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1 Materialities, subjectivities and spatial transformation in Johannesburg

PHILIP HARRISON, GRAEME GOTZ, ALISON TODES AND CHRIS WRAY

Johannesburg and the city-region

This volume is an exploration of the extraordinary spatial changes in the city of Johannesburg in the period after the ending of apartheid. It builds upon an already flourishing literature on Johannesburg, offering as its principal contribution a balanced perspective that connects systematic, empirically grounded analyses of material trends with readings of the city's 'subjectivities' – the character of its fast-mutating neighbourhoods and the identities being forged in its diversity of places.

The volume focuses primarily on the area governed by the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, and uses data that are largely delineated by the municipal boundary. The analysis is, however, not rigidly restricted to the arbitrary edge of the city's administrative boundaries. Where appropriate, it extends to near-Johannesburg areas along what has historically been known as the Witwatersrand, the stretch of urban settlements along the old gold-mining belt. More importantly, the volume explicitly situates the development of Johannesburg within the changes under way across the broader metropolitan region of which it is a part, now commonly known as the Gauteng city-region.

The wider city-region also includes the Metropolitan Municipality of Tshwane, anchored on Pretoria, which has historically been the centre of government in South Africa, and a string of smaller cities and towns around Johannesburg which form an arc of mining and industrial activity. While this volume directs its major focus to Johannesburg, it does also emphasise the relationship of this city to these other areas, and the writing of the volume is being supplemented by work under way on the other components of the city-region.

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Plates 1 and 2 provide a spatial context for many of the places and cities mentioned in this volume.

Why Johannesburg?

A focus on Johannesburg is arguably important for at least two reasons. First, Johannesburg is the dynamo within the national economy and has a commanding position in the national social imagination for this reason. Scholarly attention to this city will, hopefully, inform policy development that is responsive to this reality.

For Johannesburg, the spatial changes under way have much to do with the city's primacy in the national space economy. It is a city with a vibrant private sector that is driving spatial development in a complex relationship with the regulatory frameworks and spatial policies of government. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 illustrate the significance of the city and city-region economy. As indicated in Table 1.1, both Johannesburg and the province of Gauteng (which forms the core but not the entirety of the city-region) account for a significant proportion of the national economy, and are expanding in their importance. Table 1.2 illustrates even more vividly the importance of Johannesburg and Gauteng, which have accounted for a disproportionately large share of economic and job growth since the ending of apartheid. In the context of South Africa's job scarcity and high unemployment, the role of this urban agglomeration in producing jobs is of considerable national importance, and South Africa's economic, spatial, migration, fiscal allocation and urban policies must surely take this into account.

	Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality		Gauteng province	
	1996	2011	1996	2011
Proportion of national population	6.5	8.6	19.3	23.7
Proportion of national Gross Value Added	11.8	13.7	33.0	35.2
Proportion of employed persons in South Africa	10.3	12.8	29.6	33.8

TABLE 1.1: Proportional contribution of Johannesburg and Gauteng province to national population and economy, 1996 and 2011

Sources: For population data, Stats SA (1998, 2012); Quantec (2013)

The second reason for focusing on Johannesburg and its wider region as objects of study extends far beyond the significance to South Africa. Johannesburg has been recognised in international urban literature as an exemplar of urbanity in the global South. During the apartheid era, Johannesburg's processes of urban change were largely viewed as being the product of a uniquely South African configuration, but today links are often drawn between

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	Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality	Gauteng province
Proportion of national population increase, 1996–2011	15.9	39.3
Proportion of national increase in Gross Value Added, 1996–2011	17.0	39.0
Proportion of national increase in employed persons, 1996–2011	18.8	43.7

TABLE 1.2: The share of Johannesburg and Gauteng in the expansion of population, jobs and Gross Value Added, 1996–2011

Sources: For population data, Stats SA (1998, 2012); Quantec (2013)

Johannesburg and urban transformations elsewhere in the world, and especially in other cities of the global South.

Beall et al. (2002: 3) wrote, for example, that 'Johannesburg has become the imagined spectre of our urban future' while Robinson (2003: 260) argued that 'Johannesburg is an antidote to [a] divisive tradition in urban studies and a practical example of how cities can be imagined outside of the global/developmentalist division'. Murray (2004: 141) used Johannesburg, together with Sao Paulo, to provide examples of 'the dystopian dimensions of postmodern urbanism' while Mbembe (2008: 37) wrote more optimistically that 'if there is ever an African form of metropolitan modernity, then Johannesburg will have been its classical location'. In all these writings, Johannesburg is not studied as an object in itself but as a compelling 'case in point'.

Since around 2000 there has, indeed, been a growing scholarship on the City of Johannesburg, with the production of a number of volumes on change in the city which we will discuss in more detail below. This body of work has established a growing local and global readership, and has contributed greatly to an understanding of the many dimensions of change in the city. However, there is a need for a careful and updated assessment of the rapidly transfiguring spatial landscape of Johannesburg in relation to intersecting processes in society and the economy during the post-apartheid era. Some books have focused more on cultural innovation than on spatial transformation, while others provide accounts of spatial change that are now relatively dated, with very little information on processes since 2000. There is also a tendency to address spatial change generically in terms of broad categories, rather than in relation to the specifics of actual places in the city, although there are some obvious exceptions in place-centred studies, such as the volumes on Diepsloot (Harber 2011) and Alexandra (Bonner and Nieftagodien 2008). In our assessment, the existing scholarship does not engage *sufficiently* with the diversity of spatial arrangements within Johannesburg and its wider region, and as a result the city's extraordinarily rapid and bewilderingly complex spatial developments remain inadequately analysed.

This introductory chapter has four objectives: to provide a brief contextual account of

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economic, demographic, physical and administrative transformations in Johannesburg through the post-apartheid era; to contextualise the book within evolving *discursive* representations of Johannesburg; to explain the intended contributions and orientations of the book in relation to the existing literature; and to outline the structure and content of the volume.

Context: Johannesburg in transformation

The construction and transformation of Johannesburg, from the discovery of gold in 1886 until the ending of apartheid in 1994, is described in some detail by Keith Beavon in *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City* (2004), with a popular account also in Brodie's *The Jo'burg Book* (2009). These books and others – including Beall et al.'s *Uniting a Divided City* (2002), Murray's *Taming the Disorderly City* (2008) and *City of Extremes* (2011), and Chipkin's *Johannesburg: Architecture in Transition* (2008) – do extend analysis of change in Johannesburg into the post-apartheid era but were produced before data from Census 2011 – and in some instances, even from Census 2001 – were available and so must be complemented by more recent analysis.

The results of the 2011 national population Census and of various other datasets produced by Statistics South Africa and by private agencies suggest that Johannesburg has experienced profound economic and socio-spatial transformations since the ending of apartheid, and compel us to investigate processes in detail across scales. In this introduction, we contextualise the detailed work in the volume in terms of four major dimensions of material change: the expanding, tertiarising economy; the growing, changing population; the increasingly complex, densifying spatial form; and the restructured, gradually stabilising governance arrangements for this expanding city.

An expanding, tertiarising economy

The size of Johannesburg's economy grew relatively fast in the period 1996–2011, at least in comparison to the national economy. Between 1996 and 2011, the Gross Value Added (GVA) of Johannesburg's economy expanded by 87.7 per cent compared to a national increase of 61.8 per cent. The differential between growth in Johannesburg and nationally was greater in relation to employment, with Johannesburg's economy proving to be relatively labour absorptive. In South Africa, the number of individuals with jobs increased by 43 per cent compared with 79 per cent for Johannesburg. The unemployment rate for Johannesburg dropped modestly from 29.4 per cent to 25 per cent, indicating that jobs were being produced at a rate faster than the increase of the working-age population, although insufficiently fast to significantly reduce unemployment.

As the economy expanded, so its structure continued to change. The transition from a mining to a manufacturing economy, and then to a service economy, was well over by the mid 1990s when South Africa entered the age of democracy (see Beall et al. 2002; Harrison and Zack 2012). In 1996, 70 per cent of GVA and 71 per cent of employment in

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Johannesburg was within tertiary industries. Around one-quarter of GVA and employment was in secondary sectors, with an almost negligible proportion in primary sectors despite the historical roots of the city in mining. Between 1996 and 2011, the process of tertiarisation continued unabated, as indicated in Table 1.3.

Sector (Standard Industrial Classification codes)	Contribution to Johannesburg's total GVA		Contribution to Johannesburg's total employment	
	1996	2011	1996	2011
Primary				
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	0.3	0.4	1.0	1.0
Mining and quarrying	2.6	1.6	1.6	0.8
Sub total	2.9	2.0	2.6	1.8
Secondary				
Manufacturing	20.9	15.8	16.0	10.8
Electricity, gas and water	2.9	2.0	0.6	0.7
Construction	3.3	4.1	9.5	4.8
Sub-total	27.1	21.9	26.1	16.3
Tertiary				
Wholesale and retail trade, catering and accommodation	16.1	15.5	22.4	22.8
Transport, storage and communication	6.5	9.5	6.6	5.6
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	24.5	32.9	18.1	27.0
Community, social and personal services	4.9	4.5	14.0	15.1
General government	18.0	13.7	10.2	11.4
Sub-total	70.0	76.1	71.3	81.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 1.3: Structural change in Johannesburg's economy, 1996–2011
Source: Quantec (2013)

The major driver of this structural change was the cluster of industries in the finance, insurance, real estate and business services sector, which expanded its contribution to GVA and employment significantly. The big loser, in relative terms, was manufacturing although this sector did see marginal absolute growth (and so Johannesburg cannot be characterised

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as deindustrialising). Mining was a tiny sector in 1996, and continued to decline in both relative and absolute terms.

A growing, changing population

The growth in the economy, and especially in employment, has attracted large numbers of work seekers to Johannesburg. In 1996, shortly after the ending of apartheid, the enumerated population of Johannesburg was well over 2.5 million (2 634 126). In the 15 years until 2011 it increased by 68.4 per cent to almost 4.5 million (4 434 828).[1] During the same period, the national population grew by only 28 per cent.

Importantly, the number of households in Johannesburg increased by 96 per cent, significantly faster than the population increase. This reflects the decline in average household size from 3.5 to 2.9 over the 15-year period, and has had major implications for the demand for accommodation and household services.

Johannesburg's reputation as a 'city of migrants' was reinforced over this time period, with in-migration accounting for nearly 60 per cent of the population growth. Migrants came mainly from elsewhere in South Africa, but there was also a considerable influx from international destinations, especially from sub-Saharan Africa. In 1996, the enumerated population of Johannesburg was overwhelmingly South African, with only 2.8 per cent of the population having non-South African citizenship. By 2011, 12.7 per cent of the enumerated population had a foreign citizenship.

The demographic structure of the city shifted marginally between 1996 and 2011, with the gender distribution remaining almost evenly balanced at around 50.1 per cent male and 49.9 per cent female. There was some change in age distribution, however, with a slight decline in the proportion of children (0–14 years), and a modest increase in the proportion of youth (15–30 years).[2] With the increase in the working-age population, the dependency ratio (the proportion of non-working-age population to working-age population) for Johannesburg declined modestly from 41.1 to 37.6. The big change, however, was in terms of race, as indicated in Table 1.4.[3]

Race category	Population in 1996 (%)	Population in 2011 (%)	Percentage absolute change 1996–2011
African	70.2	76.6	83.6
Coloured	6.5	5.6	46.2
White	18.7	12.2	10.0
Indian/Asian	3.7	4.8	120.0
Other	0.9	0.8	49.0
Total	100.0	100.0	68.4

TABLE 1.4: Change in the race composition of Johannesburg's population, 1996–2011
Source: Stats SA (1998, 2012)

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The African population is increasingly dominant, accounting for more than three-quarters of the total population by 2011. By contrast, there was a significant relative decline in the size of the white population, and only a marginal absolute increase. Among the smaller groupings, there was a significant proportional increase in the size of the population of Indian/Asian descent, driven mainly by a wave of in-migration from Asia, and a slight proportional decline in the size of the coloured population, which is not benefiting from in-migration.

Comparing changes in terms of class is more complex given definitional issues, and also the lack of comparability between the 1996 and 2011 censuses in terms of enumerated income categories. It is clear, however, that there were two key processes affecting distribution of population by class: first, the expansion of the black middle class, but second, as a counter-trend, the influx of work seekers who are part of the broad category of urban poor.

An increasingly complex, densifying spatial form

The economic changes have increased the complexity of the spatial form, leading to the growth of an intricate network of decentralised economic nodes. The major growth in GVA and employment has happened in the spatially flexible tertiary sector, and especially in business services; this has propelled the development of dispersed office nodes, following patterns of commercial decentralisation which were well established before 1994. The growing complexity of urban form has reinforced the importance of the transport sector, the expansion of which is revealed spatially in the expanding infrastructure supporting the private automobile, but also in the continually developing minibus taxi industry (a form of 'privatised' public transport) and investments in public transport, including the Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) system and the rapid rail system (known as the Gautrain).

While the manufacturing sector has grown little overall, there has been a patchwork of spatial change relating to this sector, with the stagnation or decline of some nodes and the development of a small number of new nodes. Traces of mining still exist but this is a sector of mainly historic importance in terms of physical production, although Johannesburg remains a key node globally within a corporate network of mining-related firms. The old mining tracts remain a belt of partial dereliction, although there is a gradual infill of industrial, recreational and residential activities as land is rehabilitated.

The bulk of new development is in the residential sector. In the 15 years between 1996 and 2011, the city had to accommodate over 68 per cent more people. The key question is whether this happened through the expansion of the urban footprint or through the densification of the existing urban fabric. To measure this we need to compare population increase with the increase in the extent of the *built-up* area of the city.

The difficulty in analysing the degree of densification is matching the data on population and on city expansion. In a major international study, Professor Shlomo Angel of New York University identified Johannesburg as one of the few cities in the

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world experiencing real densification. Using satellite imagery and population data, Angel explored density trends in 120 cities worldwide and concluded that in all regions of the world urban densities are decreasing, and that this is happening at an average rate of 1.7 per cent per annum.[4] In contrast to cities internationally, the urban densities of Johannesburg were *increasing* at around 1.7 per cent per annum (Angel et al. 2012).

Angel's data were, however, for the period 1990 to 2000, and so a question is whether these trends have persisted since then. Analysis based on two different methods suggests that they have. One method employs GeoTerraImage (GTI) Growth Indicator Data for 2001 and 2009 to estimate growth in the built-up area, and compares this with population figures from the 2001 and 2011 population Censuses.[5] For the period 2001–2009 there was a 28.9 per cent increase in population but only a 10.8 per cent increase in the built-up area of Johannesburg. The result was a 16.4 per cent increase in the population density within the built-up area (5 575 p/km^2– 6 479 p/km^2), equating to a 1.8 per cent density increase per annum. Another method uses a projection of the urban/built-up area of Johannesburg in 2000 from the National Land Cover 2000 (NLC2000) dataset, and determines the population growth inside and outside this built-up area between 2001 and 2011 from Census data. This method shows that Johannesburg's population grew 73.3 per cent outside the 2000 urban extent, and only 26.7 per cent inside it. However, in absolute numbers the growth inside the built-up area was larger – 661 470 versus 547 460 – and so densities here increased 26.7 per cent from 4 534 p/km^2 to 5 744 p/km^2 between 2001 and 2011 (see Chapter 2).

We may conclude that Johannesburg is a densifying city, contrary to international trends. Although Johannesburg remains relatively low density in international terms,[6] it is not factually correct to represent the city as a sprawling metropolis in which the patterns of the past are simply being perpetuated. This densification is happening as the pent-up demand to move closer to jobs and services has been released with the ending of apartheid. It is a positive process that requires adequate management.

The remaining question is the form that residential growth and densification is taking in Johannesburg (see Table 1.5). A comparison of the 1996 and 2011 Censuses reveals the increasing dominance of detached dwellings on separate stands, which has been reinforced by subsidised housing programmes introduced by the government after 1994 (the so-called RDP housing).[7] Another area of growth has been townhouse or cluster development, mainly on the edge of the city, but contributing to overall densification through the medium-density nature of this development. New developments have generally not included blocks of flats, reflected in the slight decline in the proportion of households in this form of dwelling. However, there has been densification through increased occupancy of flats, especially in inner-city precincts, and so absolute numbers of households in flats have increased.

In 1996, 21.4 per cent of households in Johannesburg lived in shacks in informal settlements or in backyard accommodation. This proportion declined to 17.4 per cent in 2011, arguably as a result of the state's housing subsidy programme and the rapid expansion

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	1996 population Census		2011 population Census		Change in number of households
	No. of households	% of households	No. of households	% of households	
House or brick structure on separate stand	325 446	45.3	764 237	53.3	438 791
Traditional dwelling	3 098	0.4	5 684	0.4	2 586
Flat in block of flats	80 843	11.2	144 468	10.1	63 625
Townhouse/cluster/semi-detached house	47 292	6.6	143 395	10.0	96 103
House/flat/room in backyard	87 903	12.2	95 501	6.7	7 598
Informal dwelling/shack in backyard	57 969	8.1	123 977	8.6	66 008
Informal dwelling/shack elsewhere	95 480	13.3	125 788	8.8	30 308
Room/flatlet on shared property	13 095	1.8	20 426	1.4	7 331
Caravan/tent	820	0.1	784	0.1	-36
Other	7 217	1.0	10 595	0.7	3 378
Total	719 164		1 434 855		715 691

TABLE 1.5: Change in the number of dwelling types in Johannesburg, 1996–2011[8]

Source: Stats SA (1998, 2012)

Note: There are minor discrepancies in the categories of dwelling used in the 1996 and 2011 Censuses but this does not have a major effect on the statistical outcome.

of formal housing. There has, however, been a shift in the pattern of informality, from free-standing informal settlement to backyard accommodation, as households have moved to areas with higher levels of service. Two-thirds of the increase in informal accommodation has happened within the backyards of formal houses, with the percentage of shacks in backyards increasing from 38 per cent to nearly 50 per cent.

Johannesburg's residential sector has expanded and densified through both formal and informal processes. In this process there has been a degree of cross-racial residential integration, although the growing demographic dominance of Africans limits the possibilities of this happening across the city. Harrison (2013) explored changes in the levels of racial integration per ward in Johannesburg between 1996 and 2011. There was a modest increase in well-integrated wards where no one race group had more than 50 per cent dominance – from 5.5 per cent to 10.8 per cent of wards. There was, however, also an increase in wards with extreme levels of segregation, with a more than 90 per cent dominance of one race –

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from 48.7 per cent to 54.6 per cent of wards. While previously white middle-class suburbs are gradually desegregating with the movement of the black middle class into these areas, historically black townships remain almost exclusively black, while new black enclaves have emerged in the inner city and in previously white working-class suburbs around the inner city. We therefore must conclude ambivalently on the question of whether Johannesburg is becoming a more residentially integrated city.

Restructured, gradually stabilising governance arrangements

The task of governing Johannesburg has become more complex and demanding as the population and the economy have expanded. When the first democratic election was held in 1994 for the national and provincial legislatures, local administration in Johannesburg was still racially divided and highly fragmented.

Between 1996 and 2001 there was a transitional period as the previously racially delineated local authorities were amalgamated into new democratic municipal structures. A two-tier metropolitan structure was set up with a Transitional Metropolitan Council sharing power with local councils. This relatively complex arrangement contributed to a financial crisis in 1997 which threatened to derail progress towards transformed metropolitan government. The crisis prompted action from national and provincial governments, and measures were taken to curtail expenditure and to restructure the city administration.

Far-reaching institutional transformations at the end of 2000 included the establishment of a single-tier, consolidated metropolitan authority, and the corporatisation of service delivery with the creation of city-owned companies to provide water and sanitation, electricity, waste management and other functions. While the single-tier authority was widely accepted as a means to realise the ideals of integrated planning and resource redistribution, corporatisation was stridently opposed by labour unions and a coalition of civic associations that came together in the Anti-Privatisation Forum.

Within the frame of these new metropolitan government and corporatised service-delivery structures, city finances were stabilised and long-term development strategies put in place. After around 2005 there was relative stability as the city sought to manage competing imperatives such as apartheid redress, delivery to a mainly low-income political constituency, and fiscal sustainability. On the foundation provided by this stability, major new initiatives were mounted, including the introduction of BRT as a new form of public transport (in addition to the rapid rail system introduced by the provincial government); preparations for the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup; the development of the historically African townships of Soweto and Alexandra; inner-city regeneration; and the local implementation of national government's subsidised housing programme.

The global financial crisis from 2008 affected Johannesburg and this, together with the costs of the World Cup and severe difficulties in managing the billing system, led to cutbacks in major city programmes. There was also political tension in the ruling party locally linked to national divides within the party. The complex system of intergovernmental relations in South Africa also complicated development with provincial and municipal governments

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struggling to co-ordinate effectively in areas including spatial planning, housing delivery, health and transport. The idea of city-region governance was introduced but progress in realising this concept has proven slow with differing visions of the form such governance ought to take.

By 2013 city finances had again stabilised and an ambitious programme of new capital development was launched which included the development of 'Corridors of Freedom' linking further investment in public transport to residential densification, mixed-use developments and service delivery. A new long-range development strategy, Joburg GDS 2040, also committed the city administration to an ambitious programme aimed at resilience and environmental sustainability.

In terms of governance arrangements and approaches, the City of Johannesburg is significant internationally as an example of single-tier metropolitan governance (although the complex relationship between city and provincial governance does complicate the matter). In South Africa, Johannesburg is the only major city municipality that has corporatised its service delivery, with mixed outcomes in terms of performance.

In this volume we avoid categorical labelling of post-apartheid governance and spatial processes, including the popular and overused term 'neo-liberal'. What is required is not trite stereotyping but rather a careful analysis of the complex and multiple imperatives and motivations that shape the decisions and actions of different players, and of the varying spatial consequences (as argued, for example, in Beall et al. 2002; Lipietz 2008; Parnell and Robinson 2006; Robinson 2008).

Towards the detail

Johannesburg is a transforming city. It is growing in economy and population, and at the same time changing in terms of economic structure, demographic composition and spatial form. With this fluidity, we will inevitably only understand change in a very partial sense, and many dimensions of change will remain elusive. However, it is possible to draw on the available data to map some of the contours of change. The broad outline provided above is only the beginning. We need to understand in far greater detail, using quantitative data and qualitative techniques, the highly differentiated economic, social and spatial landscape within and across Johannesburg, and we need to develop this understanding at multiple scales.

Discursive representation

There is a rich and multifarious tradition of writing on the City of Johannesburg with a complex interweaving of theoretical and conceptual threads.

Until around 1970 much of this writing was targeted at a popular audience and took the form of celebratory accounts of the 'romantic' story of gold mining on the Witwatersrand and the transition from a mining camp to a large modern city, but there were a few counter-narratives that explored the city in analytical detail. These included, for example, the detailed investigation into the conditions of the Afrikaner working class by the Carnegie Corporation (1932), the expansive investigation into the nature of city government by

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an Oxford academic (Maud 1938), and the work of a pioneering urban anthropologist on the material conditions and processes of cultural formation in an African slum yard in Doornfontein (Hellmann 1948).

From the 1970s there was a great increase in writing on Johannesburg, which was partly to do with the emergence of urban studies as a field of critical enquiry internationally, but mainly to do with the enormous provocation of the Soweto uprising of June 1976. This event ruptured forever the vision of an orderly, modern, segregated Johannesburg and provoked new waves of writing on the city. The first was a liberal-oriented critique of the irrationalities of the state's race-based urban policies that was targeted at pressuring the government into urban reform. The liberal writers were sponsored in part by the Urban Foundation, an urban think tank established in the wake of the 1976 uprising by business leaders in South Africa, and in part by the South African Institute of Race Relations. There were books on Soweto (Kane-Berman 1978; Morris 1980) and also an influential volume on Johannesburg, *A City Divided*, which was authored by a leading executive of the Anglo American Corporation. It concluded that 'the most pressing need is to eliminate the irrational partitions which divide the city of Johannesburg against itself' (Mandy 1984: 407).

The second was a radical interdisciplinary research programme, called the Wits History Workshop (WHW), which was broadly situated within a paradigm of humanist Marxism, and which drew attention to the everyday lives of African working people. The WHW drew from the context of struggle in South Africa but was also directly inspired by the History Workshop Movement founded at Ruskin College, Oxford, by Raphael Samuel, which sought to subvert conventional historiographies by providing a 'history from below' (Bonner 2010: 17). The WHW was prolific and accumulated a significant corpus of work on the (mainly) African working-class history of Johannesburg (see compilations edited by Bozzoli in 1979, 1983 and 1987). The best illustration of this work was Charles van Onselen's extensive *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886–1914* (1982a, b), which recorded the histories of the most socially ostracised and economically marginalised groups in early Johannesburg – sex workers, Yiddish cab drivers, domestic workers, Zulu washermen and Afrikaner brick makers, among others.

Geographers joined the historians in their engagement with the politics of spatial transformation. They turned away from the depoliticised spatial science of the later 1960s and early 1970s – which had at least contributed an understanding of spatial trends in the city (e.g. Fair 1977; Hart 1976) – to a critical commentary on the spatial effects of colonial and apartheid rule. Much of the literature on Johannesburg from the 1970s to the end of the 1980s was concerned with uncovering the origins and patterns of segregation in the city landscape (Fick et al. 1988; Mather 1987; Parnell 1988), but geographers also turned their attention in the 1980s to the everyday struggles of the urban poor for material livelihood through numerous studies of informal-sector activity in the city (see, for example, Rogerson 1986, 1988; Rogerson and Beavon 1980).

Situated apart from these dominant strands of writing was the work of Afrikaans-speaking academics at the newly established Rand Afrikaans University. They explored the

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ways in which a minority Afrikaner community in Johannesburg dealt with its vulnerable status in a primarily English-speaking world by affirming a separate identity and creating a network of mutual aid organisations (Stals 1978, 1986). Also outside the 'mainstream' was the angry, post-1976 outpouring by black poets and novelists who were adherents of a black consciousness ideology (Chapman 2007).

In retrospect, also, there were the germs of contemporary postcolonialist writing on Johannesburg. There were a handful of writers from the 1970s – including within the WHW – who explored cultural meaning in the slum yards, mining compounds and townships of Johannesburg (e.g. Coplan 1985; Couzens 1983; Hart 1986; Hofmeyr 1979; Koch 1983; Moodie 1983; Pirie 1984).

The most potent influence in the emergent postcolonial sensibility was, however, the memory of Sophiatown, a racially mixed urban slum in Johannesburg that was destroyed by the apartheid government between the mid 1950s and the early 1960s. In the 1950s, *Drum* magazine famously recruited a crew of black journalists who were able to tap into the animated and creolised African working-class cultures of Johannesburg, which were epitomised at the time by life in Sophiatown. The *Drum* writers had no aspirations to produce highbrow journalism and revelled in stories of crime and gangsterism and popular music and sport and sex. This writing was a crude realism but it asserted an urban culture that was dislocated from any tribal structure, and an urban identity that had no suggestion of rural nostalgia (Gready 1990).

By the early 1960s Sophiatown had been destroyed by the apartheid state and many of the *Drum* journalists had died prematurely – from suicides, alcoholism and fatal stabbings – but the memory of Sophiatown was a potent force. From the 1960s the surviving journalists, in more sober mode, reflected on the heady years of Sophiatown (e.g. Modisane 1986; Nkosi 1983) and identified in their earlier writing the cultural syncretism that was to be so important to the postcolonialists of later years.

The ending of the political struggle, which had long infused academic writing in Johannesburg with a higher purpose, had a double-edged effect on writing about Johannesburg from the early 1990s. On the one hand there was 'a hiatus, a loss of direction, a loss of purpose, even of confidence' (Bonner 2010: 21). It was an epistemological confusion heightened by the global collapse of intellectual metanarrative, including Marxist theory. On the other hand, however, the ending of apartheid released a new creativity in Johannesburg writing – researchers were 'no longer constrained by the moral imperative to direct their creative energies toward exposing the evils of white minority rule' (Murray 2010: 153). Despite the epistemological anxiety, the 1990s was a rare period in which theory and practice seemed to come together, and in which academic work directly informed policy development, including through an engagement in the early 1990s with the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, which forged a wide-ranging consensus on the shape of post-apartheid local government in the region (Turok 1993).

An uncertain process of intellectual experimentation began in the 1990s that led eventually to the remarkable outpouring of Johannesburg writing in the 2000s. There were

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two academic events in Johannesburg that reflected both the angst and the opportunity of the new era. The first was an architectural exhibition – Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After (1997–1999) – that was hosted in Rotterdam by the Netherlands Architecture Institute before coming to South Africa, put together by a young architect, Hilton Judin, and a novelist, Ivan Vladislavić, and compiled into a book of the same name (Judin and Vladislavić 1998). The exhibition was a direct critique of the dominant orderings of space, including modernist architecture and apartheid planning, but it also provided the platform for an intellectual crossover that stimulated new intellectual directions in the writing on Johannesburg. This included contributions from a new generation of writers who were familiar with post-structuralist and postcolonialist philosophy (especially Jennifer Robinson, AbdouMaliq Simone and Lindsay Bremner).

The second event was the Urban Futures Conference held in Johannesburg in July 2000 (see Mabin 2001). Key papers from the conference were published in *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City* (Tomlinson et al. 2003: xiii), a book that began with the recognition that 'the old Johannesburg exists in nostalgia; the new Johannesburg exists in *absentia*'. The conference brought to the fore questions of identity and belonging in a city where old hierarchies had disintegrated and where new, largely transient migrant populations were settling en masse. The conference struggled to make sense of the unpredictability and heterogeneity of Johannesburg and revealed the uncertain and troubled intellectual environment of a city that seemed to be on the verge of unravelling (Lipietz 2004). But, with hindsight, the conference also hinted at new forms of urban coherence and identified the beginnings of 'creative new intersections of forces, peoples, and economies' (Gotz and Simone 2003: 126).

In the 1990s, there were continued attempts to make sense of the political and material forces reshaping the city. The WHW continued its work with a strong focus on the history of townships (e.g. Bonner and Segal 1998; Parnell 1991), but the WHW was no longer the dominating intellectual movement. Writing on urban segregation continued into the 1990s but with a new twist: a focus on processes of *desegregation* (Crankshaw and White 1995; Hart 1989).

The most evident material transformation in Johannesburg in the 1990s was in the inner city, where physical decay was linked to the flight of big business and the arrival of slumlords who gave accommodation to a new wave of African migrants. One of the major studies of the period was Alan Morris's *Bleakness and Light* (1999) which analysed the dramatic transformations of Hillbrow, a high-rise residential precinct in inner-city Johannesburg, but there were other important contributions. There were writers who reflected the popular perceptions of crime and physical decay (e.g. Crankshaw and White 1995) or who saw opportunities for new economies and relationships within the perceived decline (Tomlinson 1999). Other changes in the city attracted attention, including changes in architectural form (Chipkin 1993), the extraordinary rise of the black-owned minibus taxi industry (Khosa 1992) and the re-emergence of informal settlement in Johannesburg from the 1970s (Crankshaw 1993).

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However, the key shift in the 1990s was arguably the hesitant emergence of a postcolonialist scholarship, which brought new directions in philosophy internationally into an engagement with the context of Johannesburg. This writing was, however, not pre-eminently about Johannesburg but rather about the ways in which the local experience is suggestive of new constructions of African identity – of new forms of association, cultural syncrecity, alternative modernities, and networks and circulations that connect Africa to elsewhere.

Gready (1990) and Hannerz (1994) used the worldliness and syncrecity of Sophiatown to show how local cultures fuse with international influences in cultural forms including fashion, urban dialects, popular jazz and gangsterism. The attention of promising young scholars such as Jennifer Robinson, Achille Mbembe and AbdouMaliq Simone was also, gradually, being drawn to Johannesburg. In 1998, Robinson, for example, challenged the conventional conception of South African cities as segregated and divided, asking whether the spaces of apartheid were really 'so fixed, so divisive, so certain in their form' (1998: 163). In 1995, Cameroon-born Mbembe co-authored the influential article 'Figures of the Subject in a Time of Crisis' (Mbembe and Roitman 1995), which spoke of the dissonance between the grand modern project envisaged by African elites and the facticity of African cities in decay. Simone's 1998 article 'Urban Social Fields in Africa' set the tone for his prolific later work. It explained how 'Africans reinvent the terms through which they understand and act on their everyday lives' (1998: 72) in the absence of functioning, formal systems of governance.

The Johannesburg connection was made explicit from around the time of the Urban Futures Conference in 2000. Robinson (2003: 277) stated that Johannesburg allows us to move conceptually 'from a divided approach to cities, where some are interpreted as structurally irrelevant and others as globally powerful, to one where all (ordinary) cities are understood as complex, diverse and contested environments for living'. Simone used Johannesburg to describe the ways in which urban Africans confront the precarious realities of their lives by weaving together new forms of cohesion involving social networks and relationships (e.g. Gotz and Simone 2003; Simone 2001, 2004, 2006).

The burgeoning field of migration studies, promoted vigorously by the African Centre for Migration and Society at Wits University in Johannesburg, drew deeply on the notions of associational life embedded in Simone's work although the prospect of an emerging 'Afromodernity' was dimmed by a growing sense of the fragility and ephemerality of these associations (see, for example, Kihato 2007; Kruger 2009; Landau and Freemantle 2010; Pineteh 2010; Sadouni 2009; Vidal 2010; Winkler 2006).

Although Mbembe established his reputation internationally with his *On the Postcolony* (2001), which revealed the grotesque formations of a postcolonial state, he saw in Johannesburg glimpses of an Afromodernity that went beyond this gloom. Through an engagement with Johannesburg, Mbembe began to 'seriously think about what the "African modern" or African forms of worldliness could actually look like' (Oboe 2011).

In 2004, Mbembe collaborated with the literary theorist Sarah Nuttall in editing a special

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edition of the journal *Public Culture*, which they titled *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*. The special edition was later reworked and published as a book with the same title and was the high point of postcolonialist writing on Johannesburg (Nuttall and Mbembe 2008). This was followed in 2009 by Nuttall's *Entanglement*, which depicted the city in terms of a postcolonialist representation of 'discontinuities, reversals, inertias and swings that overlay one another, interpenetrate one another …' (2009: 4).

Mbembe and Nuttall's work focused largely on cultural innovations and drew didactically on *avant-garde* continental theory, for example Walter Benjamin's Passagen-Werk, or Arcades Project; Lefebvre on the production of space; Deleuze on the lines of flight and leakages of the city; De Certeau on movement through the city; and Guattari on amnesia, nostalgia and psychic repression. There was also a strong crossover with literature and other imaginative forms of representation, including film and fiction (Goodman 2009; Kruger 2006).

The work focused on the elusiveness and unknowability of the city, and quickly inspired a new generation of writing on Johannesburg, including Bremner's *Writing the City into Being: Essays on Johannesburg 1998–2008* (2010), Kruger's *Imagining the Edgy City: Writing, Performance and Building Johannesburg* (2013), and Kreutzfeldt and Malcomess' *Not no Place: Johannesburg. Spaces and Fragments of Time* (2013).

Mbembe and Nuttall's representation of Johannesburg exerted a strong pull on the thinking of a new generation of scholars, and drew urban studies from the traditionally spatial disciplines (geography, planning and architecture) into the realm of social and literary theory. It did not, however, achieve a hegemonic status within local scholarship as many writers continued within traditions that directed attention to the economic and spatial materialities of the city. Full length books include Beall et al.'s *Uniting a Divided City* (2002), Tomlinson et al.'s *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City* (2003), Beavon's *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City* (2004), Murray's *Taming the Disorderly City* (2008) and *City of Extremes* (2011), Chipkin's *Johannesburg: Architecture in Transition* (2008), Bonner and Nieftagodien's *Alexandra* (2008) and Harber's *Diepsloot* (2011), as well as books not exclusively about Johannesburg but strongly inspired by an experience of Johannesburg, such as Huchzermeyer's *Unlawful Occupation: Informal Settlements and Urban Policy in South Africa and Brazil* (2004).

Numerous other contributions have drawn attention to one or other aspect of material change in the city, including the impacts of crime on city form (De Bruyn 2002; Dirsuweit 2002; Landman and Schönteich 2002; Murray 2013), informal settlements and backyard shacks (Huchzermeyer and Karam 2006; Shapurjee and Charlton 2013), new forms of township development (Haferburg 2013), desegregation (Selzer and Heller 2010), new forms of public transportation (Venter 2013) and inner-city regeneration (Winkler 2013).

There is a growing focus also on the complex intersections and multiple agendas underlying urban politics or spatial governance (e.g. Bénit-Gbaffou 2008, 2012; Dirsuweit and Wafer 2006; Fourchard et al. 2012; Heller 2003; Hornberger 2004; Lipietz 2008; Mabin 2007; Matlala and Bénit-Gbaffou 2012; Parnell and Robinson 2006; Winkler 2011),

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as well as on policies to manage or shape spatial change (Didier et al. 2012; Peyroux 2012; Todes 2012).

Initially, work on the natural environment and the ecological sustainability of development was sparse but this is now a growing field of focus (e.g. Carruthers 2008; GCRO 2013; Schaffler and Swilling 2013). Work on the economy of the city was also under-represented with the important exception of Rogerson's writing on small-business clusters and spaces of tourism and commerce (e.g. Rogerson 2004, 2011), but contributions have since been made on the economic legacy of mining (Harrison and Zack 2012), illicit economies (Krige 2011) and corporate geographies (Parnreiter et al. 2013).

The focus on spatial transformation was underpinned by a strong normative drive to achieve a more equitable and sustainable city, revealed for example in the Deutsche Bank-sponsored Urban Age Project, which organised a major conference in Johannesburg in 2006 highlighting the inefficiencies and inequalities in Johannesburg's urban structure (Urban Age 2010), and also in the extensive work of the Gauteng City-Region Observatory, which was established in 2008 as a partnership between the provincial government and two universities with a 'vision for South Africa's economic heartland as a region that is competitive, spatially integrated, environmentally sustainable and socially inclusive'.[9]

Much of this work draws implicitly on traditions of critical thinking, but generally lacks the overtly theoretical focus of writers in the cultural studies tradition. An exception is Burawoy and Van Holdt's *Conversations with Bourdieu: The Johannesburg Moment* (2011), which uses the context of Johannesburg to inform a debate between Marxism and the ideas of the French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu.

Some work connects across the materiality/subjectivity divide, with at least three books placing the subjectivities of human life within the specificities of place in Johannesburg: *At Home with Apartheid: The Hidden Landscape of Domestic Service in Johannesburg* (Ginsberg 2011), *Sanctuary: How an Inner City Church Spilled onto a Sidewalk* (Kuljian 2013) and *Migrant Women of Johannesburg: Everyday Life in an In-between City* (Kihato 2013). The persisting focus on international migrants within Johannesburg in other writing has also helped to bridge the divide (e.g. Harrison et al. 2012; Ostanel 2012; Vearey 2013).

Positioning

From this overview it is clear that Johannesburg has benefited from a rich history of writing on its social and spatial realities. The many diverse strands of analysis provide a tapestry of perspectives that help us understand the multiple dimensions of this complex city. However, since around 2000, the literature on Johannesburg has progressed within two largely separate, and sometimes antagonistic, discursive communities. As indicated above, there is the literature exemplified by the work of Mbembe and Nuttall which has been heavily influenced by the cultural and linguistic turns of late twentieth-century philosophy, and the literature which directs attention to the materialities of the city, focusing mainly, but not only, on the inequalities or injustices of the city.

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Our view is that both strands of writing have contributed immensely to a multilayered understanding of Johannesburg, but both position themselves by pointing to the limitations in the other, and in doing so have hardened perspectives into an unhelpful division. Mbembe and Nuttall wrote in partial critique of the 'materialist' tradition, providing a compelling argument for a complex and fluid representation of the city that moves beyond the conventional characterisation of Johannesburg only as 'the spatial embodiment of unequal economic relations and coercive and segregationist policies' (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004: 349). We are sympathetic to Mbembe and Nuttall's agenda in this regard, although we think that they have moved the pendulum too far in the other direction.

Mbembe and Nuttall, in turn, have been criticised for downplaying the physicality or materiality of the city, and ignoring the extent to which the city consists of elements which are finite and at least partially fixed, or have a structural form in an economic or social sense. Chipkin, for example, notes in this scholarship a danger of 'deliberately failing to consider … social and economic structures' (2005: 107). Graham admonishes Nuttall for 'dehistoricized or dematerialized readings' (2008: 114). Watts (2005) observes that the work provided a brilliant rendering of the city but that the materiality of the city was conspicuous in its absence.

We agree that any proper understanding of Johannesburg must engage with the 'materialities' of the city. In this we follow Lefebvre who, in *The Production of Space* (1991), insisted that there are determinate structures in the making of space, and that these must be explored with analytical rigour, and that we should avoid presenting space as being radically indeterminate. However, it would be fatuous to ignore the immense contributions made by writers who have explored the subjective life of the city. Many dimensions of the city are, indeed, 'turbulent, unstable and unpredictable' (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004: 349), and the limits of knowability are always pressing. The challenge, we think, is to find a way to underpin theoretically rich and philosophically informed representations of the city with an empirically informed understanding of what may be happening in the city, and in this way bridge an unnecessary divide in the readings of Johannesburg.

Internationally, there is an emergent scholarly literature that deals with the intersection of urban materialities and urban subjectivities. This is apparent, for example, in recent writing on 'urban assemblages' (McFarlane 2011), 'vibrant matter' (e.g. Bennett 2010), 'actor network theory' (e.g. Latour 2005), 'material feminisms' (e.g. Alaimo and Hekman 2008) and 'new materialisms' (e.g. Coole and Frost 2010). With respect to Johannesburg there are, at least, the seeds of a productive dialogue across the two representational traditions. Chipkin (2005), for example, reminds us that the city is a space of material inequality and of cultural expression. Graham found a bridging position in the work of Ivan Vladislavić, Johannesburg's leading postcolonial novelist:

> Vladislavić does indeed suggest in *The Exploded View* that concerns with material spaces and social inequalities are insufficient in themselves for understanding the invisible infrastructures that make the contemporary South African metropolis function. Yet the novel also implies that we entirely ignore these concerns at our peril. (2008: 129)

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Our intention in this volume is not necessarily to engage theoretically or conceptually with this literature but to bring concerns with the materialities of the city together with an appreciation of urban subjectivities and, more explicitly, to build a deeper understanding of the interplays between materiality and subjectivities through situated narrative. We start from the premise that human subjectivities are situated within a material context and that materialities and subjectivities of the city are mutually constituted. This is vividly represented in Johannesburg where, for example, extreme inequalities in the material context, evident in many forms of spatial disparities, have contributed to hugely variant political, social and personal subjectivities. At the same time, urban subjectivities reflect back on the physical landscape in innumerable ways. In Johannesburg this is apparent, for example, in the ways in which youth, gender, racial identities and immigrant cultures are visibly represented in physical space.

While the book primarily offers empirical analyses of changes in physical space – with some consideration also of the economic, social and political processes that shape this space – there are chapters which explicitly bridge the conceptual divide by showing how physical space intersects with the changing identities of people who inhabit the space. Some chapters speak to the changing *form* as well as the changing *character* of suburbs and neighbourhoods with unique histories, features and qualities. There are also a number of pieces which deal directly with the 'subjectivities' of the city – the perceptions, identities, aspirations, expectations, imaginations, memories and cultural expressions of the people who inhabit it.

Contributions and orientations of the book

The first contribution of this book, as noted above, is its composite focus on *both* the 'physicality' or 'materiality' of the city *and* the 'subjective' forms of the city – the social identities being shaped in dynamic interaction with the material changes under way.

In relation to the concern with materiality, we are informed by a desire to better understand the city in which we live and work, and to make some sense of the dramatic transformations that have shaped this city since the dawn of democracy in South Africa. Our key question here is, 'What are the changes to the physical form of the city and what processes underlie these?' We acknowledge the work of authors such as Beall et al. (2002), Tomlinson et al. (2003) and Beavon (2004), which provides an empirically grounded assessment of changes in Johannesburg. We note, however, that this work draws mainly on data and information from the 1990s, and requires urgent update. We also attempt to expand the spatial compass of the existing corpus, by including aspects of urban development and parts of the city that have not been included before.

However, in our view an exclusive focus on empirical analysis of material trends would be inappropriate. The physical city has no meaning without the lives, activities and identities of its residents. Space cannot be treated 'in-itself', as politics, economy, society, culture and subjectivity continually engage materiality in the production of the city. Most

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chapters in the book frame material change in terms of these intersections and Section C of the book specifically foregrounds the relationship between space and identity. We argue for a representation of spatial change which understands that the city consists of intangible elements such as political power, social relations and cultural formation, but also accepts the hard elements such as houses and infrastructure and modes of transport (as well as the material flows that happen in abstracted space, such as the connections between firms through shareholding arrangements and financial flows in cyberspace).

The second contribution of the book is the new and robust empirical evidence it seeks to provide in exploring urban change. In our method, we lean more towards inductive rather than deductive approaches – in general, we don't start from theory but rather from empirical data, observations and experiences of the city. We try to avoid generalities as we direct attention to the complexities of change across different parts of the city. There are normative intentions in our work, as the editors and the authors are united in their commitment to building a more just and inclusive city, but we have not underscored the normative element as we seek to extend and deepen an analysis of urban change as unencumbered as possible by prior commitments. Our hope is that the findings presented in the book will be compelling on the basis of the evidence that supports them, and that the book will be used by those who are working towards better futures for the residents of the city.

The empirical base of the book is supported by new datasets that have become available. Data remain a continual challenge for researchers in Johannesburg. During the course of writing, however, the results of Census 2011 became available, and this is an extraordinarily valuable resource. There are other useful new sources of data that have also been brought to bear in the writing. The City of Johannesburg's Development Planning and Urban Management Department, for example, recognising the need to better understand the dynamic growth and development across the city, has since 2007 built and maintained an information system that captures new townships, building plans and rezonings. These data have formed the basis of the city's Growth Management Strategy and have been utilised in a number of this book's chapters.

Since it was established in 2008, the Gauteng City-Region Observatory has also succeeded in putting together a substantial archive of digital data on Johannesburg and its wider city-region, from sources including government and private companies.

As illustration, a longer-term view of change within the built environment was constructed through the use of the Growth Indicator data acquired from GTI. The GTI land-use per building datasets contain a point per building (with its associated land use), digitised from aerial photography dated 2001/2002 and 2009/2010. Various residential building land-use subclasses within the GTI data, such as formal, informal, clusters and complexes, and smallholdings, were analysed and mapped to indicate residential settlement patterns and changing land use over a ten-year period. A similar analysis has been possible using the commercial and industrial subclasses to indicate changing patterns in the space economy.

Finally, two important datasets were sourced from AfriGIS. The first is a geocoded database of mostly formal businesses that can be used to map the urban space economy. The

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data provide detail on each firm's industry focus, using the Standard Industrial Classification codes, as well as its turnover and number of employees, permitting rich spatial analyses of employment concentrations and the distribution of businesses by type and size. The second is a database of all 'gated communities' across Gauteng, broken down by categories such as boomed-off residential areas, commercial office parks and estates. It provides a remarkable view of how much space in the city and the wider region is segmented into walled enclosures of one sort or another. All of these datasets have afforded new, innovative analysis and visualisation of spatial change within Johannesburg.

A third contribution of the book is that it is designed to cross geographic scales and look at aspects and parts of the city that have not been analysed before. There are studies that provide a macro view of change in the city-region (for example OECD 2011) and also studies that provide the fine grain of micro analysis (such as the work on street traders and waste recyclers). We try to connect these scales and also introduce an intermediary or mesoscale, especially in Section B of the book.

The book attempts to provide a wide-ranging perspective of change across the city. Much of the literature on Johannesburg in recent times has been overdetermined by the experience of what is happening in the inner city. This is an important part of the city – and we do have a contributing chapter on the inner city – but there are dangers in generalising from the inner city to the city as a whole. Suburbia, for example, has been neglected in urban studies and we devote a number of chapters to it in the book. Writing on Johannesburg has tended to emphasise extremities and sensation. Johannesburg is either presented as one of the most socially and spatially divided cities in the world or as one of the more incomprehensible of cities. Writing tends to focus on spaces of crisis or of spectacle but rarely on the ordinary spaces of the city that have their own identities but may attract little fuss. We try to address this imbalance in the book.

We have not succeeded in providing a comprehensive coverage of the city. There are parts of the city that remain under-researched, and we were unable to find authors willing and able to write on them. An example is the greater Orange Farm area in the south of Johannesburg, which is a complex area of formal and informal developments, and a concentration of deep poverty. We would welcome new research on this neglected part of the city. We also do not have chapters on areas of marginality in the north of the city, including Diepsloot and Ivory Park, but we can point to Anton Harber's compelling book, *Diepsloot* (2011). We address the development of Sandton as a major node of private investment, but we don't have a similar chapter on Midrand, an area that also requires renewed investigation in the light of changing patterns of international investment in South Africa. We investigate patterns of development in the north-west of Johannesburg but not to the same extent in the north-east, where there are very different circumstances in terms of land ownership (large tracts of land owned by single companies rather than the pattern of smallholdings in the north-west). We look forward to the publication of more of Ivor Chipkin's important work on research into townhouse complexes, luxury estates and informal settlements on the western edge of Johannesburg (see Chipkin

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2013). He delves into the socio-political dynamics of new spatial formations in a way that we have not done in this book. Readers may identify other gaps but we hope that the publication of this book will stimulate extended and deepened analysis of change across Johannesburg, and further contributions by many other authors.

A fourth contribution of several chapters of the book is to highlight the role of spatial planning in reshaping space at various scales. While this was not an explicit focus of the book initially, many authors are planning practitioners or planning academics and used the opportunity to reflect on the impact of spatial planning since the ending of apartheid. Further, planning ambitions to restructure the city and to address complex development challenges at a local scale have meant that it might be seen as an important player in shaping spatial change. Some chapters here add to evaluations of the performance of post-apartheid spatial planning (such as Harrison et al. 2008; Robinson et al. 2004; Watson 2002) by providing accounts of the effects of both strategic spatial planning at a city scale, and of area-based regeneration initiatives in former townships and the inner city. These studies show that strategic spatial planning has become much more sophisticated in its approaches and methodologies than in the past and is moving towards greater effectiveness, but its ability to meet its objectives is still partial and uneven, particularly as key spatial inequalities remain difficult to address.

While planning has hoped to deal with 'wicked problems' through grounded, integrated, area-based initiatives sensitive to local contexts, several chapters in the book raise questions about its ability to do so. Chapters which include a consideration of the role of planning in area-based transformations (such as Dinath on the inner city, Chapter 12; Harrison et al. on Alexandra, Chapter 17; Judin et al. on Kliptown, Chapter 16; Klug et al. on the north-west, Chapter 20) point to the complexity of these processes, and how conflicting place imaginaries and visions – among and within diverse groupings of officials, politicians and planners – as well as varying interests within local communities, influence local development trajectories and the prospects for planning. Several chapters point to the need to understand and embrace livelihoods, informalities and ways of living, to move away from forms of planning based on ordering and control. Yet there are tensions in policy and practice, and old styles of intervention coexist with – and sometimes contradict – newer modes. Even newer approaches may appear wanting. These studies provide a valuable reflection on the prospects for transformative local planning, particularly in the context of 'deep divides' (Watson 2006).

Finally, this book is oriented towards understanding contemporary processes of change (post-1994) but it is rooted in an understanding of historical process, of how the past continues to shape the future, of how the past both lingers and is erased. We respond, in part, to work which represents contemporary Johannesburg as either a comprehensive departure from the apartheid past, or as a simple prolongation of the past. Johannesburg surely bears the imprint of the colonial and apartheid eras, and of the accumulation strategies of private business which benefited from previous governance regimes, but it is also a dynamic, rapidly changing city, and there have been far-reaching transformations

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since the end of apartheid rule – including spatial densification and a degree of racial integration – which must be both acknowledged and properly analysed.

In outlining the contributions we accept that not all the contributing authors agree with all the views or leanings of the editors. In producing this book, we have taken seriously Lefebvre's challenge to 'multiply the readings of the city' (1991: 159). In this spirit, we have retained the diversity of perspectives in individual chapters, while nevertheless orienting the book as a whole towards the contributions discussed above. In the final event, given the enormous complexity of Johannesburg, we need a layering of representations that allows us to hold in tension, and bring into dialogue, very different conceptions of the city. As new theoretical intersections are formed into the future, we can expect new intellectual surprises as we continue to engage with both the material and the conceptual spaces of the city.

Outline of the book

The book seeks to address spatial trends at a number of levels and from different perspectives, and so is organised into three sections.

Section A provides an overview of macro spatial trends and a commentary on spatial policies which have attempted to shape them and their impact. The first two chapters locate Johannesburg within a city-region frame, and outline key spatial dynamics with respect to both the Gauteng city-region and Johannesburg itself. In Chapter 2, Graeme Gotz, Chris Wray and Brian Mubiwa provide a city-region-wide overview of patterns of spatial change, analysing historical and more recent trends that have stretched and fragmented the urban form, as well as those, contrary to the dynamic of sprawl, resulting in greater consolidation and densification.

In Chapter 3 David Everatt considers Johannesburg within its city-region context in relation to concerns with poverty, inequality and exclusion. Poverty in Johannesburg is less extreme than elsewhere, as the 'poorest of the poor' are generally not found in the city, but relative deprivation continues to fuel social tensions, including xenophobia, and inequality is the primary challenge facing Johannesburg and the broader city-region. At one level, the spatiality of inequality can be described by metaphors such as 'a ring of fire', with the wealthy located close to a well-developed spine running down the Gauteng city-region, from Tshwane to Johannesburg to Ekurhuleni, while levels of poverty grow in concentric circles at increasing distance from this core. However, the patterns are more complex, with informal settlements emerging adjacent to better-off and better-located formal settlements in former African townships.

Graeme Gotz and Alison Todes provide an overview of Johannesburg's changing space economy in Chapter 6, considering spatial patterns and shifts in tertiary and manufacturing sectors. They provide evidence of the continuing dispersal of office and commercial activities and the growth of new centralities in the north, but also point to the continuing importance of the CBD. While some commercial growth is occurring in the south and in former townships, it is dwarfed by the scale of growth elsewhere.

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A number of chapters explore the spatial impact of policies in the post-apartheid era. In Chapter 4, Alison Todes outlines the evolution of spatial policy in post-apartheid Johannesburg. She argues that early post-apartheid spatial policy in Johannesburg in effect allowed for the continuation of previous property development trends, but more systematic policy is being put in place, including innovative linking of infrastructure investment with the spatial framework. The impact of spatial policy is explored more fully by Peter Ahmad and Herman Pienaar in Chapter 5. They show that while the north-south divide remains entrenched in terms of formal investment in residential, office and commercial development, there is also an increasing focus in investment on mixed-use nodes and routes emphasised for public transport within the north. Sarah Charlton (Chapter 9) explains why the predominant pattern of investment in public housing for the urban poor has continued to occur on the periphery. Some new innovative housing developments do, however, break this pattern, as does some privately provided informal housing. While there is a long-standing critique of predominant patterns, Charlton argues that household responses to this housing context are not self-evident and require exploration.

Informal settlements form an important part of the low-cost housing landscape, with many on the periphery, but some are also challenging traditional spatial divides in terms of location. In Chapter 8, Marie Huchzermeyer, Aly Karam and Miriam Maina argue that this category has not been sufficiently disaggregated, and that there are several other forms of inadequate housing whose needs in many cases remain to be appropriately conceptualised and addressed by policy. Backyard shacks have become an increasingly important element of informal housing, accommodating much larger numbers of households than informal settlements, a point also made by Ahmad and Pienaar.

Johannesburg has developed in a polycentric form, and is increasingly reliant on car- and taxi-based road transport. Mathetha Mokonyama and Brian Mubiwa (Chapter 10) show that rail and bus usage has declined, but levels of congestion are rising. The predominant pattern of densification on the periphery since 1990 has in part underscored increasing dependence on these transport modes. While there are plans to improve public transport, and the first stages of BRT systems have been put in place, poor co-ordination between spheres of government responsible for transport is impeding a more systematic and concerted approach to this issue.

In theory, the natural environment should be an important influence on how cities develop spatially and should be a key informant in how they are planned and developed. While it has of course shaped the spatial development of Johannesburg, Maryna Storie argues in Chapter 7 that there has been insufficient sensitivity in policy, both historically and in the contemporary era, to environmental processes within the city; and to varying physical conditions and constraints that pertain in different areas. Hence urban development has often occurred in ways that have reduced its sustainability and increased risk, particularly affecting the urban poor. Even well-intentioned contemporary policies which attempt to equalise greening across the city fail to recognise the diversity of the natural environment.

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Lastly, Karina Landman and Willem Badenhorst (Chapter 11) explore the phenomenon of 'gated communities' where space is literally closed off through physical boundaries. They show that there are diverse forms of enclosure, and that Johannesburg is an evolving environment where the nature of gated communities is continually changing. They argue that enclosures work against policy intentions to promote greater integration and accessibility across the city.

Hence, at the level of macro trends, a picture emerges of a city that is out of sync with its natural environment and riven with inequality that is expressed spatially in patterns of inclusion and exclusion, in residential, transport and economic development. Policy and planning, while having some impacts, are also attempting to move against strong trends in different directions. While this captures some of the reality, it is also more complex, as the chapters examining area-based transformations in the next section demonstrate.

Section B explores the shaping of Johannesburg at a mesoscale. It deals with change in specific quadrants of the city, such as the inner city, the northern suburbs and the townships of Soweto, but also addresses specific categories of area, such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup precincts. These chapters reveal that, although it is important to have the synoptic view of processes shaping the city, as provided in Section A, the complexity and diversity of the city requires us to shift scales and study the peculiarity of processes within different areas. Importantly, Section B does not only elucidate trends with greater spatial detail, but also identifies trends that were not detected in macro-level analysis.

The section begins with the historical heart of Johannesburg: the inner city and the 'peri-central neighbourhoods' immediately surrounding it. The chapters by Yasmeen Dinath (Chapter 12) and Claire Bénit-Gbaffou (Chapter 13) provide a fresh perspective on change in the inner city, challenging the common representation of this area only in terms of transience or inexhaustible fluidity. Dinath's contribution directs attention to both transience *and* permanence, providing a critique of both the city government's attempt to discipline space and create fixity, and academic representations that only represent the ephemeral and deny the possibilities for state- and community-driven intervention. Bénit-Gbaffou argues that these representations ignore the well-entrenched structures of power that provide continuity within this context of incessant change. She points to the repressive nature of power arrangements but offers a hopeful note, arguing that the combination of continuity and fluidity allows the possibility, at least, of building community and sustained leadership.

The next set of chapters address changes in the historically black townships of the city, and specifically in Soweto (including Kliptown) and Alexandra. These contributions caution against a generalised view of what is happening in the townships, pointing to growing differentiation. They also explore the consequence of state intervention, and provide some insight into why the government of post-apartheid South Africa, which has focused so much of its energy and resources on township development, is now confronted with endemic service-delivery protests and deep scepticism about its capacity to deliver. In Chapter 15, Philip Harrison and Kirsten Harrison argue that the so-called 'renaissance of Soweto' is more partial and more ambiguous than suggested. While parts of Soweto

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have transformed in positive ways, development is fractious, partial and conflict-ridden in others.

Hilton Judin, Naomi Roux and Tanya Zack (Chapter 16) explore this in relation to Kliptown, a place of great political and historical importance, but also an area of deeply contested development processes. They tell an intricate tale of 'resilience and despair' as a series of state interventions have followed on one from another. They avoid the temptation of presenting this history simply in terms of state failure and community contestation, arguing that this is 'not a story of heroes and villains' but 'rather a complicated and contradictory tale of fragmentation, contestation, decades of disappointment, and a still fierce unsatiated spirit of independence and cautious hope'.

Philip Harrison, Adrian Masson and Luke Sinwell (Chapter 17) look at the development history of Alexandra. They explore the many twists and turns in a succession of apartheid and post-apartheid plans, focusing primarily on the Alexandra Renewal Programme. They show that, in many respects, the Programme represents a positive departure from the past but that there are also strong elements of historical continuity. The deep tensions which have bedevilled the history of the township remain largely unresolved, and the spatial objectives set for Alexandra may not be appropriate for a post-apartheid city.

The next four chapters deal with the historically white suburbs and business areas in the city. They address the common tendency to represent the legacies of the apartheid city only in terms of historically black townships, and reveal the tensions and webs of competing interests that surround the development of these areas.

In Chapter 18, Keith Beavon and Pauline Larsen provocatively argue that the Sandton business node has moved beyond the status of an 'edge city' and should be recognised as the new CBD of an expanded Johannesburg. They show the various phases through which Sandton developed, challenging the common perception of Sandton's development as a relentless upward trajectory.

Alan Mabin (Chapter 19) confronts a number of conventional wisdoms in historical accounts of the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. He rejects the simple dichotomy of townships and suburbs, arguing that we need a far more complex and spatially situated understanding of what is happening across the city. He points to the tensions that are emerging as the roles of suburbs within the metropolitan and international economies transform.

Philip Harrison and Tanya Zack (Chapter 14) write of spatial transformations in the generally less glitzy southern suburbs. They show how this relatively neglected part of the city offers a wealth of insight into processes of socio-spatial development in the city and provide an intriguing window into the lives and identities of a diversity of social groups. Their work reveals how complex and differentiated the post-apartheid city is.

In Chapter 20, Neil Klug, Margot Rubin and Alison Todes explore development processes along the north-western frontier of the city. This is an area where tensions around development processes are acute as there are highly variant and widely contested visions for the future. The chapter reveals how the different interests intersect, and how they are negotiated in development processes.

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The final two chapters in Section B address special categories of space. Aly Karam and Margot Rubin (Chapter 21) consider the effects of the massive investments in infrastructure and public space that were associated with the 2010 FIFA World Cup. They show that a majority of individuals living within the Ellis Park Precinct believe that their lives have improved because of the World Cup, but that the improvements are mainly incidental and have not come from the major investments.

Christo Venter and Eunice Vaz (Chapter 22) also reveal the complex links between state investment and real impacts on the lives of residents. They show that the Rea Vaya (BRT) system is benefiting many residents but that the distribution of these benefits is highly unequal, with Rea Vaya being used disproportionately by middle-income commuters, and the benefit of living around stations accruing mainly to property owners in the form of property-value increments rather than to renters.

Overall, the chapters in Section B reveal a highly differentiated and complex city. Collectively, they work to contest glib attempts to generalise processes, and assert the need for more detailed area-based investigations to understand the mesh of influences and contingencies that are shaping different parts of the city, sometimes in contradictory ways.

While Section A of this book examines the macro trends shaping space across the city and Section B considers the mesoscale, with chapters on the more nuanced processes of change in certain areas, Section C assembles a set of pieces on the micro-scale interweaving of place and identity in Johannesburg. Some of these pieces are full length chapters exploring particular identities in detail. Others are shorter vignettes offering tantalising glimpses into life on the streets or behind the high walls of this complex city.

These pieces wind together around the issue of 'spatial identity'. The places that people inhabit are never neutral, inert, merely physical configurations. Spaces are always also social constructions. The way spaces are built reflects the ideological and political imaginaries, the real or irrational fears, the economic aspirations, and the cultural conceits of individuals, communities and nations. More interestingly, the reverse is also true: space has a material reality that marks the social. Places and spaces, in where they are and how they are built, can forge shared memories and histories, inspire hope and common endeavour, and lay down limits and boundaries to alternative, better ways of being. The pieces in this section explore this dynamic interaction between space and identity in both directions. Some look at how inhabitants of the city, acting either as groups or individuals, configure the spaces around them through the processes of expressing or forming identities, thereby in turn enabling them to find a 'home' in the city, navigate – or even just survive – the vicissitudes of urban life, and mount projects of social or economic self-realisation. Others contemplate the character of particular Johannesburg places, and ask not only how they manifest the place-making effects of past social, cultural, religious and economic practices, but also how they recursively shape the identities that continue to be produced or reproduced within them.

This section starts with a number of pieces on religious identities and spaces. In Chapter 23, Yasmeen Dinath, Yusuf Patel and Rashid Seedat track the origins and evolution of Muslim communities in different parts of the city, and the spatial imprints this has left.

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They consider three themes: first, irrespective of the commonality implied by the idea of *ummah* or the global congregation of Muslims, how has a rather heterogeneous Muslim community emerged in Johannesburg, with multiple layerings of Islamic traditions from different parts of the world, and locally specific adaptations and innovations? Second, how has Islam impacted the spatial fabric of the city through complex patterns of community dispersal and concentration, and the unique urban forms and features this has produced? And third, how have distinctive Muslim spaces – for prayer, welfare, education, even entertainment – worked to reproduce Islamic social relations in the city?

Samadia Sadouni focuses in on one of these Muslim spaces in Chapter 24. She looks at how Somali migrants into Johannesburg have deployed Islam as their main 'mode of identification', and how that identification has been spatially targeted towards the suburb of Mayfair, west of Johannesburg's inner city. Facing extreme vulnerability, often as illegal immigrants, Somalis have an incentive to appeal to a pan-Somali and pan-Islamic identity that enables them to claim support from others of the same nationality and faith. This urban strategy has found a spatial focus on Mayfair's 8th Street, where a Somali market, mosque and many small shops have clustered. The site has become a staging ground for Somali trading networks across the city and into the countryside, and for fascinating new forms of spatially organised class identity.

Echoing Sadouni's analysis, Tanya Winkler (Chapter 25) draws our attention to what she intriguingly calls the 'credoscapes' of Hillbrow, a growing mix of faith communities, some small and ephemeral, others large and loud, with their colourful garb making a public display of presence on the streets, or with 'highly charged' and 'ecstatic styles of worship'. All in some way offer what Winkler calls 'spaces of hope' for their followers. They afford a sense of belonging and community, which helps members to negotiate the city's uncertainties, as well as ways for groups and individuals to 'position themselves', by offering material assistance such as skills training, job placement support, legal advice, hospice facilities and even housing.

One such 'space of hope' in inner-city Johannesburg is the Central Methodist Church. The Church today provides aid to thousands of migrants, most from Zimbabwe, much to the chagrin of government and business in the area who do not welcome the fact that it has been turned into a shelter for so many desperate people. In a small but evocative journalistic piece (Chapter 26), which in its final sentences offers a very pointed sting in the tail, Christa Kuljian captures the scene outside the Church and with it a typical migrant woman's day-to-day struggle to survive on Johannesburg's streets.

Not far from the Central Methodist Church in central Johannesburg is another but very different migrant space. In Chapter 27, Hannah le Roux provides a piece rich in allusion and symbolism that captures the essences of a vibrant quadrant of Ethiopian trade, known locally as Jeppe, after the main street that runs through it. In the traditional Ethiopian coffee ceremony – *Bunna bet* – and in the red, yellow and green colours of the Ethiopian flag so often emblazoned on its coffee cups, Le Roux sees metaphors for a space continuously being produced by the 'gestures and negotiations that revolve around the materiality of the buildings and the packs of (traded) goods'.

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Naomi Roux presents us with an urban collage of Yeoville, a suburb in which she spent her childhood but in which she now keeps being asked where she comes from (Chapter 28). This fast-changing neighbourhood has become a hub of African migrants. The multiplicity of identities from across the continent today manifests in Yeoville's varied culinary spaces. From the Cameroonian restaurant offering the best *poisson braise* in the city, through to the surreal scene of students caught up in a police raid on an Ivorian community centre where they were busy with a cassava cooking lesson, Roux offers us a selection of scenes of life in this many layered space, whose complexity, despite all the challenges this produces, is at the heart of Johannesburg's vitality.

Philip Harrison, Khangelani Moyo and Yan Yang have authored a chapter on ghosts or, more exactly, the spectral presences of another immigrant community, the Chinese (Chapter 29). They point out the diminishing pile of stones that marks the anonymous graves of thousands of indentured Chinese labourers who were brought to Johannesburg in the early 1900s, and who died under terrible conditions in mines and mine compounds. Over a century later, this very site has become the epicentre of one of the largest Chinese presences in Johannesburg, a cluster of giant China malls and mixed-use business nodes in and around Crown Mines. Ghosts also mingle with the living in a number of the other rapidly changing Chinese spaces explored by the authors: in the fading and now tiny assortment of restaurants and shops in downtown Johannesburg's Commissioner Street; in the 'ethnoburbs' of Kensington, Bedfordview and Edenvale, in which a Chinese population is growing but is almost imperceptible; and in Johannesburg's premier Chinatown of Cyrildene, as well as the new Sandton towers that headquarter some of China's largest global multinationals, where the Chinese presence is becoming more and more visible.

Caroline Kihato offers a fascinating insight into the intersection between the city's formal rule making and informal street trading in a piece that reveals its unique authorial position bit by tantalising bit (Chapter 30). Through the window of a bureaucratic charade – the filling in and handing over of a Notice to Appear in Court to an immigrant street vendor caught in a metro police raid – Kihato first reflects on the impossibility of governance where urban populations cannot be seen and known, and then contemplates the strange ambiguity of how officialdom tolerates illegal trading precisely because the periodic enforcement of the regulations against it provides opportunities to exact bribes and siphon off confiscated goods. The rules therefore construct an illicit sub-economy, where the boundaries between legal and illegal, formal and informal blur. In this invisible system, legal instruments come to symbolise the complex nature of urban spatial relationships in cities like Johannesburg.

Puleng Makhetha and Margot Rubin also consider the relationship between street vendors and urban space, contrasting legal vendors operating from municipality provided stalls, and those trading illegally from improvised spaces where wares can be placed in the way of pedestrians on prized thoroughfares and intersections (Chapter 31). The former have the security of knowing they will not be harassed or their goods confiscated, but their sanctioned spaces command licence fees, restrict how much can be displayed, and are often

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positioned back from the street and out of the way of passing foot-traffic. Illegal traders are more flexible and pay no licences, thereby offering cheaper goods and making more profit. But they suffer the constant risk of raids and solicited bribes. To compensate, they have developed strong social networks and a system of street signals to warn one another of the proximity of the police. In both cases, but in different ways, space and economic identities shape one another in a dynamic interaction.

The theme of space usage and economic identities is picked up by Sarah Charlton in Chapter 32. She details the circumstances of two informal waste reclaimers who spend their weeks pulling huge trolleys of recyclable rubbish from suburban bins to inner-city buy-back depots, and sleeping under a bridge. Weekends they spend back home with families in the RDP houses they own in Evaton West, far south of Johannesburg. In this ambiguous world of in-between physical and economic spaces, their strenuous and environmentally useful daytime activity is undervalued, unprotected and overlooked in state policies and programmes. But at least it is tolerated. However, points at which recyclers sort and store their collections, as well as their night-time sleeping arrangements, are ruthlessly controlled by law-enforcers who burn their stock and tell them to go home, even when there is no work there or any possibility of going home on a nightly basis.

In Chapter 33, Theresa Dirsuweit interrogates the spatial identities associated with residents trying to barricade themselves against the fear of crime. 'Target hardening' has seen road closures to restrict access to previously open suburbs, purportedly on a temporary basis; the dramatic growth in shopping malls; and, most perniciously, the development of large security villages. In turn, this new morphology shapes urban identities. Millions of urban inhabitants feel the intense frustration of being forced daily to navigate the unmapped terrain of boomed neighbourhoods. And residents of fortress spaces withdraw from the social life of the broader city, with the concomitant erosion of an 'ethic of care' which would otherwise connect different urban communities.

Lastly, Nqobile Malaza asks in Chapter 34 what it means to be 'black urban' in cities such as Johannesburg. Reminding us that taken-for-granted social distinctions are not natural or given, but the result of 'difference-producing historical processes', she points out that terms such as 'township' or 'suburb' frequently carry mental associations that reproduce the separated city in the collective mind, and in turn in practice. She counters this by offering new insights into the property-investment choices and cultural practices of young African professionals, which help to unravel some of the myths and ready-to-hand caricatures about the relationship between race and space in the post-apartheid city. In the process of exploring 'what we live and where we live it', her contribution provides, in her own words, a 'deeper understanding of how identity is translated, negotiated and reflected in the urban morphology'. The phrase aptly characterises the collection of pieces in this section of the book.

Hence, the book brings together broad understandings of macro spatial trends and the policies that shape them, together with more nuanced views provided by area-based studies and chapters exploring the relationships between place and identity. It is hoped that the

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diverse analytical perspectives enable us to deepen our appreciation of the complexity of spatial change in Johannesburg.

Notes

1 Johannesburg's annual population growth was 4.0 per cent in the period 1996 to 2001, dropping to 3.2 per cent from 2001 to 2011.
2 The proportion of children (0–14 years old) declined from 24.3 per cent to 23.2 per cent of the total, with the proportion of youth (15–30 years old) rising from 32.8 per cent to 33.7 per cent.
3 The use of racial categories in this book reflects a pervasive reality in South Africa, and is not meant to condone them. For analysis of racial change in the book we have had to use the race categories as provided by Statistics South Africa. We acknowledge, however, the problems with these categories including, for example: the use of African to denote 'black African'; 'coloured' to refer to a wide spectrum of race identities, and Indian/Asian to refer to diverse groups that originated from Asia.
4 Urban expansion is driven largely by cheaper transport technology but is also associated with lifestyle preferences and the lack of effective metropolitan governance.
5 The estimated extent of the built-up area was calculated by creating a buffer of 50 metres around each formal and informal building indicated on the GTI Growth Indicator Database. The 2001 population figures were used, and the 2009 population figures were estimated on the basis of the 2011 Census.
6 Johannesburg's density of around 6 000 p/km^2 is significantly higher than densities of most North American cities, and significantly lower than most Asian cities, but with the increase is approaching the densities of some European and Latin American cities.
7 The 1996 and 2011 population Censuses do not use identical categories for dwelling type, and so some adjustments have been necessary to align the data. For both Census years, categories of 'unspecified' and 'not applicable (collective living quarters and other institutions)' have been excluded. In 1996, 'Unit in a retirement village' was specified as a separate category, whereas it was not in 2011, and so 'Unit in a retirement village' has been added to 'Other' in 1996. For 2011, the three separate categories 'Cluster house in complex', 'Townhouse (semi-detached house in a complex)' and 'Semi-detached house' have been added together to match the 1996 category 'Townhouse/cluster/semi-detached house'. All other categories are identical.
8 While the housing programme may have led to increased densities as formal low-income housing is at a higher density than the average existing suburban density, the focus on detached housing means that further densification opportunities have been lost.
9 GCRO website: http://www.gcro.ac.za/.

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