

An Ethnography of Global Connections: The Case of Critical Mass

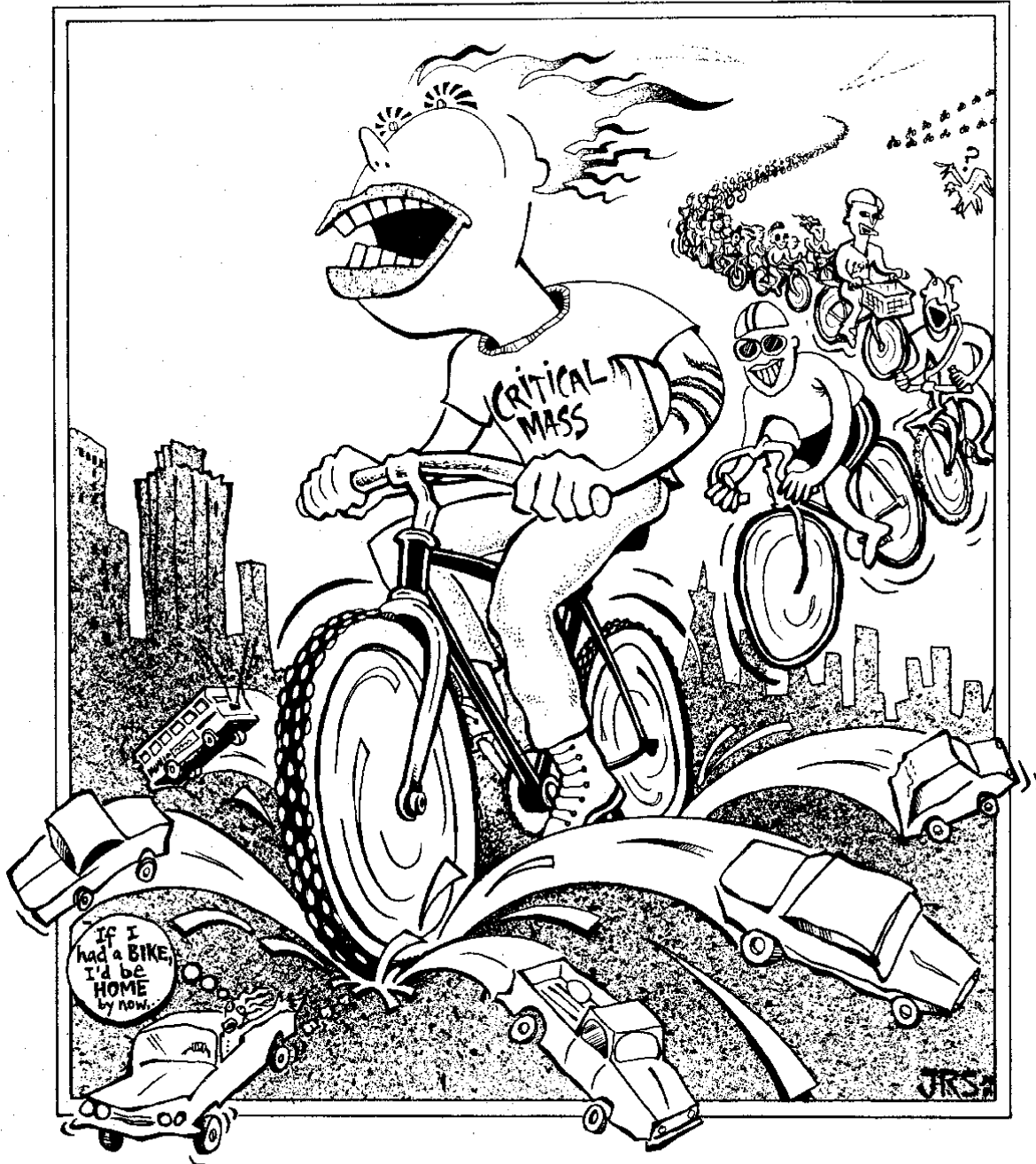
by

Katia Batista Lopes

Submitted to the Department of Anthropology in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts (Anthropology)

School of Social Science
Faculty of Humanities
University of the Witwatersrand
March 2016

HEY!



GET OUT OF OUR WAY!

Cartoon By: James R Swanson (Carlsson, 2002)

Declaration:

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Acknowledgements

This thesis is about how the everyday is made up of a multitude of connections. Thus I find it fitting to acknowledge here the connections in my own life that have made this thesis possible.

In a lecture room a few years ago, a passionate medical anthropologist gave a lecture on the body in anthropology. The lecturer, Dr. Nolwazi Mkwanazi, spoke clearly and concisely. For me, her conviction represented passion. Filled with the same passion I pursued anthropology. As my supervisor Dr. Mkwanazi pushed me during the writing of this thesis to think bigger, better and most of all with more value. She has shown me that every word means something and that my words as an anthropologist are important. Nolwazi, I owe you a great deal of thanks for pushing me to think more creatively but most of all for igniting the passion in me, that day in the lecturer hall, without it this project would not have been the labour of love it became.

This labour of love was also a challenging experiment. There were few people I could look to for guidance. Thankfully, Dr. Ruari McBride embraced my experiment with hands wide open. When I got stuck, Dr. McBride always had the time to sit with me and provide valuable insights, and rejuvenated this project back to life. Thank you Ruari for helping shape this thesis in the last days of my research endeavour.

An approach such as mine is experimental in that it presents data in an unusual way, and uses unusual data. In my view, such an approach is necessary for the rethinking of anthropology today. Of course, passion and guidance are nothing without bravery in this circumstance. I am thankful to my grandparents for showing me what it meant to be brave. They risked everything to make a better life for our family in South Africa. They never had much, but they always knew what it meant to be brave.

But even the brave get weak. On the days that this project seemed too big a mountain to climb, and I considered reverting to tried and tested forms of writing, investigating and thinking I turned to my loved ones. Lu, Paulo, Tiago and Tomé, thank you for giving me a home and unconditional love when I needed it most.

Once my spirits were back, and I could burst with enthusiasm. My mind would often run faster than my fingers could write in my notebook, or type at the keyboard. My partner sat writing, thinking and speaking with me for hours about these ideas. Mooch, thank you for loving this project as much as I have and helping me think through my thoughts. I hope all researchers are as blessed as I am to have you.

I was never alone growing up. Instead I was wedged between two sisters that were different from me but also each other. Tash, my older sister, showed me how and what to do and took care of me. Tanya, my younger sister, would always accompany me, as she and I discovered the world together. I have grown up looking at the world through both of their eyes. Thank you both for being everything to me and for letting me learn from you, always.

My sisters and I would often scurry along behind my mother, holding essays under our arms. We would sit, quietly in the corner of her Master's thesis supervisors office, in awe of our mother. My mother's love for life long learning instils the drive to learn more and understand more in me. Mom, you have been my greatest influence.

All these connections, to knowledge, guidance, strength, comfort, engagement and inspiration came with me as I first went to my field site in March 2015. These connections, however, meant nothing without the riders that provided me with their time. I would like to thank the members of the cycling community, all the advocates, researchers and riders, that made time in their very busy lives to speak to me. Cycling was alien to me before I began this research. When Phadu and Paka, members of the support trailer, took me under their wing I finally felt at home. Phadu and Paka, thank you for taking me on as one of your own.

I thank God, most of all, for these blessings that He has bestowed upon me.

I dedicate this to my mother,

I often think of the moments I trailed behind you, in those grand university corridors.
Those memories remind me that knowledge is everything, and my knowing is not done yet.

Abstract

The primary purpose of this study is to identify the social characteristics of the Critical Mass event in Johannesburg, an event that forms part of an international movement. The international Critical Mass movement is made up of 350 participating cities around the world where cyclists ride as unregulated groups, on the last Friday of every month, to take back the streets from cars. My study investigates who rides in the Critical Mass event in Johannesburg, how they move through the inner city streets as a group and reasons given by the organisers and the participants for why the ride occurs. This study was conducted as a patchwork ethnography, where I participated in and observed the ride, but also collected secondary data (archives, maps, media sources, public reports and conferences/meetings) implicated at the ride. Using Anna Tsing's (2005) conceptual frameworks 'friction' and 'global connection' I suggest that my findings point to the particularities, a number of contextual factors that reach beyond the ride itself, but are always already contingent on moments of friction during the ride. I explain that the moments of frictions make clear the multiple chains implicated during the ride, that is the everyday. I argue that these chains are dynamic connections to identity, spatial and discursive privilege during the ride. This account of the particularities of the Johannesburg event, as cycling in Africa, the global South, fill the gap in the research on Critical Mass that is focused on Western accounts of the ride. Furthermore, as an experimental approach in anthropology my use of the patchwork method and connections contribute to new and political ways of thinking about the global South. Lastly, my study provides a lens to look at cycling advocacy.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	8
1. Literature Review.....	12
2. Methods	22
3.The Biked Identity	32
4. Gentrification on the Move.....	44
5. The City as Playground.....	55
Conclusion	67
Bibliography	72

Introduction

Riding alongside a group of cyclists who were singing, drinking and riding slowly, I passed through a red light at an intersection that had been blocked by a rider on each side. Standing with his leg out and over his bicycle, one of the cyclists stood firm in front of a line of cars that had the right to cross the intersection at that time. On the other end of the road Jim stood, in a similar fashion, in front of a Rea Vaya bus that continuously nudged forward to try get through. I heard a loud noise and I looked back to see if a rider had been hit. Instead, I saw that Jim had hit the bus with his fist. Other cyclists, the majority of whom were white, joined Jim and the banging became louder. This moment, is one example, of what I would call a “friction”. This friction between the men and the bus illustrates the ways in which race and gender or what I call identity privilege (one of three privileges I discuss in this thesis) are interconnected with riding Critical Mass in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Critical Mass Johannesburg is an event that forms part of a global movement that brings together cyclists in 350 cities around the world on the last Friday of every month to ‘take back the streets’ (Carlsson, Elliott and Camarena, 2012). In South Africa, and in Johannesburg in particular, “frictions” that are connected to identity, spatial and discursive privilege, characterise Critical Mass. Although these frictions exist in everyday encounters in the city, Critical Mass heightens these frictions. The global literature on Critical Mass has overlooked the existence of frictions that exist in the global South at Critical Mass.

This thesis is about the experience of riding Critical Mass in Johannesburg. Anna Tsing’s (2005) book “Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection” has been instrumental in how I have framed the study - theoretically and methodologically. The thesis is framed through Anna Tsing’s (2005) concepts of “frictions” and “global connections”. The concepts are useful in investigating the ways in which this global event is constructed and experienced in Johannesburg. In addition, the concept of “patchwork ethnography” (Tsing 2005) has been useful in how I approached the collection and presentation of the data. I collected ethnographic data at rides and traced implicated chains to informative sites. This multi-sited ethnography allowed me to present a detailed account of multiple and varying connections implicated in these moments of frictions at the ride. Consequently this thesis is largely

organised around an (condensed) account of the frictions at the Critical Mass ride¹ from which I relate secondary data. The argument that I make in this thesis is that Critical Mass Johannesburg, or more specifically the group of riders, their behaviours and ideas about the ride, is characterized by multiple contentious connections to privilege. These findings bring attention to the issues around cycling and is thus useful for thinking about the issues around cycling advocacy more generally.

Thesis map

In chapter one, I review two bodies of work together: the literature on Critical Mass and the literature on cycling in Africa. I show how the literature on Critical Mass provides concepts that explain who, how and why Critical Mass occurs in the global North. Literature on cycling in Africa suggests that the relationship between cycling and identity, the city and discourse is influenced by colonialism, apartheid infrastructure and global discourse. Put in conversation the literature shows a gap in an understanding of Critical Mass in the African context. My discussion of who, how and why Critical Mass Johannesburg happens thus fills this gap.

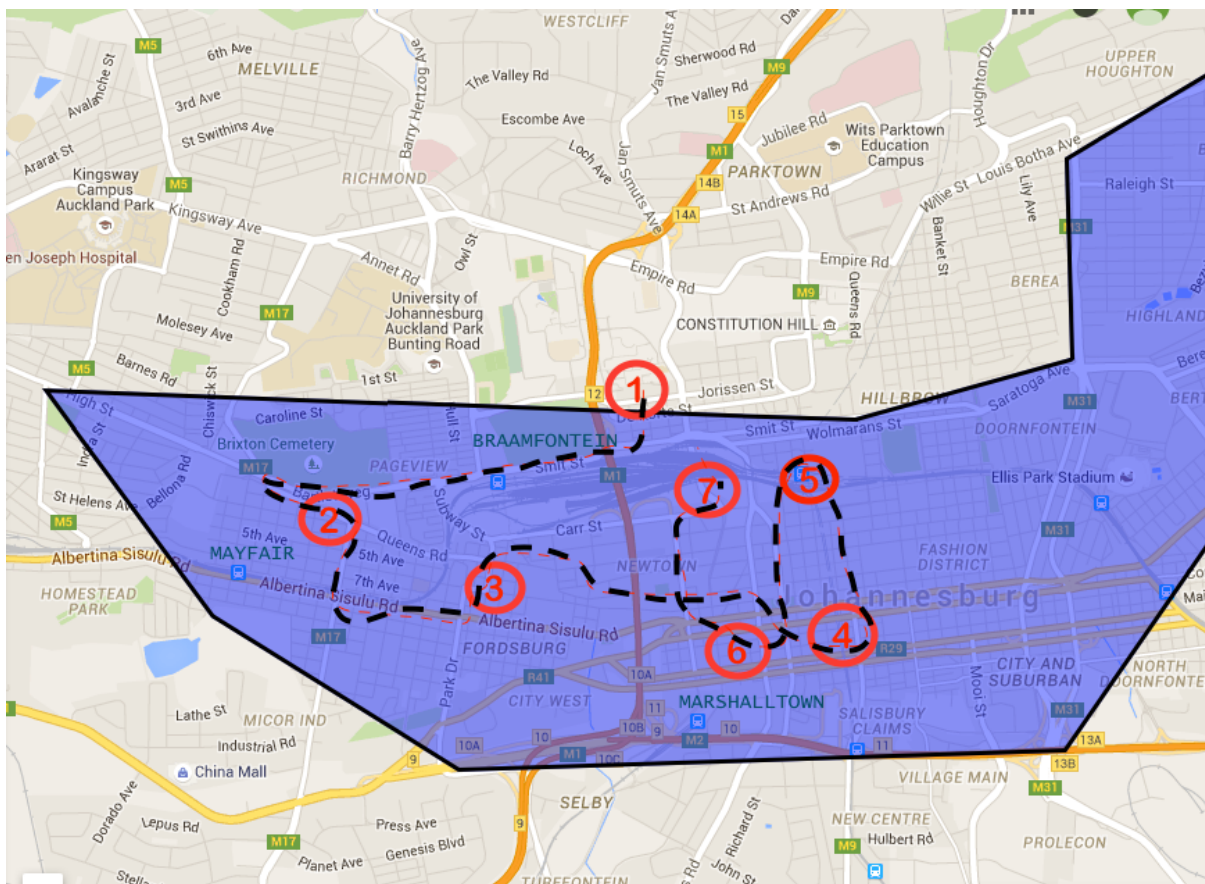
In chapter two I discuss the challenges with filling this gap using classic ethnography and how the use of ethnography can be damaging in the global South as it can perpetuate dualist conceptions of the South as backward to the developed West. I suggest that a critical discussion of privilege, power and agency in cycling today, has to be connected to method and writing form. The approach I have adopted from Tsing (2005), patchwork ethnography, is discussed and positioned as a medium for this important perspective on the South in anthropology.

In chapters three, four and five, I describe a typical Critical Mass ride starting on Juta Street in Braamfontein and ending through Newtown (see map 1). As a thread throughout the rest of the thesis, parts of the ride are patched together with secondary data and analyses² in each

¹ Although presented as one ride, the description of the ride is made up of eight Critical Mass Johannesburg events over an eight month period.

² A discussion of the frictions; secondary factors or chains and then connections in three separated chapters would perpetuate the hierarchal top-down norm. Instead the use of each chapter to describe the 'everyday' frictions that implicate other chains ensures the fluid movement through different scapes throughout the thesis. I call this non-hierarchal approach a lateral account of power.

chapter. To begin, in chapter three, *the biked identity*, I describe how the mostly white male riders ride through Braamfontein (map 1, pt. 1) and Mayfair (map 1, pt. 2), areas populated by mostly black people. The ride provides examples of moments where there is a difference between the female and male riders behaviour, and also between the white riders' and the black residents and pedestrians. This difference draws attentions to issues of race, gender and what participants explained were historical connections to a privileged status of the bicycle. I suggest that the men perform masculine identity traits on the bicycle such as strength, mechanical sophistication and the protector role. This performed patriarchy intersects with a history of the white male's privileged access to the bicycle. Through an explanation of how performed gender and race in history define the Critical Mass Johannesburg rider, what I call "identity chains", I argue that the riders at Critical Mass are connected to what I call privileged identity connections.



Map 1 This map, called the CM Jozi grid, was posted on the Critical Mass JHB website. I have edited the map by plotting the route I describe here.

In chapter four, *gentrification on the move*, I explore how the group of cyclist ride in the inner city spaces of Fordsburg (map 1, pt. 3), Marshalltown (map 1, pt. 4) and Doornfontein (map 1, pt. 5) using middle class means to a good bicycle to move separate from the largely

poor and crime filled spaces while still riding through it. I do so by describing examples of friction between the group of cyclists and the poor and what the riders regarded unsafe space. The unsafe was often determined by the talk of crime proliferated on the media and is often connected to the particular space of the inner city. This friction, like that of identity, draws attention to spatial chains and increased access to multimodal mobility. Multimodal mobility refers to access to different and varying forms of transportation, in this case, in the city. I explain how these chains link class, space and city infrastructure to Critical Mass as access to space and means is always already a product of larger spatial stratification. These chains form what I call “privileged spatial connections”.

In chapter five, *the city as playground*, I explore the reasons given by Critical Mass riders for joining the event. These reasons revolved mainly around leisure while reasons presented by the organisers were political. These two motivations are evident in the description of Maboneng (map 1, pt. 6) and Newtown (map 1, pt. 7) where they present as a friction. I discuss how some participants represent the ‘city as playground’ through discourse while organisers focus on discourse concerning ‘taking back the streets’. The friction between these reasons and the representation of the mass itself, by the Critical Mass social media account, led me to important discursive connections to local and national advocacy and international discourse of the world-class city. These discourses allow for global meanings to infuse into the ride, while the ride itself maintains a non-political atmosphere. Thus, I argue that contentious connections to discursive privilege are central to why the riders ride at Critical Mass.

In my conclusion, I argue that these connections culminate to form and allow for Critical Mass Johannesburg. I show throughout the thesis how my research fills the gap in the literature by providing an account of the particularities of Critical Mass as a part of the global South. I suggest that these connections show that Africa is not separate from the West and that the everyday is not separable from history, economics and international discourse. Thus my account brings attention to the issues around cycling as complex. I then relate my findings to current issues in cycling advocacy in Johannesburg and suggest that my findings provide a useful light and lens through which to assess or rethink the simplistic approaches taken by advocates.

Chapter One

Literature Review

Critical Mass originated in San Francisco in 1992 as a group of cyclists that assembled in the city streets to ride and assert their dominance on the road (Carlsson, Elliott and Camarena, 2012). This was important at the time because the pervasive use of cars had marginalised cyclists as road users both physically on the road and ideologically as a legitimate form of transportation. As a response the group rode on the last Friday of every month as an unmarshalled and unregulated ‘mass’ that came together at an agreed upon location and determined the route as a democratic collective (Carlsson, 2002). The objective was embodied in the phrase ‘take back the streets’, coined during the rides conception, which refers to the right for people to use public space and more specifically for cyclists to be respected as road users. This Critical Mass structure that defines who rides as cyclists, how they ride as a mass; and why they ride as ‘taking back the streets’, is today used in hundreds of cities around the world. These local events³, structured in similar ways, constitute Critical Mass as an international movement. In this chapter I discuss how the literature on Critical Mass addresses these three parts of the ride. In my discussion I assert that the literature that addresses parts of these rides, do so in three themes: identity, space and discourse. These themes makeup a body of literature on Critical Mass events in the global North and overlooks these themes in the global South. I then turn to the literature on cycling in Africa in order to provide context for the above-mentioned ideas. I discuss accounts of similar ideas regarding who, how and why people cycle in Africa. My study, on the Johannesburg Critical Mass, bridges these two fields of study by providing a new account of Critical Mass in the global South.

Critical Mass

The literature on Critical Mass has provided understanding about each aspect of the ride (who, how and why) by addressing links between who rides and identity, how they ride and space and why they ride and discourse. In my review of the literature I describe and define

³ In 2012, Carlsson, Elliott and Camarena recorded 350 participating events, however, numerous online lists suggest the total number has increased to around 450. Europe and North America are estimated to have 130 and 220 participating cities, respectively, where South America and Asia each boast around 40 events, Africa has a recorded 9 events and Australasia has around 17.

three concepts related to these themes, and suggest their usefulness as points of reference in my discussion on my findings. I begin with a discussion of ‘the testosterone brigade’ a concept that defines the riders as performing white patriarchal identity through riding. (Bruzzone, 2012; Camarena, 2012). I then explain ‘the real alternative’ as a term used to highlight the use of the mass to marginalise the usually centralised car on the street space (Furness, 2010; Jensen 2007). Then, I identify the term ‘biketivism’ as a word used to describe particular meanings and reasons for the ride expressed in multiple scales of discourse (Furness, 2005; Blickstein and Hanson, 2001; Chapot, 2002). I suggest that the concepts ‘the testosterone brigade’, ‘the real alternative’ and ‘biketivism’ bring to light how identity, space and discourse is implicated in who the riders are, how the mass moves and why the ride takes place.

Identity and the Testosterone Brigade

The literature addresses the topic of who rides Critical Mass through discussions of identity. For example Furness (2010) suggests that during the ride, the cyclist reveals white identity privilege when white riders are treated better than black cyclists in public space and Bruzzone (2012) suggests that the male identity are performed during the ride. All these authors argue that these identities need to be engaged with critically if Critical Mass is going to be considered a ride for all riders. Bruzzone’s (2012) exemplified this argument most clearly so I use it as a point of reference in this theme in the literature.

Bruzzone (2012) discusses the cultural particularity of the San Francisco ride. Although he does not use a wide and detailed contextualisation of San Francisco, he mentions the dominance of patriarchy in the society. He suggests that Critical Mass riders, perform what he calls ‘dudeliness’, an abrasive male identity during the ride through riding aggressively, leading the group and determining the route. He calls the group the testosterone brigade, a term which alludes to the gendered dominance of the ride. As a rider himself, he reflects on the use of gender performance during the ride and suggests that the ride is a critical space that can ‘queer’ the gender normative roles. In the second half of his essay he begins to propose a feminist mass in the wake of this realisation. Bruzzone (2012) explains the cyclist at Critical Mass as a ‘dude’, a typical male whom performs normative gender on the bicycle. The centrality of identity to who rides is a theme I discuss in my own work.

Space and the Real Alternative

Critical Mass rides on the streets as “a mass”. Cyclists ride as a group, often unified, in their intent to take control of the centre of the roads. This is in a context where cars use the middle of the roads and cyclists are regulated to the sides thus physically marginalised. Furness (2010) argues that the ‘mass technique’ is at once a response to society and a product of it. He explains that the group, responds to a particular meaning ascribed to space, but creating and using similar meanings in new ways. Furness (2010) as well as Carlsson (2002) define this new meaning as ‘the real alternative’. The term refers to the place making actions, and thus defines how the riders move, that is as a group, as a place-making activity.

According to Jensen (2007) a kind of multi-modal mobility politics is enacted through the groups use of space. Multi-modal mobility politics is the use of more than one form of transport at a given time by the cyclists to make a political point about their fair use of public space. Jensen (2007) gives an example of a Critical Mass ride in New York, trying to escape arrest, cyclists use the underground train to move, quickly, through the city and out of sight of the police. Both multi-modal mobility and the real alternative stand as terms that highlight the use of the mass in a particular way that connects with kinds of mobility and space (Furness, 2010; Jensen 2007).

Discourse and the Developing Narrative

‘Biketivism’ or bike activism according to Furness (2005) is a form of social activism that uses the bicycle as a tool in the politicisation of the homogenising impetus of the automobile industry. The message in Critical Mass is clearly one of counter car culture. According to Furness (2005); Carlsson (2002); Ciclocuoco (2012) bike activism underlies Critical Mass and has been apart of Western culture since the 19th century (Chapot, 2002) and has also evolved in Europe as *bicicrítica* (Lorenzi, 2012)

Blickstein and Hanson (2001) show that the bicycle advocacy at Critical Mass, what is referred to above as biketivism, is firstly connected to ideas about sustainability and secondly, these ideas are, in most Critical Mass rides in the West, proliferated through discourse on social media. Sustainability for the authors is itself hard to define but put simply it concerns itself with eco-friendly, reliable and affordable forms of transport use. They argue that Critical Mass uses a combination of face-to-face interactions and cyber-communication

to forge global action between localised social networks and global meanings.

Through the concepts of biketivism, testosterone brigade, and the real alternative issues that related to identity, space and discourse are evident. However, these studies only related to Critical Mass events in Europe (Ciclocuoco, 2012; Lorenzi, 2012) and North America (Furness, 2005; Furness, 2010; Chapot, 2002; Jensen, 2007; Bruzzone, 2012; Blickstein and Hanson, 2001). There is no published academic literature on the Critical Mass rides in South America, Africa or Asia⁴ despite the existence of the movement. My study fills this gap in our knowledge of what we know about Critical Mass in the global South.

Cycling in Africa

Now turning to the literature on cycling in Africa, I want to show the ways in which cycling in Johannesburg has particularities that link to cycling in the African context more generally, a context different from the West. I begin by describing the work of Likaka (1997); Luig, (1999); Hunt (1999); and Reynolds (1989) to show the ways in which colonialism influenced the rider's identity. I then discuss the relationship between cycling and city space and infrastructure presented in the literature on Africa in order to illustrate how, in Johannesburg, Apartheid urban planning and development created stratified access to a cycling space (Suleman, 2013; Campbell, Ward and Stewart, 2005; Rwebangira, 2001; Jennings, 2011; Bechstein, 2010). Finally, using the literature on the global South, I suggest that development narratives determine discourse on cycling (cf. Furness, 2010; Rigg, 2007). Unlike the literature on Critical Mass discussed in the previous section, this body of work provides complex accounts of the constitution of identity, space and discourse by speaking to contextual interactions and particularities.

The Colonial Identity of the Bicycle

A number of studies highlight the relationship between cycling and the colonisation of Africa (Likaka, 1997; Hunt, 1999; Reynolds, 1989). Hunt (1999), for example, writes about the colonial status of bicycles as a marker of the middle-class in Belgian Congo where nurses

⁴ Although there are practical and reflective published accounts of Critical Mass events in Africa, Asia, and South America (cf. Carlsson, Elliott and Camarena, 2012), I do not review them here because they do not contribute the formal academic research and reflections I position my work in response to.

in medical missionary establishments used bicycles to move and thus expand their services (Hunt, 1999). In Zaire, the bicycle was a status of success as colonisers introduced the bicycle as a reward for high productivity on cotton-picking farms and greater buy-in to capitalism (Likaka, 1997). Closer to home, Reynolds (1989) asserts that bicycle paths in Cape Town, South Africa, during apartheid were designed for scholars in predominantly white and high-income suburbs. Put in conversation with each other this literature speaks to the role of the bicycle, throughout history, as a marker of prestigious identity. The literature also signals the bicycle as a political tool used to dominate Africans in a system of Western medicine, religion, capitalism and supremacy but also to subjugate poor Africans by limiting access to bicycles and infrastructure. Most importantly the findings suggest that ‘the cyclist’ is a dynamic construct or nexus of history, status and access to resources related to African space and history.

In the remainder of this review, I focus on studies of cycling in African cities because Critical Mass specifically happens in the city. This is not to say that studies have not been done on cycling in rural African locations (cf. Ngcobo, 2003; Cunha, 2006; Heyen-Perschon, 2001; Bryceson and Howe, 1993; Bryceson, 2002) but rather I intend to use the literature to make a particular point about cycling in the city – which is that the context of the city is related to how and why people cycle.

Fragmented Mobility in City Space

Like the African countries mentioned above, the city of Johannesburg was shaped by conquest (Mbembe, 2004) because in its inception, in the late 19th century, as a mining town, white businessmen used a low wage, black labour force in the construction of the first buildings and roads in what is now known as the inner city Central Business District (CBD). Historically this infrastructure benefited white inhabitants living in the North whereas black populations’ had limited access to physical and economic mobility, when they lived in the highly policed slums of the inner city (Hellmann, 1948) and later when they were relocated to the outskirts of the city. Mobility, in this instance, is an empowering form of movement. Thus through strategic access to space and mobility, the Apartheid government engineered Johannesburg in to a segregated city (Mubiwa and Annegarn, 2013).

Suleman (2013) suggests that along with the segregationist history, present day infrastructure

in the city of Johannesburg has contributed to the retention of the fragmented cityscape in class terms. Infrastructure is in this case, highways (Campbell, Ward and Stewart, 2005) and multimodal transport (bus, cars, walking, informal mini bus taxis) (Rwebangira, 2001). Highways are built for cars, a form of transport rarely used by the poor populations on the outskirts. However highways are one of the fastest and most efficient means of mobility in the city. Poor populations are also limited by the varying transport system in the city that is not integrated making it harder to access certain spaces without considerable costs and time.

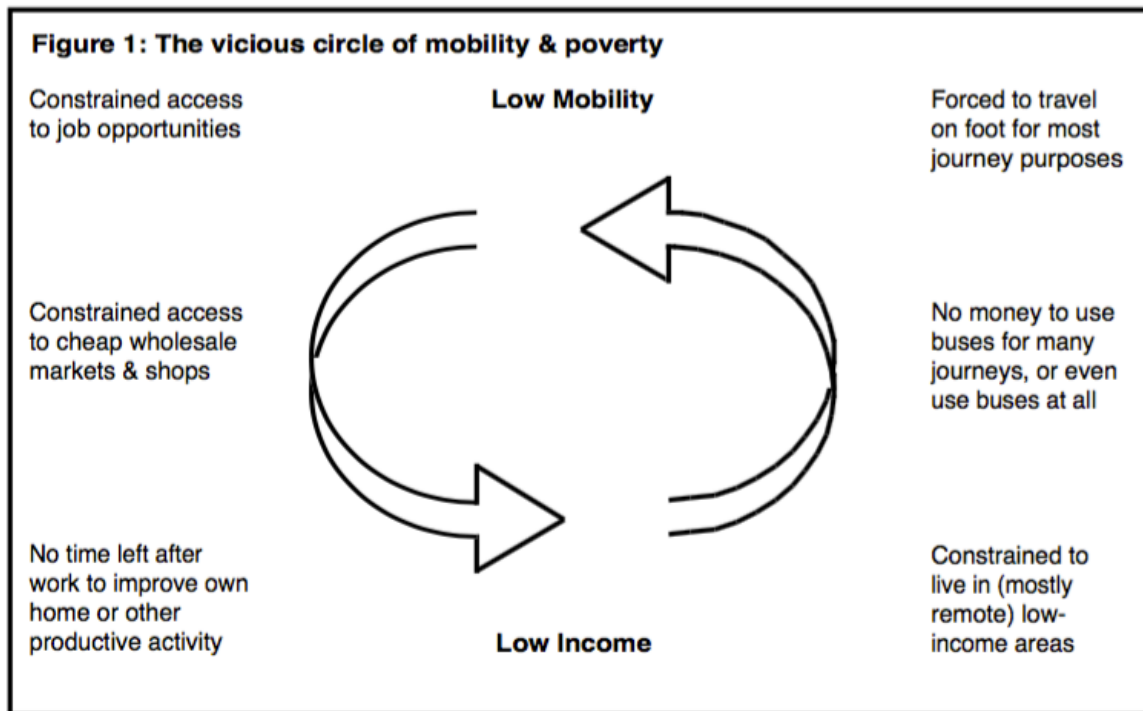


Figure 1 Flow between income and mobility (Rwebangira, 2001)

More than twenty years after Apartheid poor, black populations placed on the city's periphery during apartheid are now kept there because as Rwebangira (2001) argues limited infrastructural factors constrain access to new economic means – a cycle of poverty through mobility (fig. 1). As figure 1 shows, the limited mobility of these poor groups perpetuates a cycle of poverty where the poor have little access to means of cycling, that is, the financial ability to own, repair, maintain and buy a bicycle and infrastructure to secure cycling as a reliable form of transport (Rwebangira, 2001; Jennings, 2011; Bechstein, 2010). This connection between the city's planning/infrastructure and access to mobility provide a lens into the larger issues of poverty connected to cycling and space.

Literature on the Johannesburg city more generally has found that the divided city landscape

is today in fact a product of the fear of crime and subsequent increase of enclaves connected to this history of segregation. As the talk of crime and the privatisation of public space increase the reinstitutionalisation of segregation characterises the city (Harrison, Gotz, Todes, Wray, 2014; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2004; Dirsuweit, 2002; Landman, 2004; Chipkin, 2012). The bicycle falls within this context of the attempt to ‘tame the disorderly city’ as Martin Murray (2008) coined it. Moreover, literature on mobility in the city has not been limited to the use of transportation. For example, Kihato (2013) provides an account of migrant women whom have come to Johannesburg from various African countries. As a form of mobility, migration is limited not by roads but borders, legal operations (most significantly the police) and xenophobic attitudes. This highlights the role of other social and legal factors in the limitation and control of mobility in the African city.

The Developing (Cycling) South

Although people cycle for many different reasons in the global South, cycling in Africa is most often represented as embroiled in ideas of poverty and cycling as a means to better one’s life – what I call the development narrative. Furness (2010) critiques the use of the development paradigm by US aid groups that donate bicycles to various African, Asian and South American countries, for example. Furness (2010) explains that while the charitable groups in the US help women and men in the ‘developing world’ to acquire mobility by providing access to bicycles in rural and urban areas, the NGO’s are also coupled with a pre-existing paradigm of economic exploitation, colonial oppression and global strategies. This is in the production of the developing world as a reservoir of cheap labour and resources. He argues that the agenda of providing bicycles as a form of development proliferates the idea that African countries, for example, can help themselves through development, an initiative that has provided the capitalist agenda with power for the last two hundred years.

The literature on cycling more generally also perpetuates similar developmental discourses particularly literature on cycling in America and Europe (cf. Rosen, Cox and Horton, 2007; Kidder, 2005; Steinbach, Green, Datta and Edwards, 2011; Vivanco, 2013). American and European discussions often mention difference between ‘developing world’ conditions (as poor) and the ‘developed world’ context (as sometimes unequal and technologically advanced). The global South is seen as “mimicking the ultra-modernity of former rulers” in

the global North (Rosen, Cox and Horton, eds. 2007: 4) and the developed world is seen as “centres of cycling excellence” (Pucher and Buehler, 2007; Pucher and Dijkstra, 2003). This ‘developing world’ theme reflect an understanding that the global North and South are different but more importantly, that the South is always a response to the standard of excellence set by the North.

Defining what is considered as the global South is important here. Previously countries located distinctly in the geographical South were regarded as poor and developing (Rigg, 2007). Today, however many nations in the South achieve above average GDP per capita, placing them technically in the global North, or developed world. Taking these issues into account, my own research defines the global South as a particular set of *relations* and not as a geographic locale. Here I follow Jean and John Comaroff’s (2012) assertion that the ‘global South relation’ is characterised by the experience of similar entangled dimensions such as colonial histories and perceived developing economic, social and political status. The global South and the global North are fluid categories (Rigg, 2007).

I have presented the literature in themes relating to identity, space and discourse because it allows for the unravelling, defining and identification of the relationship between these factors. The literature on Critical Mass provides concepts relating to each of these themes but is limited to a western account. The literature on cycling in Africa presents possible contextual influences that may relate to my findings in Africa. In the concluding section of this literature review I have put the concepts in the cycling in Africa literature in conversation with the Critical Mass literature to identify the gap between them and my approach.

Filling the Gap

In this section I briefly discuss the gap in the literature that the two bodies of work I discuss when put in conversation with each other. I suggest that the literature on Critical Mass homogenises and decontextualises the experiences of Critical Mass in different locales by failing to pay attention to the cultural differences that may emerge in various contexts, particularly the global South where the politics of cycling are complicated by the historical trajectory of colonialism, apartheid planning and development discourse.

Identity: Who is the Cyclist at Critical Mass Johannesburg?

If the literature on Critical Mass suggests that the performance of gender occurs at Critical Mass, and is reflective of norms, then a question I attend to in this theses is: who is the cyclist? In light of the literature on cycling in Africa, I suggest that studies on Critical Mass have yet to begin unearthing the complexity of the rider in the global South. As shown above cycling in Africa cannot be divorced from a particular historical trajectory. I suggest that my discussion of the Critical Mass Johannesburg rider, in chapter three, relates and fills the gap between these two literatures.

Space: How does the group ride at Critical Mass Johannesburg?

If the literature on Critical Mass suggests that the group moves as a “real alternative” in the African city, Johannesburg, this alternative is dependent on complex and disparate systems of mobility and infrastructure (space), then a question I attend to in this theses is: how and in what space does the cyclist move in? With regards to the literature on cycling in Africa, it seems to be the case that economic class has a role in this, and is something I also account for in my discussion of space in chapter four.

Discourse: What discourse connects to taking back the street at Critical Mass Johannesburg?

If the literature on Critical Mass suggests that the reasons why riders participate is usually as activists and proliferates in discourse but in Africa this discourse is implicated by a development narrative then the question I attend to in this theses is: what discourse does Critical Mass have? A question I discuss in chapter five.

My approach not only fills the gap it also brings together all three aspects of the ride, who, how and why, in one anthropological account of Critical Mass, something that has not been attempted thus far.

In conclusion, my review of the literature has provided context for the Critical Mass movement and event but also the cycling dynamics of the African city Johannesburg that my study takes place in. I showed that the themes in these two bodies of work, when put alongside each other also reveal each other’s weaknesses and a gap in the literature. This gap

is the social understanding of who, how and why the Critical Mass event happens in the African context. The literature is useful in defining the key terms I use in my findings: identity, space and discourse. Thus my research focuses on the contextual particularities of Critical Mass Johannesburg, a ride in the global South. In the next chapter I elaborate on the representational issues this kind of study presents and my methodological and analytical approaches.

Chapter Two

Methods

On the one hand, I was unwilling to give up the ethnographic method, with its focus on the ethnographer's surprise rather than on a pre-formulated research plan. On the other hand, it is impossible to gain a fully ethnographic appreciation of every social group that forms a connection in a global chain. My experiment was to work my way back and forth between [the ethnographic site] and the places implicated in the chains I traced (Tsing, 2005: x)

Like Tsing's (2005) dilemma I found myself stuck in how to approach the study of the social particularities of Critical Mass but also implicated places (the connections). The ethnographic moment limited my focus and did not allow me to fully account for the array of factors partly accounted for in the literature of cycling in Africa. To relieve this shortfall, I adopted what Tsing (2005) refers to above as a 'patchwork ethnography'. Patchwork ethnography is a method that starts with ethnography - in my research I investigated the ride as a rider and observer. I traced my findings of this primary research to secondary sites and information. This chapter provides a discussion of my approach to patchwork ethnography and the details of my method. Then I move onto an explanation of the discursive framework, frictions, and analytical framework, global connections, I used to understand the diverse forms of data I acquired (and how they have been appropriated from Tsing's ethnography for my own research). In the last section I reflect on the importance of this method, analysis and my own position in my study as tools in a post-modern ethnography that takes seriously the representation of the global South in academic literature.

Method: Patchwork Ethnography

To record who the cyclists were, how they rode in the street and why they rode Critical Mass Johannesburg, I focused on the people, space and social media account of the ride. My data collection involved observation, interactions, participation and copious ethnographic note taking. Through referrals to people and places by the cyclists or members of the field of cycling and cycling studies I collected information in the form of pamphlets, maps, interviews and informal conversations. After attending a number of rides and gathering referrals I read over my ethnographic notes and looked for prevalent themes that were not fully accounted for but implicated in other sites. I traced these during the last three months of my research period as I continued ethnographic participant observation at the monthly

Critical Mass rides. Below I provided an in depth account of my approach. I first discuss the ride, and then the traced connections.

The Ride

I began attending Critical Mass events in Johannesburg in April 2015 and attended eight Critical Mass rides throughout the year. These events occur once a month. During the first two rides, I rode alongside the group of cyclists to observe and record the smells and sounds of the inner city, the aesthetics of the buildings, roads and cyclists and discern the mass as it moved. This was important because the group often spoke about the particularity of the inner city context and their relationship to it. According to Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland, and Lofland (2001) and Stoller (1997), an advocate for sensuous scholarship, sensory data provides useful ethnographic description to account for experienced places. Being a passenger in the car allowed me to move along with the group and still observe and take detailed voice recorded notes of the surroundings and riders. I was unable to observe these characteristics in as much detail when I participated as a rider in the group (on three different occasions). Thus later in the year I returned to the car once more to focus on the actions of the riders during the ride taking note of body language, interactions, riding style and attitudes of the riders to account for how particular people rode during the ride. However, when I participated in the ride I was able to gain a better understanding of the emotions and experience that saturated a rider like myself. The experience allowed me to understand the rider's affect more fully (cf. Atkinson, et al. 2001, Stoller, 1997; Jones, 2005; Spinney, 2007).

The ride extended before and after into the social media space where Facebook and Twitter posts organised the group and reposted pictures and captions put up by participants. Thus I extended my observations to these social media sites by documenting themes and direct quotes and pictures from the feeds. Media is thus appropriated as a field site to record discourse of the mass (cf. Manovich, 2001). According to Murthy (2008) using social media in ethnography is advantageous in that it provides what he calls 'strands' of information. By this he means the relationships between people, groups or ideas are made visible on the social media stream. Social networks that were harder for me to appreciate and investigate in the physical realities of everyday were made clear on these sites (Ellison, 2007). This visualisation was important to my study of discourse because the group of people were not

able to talk much during the actual ride that left me with a gulf in my understanding of how people organically spoke of Critical Mass Johannesburg.

The car and the bicycle were isolating because the participants were always moving so I could not engage in conversation with them. To address this shortfall I joined the crewmembers on the hire truck that trailed the mass for two rides. The crewmembers on the truck were predominantly black men in their early thirties from Soweto, a township 30 minutes South from the city centre. They hired out a fleet of bicycles they owned at Critical Mass. By contrast, I was a researcher but also a white woman in my twenties from a working class suburb which is near the city centre (all facts they came to know through conversation or their own inference). The difference between the crew and myself provided the most detailed explanations from the men. They often told me “we just want to see you graduate” as a motivation for their ongoing patience to my questions and explanations of their experiences. Our conversations implied that they saw my race, gender and position as researcher as a point of misunderstanding.

The crewmembers expressed to me on a number of occasions that they were themselves not from the inner city and were afraid to venture out of the trailer or away from the group of riders on their own, especially at night. Although my intention was to interact with the residents of the inner city, to gain a bystanders perspective, the crew who had worked at Critical Mass for several years and whose judgment I trusted chose not to. So I did not either. I did however, interact with cyclists who came to the trailer when their bicycles broke. Stops along the route were also a great way to engage in informal conversations and interviews with both bystanders and cyclists (at the Sheds Market and an open square called Gandhi). I would generally speak to between 7 to 15 people at each ride some of whom I developed a rapport with over several months. Each conversation and interaction gave me a space to ask about what the ride meant to people, whom they thought rode the ride and who they were.

Tracing Connections

In August, September and October 2015, I conducted research outside of the actual ride. I interviewed riders, Critical Mass organisers and members from cycling advocacy groups; attended meetings and seminars; conducted archival research; collected media clippings

observations and engaged in research that provided secondary data sources. Contacts for this research were acquired through snowballing. The group of cyclists I interviewed were predominantly men so the snowballing method resulted in three quarters of my interlocutors being male. I spoke to two women (one of whom was black and the other white) and six men (two of whom were black and the remaining four white). This is important to note because race and gender are central to the first third of my discussion. I speak more about this in the next section. I also interviewed three members of the cycling community organisations as well as the Critical Mass organisers when it became evident that the Critical Mass was connected to the ideologies of these particular groups on social media. In these open-ended interviews, I asked questions related to reasons for the discursive relationship between the organisation, explanations of the groups objects and like all interviews the interlocutors relationship with cycling (why, how, when and what they cycle) and Critical Mass (participations, perceptions and meanings).

To better account for the race and gender dynamics at the ride I researched the history of the bicycle in South Africa by exploring historical archives (historical accounts, fact finding and pictures) related to the bicycle in South Africa. Lister and Wells (2001) state that images, especially in the media, are narrations of the social as well as social artefact that reproduce social imaginaries of people and places. In this sense advertisements provide information on particular social constructs of the bicycle today, I thus collected advertisements and magazines on bicycles and bicycling published in 2015/16 to provide information of the normative rider today.

At the ride prominent distinctions between spatial class lines was recurring. I acquired maps and census information to determine the relationship between these factors. This action led me to realising how limited access to mobility through infrastructure and means was (as described by the literature). By chance I was invited to a forum where the topic of infrastructure, mobility and initiatives were discussed. At the meeting key players deliberated on the future of cycling in Johannesburg by considering these factors. I interviewed two members of this forum.

Social media served as a gateway to the secondary sites of information. Often 'links' were connected to posts on Twitter and Facebook. These related organisations, articles, initiatives

and discourse provided useful data of the connections to the global discourses and places discussed and referred to by organisers that I interviewed. Analysis of this data enabled an understanding of the means through which the accounts of Critical Mass were created and maintained. According to Postil and Pink (2012), it is beneficial to speak to people that put up posts on social media to make more informed connections between the online and locally-based realities. I did this by speaking to Critical Mass organisers about the posts on the feed and the reasons for them. I also asked riders about particular tweets to gain their view on meanings. In this sense social media accounts became virtual field sites in what Postil and Pink call social media ethnography. Thus, I consider the social media space a part of the ride and describe it as such, where the web links I follow from social media were secondary sites of information.

Framework: Frictions and Global Connections

My patchwork method had provided a complex array of contradictory, diverse and sometimes irrelevant data. I began by coding ethnographic data into themes. The themes that emerged were identity, space and discourse. As I began to write up this data, the chains I traced and documented fell off the edge of my ethnographic desk in an effort to consolidate my still mismatched and directionless themed findings into a coherent argument. Tsing's (2005) theoretical framework of friction and global connection allowed me to make sense of my findings in a meaningful way and provide a nuanced account of both everyday ethnographic examples and chains I traced as connections. I describe my interpretation of Tsing (2005) conceptual framework friction and global connection and follow this with a practical explanation of how I have use this framework to analyse my findings.

Tsing – Friction: An Ethnography of Global connections

Tsing (2005) provides a framework for thinking about the complexities of social life today. It does this through the analytic identification of a moment of friction in ethnographic data. Friction is the awkward and unequal moment of connections across difference. Moments of friction are, for Tsing (2005), productive in that they allow, implicate and form useful chains in the everyday. "Chains" are an assembly of particular social characteristics that emphasise

what I call lateral rather than hierarchal power. Lateral⁵ means mutual emphasis from chains in one moment, unlike previous understandings of structural power imposed on the everyday, or over emphasised grassroots power and agency. In my study ‘global’ refers to this lateral power as coming from diverse places. Thus connections, or what I will show are privileged connections throughout this thesis, are global in that they are more than the momentary or in the field. Thus global connections (diverse and mutually powerful chains) are implicated at the site of friction for particular connective ends. This is only one way in which Tsing’s (2005) uses the term global. She also uses global to refer to the study of a particular universal truth, an all-encompassing idea. In her work she continually relates her findings back to a complicated version of these truths. My approach uses a different thread of investigation, instead of investigating truths I investigate, what later appeared to me as privileges. Thus, although still in line with the underlining idea of the global this study does not use the word in terms of Tsing’s (2005) idea of ‘universals’ in the world. By only subscribing to the first articulation of ‘global’ I have presented here a discussion of privileged connections, using the framework of global connection. Thus, in my own work, I analyse the chains implicated at the site of friction and suggest that instead of global connections this framework allows for the analysis of privileged connections. I call the connections I account for privileged because the chains at the rides (with regards to who rode, how the group moved and why Critical Mass happened) were used, accessed and appropriated through a common thread of having social, economic and cultural capital.

Let me explain this through an example. Take the vignette of Jim and the other riders “corking” the road, which I described in the introduction. The gendered performance of the rider was suggested. A quote from Sue, a rider, explains and confirms the importance of gender in the act of corking. For Sue this moment of friction was due to the macho performance of gender by the cyclists:

It was immensely disrespectful to the locals because that is their neighbourhood and they live there. These spoilt white guys go in, get into a fight, so they can look all macho. Somehow these guys think that they have the right to take over roads that they don’t live on.

⁵ Tsing (2005) does not use the word lateral in her work. Her work is notorious for its complexity and sometimes hard to understand ideas and presentation of information (Klopfer, 2007; Boomgaard, 2007). For clarity, I refer to lateral power, as a simple term to define her complex suggestion for the always already multiplicity of life today.

“Corking” is essentially an aggressive male act, where the cyclist (white male) takes over the roads and creates his own rules, which are contrary to the shared rules of the road, for example, the men blocked roads illegally, hindering traffic. A less valiant connection was that all the men corking were white. There was an uneasy tension, a friction, between the race of the rider and that of the bus drivers and the motorists (who in the part of the inner city were majority black). However, having traced this friction (using archival and media data) to the uses of the bicycle I found that the bicycle has historically been used in the Anglo-Boer war by white male English soldiers and is still today used by white males for leisure. Thus friction as an analytical framework allows me to provide an explanation of the multiple themes in one ethnographic moment at the ride in the inner city while referring to other, what Tsing calls, chains. These chains are historical, racial and gendered, what can be called ‘identity’ of the rider. By using the framework of global connection, which insists on lateral and not hierarchal power, I analyse the commonality between the chains I trace as privilege.

Hence, instead of taking race as a neutral factor, friction implied importance. Friction, unveils the film of normativity to reveal the sociality in seemingly ‘simple’, that is momentary, situations. Through the ethnographic moments of friction the reader is afforded the view of the ethnographer, a messy view of the world and then is taken through an explanation of this complex social webs. By this I mean, that when discussing history in relation to Jim, and the others, identity it is not separate, hierarchical, rather it is visible in the contingency of life (cf. Ross, Henderson, McDougall and Cousins, 2014). Then the analytical framework of connections provides room for thinking about the relationships between these chains. Thus in the moment of friction between the bus driver and Jim, I can now suggest that Jim as a rider at Critical Mass in Johannesburg is connected to identity privilege. This insight was afforded to me through critical reflection within the ‘global connections framework’ that insists on lateral connections. By questioning the source of these particular identities, spaces and discourses I can infer the privilege that each has. In other words, by looking at these moments as moments of frictions, I was able to make sense of how chains come together in the everyday.

Ethics: The Politics of Representation in and on the South

The Comaroff's (2012) idea, and book, 'Theory from the South' suggests that approaches that reject the development narrative and speak from the South, with theory from the South, reveal the ways in which the West is actually trailing behind Africa, South America and Asia. They say that the South should take hold as leaders in theory (and method) production to provide answers to social, economic and political issues that the North only now face and the South have experience in. My discussion of ethics contributes to this debate as I use thinkers in and from the global South to suggest a particular technique and paradigm for the representation of lateral power and the rejection of positivist research.

According to Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) ideas about Africa need to be deprovincialised. By this the authors mean Africa need not be imagined as a web of difference, absolute otherness and as a failed project but rather a producer of knowledge in a global system of which Africa is fundamentally connected. Africanists need to be able to recognise that Africa is embedded in "multiple elsewheres" and only then will we, as producers of knowledge, reformulate Africa's position in the global. Taking seriously Mbembe and Nuttall's (2004) plea means considering how the ethnographic framework, historically premised on the study of the Other, limits this enquiry. The Other is the "savage [the rest] that only makes sense in terms of the utopia [the West]" (Trouillot, 1991:30). Trouillot asserts, "a truly critical and reflexive anthropology needs to contextualise the western metanarratives and read critically the place of the discipline in the field so discovered". Thus, to simply attempt to account for multiple elsewhere using methods that insist on the ethnographic moment alone, one is far less able to be truly reflexive in this way. Hence, by way of my own approach I note that anthropology in and of Africa has been bound up in the 'developing/developed' dualist approach since its inception where anthropology was used to dominate 'native' populations by colonisers (Nyamnjoh, 2012; Mbembe, 2001; Obarrio, 2012). Today, Africa, as a part of the global South, remains a different local space than the North allowing the ethnographic study focused on local space to further perpetuate the separation and thus power play in this duality (Tsing, 2005).

To break free of this paradigm and move into ‘multiple elsewhere’ requires “identify sites within the continent, entry and exit points not usually dwelt upon in research and public discourse, that defamiliarises common sense readings of the African City. Identifying such sites entails working with new archives - or even with old archives in new ways” (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004: 352). Thus how an ethnographer “addresses the splinters” (Geertz, 2000: 221) of the world in pieces speaks back to a dominant politics and discrimination that is covered up by totalising discourse. It is what João Biehl and Ramah McKay (2012) call a political critique in writing. The study of frictions and the use of patchwork ethnography is one example of this.

In line with Tsing (2005) I provide such a political critique in my own work as I use patchwork ethnography to account for more than just the momentary or the local. The global connections framework that I use along with the patchwork ethnography shows Johannesburg Critical Mass as implicated in ‘multiple elsewheres’ that are already a part of the ethnographic moment. This shows the means through which power is exercised in the everyday but how the everyday actions of a group of cyclists shape and stretch their own power in response to these influences. This deprovincialises Critical Mass and thus cycling in Johannesburg and complicates the separation of the West from Johannesburg, a part of the global South.

In line with this multiplicitious concept of the world, and how to study it, I assert that my own writing and analysis is layered with meaning. My interpretation of the field, and emphasis, what I would like to call, storytelling, is also a part of my thesis. In this sense, I acknowledge my mode of knowing, my frameworks, my writing style, my research tools, as data itself. To account for this, the ride that I use as an ethnographic thread throughout the thesis, made up of stories of friction, is told from *my* point of view, as the rider, to account for my role in the telling of this story.

My position in the research does not suggest my importance, rather my subjectivities. During my research, and during the writing of this thesis, I focused on the meanings, interpretations and explanations given to me by my interlocutors. As much as was possible I kept returning to these pools of meaning. Mindful of the important position my interlocutors played in my research, I always tried to make them aware that I was a researcher, and hoped that full

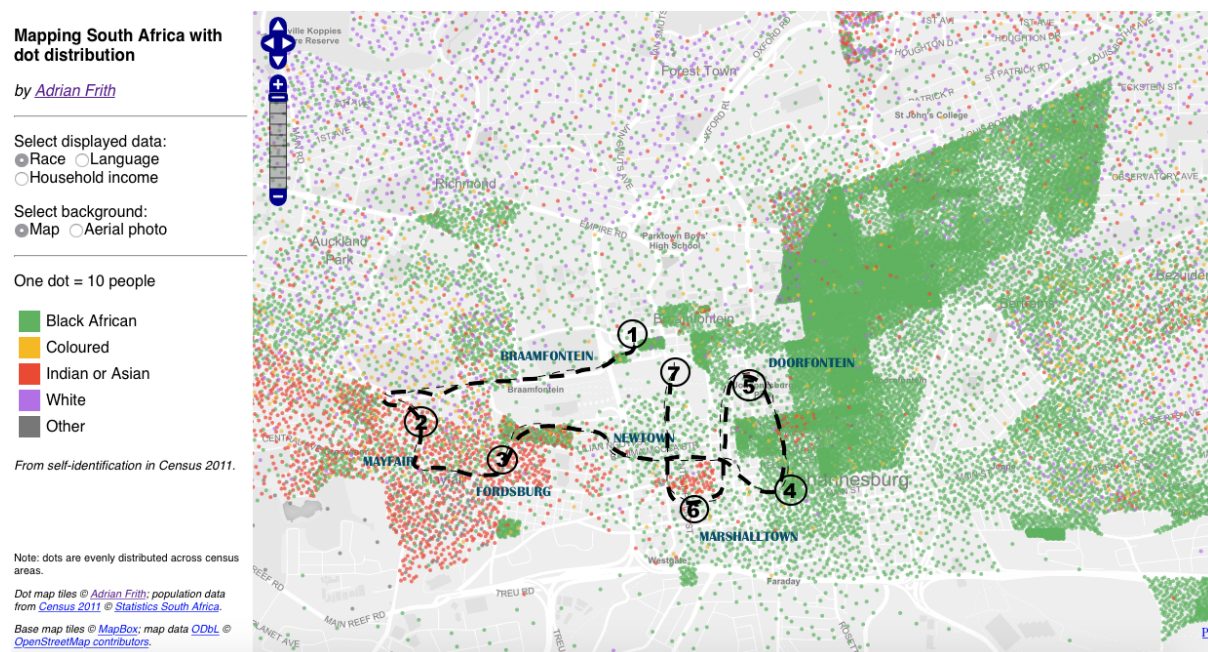
disclosure respected the boundaries between us (Barnard, 2006). I was unable to speak to the more than a thousand participants that I observed. The participants that I was able to make aware of my study (most of whom gave me far more personal information than those I observed in public space) were told of my intentions with the information. Each was given the option of reading the paper before submission and asked if they would want their names to be used or rather have personal details withheld. All asked for anonymity during the research. To ensure this I changed information about the people I discuss in the thesis and have limited the personal information recorded in my notes and audio recording. These audio recordings will be secured in a private place and disposed of within two years of the completions of the research. Few people asked to read the paper after submission (most of whom were in the field of cycling advocacy). Pictures are used to provide visual emphasis because of the visual nature of my data. I have, however omitted the faces of the people in the pictures for ethical reasons. The pictures are themselves a visual critique as each frame emphasises the riders and the inner city in equal parts mirroring my discussion of Critical Mass as socially constructed in city of Johannesburg (cf. Clarke 1997).

My approach is not unique, studies of cities like São Paulo, Brazil and Jakarta, Indonesia have already provided interesting case studies and applications of this ethical approach (cf. Simone, 2014 and Caldeira, 2012). Caldeira (2012) provides a nuanced account of how the practices of graffiti and motorbike riding in São Paulo allow an anarchic use of space and personal representation in normally segregated and limiting space. The mostly poor motoboys and graffiti artists are not provincialised in this instance but rather draw on trends from New York City, USA as they reclaim space in a transgressed way. Likewise, Simone (2014) accounts for the creative innovation of citizens in the city of Jakarta, Indonesia as they find new forms of mediating relationships between people from different backgrounds. This tactic assists in alleviating tensions in a city characterised by vast income disparities. Both have similar current realities characterised by segregation and limited mobility for the poor but both Simone (2014) and Caldeira (2012) tell a story of depvincialised realities and agency that answers current social issues. My research adds to these and other studies in the study of the South.

Chapter Three

The Biked Identity

By way of introduction, I describe the moments of frictions between the white male riders and the female riders but also between the black bystanders, using examples from the start of the ride. The ride starts on Juta Street, in what some might call the culturally diverse inner city area called Braamfontein (map 2, pt. 1) and then moves, slowly toward and through the quiet, Indian, working class, suburb of Mayfair (map 2, pt. 2). This description illustrates the ways in which gender and race play out in Critical Mass Johannesburg.



Map 2 The map depicts race (one dot represents 10 people) from the 2011 census taken in South Africa. My addition to the map is the route marked by a broken line and one to seven marking as defined in the introduction (Frith, 2013).

Riding through Braamfontein and Mayfair

Like many of the Critical Mass riders I awkwardly lug my blue, old and recently refurbished bicycle into the back of my car to participate at Critical Mass Johannesburg that begins at 19h15. I drive out of my house as the sun begins to set. The trees that shade the small suburban homes have golden halos from the street lamps that bend over them. I continue for eight kilometres to the start of the ride and I slip onto Jan Smuts Road which now functions as a porous entry and exit point through the invisible borders around the inner city (Map 2, pt. 1). The tall grey colonial buildings shadow the streets from the moonlight, signalling that I am now in Braamfontein. I park my car in one of the quiet streets, take out my bicycle,

helmet and gloves and walk on the pavement towards Juta Street. Car hooters, laughter, heels clicking on the tar, music from the bars, loud intoxicated conversations and whistles from the informal car attendants start as a whisper and become louder as I approach Juta Street, where the riders are gathered.

I stand outside Kitchener's, a pub in the second oldest building in Johannesburg, and the landmark for the assembly of the group. A group of men, 'sport enthusiasts', stand with thin streamline race bikes and matching brightly coloured aerodynamic lycra tights on the corner opposite me. On the roadside across from the men, 'adventure riders', wearing similar clothing, hold large mountain bikes with thick tyres and shiny suspension. I hear people speaking in German behind me. I turn and I see two women and one man, tourists, hiring bicycles with swooped trendy handlebars from the 'Soweto Cycles Tour' trailer. Towards the end of the road, a man with a customised spray-painted white city bike with a crest on the front stands typing on his smart phone. There are teenage 'tricksters' performing on the sidewalks with small odd shaped BMX bikes while dodging groups in fancy dress. Groups of 'leisure riders', who are mostly white men, arrive with classic road bikes, jeans, T-shirts and beers in their hands. These men form the majority of the riders.

I walk through the group around the block onto De Beers street where I meet Thabo, one of the few black people I have seen. Thabo stands with his sons, Neo (age 3) and Tee (age 5). Surprised at the boys' young age I ask, "Do Neo and Tee both ride?" He laughs and says "no, this one is too young" touching Neo's head "but yes my five year old rides and very well. We live in an estate where he can practice all day. Hey boy?" he confirms with his son Tee. As we speak, the group of 1000 or more riders assemble around us (fig. 2). Thabo sees a friend and goes over to speak to him.

It is minutes before the ride. The group takes up both North and South facing lanes and forms a defence against the car that attempts to pass on the right side of the road. Undeterred by the presence of the car, we continue to engage in conversation. I talk to a man next to me, his name is Jim. I tell Jim that this is my first time participating in Critical Mass he says, "first thing is make sure you are safe, stay in the group". I nod in agreement and put my helmet on, I notice that Jim does not have one on. "Do I not need a helmet?" I ask him? With eyebrows raised he replies "No, keep your helmet on, people throw bottles out the windows to try hit

you.” Noticing the surprise on my face he adds, “but Critical Mass is a great way to see the city”.



Figure 2 The Critical Mass Johannesburg participants on Juta Street as a car attempts to drive through.
(Photo by Katia Lopes)

In the background of Jim and my conversation, organisers play loud pop music from speakers they pull on wheels behind their bicycles. A few minutes later, I see a man in the front of the group ride off, a person I assume is the Critical Mass lead rider. We follow down de Beer Street and cross over Smit Street to use the left lane heading West. My bike’s wheel is not secured properly. Jim offers to help me fix my bike insisting that he can fix it. He secures the wheels while mumbling, “this is an easy job.” Minutes later, we begin riding slowly down the road. Jim looks over his shoulder at me and says, “don’t worry I will get you back into the mass safely.”

We stop at the main road waiting for a break in the flow of traffic in order to cross over. I had seen a car hit a cyclist here months before and so instinctively, I become extra vigilant. Standing on the side of the road is an older black man, whose eyes catch mine. I smile and say “hello”. “You don’t need to be scared”, he responds.

We cross the road and begin traveling down Smit Street towards Mayfair, Jim keeps looking back at me. The lip of the road is uneven and slopes in heavily. While I attempt to stay out the way of cars and slip into the curb, Jim rides fast and assertively alongside and into the

cars. We catch up with the mass a few minutes later. The atmosphere is jovial as we listen to the up beat tunes and dance in the streets with our bicycles. From a distance I can see a cyclist with a baby seat attached to his bicycle. I assume he has a baby in the seat, but instead he takes a beer out from the bundle. He laughs as he sees my surprise. I assume this is a way for the man to conceal his drinking on the road as public drinking is illegal. Soon we stop at an intersection in Mayfair (map 2, pt. 2) between a poorly lit park and an old building that has flaked off signs in Arabic. This is a predominantly working-class Muslim community. The group talks, sings and dances to the music while cyclists assemble once more.

On another occasion, when I am riding on the bicycle hire trailer, now turned support vehicle that picks up riders that break down, the group stops at the same intersection. A young male beggar, whom I call Simo, approaches our trailer and asks John for money. John stays quiet, but a young black male crew member called Paka addresses the young boy right away and says, assertively, “*Ey baba baba, ye skhokho! ugrand? Fede?*” (Hey, hey, boy! Are you good?!). Simo responds, “*ngi-grand*” (I’m good), in a passive voice - indicating his intoxication. Paka trying to divert the conversation away from John continues, “Are you going to cheer for us, the guys that are coming through here?” Simo says “*Ah mina angikhaleli umlungu!*” (No, I’m not, I’m not going to cheer for the white person). Paka lifts his hand pointing with an open palm to the mass and said “*Ah, angithi uyambona uhamba nathi*” (Ah but you can see that they (whites) are with us (black people)). Simo steps back and squints at Paka, “*Ah wena uyis’vatele, angikhaleli umlung*”, (No you are in denial, I don’t cheer for the white person). Then the light changes, and we continue down Church Street.

The Critical Mass Johannesburg cyclists were sport enthusiasts, adventure rides, tourists, urban riders and teenage tricksters but were mostly white and male. The male identity of the cyclist was different to my female identity seen in my interactions with Jim where he assumed the paternalistic role of caretaker and assertively disciplined the street as he moved fast on his bicycle and I, as a woman and newcomer, was assumed to be less confident, knowledgeable and safe. This gendered friction is then coupled by a friction between the race of the cyclists, as white, and the community whom are black and Muslim, seen in the interaction between Simo, a beggar and John, a cyclist. Thus, there are frictions to gender and race evident at Critical Mass Johannesburg.

Using the frictions of gender and race as a departure point, in this chapter, I trace chains implicated in these frictions to shed light on the ways in which gender is performed on the bicycle and how this cultural performance is perceived and represented as a racially white activity. Looking deeper at these intersections between race, gender and cycling I analyse the use of the bicycle as a tool in the Anglo-Boer war in the early twentieth century and later as an object of status and prestige in sports and leisure cycling, suggesting that access to the bicycle in South Africa has historically been a privilege of the white male. Ultimately, I argue that who cycles at Critical Mass Johannesburg, that is the white male, causes friction in the public street, shedding light on the gendered, racial and historical chains that connect the rider to identity privilege.

Gender, Race and the Bicycle

This section discusses the gendered behaviour and perceptions of the cyclists at Critical Mass Johannesburg. I suggest that the bicycle is connected to conceptions of masculinity such as protector (marshalled), strength (aggression and a no care attitude) and mechanical sophistication (fixing and maintaining of the bicycle). Although I discuss the gendered performance of the women, I focus on the performed masculinity of the male rider because the majority of the group were men (the group was made up of male subgroups: teenage trickster, crewmembers, leisure, adventure riders and sports enthusiasts). Furthermore, I suggest that the male identity connected to the bicycle, implicates a white, racial, identity at Critical Mass. I make this point by presenting a racial meaning connected to the bicycle, in distinctions made by riders, crewmembers and bystanders, all of who were black.

(Biked)Gender

What I call “fast marshal riding” is when adventure riders’ speed around the periphery of the group. Darren, an adventure rider that attended Critical Mass every month, would often do this as a self-elected marshal, along with corking, to ensure the safety of the group in the centre. When the men corked roads, they would stand proudly, their size and demeanour expanded by the bicycles frame. During the time of my fieldwork I only observed white men, like Darren, corking and fast marshal riding around the group made up of other white men,

women of all races, children and few, but still present, black men. Thus the bicycle allowed for the white male to perform his masculinity, as fierce protector of the group's minorities.

Likewise, leisure riders and teenage tricksters would drink, not wear helmets, and had a kind of lackadaisical attitude, a performance of strength on the bicycle. Jim, for example, would often ride with one hand hanging to his side with a beer in hand, the other hand holding the handlebar and pedalled slowly as he and his friends would shout out pick-up lines at the riders that were woman, like 'looking good on that bike!'; 'Come ride with us' and 'still here hey? Are you still ok?'. This asserting their position as men in relation to the objectified and weak women along with the lack of concern for safety precautions was a performance, an attempt not to look weak, and was a way to communicate their masculine strength. Similarly, teenage tricksters, with no hesitation, would ride fast towards oncoming traffic, pull their bicycle up and ride along on one wheel. Sue recounted a time when a group of men, performing tricks on the side walk aggravated another group of men that stood conversing on the sidewalk, and regarded this as the men "showing of their machismo".

The men who rode in Critical Mass tended to perceive women as vulnerable and saw it as their responsibility to provide a measure of security of women. While the bicycle did allow for a particular level of vulnerability for the women at Critical Mass, it also exposed the male to similar risks to harm from cars. Thus the specificity of this vulnerability is important. Let me provide an example.

Along with the mass, Keke, a woman in her late twenties, turned onto a road and encountered fifteen or so homeless men setting up make shift beds. Keke got off her bicycle and began to limp. The group of men came alive as they catcalled, shouted and commented on her body, asking her to join them and reaching out to touch and pull her. Keke, visibly intimidated, mounted her bike again and continued, slowly beside me. The vulnerability here is the threat of a man taking advantage of a woman. While I felt and observed women's vulnerability during the race, women themselves expressed that this, gendered vulnerability, was over emphasised by the male riders. They suggested that this was so that male riders could assume the role of policing the group, controlling the group and taking care of the group. Earlier I described how Jim took over the fixing of my bicycle without asking if I needed the help or not. In the context of the performance of masculinity, women's voices and abilities were

ignored, furthermore both male riders and male passer-bys objectified women. Some, although not all women, accepted this. Joyce, one of the cyclists joined me on the trailer while, John, the rider from before, and Phadu, a crewmember, sat fixing John's bicycle chain with a toolbox and flashlight. Joyce remarked looking up at me, "this is guy stuff hey, mechanics is not for us."

(Biked) Race

Although the crew members on the bicycle hire trailer were, like most of the other riders I have described, men, they were not white, they were all black. This is an important point because the distinction between race was enveloped in the bicycle itself, like the masculinity of the rider, race was also associated with the Critical Mass group. Thus, when defining who the rider was, the gender identity, intersected with racial identity through the bicycle. This was not simply a connection between the demographics of the group, as mostly white, and the activity of riding, rather, the use of the bicycle, for leisure, was defined as 'a white thing' to do.

In September, the cyclists stopped at a market called the Sheds. I was familiar with the owners of a small ice-cream stall there, Mike and Mota from conversations during previous rides, both Mike and Mota were black men. As a bystander to the ride Mota, the younger of the two men, told me that Critical Mass "is a white people's thing". Reflecting on this experience of riding Critical Mass Nyo, middle-aged rider that another rider introduced me to, explained how this perception was connected, experienced and expressed during the ride.

I was probably the only black person participating at Critical Mass. That was slightly uncomfortable for me. I was riding with the group when a black man sitting at a bar came out and began shouting at me saying "ey, what are you doing with these white people, come and join us in here".

I had witnessed similar moments where bystanders referred to the group as white, and told them to leave. Two other interlocutors whom were black told me that this white reference and inference by bystanders that screamed at the group, made them feel uncomfortable and this was the reason that they had stopped riding with the mass.

According to Paka, the idea of the 'white thing' was related to the status of the bicycle, the members use as well as the bicycles history, he said, "With bikes they say, you know in Zulu, *izinto zabelungu* (things for the white man) because back then, during Apartheid, nice things

were only for the nice white man”. He used the example of a pedestrian that sees a man riding in the mass to emphasise his point, “they think, these white people they have two cars at home, a bike for sports and a bike for play: he is rich”. For Paka, the perception was that riding a bicycle, as a white person, inferred a particular racial identity, a status related to a particular history.

In the next section I go deeper into the intersections between gender, race and the bicycle by presenting my traced data from Paka’s reference to history, that the (biked)gender is connected to the view of the bicycle as a white thing. The white thing is defined here as a status given to leisure riding at Critical Mass. Thus as chains connected to moments of frictions during the ride gendered performance on the bicycle, where the masculine identity, is reproduced through its performance on the bicycle and the bicycles white status, are linked to historical chains.

The History of the Biked Identity

At the beginning of the ride, the cyclists assemble in the historical heart of the city Braamfontein, on Juta Street, outside Kitchener’s hotel and pub. While this is a coincidence, an investigation into the history of cycling in Johannesburg reveals some interesting connections, Kitchener’s, one of the oldest buildings in Johannesburg, built in 1898, was a hotel and bar that serviced British troops and stopovers for postal riders between Johannesburg and Pretoria during the Anglo-Boer war (Latilla, 2014). These messengers/troops would use bicycles as a means of efficiency. Private E.S. Clegg’s bicycle broke down during one such mission between Lord Kitchener and General Hart (Maree, 1977). Lord Kitchener of Khartoum was at the time the General of the British forces. In this section I recount the history of the bicycle in Johannesburg as both an apparatus of war, a war deeply connected to the formation of the now inner city, an elite sport for the white English populations and later as a form of control over South Africans of all races during Apartheid. I conclude with a reflection on the current demographic related to leisure cycling specifically, represented in the media.

The Anglo-Boer war took place during 1899 to 1902 between Britain and the Boers (who comprised of South African Republic and the Republic of the Orange Free State). The war

was led by a number of influential figures, most notably, Kitchener led the English and Jan Smuts led the Boer. Both groups used bicycles in the war, however, the English lead with several hundred cyclists. Figure 3 is a picture of the English corp's regiment called the Rand Rifles. As seen in the picture, the men used bicycles that carried rifles and men wore typical army wear. This gives a very real sense of the bicycle as tool of war but also how this related to the very clearly white male army. The bicycle is thus, injected into South Africa, with connections to white, patriarchal supremacy in the fight over land (South African National Museum of Military History, nd. ; Maree, 1977)

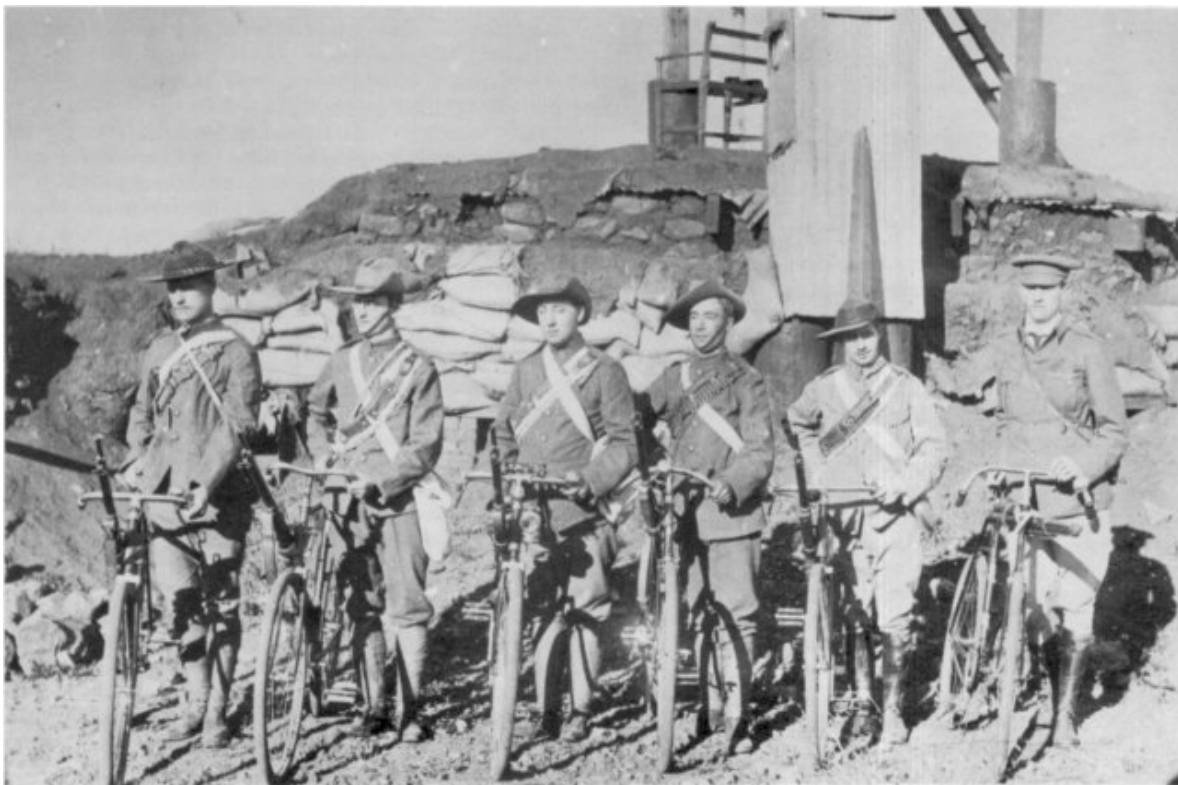


Figure 3 Rand Rifles was a locale regiment under the British army (Maree, 1977)

Around the same period bicycles were also used by citizens (around eight or nine thousand in Johannesburg alone) and was cultivated by the British settlers in the Johannesburg mining town as an elite sport. On the 28th of November 1896 a local print media publication featured an article titled ‘A Veteran Rider’ which chronicled the success of one, what they called, African cyclist, Mr Brink:

He is one of the oldest pioneers of cycling in South Africa, and in his day has been one of the most successful path-riders ever seen in this part of the world. One of the most popular African wheelman, Brink's performance won the [50 mile] race this Saturday” (Museum Africa)

Mr Brink, like the other sports cycling personalities in the late 19th and early 20th century that are archived at Museum Africa, were all white men. South African cycling sport was racially

segregated from its inception in the late 19th century up until the late 20th century. By 1900 the S.A. Cycling union consisted of 39 affiliates, and for the remainder of the first of the 20th century, South Africa held large cycling competitions and produced world cycling champions, all of which were white male cyclists (Jowett, 1982).

The years of Apartheid, 1948-1994, during which time racial segregation was institutionalised and geographically structured, also witnessed a slow withdrawal of sports cycling from the world stage. Cycling as sport grew within the country but was restricted for a number of populations. Unfortunately there is little to no record of cycling by Africans or limits put on these groups, however, it has been said that due to the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the later the Group areas act of 1950 that forces 'Natives' into townships on the periphery of the city, black people had little infrastructural and economic means to own bicycles. One, fairly popular case of an African using a bicycle was that of Sol Plaatje who travelled through the countryside investigating the effects of the Natives' Land Act of 1913 on a bicycle (Learmont, 1990). Hence, this representation of the pervasive white male identity of the war and leisure rider throughout history, is limited, but is represented in historical accounts and records as the dominant use of the bike in Johannesburg. I assert that there may have been other uses of the bicycle by the black, Indian and coloured populations of the time.

Today, sports, leisure and social cycling make up a combined total of 60 percent of bicycle use in South Africa, while commuting makes up 30 percent of trips and 10 percent is work related (Historical Papers Research Archive, 2015; de Waal, 2000). There are no demographic statistics for these groups but Bechstein (2010) found that commuters are predominantly black. Popular magazines on cycling, focused on leisure, such as the best selling South African cycling magazine called *Bicycling*, predominantly has white males in advertisements and features in the magazine. For example, the January 2016 issue, only had one woman and one coloured man in the pictures, all other images were of white men. The pictures also depict the performed masculinity I witnessed at the ride (fig. 4). According to Sut Jhally (1995:79), "Advertising does not work by creating values and attitudes out of nothing but by drawing upon and rechanneling concerns that the target audience and the culture already shares". I surmise that it may be probable that cycling is today still, a white male dominated sport, I do not, however, have the space here to do a detailed and lengthy

analysis of the media or field of cycling more generally. I can suggest, however, that historically in South Africa, and more specifically, Johannesburg, access to the bicycle as tool of war and leisure, has been connected to white males.

Connections to Identity Privilege

Who rides Critical Mass Johannesburg is defined by chains that are used, performed and perceived to be connected to whiteness, masculinity and historical status of the bicycle, chains implicated through social capital, what I call identity privilege. Frictions between and explanations by the white male riders, the female riders as well as the non-white bystanders and cyclists implicated these chains. As the (biked) headings suggest each chain leads to the next through the use of the bicycle. Connections to identity privilege are thus bound up with the object of the bicycle.



Figure 4 As this advertisement in the cycling magazine *bicycling* demonstrates, the performed masculinity on the bicycle comes into public visibility and consciousness through visual and textual devices that mirror the performed masculinity of the rider at Critical Mass. This advertisement appeared on the inside of the back cover of the January 2016 publication of the magazine.

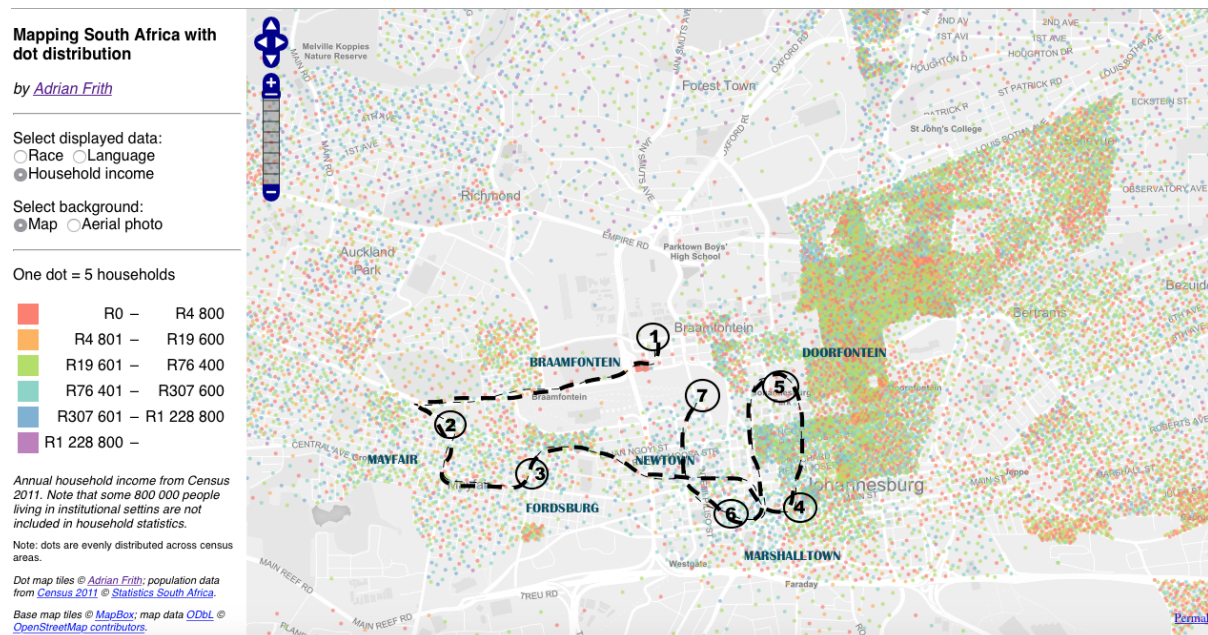
The first chain in the connections I trace is the performed gender of the white male identity by assuming a dominant position in the group and having had access to the bicycle throughout history. I suggest that this chain connects the white male rider to privilege in this way. Central to this theme is thus the performance of gender. The testosterone brigade that Bruzzone (2012) refers to as a performed 'dudeliness' is similar in the context of Critical Mass Johannesburg. However, Bruzzone's (2012) accounts only briefly for the contextual patriarchy which informs the male identity of the riders at the San Francisco Critical Mass. My account on the other hand, which explores frictions, chains and connections, illustrates a more nuanced description of the dominant white male identity in Critical Mass Johannesburg. These chains contribute to the connection between the rider at Critical Mass Johannesburg and privileged connections on various scales. The reason I say various scales is because the history of the bicycle, everyday gendered performance at the ride and media representations of the rider all constitute various forms of power. By thinking about these scales concurrently, and not in different chapters, I have emphasised that these forms of power are lateral rather than hierarchal, seen at the point of friction. In this sense, my findings agree with the research on cycling in Africa that history, more specifically colonialism, effects the identity associated, created, and imagined through the bicycle (Hunt, 1999; Likaka, 1997; Luig, 1999).

In conclusion, to think of Critical Mass Johannesburg in terms of privileged connections allows for the contextualisation of the characteristic of the ride, the rider. My argument that who rides Critical Mass is connected to identity privilege calls attention to the specificity of Critical Mass in the global South context, as bound to a history of colonialism and everyday forms of patriarchy. The identity privilege I discuss in this chapter, is by no means the only connection to this local case of Critical Mass in the global South. Rather, identity and its chains, is implicated by, how the group uses the inner city as a form of gentrification on the move, a concept, which suggests connection to space and means. I discuss this in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Gentrification on the Move

In this chapter I describe the middle of the ride through Fordsburg (map 3, pt. 3), Marshalltown (map 3, pt. 4) and Doornfontein (map 3, pt. 5). These areas are characterised by high crime rates (Simone, 2004) and poverty (map 3). During this part of the ride, I analyse moments of friction that occur between the group of cyclists that segregate themselves from inner city space and the inner city itself, its infrastructure and people. This friction, illustrates how the riders movement through space is connected to the ability of the riders to group and physically separate themselves from the inner city.



Map 3 The map depicts household income (one dot represents 5 households) from the 2011 census taken in South Africa. My additions to the map is the route marked by a broken line and marking one to seven as refined in the introduction (Frith, 2013)

Riding though Fordsburg, Marshalltown and Doornfontein

We ride from the intersection, where we had spoken to Simo, the beggar, onto Church Street in Mayfair, onto Mint Street, a road known for its small home industry and informal shopping in the west of the inner city (Fordsburg). The music is too far away for me to hear. Everything is quiet. In Braamfontein, the music made me feel excitement, pleasure and as if I had transcended the space but now the silence sinks me into the reality of the city. A few cyclists and I, trail behind the group. We calmly look around at the buildings. The ‘abandoned’ buildings have clothing drying out on the ledge. I realise people live there.

Bringing my attention back down to the road, two teenage tricksters whiz past me on my right hand side. The long street dips in front of me, I have a clear the view of the mass in its entirety. The group of riders, their bicycles and the people are made up of red, green, yellow and white light surrounded by dark buildings in the not so far distance. Not having to pedal I let gravity fly me down the hill, the wind blows freshly against my hot face.

I meet up with the group as we approach what seems to be a night market. A mix of Indian and black vendors stand inside and outside the market space. The market is a mere 20 meters from the roadside in an alley between two buildings. From the outside I can see the venders trading in fruit, hot food and supplies. The stalls are made of plastic crates and sheets of old wood or steel trestle tables. Further inward a shaky tin roof covers half of the stands while the other half takes shelter under material canopies. A cloud of red dust is visible as the sand from the unpaved floor is brushed up by hundreds of people that shop inside (Fig. 4). We do not stop to appreciate the market, instead, we chant, whistle and weave through the open road in time with the music. We pass the market quickly.

After several turns down small streets we connect to Main Street in Marshalltown. We ride down the bus lane that is only reserved for busses to avoid the taxis and cars to the right of us. I can smell fried food and hear music from all directions. I notice the open doors of hair salons and groups of men drinking beers outside small pubs called shebeens. The shebeens host, for the most part, working class black men. Those standing on the large balconies are wearing formal clothing and drinking cocktails, a group I assume are middle class. The varying establishments come together to create a social atmosphere and make the city come alive once more. I am reminded that it is the end of the month and most people have been paid.

The inner city nightlife culminates at Gandhi Square, a landmark and bus terminal in the heart of the central business district and the halfway point of the ride. We stop for about ten minutes in the centre of the Square demarcated by a brick laid circle. The group of 1000 cyclists physically fills the space. Riders line the rim of the circle and cheer for the men that perform fast bicycle tricks in the centre (fig. 5). The size of the group, the loud music and the fast moving bikes demand that notice be taken of us, even though we do not take note or interact with the clubs, restaurants and taverns that surrounded us. The only exception to this

is three cyclists that buy beers from a barred window that sells to the patrons at the shebeen next to us. The men join the group shortly after and do not interact with locals again.



Figure 5 Cyclists performing bike tricks in Gandhi Square while other cyclists stand on the edge of the paved circle in the middle of the inner city high-rise building. (Photo by Katia Lopes)

It is nearly 20h00 and we start to ride again slowly adding distance to the seven kilometres we have already completed. As we ride up Rissik Street, which leads back towards the North of the inner city, we pass Park Station, the largest railway station in Africa. The riders chant louder and louder causing the long lines of commuters, who wait to travel all over the continent, to take notice of us.

We circle the edge of, a previous slum yard area turned development hub, New Doorfontein, in the east of the inner city. We turn west and then south, cycling down Simmonds Street, towards the gentrified Maboneng precinct. Erratic nightlife characterises the street once more and a pair of shopkeepers standing outside stares at us with straight faces and folded arms. Other bystanders, many of whom were walking, either look over at the group with confused and dissatisfied faces, or scream at the riders asking for a bicycle. One man, in a drunken haze, fumbles into the road and calls back at the group, *voetsek!* (Go away!). We pass a petrol station that is servicing taxis and cars. The petrol station is located amongst industrial buildings and dilapidated infrastructure. The mass starts to dishevel because the roads are more car congested. Cyclists that are not in the core of the mass are closer to cars. These straggling riders are also exposed to the reality of the roads boarded by dimly lit alleyways. The city is dark and dimly lit, with the exception of patches of erratic nightlife. The lights on

my bicycle illuminate the road in front of me but also the group in this demure light, marking the masses unity even in its disorganisation. The congestion clears and the flow of cars move slowly beside the mass of cyclists that takes up one full lane. The road arches and challenged the cyclist's fitness but does not dampen our elated mood. I hear "woooohs" a cheer I assume is to motivate the group. The call is infectious and many call out in the group. It is as if the riders can let themselves go and be free. That is how I feel. We are on the lower end of Simmonds Street lined with large colonial buildings now used as office blocks and turn onto a smaller road called Fox street that has a mix of twenty first century big buildings and small cafés.

The members stayed in the group throughout Fordsburg, Marshalltown and New Doorfontien. Although this was not particular to these spaces, as the group also stayed together at other stops and streets throughout the ride, these areas provided the most significant examples of frictions between the group of cyclists and the inner city. For example, there was a marked difference between the group of leisure riders and the commuters that still stood waiting to commute the long journey home; or the separation of the group, as a constant appropriation of space, separate from the inner city clubs and market. The most striking friction is when the group becomes dishevelled and riders are more exposed to the public space as an individual and as a group. This friction suggests connections to segregation and the differentiation of the inner city.

In the next section, I explain the chains that enable and inform the segregation in the inner city seen at the site of these frictions. Ideas of segregation as safety inform the choice to ride with the group, and middle class means to a good bicycle enable this grouping, thus segregation serves as a strategy of safety. I therefore suggest that the group serves as a gentrified space in the inner city. My interviews with some of the cyclists reveal that the group formation is gained through their middle class means. I suggest that this allows for "gentrification on the move". Tracing the larger social factors that provide access to means and the segregation that defines gentrification on the move, I discuss the landscape of Johannesburg and, what I illustrate is, a stratified access to mobility infrastructure where mobility is always already afforded to those with spatial privilege. Thus, I argue that how people ride in through the inner city during Critical Mass Johannesburg is connected to segregation, means and access to mobility - what I call connections to "spatial privilege".

Segregation and Means

Darren and I met at a cosmopolitan café in Braamfontein for tea one Friday afternoon. I asked Darren to tell me about himself. Sipping on a teacup, filled to the brim with black Rooibos tea, Darren nodded his head and said “sure”, and he paused to think as he put the teacup down. I could barely hear the teacup clink against the saucer as the room, filled to capacity, provided loud bustling sounds as a background to our conversation. Darren then said:

I started cycling when I was three years old, actually. I asked my mom recently why she let me ride to nursery school alone, at the age of six years old. She said that I would get home from school and cycle around the neighbourhood anyway so why was she going to restrict me.

Darren’s surprise referred to the conception of public open space as dangerous. Lebo, a woman that worked in a bicycle store in the newly developed and gentrified precinct Maboneng, explained to me in one conversation that the inner city was regarded as particularly more dangerous by people in general but most especially outsiders, because of the increase in crime over the last twenty years. According to Lebo, the Critical Mass group allowed for the use of public space, like the roads in the inner city, safely. “At Critical Mass people find safety in numbers. There is always someone there looking out for you”. Lebo’s quote explains my observations of the group as a segregated mass who rationalise their non-engagement with the city as ‘safety in numbers’.

An observation of a breakdown of the group allowed me to understand the means that enabled this strategy. During a Critical Mass evening, when I was doing observations from my car that drove besides the group I saw Kyle, a man running with his bicycle. Kyle’s bicycle pedal had fallen off as we went down Rissik Street. I looked to the opposite end of the street where I saw two men one of whom was holding a glass bottle that he broke on the sidewalk and continued walking with. I assumed the man was looking for an opportunistic moment to rob a pedestrian but this was a mere speculation. Kyle, now vulnerable to the possibility of opportunistic crime and violence ran, slipping further and further behind the group. Kyle eventually caught up with the group when they stopped for five-minutes at an intersection to allow others to catch up. The bicycle hire trailer took Kyle on and fixed his bicycle pedal. There were a record number of punctures that day. The crewmembers

attributed this to glass along a particular part of the route. This caused riders to stop off in the inner city, and mend punctures on the sidewalk.

A sales clerk at a bicycle store had explained to me that a ‘good bicycle’ would ensure that I would never have to stop during the ride. Slime tubes, a lining and filling for my bicycle tyres would actively seal a puncture as I rode. This came at a cost of course, and on top of all the other fundamental purchases I had to make to keep my bicycle in good condition this came to a substantial price. The group as an armature and segregated safe space thus depended on the quality of the bicycles of the group. Thus Critical Mass Johannesburg group was not only informed by ideas of segregation as safety but also membership depended on particular middle class means. This intersection between means and segregation is what I refer to here as gentrification on the move.

The example of Gandhi Square, is one case of gentrification on the move, when we advanced into the space and the riders stood as a human barricade to the surrounding nightlife and people. My experience of this was uncomfortable because our bodies moved into the space and saturated it, instead of negotiating our presence. We came without warning, or permission and we took over the square. Ten minutes later we left it vacant once more, given back to the people it belonged to. Lebo said that “we had a look at the city and went through it but we did not really engage with the city. The group is like a little island”. Lebo explained this feeling as coming from the fact that we, the riders, were not from the inner city, but she added optimistically, “at least people get to interact with the inner city in a way that they otherwise wouldn’t. Maybe they will see that it is not what they thought it was”. What Lebo alludes to here is that the members of the group were already segregated from the inner city prior to the ride itself. In the next section I give examples of the infrastructural and spatial chains I traced from these means and segregation themes made visible by friction between the group and space, implicated at Critical Mass Johannesburg.

Stratified Mobility

Kamo, a rider that Lebo introduced me to, lived in Westcliff an affluent suburb that boasts some of the most expensive and oldest properties in the City of Johannesburg. Still in his twenties Kamo, frequented the nightlife spots in the inner city on weekends. “I go to

downtown parties, you know in Maboneng and in Braamfontein”, he said, to which I replied, do you go to any other places in the inner city?”. Kamo shook his head and responded, “No, when I was younger my mom and I would go shopping in town looking for cheap deals. Today, if I can avoid going downtown I do, it’s busy, it’s traffic’y and it is congested. I guess I could go there with my bike to beat the congestion, but it’s not safe. I would have to take my car.”

Through interviews and stories like Kamo’s I determined that many of my interlocutors were middle class. This they explained was determined by their income but most significantly by the area they lived in. This is because the wider Johannesburg geography is segregated into class (map 4) where the outskirts of the greater Johannesburg area remain poor townships while the northern suburbs and now Sandton Central Business District are characterised by wealth. This is a result of a hundred years of city planning, which for the most part aimed at segregation (Dirsuweit, 2002). The inner city, abandoned by white capitalist enterprise in the early 1990s in the wake of post-apartheid era, is today resource poor. Although, regeneration and development of specific buildings and areas, such as the Maboneng precinct, more recently boast pockets of wealth in the inner city. These pockets remain isolated from the surrounding poorer areas and as Kamo’s story suggests, middle class patrons frequent these gentrified spaces (also see Nevin, 2014). This tendency to enclave, is not unique to the inner city, the wider geography of Johannesburg has in recent years be characterised by perpetual enclaving using walls, gated roads and private communities (Dirsuweit, 2002; 2007; Benit-Gbaffou, 2004; Benit-Gbaffou, Didier & Peyroux 2012, Landman, 2002; 2004)⁶. Thus, the strategy used by the riders, is a reflection of regeneration and privatisation strategies in the city more generally, a strategy connected to historical and present use and meanings attached to space. Thus, economic capital affords this dominant strategy.

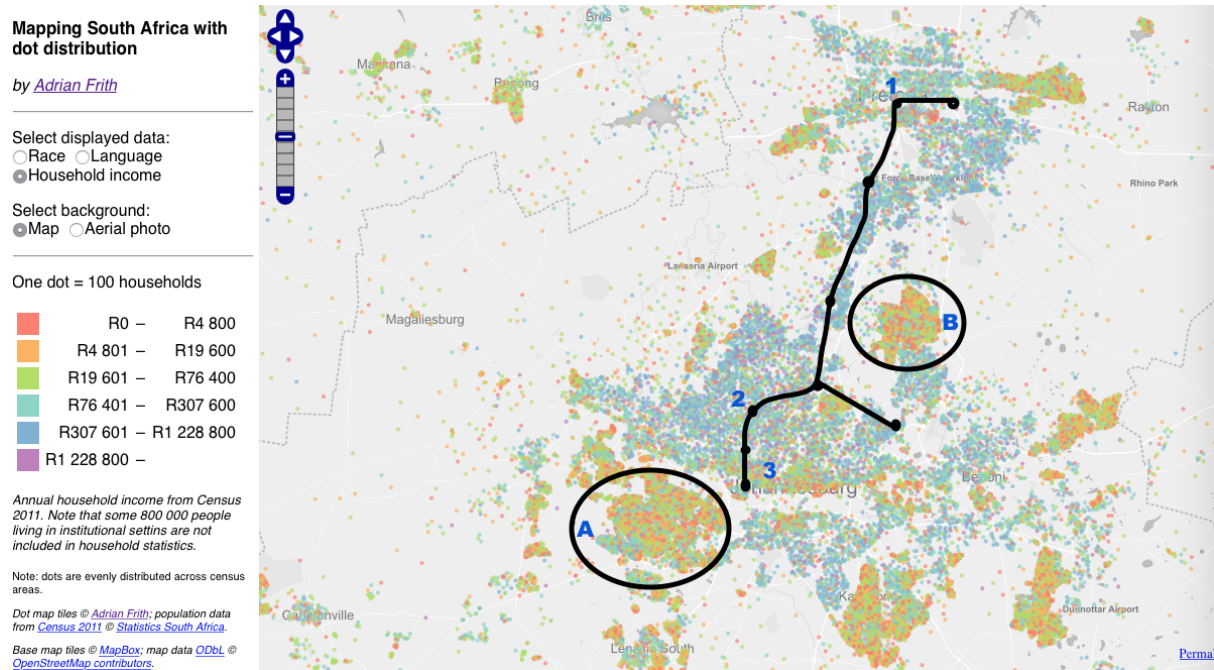
Kamo’s home in Westcliff is five minutes from the inner city. During a conversation we had he emphasised that in fact “Westcliff was five minutes from anywhere! From my place you can get onto a highway and get somewhere really fast.” Kamo had gone to a private school, a privilege his parents had afforded to him through their jobs as entrepreneurs. Kamo explained to me that during the early years of his life he lived with his parents in Soweto (map 4, pt. A),

⁶ Although there are state documents that provide evidence for this directly I have chosen to use published research on this spatial condition to avoid miss interpretation of specialized town planning maps and laws. The literature I cite has been published in peer reviewed journals and provide apt examples for my claim.

a township allocated to black people whom were forcibly removed from areas such as Sophiatown closer to the Central Business District at the time. In the post-apartheid state his parents, free to participate in the free market, were one of the few in their family to gained economic success. What Kamo, suggests is that access to this middle class space also afforded him access to mobility in the city.

Mobility, as defined in the literature, as the movement of individuals into different spaces of the city using different means of transports, is mapped onto this landscape in a very particular way. For example, map 4 illustrates the route of the Gautrain, which runs through the wealthy midline of the city. The train is the fastest means of transportation in the city. The Gautrain stops at Park Station. Park Station, as mentioned earlier, is a central stopping point from other slower forms of transportation, such as busses, taxis and on land trains, bring in commuters from the outskirts. Thus, residence from the townships on the outskirts of the city, such as the circled Soweto (A) and Tembisa (B) on map 4 , need to take a number of forms of transport to access central nodes of economic business, for example, Pretoria (map 4: pt. 1), Sandton (map 4: pt. 2), and Johannesburg (map 4: pt. 3). Although I did not investigate this group of commuters, the point I wish to make is that the infrastructural planning of the Gautrain, the fastest and newest form of transport in the city today, which provides access to business districts, allows for privileged groups to have more efficient mobility and thus economic mobility. What the example of the Gautrain shows is transportation infrastructure still limits the access of the poor to economic opportunity.

Thus, gentrification on the move is bound up in an infrastructural and spatial city landscape that already privileges the economic and thus spatially fortunate groups of citizens. The rider's use of a 'good bicycle', afforded through financial means, is not a momentary condition but rather one connected to the spatial and economic landscape – a stratified mobility. The Critical Mass Johannesburg riders were self-proclaimed middle class citizens and did not frequent the inner city. Mobility was already afforded to the groups by the infrastructural and social landscape, and thus how the group rode Critical Mass was a reflection of not only the 'segregation as safety' norm but the perpetuation of that norm through access to mobility. A mobility that I suggest is afforded to spatially, that is economically, privileged.



Map 4 The map plots the Gautrain's route through the demographically higher income groups represented by blue and purple dots. The circles enclose the townships of Tembisa and Soweto, represented by red and orange dots, that is low household income groups (adapted from Frith, 2013).

Privileged Spatial Connections

In this chapter I discuss how riders at Critical Mass Johannesburg move together in city street space. In my description of the ride I highlight the friction between the group of cyclists as segregated from the inner city space. Through an explanation of the chains implicated in this moment of friction I explain what I call 'gentrification on the move'; these chains are characterised by segregation as safety, means to access a good bicycle, and stratified mobility infrastructure. These chains are made visible through a discussion of friction in the everyday where the mass was different from but also separated from the inner city during the ride. The chains implicate lateral influence from national (infrastructure), historical (apartheid planning), and communal (middle class society) agency. Assessing these chains using Tsing's (2005) idea of connection, in this chapter I suggest that these chains culminate through privileged access to space.

Privileged spatial connections provide a complementary understanding to Rwebangira (2001) terms of low-income, low mobility flow (fig.1). My findings reframe the flow of low income, low mobility as: medium and high income, high mobility flow. I explain this as a process where income allows for residency in central locations, that is space that affords access to

multimodal forms of transportation. Thus my argument that how Critical Mass is ridden, in the context of the Johannesburg city implicates spatial chains and thus connections to privilege adds to our understanding of the connection between economic means and mobility from a high income perspective. This argument also challenges Furness' (2010) idea of 'the real alternative' that the group provides by suggesting that this alternative, i.e. the centralisation and collectivisation of cyclists is limited to very particular access to the wider geography of the city. Jensen (2007) also emphasised the usefulness of multimodal mobility in attaining this real alternative but once again, her account decontextualised the access to these forms of mobility. Thus as a critical reflection on how Critical Mass riders use the inner city streets as a group, my findings pivot privileged spatial connections as a very particular condition to gentrification on the move at the Critical Mass ride in Johannesburg. Thus contributing to a unique perspective on Critical Mass, one that accounts for the specificities of the global South.

Using analytical constructs such as friction, chains and connections, I was able to access and account for often negated forms of influence. By this I mean access to mobility is too often glossed over as a universal/constitutional right for citizens in the city of Johannesburg, in wider discourse and law. This chapter stands as not only as an insight to our understanding of Critical Mass Johannesburg, but also the particularities of mobility in the city in the global South. Such particularities are hard to access because in Johannesburg and South Africa at large, the constitution provides an optimistic blanketing of the inequality sown into the structures of everyday life (Chipkin, 2012). Chipkin (2012) asserts that segregation and/or privatisation is a response to the contradiction that the constitution presents in the presence of inequality. He also suggests that this contradiction perpetuates feelings of insecurity and fear and in his case, townhouses, is a stabilising response to this uncertainty. In line with this thinking, I suggest that Critical Mass Johannesburg is not only a product of the wider social context, but is *actually* a response to the unsafe and the ungoverned public-open space. This kind of innovative meaning making is not unique to those with means however, as Matthew Wilhelm-Solomon (2015) explains. For Wilhelm-Solomon (2015) residence of the inner city, although resource limited, have utilised "a different notion of regeneration, one in which mourning is integral to renewal and memory is integral to revival" (142). This is in response to the continual displace they experience due to state and private enterprise whom seek to economically rejuvenate the city. Likewise, AbdouMaliq Simone (2004) explains that

residence, business people and commuters through the city, as the people in the inner city space, become the social infrastructure that upholds productive connections in limiting circumstances. Gentrification on the move, like ‘people as infrastructure’ (Simone, 2004) and ‘mourning vigils as regeneration’ (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2015), is a response that ascribes new meaning to space through everyday action, in response to social instability.

This case of Gentrification on the move is however different from other kinds of gentrification, elaborated on in great detail by Neil Smith (2002), in that it is not defined by the renewal of stable infrastructure, but rather moving parts. Connecting ideas of mobility in the city, and more specifically the city centre, to the idea of gentrification that is commonly associated with white, middle class, business and residential developments, I would suggest, is a valuable new insight in our thinking about space and its’ privileged uses as gentrified.

Conclusion

This chapter calls attention to spatial particularities of how the group of riders move in the inner city during Critical Mass Johannesburg. Using ethnographic description (of behaviours, interactions and explanations of the ride by the riders) along with an investigation into existing mobility infrastructure in the city of Johannesburg I suggest that chains related to space and means characterise these particularities. The frictions during the middle of the ride illustrate this complex and sticky reality in the everyday lived form. Thus far, I suggest that these privileged spatial connections determine how the group moves in space, but also that privileged identity connections determine who rides in this group. In my contextualisation of the ride I assert that Critical Mass rides are characterised by whom, how and why riders participate. Thus in the next section, I present my findings in relation to why the group rides to provide a full account of the dynamics at Critical Mass Johannesburg.

Chapter Five

The City as Playground

Through a description of the last third of the Critical Mass ride that continues from Doorfontein (in the last section) into the cosmopolitan, developed and gentrified precinct of Maboneng (map 1, pt. 6), where the mass stopped for half an hour at a market, before moving on through the newly developed Newtown, and ending on Nelson Mandela Bridge (map 1, pt. 7). During this part of the ride I describe frictions between the recreational reasons why participants ride and the political reasons given by the organisers, motivations that take shape discursively on the rides social media accounts.

Riding through Maboneng and Newtown

Riding out of the poor area of Doorfontein into the gentrified Maboneng precinct the roads begin to phase out of littered tar roads into recently swept cobble stone pathway. I brake in front of our last stop - The Sheds, located on Fox Street in the Maboneng precinct. The Sheds is a food market located in a large warehouse, one of the many market like reformations in the inner city, a development project that has grown exponentially during the last decade. Across the street there is parking for cars in a secure, paid for lot, where two security guards stand outside a guardhouse. Directly in front of the doors, there are several bicycle stands. I put my bicycle down and I hear someone say to his friend “are we really just going to leave our bikes like that?”. He is referring to the bikes being placed against the wall and bike racks without any locks or safety precautions. I see the piles of unsecured bicycles. It reminds me of images of cycling cities in Europe. Inside, the market stalls are made of light pine planks that meticulously display vintage clothing and organic food. At the centre of the large warehouse long family style tables are littered with wine, coffee, sushi and homemade cupcakes among other delights.

I begin to talk to Joe, Sam and Siya, three sales clerks standing together. Siya is a beautiful petite woman in her twenties working at a shop that sells thrift store items. Sam and Joe are slightly older, well-spoken black businessmen. I ask for their perceptions of the group, to which Joe laughs and says “painful!”. Siya jumps in with a response, “They are crazy, in this cold why would anyone be cycling?” I laugh and concur. Pointing to Joe, Siya says, “He knows more about cyclists than I do, having lived with them!” Joe elaborates explaining his

stay in Knysna not too long ago. I know that Knysna is a retirement and holiday destination for the South African elite, located on the coastline of the Western province but I am not sure how this related to cycling, so I turn to Joe for an explanation. He says, “Knysna reminds me of a European country because most people use bicycles there”. Before I can respond Sam asks: “Are you a cyclist?” I respond: “No I am not, I am just researching cycling in Johannesburg, but I did ride here today”. Our conversation is cut short when clients come in the stall. I leave to stand outside the market.

Outside I meet Momo, an engineering student at The University of Johannesburg. He tells me that he found out about Critical Mass earlier that year when he helped a cyclist with a flat tyre outside his flat in Doornfontein. “After that I began to participate in Critical Mass rides because in Louis Trichardt, the village I am from, cycling is a very popular thing to do. Riding reminds me of home and I feel free, like I am a kid again”, he adds. I ask Momo if he knows about the ‘movement’ called Critical Mass and what it stands for? He replies: “not a clue” and continues to say “but I also did this Tuesday cycle race, called City Jozi Hustle. But they go very fast! It was too hard I will never do that one again”. I laugh. While Momo and I wait for the ride to begin again, he shows me pictures of the bicycle he recently made and affectionately refers to it as an example of his prized engineering skills.

It is sometime later and the mass assembles outside. I say goodbye to Momo. It is 20h45 and we ‘take back the streets’ once more. Fox street leads us out of The Sheds, and then on Miriam Makeba Street, taking us through the newly gentrified area of Newtown. I am in the middle of the group and the woman next to me asks: “Are you ok over there?”. I look up and say: “Yes, thank you”. She replies with a caring tone, “try changing the gears slowly on these gradual inclines. Don’t worry, we all have to learn, when I started I had no clue what I was doing”. I laugh, thank her and introduce myself. She introduces herself as Sue. I ask Sue “when did you start riding?”. She takes a moment to think and says “well I started doing Critical Mass rides when they started in 2007 because my weekend cycling friends would go. You know I had been doing mountain biking and rides along the Braamfontein Spruit⁷ for years, but Critical Mass was different. It was a fun night out with friends”.

⁷ The Braamfontein Spruit is a stream that runs through the city of Johannesburg. The Stream most visibly runs through public parks.

My conversation with Sue ends as the ride up the incline leading onto Nelson Mandela Bridge takes the wind out of me. I pedal harder and slowly let down the gears, as Sue had suggested. I make it onto the bridge. The symbolism of the bridge that is the legacy of Nelson Mandela, freedom, equality and a new South Africa, is brought to life as the multi-coloured lights project up the towers and decorate the suspender cables. The kaleidoscope of colours frame the dark city in a new light (fig. 6). The city we have seen, which is anything but glamorous, now gave off a whimsical enthusiasm. Several groups of cyclists stop on the side of the bridge to take pictures with the city framed in lights behind them.



Figure 6 The group riding over Nelson Mandela Bridge (Photo by Katia Lopes)

The pictures on the bridge were later posted on social media using tags like #LoveMyCity. On twitter one such post read “@CriticalMassJhb #Coldnight in [Johannesburg]. The hashtag #AwesomeTimeWithFriends” is accompanied by a picture of two young adults wearing helmets, bicycles resting beside them and the bridge lights illuminating their faces and the buildings in the background. This tweet was followed by retweets of eco-mobility facts and posts from other Critical Mass rides from Houston (USA), Detroit (USA) and Southport (UK) along with tweets from the City of Johannesburg on much anticipated cycle infrastructure and the rejection of the car. We were soon over the bridge and two roads away from Juta Street. The mass disseminates as people return to their cars.

Like Momo, who rode because he wanted to experience the nostalgic pleasure of riding recreationally, Sue wanted to experience the city as a way of enjoying herself with friends. Both riders provide examples of the leisure choices of the cyclist. The reasons given by organisers or at least the discursive rhetoric the organisers provided on the social media platform were cantered around cycling as a form of transport and international advocacy related to the ride. The organisers used national and international accounts to represent themselves at a cycling advocacy group. Thus during the end of the ride it is clear that riders associated cycling with leisure while on the other hand the social media space attached far more diverse reasons to the ride such as the politics of cycling. The frictions between these two reasons, provides an entry point for my discussion of the multiple discursive connections during Critical Mass Johannesburg.

I use the friction between the former discursive representation, what I call ‘the city as playground discourse’ and the latter, what I call ‘the take back the streets discourse’ to discuss the local and national groups as chains that add meaning to the leisure and political reasoning, respectively. I explain that the contradictions between the two narratives as well as the larger developing discourse that informs and proliferates them, are important to the riders being able to use the inner city as an unmarshalled and unregulated road cycling event.

Confusing connections

In this section I explain how the riders leisure centred motivation, as a prevalent discourse on social media, form part of a prevalent theme on the mediascape (connected to JoziHustle and InstaBikeRides) that fosters the inner city as playground through leisure activities. I also show how, on the other hand, the organisers implicate Johannesburg Urban Cyclists Association (JUCA); The City of Johannesburg and Critical Mass groups from around the world, as links to political rhetoric concerned with the ‘take back the streets discourse’. Through a discussion of the symbolism of the car in each group I show how these are opposing discourses.

The City as Playground

On the social media accounts of the Critical Mass Johannesburg ride, participants would post

pictures or comments using specific short, affective phrases and words. For example administrators reposted a tweet by a cyclist that said “My 6 year old’s first Critical Mass Johannesburg ride and he says to me at the start ‘this is like a party with bikes, right dad?’”. This tweet exemplified the use of emotional and personal nature of the ride, where a reference to a father and son relationship is made along with the articulation of the ride as a party. Another rider expresses his enjoyment in a tweet that said “All dressed up for Critical Mass Johannesburg” along with a picture of a man wearing a Mexican hat and poncho with friends on the Nelson Mandela bridge. Once again the emphasis in this post is the leisure aspect of the ride, for the participant, his fancy dress and the glamorous lights of the bridge were central to the meaning of the ride. Similarly, phrases on Facebook like “awesome ride”; “amazing vibe” “another unbelievable night ride” “riding is the closest thing to flying” further articulate the emphasis on the leisure or experiential aspects of the ride rather than any politically motivated phrases. My experience of the ride allowed me to understand the importance of these words. They reminded me of the light-hearted and transcendent feeling I felt during the ride. The collective enjoyment of the group coupled with the music and wind blowing past me feed into the senses. A description of the ride without paying attention the sense would be incomplete. Indeed, I want to suggest that the sensual experience of the ride informs the discursive focus for the riders. Momo and Sue’s stories give other practical examples for the leisure motivations behind these discursive themes on social media.

Critical Mass Johannesburg would repost advertisements for other groups that used the city for leisure. For example, Jozi Hustle is a fast paced ride on the first Thursday of the month that also rides through the inner city. The group describe themselves as an urban bike race for adventure seekers. The inner city is thus a playground for the adventurers. Likewise, InstaBikeRides are casual fun rides that they say ‘explore’ cityscapes through photography. The group rides through different parts of the city including the inner city and take artistically positioned photos on bicycles with the city as a backdrop. The pictures are taken with the intention to post them on Instagram and other connected social media accounts. Grant, a commuter cycling advocate, said that these groups, along with Critical Mass were different to common sports events because they were entered around the leisure and experience of the ride in space and not the rules and regulations associated with form races. He said they use the city “as a playground”.

Take Back the Streets

Critical Mass also reposted comments and links from groups that did not subscribe to the ‘city as playground discourse’. Intertwined with the above groups, posts from the Johannesburg Urban Cyclists Association (JUCA), whom advocate for commuter cyclists rights in the city; The City of Joburg, which is now building cycling infrastructure in an attempt to make the city more eco-friendly and a number of other Critical Mass accounts like ones in Odessa, Ukraine; Oslo, Norway; Houston and Detroit, United States and Southport, UK, were reposted. These posts were often centred on a political agenda, which is relating to public or governmental affairs. For example, Critical Mass Southport tagged Johannesburg, Detroit and Houston in a poster of a woman cycling, details of the Southport event and stated that the ride is “a sociable and friendly group bike ride to celebrate and encourage cycling around Southport”. On the poster an image of a cyclist throwing away a car emphasises the counter-car politics that the ride is suggesting in the phrase ‘encouraging cycling’, which means, commuter cycling over the car. As a Johannesburg variation of this rhetoric JUCA speaks to the politics between car and bike by putting attention onto lacking infrastructure. All of the groups do however emphasize the eco-mobility⁸ factors related to this politics.

Most evidently the City of Johannesburg centralises this politics through a constant stream of tweets relating to the environmental importance of cycling and decongestion from the roads traffic. This occurred most often when the Ecomobility World Festival was hosted in Johannesburg in October 2015. The festival is a month long event that closes down parts of the city to car traffic in favour of public transport, walking, cycling and any other forms of transportation that is not damaging to the environment. The city, gearing up for the event began to lay cycling lanes throughout the participating CBD Sandton area, one tweet noted: “R79m cycle lanes coming to Rosebank, Sandton, Parks etc #Joburgeomobility #ecomobility #Jhbtraffic”. All these discursive references are encompassed by the Critical Mass phrase ‘take back the streets’ that refers to bicycle use over car use.

⁸ Ecomobility means for traveling through integrated, socially inclusive and environmentally friendly transport options, giving priority to walking and cycling, public transport and shared mobility. EcoMobility was introduced as a new term by ICLEI – Local Governments Sustainability in 2007 (The Johannesburg Declaration on Ecomobility in Cities, 2015).

The Car

Piet, having cycled in Holland most of his life, had come to South Africa, and started a cycling tour business. As he spoke passionately to me about cycling I asked him if he cycled as a commuter in Johannesburg too. He laughed at the thought and said, “of course not I have a car”. Piet’s response asserted a dominance of the car over the bicycle as general knowledge. Grant, the member of the cycling advocacy group, suggested that a perception like Piet that valued the car was prevalent in explaining how the car is maintained as the primary form of transportation for leisure riders at Critical Mass.

The people at Critical Mass put their bicycles on the back of their big 4x4 cars and drive to the inner city. Then they take off the bike, ride and return to the car once more. Think about it, the bicycle is a form of transportation right? And the rider mounts it.

Nyo, explained that the status of the car is central to this occurrence and that this status is different to the status bicycle advocacy groups put on the car.

In Johannesburg the car has a symbolic status of success, a status symbol that is incredibly powerful. The assumption is if you can afford a car then you have a car. This is different to the demonisation of the car in bicycle politics, an idea I think people are not willing to embrace openly.

The distinction between the symbolism of the car, that is between the car as ‘success’ or the car as ‘demon’ was the reason why Critical Mass was different to cycling advocacy. Critical Mass, as an international movement aligns itself with bicycle politics and the ‘demonisation’ of the car. Although many participants did not align themselves with the movements objectives, as seen in the examples given here, the local organisers still made connections to discourse that centralised ‘take back the streets’ discourse.

The examples above of the role of the car in ‘the city as playground’ discourse and ‘the take back the streets’ discourse are very different from each other. It is striking that although the political discourse concerning advocacy groups is opposed to that of the non-political narratives of the riders, both connect discursively to Critical Mass Johannesburg. In the next section I explain the international discursive chains associated with ‘the take back the streets’ discourse to account more fully for why riders ride Critical Mass, or at least the trajectory that these meanings form part of.

A World Class African City

By implicating multiple groups and the pervasive ‘take back the streets’ discourse, the Critical Mass Johannesburg organisation, privy to these local, national and international discursive connections, was as I discovered, enrolled in a much larger web of global discourse around the ‘world class city’. For example, Critical Mass reposted a tweet by the City of Johannesburg that stated “All you need to know about [what] #JoburgEcomobility is” with a link attached. The link was to a report on the official public statement by the Executive Mayor of Johannesburg, Mpho Parks Tau, where he articulates the motivation for the involvement of the city in the Ecomobility World Festival. He refers to the expected “changed transport patterns that will lead to long term changes among commuters in the city... and to decongest Sandton roads”. He further insists that the festival would bring global and continental status to the country at the COP21 Climate Change Summit and the 7th Africities Summit, he says “the global event will focus attention on the progress Johannesburg has already made in the delivery of public transport infrastructure... and project Johannesburg as a world class African city that is prepared to take bold steps to create a [environmentally] sustainable future for all its citizens”.

The COP21 Summit on the 11th of December 2015 in Paris, focused on tactical climate change, and resulted in a new international agreement on the way forward for participating cities on climate change. This agreement was previously determined by over a thousand delegates, one of whom was the Mayor Parks Tau. This endorsement is seen in the ‘Johannesburg declaration on Ecomobility’ in Cities available on the city of Johannesburg website (Official website of the city of Johannesburg, 2015). This declaration states the city’s prioritisation of sustainable urban mobility by agreeing to bold decisions for ambitious actions at the, then upcoming, UN-Climate Summit (COP21). Prioritisation in this case is, namely, implementation of policies, plans, instruments, and mobility strategies. Central to these initiatives was the limiting of cars on city roads to reduce green-house gasses in light of the anthropogenic (human-induced) climate change issues. According to the Mayors office the festival and the conference fitted into the building smart cities agenda at the 7th Africities Summit, organised by the United Cities and Local Governments in Africa (UCLGA). The theme of the summit was shaping the future of Africa with the people: the contribution of

African local authorities to agenda 2063 of the African Union. This agenda suggests looking inward for means to secure modernised cultural and economic hubs, decent jobs, opportunities, a high standard of living, sound health and well-being and a “continent full of well educated citizens through a skills revolution underpinned by science, technology and innovation for knowledge society” (Africities, 2015).

These Ecomobility and African agendas were for the Mayor markers of the ‘world class city’⁹ where the ‘progress’ and the ‘class’ of the city is measured up to international standards at continental and global conferences. Thus I suggest that the ‘take back the streets’ discourse, does not only connect to local advocacy groups, other Critical Mass groups and the city of Johannesburg but also implicates a wider discourse on the ‘world class city’ in the articulations on what the mass means.

Martin, an organiser at Critical Mass, told me that during the early days of the mass he and the other members did not have an explicit political agenda, as seen in the discourses defined, for Critical Mass, rather they focused on the leisure aspect of the ride. I asked Martin what the interactions were between Critical Mass Johannesburg and other international Critical Mass events and cycling organisations, since from my observations, these politically motivated groups were connected on social media. Martin explained to me that the organisers purposefully used the global movement’s ethos and vision on the social media accounts to provide a meaning to the group.

Our ‘about’ section on Facebook and Twitter, and even the website we developed aligns us with the unmarshalled and unsupported style of riding, the ‘take back the streets’ idea. These descriptions were in reaction to all of the people that have complained or had problems with their bicycles along the route. We did this on purpose.

The organisers used the political discourse from the local, national and international groups to give meaning to a ride that had been too far absorbed into the recreational sport field. To be more specific, road cycling sports events in South Africa, according to Cycling South Africa’s rules and regulation hand book, are by law expected to provide medical support (advanced life support and an ambulance), security, motor vehicle parking plans, have an emergency management plan, marshals and general support teams/car. Critical Mass had

⁹ Although a number of people have attempted to define the world-class city, an often over used phrase, no official coining of the term has been made as yet.

none of these demanded facilities, so when cyclists broke down in the inner city at night, left to their own devices they became upset. People began complaining and blamed the organisers stating that according to road cycling laws they were accountable for the riders. The unmarshalled structure of the ride was, however, connected to bike politics and advocacy, so to gain unorganised structure of the ride, with no formal responsibility on the organisers the group used political discourse to articulate the disorganised nature of the ride. Critical Mass participants as well as the organisers I engaged with, had a genuine passion and love for cycling, in the political and non-political sense. Furthermore, the riders did not in fact breach any cycling law because the mass was a group ride, people commuting in public roads as a group. Rather my point is that the discourse around cycling in the streets, that is as simply leisure riders riding together forced the group into a pendulum of dominant discourse on cycling. Leisure riders reverted to sport cycling race expectations and to move away from this and retain true to the experience of the city as playground, free from control, the group connected to an ever-widening discursive chains to 'take back the streets'.

Privileged Discursive Connections

In this chapter I describe frictions between the recreational reasons why participants ride and the political reasons given by the organisers', that take shape discursively on the ride's social media account. I suggest that these frictions are an integral part of the grip of the politics of the global movement in the everyday. I account for the particular chains implicated at the sight of this friction. One such chain is the 'city as playground' discourse in the form of other leisure groups. Another prominent chain I traced is the political 'take back the streets' discursive links to advocacy but most significantly state discourse prevalent in production of the World-Class city idea through international conferences regarding city and mobility. These chains suggest connection to privileged discourse made available through the social media platform.

Blickstein and Hanson (2001) found a similar construction of global-local discursive chains particular to the media scape. The authors emphasise the benefits for this discursive fluidity in the awareness of sustainability practices. My findings contradict this assertion by bringing attention to the leisure agenda of the riders themselves. For example, Critical Mass Johannesburg's utilisation of international, national and organisational advocacy did not

generate sustainability discourse, or what Furness (2010) calls ‘biketivism’, for the riders themselves. Thus, my focus on the explanation of friction in the everyday, afforded me an insight into the discursive particularity at Critical Mass Johannesburg that is different from the accounts given in the global North (Blickstein; Hanson, 2001; Furness, 2010).

My findings also refer to the representation and practical engagement of an African city such as Johannesburg in the global narrative regarding mobility and sustainability. Rigg (2007) defines the global South in terms of its unique issues, objectives and economy. Furness (2010) suggests that the global South as defined by Rigg (2007) is enveloped in a developing discourse that further perpetuates its backwardness from the developed West. My discussion of ‘the world class African city’ narrative suggests that this narrative is far more dynamic than subjected ideas of development from the West. The case of the ways in which Critical Mass Johannesburg provides a dynamic example of how ideas of the African city, in this case related to mobility politics, are always already implicated in multiple discursive chains. Powerful agents in the governance of cycle advocacy (JUCA; other Critical Mass groups and EcoMobility World Festival); the governance of the city (Executive Mayor Parks Tau attendance at COP21 Summit), and the governance of the continent at large (South Africa’s participation in the 7th Africities Summit) generate chains that produce discourse on and *in* Africa.

Conclusion

Why riders participate in Critical Mass Johannesburg is connected to discursive chains that implicate ideas about the ‘city as playground’, as cycling as a way to ‘take back the streets’ and representation of the world-class city in international forums. In the chapter, I described and positioned these chains through the focus on the friction that ultimately was explained by Martin, a Critical Mass organiser as “intentional” and “necessary”. Thus the use of these chains afforded this group of cyclists the ability to ride for leisure, as an unorganised or disorganised, unmarshalled and unregulated ride through the inner city of Johannesburg. What I call “privileged discursive connections” are not able to be confined to the everyday, or in that case, hierarchal understandings of power and influence in Africa, a continent in the global South. Instead, these chains mitigate influence from all scales (International, national and local) to achieve the always already diverse meanings connected to the reasons why riders participate in Critical Mass. My findings in this chapter thus contribute to the

understanding and explanation of a Critical Mass event in Johannesburg. Thus this chapter sits alongside the chapter three and four as an account of the particularities that define this case of the global Critical Mass movement. In the conclusion I discuss why and how these connections to privileges culminate in my case study of Critical Mass in the global South; and suggest that the particularities I bring to light are useful to think through and reflect on cycling advocacy in the city today.

Conclusion

In recent years, the city of Johannesburg has attempted to forge a popular culture of city cycling. According to Rehanana Moosajee, Member of Mayoral Committee of Transport at City of Johannesburg, the state “encourages everyone to cycle [because]... transport can change the lives of people.” She says this in light of the then, newly implemented cycle lanes in Soweto. Moosajee went on to assert that an increase in cycling in the city would answer the problems of traffic jams and air pollution from car exhausts. In light of this, and other transport benefits and issues, “the city of Johannesburg has allocated a capital budget of R3.5 billion for a transport master plan.” (Nkosi, 2015:5). This initiative by the state is coupled by a number of grassroots and international initiatives to advocate cycling in the city of Johannesburg. All these groups focus on awareness as a conduit for the increase use of cycling as a mode of transportation in Johannesburg.

By looking closely at one particular case of leisure cycling at Critical Mass Johannesburg, I have revealed that cycling itself is complex, and as I argue here, far more dynamic than cycling advocates sometimes assume. I suggest that a lateral connection to privileged identity, spatial, and discursive chains foster leisure cycling in the city. Today, sports, leisure and social cycling make up a combined total of 60 percent of bicycle use in South Africa (de Waal, 2000) which suggests that groups like Critical Mass make up to a large extent cycling culture in the social space. This dissertation has focused on who rides, how they ride and why they ride Critical Mass Johannesburg to show how cycling is always already complex. Here I think with my findings, as an instance of leisure riding in Johannesburg, and thus an insightful moment in the culture of cycling in this space, to propose new points of friction with the approach to cycling advocacy. I conclude by bringing attention to the strength of this account in the unravelling of Africa as always already implicated in multiple elsewhere. It is connected to international discourse, economics and colonial history.

Critical Mass as a Lens

My focus on the ride, and the sites it implicated provided an in depth account of the social formation of the ride. The cyclists at the ride were mostly white men, whom performed their gender on the bicycle. I explain that this patriarchal performance is connected to the use of

the bicycle but also the history of the bicycle as used by English elite sports riders and war officers. The privileged identity of the rider is also connected to the riders access to space and the forms of mobility that space is connected to. At Critical Mass Johannesburg, the mass of riders moved as a group, safe from threat of harm, because they had the financial means for a good bicycle. These microeconomics, are in Johannesburg afford to citizens with access to economic opportunity in the north of the city, access bound by means to affordable transport. These privileged connections are generalised over by discourses in the social media space that emphasise the 'EcoMobility discourse'. Here global and international conversations determine the reasons riders ride rather than leisure reasons congruent with the riders themselves – a strategic use of privileged discourse. Simply put, Critical Mass Johannesburg, a group of riders that ride through the inner city, is enabled through multiple global, that is lateral, connections of privilege.

Although this argument fundamentally responds to the gap in the literature on Critical Mass by calling attention to the particularity of the event in the context of the global South, a key concern I have addressed throughout this thesis, what I am more interested, in is these connections as a lens. By lens I mean Critical Mass brings to light the role of privilege in the post-apartheid state in enabling cycling. This is important because cycling is seen as a form of freedom, a tool to perform the right to the city. It also suggests that if we are to generate a public culture of cycling we need to address a multitude of factors related to privilege, on many different scales. I refer to scales here in the generally accepted hierarchical sense, because that is how society perceives it. Of course my study suggests that influence is always already multidimensional and thus lateral rather than hierarchical. This implied that no factor acts upon the other rather all are interrelated and co-dependent. For example, Jim performs his male identity because the bicycle enables him to ride fast but history ascribed masculinity to the bicycle and the bicycle to the white male. However, without Jim's performance on the bicycle the historical meanings on the bicycle would not be significant. My approach to the study of Critical Mass, as a case study of cycling, rather than evaluating its success and failure, provides a lens through which we can see how lateral power to privilege is connected to cycling in the city.

The issue of Awareness: Advocating Cycling in the African city

My approach to Critical Mass in this dissertation is also useful in shedding light on the issues surrounding cycling advocacy initiatives taken up by the state and NGO's. As referred to briefly above, cycling is prominent on the cities agenda. One of the only initiatives taken up by a number of key players in the field of cycling advocacy is the Freedom Rides. The groups, one of which is the state, come together to bring 'awareness' to cycling through a bi-annual social ride through the greater Johannesburg area. The events webpage states that the rides aim is to "promote cycling as a way of transport, connecting communities, and creating greener, unified cities for all" (Freedom Ride, 2015). As one example of the initiative taken by the state and others, the ride suggests that awareness through riding during the event will contribute to the creation of an African cycling city.

A meeting I attended on the Freedom Ride along with the building of cycle infrastructure; monthly ride events, bicycle donation and the EcoMobility festival a moment of friction cropped up out of the focus on awareness. Although the meeting was about how to generate commuter cycling in the city, a city representative turned the focus of the discussion to the Freedom Ride. Directing his comment to the city representative, a member from a grassroots cycling advocacy group, criticised the large budget allocated to the Freedom Ride. Freedom Ride is fundamentally an awareness initiative. He said that in comparison community centres and practical alternatives for people whom have limited resources available (poor communities) received a tenth of the size of the budget. That was the only comment the cycling advocate said that day, and after the comment was made, the state representative immediately shelved it. The state representative went on to emphasise the importance of time and effort on the rides execution and correct budgeting of the over a million rand allocated by private funding for the Freedom Rides.

In view of my findings, that show multiple connections generate cycling during Critical Mass, the concern with awareness seems overly simplistic a way to address cycling in South Africa. Rather, my findings suggest, that cycling needs to be address as a social construct that is always already linked to privileged access to identity, space and discourse. Advocacy needs to look at cycling, as a product of the social, and generate advocacy to address the issues around cycling. That is, address perceptions of the bicycle itself as sometimes, a white thing, or a very poor thing; address access to means, that is larger forms of meaningful

transformation from the periphery to allow citizens on the outskirts to access spaces of economic capital and thus have means to a good bicycle; and think of riders as people experiencing the ride rather than only players in a strategy towards the world class city. These considerations into who, how and why the riders ride, and strategies for change congruent with these points of influence, suggested in the particular case of Critical Mass as one example of cycling in Johannesburg would, in my creative opinion be a less simplistic approach to cycling in the city.

Representing Complex Processes

My approach to representing multiplicity, that is global connections, in the everyday was not a simple task. I was at a loss for words in lived instances that appeared too complex, too sticky, too connected to explain. In anthropology today, we have recognised that our discourse is limited. It is limited to a paradigm that seeks to simplify, to nominate one point of order and one point of knowing. I must mention, optimistically, that many anthropologists and social scientists today are beginning to find interesting new ways to break through these discursive and investigative limits (cf. Hastrup, 1992, Hastrup, 2004; McClaurin, 2011; Behar, 2011). Closer to home, anthropologists in South Africa, namely Fiona Ross, Patricia Henderson, Kathleen McDougall and Thomas Cousins (2014) have contributed to this innovative approach, and discourse, publishing an article in conversational form. What this form allows for is a productive friction, a reinjection into our thinking as anthropologists about how we write and what we want to say (a topic they also address in the piece) (also see Cousins, 2009). In this creative reflection the authors discuss questions of history and its variations, the body and its usefulness for sensual scholarship and modes of writing and modes of questioning. These points of discussion I define in my methods sections and use throughout this thesis but what is important about this article in particular is that it emphasises, through its form, that to speak of these innovative points one needs to break the mould. The value of my approach to Critical Mass is that it stands as one such fluid approach.

To afford an account of lateral power and multiplicity I had to adopt a number of tools in my mode of knowing, that is according to Hastrup (2004), particular style of reasoning. My mode of knowing was built on Tsing's (2005) framework. But it was also build on the history of anthropology of the city, a trajectory, a canon, of empirical work. Although my approach, in line with Hastrup's (2004) idea that anthropologists should be aware of their subjectivities,

has presented itself as connections *I* follow, data *I* collected and the stories *I* tell, it still is a response to the empirical canon, thus still shaped in some way by this trajectory. This web is important to note here because it places my findings within, rather than, 'other' to the field of anthropology that writes about Africa as what the West is not. It answers a field and mode of knowing not just literature of Critical Mass. In my view, this answer was afforded through how I presented this thesis, as one ride, but multiple connections. In this sense, a study of global connections, and the case of Critical Mass, has contributed to a new perspective of getting it (write)right in anthropology.

Bibliography

Africities (2015) What is Africities Summit 2015?. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.africities2015.org>. [Accessed 01 February 16].

Atkinson, Paul, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont, John Lofland, and Lyn Lofland, eds. (2001) *Handbook of ethnography*. Sage Publications Ltd.: doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781848608337>

Ballard, R. (2002). *Desegregating minds: white identities and urban change in the new South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Wales, Swansea)

Barnard, Ian (2006). 'Anti-Ethnography?', *Composition Studies* 34 (1): 95.

Behar, Ruth. (2011). 'Believing in anthropology as literature', In *Anthropology off the shelf: Anthropologists on writing*, edited by Alisse Waterson and Maria Vesperi. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bechstein, E. (2010). 'Cycling as a supplementary mode to public transport: a case study of low income commuters in South Africa', in *29th Southern African Transport Conference. SATC: 2010*

Bénit-Gbaffou, C. (2004). «Nous avons dû prendre la loi entre nos mains». Pouvoirs publics, politique sécuritaire et mythes de la communauté à Johannesburg. *Raisons politiques*, (3): 53-67.

Benit-Gbaffou, C, Didier, S, & Peyroux, E (2012) 'Circulation of Security Models in Southern African Cities: Between Neoliberal Encroachment and Local Power Dynamics', *International Journal Of Urban & Regional Research*, 36, (5): 877-889

Biehl, João, and Ramah McKay (2012). Ethnography as political critique, *Anthropological Quarterly* 85 (4): 1209-1227.

Blickstein, Susan, and Susan Hanson. (2001) Critical mass: forging a politics of sustainable mobility in the information age, *Transportation* 28 (4): 347-362.

Boomgaard, Peter (2007) Review of: AL Tsing. Friction; An ethnography of global connection, *Agricultural History* 81(1): 150-151

Bruzzzone, Mario. (2012) Putting the 'Critical' in Critical Mass: Patriarchy, Radical Feminism and Radical Inclusiveness in Carlsson, Chris, LisaRuth Elliott, and Adriana Camarena, (eds.) *Shift Happens!: Critical Mass at 20*. San Francisco: Full Enjoyment Books.

Bryceson, Deborah Fahy and John Howe (1993). Rural Household Transport in Africa: Reducing the Burden on Women?, *World Development* 21(11): 725–739

Bryceson, Deborah Fahy. (2002). The Scramble in africa: reorienting rural livelihoods, *World Development*, 30 (5) : 725–739

Caldeira, T. P. (2012). Imprinting and moving around: New visibilities and configurations of public space in São Paulo. *Public Culture*, 24(2 67), 385-419.

Camarena, Adrianna (2012) The Blind Spot: Subcultural Exclusivity in Critical Mass, In Carlsson, Chris, LisaRuth Elliott, and Adriana Camarena, eds. (2012) *Shift Happens!: Critical Mass at 20*. San Francisco: Full Enjoyment Books.

Campbell, M., Ward, M. and Stewart, T. (2005) 'Towards the Integration of Housing with a Mass Transport System in the Greater Johannesburg Area', World Congress on Housing, Transforming Housing Environments through Design, Pretoria.

Carlsson, Chris (2002) *Critical Mass: Bicycling's defiant celebration*. CA: AK Press

Carlsson, Chris, LisaRuth Elliott, and Adriana Camarena, eds. (2012) *Shift Happens!: Critical Mass at 20*. San Francisco: Full Enjoyment Books.

Ciclocuoco, (2012). The Great European Love Link, in Carlsson, Chris, LisaRuth Elliott, and Adriana Camarena, eds. (2012) *Shift Happens!: Critical Mass at 20*. San Francisco: Full Enjoyment Books.

Chapot, Hank. (2002). The Great Bicycle Protest of 1896, In *Critical Mass, Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*, ed. Chris Carlsson, Oakland: AK Press.

Chipkin, Ivor. (2012) Middle Classing in Roodepoort in *Capitalism and Social Change, in South Africa PARI Long Essays 2*

Clarke, G. (1997). *The photograph* (Vol. 1). Oxford university press.

Comaroff, Jean and John L. Comaroff. (2012). *Theory from the South or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers)

Cousins, T. (2009). Politics and the Grammar of Mutuality, *The Johannesburg Salon*, 1. The Johannesburg Workshop in Theory and Criticism.

Critical Mass JHB. *Jhb.criticalmass.co.za* (Accessed 22 March 2015)

Cunha, Clarisse.(2006) Understanding the Community impact: Bicycles in Sub-Saharan Africa, *Sustainable*

Transport, 18: 24–25.

de Waal, Louis. (2000) The Bicycle in Southern Africa, *Velo Mondia*: 21

Dirsuweit, T. (2002) Johannesburg: fearful City?, *Urban Forum*, 13(3): 3-19

Dirsuweit, T. (2007). Between ontological security and the right difference: Road closures, communitarianism and urban ethics in Johannesburg, South Africa. *Autrepart*, (2), 53-71.

Ellison, Nicole B. (2007). Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship, *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13 (1) :210-230.

Freedom Ride (2015). Freedom Ride Jozi [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.freedomride.co.za/joburg/>. [Accessed 10 February 16].

Frith, A. (2013) Dot-maps of racial distribution in South Africa. Available from: dotmap.adrianfrith.com (Accessed 3 February 2016)

Furness, Zack. (2005) Biketivism and technology: Historical reflections and appropriations, *Social Epistemology* 19, no. 4: 401-417.

Furness, Zack. (2010) *One less car: Bicycling and the politics of automobility*. Temple University Press

Geertz, Clifford. (1973). *The Interpretation of culture*. New York: Basic Books

Geertz, Clifford. (2000). *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Harrison, P., Gotz, G., Todes, A., & Wray, C. (2014). *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg After Apartheid*.

Hastrup, Kirsten. (1992) “Writing Ethnography: State of the art”. In *Anthropology and Autobiography*. edited by Judith Okely and Helen Callaway. London: Routledge

Hastrup, Kirsten. (2004) ‘Getting it right: Knowledge and evidence in Anthropology’, *Anthropological Theory* 4(4): 455-472.

Hellmann, E. (1948) *Rooiyard: A Sociological Study of an urban Slum Yard*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press

- Heyen-perschon, Jürgen. (2001) non-motorised Transport and its Socio-economic impact on poor Households in africa: Cost-Benefit analysis of Bicycle Ownership in rural Uganda. Hamburg: FaBiO/BSpW (Jinja, Uganda)
- Historical Papers Research Archive (2015) *Richard Plaatje with bicycle* [document] University of the Witwatersrand
- Hunt, Nancy Rose. (1999) *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo*. Durham: Duke University press
- Jennings (2011) A challenge shared: Is SA ready for bike-share?, *30th Annual Southern African Transport Conference 2011*
- Jensen, Ole B.(2007) Biking in the Land of the Car In *conference Trafikdage, Aalborg University, Aalborg, Denmark*.
- Jhally, Sut. (1995) Image-based culture, *Gender, race, and class in media: A text-reader*: 77-87.
- Jones, P. (2005) Performing the City: a body and a bicycle take on Birmingham, UK, *Social and Cultural Geography*, 6(6): 813-830
- Jowett, W. (1982) *Centenary: 100 years of organised South African cycle racing*. SACF.
- Kidder, J. L. (2005). Style and action a decoding of bike messenger symbols. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 34(3), 344-367.
- Kihato, C. (2013). *Migrant women of Johannesburg: everyday life in an in-between city* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press).
- Klopfer, Lisa. (2007) When globalization sticks, *Current Anthropology* 48(1): 175-176.
- Latilla . (2014). Rejhb, Braamfontein and Kitcheners. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://www.jhblive.com/Stories-in-Johannesburg/article/rejhb,-braamfontein-and-kitcheners/6166>. [Accessed 31 January 16].
- Landman, K. (2002). Gated communities in South Africa: Building bridges or barriers. In *international conference on private urban governance, Mainz, Germany* (Vol. 649).
- Landman, K. (2004). Gated Communities in South Africa: The Challenge for Spatial Planning and Land Use Management. *The Town Planning Review*, 75(2) 151-172
- Learmont, T. (1990) *Cycling in South Africa*. Sandton: Media House Publications.

Likaka, Osumaka (1997). *Rural Society and Cotton in Colonial Zaire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin press.

Lister, Martin, and Liz Wells. (2001) "Seeing beyond belief: Cultural studies as an approach to analysing the visual" in *Handbook of visual analysis*. London: SAGE Publications

Lorenzi, Elisabeth. (2012) "Alegria Entre Tus Piernas": To Conquer Madrid's Streets, in Carlsson, Chris, LisaRuth Elliott, and Adriana Camarena, eds. (2012) *Shift Happens!: Critical Mass at 20*. San Francisco: Full Enjoyment Books.

Luig, Ute. 1999. Constructing local Worlds, in *Spirit Possession, Modernity and Power in Africa*, edited by Heike Behrend and Ute luig. Madison: University of Wisconsin press.

Manovich, L. (2001). *The language of new media*. MIT press.

Maree, D. R. (1977) Bicycles in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, *Military History Journal*, 4(1): 15-21

Mbembe, Achille. 2001. "Time on the Move" in *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California press, pp.1-23.

Mbembé, Achille (2004). Aesthetics of superfluity. *Public culture*, 16(3), 373-405.

Mbembé, Achille & Nuttall, Sarah. (2004). Writing the world from an African metropolis. *Public culture*, 16(3), 347-372.

McClaurin, Irma. 2011. Walking in Zora's shoes or "Seek[ing] Out de Inside Meanin' of Words": The intersections of Anthropology, Ethnography, Identity, and Writing. In *Anthropology off the shelf: Anthropologists on writing*, edited by Alisse Waterson and Maria Vesperi. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Mubiwa and Annegarn (2013) Historical Spatial Change in the Gauteng City-Region", *Occasional Papers Gauteng City-Region Observatory*

Murthy, Dhiraj. (2008) "Digital ethnography an examination of the use of new technologies for social research." *Sociology* 42(5): 837-855.

Murray, M. J. (2008). *Taming the disorderly city: the spatial landscape of Johannesburg after apartheid*. Cornell University Press.

Nevin, A. (2014). Instant mutuality: the development of Maboneng in inner-city Johannesburg. *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 37(3-4), 187-201.

Ngcobo, S. C. (2003). 'Cycling Out of Poverty' *Through a Culture of Bicycle Ownership and Use: A Case Study* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg).

Nkosi, Ntombi. (2015) 'Eco-mobility for Africa', *The New Age*, 23 November, p. 5

Nyamnjoh, Francis. 2012. 'Blinded by Slight: Diving the future of Anthropology in Africa' *Africa Spectrum* 47 (2-3), pp. 63-92

Obarrio, Juan. (2012) "Theory from the South." Theorizing the Contemporary, Cultural Anthropology website, February 24, 2012. <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/268-theory-from-the-south>

Official website of the city of Johannesburg. (2015) The Johannesburg Declaration on Ecomobility in cities will bring the Sustainable transport message to COP21. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=10155:09102015-the-johannesburg-declaration-on-ecomobility-in-cities-will-bring-the-sustainable-transport-message-to-cop21&catid=217:press-releases-2015&Itemid=114. [Accessed 01 February 16].

Postill, J. and S. Pink (2012) Social media ethnography: the digital researcher in *A Messy Web*. Media International: Australia.

Pusher, J. and Buehler, R. (2007) Making cycling irresistible: Lessons from the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany, *Transport Reviews*, 28(4) 495-528

Pucher, John, and Lewis Dijkstra. (2003). Promoting safe walking and cycling to improve public health: lessons from the Netherlands and Germany, *American journal of public health* 93 (9): 1509-1516.

Reynolds, M. (1989) 'Bicycles & their beginnings' in Beneke, G. *The Lore of Cycling*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Rigg, J. (2007). *An everyday geography of the global south*. Routledge.

Rosen, Cox and Horton (eds.) (2007) *Cycling and Society*, Ashgate Pub

Ross, F.C., Henderson, P., McDougall, K.L. and Cousins, T., (2014). Not knowing endings: an epilogue, *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 37(1-2):62-67.

Rwebangira, T. (2001). Cycling in African Cities: Status & Prospects. *Editorial board*, 7(2), 7-10.

Simone, A. (2004) People as infrastructure: intersecting fragments in Johannesburg. *Public Culture*, 16(3), 407-429

- Simone, A. M. (2014). *Jakarta, drawing the city near* (p. 320). University of Minnesota Press.
- Smith, N. (2002). New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode*, 34(3), 427-450.
- South African National Museum of Military History, *Rand Rifles File*
- Spinney, J. (2007) Cycling the City: Non-place and the sensory construction of meaning in mobile practice in Rosen, Cox and Horton (eds.) *Cycling and Society*, Ashgate Pub
- Spinney (2009) Cycling the City: movement, meaning and method. *Geography Compass*, 3(2): 817-835
- Steinback, R. Green, J. Dalta, J. Edward, P. (2011) Cycling and the City: a case study of how gendered, ethnic and class identities can sha[e healthy transport choices, *Social Science and medicine*, 72(7) 1123-1130
- Stoller, Paul. 1997. *Sensuous scholarship*. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Suleman, Muhammed. (2013). *The Role of Urban Design in Promoting Cycling Friendly Environments in Johannesburg: The Educational Corridor*. (Honours dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)
- Trouillot, Michel. (1991). 'Anthropology & the savage Slot: the poetics & politics of otherness' in R.H. Fox (ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe: School of American research press pp.17-4
- Tsing, A. L. (2005). *Friction: An ethnography of global connection*. Princeton University Press.
- van der Merwe, F. (1991) LS Meintjes: his impact on South African sport history, *Sporting Traditions* 7(2): 192-205.
- Vivanco, L. A. (2013). *Reconsidering the bicycle: An anthropological perspective on a new (old) thing*. Routledge.
- Wilhelm-Solomon, M. (2015). Dispossessed Vigils: Mourning and Regeneration in Inner-City Johannesburg, In *African Cities Reader 3: Land, Property and Value* (edited by N. Edjabe & E. Pieterse). Cape Town: Chimurenga and African Centre for the Cities.