguous sense of working class loyalty, was not the heartland of rebellion in the ways that suburbs like Brixton and Fordsburg were. Krikler (2005) reports, however, that English and Afrikaner workers drilled together in commando formation on the streets in the 'southern suburbs'.

This intersection of interests was reinforced in 1924 when the Afrikaner Nationalists under General Hertzog came into power in a coalition with the (mainly English) Labour Party. Turffontein elected a Labour Party MP. Ironically, however, this was the beginning of the end of the Labour Party as the new, so-called 'Pact Government' co-opted the white labour movement in South Africa by introducing a policy of Job Reservation to protect the interests of white workers, and by providing employment for these workers in nationalized

industries. In 1929, SAP took Turffontein and was returned unopposed in 1933, also winning the newly established Rosettenville constituency in the same year (AHI, 1987). Soon, also, the rise of an exclusive Afrikaner nationalism ended any prospect of a hybridized white labour identity transcending language divisions. Visser (2005, p. 141) reports on the 'growth of a distinct Afrikaner working class consciousness and a sense of cultural distance from English-speaking workers'.

The rise of Afrikanerdom: 1933–1948

In the 1930s, against the backdrop of the Great Depression and a severe drought, there was a flood of 'poor white' Afrikaners from rural areas to the Witwatersrand, which Van Jaarsveld (1982) referred to as 'the last Great Trek'. The City Council responded by separating the 'poor whites' from the other groups and placing them in municipally owned rental accommodation. Here 'ex-slum residents could be rehabilitated into "reliable citizens"' (Parnell, 1987, p. 11).

One such scheme, patronizingly known as Welfare Park (later renamed South Hills), was provided for white families removed from slums near the inner city. The proposal to develop around 2000 sub-economic houses in Welfare Park was received with dismay by the 'respectable' English-speaking residents of the southern suburbs, and was vigorously opposed by the Southern Suburbs Ratepayers Association (Parnell, 1987, 1988).

Welfare Park was eventually proclaimed in 1942 but was not developed at the scale initially envisaged due to a constricted wartime economy, and only 500 houses were built. However, the development of this estate did change the social mix of the southern suburbs. While home-owning English-speakers remained the majority, there was now a sizable grouping of welfare-dependent Afrikaans-speakers who lived as tenants in state-owned housing.

In 1938 and 1943, the constituencies in the southern suburbs returned United Party (UP) candidates. In 1948, the Afrikaner Nationalists triumphed nationally, but in the southern suburbs, the UP retained control of Turffontein, and an electoral pact between the Labour Party and the UP gave Rosettenville to the Labour Party. It was the last gasp of the Labour Party, however. The local MP, Alex Hepple, who was also the leader of the party, alienated his conservative working class constituents by calling for non-racialism and forming an alliance with the Congress Movement. He was soundly rejected in the 1958 General Election when the UP won Rosettenville with a large majority.

From then on, the contest was between the mainly English-supported UP and the National Party which, under H.F Verwoerd, reshaped its identity from being primarily about Afrikaner nationalism to being about the preservation of white civilization against the 'onslaught 'of Communism and black majority rule. In 1966, the mainly English Turffontein constituency elected a National Party MP and Rosettenville followed in 1977.

Post-war immigration

In the post-war period, new diversity was introduced into the Old South with the arrival of immigrants from Southern Europe. They filled the gap left as English speakers moved from the core of the 'Old South' as they were elevated into the middle classes. Some of the English speakers moved north but others relocated within the south to a new clutch of suburbs – Mondeor, Robertsham, Linmeyer and Alan Manor – which were proclaimed in the late 1940s to meet the demand of returning servicemen with middle class aspirations. Today, these suburbs may be regarded as lower middle class, as the real

splurge of middle class development in the south of Johannesburg happened from the late 1960s as pent-up demand for middle class homes, following two decades of rapid economic growth in South Africa, coincided with large scale freeway construction around Johannesburg.

The first of the new European immigrants came shortly after World War II as part of General Smuts' short-lived attempt to plug the skills gap in South Africa (Peberdy, 2009). Greeks, Portuguese, Poles and Italians were among those who found entry into Johannesburg through the relatively affordable 'southern suburbs'.

The scheme came to an end when the Afrikaner nationalists came to power. They preferred Protestant Germans and Dutch to dark-skinned Catholic Mediterraneans. By the 1960s, however, skills shortages were so great, and the need to counter the growing black population so urgent, that the National Party government relaxed its immigration policies, allowing for an expanded influx of European immigrants (Glaser, 2010; Peberdy, 2009).

The largest influx was Portuguese. They arrived in three waves – initially from the impoverished island of Madeira; then in the 1960s from mainland Portugal and, finally, in the mid-1970s, from Mozambique and Angola where white colonial rule had suddenly collapsed (Glaser, 2010). The Portuguese clustered in La Rochelle, Regent's Park and parts of Rosettenville and Turffontein, changing the character of these areas. In La Rochelle, at least, the Portuguese were to be the majority (Browett & Hart, 1977).

The post-war youth cultures reflected both the divisions of ethnicity and common spatial loyalties. The 1950s was the Ducktail era and it featured strongly in these suburbs, but the gang cultures amongst the white working class persisted through the following three decades (Mooney, 1998). The gangs in the 'southern suburbs' were generally ethnically based and highly territorial, at a micro-level at least. An Internet blog on 'Gangs of Johannesburg 70s and 80s'reflects the ethnic divides:

> The Lebs – (A group of Lebanese immigrants), The Greeks, The Italians, The South Hill Gang (consisted mainly of big Afrikaans speaking guys who all played rugby). But in those days if you professed to know anyone who was part of a gang, you were left alone and people wouldn't pick on you . . . .
>
> I remember at one stage if you drove down Verona street in Rosettenville and got to High street in the dip, all the kids that lived on the right hand side of the street and up went to Hill High and all the kids who lived on the left and up towards Towerby went to Forest High . . . majority of La Rochelle United attend Forest and spoke Portuguese, The Hill had the "Cockney Rebels" which was started up (I think) by the Falconer brothers. Majority of the cockney rebels would have either been born in Britain or descendants of British. (Wondering Woman, 2006)

Within the South, there was also fine-grained intra-class differentiation which had a partial ethnic overlay. Among the poorer communities, for example, were the Afrikaners from South Hills and the Portuguese from La Rochelle. Recent postings on Internet blogs and Facebook pages indicate a proud affirmation of coming from these places which might otherwise carry a stigma:

> i am a pora from the south . . . wen la rochelle use to be lilportugal now residing in the hill.
>
> born an bred in south hills aka storks aka pram valley [a reference to the colloquial name for South Hills, which is "Storks" referring to the number of unplanned pregnancies in the suburb]. (Facebook, 2012)

However, despite these territorialities, there was also a sense of being together in the South: 'People in the South were a team, a community, the groups were not 'gangs' per se-they stuck together culturally' (J. Callisto, personal communication, February 21, 2011).

This is apparent, for example, on a Facebook Page devoted to nostalgic reminiscence to growing up in the Old South:

> The south was our playground, and our educator on life . . . the south still lives in me each and every day, in any case, no other area had a patch on us, and let's face it no one but no one messed with us when we were asked where we were from and answered THE SOUTH!!!! The South rocks, you can take me out of the south, but you cna't (sic) take the south out of me . . . .
>
> Okes and chicks the south will still kick the crap out of the north, east and west . . . . (Facebook, 2012)

Despite ethnic territoriality, there was also hybridity, including a common patois which was concocted from a blend of English, Afrikaans, Cockney rhythm, Americanisms and words taken from immigrant languages (Mooney, 1998).

By the late 1960s, there was a strong 'idea of the South' that went beyond youth culture. It was a counterpoint to what was perceived as being 'the North'. While 'the North' was haughty, condescending, intellectual and effete, 'the South' was physical, practical, straight-talking and uncomplicated (Focus Group 1, March 2011). Stewart (2004, pp. 134–135) wrote of the proletarian 'South' that 'There was no norm of an intellectual culture here. There were elements of a hearty and mean local chauvinism'.

In recent times, there has been a massive outpouring of nostalgia for this place, 'the South' (that is increasingly known as the 'Old South' – to distinguish it from newer affluent suburbs further south) on Internet blogs and Facebook pages, and also revealed in Focus Group 1. The nostalgia is often connected with places such as hotels, road houses, cinemas, community halls and eating spots, and with sports such as boxing, rugby, soccer, horse racing and pigeon racing. The memory is of a perceived heyday in the 1960s and early 1970s before television took community life into private spaces, and a gathering gloom over white South Africa dampened the passions of working class life. The era of white working class domination had a prolonged ending, but it finally came to an end in the mid-1990s.

Post-apartheid migrants

The ending of apartheid brought profound change to the 'Old South' although the transition began before the formal ending of Apartheid with black and Indian South Africans moving into the area from at least the late 1980s as will and capacity to implement the Group Areas Act crumbled.

By the 1996 census, however, the 'Old South' was still, clearly, a predominantly white working class space, although with pockets of lower middle-class residence. About 64% of residents in the 'Old South' were white, with 23% black African, 7% coloured and 5% Indian/Asian. It was only in and around the industrial areas of the mining belt (e.g. Selby) and adjacent Soweto (e.g. Meredale) that black Africans were in a near majority. Despite the origins of the white communities in Europe, almost all residents had acquired South African citizenship, with only 3% of the total being non-South African. Foreign citizenship was highest where the Portuguese population clustered, but even there levels of foreign citizenry were modest (for example, 9% in La Rochelle). Almost all non-South Africans were from the UK and Europe with a tiny sprinkling from other southern African countries, and almost no migrants from other countries in Africa.

There was a sense in which the 'Old South' had reached a stable equilibrium by the early 1990s, and had made a transition from being a space of transnational residence to having both a South African and local identity (Table 1).

Table 1. Demographic changes in the 'Old South' of Johannesburg, 1996 and 2011 (with race categories as a percentage of suburb populations).

Suburb	Black 1996	Black 2011	Coloured 1996	Coloured 2011	Asian 1996	Asian 2011	White 1996	White 2011
Crown Gardens	11	25	3	18	3	21	81	29
Elandspark	24	47	4	8	7	16	62	27
Forest Hill	28	69	7	11	3	3	61	16
Kenilworth	18	79	6	7	2	3	71	11
La Rochelle	27	88	8	5	3	1	60	7
Meredale	40	71	14	19	3	4	40	5
Mondeor	19	45	6	16	4	14	69	23
Oakdene	20	29	3	7	5	11	70	52
Regent's Park	28	76	5	8	2	3	64	13
Ridgeway	27	45	10	12	10	24	53	17
Robertsham	16	17	5	6	17	51	61	23
Rosettenville	25	77	6	7	3	2	65	12
South Hills	15	51	7	12	2	3	76	33
The Hill	20	30	1	9	1	5	76	56
Turffontein	27	82	7	6	3	2	62	9
West Turffontein	12	49	17	30	4	4	64	17
Winchester Hills	21	47	4	9	10	25	63	16
Total[a]	23	57	7	11	5	10	64	21

Note: The figures do not always add to 100% as a result of rounding to the nearest percentage and because of the population category 'other'.
Source: Data for Census 1996 and Census 2011 available through subscription to Quantec Easydata.
[a] The total also includes the smaller suburbs of Alan Manor, Booysens, Chrisville, Electron, Gillview, Glenesk, Haddon, Klipriviersberg Estate, Lindberg Park, Moffat View, Ophirton, Queenshaven, Reuven, Rewlatch, Risana, Selby, Southdale, Springfield, Steeldale, Suideroord, Towerby, Townsview, Turf Club, Tulisa Park and Unigray.

From the mid-1990s, demographic transition has been rapid, and has not been entirely consistent with early readings of post-apartheid residential transformation which referred to the role of gated communities in the desegregation process (Landman, 2000); simultaneous processes of desegregation and segregation (Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002) and the general 'hesitancy' with desegregation as access to mortgage funding has been a barrier for black Africans, Indians and coloured in moving into previously white areas (Christopher, 2005).

The Old South does not illustrate hesitancy. The population of the 'Old South' nearly doubled between 1996 and 2011 from 87,500 to 170,597. Since this is a long-established residential area, and there has been very little change to the total footprint, this also represents a near doubling in occupation density.

The growth has been associated with a fundamental shift in the race structure of the area. By 2011, the racial composition had almost reversed: 57% of the population was black and only 21% white, with the coloured population increasing to 11%, and the Indian/Asian population to 10%. In terms of absolute numbers, black Africans grew from 19,817 to 96,782, while numbers of whites reduced from 56,354 to 35,671. The coloured population increased from 5856 to 18,915 and the Indian/Asian population from 4100 to 16,580. Of the 17 suburbs in the 'Old South' which had a population in 2011 of more than 4000 residents each, eight are now more than 50% black African (compared with none in 1996), one is more than 50% Indian/Asian, only two are still more than 50% white and six have no clear racial majority.

Although the broad pattern is of increasing black African dominance, there is considerable differentiation at a micro-scale. The gated communities referred to by Landman are largely absent in the Old South, and in terms of the overall mix of population, new forms of segregation are not as evident as in the centre and north of the city.

There is, however, a process in which white occupation is giving way to near black African predominance, and this may lead to new forms of racial enclaving. There are now two areas in the Old South of overwhelming black African majority. The first is the historic core of the 'Old South' including the suburbs of Rosettenville, La Rochelle, Kenilworth, Turffontein and Regent's Park. Here, more than three-quarters of population is now black African and the white population has plummeted in proportional and absolute terms. Although this area is separated from the inner city by the mining belt, demographic processes here are similar to those in the inner city, or at least to those in the previously white working class suburbs which immediately ring the inner city.

The barriers referred to by Christopher (2005) are hardly evident and this is because the move of black Africans into formerly white space is in large measure rental-based and does not require access to bank loans. With white flight, there is easy access to a large stock of good quality rental accommodation. In Rosettenville, Turffontein, Kenilworth and La Rochelle, around 80% of households in 2011 rented rather than owned their accommodation. This confirms the argument by Berrisford and Kihato (2008) that for migrants arriving in the city, land is more important as a place from which to access employment or to generate income than as a vehicle of asset accumulation (Berrisford & Kihato, 2008).

It would be incorrect to ascribe the changes in this area entirely to a replacement of owner-occupiers by renters. In the past, this historic core was always a mixture of owner-occupiers and renters. The 2006 Census reveals that ownership in these suburbs ranged between 40% and 50%. The current 20% ownership represents a significant decline in owner-occupation but not a wholesale replacement.

The other area is the interface with Soweto, and here dynamics are different as this is the home of an aspirant black African and coloured middle class. Already by 1996, for example, the racial composition of Meredale, for example, was highly mixed (40% black African and 40% white) but by 2011 most whites had left, with whites accounting for only 5% of the total population. Of the 2011 households, 66% were home owners, and 76% of the home owners held a mortgage or some other housing loan. Despite the well-known difficulties of accessing funding in the 'gap market', the aspirant black middle class had found the resources to settle in the 'Old South', or, rather, in the band of suburbs along the border of the Old South.

A previous study (Horn & Ngcobo, 2003) found that black African residents in desegregating, formally white, residential areas maintained strong social links where areas of previous residence in the historically black townships. The location of the emergent black middle class in the Old South in suburbs such as Meredale, so close to Soweto, supports this tendency.

In South Hills and immediate surrounds, there is now a black African majority (51%) but not overwhelming preponderance and there has not been a significant decline in the absolute numbers of whites. The 'poor white' population of South Hills has not had the resources to leave the area in the way that whites in suburbs such as Rosettenville and Meredale have had, and so the desegregation which has occurred has not followed the pattern of whites leaving and being replaced by blacks as suggested by Lemon (1991).

In 2011, whites were still the largest category in those suburbs that have historically been at the higher end of the working class income range, and that have relatively desirable

locations along the ridge or along the interface with the New South. These include Oakdene (65% white), Linmeyer (63%) and The Hill (56%).

The increasing absolute and proportional numbers of coloured and Indian/Asians have also had an impact on local geographies. The coloured population is concentrated in two areas. The major concentration is in western parts of the 'Old South' in suburbs such as Meredale, Mondeor, Ridgeway, Crown Gardens and West Turffontein (where the proportion of coloureds reached 30% in 2011). These suburbs are the closest to the historically coloured township of Eldorado Park, and may represent a social progression from the township into working class suburbs, also allowing new suburbanites continued social links with the township. West Turffontein has been historically Afrikaans-dominated and this may have attracted an Afrikaans-speaking coloured population, many of whom have settled in Bellavista, a state-built housing estate in the suburb.

The second concentration of coloured households is in the east in South Hills, which was 12% coloured in 2011, but also the smaller suburbs of Klipriviersberg Estate (38% coloured), Moffat View (34%) and Unigray (30%). These are historically 'poor white' Afrikaans-dominated suburbs. With the increase in the numbers of Afrikaans-speaking coloureds, the language profile, at least, remains roughly the same.

The Indian/Asian population is even more spatially focused. It is mainly Muslim, and of historically Indian origin, and has concentrated around the cluster of mosques that have been built since 1994 in the western part of the 'Old South' in the suburbs of Mondeor, Ridgeway, Robertsham and Winchester Hills. In 2011, the Indian/Asian population formed an absolute majority in Robertsham (51%) and accounted for about one-quarter of the population in the three other suburbs. This part of the 'Old South' is the most proximate to the Indian township of Lenasia, and also to the suburbs of Mayfair, Crosby and Fordsburg in the north across the mining belt where there is also now a strong Indian presence. A wide arc of Indian occupation is developing in the west of Johannesburg crossing the 'Old South'.

The Indian community is relatively affluent and, while much of the 'Old South' is becoming increasing poor in its income profile, these western suburbs are gentrifying, and have fairly buoyant property markets. There is no evidence of significant barriers to the expansion of the Indian population into previously white suburbs in the 'Old South'.

The other key shift in the 'Old South' is in terms of nation origin. It is not as marked as racial change but is significant in particular suburbs. The key trend here is the arrival of the African diaspora.

Table 2 provides data on citizenship that is comparable between 1996 and 2011. The data on country of birth are not used because of lack of comparability. The figures for foreign births are about 10% higher than for foreign citizenship and so the table may slightly under-represent the numbers of foreign migrants.

The table indicates a sharp increase in the numbers and proportions of foreign, or non-South African, citizens in the 'Old South'. Between 1996 and 2011, the numbers of foreign citizens increased about 10-fold in numbers from 2898 to 28,497, with a proportionate increase from 3% to 17% of the total. There was also a significant shift in the composition of foreign citizens. In 1996, two-thirds of foreign citizens in the 'Old South' were from outside Africa (almost all from the 'UK & Europe') but this had declined to only around 6% in 2011 (with a mixture from UK & Europe and Asia). The vast majority of migrants were from Africa, with the great majority from member states of the South African Development Community (SADC). A precise breakdown of migrants from the SADC and non-SADC states is, however, not possible as around one-third of non-South African

Table 2. Non-South African citizenship of residents in the 'Old South' of Johannesburg, 1996 and 2011 (as a percentage of total suburb populations).

Suburb	SADC 1996	SADC 2011	Other Africa 1996	Other Africa 2011	Non-Africa 1996	Non-Africa 2011	Unspecified 1996	Unspecified 2011	Total foreign 1996	Total foreign 2011
Crown Gardens	0	1	0	1	1	5	0	7	1	14
Elandspark	1	3	0	2	1	1	0	3	3	9
Forest Hill	1	12	0	2	3	0	0	7	4	21
Kenilworth	1	15	0	3	4	1	0	9	5	27
La Rochelle	2	18	0	4	6	0	1	13	9	35
Meredale	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	3	5
Mondeor	0	2	0	1	3	1	0	2	4	6
Oakdene	0	4	0	1	3	2	1	4	4	11
Regent's Park	1	12	0	3	5	0	0	7	6	23
Ridgeway	1	3	0	1	2	2	1	2	3	7
Robertsham	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	5	3	8
Rosettenville	2	14	0	4	4	0	0	12	6	30
South Hills	0	8	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	12
The Hill	1	4	0	1	3	2	1	4	4	11
Turffontein	1	13	0	3	2	0	0	8	2	24
West Turffontein	0	8	0	2	1	0	0	3	1	14
Winchester Hills	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	9
Total[a]	1	8	0	2	2	1	0	6	3	17

Source: Data for Census 1996 and Census 2011 available through subscription to Quantec Easydata.

[a] The total also includes the smaller suburbs of Alan Manor, Booysens, Chrisville, Electron, Gillview, Glenesk, Haddon, Klipriviersberg Estate, Lindberg Park, Moffat View, Ophirton, Queenshaven, Reuven, Rewlatch, Risana, Selby, Southdale, Springfield, Steeldale, Suideroord, Towerby, Townsview, Turf Club, Tulisa Park and Unigray.

citizens in the 2011 census did not give their citizenship, possibly reflecting high levels of anxiety within an overtly hostile environment.

The figures released by Census 2011 do provide a valuable indication of socio-spatial processes across the 'Old South' although debates around accuracy will persist, particularly in relation to foreign migrants. The Census data must be complemented with qualitative studies that explore the socio-cultural and socio-spatial outcomes of these processes.

There are still very few studies that investigate the everyday experience of demographic transformation. Recent studies of Mondeor in the 'Old South' suggest that the physical proximity of races does not necessarily lead to social integration, but this would need to be tracked over a longer period (Jewan, 2008; McNally, 2010).

There is one study of a racially and ethnically mixed school in the Southern Suburb. In 1995, the previously all-white Afrikaans-language Hoërskool J.G. Strijdom in South Hills opened its doors to all races and in 2005 changed its name to Diversity High School. Vandeyar and Jansen (2008) tell the intricate story of the school's transitioning from racial and language exclusivity to the current social diversity. The book points to the non-linearity of the change and the indeterminate outcomes.

The relationship between new immigrant communities and the white working class is complex. The dominant responses were 'flight' and 'fight' but a third response offers some hope for reconstructed spatial loyalties – a reformulation of the identity of the South as being about diversity.

'White flight' is a reality. A Portuguese resident who has lived in La Rochelle for 44 years remarks that the business services she was familiar with have disappeared or altered in character. Doctors and dentists have left; banks have closed down and shops have moved out to be replaced by small retail spaces run by Nigerians and Pakistanis (I. Dos Santos, personal communication, February 15, 2011).

Many remaining white residents identify the new immigrants with the physical decay of the area, and with increased levels of crime and other illicit activity. The ward councillors in the area are members of the Democratic Alliance (DA) and are mainly supported by white, Indian and coloured residents. In our interviews, they all lamented the extent to which the once safe and family-oriented 'Old South' is becoming associated with prostitution, drug-dealing, building hi-jacking and a general disregard for city by-laws. However, this perception resides alongside the view of the new migrants that the South is a place of relative order and safety, that the crime that does exist is predominantly perpetrated by South Africans and that the property decay follows from unscrupulous landlords (Focus Groups 2 & 3, April 2011).

Our observations and discussions with Estate Agents also reveal a variegated pattern of decay and rejuvenation across the 'Old South' which belies the common imagery of generalized decay. There is visible physical deterioration in parts of the 'Old South', including La Rochelle, and parts of Rosettenville, Turffontein and South Hills, but the physical quality of other suburbs such as Linmeyer, Forest View and The Hill is stable, and suburbs such as Robertsham and Ridgeway have strong property markets and are being refurbished as they attract affluent Muslim buyers (L. Birkenstock, personal communication, March 2, 2011).

A second response by some whites is an angry determination to resist the 'invasion' and restore lost territory. In 2001, the popular television magazine programme, Carte Blanche, exposed the 'the decline of the South' in a thinly veiled condonation of white vigilante activity. It featured the extra-legal activities of Nick Coetzee who ran a local block watch:

> Some call him their local hero, others a vigilante. He prowls the streets of Rosettenville day and night with just a few men. Nick Coetzee is a man with a mission: he wants his suburb back whatever the cost. "If I have to die, the Lord knows my soul, I die for a good cause . . . to give my family what I can, a good life", says Nick'. (Carte Blanche, 2001)

Over time, however, the impossibility of 'stemming the tide' of demographic shifts, of increased densification and of strain on building stock has been gradually accepted and crude attempts to conserve the ambience of the 'Old South' have been slowly replaced by efforts to better manage processes of change. Ward councillors and business organizations such as the Southern Johannesburg Business and Tourism Forum (SOJO) speak of 'urban management' and put constant pressure on the city administration to deal with building decay, unauthorized informal activity and by-law infringements.

There are also signs of declining white communities in the 'Old South' reframing their identities and relationship to place. There are, for example, tentative efforts to reformulate a spatial identity that was previously about white working class diversity to being about diversity in a more broadly constituted form. This was hesitantly suggested to us by a DA Ward Councillor and was also evident in the process which led to the naming of Diversity High School. The question now is whether, in the next 10 years, there will be a wholesale abandonment of the area by whites, or whether the racial demography will stabilize.

While the local media has picked up largely on white experience of the turbulent transition, little is known of how the new black residents are experiencing the change. Through our focus groups, we identified a number of complex intersections of space and belonging within the migrant communities. Our study is exploratory as there are multiple diasporic identities in the 'Old South', with diverse communities having different forms of spatial organization, and so generalization at this stage must be avoided.

We asked focus groups the specific question of whether there is any commonality in the use of space across divides of ethnicity, language and cultural origin, and were advised that space is generally strongly segregated:

> Let me tell you we live here in a segregated way. We live in groups. If you go to certain clubs and restaurants you will only find Angolans and Mozambicans. Others are for Nigerians. There is a place where the people are 90% Ghanaian. We all have our own particular spots and we know our spot. Everyone knows where to go and where not to go. (Focus Group 3, April 2011)

> If people speak French – we feel a connection. You feel at home. I am happy if I can speak French – I can feel that connection. (Focus Group 2, April 2011)

Mozambicans have concentrated disproportionately in the 'Old South' because of the comfort of a Portuguese-speaking environment and the access to jobs without the requirement of knowing English (Focus Group 3, April 2011). Recent studies focusing on Mozambicans in Johannesburg have emphasized the extreme marginality and transience of this community, with their limited sense of belonging in a city where they continually face the threats of xenophobia and police harassment. They conclude that the relationship between space and identity is extremely fragile, and that many Mozambicans deploy a tactic of invisibility to escape the attention of the host society (Ostanel, 2012; Vidal, 2010).

Ostanel (2012) does acknowledge, however, that there may be 'zones of exception', including particular pubs and eating spots, where Mozambicans congregate and feel a level of comfort and security. Our research does suggest that that the 'Old South' may, in broad terms, be a partial zone of exception. While our focus group respondents emphasized the sense of exclusion they felt from South African society, they also suggested that they entered fairly comfortably into the dominant language and cultural

framing of 'Rosettenville', and that they had a greater sense of ease living there than their less-privileged compatriots had living in the inner city and informal settlements (Focus Group 3, April 2011).

The relative ease experienced by black Mozambicans clearly has to do with the presence of white Portuguese speakers, perhaps ironic in terms of colonial histories. The relationship between white and black Portuguese speakers is complex but does suggest points of connection providing a degree of comfort to both communities. A long-standing white Portuguese resident of Rosettenville told us of her despair at being 'under siege' by foreign black migrants but also indicated her acceptance of Mozambicans:

> Local black people no problem but foreigners is a problem. But Mozambicans are like local people. (I. Dos Santos, personal communication, February 15, 2011)

Within the 'Old South', certain areas such as La Rochelle have been especially attractive to black Mozambicans, and here they have rented accommodation from white Portuguese and wealthy black Angolans who have bought into the area. There is, however, demographic fluidity in this rental housing market with Mozambicans referring to a recent 'invasion' by Nigerians (Focus Group 3, April 2011).

The lingering Portuguese influence may offer within the 'Old South' a particular identity for Mozambican migrants, at least, but it would seem that generally spatial identities rest less in broad areas, such as suburbs and clusters of suburbs, than in micro-spaces such as blocks of flats, Internet cafes, churches, hair salons, pubs, clubs, where one or other group may have a zone of comfort.

While the dominant narrative may be of socio-spatial divide amongst the black diaspora, and between the diaspora and host communities, there are points of intersection and crossover. One respondent argued that the infamous xenophobic attacks in Johannesburg during May 2008 strengthened linkages between the migrant communities:

> The xenophobia brought us together. We were all feeling like foreigners together. (Focus Group 2, April 2011)

Other respondents indicated that the fear of xenophobic attack has prompted them to disguise their national identities and learning vernacular South African languages ahead of learning English (Focus Group 2, April 2011).

Specific spaces of crossover include churches and schools, and here there may be tentative hybridizations. Nunez and Kankonde (2012) have mapped the location and ethnic origin of the many formal and informal churches in Rosettenville. They find that although the church leaders have strong linkages back to their home countries – mainly Congo and Nigeria, but also Brazil in the case of the popular Universal Church of the Kingdom of God – the congregations are often ethnically mixed. The Lebanese Maronite Church hosts a congregation that consists of 60% Lebanese but a 40% mixture of diverse groupings including congregants from the African diaspora (Father Maurice, personal communication, February 14, 2011).

Within the growing complexity and diversity of the reconstituted 'Old South', there may be a re-emergence of place identity. The new migrants do not employ the terms 'the South', the 'Old South' or the 'southern suburbs' in the way that white residents do but instead use the term 'Rosettenville' to refer generically to the entire area (Focus Group 3, April 2011). The very fact of naming gives the new residents a form of territorial identification, but the nature of this identity given by a largely transient and mainly tenant population is very different from that which evolved during the time of white working class occupation.

Conclusion

This study is an attempt to address both local assemblage and extra-territorial process. The Old South has a specific history and territoriality that continues to shape present-day outcomes but it is also the product of processes at a national level (e.g. the rise and decline of the white working class, the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, national immigration schemes, the ending of apartheid) and at an international level (white emigration from Europe, the collapse of the Portuguese colonies, political turbulence in Africa). The study points to a need for multi-scalar perspectives on socio-spatial change that connect across the current divides in urban studies.

The study also provides some insight into the complex patterning of socio-spatial change after apartheid, and may point towards new urban futures. The diversity of the 'Old South' is openly on display and raises questions about both the future of the 'Old South', but also about the future of urban life in South Africa more generally. Is the 'Old South' a 'space of hope' where new or revised forms of solidarity and commonality are being forged or are the new forms of proximity stoking new forms of social prejudice and also new fears? The answer is, invariably, multifaceted. As in the past this is not an area where outright hostility between groups is overtly present but neither does the area offer a model of harmony in diversity.

Our study also reveals a rapid process of desegregation as low-income migrants have exercised agency in appropriating space, and as the emergent and established black middle class also found spaces in previously white-majority suburbs. This process is more differentiated than literature has suggested to date. In some areas, there has been rapid desegregation as black Africans have moved into rental spaces, replacing previous white owner-occupiers. In other places, there has been a level of desegregation despite the unwillingness or inability of whites to move out. In slightly more affluent suburbs, there is also considerable diversity. In areas close to historically black, Indian or coloured townships, white property owners have been replaced by black property owners, but in other areas further away from these townships, white property owners remain in the majority. There is a complex geography and more area-based investigation is required if we are to develop a clearer sense of post-apartheid residential transformation. What is not clear is whether the current levels of racial residential mixing which characterize the 'Old South' will give way to single race dominance as in the inner city currently, and in a band of suburbs immediately around the inner city.

There are only fragmentary signs of new area-wide spatial loyalties. New forms of association may be emerging in the micro-spaces of the 'Old South', including churches, schools, sporting and entertainment venues, shopping centres and places of employment, and over time these may coalesce into meaningful new identities and forms of syncretism. There is, however, no guarantee that this will happen, especially given the large-scale transience of current population of the 'Old South' (or what we may more appropriately refer to as Greater Rosettenville to connect with one thread of emergent new identity).

Acknowledgements

We acknowledge the support of South Africa's National Research Foundation which has enabled this research through the South African Research Chairs Initiative. We also acknowledge the assistance of Miriam Maina, Melinda Silverman, Ori Ben Zeev and Isabella Kentridge.

Note

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