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Suburban urbanism : discovering a South African suburbia

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Suburban Urbanism: Discovering a South African Suburbia

Muneebah Kara

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in Development Planning**

Johannesburg 2014

Declaration

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

Signed on this, the ……. day of ……..2014

……

Muneebah Kara

Abstract

There is a consensus amidst the planning community that we are currently experiencing a sweeping paradigm shift; which has over the last forty-years gained rapid momentum. Postmodernism is proposed to have prompted a return to 'the small is beautiful' and the revaluation of people as the critical and central receptors of the spaces that past and present planners produce. An emphasis on the *everyday and lived experience* of the urban population is just another symptom in the argument for postmodernism.

As perhaps is common with all paradigm shifts, along with the transformation has come a flurry of some new terminologies and a redefining of others. Suburban neighbourhoods have experienced an interrogation of terminology; and epistemological and phenomenological value. The identification of inner-circle suburbs is just one of the many terms to describe a uniquely urban space within the once blanketing term 'suburbs'. Inner-circle suburbs are often the oldest suburbs in an urban area and are located closest to the Central Business District.

A revitalised inquisition in suburban spaces has prompted new and creative ways of exploring the suburbs; with our own locally grown urbanists showing interest and producing knowledge on the dynamics of South African suburban neighbourhoods. Needless to say, this is still a relatively young topic that favours an investigation into spatial form and structure over the significance of the lived practice.

This research report is an attempt to coalesce the spatial form and practiced living into a single coherent snap-shot of the lives of northern inner-circle suburban dwellers.

To my Mother who taught me…

…Beyond a wholesome discipline,
be gentle with yourself.
You are a child of the universe
no less than the trees and the stars;
you have a right to be here.
And whether or not it is clear to you,
no doubt the universe is unfolding as it should…

(Max Erhmann 1692, Desiderata)

…to my father who showed me

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I must thank my parents, Aneesia and Yousuf Kara, my brothers: Muneeb and Usaamah - and the integral network of family that has been there to see me through one of the greatest adventures of my life. It is to this amazing group of people that I owe my strength, tenacity and unrelenting perseverance in the face of what could have been crippling challenges; not only during my research but, throughout my entire academic career.

Then, to an individual without whom none of this would have been remotely possibly, I must thank my supervisor Nqobile Malaza for her patience, support, dedication and investment in me. 'Thank you for starting this with me and… thank you Nqobile; for finishing it with me'.

A very special thanks to Marisa Sauls and Siphokazi Makhaye for all your hard work, dedication and never hesitating to go that extra mile. Undoubtedly your keystone presence in the School of Architecture and Planning kept me sane…

A special thanks to my friends; for consistently being there - who are too-many to name but whose presence and assistance, did not go unnoticed. Lastly, but certainly not least - I thank all those who participated in the research; your contributions are what made this project complete.

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AGM – Annual General Meeting

GRA – Greenside Residents Association

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1

Suburbs Made In South Africa : Myths, Facts & Interpretation





1. The South African Suburb; Myths, Facts and Interpretations.

1.1. Introduction to research report

There can be no doubt as to the role urban planning played in the production of the Apartheid city and legacy it has left (Bernstein 1995; Coetzee 1995; Coovadia 1995; Mansfield 1995; Moosa 1995; Padayachee and Elliot 1995; Schmidt 1995 in Visser 2001). The Apartheid city was spatially ordered (Seekings 2010); severely segregated and fractured on the bases of race and clas (Mabin 2000; Bernstein 1995; Coetzee 1995; Coovadia 1995; Mansfield 1995; Moosa 1995; Padayachee and Elliot 1995; Schmidt 1995 in Visser 2001). A Particular focus on the location of neighbourhoods and separate, unequal neighbourhood development of Johannesburg gave material form to the socio-spatial pattern that drove the apartheid city to realisation (Adebayo and Musvoto 2010). In post-apartheid South Africa the attention of urban planning has shifted to centre instead, on the depoliticising of space (by removing a separatist ideology from planning paradigms), integration and, overcoming spatial segregation - making these topics amongst the most theorised in urban planning (Bernstein 1995; Coetzee 1995; Coovadia 1995; Mansfield 1995; Moosa 1995; Padayachee and Elliot 1995; Schmidt 1995 in Visser 2001).

Urban neighbourhoods have found themselves at the heart of the post-apartheid shift and thus are typically the centre of attention when urbanists asses damage done by apartheid and reconstruction opportunities and efforts (Mabin 2012 and Todes 2008). The interest in the socio-spatial dynamics of neighbourhoods in South Africa is evident in the abundance of literature available on the topic. Alan Mabin (2012) explains the necessary centrality of neighbourhoods and suburbs in shifting urban theory: “These suburbs … cover hundreds of square kilometres and accommodate perhaps a million residents…” (Mabin 2012 1); it is then unsurprising that the source of data to support post-apartheid urban research can be found in previous manifestations of the Group Areas Act of 1950 and all subsequent and prior legislation that supplemented the efficacy of apartheid-spatial planning and social construction (Beavon 2004).

Suburban Urbanism: Discovering a South African Suburbia seeks to achieve clarity on the interaction between the neighbourhood (in build form) and the practice of living. To achieve this, this research report will interrogate the planning discourse of conceptualising neighbourhood spaces (through a literature review) and contrast findings with an account of the lived experience in a suburban neighbourhood’s case study. This research will use a range of quantitative and qualitative methods to

explore the everyday lives' of suburban residence as they live and experience the transition of their suburb. Surveys and a collection and categorization of social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook will be used to gather data that can provide a statistical representation with which to contextualise Greenside as a space in motion. Quantitative data derived from interviews will be used to give a vocal representation to the lived experience of transforming suburbs

This chapter outlines the theoretical foundations for this research; it briefly explores the development of Johannesburg's northern suburban neighbourhoods and provides a structure for the research report.

1.2. Theorising Neighbourhoods in Planning

The supply of literature that deals with South African neighbourhoods and lifestyles is in no short measure (Beavon 2004, Berger 1960, Landman and Schoteich 2002, Landman 2003, Landman 2004, Seeekings 2010, Oluseyi 2006) and interrogates the discourse in terms of spatial forms, socio-spatial dynamics and socio-demography fractions of the neighbourhood (Mabin 1992; Mabin 2012 and Todes 2008); however from my experience of reading on neighbourhoods and suburbs in South Africa, I have found that the literature demonstrates a partiality to segmenting, that is focusing only specific themes of inquiry at a time; themes such as urban design, the socio-political production of space, integration, social and environmental justice and post-apartheid urban growth and transformation. It is true that these overarching themes are interdependent and interrelated, but this does not detract from the elemental and compartmentalised nature of the literature, Alison Todes (2008) explains

> " …the focus on spatial concepts such as nodes and corridors, densification and infill, have arguably drawn attention away from the need to understand how different groups of people locate and move within the city, what underpins these choices, and the implications of these patterns for their survival and livelihoods." (Todes 2008 2)

An awareness of the unequal distribution of knowledge is a positive step to inspire a broader and holistic approach to future research; Todes (2010) goes on to say

> "It depends on an understanding of the institutions, the everyday ways in which discourses and practices shape the prospects for particular kinds of development, how power is exercised and the way decisions are made. Healey (2005) argues that

> a key capacity for planners is to be able to read the dynamics of the contexts in which they find themselves, and to act in strategic ways. Strategic planning that attempts to reshape the long-term future og places is seen as a process of reframing ways in which these places are 'summoned up' and understood (Healey 2007 in Todes 2010) – the way meanings are attached, how problems and priorities are identified, and the spatial ideas becoming valued as fixes or solutions." (Todes 2010 122)

Part of the expanse is a new and creative approach to neighbourhood planning and urban living.

The use of case-studies to give texture to theoretical research is necessary to contextualise findings. Case-studies on neighbourhoods and suburbs provide us with a snap-shot of the ever-changing reality that is the lived experience of the built-environment. This research will focus on the everyday lives of Johannesburg's northern suburban population; and will be an observation of the lifestyles in northern neighbourhoods and inner-ring suburban population.

Research and literature on suburbs tend to focus on the sprawling and unsustainable flight from central cities outward to urban edges and the loss of the country side (Rusk 1993); boxing all suburban spaces into a single homogenous frame (Hanlon 2009). However, authors such as David Thorns and Bernadette Hanlon are inclined to disagree. The field of suburbia is as diverse and complex as other, more popular urban topics but, for the most part it has been unable to compete for attention and relevance in urban planning (Mabin 2011; Starns 2008; Vaughan 2009; Writh 1938; Wyly 2010). A reaffirmation of suburban and neighbourhood literature in South African urban planning (Beavon 2004; Horn 2004; Mabin 2011; Mabin 2012) has seen a sprite in literature reserves on the respective topics. This combined with the extensive range of literature on neighbourhoods from social disciplines provides a solid departure point for this project by creating an opportunity to produce a narrative that demonstrates the lived experience of the theory in the literature.

This research will centre its attention on the northern inner-ring suburbs of Johannesburg, with particular interest on Greenside as a case-study. Like all cityscapes; suburban neighbourhoods experience their own evolution, devolution, trends and transformations. Greenside is a particularly interesting case study. Over the last decade or less, Greenside (like many of its' surrounding middle-class, northern neighbourhoods) has expressed a physical and social change in its' neighbourhood demeanour (Benit-gbuffou 2006 and Mabin 2012). Some of the transformation that has gained steady

momentum include and demographic changes in the last five years (Ward 87 Census data 2011). Greenside has seen a surge in commercial and business activities with 13 clubs, bars and restaurants opening in the last two years along the Gleneagles strip (Participant GR021403 2013, pers.comm., 5 February) This period of transition offers a rare opportunity to capture a moment in that may shed light on the neighbourhood life cycle.

.

1.3. A Brief History on Northern Suburban Development.



Figure 1: Early Development of Johannesburg. Early settlers arrived in Johannesburg in the mid 1800's but it wasn't until the discovery of gold that the Johannesburg turned from settlement to city. Johannesburg was previously divided into a network of farms, the most famous of which was Laanlagte, Turfontien and Braamfonrien. **Source:** *South African History online at www.* sahistory.org.za/places/Johannesburg.

The discovery of large deposits of gold along the Witwatersrand Reef spanning the Doornfontein, Langlaagte, Turffontein, Braamfontein and Luipaardsvlei farms that drove the early development of Johannesburg from settlement to city (Cartwright 1965 and Tomlindon et al., 2003).

Leyds (1964: 151) narrates the early establishment of Johannesburg by describing significant events during the early days of settlement:

"The increase in the number of suburbs of any city coincides with the growth of its industrial or other activities. The pattern followed in Johannesburg shows an early rush, then a depression…a boom due to the invention of the cyanide process and deep level mining, then a depression after the Jameson Raid, another slump during the Boer War, followed by a relatively steady development for some years until World War One. Then followed a depression during the 1922 revolt, and again more steady development until the tragic years of the Great drought."

The development boom according to Leyds was 1886 to 1890. Jeppestown, Fordsburg, Ophirton, Booysens, Turffontien, Paarl's Hoop, Marshall's, Troyeville, Bellevue, Ferrier's Town and Rossentenville were the first suburbs to be proclaimed and developed. Not long after Parktown, Rosebank, Parktown North, Parkhurst, Westcliffe and Linden; in 1930 Greenside township was proclaimed by the Johannesburg municipality (Cartwright 1965, Chaimowitz 2001); making these suburbs among the oldest neighbourhoods of Johannesburg. From 1950 onwards, the enforcement of urban segregation acts into legislation marked the beginning of "spatial separation between classes and races" (Tomlinson et al., 2003 24). From this we can see that Greenside and surrounding northern suburbs form part of the inner-ring suburban network

The Figure below illustrates the early apartheid city development in diagrammatic form; as described in Tomlinson et al. (2003) and original work by Christopher (1994)

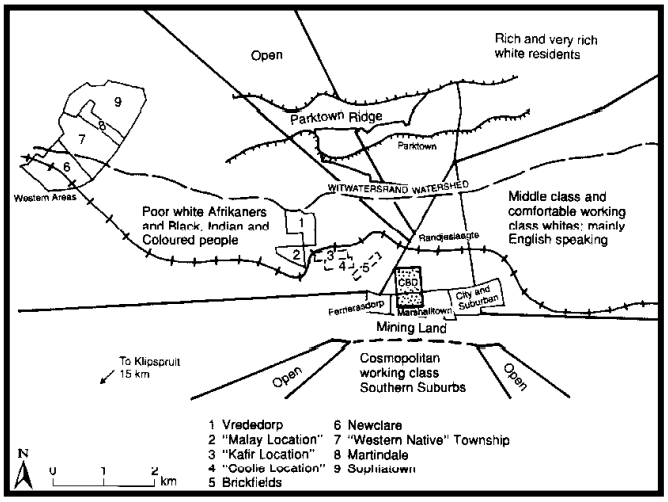


Figure 2: Early Division of the City into Northern and Southern Suburbs. Northern suburbs were located along the Parktown ridge away from the mines. The southern suburbs were located south of the city. It is from the geographical orientation that these ajor city features got their name. **Source:** *Tomlinson et al., (eds 2003)*

The figure (2) by Christopher (1994) contextualises “the downtown core that was traversed by a single rail road line running from east to west, and flanged by white grouped areas to the north and a variety of industrial, black, Indian and coloured and group areas to the south.” (Tomlinson et at., 2003 24) . Tomlinson et al., (2003) explains that the orientation of the Northern and southern suburbs were based on the proximity of these areas to the mines. This may not necessarily have been a positive thing. The declaration of the northern suburbs were a consequence of these areas being deemed ‘wastelands’. The development of areas without gold is strongly linked to the mines, as these areas were established as a contingency plan to generate income for and therefore there function was to support the mines often by providing resources (Tomlinson et al., 2003). Tomlinson et al., sights the example of the Saxon world forest that was planted to supply timber to the mines (Tomlinson et al., 2003)

> The northern suburbs were widely perceived as the epitome of white wealth and supremacy, “…northern suburbs, a wide swath of exclusive suburban development that is the residential base for a significant proportion of South Africa’s political and economic elite…since [its] inception, the northern suburbs have become a national metaphor variously representing white wealth, Eurocentricism, capitalist materialism, cultural elitisms, political conservatism, an, in spite of all that, social liberalism.” (Tomlinson et al., 2003 21 and 24)

The segregation of the suburbs were not and perhaps could never have been completely successful because of the modern integration of labour that were fostered by a industrial dependence on labour and a culture of on site domestic services such as domestic worker, garden boys and child minders. However the apartheid law did succeed in conventions of colonial segregation that was highly suppressive in nature.

The 1980’s and early 1990’s marked a rapid urban decline, economic pressures (international sanctions in solidarity of the anti-apartheid struggle), an influx of poor to urban areas and an increase in crime is purported to be a few elements that contributed to the suburban expansion of the time. “White Flight” as it has been termed was the rapid exodus of middle-class white families out of the inner and relocated in the northern suburbs (Beavon 2004 and Tomlinson et al., 2003s).

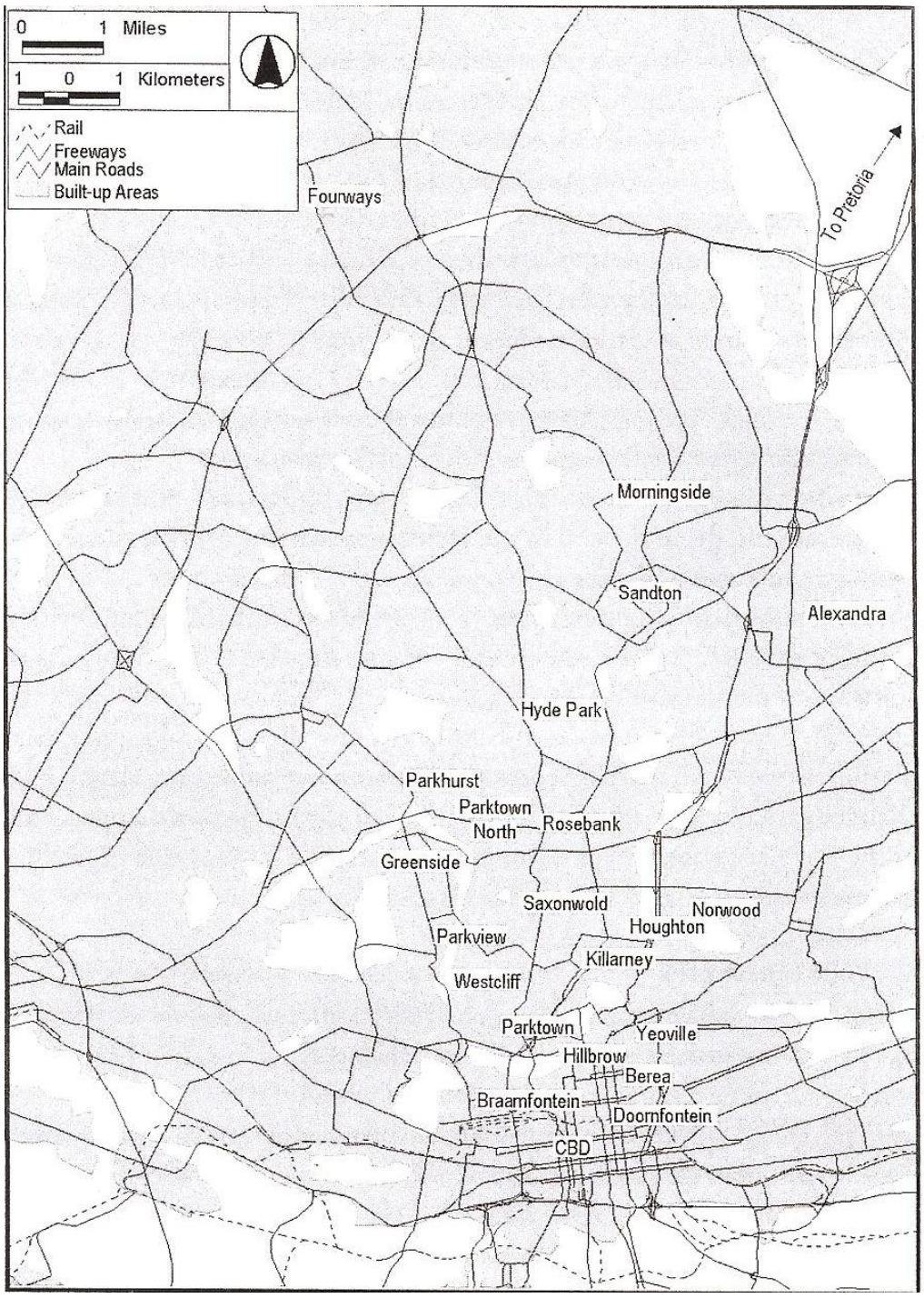


Figure 3: Distribution of Northern Suburbs in Johannesburg. During the years of white flight in South Africa the suburban white-middle-class spread northwards away from the mines and the inner-city. **Source**: *Tomlison et al., 2003 26*

1.4. Contextualising Greenside

Established in 1930, Greenside is one of the oldest northern suburbs of Johannesburg. Greenside is framed by Gleneagles Road, the Parkview Golf Course, Wicklow Avenue and Barry Hertzorg Avenue and lies approximately 7.8Km from Johannesburg centre, 3.8Km from Rosebank, 9.2Km from Sandton, 5.5Km to Cresta and 7.3Km from Mayfair/ Fordsburg. Greenside falls under Region B, Ward 87 of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Ward 87's population is estimated at 16 708 individuals; Greenside hosts approximately 1 200 households according to Mr Trevor Pengelie (in Chaimowitz 2001); however this is likely to have increased.

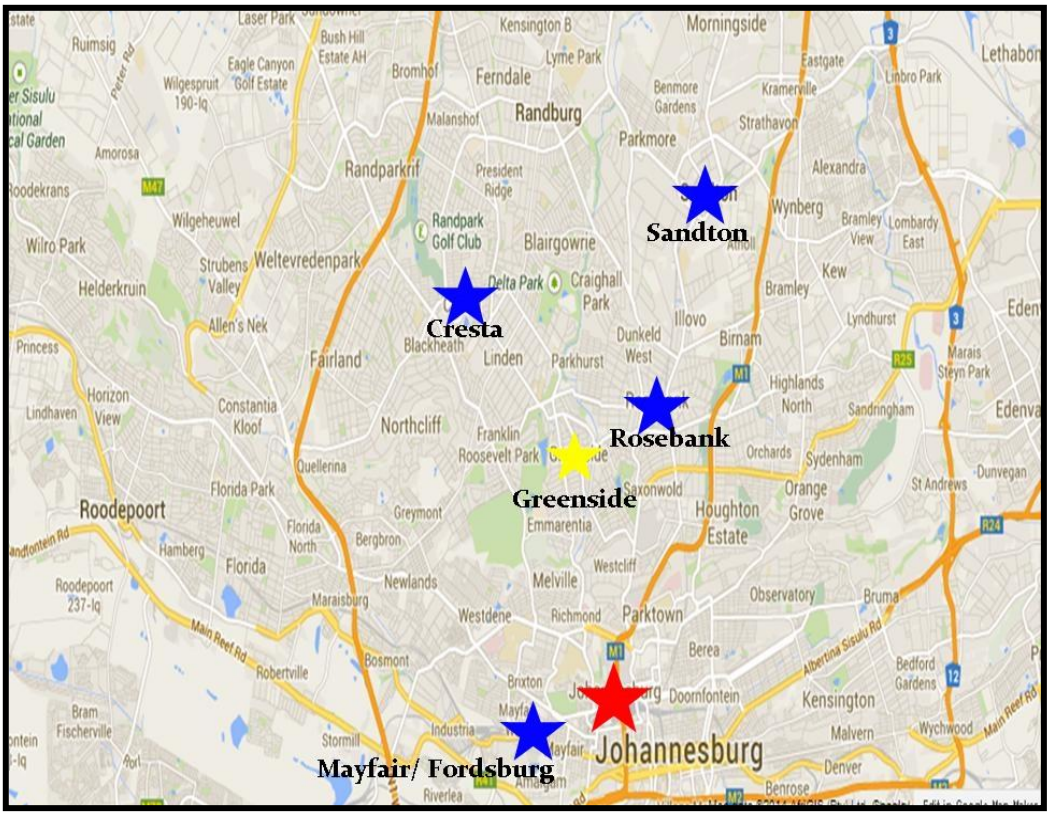
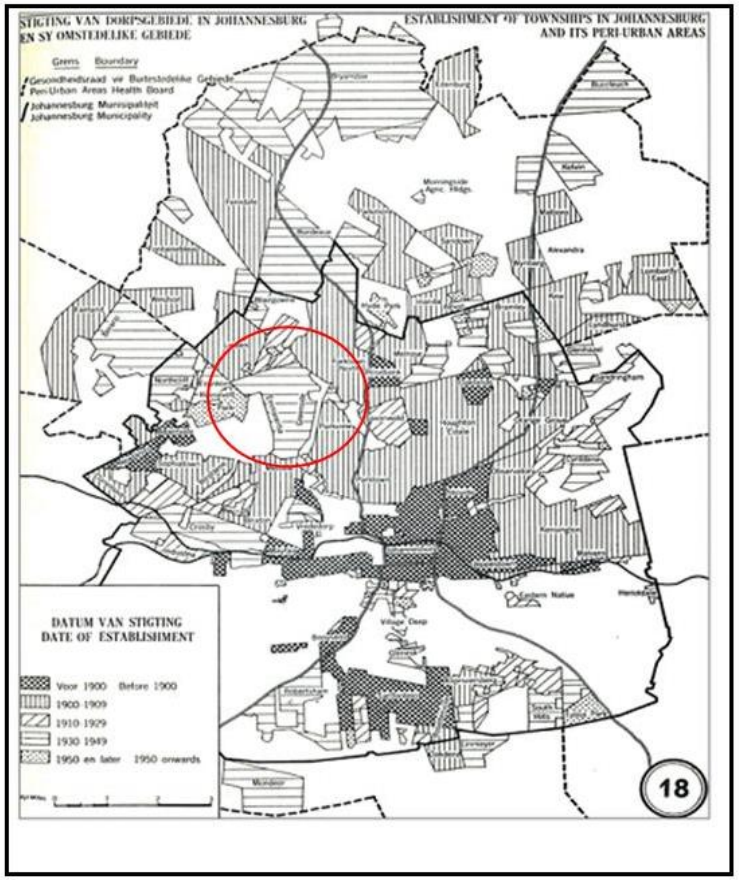


Figure 4: Map describing the spatial relationship of Greenside to major economic nodes. Greenside is well located and well serviced by arterials. **Source** Google Maps www.google.com/maps/greensidehtml . The map was edited with photoscape photo editor ltd. software

Historically, Greenside was originally part of the Emmerentia Farm; until the farm was sub-divided in to Emmerentia, Greenside and the Greenside Extensions.



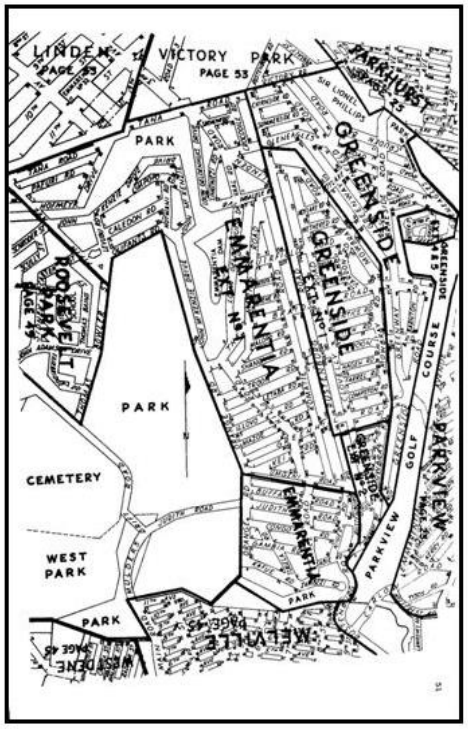


Figure 5: (Right) Early Establishment of northern Suburbs and the subdivision of Emmerentia Farm (Left).

The **subdivision of Emmerentia. Originally Greenside was apart of the Emmerentia farm until the farm was subdivided and sold. Source:** ***Map Office (Pty) Ltd 1908 51*** **Figure 3 (Left) Historical development of the Northern Suburbs.** Greenside was established in 1930 making it one of the last to be developed in the 'parks' cluster. **Source** *Fair et al., 1973 1956 35*

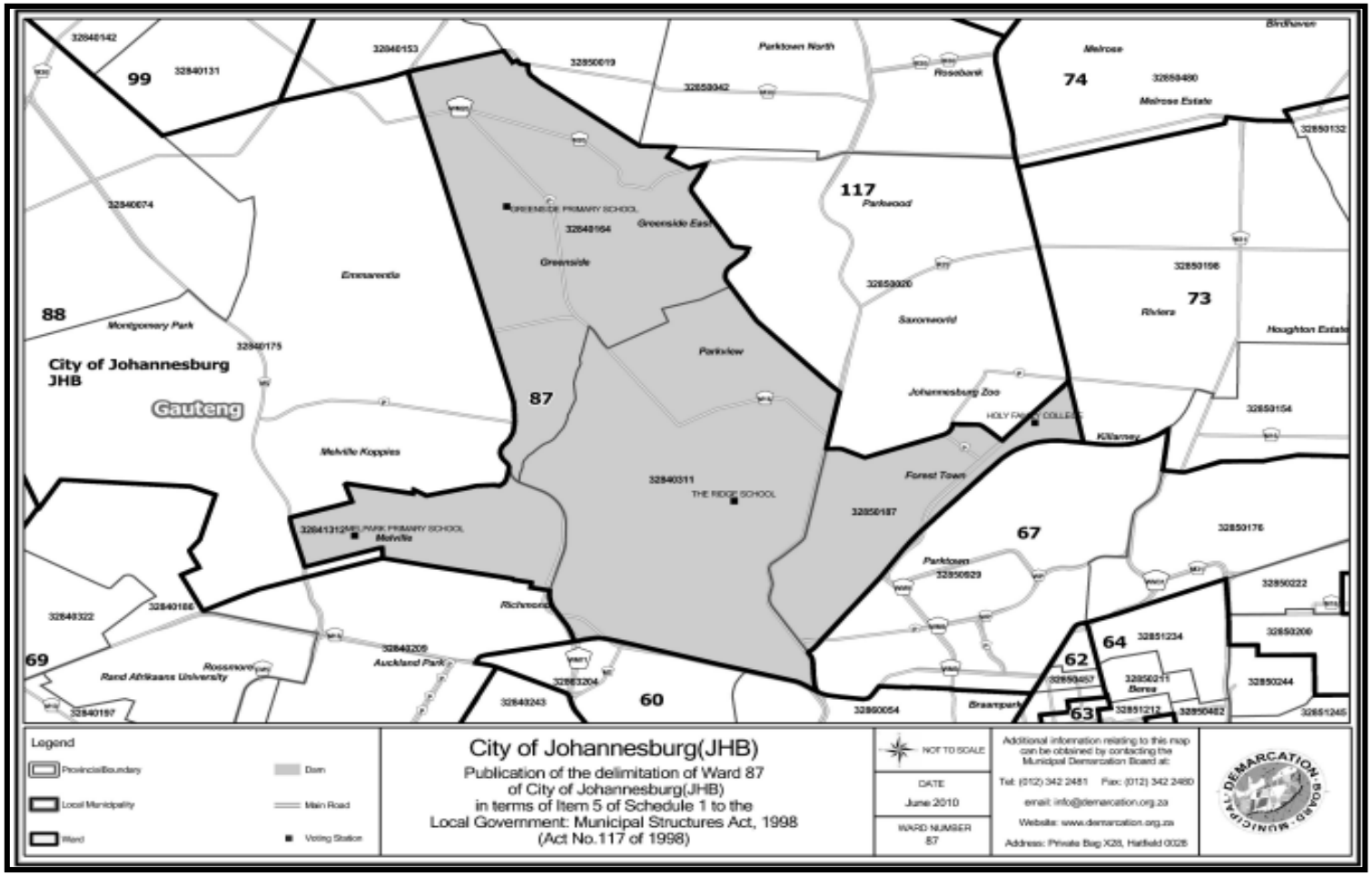


Figure 5 Ward 87 Demarcation.

Areas included under Ward 87 are: Parktown, Westcliffe, Melville, Parkview, Forest Town, Emmerentia and Greenside. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board 2011 (http://www.demarcation.org.za/)

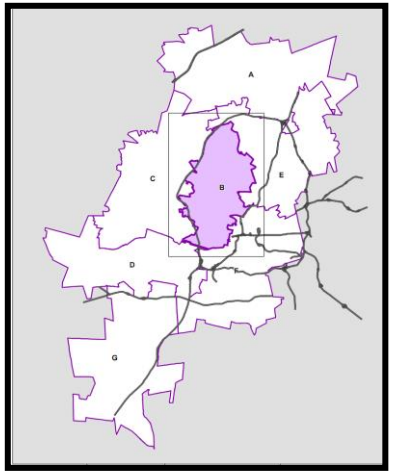


Figure 48: Regional Demarcation Map of Johannesburg. Johannesburg is located in Region B which is highlighted in purple. Source: City Of Johannesburg Website http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=3185:sdfs&Itemid=114

1.4.1. Services and Amenities

Ward 87 is serviced by several public services and amenities. These are (according to Ward 87 Ward Plan 2012/2016):

- Major Arterials (Main Rd, Jan Smuts and Oxford Road)
- No trains or bus stations
- 1 illegal taxi holding (next to campus square)
- 3 Developed parks (Zoo lake, George Hay Park and Frank Brown Park)
- No undeveloped parks, nature reserve and confidence reef
- 3 police stations (Brixton, Parkview and Rosebank)
- 2 Libraries
- 1 Swimming pool (Zoo lake swimming pool)
- 1 Cemetary (West Park Cemetry)

1.4.2. Services and Amenities Particular to Greenside

The centre of Greenside's commercial activities happens along Gleneagles and Greenway. This commercial strip is the hub of local business in the area, suiting a range of coffee shops/ bars, grocery stores, a pharmacy, boutiques and speciality stores. 'The Strip' as it is affectionately called by Greenside residence has experience massive transformation in the last half-a-decade with the emergence and development of restaurants, night clubs , high-density Mixed use residential building, office parks and the conversion of houses for commercial use especially along the strip.

The Greenside neighbourhood supports two schools: Greenside Primary and Greenside High School, the neighbourhood is located in close proximity of the schools: Emmerentia Primary, the Japanese school, Parkview Primary School, Franklin Roosevelt Primary and High Schools, Louw Geldenhys Laerskool and King David Primary and High Schools and Parktown Girls High School (see Chaimowitz 2001).

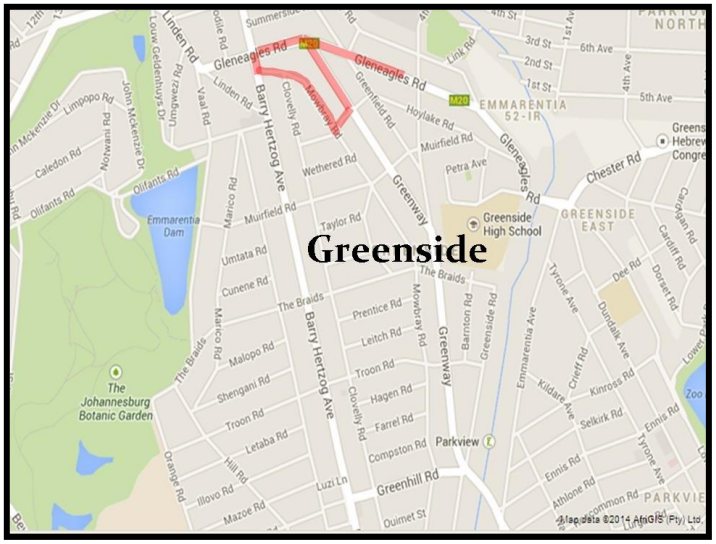


Figure 9: Highlighted Commercial Strip along Gleneagles Road, Greenside. This commercial strip the focus of much contention in the area. Soutce: *Google Maps*

www.google.com/maps/greenside.



Figure 10: Highlighted Commercial Strip along Gleneagles Road, Greenside (b). There has been an estimated 13 new developments along this strip in the last two years. Source: *Google Maps* www.google.com/maps/greenside. Image edited with photoscape photo editor (ltd) software

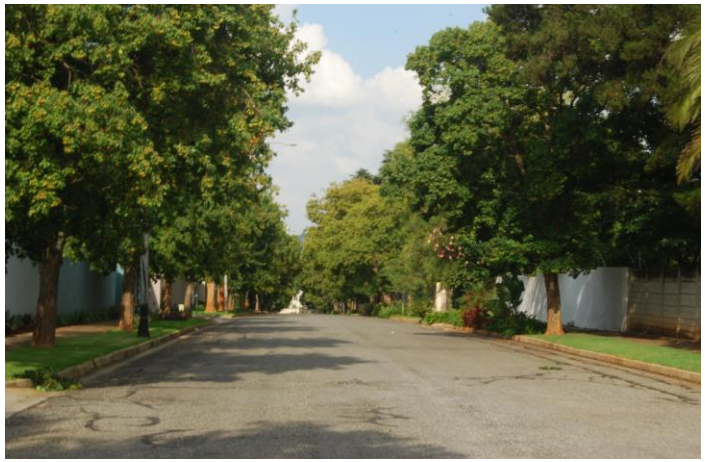


Figure 6: Still Life; Greenside Residential Street (a). A street in Greenside showcasing the residential quality of the space. Greenside is well known for their green trees and aesthetically appealing image.



Figure 13: Still Life; Greenside Residential Street (c) Boundary walls line the streets of Greenside, although this is often a feature of all neighbourhoods in South Africa (for neighbourhoods outside enclosed neighbourhoods and villages)

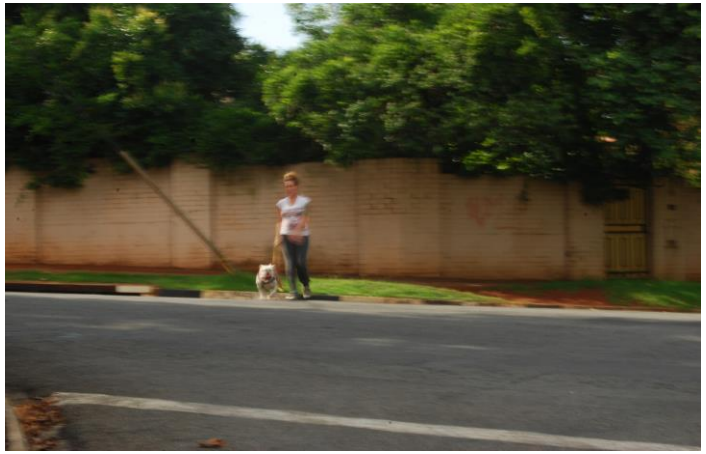


Figure 12: **Still Life; Greenside Residential Street (b)**. Street life in Greenside tends to take on a more 'mature nature. It is unlikely that you would find children playing in the streets but you will find people walking their dogs, running or jogging.



Figure 14: Still Life; Greenside Residential Street (d). Residentual fortification is also a common image in Northern suburbs. It out would be very difficult to assertain from a single case study whether or not Greenside has more or less fortification than other Norther suburbs. I must comment that the fortification of these homes made it generally difficult to conduct the research as it was very difficult ot 'access' residents inside their homes….but perhaps that's the point.



Figure 15: Still Life; Greenside Commercial Strip (a). A long the commercial strip in Greenside we are introduced to a very different image. Here there is mixed use, high density residential buildings. From this image you can see Greenside is starting to look very urban



Figure 9: Still Life; Greenside Commercial Strip (b). Traffic and Parking issues. The increased commercial activities along the Barry Hertzon, Greenway and Gleaneagles strip has put pressure on adjacent residential streets. The high volumes and lack of parking facilities is forcing visitors to the strips to spill out and over into the residential spaces of the suburb.



Figure 8: Still Life; Greenside Commercial Strip (c). A core element that you would not expect to find in a northern suburb is *urban decay.* Again we there are sugn and symptoms that point to a very urban area



Figure 7: Still Life; Greenside Commercial Strip (d). The Suburban Street Vendor. Absolutely not something that you would expect to find on the local commercial strip of a northern suburb. Once again we are drawn into this image of an urban area located in the heart of a suburb.



Figure 10: Suburban Urbanism (a)



Figure20: Suburban Urbanism (b)

These images are meant to reiterate and emphasise the contrasting spaces that exist within the Greenside suburb.

The rapid commercialisation of the previously local strip has lead to an increased urbanisation of the space, which then gives it a very ‘urban’ look and feel.

However, the residential element of the area remains intact and largely defended by residents.

1.5. The Production of Space and the Production of the Everyday

Henri Lefebvre was on of the first social-urban theorists to conceptualise of space as more than a Euclidean function and could be produced, consumed and delivered (Goonewardena et al., 2008 and Watkins 2005). The aim of Lefebvrian theory "is to develop a theory that would grasp the unity between three "Fields" of space: [the] physical, [the] mental, and [the] social." (Lefebvre 1974 in Goonewardena et al., 2008). The multi-dimensional rhetoric of space proposes the functionality in the human experience of space as being integral to the overall lived experience of any space. The production of space is complex and highly interactive that sees all persons participating in the activity whether consciously, unconsciously, passively or actively (Molotch 1993). Possibly the most active producers of space who thrive in creating representations of space are urban planners and urban theorists. Their actions are often at the forefront of spatial production; planning discourse is to produce space.

The dialectic of the everyday and magmatic quantity of literature produced on the matter of the everyday is so extensive that this paper could not effectively cover the full oeuvre and ethos behind the definition, meaning, value and comport without to radically deviating from the central theme of this research report. The definition selected and composed for this research report is: 'The everyday is the repetition of activities on a day-to-day continuum that is expressed in the most mundane and arbitrary tasks framed by the idea of a routine' (de Certeau 1984, Felski 1999, Highmore 2002 and, Lefebvre 1961)

From this we can gather that everyday life has a lot to do with the boring, mundane and uninteresting; things that are common and things that are 'normal'. It is from this pedestal that Lefebvre critics the 'everyday' as being a slow sign of social degradation under capitalist pressures juxtaposed against a fearless impulse to find and make utopia (Felski 1999). Conversation and debate about utopian society is often met with equal doses of criticism and scepticism. But perhaps, more optimistically utopian aspiration is more suggestive of a desire to be comfortable or happy than fully submerged in a kind of pseudo or generic paradise. Regardless, the understanding of the everyday in this research is a series of tasks, activities and routines that individuals participate in in-order to sustain their lives and wellbeing; it is the average everyday medial task such as driving at least a medium distance from their homes to

work. It is important to understand the everyday as it gives material bearing to how individuals interact with the spaces around them, particularly the suburban spaces.

1.6. The suburb' or 'A suburb'

An important element of the conceptualisation of this project was deciding what form of the suburb the project would deal with. This decision dramatically steered the path the research would eventually take. Although seemingly irrelevant the use of the words 'the' or 'a' would profoundly affect the nature of the project.

The question that wavered the decision was: "does this research deal with 'The Suburb' or 'A Suburb'. To determine the difference between the arrangements of these words we need to briefly look at the ontology of the words 'a' and 'the' would have on the research

'A/an suburb' would look specifically at Greenside. This means that the project would have been limited to a case study of Greenside and would have relied heavily on statistical data to make theoretical contributions to the field of suburban studies.

'The suburbs' would look at broader, over arching topic of suburbs in South Africa. The thesis then relies on data to support theoretical contributions as apposed having relied more or completely on the data.

The significance of looking at 'the suburbs' and not 'a suburb' is the intention of expanding on a shifting planning paradigm'; even though looking at a case study would have also provided valuable insight and expanse of suburban theory; what would have remained was a question of Generalizability. Anthony Chaimowitz looked at the case study of Greenside in his Master's dissertation 'The Changing Face of Suburbia in Johannesburg – a case study' (2007) he then analysed findings and made comments and contributions to the sociology field.

1.7. Rationality and Problem Statement

Suburbs and Suburbia are experiencing a reestablishment in the urban planning discipline with greater interested in how and why suburbs behave in the way that they do. The areas of suburban evolution and transformation and the everyday life of suburban living have been identified as keystone areas of suburban knowledge that can be expanded on.

Suburban neighbourhoods are typically low density residential areas that lie outside of the city centre. These include sub-urban spaces, such as neighbourhoods, peri-urban areas and exurbs (Dunham-Jones and Williamson 2009). Amenities and spatial form are critical to the definition and understanding of suburbs. Inner-ring suburban neighbourhoods are the oldest neighbourhoods that lie in close proximity to the city centre and provides an overarching delineation that include the Northern suburbs which is the focus of this study. The historical development and post-apartheid transformations provides a physical context in which we can observe the production of living and the practice of living in these spaces.

There is an examination and evaluation of many of the terminology and epistemologies (Lowand Lawrence-Zuniga 2001, Mabin 2011, Starns 2008, Vaughan 2009, Writh 1938, Wyly 2010,) that encase and characterise the urban build environment. Terms under reconsideration are 'the city', 'the city edge', 'periphery', 'suburb', 'townships and settlements' and are being re-examined and scrutinised to be transformed in meaning or completely replaced by words and terms that more accurately reflect the contemporary urban realm. The rational behind the scrutiny of terms us argued by Hanlon (2009) who digresses: while there is a multitude of titles and terms to choose from, the topic remains illusive and as a consequence; "[t]hese [terms] provide little indication as to how the suburban built environment should be approached conceptually as a particular category of inhabited space" (Hanlon 2009 2); Hinchcliffe (in Hanlon 2009) demonstrates -that more than just a matter of terminology- the problem with suburbs is in definition of space, he expands on Halon by stating "The literature on suburbs is extensive, …. For some the suburb is a geographical space; for others, a cultural form; while for others still it is a state of mind. (Hinchcliffe 2005 899 in Hanlon 2009 2). Further examples of urban theorists re-examining and introducing words which cohesively present day urban conditions are that of the 'Megacity' by Ananya Roy which is intended to represent an edgeless urban space and include all of the build form; regardless of land-use or location . Another example comes from the work of Wirth (1938) proposed the word 'Urbanism' to represent the contemporary experience of urbanites in today's urban environments. The consequence of poorly defined of terminology renders suburban neighbourhood fields appear fuzzy and unclear. This makes it extremely difficult to orient research and findings of residential lifestyles and lifestyle patterns in the broader urban planning discipline. The second rational for this research is an attempt to de-fuzz this planning genre and provide an annotation on the theoretical contextualisation of neighbourhoods.

Based on the spatial triad proposed by Lefevbre in 1974, on the production of space we can confirm that people produce space by adding meaning to it as much as space facilitates the practice of living. The importance and value of this research lies in providing a material account of the lived experience of Johannesburg's northern suburbs and northern neighbourhoods. The monotone production of literature, whilst valuable – echo's a devalued agenda to investigate a lived experience and present findings (Todes 2008) in a more expressive platform than is generally limited in brief (some) case-studies that support theoretical investigations. As discussed earlier, a partiality to specific themes such as politics, governance, spatial form and transformation has skewed the production of literature, leaving an opportunity to find physical representation to the mass production of socio-spatial knowledge. In essence this projects seeks to interrogate the South African Urban Planning conceptualisation of northern suburbs and neighbourhoods by contrasting them to the lived experience of the inhabitants

The suburbs are highly stratified in all terms: social, economic, commercial; interactions with the state, and present and complex social dynamics. These dynamics are so complex; that efforts to untangle the throng that is space to understand the production of life in suburbs and neighbourhoods forces researchers to reduced field of inquiry to a more manageable state and therefore research often suffers from over-simplification that obscures the value of the findings. The issue here is not the content and findings that is being produced in the field of suburbs and neighbourhoods, but rather it is the inability to find extensive insights into the practice of living in suburbs and neighbourhoods that encompass an array of social dynamics in action. The third and final rational to this project is to provide a narrative of the lived of the transformation of northern neighbourhoods.

There appears to be a specific language and lifestyle associated with suburbanites, it may not seem obvious at the on set, but the characteristics of suburban spaces, the expectations of what a suburb should be, have or look like are features in the decision making process of residents when they decide to move into a suburban or northern neighbourhood, whether or not they consciously accept or actively comprehend the dynamics of the space that influence their decision. Lastly, the aim of this research is to compile a definitive list of potential characteristics that can be expected to be found in northern suburbs by interrogating which of characteristics are most accurate, which are obsolete and what has previously been excluded from the list.

1.8. Personal Motivation

The personal motivation behind this research report is both extrinsic and intrinsic. The extrinsic motivation behind this project is a combination of shortfalls in literature and existing research opportunities. Aside from expanding the knowledge base of the urban planning discipline, motivation behind this project coagulates as an investment to drive the expansion of knowledge in suburban and neighbourhood fields and contribute positively to the production knowledge. As a development planner we engage with an extremely diverse and multifaceted discipline that deals with an array of fields and sub-fields; covering all spectrums of human-urban-life. This presents a unique opportunity for an urbanist to delve into research topics that are numerous, diverse and exciting. The ethos of development planning is devoted to the production of an all inclusive and holistic synthesis of the city-scape. The relevance of suburban spaces and neighbourhoods in development planning lies in its relationship to, position to and function within the city-scape. Suburban neighbourhoods and the city are elements of the built environment that are conceptually imagined in the literature (Wyly 2011 and Wirth 1938) as parallel to each other but exist in an interactive and constitutive manner. The value in this phenomenon is the potential meaning this can have to future understandings of the urban environment and the impact it could have on future city design.

Intrinsic motivation for this project stems from my own residential background. Having come from the northern suburbs, I was partially aware of the practice of living in the area, but it intrigued me to consider that there is a specific way-of-life that is played out in the northern-suburbs as apposed to other residential areas. Furthermore, having never felt very much apart of the Johannesburg inner-city and being fully convinced that my residential area could at all times suffice to meet my needs it was not difficult to identify a lack planning interest in suburban spaces. Furthermore, my anthropological background may have also prompted me to seek meaning and justification in my inheritance as a suburbanite, as is common practice with anthropologists to first introspect before dejecting to other spaces of discovery.

1.9. Aim of the Research

I propose that by understanding how suburban spaces are brought to life and consumed by residents and visitors of the space it will give material representation to the literature and urban

theory that exists. While a single study cannot and does not expect to embody the entire field of South African suburban populations, it is with hope that this project can at the very least bring clarity and substantiate suburban spaces as more that just s back drop of social dynamics in urban development; and be appreciated as an integral fabric helping stitch together the cityscape (Chow 2002).

The growth and development of Johannesburg and the expansion of its' urban territory has frequently marked by remnants of social exclusion and spatial injustices that were framed in the cityscape during the apartheid era. In addition to uncovering the everyday of suburban Johannesburg, this research aims to evaluate the practice of living in the old-northern suburbs of the new South Africa.

Furthermore, the aim of this research report is to generate a bearing on the 'culture' of suburbs, which is the mantra and general ethos of living that exists in northern suburban neighbourhoods.

The aim of this research is to give clarity to suburban theory by generating a schema for suburban planning.

1.10. Research Question and Sub-Question

The research report is primary focused on engaging with the everyday and the urbanism associated with suburban lifestyles. This means that I am interested in uncovering and understanding how people live in the northern suburbs and why they have chosen to reside there. The central question guiding this research is:

What does tracking 'the everyday' reveal about the production of living in northern suburbs of Johannesburg: the case of Greenside?

1.1.1. Sub-questions

What is meant by 'the everyday'?

This question will be approached by drawing on sources from social and human geography and interpreting findings in contrast to an urban production and consumption of spaces. This question forms part of the core foundations required to answering the overall question.

How appropriately does the 'habitus' facilitate 'the everyday' experience?

As much as the built-environment facilitates action, so to do individuals lend themselves to manufacturing spaces that are conducive to their actions. This question is vital in deconstructing and scrutinising the relationship between the suburbanites and suburban space. It

What dimensions of suburban transformation could be traced in order to reveal and explain the extent to which Greenside has shifted?

This question is designed to measure the rate and types of change suburban spaces are undergoing. It will be approached through a comparative process by comparing statistical data gathered from surveys to the municipal report 2013. Some key areas of comparison are: densification, demography, building typology, and urban ecology.

What are the key characteristics that development planners could expect to find in (South African) northern suburbs?

Suburbs bring with them their own urbanism and lifestyle. While we cannot expect to find a model, or best practise guide on how to build suburbs, the question is an attempt to develop a concise list of the amenities and spatial and social characteristics that facilitate a suburban urbanism; the lifestyle and lived experience of the space.

1.11. Key Concepts and Research Diagram

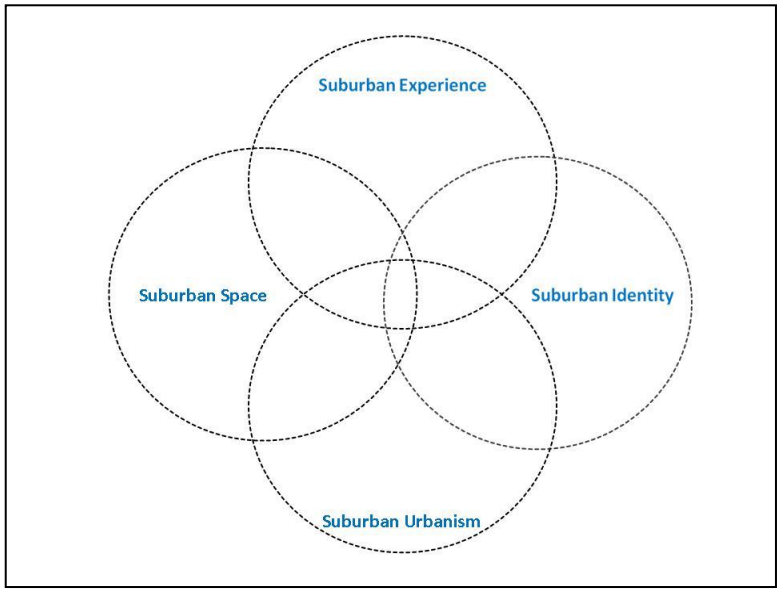


Figure 11: Conceptual Framework of the Research Report

This research will be looking at four major fields of inquiry. How these fields interact and how they engage and exchange with the other fields will determine the structure of the literature review. 'Suburban space' refers to the physical features of the suburbs; it includes its geographical location, proximity to major business nodes, the development and growth of its own business strip and spatial transformation in recent years. 'Suburban experience' is as the title suggests the experience of living in the suburbs. It examines the lived interactions residents have with their suburbs. The experience of the suburb will include aspects of transformation, the everyday and the use of the space. 'Suburban Identity' is a broad field that will look at the identity generated by the space and the identity inherited or propagated by the residents. This field will look at constructing a single and cohesive understand of suburban identity both as a space juxtaposed the city-urban and as a residential amenity. Lastly, 'Suburban urbanism' is the expectation and functionalism produced in and by suburbs. It will guide a process of delineating the core characteristics of suburbs as they are created and the core characteristics of the people who reside there. The conceptual model above is designed to understand and uncover what drives and has created the inner-circle suburbs today. It engages with more than just a physical history and history of spatial evolution.

The conceptual diagram was useful in guiding the development of the four sub-questions that unpack the main research question and support the delivery and development of a sound research method to ensure that objectives and aims are met and the main research question is answered. Each sections and inter-section of the conceptual framework was extracted and identified as relating to one or more socio-spatial dynamics that was then extrapolated on and used as either a guide to the literature review, an aid to the development of the research question and sub questions and a guide to the research method.

1.12. Underpinning Elements of Core Argument

Firstly; It is unclear in planning theory what development planners consider the constitutional characteristics of northern suburbs and neighbourhoods that align with the lived practice of these spaces. This argument is made on the premise that the spatial Development theologies do

not effectively consolidate the status quo and lived experiences of northern suburban and residential spaces.

Secondly; the inability of urbanists to define the phenomenological characteristics of South African suburbs and neighbourhoods' stems form a loose or unclear representation and understanding of the socio-spatial dynamics that constitute the characteristics.

Thirdly, while there have been several attempts by urbanists to construct and produce a completed list of characteristics that planners might be expected to find in suburban neighbourhoods, the list remains incomplete, presumptuous or outdated.

1.13. Structure of the Research Report

This research report is broken into six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction and expands on the project outline. It summarises the core rational behind the research report, the aim of the study and major themes, arguments and supplementary questions that are needed in answering the research questions. The sub-questions delineated in this chapter will be used to guide the presentation of data in chapter four and the analysis of data in chapter five as

Chapter two will explores the theoretical underpinnings are registered earlier in this chapter. Chapter two has also helped mould and guide the data collection process; by identifying more explicitly the major theoretical weaknesses and shortcomings of suburban theory in South Africa. Chapter two will consider themes such as suburban origins in South Africa, the gentrification of suburban space, the inadequacies in terminology regarding the use value and the definition of the word 'suburb', this chapter will also engage with ideas of a South African dream that is linked to a middle-class suburban lifestyle.

Chapter three will look at research methods and an integration of the methods that were used to acquire the data needed to answer the central and supplementary questions of this research paper. The essential methods collection was a survey for statistical purpose, monitoring demographic change, perceptions and feeling on transformations and motivations for living in or visiting the suburbs. In addition to this a second essential method were structured interviews

with Greenside residents; these interview were designed to explore the everyday life of a suburbanite in detail and to provide a first hand account of the spatial transformation that is occurring the suburb. Lastly, the use of log book was proposed to participants as a way of tracking their everyday activities that could be analysed and developed into a pattern of the everyday.

Additionally social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and a Whatsapp community group were used as supplementary data collection to help understand the everyday and transformation of Greenside. Furthermore, the official these platforms that were managed by committee members of the Greenside residents association was a portal into the lives of the Greenside residents, it was a way through which I could completely submerge into the community and observe their behaviour.

Chapter four contains the presentation of data collected during the research period and from all sources of the research. It also engages with an analysis of the findings and preliminary discussion that is expanded on in chapter five. Here the statistical data gathered from the surveys and separately statistics from Twitter will be presented in graphs; extracts from the interviews with Greenside Residents will form the central sources of information for the everyday life suburbanite. Additionally, extract of interviews with individuals from surrounding areas will be used to juxtapose the experiences by Greenside residents. Finally a comparative presentation of data will also be included that draws on Johannesburg city ward data to establish the rate of integration and social transformation.

Chapter five will be used a platform for more detailed analysis of the data and discussion of the findings in line with the research question and sub-questions. Herein will be the major contributions to the urban planning field and conclusions derived through the research.

Chapter 6 is the concluding chapter that reiterates and categorically outlines key findings of the research, both anticipated through the core research question and sub-questions; unanticipated findings. There is also a reflection of difficulties, experiences and an outline opportunity for improvement of the research and opportunities for future research.

1.14. Conclusion

This chapter was provided as an introduction to the research report by outlining several agenda's and functions of the report. It briefly explored some of the theoretical underpinning that has prompted this research and covered the identification of a central problem, and the aim of the research. In addition to the design of the research, this chapter outlined the contents of the following chapters. Finally, the introductory chapter provided the basic structure of the research report by elaborating on the central research question and sub questions.

2

Underpinning Suburban Urbanity : Origins, Constructs and Realities







2. Underpinning Suburban Urbanity: Origins, Constructs and Realities.

2.1. Introduction to the Literature Review

This chapter will be serve three functions, the first application of this chapter is to outline, assess and interrogate the theoretical underpinnings and socio-spatial dynamics that contribute to the development, continuity and lived experience and lifestyles of northern suburban Johannesburg. The second function of this chapter is to highlight and extract from the literature key characteristics that can be considered common expectations amongst planners as to what drives the development and longevity of northern suburbs; what constitutes the production of the everyday and what is the practice of living in these neighbourhoods. The third function of this chapter will be to ascertain an outline that will guide the presentation and evaluation of data and findings in chapter four and chapter five.

This chapter draws on the conceptual framework illustrated in Chapter One to guide the choice of literature reviewed as necessary in establishing a theoretical basis for discussion. Literature which covers suburban spaces, suburban identities, suburban experientiality and suburban lifestyles by exploring constitutive genera's such as neighbourhood conceptualisation in planning, the formation of identity and the experience of belonging to a space; the gentrification and transformation of suburban neighbourhoods, the lived experience and the production to lived practice of the everyday; was essential to initiating a solid dialogue that could answer the central question.

By reviewing literature that focuses on the socio-spatial dynamics of neighbourhoods in South Africa (and some international literature), we will be able to extract a series of characteristics commonly found in research that centres on neighbourhoods and what might be common expectations of planners in neighbourhood design and research. Furthermore by identifying expectations of neighbourhood qualities; we will be able to evaluate the applicability of neighbourhood theory and the relevance of neighbourhood theory in planning.

The structure this chapter will follow is to first begin a discussion of various elements that contribute to a theoretical underpinning of the general topic, it will consolidate key findings in the literature review and conclude with an outline and mini-introduction to the following chapters of this research report.

2.2. The Scope of Development Planning: A shift to the post-modernism

The shift to a postmodern urban planning paradigm was first seen in the 1960's and 1970's in America (Goodchild 1990); According to Michael Dear and Steven Flusty (1998) has been indicative of "a radical break from trends in political, economic and socio-cultural life" (Dear and Flusty, 1998 50) and is marked by

> "…a distinct urban form…[which] expresses the confluence…of microsocial trends, including deindustrialisation of the metropolis…, the wide spread middle-class abandonment of urban residence coupled with rapid suburban sprawl, the devaluation of public space… and an awe-struck love affair with an 'inward-looking' architectural style that turns it is back on the surrounding cityscape" (Murray 2004 139)..

Platt (2004) argues that planning practice has fundamentally transformed especially during the past decade. This change can be seen through a reconfiguration of policies, structures and legislation which are very much in line with the 'signs and symptoms' of postmodernism as suggested by the Murray above. Planning in South Africa has always deeply connected to the political agenda's of the country; which makes it difficult to determine whether or not South African Planning is experiencing a paradigm shift or the restructuring of planning motifs is simply related to the political reformation. Todes et al., (2009) in the paper *Urban Growth and Strategic Spatial Planning in Johannesburg South Africa* , look extensively at the shifting planning method of South African planners since the end of apartheid. It is the presence of such contradicting opinions that make it is difficult to identify or observe a material moment in recent South African history that could denote a paradigm shift as we were preoccupied with matters of liberating a nation. A change in the planning direction of South Africa is coloured and fogged by an emphasised focus on social justice, spatial equality and redemption and reconciliation (Healy 1991, Healey 2003 and Platt 2004).

Post-modernism has been criticised as being a form of hypo-capitalism and relativism (Antonio and Kellner 1991 and Dear and Flusty 1998); However works by Amin (2006), Beard (2010), Dear and Flusty (1998), Goodchild (1990) and Murray (2004) produces a very strong argument to

support a shift to a post-modern planning practice (Farmer et al., 2006, Healey 1991, Landman 2003 and Todes 2008).

A shift in planning practice generates creative and innovative responses to urban dynamics and encourages planners and urbanists to address the urban from a new angle. We see this in new planning approaches that focus on sustainability, longevity and liveability of cities (Farmer et al., 2006 and Landman 2004).

Landman (2003) describes the new image of neighbourhood planning as a post-modern paradigm in South Africa:

> "The late 1990s and early 2000s brought about major changes in South African (SA) cities. This was partly because of huge political transformation, as well as major socio-economic changes that accompanied these. These changes also paved the way for the introduction of new urban design concepts to facilitate spatial transformation, both pro-active and reactive….As a reaction to the 'bland and monotonous development of recent years' and rather than 'single use and single tenure estates', the aim is 'to create mixed use urban developments on a sustainable scale'. The qualities of the urban villages are spelled out as offering 'a variety of uses, such as shopping, leisure and community facilities alongside housing; a choice of tenures, both residential and commercial; a density of development which can help encourage the use of non-housing activities; a strong sense of place, with basic amenities within easy walking distance of all residents; a high level of involvement by local residents in the planning and onward management of the new development" (Landman 2003 2-3)

From the evidence provided, it is with a reasonable certainty that we can accept that planning is in a new phase of operation. This then would be the most appropriate time to reconsider the position of neighbourhood planning, and the approaches taken to neighbourhood planning.

2.3. The Suburbs in Planning

Before any real conversation regarding the present planning attitude toward suburbs can be had, perhaps a more befitting start would be to gain an understanding of the history of suburbs in planning.

The suburbs have become synonymous with the idea of the edge city and so: sprawl (Mabin 2011, Starns 2008, Writh 1938, Wyly 2011 and Vaughan 2009) as a result it has been treated and addressed in practice as sprawl is usually dealt with – abandonment (Bridge and Watson 2002). The relationship between the city and the suburbs, produced in theory is a long standing one, with many social, geographical and urban theorists commenting on or at the very least eluding to an inherently melancholic, conflicted and symbiotic relationship between the two (Wirth 1938 and Wyly 2011). The suburbs are continuously conceptualised negatively in planning literature; repeatedly described as a tool of urban development bent on: assaulting, attempting to conquer and even invade the country side (Dyos 1977 31&33 in Wyly 2011 5).

In addition to being negatively construed as a mindless, formless abomination of urban development, the suburbs are critiqued for their role in a helping decentralization of city centres (Rusk 1993). This multi-level interrogation of 'suburbs' has fostered a relationship between itself and the city that is a quaintly reminiscent of the relationship between' occident and the orient' described by Edward Said. The failing rapport between the city and the sub-urban, is only driven by city attempts to eradicate and negate the suburbs (Kelbaugh 2002 and Wyly 2011); Wyly offers an explanation to this reality as she suggest, that this is all part of the teleology of urban development (Wyly 2011). This would suggest that sub-urban spaces are potential high density areas and are must located lower on the line that is urban development

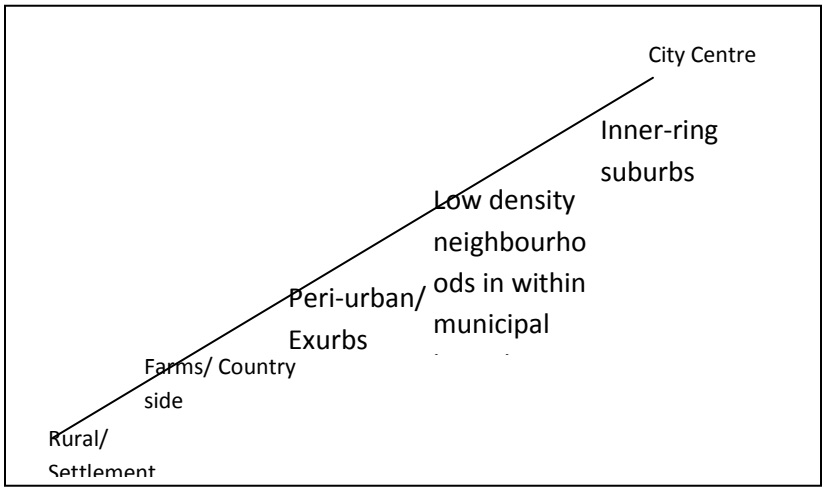


Figure 22: Illustration Imagining a Teleology of Urban Development. If we are to consider Wyly correct in his proposal, we can imagine the teleology of urban development to look a bit like this

The teleology hypothesis basically suggests that suburbs and sub-urban areas are spaces in early evolutionary form placed on a teleology - that will eventually be high-density urban areas. This hypothesis speaks largely to ideas of the mega-city or the mega-polis. For clarity let us turn to a definition: "…[with a] teleology we intend to capture the manner in which a component, at any level of the structure hierarchy, contributes to the behaviours…of the structures hierarchy…a teleological description addresses questions of the form "Why is this portion of the mechanism designed in this way?" or "What is the purpose of this piece of mechanism?"" (Franke 1992 1-2). The teleology hypothesis is a post-modernist attempt and circumventing the multifarious built-environment. Of course the teleology hypothesis does not go without some retaliation.

> "Despite claims to universal applicability, such approaches tend to be thoroughly Eurocentric. Rooted in the Modernist project, they favour teleological narratives of progress in which the self-professed centre, the Euro-American metropolis, serves as the model and benchmark. At their core is a reliance on dichotomies – centre vs periphery, formal vs informal, success vs failure – that cannot effectively account for diversity: for ways of experiencing, structuring and imagining city life beyond the confines of a world narrated by Lewis Mumford and his followers… Examples of this abound. Simplistic visions of Johannesburg as a metropolis divided between haves and have-nots, the latter perceived as likely to impede the city's growth, attended many a step in the build-up to the 2010 World Cup." (MalaquaIs 2011 7)

To reinforce the disparity between urban and sub-urban space Setha Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (2001) demonstrate the ways in which the subaltern urbanity presents in social systems. They draw an interesting contrast between a private and public identity that was inherited with the space that people choose to occupy. Further to this point Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (2002) concur with a remark to this tacit dichotomy and go so far as to explain the relationship between the public and the private as: "…to 'be' in the public is to emerge from the private" (Bridge and Watson 2002 336). This is based on the idea that the urban is the public and the sub-urban is the private (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2001). Therefore based on social norms and what we expect; we construe the private is always in opposition to what is public; and never the two should meet.

Despite this polarity; the interdependency of the private and the public only reasserts a symbiotic relationship between the city and the suburbs, thereby validating suburbs as an intrinsic element to any urban theory and design.

There are many unobvious consequences to delineating meaning and values to spaces. Especially when these meaning and values are so deeply embedded in our social archetypes that we cannot expect planners and urbanists to remain fully objective as they generate urban spaces. By appropriating a space to a specific meaning and value (Watkins 2005) we are warned that "in ways … [our alliance with a space; may] subvert the intentions of the city authorities" (Bridge and Watson 2002 337) - which in reference to the intentions of the Development Strategies of Gauteng - is to produce an integrated city! Arguably the development pattern of Johannesburg rebukes against both the warning by Watkins and the Development Strategies plan of Gauteng. This rebellion is seen in the Johannesburg Regional Spatial Development Framework (2008-2009) outlines priorities and objectives to achieve economic growth and inner- city densification (Gauteng Regional Spatial Development Framework 2008 – 2009), paying little attention to addressing the surrounding suburbs for fear of misdirecting interest and investment from inner-city. Ironically there is little or no attention paid to the slowing or stopping suburban free-market growth which in its own capacity is drawing people out of the inner-city. The validation of this argument is purported to consider inner-ring suburbs –so suburbs-; then they would fall outside the scope of the Spatial Development Framework. This to is only a half truth as Greenside is directly affected by the 'Johannesburg Corridors of Freedom'.

Further to the point of social constructed interpretations and materialisation of the subaltern urbanity, Wirth (1938) then weighs in by highlighting the types of interpersonal relationships that are forged between people in different urban areas. To begin with he looks at relationships between people in the city and describes them as being of a: ""segmental character and utilitarian accent" (Wirth 1938 13). This comment strongly cemented in early works by George Simmel and his 'Strangers in the City'. For Wirth, the relationships of the urban are formed out of a necessity to survive in the city, and are maintained singularly because of a self-servicing need to survive. This would suggest that the relationship in neighbourhoods are more interpersonal, Johannes (2002) argues that this is only partially true, while the relationship in neighbourhoods are more inter-personal they are founded on the idea that individual wellbeing is dependent on collective wellbeing.

This intern informs an identity of urban dwellers, which depending on what side of the tracks you may be from (the city or the suburbs) is an identity which is inherited and expressed according to our proxemics (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003) as we exist in spaces of exchange. Proxemics is a social phenomenon. It denotes determinism to express our spatial heritage. It is important to understand that proxemics is not simply about nationality, or what province a person might be from or even city; instead it is far more complex and extents to include dialect, culture, sub-cultures, vernaculars, education, race, lineage, economic class and heritage. Proxemics completely embodies the identity of a person as it includes the spatial, physical, meta-physical and intangible forces that contribute to our sense of identity.

Why do suburbs exist? A simple enough question without a simple enough answer. Suburbs are mostly considered as residential alcoves that facilitate life in an urban area without what is perceived as the chaos of the city. The emergence of sub-urban areas is varies in time and causation among the great cities of the world. While we cannot agree on a single rationale behind what drives suburban development we can agree that all cities in the world experience some form of suburbanisation (Mabin 2011); in cognisance of Mabin we can draw Wirth who entrusts the responsibility for suburbanisation to the technological advances in transportation and communication that have only "…accentuated the role of [the urban] as dominant element in our civilisation and have enormously extended the urban mode of living beyond the confines of the city itself." (Wirth 1938 5). In discussion with Mabin and Wirth, we can understand that all city have suburbs and we begin to appreciate what drives onward the development of suburban space; but we are no closer to answering the fundamental question …why do suburbs exist?

There are many proposals that attempt to explain the urban reality that is the suburbs. Some of the more widely accepted propositions include a teleology hypothesis, market driven suburban models of explanation, theories based on sprawl and theories that deal with the autonomous and social inevitability of the suburbs.

Wirth in coalescence of Wyly's "subordinate and subsidiary hypothesis of suburban manifestation" we are provided with a (albeit incomprehensive but satisfying) reflection on early rational to the development and growth of suburbs. Wirth and Wyly look specifically at the edge city and rationalises: "the arrival of a new age, in which suburbs are fully autonomous communities that have no need for the older 'central city' nearby" (Wyly 2011 9) – its "density,

land values, rentals, accessibility, healthfulness, prestige, aesthetic consideration, absence of nuisances such as noise, smoke, and dirt determine the desirability of various areas of the city as places of settlement for different sections of the population." (Wirth 1938 15). Wirth principally speaks to market driven models and sprawl theory. In London, the decentralisation of the city was prompted by an escape from the disaster that was London in the 1800's. The rich and affluent has the ability to relocate in the country side that eventually became the villages and towns that surround London city today. As for America, there is a combination of major events that prompted its suburbanisation and the scale at which the suburbanisation happened. We are all aware of the post-world-war need for housing, the baby-boomers, and the veterans that returned home and needed a home. Duany, Plater-Zeyberk and Speck explain

> "…suburban sprawl is the direct result of a number of policies that conspired powerfully to encourage urban dispersal. The most Significant of these were the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration loan programs which, in the following years of the Second World War, provided mortgages for over 11 million new homes." (Duany, Plater-Zeyberk and Speck 2001 7-8).

The land chosen for suburban development were selected on its value before its proximity and location was considered. The reality of sprawl theory on suburban development shouldn't at all be surprising as we see the same policy and attitude in the RDP rollouts. Alexandra, Diepsloot and Orange-farm are three of the largest townships in South Africa; they are townships, that receive a lot if attention in the ways of upgrading.

It must be noted, that there is a degree of inapplicability of the edge city concept in this proposal, as; although the city of Johannesburg does present symptoms of the edge city, it does not apply to the high density suburbs which were historically formed and are very much apart of the city by comparison to the sprawling edge city described initially by Joel Garreau.(1991). Further more, this only highlights the necessity of clearly defining the boundaries of the city; but which may be altogether useless, as Alan Mabin in a seminar presentation of suburbs (2011) draws attention to the possibility of boundary-less cities, that perhaps the megacity of Roy is immanent.

Based on this argument: this can represent our version of suburbs- if of course we ignore the massive political involvement in its history; to do this would be irresponsible, but it does provide a good departure point for debate. There is an old adage: 'if we are to prepare for the future we must first completely understand our pasts. It is imperative that we settle on a comprehensive and methodical way of investigating the sub-urban spaces. Uniformity can only bring clarity to an otherwise foggy sub-urban agenda.

Space has always been a topic of deep philosophical debate. Frome conversations around how to plan space, how to use them – all the way to who has ownership of the space. Space is a finite resource for which people are prepared to fight for and to die for; in short space is where it is happening.

More than just the physical dynamic of space, there is the social meaning placed on space. This is when space is transformed into place. A place has identity, it has ownership, it has belonging, it layered with meanings of inclusion and exclusion – of social values that delve and expand to include morality, ethics, expectation and perceptions. The perceived reality of places may not align with the reality of spaces but that does not stop us from trying to transform and embed ourselves in ways into spaces so that they become places.

We arrange spaces into a hierarchy. What this hierarchy is…is difficult to describe. To be on the safe side, let us say there are multiple hierarchies, each; themselves arrange into a hierarchy. Some hierarchy of spaces are arranged according to desirability in terms of property price or popularity, others by aesthetics, some by proximity to variety of places, others still by amenities available and more over, spaces and places are arranged in a combination of all of the above. This affects the placing of spaces. Hierarchies are social constructions – created, driven and perpetuated by the consumers of space. As planners we can never imagine that we are above and beyond the placing of spaces (Madanipour, 2003). In fact we can call our- selves the worst kind because we have 'best practice' and 'planning whitepapers' and 'design guidelines'. As planners, our placing of spaces may be drawn from statistical analysis, theoretical investigation and even philosophy and decades of research and scrutiny of space but all of this does not and cannot detract from the fact that we create spaces that inspire placing of spaces and that are inspired by the very same placing of spaces. The prime example of this is zoning, we zone according to scales and analysis and rationalizations from research- but we still successful create

places out spaces. It is a weird inception kind of thing. It is the production of knowledge, it is discourse.

2.4. Battles for Terminology: Township VS suburb

The role of terminology in planning as a means to wade through the unclear field of suburban neighbourhood studies is substantive (Ballard and Jones 2011; Horn 2004; Mabin 2012 and Whittick 1974). Often, urbanists will use the word suburban and neighbourhood as interchangeable (Benit-gbuffou 2006; Christopher 2001; Landman and Schóteich 2002; Landman 2003; Badenhorst and Landman 2012, Mabin 2011, Mabin 2012, shambarker 2008). But, Rusk (1993) and Thorns (1972)disagree with this practice; arguing: suburbs or suburban spaces are not a single homogenous ethos that can be clumped together and approach with a blanket attitude to the space (Thorns 1972; Rusk 1993); we warned that generalising terminology can only produce a generalisation of thoughts and ideas.

In retrospect suburbs are spaces which were considered negative or the anti-spaces to the city (Wyly 2011) . It is interesting to note how the meanings of these words have transformed over time. In South Africa, Township has become a word meaning informal. It is a word strongly associated with people who are impoverished, who reside in the previously black urban area on the outer rims of the city; and its population is majority African and previously disadvantaged (Township Transformation Timeline 2009).

On the other hand, the word suburban has come to be understood as a word that represents and is associated with a middle class lifestyle; representing mostly a white population (Johannes 2002); and strongly linked with people who have made the active choice to live outside the 'city limits'. Of course this is debatable, as this study looks specifically at 'inner-circle suburbs' of Johannesburg; which are very much within the Johannesburg City municipal boundaries. These are areas that at one point in the city's history may have existed on the borders of the city but today are very much apart of the fabric of the city and are often extremely close to major business district nodes.

Inner-circle suburbs do not follow the typical format of suburban spaces as previously thought. This again ties back to the problematic of the induction and use of Americana and Europa knowledge and findings into our own conceptualisation of spaces.

So why is terminology so important? Vaughn et al (2009) sums up a rational as:

> "…we are content with widespread scholarly and common-sense agreement that suburbs are characteristic aspects of the built environment.... Beyond the most perfunctory level of definition, it is far from clear as to what this term [suburb] actually means or indeed, whether it can be thought to possess meaning at all. A pronounced tendency to neologism in suburban studies highlights the underlying theoretical weakness. This justifies the original question: if there is widespread agreement that suburbs exist, a fog of competing representations tends to obstruct the possibility of meaningful generalisation. All too often it seems as though the language of the suburban floats free from the suburban built environment. This dislocation means that a particular focus on the suburbs can appear as a distraction, rather than an essential bearing, for research into the relationship of the built environment with everyday social practices. Given the ubiquity of suburban living in contemporary society this seems an undesirable state of affairs." (Vaughn et al. 2009 1)

There is a flurry of words that exist to describe the various forms of residential spaces; Urban, Sub-urban, Suburban, city edges, edgeless cities and exurbs (commuter towns), suburbia, burbs, boomburbs, ethnoburbs, Faubourg's, and inner-ring suburbs. The production and use of such a variety of words can make reading into residential space confusing and unclear. Hanlon (2010) argues that this appears to be a means of distraction, a psychological mechanism for avoiding the topic. To illustrate this point, the Google results (a crude but effective measurement tool). By searching 'suburban' or 'suburbs' Google spills out a multitude of variations and vernacular production of words surrounding suburban studies

The paradox then is: to achieve generalisability of suburban theory we must achieve clarity within the individualistic practice of producing suburbs. This then means simplifying the built form which ultimately renders theory unrepresentative and ungeneralisable.

Mabin (2013) further iterates: "The inside space of the city remains a limited resource of opportunity with continued inflow of migrants. As a result "the words that include "suburb", peri-urban, suburbia, township, informal settlement and others …jostle for meaning" (Mabin 2013 2). In conclusion, the issue of terminology is: it grossly entangled and cyclic relationship it has with the uncertain and fluid nature of the urban itself. The dysfunction in research is symptomatic of more than just terminology, but pre-empts a much larger dysfunction in planning paradigms.

Alan Mabin (2005-2013) has begun a process of critiquing and interrogating the terminology and various terms that have been generated over the years. Despite this growing interest in the terminology of the suburbs, there has been little production of knowledge that deals explicitly with terminology. In truth an entire PhD thesis can be written just on the semantics of words representing and or strongly associated with outer-urban areas.

Without going into to much detail and heated debate, for the purpose of this research I shall present definitions for 4 of the terms listed above as they have been conceptualised for this research. First: 'Urban' traditionally relates to cities and the people who live in them (Mariam Webster Online Dictionary http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/urban visited 12/11/2013); urban has become a term to include and represent the city and the built-environment in general. This research has accepted urban as representing the high density inner-city of Johannesburg. Sub-urban and suburban appear at first glance to be a repetition of words especially in light of its origins in Latin and French languages; but are very different. For this research sub-urban has been accepted to mean all areas surrounding the highly dandified Johannesburg city-centre. Suburban has been accepted to be defined as inner-circle sub-urban areas such as Greenside and other surrounding areas; all within the Johannesburg City Municipality

For this research urban and suburban are words that refer specifically to inner-city and inner-circle suburbs respectively. Suburban represents all areas immediately surrounding the Johannesburg CBD and who have been assigned to the Johannesburg City Municipality. By contrast, sub-urban; peri-urban; exurbs and edge cities are words that will be used to represent regions on the boundary of Johannesburg city municipality.

The debacle of terminology in planning is not a matter of neglect as much as it is circumstantial. At the end of apartheid, planning experience a dramatic shift in planning focus; around the same time globalisation was rapidly growing and so was its affect. Our history and the international events that shaped the urban so dramatically also influenced the perceptions and generated meanings of spaces. While there is a distinct language and meaning for the difference between urban and suburban spaces but it cannot be applied in this research.

The literature on suburbs is extensive, yet the subject always seems elusive (Hanlon 2010). For some the suburb is a geographical space; for others, a cultural form; while for others still it is a state of mind.

The question that remains for us – given that there is so much obscurity around the definition and characteristics of what makes a suburb, how do we as South African's and South African planners respond to this. Logically, I would suggest starting at the very beginning by redefining and reconstructing terminology and meaning; but, the problem is not only in the production of words, it is in the practice of these words.

2.5. Suburban Gentrification

The trending spatial form of Johannesburg is one of a decentralised core and multi-nucleic economic nodes. This has spurred a contrast between low rise and high rise mini city centres which span the whole of Gauteng.

Under the topic of the developmental future of Johannesburg, we find ourselves at an impasse the low-density sprawl makes it difficult to envision a Johannesburg that embodies Ananya Roy's megacity, at the same time the low rise, residential –suburban- bands that separate the nucleases of each mini-city are reduced by the growing centres. There is a variety of theories to explain this movement; some impart its occurrence to inter-municipality competition, whilst others like Wyly (2011) afford the change to movements of Urbanism.

The question that arises is: How do we measure and monitor this change? Perhaps the answer lies in the Gentrification tool box which planners are so fond of when approaching the inner-city.

Gentrification cannot responsibly be called a phenomenon of the urban built environment. Instead it has become common practice of planners as a way of solving many urban problems.

Gentrification certainly is not a new thing in South Africa and more particularly Johannesburg, but the number of gentrified areas in and around Johannesburg is rapidly increasingly; spurring both economic and social change, as we expect from gentrification. However, aside from the economically fragmented city that is often a result of gentrification, there are the effects of a deepening social cleavage; the creation of exclusive spaces and more specifically the transmutation of spaces.

Gentrification is a highly conflicted topic, having both positive and negative attributes when it comes to its effect on the city. Traditionally gentrification is the process whereby wealthier groups invest in property in lower income or working class areas. Through value capture indices such as financial benefits of property upgrades; property values increase resulting in rent price increases, consequently driving out many of the pre-gentrification residence who, post-gentrification, can no longer afford to live in the area; this can be known as the 'displacement effect'.

The causes behind gentrification are complex. Arguably, governmental strategies and developmental ambitions are often the main motivators of gentrification; as stated above; gentrification improves property prices and thus increases the tax on the property thereby generating revenue for local governments. An increase in budgets of local governments means they can invest more in infrastructure and services. As a development strategy, governments will implement private and public projects which often include tax incentives or other financial incentives, coercing investors to invest in areas previously ignored by banks; businesses and developers (Centre for Urban Research and Learning 2002). Additionally gentrification has been and still is strongly driven by private sector interests in the economic benefits of investment.

The word gentrification has "become synonymous with displacement" (Vandergrift 2006, 1); Vandergrift, heavily criticizes this connection between the two words, explaining that gentrification is not fully understood by professionals, making it almost impossible for professionals to act in a way that "protect the status of the original residence of neighbourhoods and encourage diversity." (Vandergrift 2006, 1), the inability of planners to accurately implement gentrification as a tool of renewal is by no means 'gentrifications fault'. Furthermore Atkinson describes gentrification as "continuing to be a problem of definition, theorization and social cost as well as a significant challenge to public policy." (Atkinson 2003 2349).

Returning to Vandergrift, who brings to our attention a respectable attempt by Van Criekingen and Decroly to define types of gentrification; taking into account the variations in extent, process and initiators of gentrification. They propose firstly: “Yuppification” which is the migration of young professionals into a neighbourhood (Vandergrift 2006), often low cost, high density areas (Centre for Urban Research and Learning 2002), this movement has been related to the emergence of a new middle-class; the second form of gentrification is: Marginal Gentrification, which refers to transient or temporary residence such as inner city dwelling with an eventual return to the suburbs; and lastly: Owner responsibility and initiative driven upgrades to an area with little population change (Vandergrift 2006). Using this as evidence Vandergrift further illustrates her point that it is based on academically sourced shortcomings that gentrification is often misinterpreted and is therefore mistakenly directly related to displacement.

Gentrifications side effects on urban renewal and redevelopment, whilst gentrification has become synonymous with displacement, it can be argued that in essence gentrification has more ties with movement than with a regimented displacement (Hoogendoorn and Visser 2010)

Regardless of the poetic debates around the theory of gentrification, there are very real effects of gentrification; some of them have been identified as: higher income investors displace lower income residence, disrupting community and community based institutions, increase in racial and economic conflict during and post transition, market manipulation to serve the needs of a few at the social and economic cost of those who can least afford it, and change in the characteristics of a neighbourhood i.e. socially, economically, aesthetically etc, finally gentrification is most heavily criticised for it homogenising effects on a community.

While gentrification can arguably be explained as a kind autonomous and natural process of real estate, the relationship between gentrification and displacement takes centre stage when it comes to policy and planning. In a short essay titled “Gentrification in South African Cities” Gustav Visser (2002) explains:

> “The analysis of gentrification has exposed a considerable tension between those focusing on the economics of the process – that being the relationship between the flows of capital and the production of urban space on the one hand(e.g.Smith,1979); and those interested in the characteristics of the

> gentrifiers and their patterns of consumption within the broader sphere of Urban culture in post-industrial society…"(Visser, 2002, 420)

I am confident to argue that the conflict described by Visser includes the tensions between policy makers, planners and the economic stances taken by the state. Whilst policy makers and planners endeavour to plan in way that exploits the financial and social benefits of urban transformation, neoliberal urbanism manipulates the built environment in a way that benefits a few and so the results of neoliberal urbanism, which produce contesting results to the intentions of former.

Characteristics of an area that have been identified to encourage gentrification are (according to Centre for Urban Research and Learning 2002):

Access to urban centres via proximity or transportation networks
Low housing costs vis-à-vis the rest of the real estate market
Interesting architecture and building detail
Large number of rental units in the area whose rates can be increased or buildings converted to condominiums

Source: Centre for Urban Research and Learning 2002 4

The changes to a neighbourhood which is experiencing gentrification can be indicated through:

- Look at property value and tax rate changes between each census
- Review turnover rates in rental units
- Income level of residents (new and long-term)
- Ethnic and racial mix of residents (new and long-term, stable or not?)
- The kinds of businesses that move into or out of the neighbourhood
- The kinds of work that exists in the neighbourhood (e.g., factory jobs vs. service jobs)
- The kinds of cars parked on the street
- The kinds of community organizations in the neighbourhood
- The presence or absence of new religious communities or ethnic associations in the area

Source: Centre for Urban Research and Learning 2002 5-6

From the arguments of Vandergrift and others, we can deduce that gentrification is not an isolated phenomenon that is responsible for transforming the in the inner city. Rather Gentrification can take multiple forms and symptoms of gentrification can be expressed in suburban spaces as well.

Suzanne Charles (2011) explains the inner-ring suburban gentrification situation in some older American neighbourhoods:

> "Suburban gentrification of older, inner-ring suburbs is an emerging phenomenon that has the potential to transform the spatial structure of American metropolitan regions. It may foreshadow shifts in household location patterns and changes in the socio-economic composition of

> neighbourhoods similar to examples of classical gentrification observed in central cities… Gentrification includes physical, social, and economic changes in neighbourhoods, but it is arguably most visible through physical reinvestment in the built environment… with the inner suburbs." He adds that although some are prospering, others "are already encountering fiscal, educational, racial, and housing crises as severe as those which troubled major cities in the 1960s and 1970s" (Jackson, 1987, p. 301). Davis (1997) foretells a second urban crisis looming in the inner-ring suburbs of American cities, resulting from the competition between inner-ring suburbs and newer outer-ring suburbs, as well as with the central cities. But, while some older suburban neighbourhoods are experiencing continued disinvestment, others are receiving a significant amount of reinvestment; their housing stock is being dramatically transformed through incremental, private-sector redevelopment. As inner-ring suburbs have aged, some have begun to experience population and income decline, crime increase, and reduction in their tax base (Hanlon, 2010; Hanlon, Short, & Vicino, 2010; Hudnut, 2003; Jargowsky, 2005; Lucy & Phillips, 2000; Orfield, 2002; Vicino, 2008 in Charles 2011). In Crabgrass Frontier, Jackson (1987, p. 301) writes, "The cycle of decline has recently caught up but instead the proximity of inner-ring suburbs to 'the action'; means that our inner-ring suburbs can and do become the focus of gentrification efforts as they experience the spill over. " (Charles 2011 1-2)

Based on the description of events described by Charles and other arguments presented in this section of the literature review; we can infer there is a variety of forms which gentrification can take, and an equal number of spaces in which this can happen.

Gentrification is a valuable means of measuring transformation within the built environment and socio-spatial dynamics. Gentrification and the inherent transformation can be related to characteristics of neighbourhoods that contribute to the over-all experience of the space or *experientiality.* This means that gentrification

influences services and amenities in the neighbourhoods, matters of safety (both real and perceived), spatial patterns, neighbourhood function, neighbourhood lifestyles and class structures.

2.6. Lefebvrian Production, Consumption and Delivery of Space

One theorist most famous for his contributions to the study of space is Henry Lefebvre. Lefebvre's theory (1974), explains the dynamic and tremendously entwined relationship between what Bourdieu described as physicalism and psycholism (Bourdieu, 1989); the interactions between the concrete and the abstract; the sign and the signified. It is the battle for belonging and significance between the physical, empirical, provable sciences and the conceptual, intangible, awesomely theoretical social sciences. How we experience space cannot be imparted either, to the empirical science nor the social science but "…social space must be explained, not only by the conception of those who participate in it [space], but by deep causes which lie out side of the conscious." (Bourdieu, 1989, p15); a concept aptly organised in Lefebvre's neo-Marxian spatial triad. To briefly wade from the topic, this section will look at Lefebvrian theory and the production of the everyday.

Every space oscillates between multiple spheres of existence. For Henri Lefebvre these constitute elements of a triad which are constantly in a phase of exchange; to remain in equilibrium. Within the physical sphere space can be compartmentalised: the urban as apposed to peri-urban or rural, roads for cars, sidewalks for pedestrians, private spaces, semi-private spaces, and public spaces (Purcell 2002). Lefebvre considers this element – the physical element the most important of his proposed triad of space; Lefebvre calls it: the representation of space; this is the literal, actual and concrete expression of conceived and conceive-able space, what we consider tangible space that communicate to us information on what that space is and what it's function is; alternatively put the representation of space is a "system of symbols" (Watkins 2005 212) or sign's (Watkins 2005), and indeed it is the sign of space that manage our actions and activities by enforcing that space's limitations and allowances on us – the users of space. The easiest way to illustrate this is in every day life and uses of space: a chair used for sitting, a flight of stairs for ascending or descending, the roads for cars, the side-walks for pedestrians, railings and fences for demarcating areas. Benches, light-poles, roof-tops, flower-beds, kitchens, offices

and swimming-pools; every physical space having a purpose and function, and all things are disciplined into those functions: a flower-pot cannot be for sitting because it is not a chair, a train station is for trains, commuters and all those individuals involved in ensuring that the space continues to function efficiently and as conceived (Watkins 2005).

The meta-physical expresses the perfect symphony of exchange between the concrete and the abstract for example: laminal space, between spaces; like: alley-ways between buildings and porches, all those obscure spaces that we don't really know why they are there or how they came to be, those spaces that allows one to alternate from public spaces to private and visa versa; this metaphysical space also include invisible spaces such as graveyards and prisons; those spaces that we know and acknowledge their existence but with such uncertain connotations –mostly negative or simply indifferent- we purge from our minds as just those-spaces; existent but non-existent (Watkins, 2005). The meta-physical entails moments in space of synchronic perfection when the titans concrete and abstract meet head on in an explosive tension of symbiotic relations. It is the meta-physical which forms the second element of the spatial triad and peculates directly from the representation of space, it is: spatial practice (Watkins, 2005). Spatial practice is what we understand and how we live or experience a space based on the perceived understanding (Watkins, 2005) and is a moment during spatial motion when spatial function and human action meet. It is the signified component of space; because all space is signified and explains how we interpret space and adjust our position in relation to the space to align ourselves with spatial practice in such a way that the space will continue to function as effortlessly as the representations of space intended (Watkins, 2005) We only sit on chairs and don't stand on them to reach things that are high up, we cross roads at the demarcated pedestrian crossing and use doors for entering a room – all these can-on-do's are examples of but a few of the ways we enforce and "embrace the production and reproduction of space" (Watkins, 2005, p213) based on it is intended function; and this is the instant when disciplining of spaces occurs (Watkins, 2005) all these actions of replicating space, neatly converged into a single cumulative term: spatial practice.

We cannot separate space from our understanding and interpretation of it just as we cannot separate our understanding and interpretation of space from space (Watkins, 2005).

Finally space occupies a third realm: that of the abstract; it is a completely conceptual idea of space. This space is only fathomed and can never be synthesized into something real but its

meaning can be and is applied to concrete space. It is ideas of personal-space or free space and oppressed space, enlightened spaces, these spaces that are expressed physically but can never exist themselves as their title denotes; they are completely absent a physical container or embodiment of the space (Watkins 2005). For example the space which exists some distance (varying for every individual) from the physical body and extends outwards which we refer to as personal space but that space is not really there, it cannot be touched, marked or outlined in any way, no fence can be erected around it and in no certain terms can we confirm it exists, yet it can be invaded and the person who's imagined boundaries of personal space were violated can experience a great amount of anxiety (Purcell 2002). These abstracted spaces are only signifiers or an amalgamation of associated meanings and representations. A very important point to note about the hermeneutics of space is that just as we inscribe meaning and understanding to space so to does space inscribe meaning on to us (Purcell 2002). We become embodiments and representations of the spaces from which we come and so to bare that spaces meaning (Purcell, 2002).

It is at this point that Lefebvre theory of space advances beyond any other and truly becomes neo-Marxian by entering a new realm of the perception of space, and is little short of radical. The final leg of the triad is the convergence of space, action and meaning into one Spaces of Representation (Watkins 2005). This element of the triad denotes the "space of lived experience, it is space 'as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of "inhabitants" and "users" [Lefebvre, 1991:39, original emphasis]" (Watkins 2005 214). Spaces of representation is not what a space is nor how a space is perceived to be used but it is fundamentally how the space is actually used; and it is this element of the spatial triad that acknowledges spaces' transmutational prosperities, its ability to transcend the limitations of signs and the signified, and of representations of space and spatial practice. The spaces of representation express the signifiers of any space and the infinite possibilities of interpretation of the signifiers by the user (Watkins 2005). It is this dynamic of Lefebvrian theory that allows us to observe the awesome transformational capacity of space and account for the diverse uses of space through human interpretation.

Based on the review of space traversed as a context of existence; the first conceptual frame to encase this research project is that of examining the interaction between people and the perceived different urban space (public and private). All life happens in the context of space,

what is important to the study is to establish how the movement of people as the glide through different urban spaces in the suburbs do they create and reproduce what essential become the public and private realms of a suburbs in Johannesburg.

2.7. The production of Space and the Production of the Everyday

Probably the foremost authority on the production of space is Henri Lefebvre. His spatial triad has informed countless perceptions, ideas and theories of space and all that it can incorporate. Lefebvrian theory was one of the first to conceptualise space as more than a Euclidean function and could be produced, consumed and delivered (Goonewardena et al., 2008 and Watkins 2005). The aim of Lefebvrian theory "is to develop a theory that would grasp the unity between three "Fields" of space: [the] physical, [the] mental, and [the] social." (Lefebvre 1974 in Goonewardena et al., 2008).

We cannot interpret space as a one dimensional container of life. The premise of the production of space is that space is not simply a frame of life but is a set of structures and systems that actively generates life (Bourdieu 1989). For example, think of the roads. These can be regarded as infrastructure that divides and organises space, they are also linkages between different areas, regions, cities and even countries. On either side and even at the end of the road there are commercial strips, there are houses, parks, malls – there are destinations where life happens. The conundrum: was it roads that bred destinations of life or was it life that bred roads. We can argue that, the land of urban areas, during early development was carved and structured by transport routes and linkages; however, at some point, the road –and-destination-of-life has become inseparable. Watkins (2005) explains:

> "Lefebvre's triad was intended to facilitate this engagement; it was not to be simply another abstract model subject to intellectual conjecture, as the triad 'loses all force if it is treated as an abstract "model". If the model can not grasp the concrete (as distinct from the "immediate"), then its import is severely limited, amounting to no more than that of one ideological mediation among others' (Lefebvre, 1991: 40 in Watkins 2005 211). Rather, the triad would enable both abstract conceptions and lived experiences to be engaged with as a coherent entity Thus 'in Lefebvre's hands, space becomes re-described not as a dead, inert thing or object, but as organic and fluid and

> alive; it has a pulse, it palpitates, it flows and collides with other spaces. And these interpenetrations—many with different temporalities—get superimposed upon one another to create a present space' (Merrifield, 2000: 171 in Watkins 2005 211)

Our lived experiences are seamlessly entangled with space. 'Representations of Space' are found in the built environment, the 'Representational spaces' are where we live - as in commercial strips and, finally 'Spatial Practice' is when we engage in the procedure of appropriating space and then participate in reproducing it. It is at the centre of this triad that the everyday is synthesised (Felski 1999).

If the everyday is so fundamental and essential to human life and the built environment, the question is: what is the everyday? Rita Felski (1999) takes it upon herself to design a single, inclusive and coherent definition of the everyday. To begin her discussion she categorically states the problematic in definition of the everyday:

> "…, recourse to the everyday often springs from a sense of frustration with academic theories and hair-splitting distinctions. After all every day life simply is indisputably the essential taken for granted continuum of mundane activities that frames our forays into more esoteric or exotic worlds. It is the ultimate, non-negotiable reality, the unavoidable basis for all other forms of human endeavour…" (Felski 1999 15)

Simply put, it is the all and the everything (Debord 1961 in Highmore 2002). For Felski (1999) an extensive examination of the everyday while academically valuable has left the terminology weak and unclear; "…new account[s] of the everyday often looses sight of the mundane, taken-for-granted, routine qualities that seem so central to its definition…" (Felski 1999 18). The everyday has lost its everydayness (Felski 1999)

The dialectic of the everyday and magmatic quantity of literature produced on the matter of the everyday is so extensive that this paper could not effectively cover the full oeuvre and ethos behind definition, meaning, value and comport without to radically deviating from the central

theme of this research report. The definition selected and composed for this research report is: 'The everyday is the repetition of activities on a day-to-day continuum that is expressed in the most mundane and arbitrary tasks framed by the idea of a routine' (de Certeau 1984, Felski 1999, Highmore 2002 and, Lefebvre 1961).

2.8. The Changing Middle Class

A truly fundamental moment in South African history was the establishment of democracy in 1994. More than free a nation from discrimination and oppression, this event marked the repositioning of our social, economic and political trajectory.

The establishment and eventual post-apartheid conceptualisation of the South African middle-class is steeped in history. Historically, during the apartheid era, the middle class was limited to white individuals who owned a form of capital (Southall 2013). It wasn't until the establishment of democracy that a black and non-white middle-class could be identified (Ndletyana 2014, Southall 2013 and Vosagie(a) 2013).

How we choose to define the middle class is critical to asses the development and emergence of a black and non-white middle-class in South Africa (Vasagie(b) 2013). There are several ways if defining a 'middle-class. Different markers used in defining a middle-class can be economic brackets, social influence, education, occupation, lifestyle and general affluence, or a combination of those markers.

Visagie(a) (2013) explains: "There is currently a lack of consensus in defining 'what and who' is middle class in developing countries such as South Africa…. Henceforth, studies of the size and composition of the middle class in post-Apartheid South Africa are difficult to reconcile." (Vesagie(a) 2013 3).

A response to Vesagie(a) (2013) can be found in the article *The Emergent South African Middle-class* wherein it is explained:

> "Middle-class is a term that is borrowed from a developed country literature. In developed countries there is a substantial middle layer of society with individuals who are well education, skilled and earn a good salary. However,

> when applying this concept to highly unequal developing countries such as South Africa, there is a tension between attributes associated with a middle class in the developed country literature and the middle segment of the income distribution: if you decide to interpret the term literally and use the centres measure such as a median to define the middle class you will find that the group of South Africans have little tertiary education, do not earn much and are in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. However, if you opt to classify middle class based on criteria such as education, skilled occupations and earnings then this group will rank close to the top of the income distribution with only a very thin slither of society above them…In this study we opted for the latter approach and defined the middle class using a minimum income or expenditure level…." (The Emergent South African Middle Class Unknown 2 https://ulib.derby.ac.uk/library/infocus/PDF/harvard03-04.pdf)

Methods used to define the South African middle-class play a pivotal role in how identities and perceptions of the middle-class are constructed.

"South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994 promised the beginning of a non-discriminatory multi-ethnic regime in which money and power would no longer reside with the White minority. The growth and establishment of a multi-racial 'middle class' is one way of evaluating progress towards this goal." (Visagie(a) 2013 1)

The 'middle-class' has always been perceived as elemental to the suburban neighbourhood (Fishman 1987, Hanlon 2010 and Vaughan 2009). Further to this point, the middle-class has always been strongly associated with white people (historically, only white people had the opportunity to meet a middle-class living standard).

However, I am inclined to disagree with this perception of the South African middle-class. If we are to establish a definition of a middle-class on the basis of affluence and lifestyle then the statement is true, however, if we are to determine a definition of the middle class on the basis of micro-economies or *per capita* income we might see a different picture.

Visagie(b) (2013) argues:

"In South Africa, thinking about what it means to be middle class is complicated by the low aver age and median levels of incomes in the country and the very wide distribution of income. Hous eholds who have achieved a modest standard of living are actually near the top of the country's income ladder….The first is a statistical approach which selects households that fall in the 'actual middle' of the spread of household incomes in a country. These households represent the 'avera ge' household in terms of income…One option is to define the middle class as households which all within a specified income interval, defined around the middle (or median1) household incom e. (Visagie(b)2013).

From Visagies' argument we can extrapolate the idea that the middle-class is relative to the population for which the definition represents. Therefore we can conclude that any definition of a middle-class is not absolute, rather it exists on a continuum where multiple-middle-classes can exist, each relative to each other.

The question that remains, with regard to this project, how does the middle class relate to the neighbourhood development and transformation? Perhaps the answer lies in the evaluation of a nation building concept: *The Rainbow Nation.* The Rainbow Nation concept can be considered a kind of dream or goal that was established to create a sense of working together to achieve the South Africa that held equal freedom, respect and opportunity for all. Following will a brief evaluation and contrast between the 'American dream' and 'South African Rainbow Nation Dream'.

2.8.1. The American Dream

The American Dream was build on a few basic but fundamental values and beliefs that would become intrinsic to the American Identity. On the histography of the dream, the dream may have gained momentum and popularity in the early 1930's (Klett 2006); the values and ideas that founded the dream came with the first settlers. The early European settlers abandoned their native lands with the hope of finding freedom, as they sought to escape political oppression, religious persecution and poverty. They sought to establish themselves in a classless, equitable and democratic society (Klett 2006). This was their dream and they would

achieve it through individualism (relying only on the self), mobility, optimism, flexibility, hard work, a measure of progress and a grand sense of patriotism. The human power coupled with political support was meant to be the winning combination for a perfected nation. To a large extent, they achieved this dream and they measured their success in relation to the rest of the world. “Americans argue that the nation’s progress is reflected in its growing prosperity, economic strength and political power. “; at one point they were they most powerful nation in the world, it would appear that they had achieved their dream, they had constructed a world wherein they could live their dream and the world could see it. The world wars, the war against terrorism is about protecting the American Dream. The ideals and fundamental qualities on which that great nation is build. A dream with a porogative worth protecting.

2.8.2. The South African dream

For a long period the single dream that permeated the hearts and souls of the South African people was a dream of a nation united. A South Africa that was free and built on equality! It was a dream for South Africa that was assembled on fundamental human rights that in turn were constructed as political promises of national ambition and for the good interest of the nation.

There are a total of 30 basic human rights in South Africa. The most notable and arguable most actively used in the construction of a South African dream are the rights to equality, housing, education, human dignity and access to healthcare, food, water and social security. It is a sour irony that these basic human rights, the foundation of a South African dream – appear to be the most neglected or focus of many protests and civil movements. Dr Mamphela Ramphele has commented in a 2013 speech titled: Rekindling the South African Dream.

“…our society’s greatness is being fundamentally undermined by a massive failure of governance [a failure to meet the need of the people]…. How can we build a country of our dreams when the most energetic and innovative segments of the population is unable to participate in the economy of their own country…we are here to invite people of my generation to rekindle the South Africa of our dreams…experience for themselves the thrill of living in an age of excitement and possibility. We are here to mobilize, to build a world-beating 21st century democracy. We are here to invite you all to rediscover and live the values that made us a great

nation…."(Ramphele 2013 http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/full-speech-%E2%80%93-mamphela-ramphele-rekindling-south-african-dream)

Can we say that the South African dream is a consolidation of promises in political manifestos? Is that enough? Have we been given our dream or rather have we been given the promise of a dream and was it given to us at the end of apartheid. Is the dream only about equal opportunity equal access to basic services, is all we want is an RDP house and an education. Or is our dream about something more. The EFF speaks about economic freedom, the DA speaks about service security, and the ANC speaks about democratic freedom. Are these the constituents of our dream and have we been sold a short story.

It is not fair to continuously compare this South Africa against that America, but supposing we accept the American democracy as the best, supposing we accept that their social structure is an iconic model… then can we say there is something missing in our dream. Some core ingredient, something definitive, some kind of clarity. We have a South African dream, but it is largely hidden by political propaganda and political promises. Is it our dream or has a dream been forced on us in measures that we are inclined to accept but may not necessarily agree with its delivery? Is this the only way we can build our imagined South Africa.

No system is perfect, but when does a system go from flawed to failure? Is I fair to say we have failed, in 1964 Reverend Dr Martin Luther King Junior gave his iconic speech wherein he said "America is essentially a dream, a dream yet unfulfilled"; years later – there is another review of the American Dream ant it reveals a reestablishment of the American Dream and now it says: "The vision of America [is] a "melting pot of nations"… in which the foreign immigrants give up their national identity, way of life, culture and language and form a new nation, has never become reality" (Klett 2006 2). The dream speaks to a utopia, it speaks to an imagined future; a vision void of the turmoil and uncertainty that society brings with it. Civilisation is not measured by its social graces but by its social respect.

The Dream is strongly associated with the economic security. Is it that money can buy happiness or money can by you a dream.

What is important to take from this section is not the vested political situation in South Africa but rather the reality that RDP settlements are our future suburbs. And how are we going to deal with them in the future.

In conclusion; from this section we can establish that: firstly, the South African middle-class lacks absolute definition, but perhaps maintaining a more fluid definition could be beneficial in terms of achieving national development goals. Secondly, we begin to see the relationship between the middle-class, suburbanism and overall national development goals for South Africans.

2.8.3. Living the Everyday

The production of space is complex and highly interactive that sees all persons participating in the activity whether consciously, unconsciously, passively or actively (Molotch 1993). Possibly the most active producers of space who thrive in creating representations of space are urban planners and urban theorists. Their actions are often at the forefront of spatial production. A part of urban design is a flurry terminology, distinctions and definitions. There is a surplus of planning models, paradigms, tools and best practice white papers to guide the production of space. The chaos and complicity can only be understood and moulded if it is sorted, characterised, labelled, organised and has a comprehensive design brief. By no stretch of the imagination am I critiquing the process of urban planning, but the purpose of delineating just some of the methods planners are quipped with to manage space, my intent is to bring to the readers attention - the degree of detail planners exhume and implore in an attempt to bring order to the haphazard, disorganised and messy built environment. A consequence of this explicit rendition and partiality to clarity and order is a tendency to burden the dialectic with over simplicity (Todes 2008).

Renee Chow (2002) argues that the built environment needs to be seen and understood by planners and architects as a single fabric of urban space. There should be no distinction between urban, peri-urban, suburban and anything of the like. These spaces flow seamlessly into and from one another (Bourdieu 1989 and Lefebvre 1974) and so should be conceptualised as fluid spheres without boundaries. For Chow (2002), in order to create a sense of seamless space, we must find and input this agenda into a space; and this can be accomplished; and in ways - already has been through the everyday. “In the conduct of our everyday activities we inhabit a fabric- positioning artefacts to use, to remind, to control and to personalise our space” (Chow 2002 4). The context of this quote referred interior spaces of the home or car, but by reflecting on the conceptualisation of space by Lefebvre, Bourdieu and Debord we can temper Chow’s single-fabric concept to include the shared public space. To illustrate, we populate our homes,

offices and cars with objects that represent familiarity, a representation of our identity and the personalisation that is the 'personal touch' (as Chow would suggest); in cognisance of this action we are inclined to 'personalise our spaces' in public or semi-public spaces. When deciding on the routes that we choose to drive, we base our decision on a combination of characteristics such as distance, accessibility, traffic, expectations of traffic, perceptions of safety and even general aesthetic appeal. In addition to these intrinsic decision making processes, we absorb 'natural' and external elements that help us make our decisions such as land marks and road signs, traffic laws and news reports. The fabric of a space is the ways in which all individual elements and aspect that contribute to production of space coalesce into a single band 'Everything'.

A sentiment of Chow's that I am inclined to agree with is the proposal that suburban spaces are the most likely to achieve a fabric urbanity. We must remember that we all contribute to the production of space, even for one to withdraw or not participate in the production of space, is a form of participation itself (Felski 1999). Chow (2002) states

> "When settings are configured, each individual action is seen as contributing to the field of the place, free standing houses are never seen as detached…the subject of suburban space…is not…independent of the others. Rather, it is the continuities and possibilities of dwelling." (Chow 2002 13)

She then elaborates:

> "The possibilities for connection and continuities in the suburbs are enormous. There are overlaps and extensions between gardens and rooms, retaining walls and house walls, individual and shared territories, extended views and near views, permeability and containment." (Chow 2002 13)

Private spaces flow into liminal spaces and then ooze out into the public. All residents will contribute to a space; whether it is in the line of general aesthetics or experientiality. The transition is effortless and unobvious. At least, this is what Chow is proposing. Of course, the applicability of this proposal in the Suburbs in Johannesburg is extremely unlikely and bordering on impossible. The culture of boundary walls, extensive security systems and private security companies'; reveals a reality of how space is produced in South African suburbs (outside gated communities) and on the subject of the production of the South African everyday. Part of this

reality is the involvement of residence associations in maintaining or promoting a particular lifestyle or aura of the suburban space, we can appreciate their actions as amongst the most active in the production of a suburban fabric.

To further chows argument, seamless spaces we can draw on Hegel and his concept of 'concrete universals' (Goonewardena et al 2008 64) which refers to an idea that all things are connected and constitute actively or passively to the world of interactive and related things. Further to the position of continuous fluidity Hegel pins his theory a top of the ideal of a fleeting moment. The opportunity that we will only be able to take a snap shot of the production of space but its progressive and transformative nature makes it incapable of finding stability or to stagnate

The reality of Lefebvre's theory is the diversity of its use, it is the projected positional that Lefebvre assigns to space. Fooling with the idea of concrete moments that are marked by concrete universals, he creates a world wherein we are the producers, consumers and producers of space. An endless cycle.

Who we are, who we think we are, our identity and our predisposing in forms space and in turn informs us

> "as bodies are massed together in big cities under modern conditions, so the uniform and repetitive lives become more prominent…the rapidly changing fabric of new lives creates a new awareness of the mundane" (Fleski 1999 16)

Technological advancement has taken the idea of Fleski's shared awareness of the mundane to new heights. Our everyday is tracked and posted, it can be found on *instagram* and 9gag. We tweet and post about what we had for lunch, plans for the weekends, the horrors of the weather and traffic. Our private, mundane everyday is spilled outward to the world; freely and unassumingly. We 'follow' others, and we are 'followed'. Gaining access to the everyday lives of people – for the first time researchers are not limited to surveys and interviews. But through social media, vlogs (video logs such as a YouTube channel), blogs and endless posts we can live with them instantaneously and; not just as an observer, we can comment, like and illicit debate on their lives.

2.8.4. Proxemics and the Everyday

The production of space is propertied to enter into the non-verbal communicative and unconscious production of space as well. AS briefly described in the section 'The Suburbs in Planning' proxemics is understood as orienting on the self in a space in respect of ones cultural heritage, past experiences and expectations (Lawrence-Zuniga and Low 2003). Minu Agnus (2012) explains:

> "The term Proxemics - denoting, "The study of how human beings communicate through their use of space"- was coined by E.T. Hall, an Anthropologist by profession. He defines the term as, "The spatial dimension of non verbal behaviour" (Hall 1963 122).

What is important to take from the concept of proxemics in the production of space; is the inscriptions of culture, meaning and value that appear unconsciously in a space. Drawing on psychologists Albert Bandura's theory of observational learning that suggests all behaviours are learned through observation, internalised and then reproduced (Bandura 1971). The significance of this learned behaviour in spatial analysis is understanding and appreciating that we can and have 'learned' to be urban dwellers; and there is an opportunity to learn to be a suburban dweller. The relevance of being able learn to be a suburban dwellers means that we can learn the everyday of the suburbs and then can act in accordance with the inherited and reproduced culture.

Chow (2002) explains:

> "The discourse of dwelling is learned. We learn about dwelling from our past experiences as a part of some households and as an observer of others, we shift and redirect our customs on the basis of new awareness, needs, and desires. These experiences and desires not only guide how we choose to live but also predispose our responses to particular spaces, forms and organizations" (Chow 2002 37).

Therefore, in cognisance of Bandura and Chow, we learn where to live and how to live. During our early childhood development we begin to internalise the basics of an everyday that we are likely to add to or alter and reproduce in the future.

2.8.5. 'Habitus' and the Everyday

Habitus is a series of theories most notably associated with Pierre Bourdieu; the essential presuppose of the habitus is an overarching social system that contains shared behaviours (Lezardo 2009). The habitus can be basically understood as a series of socially constructed norms, values, meanings and dispositions; it is the 'lifestyle' associated with a particular social setting (Gordon and Scott 1998).

One of the most iconic criticisms of suburban space are the "little boxes made of ticky tacky" (Reynolds 1962 in Chow 2002 28) that chastises suburban spaces and suburban lifestyles as being conformist, uninteresting and fostering an urban culture that is in fact void of culture (Bramsten 2002). There are several intrinsically inaccurate assumptions within this statement, from the offset - anthropologists will argue that there is no such thing as 'loosing culture', 'having lost culture' or 'having no culture'; instead a culture maybe transformed or simply unrecognisable and requires extensive inquiry (Bramsten 2002). Urbanists such as Herman Hertzberger would argue that early criticism has led to long standing assumptions that suburbs are spaces of conformity, monotony, uniformity and homogeneity (1991) that seriously impinges the potential of the ways of living that can occur in the suburbs.

> "Form can be vested with meaning, …. ,by the use to which form is put and by the value that are attributed and added to it or indeed removed from it – all depends on the uses and form interact" (Hertzberger 1991 150 in Chow 2002 36)

The habitus is the social system that is 'played or acted out' on the stage that is space. For example, it is common practice in South Africa that men will hold a door open for a women and the man will enter a room or exit a room after the women. This is a typical display of chivalry, politeness and respect. However, in other countries, especially North African countries it is a sign of respect for a man to enter or exit a room ahead of women and children. Our geographical environment denotes our social settings and visa versa.

The difference between habitus and proxemics is its application in the research report. Proxemics speaks to the material representation of social norms and practices and habitus speaks to the lived practice of the social in space. Prospectively, habitus and proxemics exists not in conflict of each other but rather in parallel, constantly exchanging and sharing between each other.

The combination of Habitus, Proxemics and The Spatial Triad contribute to the construction of the everyday. The three spheres culture, learned behaviours and space interact subliminally and unconsciously to produce space and the everyday that is lived in it.

The literature presented makes a very hard case that heavily critics the suburbs as being void of an identity. This seems an unfair critique given the lack of theoretical knowledge of suburbs at large. The third frame of the research proposal is to try and establish an understanding of and if there is in fact an identity that resonates either homogenously or heterogeneously through the suburbs as presented by its inhabitants. Formation of identity in the Suburbs .

Identity formation is rooted in psychology but human geographers have expanded on those originals theories to include the environment as contributors to identity formation. Space lends an identity to an individual as much as an individual consumes it and then produces an identity to a space. This in effect is the materialisation of Lefebvre's spatial triad with the exception that is pertains to identity. The environment that is the suburbs have been socially constructed and layered with meanings (Indrus 2012) and values that can be internalised.

This means that there is a suburban identity that can be personified. Further to this point a suburban identity may be distinct from an identity constructed in relation to that of an inner-city identity. What we must accept is that multiple identities can be layered and compliment each other. The figure below on the right was adapted from Jones and McEwen (2000) and demonstrated the some of layers of identity that can be constructed. The original conceptual model of identity formation developed by Jones and McEwen (2000) is provided on the right of the two images below.

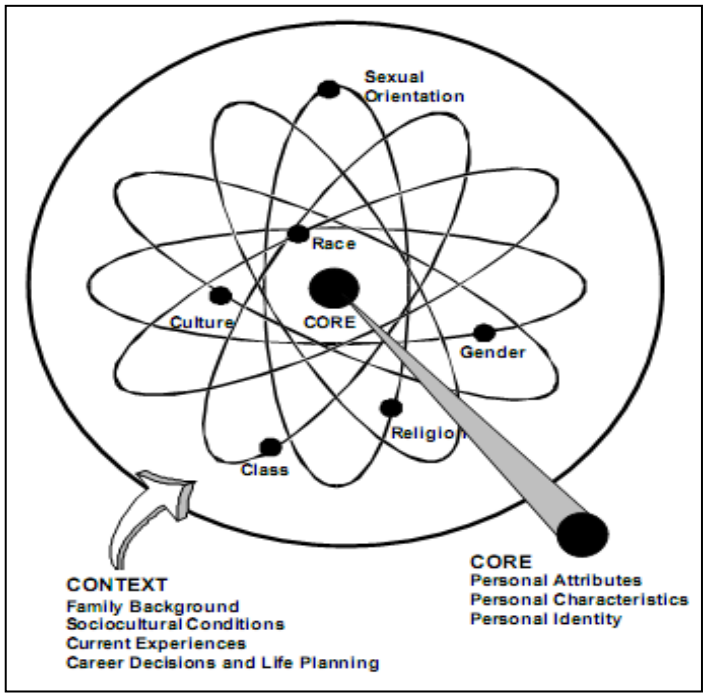


Figure 23: Model of Identity formation Source Jones and McEwen 2000 405

For example : a sense of self-identity is constructed by combining inherited characteristics such as age, gender and race with the external environmental and social constructions that are experienced and internalise. “I am a twenty-some female, Indian, who has lived my entire life in the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg. Having never left South Africa or Johannesburg I identify as a twenty-something female Indian Jo’burger!…”

There is without a doubt an identity that is constructed in the suburbs, that is more than just terminology and spatial characteristics. The people who reside in the suburbs render a lived philosophy to the space just as the space and a spatial identity is internalised by them. If Madanipour is correct in his rendition of space and identity stating “Indeed property … is [a]‘means through which I give my will embodiment’. As the embodiment of personality, property thereafter has a central place for all the sense of the self” (Madanipour 2003 57) The importance of discovering a shared identity is: “Inevitably, shared identity is significantly related to having shared values and practices” (Indrus 2012 111) this elicits the idea that if there is a single identity there can be a series of characteristics that mark or are representative of a

very distinct urban lifestyle that has not yet been explored. Identity is linked to ownership, social responsibility and community.

2.9. Belonging to Suburbia, the language of suburbs.

Suburbs can be highly exclusive spaces, and they are made that way in the name of safety, urbanity and lifestyles. As we spoke earlier about typologies, given that there is such a variety of suburbs, we cannot responsibly look for a single example or want to box every one in the shade of grey. At this point the question does not look at the inclusivity of suburban spaces but rather it looks more specifically at the integration and diversity of suburban areas. This means that we would have to look more closely at the socio-economic status of the countries population. In south Africa we would have to look more specifically of the transformative efforts to encourage and ensure equal work opportunities, equal education opportunities and the variety of details that affect the socio-economic status of a population. “The rise of the black middle class” is a paper that deals very explicitly with the a changing socio-economic climate. What we are then seeing is that people are more inclined to choose a suburb based on affordability which strongly relates to aspirations of a middle class. Characteristics which have long been associated with the middle class is land-ownership, materialism such as owning a car, having and being able to support a family, being able to send ones children to good schools and so on. If we can infectiously admire the influence Martin Luther King and Malcolm X had on our own anti-apartheid struggle then surely we can attribute so kind of acknowledgement to the American Dream that had filtered into our south African context. The rise of the middle class and the rise of South African suburbia is a chicken and egg scenario, actually it is more versatile and complex than that, but each drives and feeds the other. We cannot separate them. AS people aspire to be apart of a middle class, they aspire to the suburbs.

In many way the government themselves are encouraging a suburban boom as did the Americas in the mid-1900. RDP establishments are reminiscent of what may one day be the future suburbs of our cities.

On the language of suburbs, it comes down to terminology. How we identify our spaces is how we identify ourselves. There appears to a consensus with the middle class living in suburbs and the poor classes residing in townships and settlements, regardless of the epistemology of the

word. However there appears to be a return to the use of the clinical term: Townships. This undoubtedly closely linked to culture jamming and branding efforts my residence and officials to help change the idea, the concept and the eradicate the negative stigma associated with 'townships'. Here to there is a kind of phenomenological hierarchy of settlements. At the very bottom; moving upwards there is an 'informal settlement', then a 'squatter camp', then 'township', then 'mega-township' then 'suburb' and at the very top 'urban spaces' which have become synonymous with the city.

2.10. Living Spaces: The Practice of Dwelling in South Africa

> "In 2010, a majority of the world's population lived in cities, an important milestone actually reached in 2008; by 2050, this proportion will approach 70 percent. These simple facts point in two directions: looking back, they confirm the intensity with which the world has urbanized over the past fifty years and, moving forward, they mark the world's cities as the central terrain on which the critical issues of human development will play out over the course of the twenty-first century." (Birch and Wachter 2011).

Inherent in the reality of urbanisation is a question of where in the build environment will planners accommodate the migration of people. The consistent response would be in residential neighbourhoods; accepting of course that neighbourhoods can take many shapes and sizes.

Neighbourhoods can be seen as a microcosm of socio-spatial, socio-economic and socio–political agenda's that are manifested in varying degree (Todes 2008).

> "Creating urban neighbourhoods or villages was a focal point of urban design and planning in the early twentieth century, as advocated by protagonist such as Ebenezer Howard (Garden City Concept) and Clarence Perry (Neighbourhood Unit) among others."(Landman 2003)

The neighbourhood can really been seen as the material realisation of ideologies, political agendas and economic class systems.

Perhaps it is the nature of planning discourse to rely on a set of models and best practice methods when we design spaces, be it urban, sub-urban, peri-urban or rural area upgrade. It is almost as if we are confined in a kind of box way of thinking. It natural, it is expected, it is safe. When working with multi-billion rand projects we want to get the best value for our money with as little mistakes as possible. In a country that is very new to democracy and so is very new to freedoms and access to equal opportunity we are bound to make mistakes but we cannot afford these mistakes. So we look to existing or past planning paradigm that in most cases best fit our current development status.

It is an indisputable reality that our urban areas and populations are growing at an exponential rate. As planners we are not inclined to be phased by this reality but rather inspired by the challenge. Growth of urban areas very simply means: the expansion, intensification and evolution of urban activities and urban cultures.

2.11. Neighbourhood planning

Two of the most iconic and well known theorists that contributed to neighbourhood conceptualisation and neighbourhood design are Clarence A Perry in the early 1900's and later Lewis Mumford in the mid-1950's. Both men explored social and physical elements that they considered critical to the success, sustainability and liveability of the neighbourhood (Horn 2001, Johannes 2002, Landman 2003 and Whittick 1974). Neighbourhoods in planning are understood as geographically located areas that encompass a particular set of physical characteristics and social practices.

Landman (2004) explains the relationship between apartheid and the city:

The neighbourhood has always been a critical part to achieving the apartheid city. It was through the design and control of neighbourhoods that the apartheid city took form and as a result the neighbourhood and segregation became intrinsically connected.

> "Modern town planning ideas were used very effectively to create the "apartheid city" in South Africa. The origins of the planning constructs used in South Africa developed from the ideas used in England in the 1920s and 1930s (Mabin 1993). As a consequence of the massive changes that have occurred in England during the Industrial Revolution, the Garden City

> concept developed. This, along with the neighbourhood unit model from the United States, had a profound influence on planning and development in South Africa. The "Garden City concept", combined with and "enriched" by the "neighbourhood unit" model, provided the paradigm for South African cities. Its aims were: community convenience, achieved through the careful balancing of internally exclusive community facilities; the separation of uses, particularly through green space; and low densities, with each dwelling unit surrounded by open space, to ensure adequate light and air…" (Landman 2000 4-5)

Experientiality is a word borrowed from language and is used to describe the experience of a narrative. The experience that is detonated by experientiality includes a physical, emotional and psychological response to stimuli. The word has been adapted to express the element of experience of the -burbs.

What we know to be fact about the high density suburbs today may not last much longer than research itself as there are hints in the discipline to suggest a growing interest in the suburbs which may mean a radical change to the way it is theoretically conceptualised, planned, designed and lived. In the possibly very near future the suburbs could be what makes the megacity or it could be what constitutes the failure of integration and the production of a highly dichotomised Johannesburg. For now, however – for this research regardless of where the theory and practice could be headed, I wish to look at and examine a snap-shot of what is happening in practice in the Johannesburg suburb of Greenside.

The broader understanding of urbanism is enveloped in definition of: the general ever-day experience by individual's of the city, that is to say – engaging with the unique lifestyles, characteristics, personalities and "modes of life" (Wirth 1938) and other encounters of the like, the city facilitates, through its availability and loci of technology and the city as often being regarded as the expression of high-civilisation. Essentially, urbanism refers to the bourgeois attitude and identity that accompanies and characterises the urbanite (Watkins 2005). Much to the disagreement of Wirth who explains:

> "Urbanisation no longer denotes merely the process by which persons are attracted to a place called the city and incorporated into its system of life. it

> refers also to that cumulative accentuation of the characteristics distinctive of the mode of life which is associated with the growth of cities, and finally to the changes in the direction of modes of life recognised as urban which are apparent among people, where ever they may be, who have come under the spell of the influences which the city exerts by virtue of the power of its institutions and personalities operating through the means of communication and transportation.." (Wirth 1938 5)

New Urbanism, the contemporary planning model which is build on the foundations of: smart growth, walkable nodes, transit-oriented development and pedestrianism (Kelbaugh 2002). It encourages the densification, mixed use and compact form through regional development plans (Grant 2008). Douglas Kelbaugh further explains the relationship and difference between 'everyday urbanism' and 'new urbanism' as he defines it. Firstly he delineate everyday urbanism as a non-utopia as it "celebrates and build on everyday ordinary life and reality, with little pretence about the possibility of a perfectible, tidy or ideal build environment." (kelbaugh 2002 14.1); in contrast he delineates the new urbanism as utopian because:

> "It is utopian because aspires to social ethic that build new or repairs old communities in ways that equitably mix people of different incomes, ethnicities, race and age and because it promotes a civic ideal that coherently mixes land of different uses and building of different architectural types. [Furthermore],. It is inspiration because it sponsors public architecture and public space that attempts to make citizens feel that they are part, even proud, of both a culture that is more significant their individual, private worlds and a natural ecology that is connected in eternal loop, cycles and chains of life" (kelbaugh 2002 14.2)

It is difficult to say which urbanism is active in the high density suburbs surrounding the inner city in Johannesburg as the Spatial Development Frameworks which guide the development in greenside clearly acknowledge a disinterest in intervening the area as part of protecting much larger goals of repopulating, reinventing and reanimating the city centre (Gauteng Regional Spatial Development Framework 2008-2009).

"That is to say, we experience and use our built environment as a continuous structure spaces and elements, move through and look upon" (Chow 2002 3). This idea completely challenges Madinipour's private public dichotomy. While we can accept that space is fluid, it is on more radical think of space as continuous and without boundaries. The only boundaries then are the ones we socially construct and enact.

2.12. Typologies of Suburbs and neighbourhoods

There is a tendency for literature to focus on enclosed neighbourhoods and gated communities and therefore, the literature available on this is expansive. Gated communities and enclosed neighbourhoods typically take three forms each with a set of unique characteristics that help define them. The first is 'Lifestyle Communities' which are housing, golf and country estates that focus on recreational amenities (Landman 2000). Second, 'Prestige Communities' (Landman 2000) are the 'Village community' where development are encased with a boundary wall or fence and access is strictly controlled such as town-house complexes (Landman 2003). Lastly 'Security Zone communities'; this is a community initiative to take measures to control crime and traffic (Landman 2000). From this we can begin to doubt the applicability of these typologies to the northern suburbs.

This truth demonstrates an incomplete supply of suburban theory and the practice of planning neighbourhoods that are 'simply neighbourhoods' and do not illicit any dramatic spatial feature outside their residential typology. These spaces are left out of a large proportion of knowledge production.

To help define the 'nature' of South African suburbs and neighbourhoods, I will now draw on the American Sociological Association, according to a research report by Hanlon (2009), there are several 'types' of suburbs and neighbourhoods that can be considered to represent dwelling spaces outside of gated communities and enclosed suburbs. They can be categorised to represent different and various spaces, distinguishable from each other but still under the umbrella field of Suburban-scapes.

The work published by the American Sociological Association has identified 12 separate typologies of inner-ring suburban-scapes within four cluster groups of investigation. Inner-city

suburbs were clustered into ‘white bedroom’, ‘manufacturing’, ‘suburban success’ and ‘working-diversity suburbs’ (Hanlon, 2009 222). The types of suburbs are: At Risk Suburbs, Older Suburbs, Segregated Suburbs, Low Density Suburbs, Bedroom Developing Suburbs, Affluent Job Centres, Very Affluent Job centres, Rich Suburbs, Poor Suburbs and Immigrant Suburbs (Hanlon 2009). Although the list is not constructed so definitively in Halon’s paper, for the purpose of this research it is important to have a list constructed in this manner in order to adequately translate the findings into our planning thought processes.

It is important to note that all suburban typologies are ‘at risk’. They all experience a threat to their existence and survival, lifestyle, ecology, typology and everydayness. In particular the gentrification of suburbs can pose the greatest threat to the longevity of suburban neighbourhoods. But this is not a unique phenomenon to the genotypic of suburbs; rather it is an inherent risk to all dwelling urban-scapes (Vandergrift 2006).

Important characteristics of suburban typologies are listed in the table below (Halon 2009 223)

Suburban Typology	Key Characteristics
At-Risk Suburbs	Poor tax capacity; relatively high rates of poverty; lack strong business districts; income levels below their regional income levels; home values lower than home values in more affluent suburbs; some at-risk suburbs are older; some are segregated racially; some are low density suburbs located on the outer edges of the metropolitan area
Bedroom Developing	The proptypical suburb, mostly white; low density; new housing; tax capacity is just below average; still growing
Affluent Job Centers	High tax capacities; major players in the regional economy; "edge-city" like; more than four times the offices pace per house hold than any other group of suburbs; very low poverty rates
White bedroom	Predominantly white; small in population and employment. Some are traditional middle class, family-oriented; others spaces of seasonal wealth due to their location along the coast.
Manufacturing	Large portion employed in manufacturing; high-school diploma leve lof education; above average housing vacancies.
Suburban successes	Higher income; higher levels of educational attainment; some have an aging population; others the location of professional scientific, and technical jobs
Working diversity	Higher than average rates of foreign born and other race populations.
Poor suburbs	Low levels of income in 2000, some lower than the central city.
Rich suburbs	High levels of income in 2000.
Immigrant suburb	25% or more of residents was foreign born in 2000

Table 1: Typologies of Suburbs. Source *Hanlon 2010 223*

by defining and identifying a difference among suburban neighbourhoods we are on our way to generating a set of characteristics that are common to South African neighbourhoods. These characteristics can be thought of as ingredients to what makes a 'suburban neighbourhood' would affect how neighbourhoods and designed, conceptualised and produced in planning; next we must be able to ascertain what are the 'soft or social features that create the habitus.

Extensive research on gated communities and enclosed neighbourhoods has provided us with potential to construct list of physical characteristics that could be considered vital to the success, appeal and longevity of a neighbourhood.

The list of key characteristics is as follows (Ballard and Jones 2011, Badenhorst and Landman 2012, Horn 2004, Landman 2003, Landman 2004, Mabin 2012 and Whittick 1974)

Amenities

This refers to the services a space can offer residents or potential residents such as schools, parks, recreational facilities, commercial strips and business nodes.

Security Features

This was a very prominent feature of enclosed and gated communities, and I believe that safety and security can be extended to 'open' neighbourhoods as well. The implementation of security in 'open' communities will rely on the South African Police Service, private security patrol, community initiatives and private alarm systems

Spatial Pattern

"Residential streets are suggested as CUL-DE-SACS to eliminate through traffic and park space flows into the neighbourhood" (Shambarker 2008), in addition to this typology of building and architectural style are considered important to the visual aesthetics of the space (Landman 2000)

Single Function

A residential neighbourhood should be singularly residential with only the basic amenities to sustain the 'local'. This means that office parks and business centres are not key features of what we would expect to find in a suburb or neighbourhood.

Tenure status

Tenure trends affect the typology of the suburb and neighbourhood. In the northern suburbs we will expect to find a greater number of owned stands and houses.

Location

Centrality and accessibility are crucial in defining the typology of the suburb. In South Africa we have inherited a series of typologies and locations.

Homogeneity

Particular neighbourhoods and suburbs attract a specific kind of people. Aside from class fragmentation, race, education level, culture, age and expectations affect the population genome that occupy a suburb or neighbourhood

Rate of Change

The life cycle of suburbs and residential neighbourhoods are typically slower than urban areas in the inner-city. This means that suburban neighbourhoods remain relatively constant in its demography, typology and ecology. Suburban gentrification plays an important role in the rate of change of suburban neighbourhoods.

It is important to note that this list does not represent a single suburb or the northern neighbourhoods, however it can be used to isolate contextualise a dwelling space and help identify it. For example, a 'Poor Suburb' as outlined by the American Sociological Association will be able to 'complete' the list with their own characteristics; however their characteristics would differ from a 'Bedroom Developing Suburb'.

Lastly, we must ascertain what characteristic might be present in the practice of living in northern suburbs. In terms of suburban planning, there are two immediate questions that become obvious. The first is did we really plan for suburbs or was it consequential and secondly how can we encourage integration and "the opening up of the suburbs" (Rusk 1993).

Based on this one would be inclined to expect there is an actual model of suburban planning or a best practice method that promotes a particular suburban lifestyle. However, the suburban

culture is a lot more complex that. So complex in fact that there is no model, there is not best practice method, there is only: a list of characteristics or 'ingredients' that make a suburb.

The following list of suburban characteristics has been pieced together by drawing on several different articles and sources of literature (Bramsten 2002, Chow 2002, Felski 1999):

- Suburban areas have more open spaces (parks)
- Suburban Residence commute from the suburbs to central business districts for work
- Suburbs are low density
- Suburbs consist mostly of a the middle class
- Suburbs are a space of potential consumption
- Suburbs are spaces that lack cultural activity
- Suburbs are spaces animated by reading and religious activities
- The suburban lifestyle is considered/depicted as a utopian
- The suburban population is generally conservative, apathetic and uninterested
- A suburb is an area with a neighbourhood but no community

According to Bramston (2002) a suburbanite has only five goals and expectations when moving to the suburbs. These are:

- Family Oriented
- Technological Heroism
- "signifying a job on the cutting edge with a visionary project in the knowledge economy" (Bramston 2002 1)
- To have a relaxed camaraderie with other suburbanites
- "where they share a common language with their neighbours, ascribe to the same values and aspirations and are not over competitive" (Bramston 2002 1)

The Suburbs have been critiqued on several levels; not only as sprawling areas that destabilise sustainability efforts but as culturally dull and homogenous. Wyly (2011)argues that the suburbs have no cultural or spatial identity, instead they (the suburbs) and their residence are generic, mass produced mould of what the institution deeps acceptable; that the identity of the suburbs is constructed by several distinctive unexciting characteristics which constructs identity rather than creates its. These are:

> "First, there is an irritatingly large number of vehicles struggling for space" on congested road corridors. Second, drivers usually have no alternatives in their route, a problem that is painfully clear in the case of accidents or traffic jams. Third, big-road intersections involve terribly long waits at traffic lights, imposing ever-worsening delays for motorists who see cars moving in the distance but often must wait through two or three cycles to get through the light. Fourth, the suburban road hierarchy, with its small cul-de-sacs leading to slightly larger feeder roads, to minor arterials, to major arterials, to the limited-access freeway, is an astonishingly confusing and difficult landscape to navigate. Compared with the medieval town protecting itself with walls and fortified defences, the contemporary North American suburb often needs no protection from outsiders, who quickly get lost in the road network. Fifth, the big-road environment forces businesses to adapt to traffic in their efforts to communicate with and attract consumers and sixth, the lengthy and congested commute becomes a central part of daily and

weekly life, becoming an anchor on many aspects of family life." (Wyly 2011 20)

Wyly (2011)critics the suburbs on points that closely reflect Bramstons list…perhaps there is truth in the suburban cliché. But how true is it for Johannesburg's northern suburbs?

This literature review began with an argument that there is not sufficient suburban theory which exist, conversationally in the subsection Suburbs/ Practice, Jill Grant (2008) aptly summarises the arising issues that are breed as a result of a lack of guiding and supportive theoretical structures. She presents several key findings, the first is that market conditions and market styles radically affect the growth and development of suburbs, secondly political and legislative structure which were strong and had a clear vision of what direction they expected to see the urban go in produced strong plans that committed strongly to new urbanism and smart growth strategies and finally, that pressure on private sectors to solve public problems results in nothing less than disaster, as the private sector is driven mostly my economic goals as apposed to true public service (Grant 2008).

To conclude, South Africa with Particular interest in Johannesburg is deficient in its availability of locally produced and rendered knowledge about the suburbs. Whilst there is an abundance of American- and Eurocentric literature and studies, it is often not applicable and represents problems and results that are not found in Johannesburg. This means that the methods we may derive from these internationally produced articles and so on may not hold the solutions to our urban dysfunctions.

Major Findings

Characteristics and traits of Northern Neighbourhoods

- Amenities
- Security Features
- Spatial Pattern
- Single Function
- Tenure status
- Location
- Homogeneity
- Rate of Change

Key socio-cultural dynamics of Northern Neighbourhoods

- Suburban areas have more open spaces (parks)
- Suburban Residence commute from the suburbs to central business districts for work
- Suburbs are low density
- Suburbs consist mostly of a the middle class
- Suburbs are a space of potential consumption
- Suburbs are spaces that lack cultural activity
- Suburbs are spaces animated by reading and religious activities
- The suburban lifestyle is considered/depicted as a utopian
- The suburban population is generally conservative, apathetic and uninterested
- A suburb is an area with a neighbourhood but no community
- Family Oriented
- Technological Heroism
- To have a relaxed camaraderie with other
- suburbanites

2.13. Conclusion

Suburbs and neighbourhoods are highly vested in their conceptualization in development planning. A tendency for planners to focus on the spatial features framing suburban neighbourhoods whilst partially neglecting the practice of living encased in these areas. Whilst it is essential to understand the role the spatial form plays in the production of life it is also

essential to measure the effectiveness of produced space in facilitating and producing life. This can only be measured by investigating the everyday of suburban dwellers.

This chapter set out to explore the theoretical underpinnings of conceptualisation, production and lived practice of suburban neighbourhoods. There is strong evidence supporting the notion that urban planning is currently transitioning into/through a phase of post-modernism. With this in mind, it would be the ideal time to suggest an expansion in planning theory to look more closely at suburban neighbourhood spaces.

In addition to establishing this research report within the paradigm of planning, a lengthy discussion on the production of space and the habitus has led research report to accept and confirm that it is within the habitus that the practice of living can happen.

Thirdly, in this literature review it has been suggested that there can be a disparity between what planning theory expects from suburban neighbourhoods and what the reality of these spaces are. By identifying several key ingredients, this project will be able to contrast the findings from the case study to the proposals of the literature.

The following chapter will discuss the research methods used to gather data for this research report.

3

Research Methods



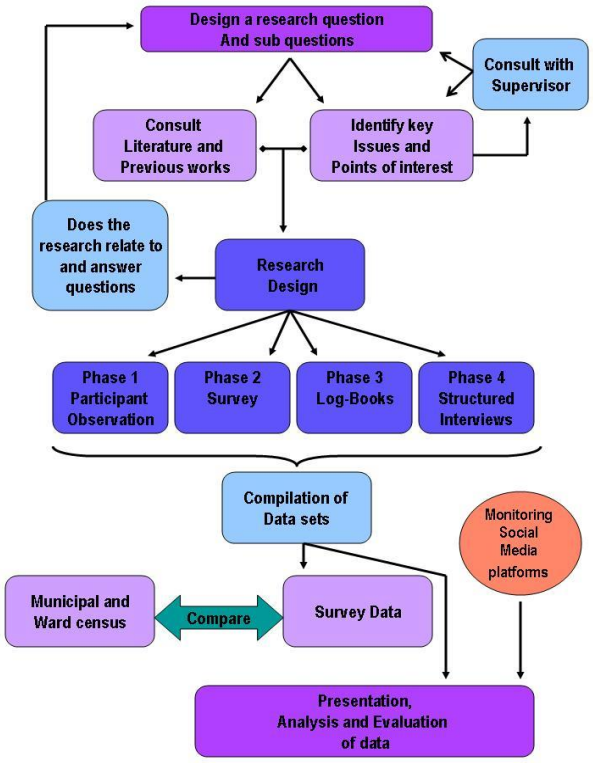


3. Research Methods

3.1. Outline of the Research

The research design for this research report made use of a combination of several different but complimentary research strategies and used quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. Three primary sets of data were identified as necessary to answer the core question and sub-questions of the research. These were: Demographic data attained through the statistical analyses of surveys, a collection of Ethnographic Narratives from residence of Greenside that reflected on the experientiality of Greenside and explored their practice of living; lastly, to monitor the everyday and practice of living a logbook was designed for participants to record their daily activities. In addition to the primary sets of data; social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, The Greenside Residence Association Home-page and community forums such a Whatsapp Community group were monitored

The field research for this project was conducted over period of 20 weeks (October 2013 to February 2014). The research period was split into 4 successive phases of data collection. The first phase of data collection took the form of participant observation; the second phase was a session of administering surveys, the third phase was the distribution of logbooks to Greenside residence (only) who would later participate in an interview, and the final phase was a structured interview with residence from Greenside and its immediate surrounding neighbourhoods (Emmerentia, Parkview, Parkhurst and Victory Park).



3.2. Greenside as an Effective Case Study

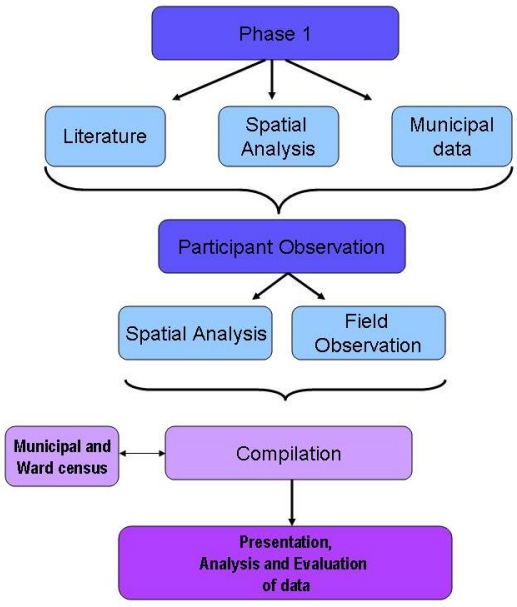
Firstly, the case study research method was selected for this project was based on several arguments in support of the advantages surrounding qualitative research. As will be discussed later in this chapter, this project relies heavily on a series of qualitative and quantitative data to achieve its objectives. Baxter and Jack (2008) explain: "This qualitative case study is an approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources. This ensures that the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood…." (Baxter and Jack 2008 544). The nature of this project required that research represented as far as was possible an un-sensitized, objective and 'real' image or snapshot of Northern neighbourhoods in Johannesburg. This research project made use of a descriptive case-study

research method; this means the research intended to “describe an intervention or phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred” (Yin, 2003 in Baxter and Jack 2008)

Greenside was chosen for this particular study as it is amidst an amazing transformation that is yet to be explored, let alone understood. In the last decade or so, there has been an increased commercialisation of the suburb; leaving Greenside neither purely suburban nor urban. This was one of the most defining factors in choosing Greenside to be represented in a case-study of suburban enquiry. In addition to this, Greenside’s proximity and centrality to major commercial centres such a Rosebank, Sandton and the Johannesburg Central Business District, its active Residents Association and manageable size (Chaimowitz, 2001) made Greenside an excellent location for inquiry of this nature. Finally, a literary review of historical events and recent changes in Greenside only further entrenched the idea that Greenside could possibly represent and or provide a basis of a South African suburban model which has yet to be constructed.

3.3. Participant Observation Method

Participant observation was a valuable method of gaining insight and access to the every-day of Greenside. This method of research is listed as Phase 1; however, it was a method that was used continuously throughout the research period. During various site visits and when I attended community meetings I assumed the role an anonymous participant observer. It was only later, during the successive phases of research that would then identify me and my intentions to people as I canvassed for willing participants in the surveys, log-books and interviews.



Given the nature of the project it was essential that I maintain a degree of anonymity during this period of the research, given that I was attending and monitoring community meetings and forums

wherein the community may have been impartial to the research schema of my presence and thus may have sensitised or altered their the meeting agenda's.

In progressing to the next phases of research my role as anonymous participant observer was lessoned moderately as it became necessary to identify myself and my research agenda to several community figures in an attempt to build relationships and a network that would support the subsequent research phases to this Participant Observation Phase.

3.3.1. Reflections on Participant Observation Method

Participant observation methodology is explained as:

> "Data obtained through participant observation [that] serves as a check against participants' subjective reporting of what they believe and do. Participant observation is also useful for gaining an understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which study participants live; the relationships among and between people, contexts, ideas, norms, and events; and people's behaviours and activities – what they do, how frequently, and with whom. In addition, the method enables researchers to develop a familiarity with the cultural milieu that will prove invaluable throughout the project. It gives them a nuanced understanding of context that can come only from personal experience." (Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide; Module 2 Participant Observation Unknown)

This method of research is often criticised for being unethical in cognisance that it allows the researcher to enter the field "in order to uncover hidden truths for self gain" (Chaimowitz 2001). But the advantages that are inherited with this method are invaluable. Participant observation data; in the context of this research project; extensively aided in the development and structure of the surveys and interviews.

A large portion of participant observations were gained through walking, driving and visiting the local stores. This would mean that any interesting everydayness observed was clearly visible to all persons in the respective vicinities with the exception that I read the scene(s) with a

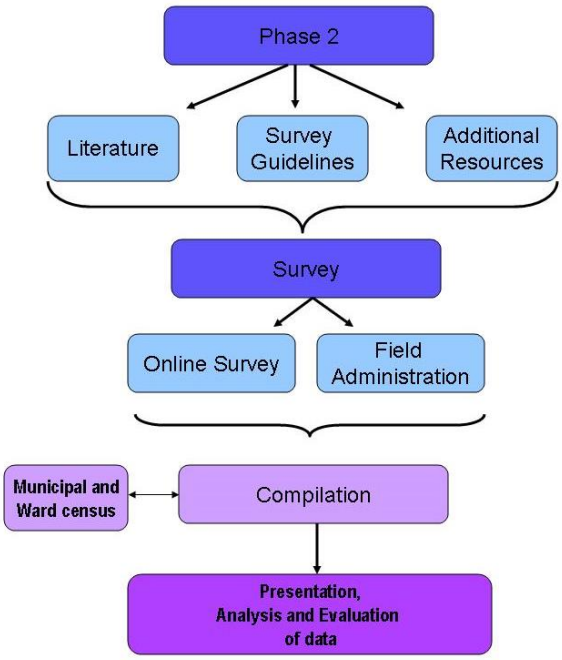
researcher's objectivity thus being more aware of what may have otherwise been considered boring, mundane and irrelevant.

In contrast to some of the advantages of participation observation method outlined earlier in this section, there are several disadvantages as well. First and foremost, participant observation can be very time consuming and become expensive, the Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide explains that typically field researchers spend at least a year in their field sites; however this is not sustainable for more practical disciplines (Dewalt and Dewalt 2011). Secondly, participant observations suffers ethnographic bias, and the researcher needs to be conscious of this problem (Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide unknown), thirdly, it can be difficult to record field notes during the participant observation exercise resulting the researcher relying excessively on the memory of events, which is not always the most reliable (Dewalt and Dewalt 2011); finally, gender can play an important role in the effectiveness of participant observation. If a researcher does not feel safe or included in a space based on gender, nationality or race – it may seriously impinge on the researcher's ability to take effective field notes (Holmes 2007). During my participant observation I at no time felt unsafe or excluded from community spaces. Other than the standard awareness of safety that is ingrained in a South African gender identity, there were no infractions on my ability to conduct field observations.

3.4. The Surveys: Design, Production and Administration

The surveys were designed in response to neighbourhood characteristics, traits, expectations and assumptions as outlined in Chapter 2: Underpinning Suburban Urbanity: Origin, Constructs and Realities. The design of the survey followed survey guidelines from different institutions (Designing Household Survey Samples: Practical Guidelines, United Nations 2005; Survey Guidelines Massachusetts Institute of Technology 2011 and Survey Methods and Practices, Statistics Canada 2010).

The survey was compiled through the adaption and integration of several resources. Standard demographic questions were included to define the sample population. In addition, several resources were used to expand on the detail present in some of survey questions. Questions 14b and 16 were taken from the research report of Anthony Chaimowitz and adapted to be used in this research. The South African National White Pages Directories were used to help construct the list of retail and service stores in Greenside as outlined in question 24. Due to time and financial constraints, the administration of the surveys reflected a random sampling method. The survey consisted of 24 questions each designed to provide information for multi-tier insight into the suburb and lifestyle of Greenside.



Two approaches were taken to administer the surveys. The first was the good old fashion method of 'taking to the streets'. I along with 5 volunteers (all of whom have completed a tertiary education degree or at the very least were in the process of completing one) split into groups of two and were given designated areas to survey. The area was divided into quadrants with Gleneagles Road, the Parkview Golf Course, Wicklow Avenue and Barry Hertzorg Avenue framing Greenside.

The data from surveys which were administered by volunteers were manually captured to an excel spreadsheet that could be easily analysed later on.

The second approach to administering the survey was through an online survey which I created using: "esurveycreator". Once I had input my questions, set the answering system and 'launched' the survey, I then posted the link to the online survey on several social media sites. These were several pages on Facebook and twitter. I also included the link in participant information sheets and emails which I sent inviting people to participate in the research. The survey did have some teething problems in the beginning for example marketing of the survey, but the main problem being: willing participants were not comfortable with the online survey or were uncertain as to how exactly it worked in terms moving through the four pages of

questions. Overall the use of the online survey was a success. Once the survey was closed the data was downloaded into an excel spreadsheet that could be integrated to the survey data that was conducted physically.



Figure 12: Field site for Case Study Separated into Quadrants

3.4.1. Reflections on Administering the Surveys

There was little success of completing surveys near the south of Greenside as there were almost no people outside their homes and high walls and electric fencing made it very difficult to access residents in their homes. Furthermore even though there were a few cases where residents were pulling in to or out of their drive ways, we did not think it would safe to approach people in their drive-ways. Additionally the presence of CSS tactical and their suspicion of our motives in Greenside made administering surveys in the inner parts of Greenside very difficult, leaving us with little choice but to stick to the main roads and more highly populated areas. The consequence of this, although revealing interesting results that the majority of respondents were not actually from Greenside but were visitors of the area. This did pose a problem for the population representation in the research.

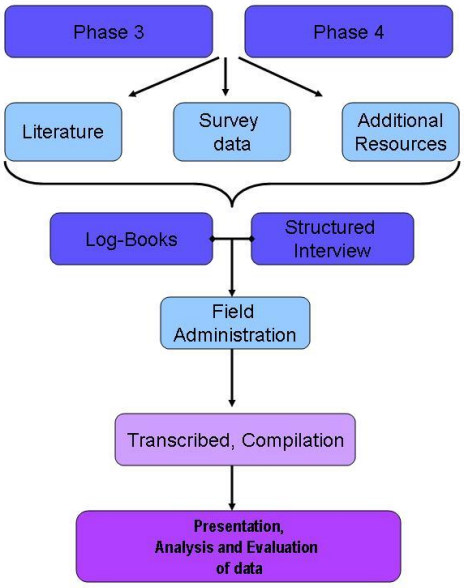
The data was expected to be acquired through three phases. The First phase was conducting a quantitative survey for statistical purposes and did not require respondents to be a Greenside resident; the second phase asked wiling participants (specifically and only Greenside residents) to keep a log of their day-to-day activities and the third phase was a structured interview partly based on findings in the log book with the individuals who chose to participate in phase two, and keep the log book. However, the interview did not depend solely on the completion and submission of the log book.

The structure and flow of questions in the survey were very important, as the survey was aimed at both residents and visitors of Greenside. Questions 1 to 20 are general questions that measured standard demographics such as gender, age, race, household size and so on; there are also a few more specialised questions that asks what motivates participants to visit Greenside. Questions 21 to 24 are specifically directed at Greenside residents and are questions based on the assumption that the individuals who are residents and are participating in the survey will have knowledge about the community, its municipality and ward council functions. Further to the above description, it stands to reason that visitors would not be able to answer questions that required an intimate knowledge of the area, conversationally, residents needed to answer questions that may have seemed only applicable to visitors. Additionally some questions like question 13b which asked at what frequency you visit Greenside is absolutely inapplicable to residents.

Difficulties in conducting surveys seem almost inherent. Beyond the standard shock of rejection, there were few difficulties in conducting the survey. Over-all the hardest part of the survey was simply convincing people to participate. Although the study site was divided into quadrants and each team was assigned a specific quadrant, difficulties outlined above forced teams to the main roads and which meant that at times we over-lapped in ground coverage at time. If we approached some-one who had already been surveyed they would inform research administrator and then we would move on.

3.5. The use of Logbooks and structured interviews:

The third Phase of data collection required individuals to participate in a longer study. Participants were asked to record all their activities every day for a week or as long as they were willing, in a log book (See appendage XXX for an example of the logbook template). Thereafter the log books were meant to be collected and the data therein analysed and interpreted through the literature that looked specifically at urbanism, suburban lifestyles and the everyday and in respect of data collected from the surveys. I had requested the participants record as much detail of their daily activities as possible. This meant that participants were asked to record where they went, what they did there, how long it took to get there, how they got there, how much time they spent doing the activity, how much time it took them to return, and if possible, a short narrative explaining their motivation for the particular activity in or at the particular location.



The fourth and final phase was structured interviews with participants of phase one and two and the interviews were largely tailored to explore the data collected from phase one and phase two. Initially, I had tried to interview people who were representative of the major racial groups and balance the study population with equal number of males to females.

The interview was structured to take between an hour to an hour-and-a-half so as to minimise disruption to participants.

Several short and supplementary interviews were conducted with residence from the surrounding neighbourhoods: Emmerentia, Parkview, Parkhurst and Victory Park. These interviews were used as contrast material against which core findings of the every-day and lifestyle in Greenside interview narratives could be juxtaposed or generalised.

3.5.1. Reflections on Log-books and interviews

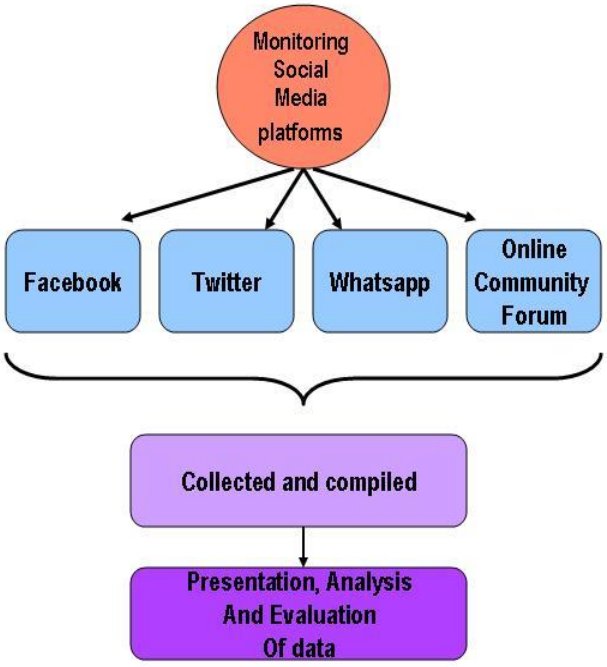
It is extremely disappointing that none of the participants except one had actually completed and submitted to me the log book. Of course the data from this single logbook was inadmissible in the final results; however I have included it as an appendage to show what it would have looked like had all participants completed it (see appendage XXX). The question that resonates with me is "why did it fail?" After consulting with my supervisor and other colleagues - the only conclusion that can be made is: the keeping of a log book is simply to labour intensive and time consuming. I acknowledge that it is difficult for individuals to invest so much time and so much energy into something that they will bare little or no benefit from; alas this after all is the nature of research.

The greatest challenge in conducting interviews was firstly finding wiling participants and then aligning our schedules so that we could meet and conduct the interview. Unfortunately, the research encountered a negative response and the intention of representing all major racial groups, diversified with gender was unsuccessful and all interviews were conducted with any Greenside resident who was willing.

Interviews with residence of surrounding areas, although not the focus of the research was useful in providing contrast to findings from narrative with Greenside residence. Although this made the research period slightly longer and more time consuming in the processing of data, the value these narrative has added to the over-all project was worth it.

3.6. Supplementary Data Collection

A large portion of all supplementary data was attained through monitoring social media sites. I created a Facebook page that served as a medium of communication between me, the research and those interested in the research. Additionally I would also direct interested parties to visit the page to post a question or comment and declared it the best alternative to contacting me through email. The



Facebook page named “The Greenside Investigation” and was used to post notice, reminders and encourage people to complete the online survey. Additionally on the Facebook page, The Greenside Investigation I would post snippets of the research, dissertation or findings from literature regarding Greenside or the topic of Suburbs, in the hopes of igniting conversation and possibly commentary on the posts. It pains me to admit that this was rather unsuccessful. Reasons for this are unknown but I can speculate that my contacts and network of contacts were not broad enough or conducive for this type of research.

3.6.1. Reflections on Supplementary data

Staying on the track of Facebook, I joined the Greenside Residents Association Facebook Page; where I monitored posts by the 225 members. Needless to say, many agree, although there is no formal grounds on which to found the growing belief that Greenside Residents Association is amongst the most active in Johannesburg.

During my time monitoring the Greenside Residence Association Facebook, another was launched called “I Love Greenside” Facebook page. When I joined this Facebook page to monitor its activities there were only 52 or 53 followers (early February) by the end of February there were more than 200 followers.

A further method of supplementary data was joining the Whatsapp Group Greenside Lookouts where in safety and security announcements are made to the community or all those who have been added to the group. It is unclear when exactly this Whatsapp group was formed but I along with close 40 other people joined the group on Sunday 23 February 2014.

Following Twitter feeds with hash-tag-Greenside was also useful in developing a sense of what Greenside is transforming into, what are its main attraction, what and when people are doing it in Greenside. Additionally Twitter feeds were also useful in providing insight into how Greenside residents felt about the changing ecology.

A large portion of my time was spent as a participant observer. In addition to monitoring social media sites, I spent some attending community meetings. Attending these community gatherings were useful in providing me with in site into some of the issues the community faces, their activities and demographic insight into who most active in community forums. I attended

the Johannesburg City Council meeting on Community Based Planning. I also attended the GRA annual General Meeting (AGM)

3.7. The Use, integration and Comparison of Existing research

Literature and research on South African suburbs is relatively scarce. However, There were two pieces of research that were extremely useful in the conceptualisation of production of this research. Research conducted in Greenside in 2007 was influential in this research. Aside from offering perspective or ideas in the way of conducting the research, it aided in 'what I should be looking for'. Additionally their research was integrated and used for a comparative study of the Greenside and its transformation.

3.8. Interrogating the Research Methods

Sampling methods are generally used to guide and give structure to researchers and their research. These are methods of sampling and best practice methods of conducting research to aid and enable researchers to use their resources as efficiently and effectively as possible while getting the best results possible.

3.9. Sample methods used for the surveys

The surveys were split into two types of sampling methods. Firstly the surveys that were conducted in person by volunteers used the 'Simple Random Sampling Method'. This method is understood as a method of sampling that requires all units of participation are selected entirely by chance (Schutt 2011). That is to say, there is very little or a not criteria as to who should or can participate in the survey. During the day that I with the volunteers conducted the surveys in Greenside there was no criteria as to who we asked to participate in the survey; it came down to who was willing and who was unwilling to participate in the survey. Secondly, the surveys that

were conducted online made use of a 'Probability Sampling Method' which is understood as a sampling method that relies on the random selection of participation but with the knowledge of certain elements about the population. For example, the online survey did not look at any specific gender, race or age group to participate in the survey, that is why the population sampling was random, however, the online survey did expect that the majority respondent were residence of Greenside. This probability of the respondents being residence was exploited because the link to the online survey was posted on websites particularly supported or populated by Greenside Residence.

3.9.1.1. Sampling method used for the interviews

Initially the 'Quota Sampling Method' was used to select participants for the interview phase of the research. Quota Sampling is "A non-probability sampling method in which elements are selected to ensure that the sample represents certain characteristics in proportion to their prevalence in the population." (Schutt 2011). Therefore initially; individuals were chosen based on racial heritage and in cognate to the prevalence of that particular race according to the 2011 National Census. Unfortunately due to a poor response and wading time allowances the sampling method for this phase was changed to an 'Availability Sampling Method,' which is defined as: choosing units to participate in the research based on availability. The draw-back of this sampling method was that it produced a relatively unrepresentative data set and makes it difficult to generalise findings. However, the homogeneity of the sample; although lacking in diversity - does align with the census data.

3.9.1.2. The use of Snowball sampling

Snowball Sampling is a technique of population sampling that is specifically used in cases where it is difficult to gain access to or to find willing participants. It "is useful for hard-to-reach or hard-to-identify populations…, but the members of which are some what interconnected" (Schutt 2011)

This was a technique was used quite extensively in this research to strengthen the quota and availability sampling methods, but unfortunately it was unsuccessful as the people who I was

referred by existing participants were not responsive or at all interested in the research. I contacted in excess of 50 different people through various means, a substantial portion of potential participants were referrals and still they did not respond. I cannot help but associate the silence with a massive statement. A founding characteristic of suburban lifestyle is conservativism which renders this experience and this challenge expected.

3.9.1.3. Advantages and Disadvantages of Snowball Sampling

In addition to the obvious advantages of snowball sampling, other advantages include the relatively low expense and low-labour and time costs associated with this method of sampling (Willis, Unknown Advantages and Disadvantages of Snowball sampling on *ehow* http://www.ehow.com/info_8444993_advantages-disadvantages-snowball-sampling.html). As a self-funded master's student, expenses, time and energy are valuable resources that need to be conserved and used sparingly, therefore a method that protects these resources give the researcher an edge or advantage and therefore is highly sought.

There are, however several disadvantages associated with snowball sampling method. The first is sampling bias,

3.9.1.4. Limitations

Understandably all research faces some kind of limitation and at varying degrees. The major challenges to this research where first and foremost the willingness and interest of people to participate in the research, then it was their investment in completing all the tasks the research required of them. Unfortunately, the poor response to both sections of participation meant that the research had to be changed and had to be adapted. The consequence of this was a change in the nature of the project. Inline with conducting the research, further challenges to effectively administering the surveys were posed by CSS tactical. CSS surveillance of our activities affected our freedom of mobility especially in the inner catacombs of Greenside we were therefore forced to stay along the Barry Hertzog and Gleneagles strips.

Other challenges to the research were: Administrator effectiveness in conducting the survey. Many surveys came back only partly completed, often with the longer more descriptive sections of the survey left blank. This had a major impact on the generalisability of the survey. Alternatively, it is highly possible that had the administrators handed the surveys to participants to be completed by the participants, the participants may have chosen to skip the longer questions that required more description, which in some instances was the case.

Lastly, timing had a massive impact on the success of the research in general. The research period was scheduled for October 2013 to February 2014. This means that the research would have been conducted over the festive season and new years when people are especially busy or are away. I have wondered if I had conducted my research in the middle of the year if things would have turned out differently or if in fact my research process was simply to labour intensive for participants and would have yielded the same results

3.10. Conclusion

This chapter explained and interrogated the various research methods that were used during this assembly of this research report. Although there were initially four phases of data collection, the log-book phase was unsuccessful. The use of snowball-sampling was effective in developing a research participant network; however this method does have several disadvantages.

The following chapter will present findings of the data collected through the various methods described above. Chapter 4 will initiate outline and initiate the discussion of Chapter 5.

4

Consolodating the South African Suburbs : Findings and the anthropomorphic Suburb





4. Consolidating the South African Suburb: Findings and the anthropomorphic suburb

4.1. Introduction

This chapter contains the presentation of findings and a brief discussion of the data collected during the research period. The presentation of the data and a brief analysis will act as the departure point of discussion in the following chapter.

To recap; the field research for this project was conducted over a 20 week period (October 2013 to February 2014). The research methods used were a combination of successive quantitative and qualitative methods that complemented each other, but also produced stand alone data. Data offered in this chapter was obtained from statistical information rendered from an analysis of the survey; extracts form structured interviews and; data from social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and community forums. There is no data from the log-book method that can be presented as discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 3); contributions from participant observation will also be included.

This chapter will be structured according to the chronological order in which the data was collected. The first section contains the compilation of data from the surveys in the form of Graph; the second section contains data collected from social media sites Twitter and Facebook and the third section contains brief narrative of the lived experience in Greenside by residents and ex-residents. To conclude this chapter, an ethnographic reflection of my own experience during the research has been included.

4.2. Reflecting on Research Techniques

The aim of this research was to understand how the practice of living in northern suburban Johannesburg produces the everyday of these suburbs and their dwellers. The central research question: What does tracking the everyday reveal about the production of living in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg; the case of Greenside is based on three key arguments.

The first argument is: it is unclear to development planners what to consider the constitutional characteristics of northern suburbs and neighbourhoods and whether or not these characteristics align with the lived practice of these spaces.

The second argument is that an inability of urbanists to define the phenomenological characteristics of Johannesburg's northern suburbs is a direct result of a loose or unclear representation and understanding of the socio-spatial dynamics that constitute these characteristics.

The final argument of this research report has been: while several attempts by urbanists to construct and produce a completed list of characteristics that planners might be expected to find in suburban neighbourhoods, the list remains incomplete, presumptuous or outdated.

The methods of data collection in the research report were designed to gather information that responded to the core arguments as being either in support of or opposition to the arguments. The use quantitative and qualitative research methods produced data that was Descriptive and Explanatory. Given the nature of the project it was necessary to have access to data that could supply both statistical information and descriptive narratives of the lived experience of suburban space.

4.3. The Production and Presentation of Data

Conducting the survey used two methods of administration, the first method was conducting surveys in person in Greenside and the second method was launching an online survey. The online survey stayed open for one month. A total of 64 surveys were completed when data from the field-surveys and online-surveys were combined. 23 surveys were successfully completed in the field and 41 online-surveys successfully completed online. The surveys provided a variety of demographic and other statistical data on perception of both residence and non-residence of Greenside. It is important to note that not all participants completed all the questions of the surveys. There is an infinite number of possible rationalisation as to why this was, but 3 plausible rationales are: firstly, the survey was to long and participants lost interest or got bored, secondly there was a technical failure either from the esurvey creator website; lastly the survey was not structured effectively enough to be completed without the assistance of an administrator.

Data obtained from interviews will be presented as exerts of a narrative that was constructed through interview questions. A total of five structured interviews were conducted, three of the five interviewees were women and two were male; and separately three of the five interviews

were with current Greenside Residents and two of the five interviews were ex-Greenside residents.

1 179 Twitter feeds were collected. Each Tweet was placed into a category as: Social, Community Information, Retail and Advertising or Miscellaneous. This data was then compiled and represented in graph format for easy interpretation.

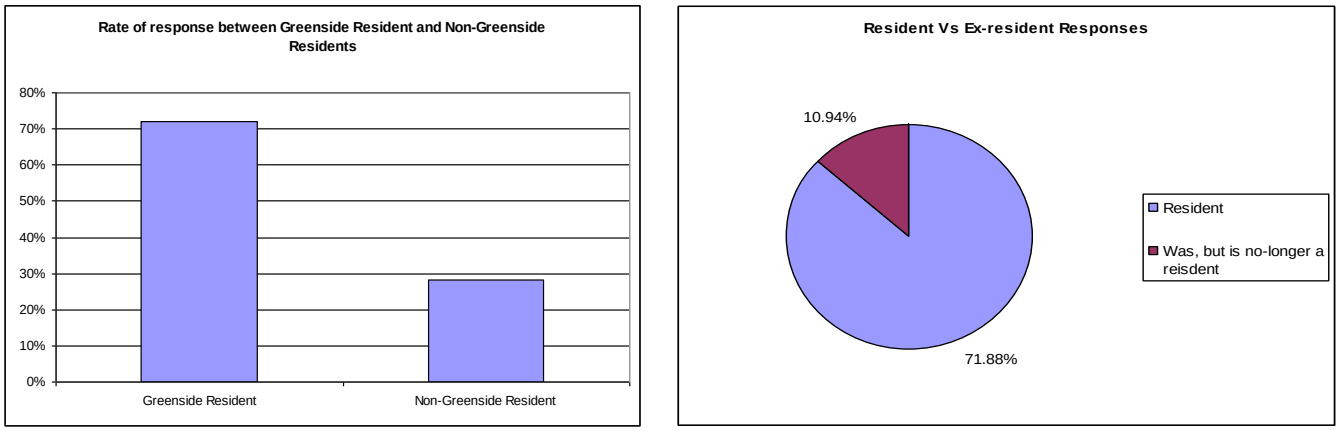
Several Facebook and community forum notices were collected and will be presented in both this chapter and as part of the discussion in Chapter 5.

4.4. Statistical data from Surveys

46 of 64 respondents were greenside residents, and 18 of the total respondents were non-Greenside residents. This means that the data collected through the surveys has a high generalisability to the residential population of Greenside.

The first question of the survey asked respondents to denote whether or not they were or were ever residents of Greenside; and the second question of the survey asked "If you answered 'yes' to question one, are you still a resident of Greenside?". Given the survey was open to current residents, ex-residents and non-residents, this question was necessary to ascertain how many respondents are respondents were currently residents, how many had left greenside and how many were visitors. It is important to note, the majority of surveys were completed over the online survey system. The link to the online survey was posted on Twitter, Facebook and the GRA web-page; these platforms specifically targeted Greenside residence as was the intention. By contrast, the majority of respondents who were surveyed on the Saturday during the field expedition to conducting surveys in Greenside were non-residence of Greenside.

Of the 46 individuals who responded 'yes' to the survey as being or having been a resident of Greenside, 7 of 46 (approximately 10, 94% as shown in the pie-chart below) had left Greenside. Further along the survey, individuals who had left Greenside to please state their reasons, some of the answers given were "My family moved", "I moved out of my family's house" and "closer to work".

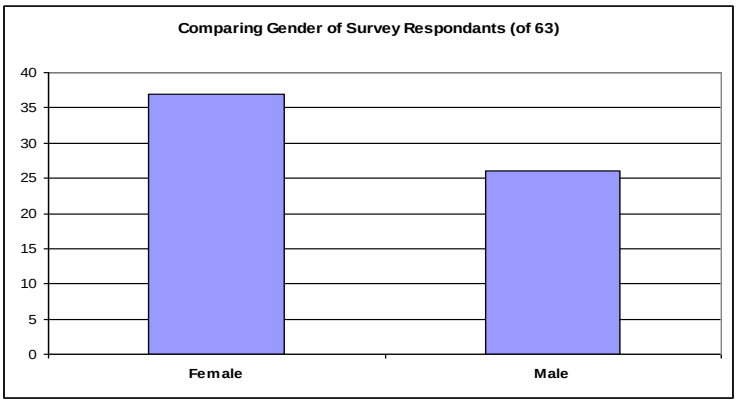


Graph 1: (Left) Ratio Response between Greenside Residents and Non-Greenside Residents. (Right) Pie chart illustrating Resident Vs Ex-Resident response rate

Out of 63 people who responded to question on gender, 37 were female and 26 were male.

According to the census data (2011) of Ward 87, there are an estimated 8661 (51%) females to an estimated 8047 (48%) males. There is an almost even distribution of males to females in the Ward; by comparison the proportion respondents to the surveys are 58% female to 41% male. This question was asked in order to develop a gender profile of the neighbourhood.

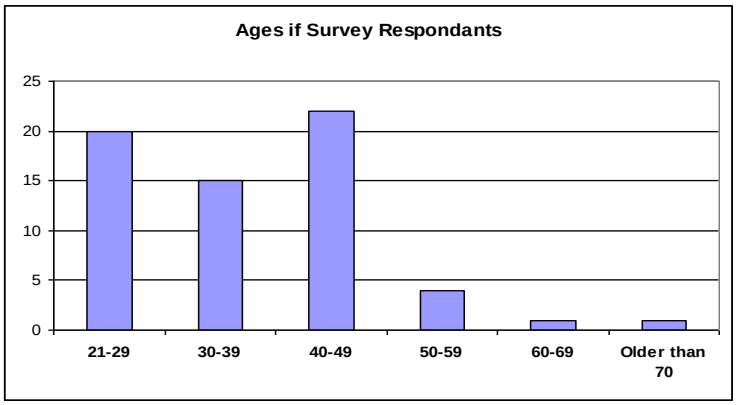
The proposal stands that suburban neighbourhoods are generally family oriented, meaning there should be an equal distribution between male and female genders. In reflection of the survey data and census data the gender profile is almost equal, but females consistently out number males. The use of an online survey generator meant that the target population was completely random; no statistical deviations of responses can be attributed to administrator bias in this instance.



Graph 2: Response rate per Gender

The majority of respondents to the survey fell within the age category of 40-to-49, closely followed by the youngest age category accepted in the survey 21-29 and then 30-39 were the third largest age group to respond to the survey. There were no responses for the less-than-20 age group; therefore that age was omitted from the graph.

Age profiles of the neighbourhood are valuable developing a schema of the age distribution in the neighbourhood. This finding coincided with the 'perception' table further in the chapter, where the majority of respondents to the question "Do you think there are more middle-aged people in Greenside" answered 'Agree'. Middle-aged is defined as an age range of between 40 and 64 years of age.



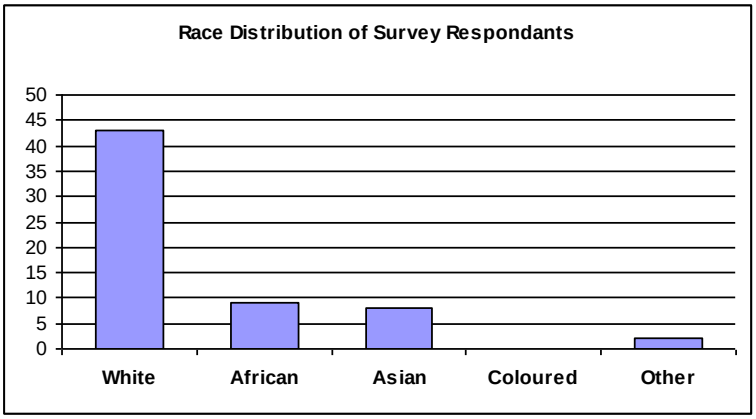
Graph 3: Distribution of Age categories amongst respondents

These findings further coincide with census data (Ward 87 Census data 2011), that found of 16 708 people who

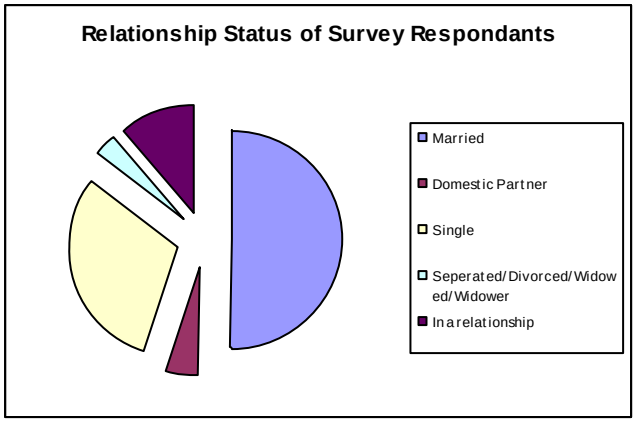
responded to the census, the largest number of respondents (7 299) fell with the middle age group.

43 people who responded to this question were White and the largest racial group to respond to this question; the second largest responses were African closely followed by people who classified as Asian. According to the ward 87 census data (2011) approximately 55,7% of residents classified as white; 29,5% as African; 9,5% as Asian, 2,3% as coloured and 2,9% as other. The census data and survey data align in terms of statistical probability.

The proportion of racial response to the survey can be indicative of the rate of transformation and integration that is occurring in the suburb. Once again, the majority of surveys were completed online therefore it would be difficult to establish an administrator bias as there were no administrator involved.



Graph 4: Racial profile of response rates



Graph 5: Relationship Status of survey respondents

Suburban neighbourhoods are propertied to be family oriented. Only 62 individuals responded to this question, a large portion of the survey respondent population were married (50%), then 30% classified themselves as single and 11,2% as is a relationship, 4,8% as living with a domestic partner and 3,2% as

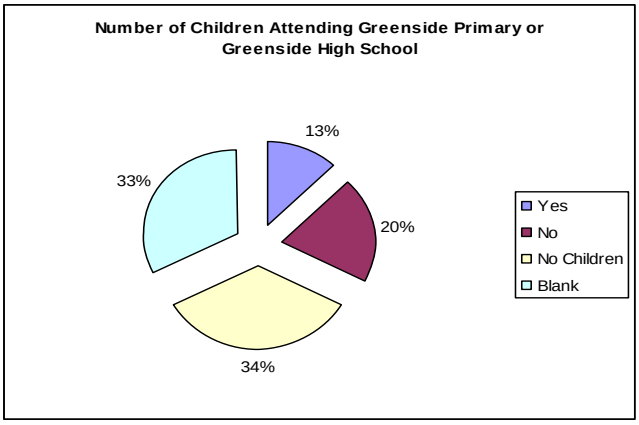
separated/divorced/widowed/ widower.

55 individuals responded to this question and findings the average number persons per household, to be 3,62 therefore approximately 4 people per household. It is unclear what proportion of respondents considered their domestic staff to be apart of their households;

The field surveys revealed that the majority of respondents considered their domestic staff to be apart of their

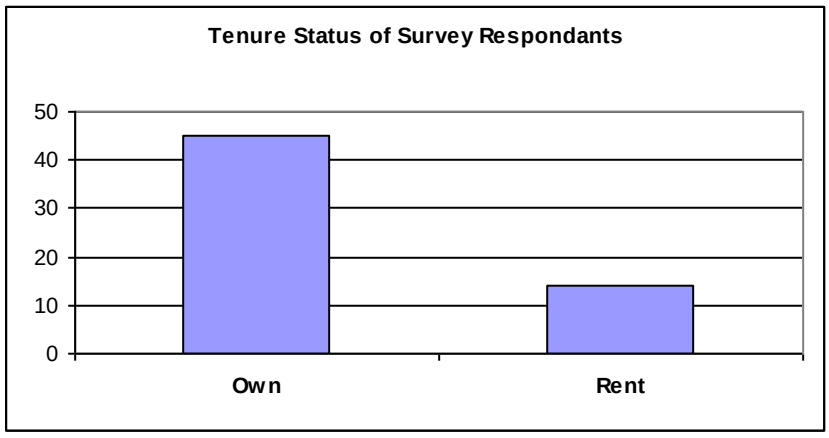
household.

It is then possible that the average household size presented here includes at least one person as domestic staff.



Graph 6: Percentage of children attending Greenside primary or Greenside High School

To give clarity to average household number we can draw a section of data that asked how children in Greenside household attend or attended Greenside Primary and Greenside High School. Most strikingly, the majority of individuals who completed this question responded as not having children. This can only be juxtaposed to equally large proportion of respondent who did not answer the question at all.



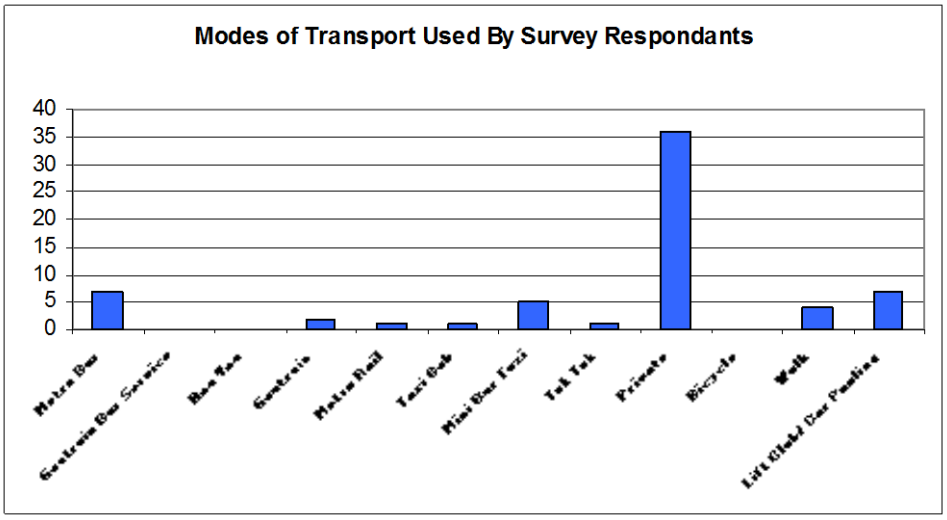
Graph 7: Tenure status of survey respondents

The majority of respondents confirmed to owning their residential properties. The majority of survey respondents declared themselves as employed fulltime. 10 respondents declared themselves students and 9 as unemployed. 20 of 45 people who responded to the survey question 6(a) could be identified as Professional degree holders; a further 10 respondents could be identified as skilled, however the nature of their skill was unclear and 9 out of 45 respondents identified as students of professional and skilled tertiary learning institutions.

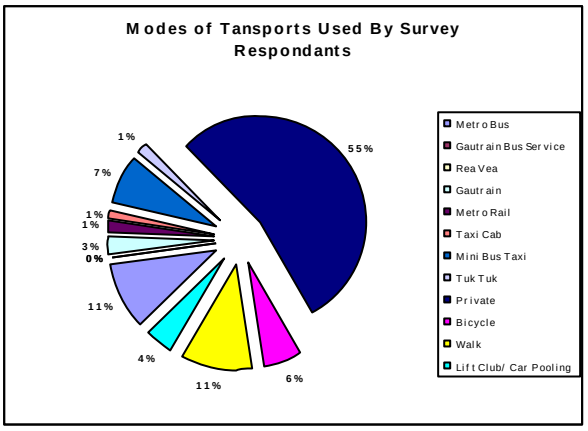


Graph 8: Years of Residency

Of the 29 people who responded to the question relating to years of residency in Greenside, 12 respondents declared their residency period to be between 1 and 5 years, the next largest response were individuals who responded as having lived there for greater that 10 years. This shows a medium rate of transformation and residency turn-over.



Graph 9: Modes of Transport Used By Survey Respondents (a)



Graph 10: Modes of transport used by survey respondents (b)

There were a total of 67 individual responses to the survey question relating to transport use of survey respondents. The response rate is higher than the total number of completed surveys (64) outlined in the beginning of the chapter because, respondents were able to select more than one mode of transport. The purpose of this question was to measure the frequency with which respondents used various means of transport.

There is a clear trend of respondents to rely on private cars as their primary mode of transport. There is evidence from the structured interviews and informal conversations during the field administration of the surveys found that many of the respondents are not disinterested in public transport but argue that Greenside is not serviced the public transport system in general is inefficient, unreliable and does not meet their needs.

The map below is an illustration of the movements of some Greenside residents as the travel out of the suburbs for work. 38 Greenside residents responded to the question: “where is your place of employment”; this was an open ended question, and the places of employment that were listed by residents was then constructed into a map that very simply demonstrates a movement pattern of northern suburban dwellers. Interestingly 13 of the 38 respondents worked in Greenside.

9 of the 38 respondents to this question listed Johannesburg Centre as their area of employment. What is most striking is the movement of people from one suburb to another for.

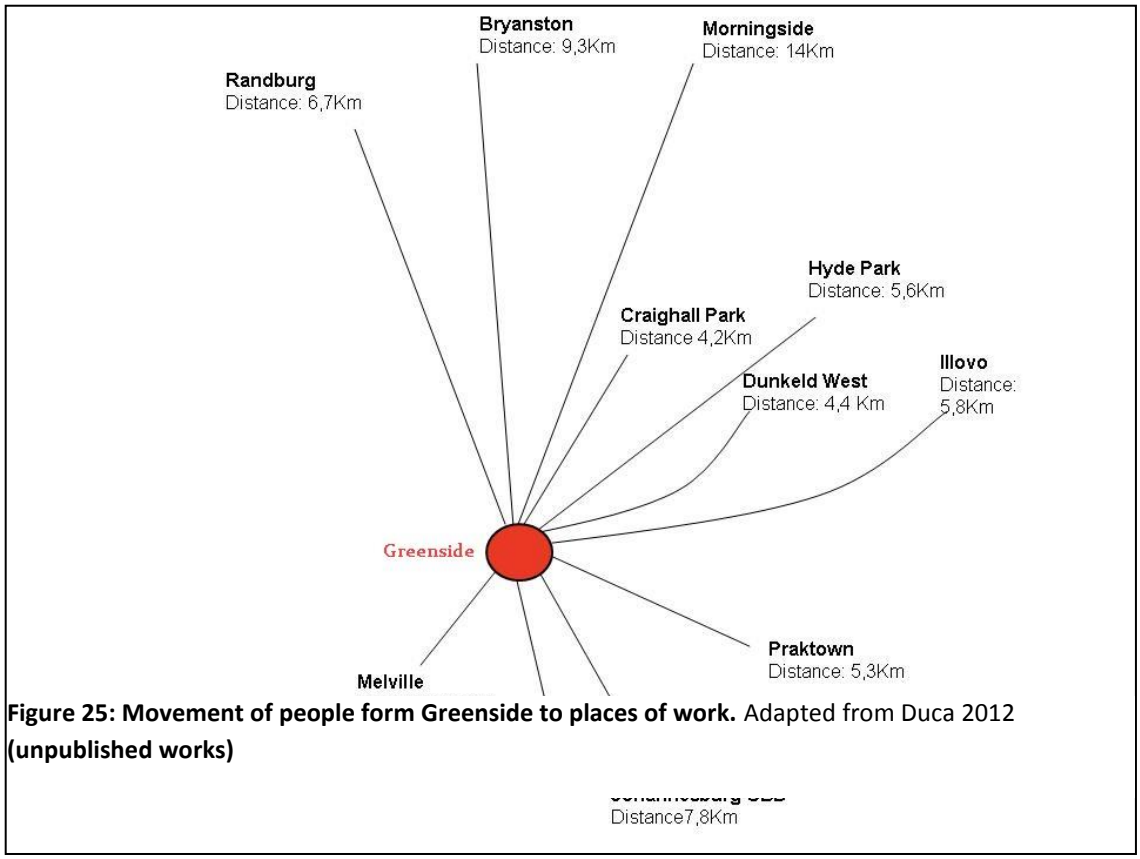


Figure 25: Movement of people form Greenside to places of work. Adapted from Duca 2012 **(unpublished works)**

Next we will move onto perceptions and feelings of Greenside residents regarding different socio-spatial dynamics of the neighbourhood. The table of perception and opinions (below Table 2); as the name suggests illustrates the perception of certain features that resident respondents to this question might have about Greenside. This question was specifically targeted to Greenside residents and so asked that only Greenside residents responded to this question. This question was constructed of 21 sub-questions and respondents were asked to select an answer that best represented whether they 'strongly agreed', 'agree', 'remained neutral' 'disagreed', 'strongly disagreed' of 'declined to answer' on the statements given. Statements were constructed in relation to the literature explored in chapter two of this research report.

Presented in the table is the total number of 'ratings' a statement received. For example; 38 individual responses were recorded for statement one which read: "Greenside is a pleasant place to live". 19 of the 38 people who responded *strongly agreed* with this statement, in contrast to this is 16 people of the 38 people who responded to this question perceived to only *agree* with the statement and a further 3 people chose to remain *neutral.* There were no more responses to statement one.

Another example can be read in statement 12 which says: "I feel apart of a community in Greenside". For this question only 28 individual responses were recorded. 11 of the respondents strongly agreed to the statement while 2 chose to disagree and 4 individuals declined to answer.

Perceptions that prevail amongst Greenside residents are vital to understanding and conceptualising the lived experience and the production of the everyday in the neighbourhood.

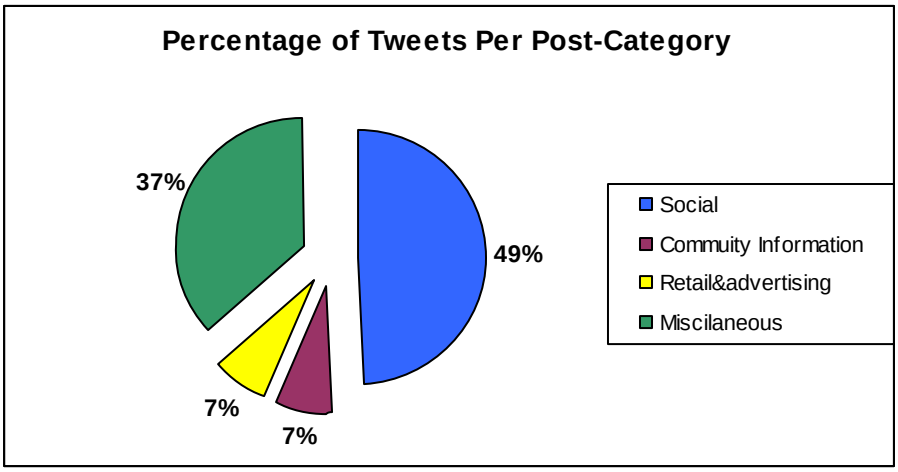
Overall, the response rate to this question was good, however some people skipped some of the statements but proceeded to answer others in the same question; this has made it difficult to ascertain how many people responded to the question over all, however the average response rate is 29; and the total number of respondents for each statement is provided in the total row at the bottom of each statement. This is simply to provide perspective and a reference point for the perceptions and opinions that are being measures. (Table 2: Perceptions and Opinions of Greenside)

	Greenside is a pleasant place to live	Greenside caters for my needs	I would recommend Greenside as a place to live	I have man y friends near my home in Greenside	I have man y relatives near my home in Greenside	I visit my friends and relatives frequently in Greenside	I know my immediate neighbours very well	I frequently greet my immediate neighbours	I frequently visit my immediate neighbours	My neighbors and I help each other out	Greenside is culturally ethnically and racially diverse	I feel apart of a community in Greenside
Strongly Agree	19	14	18	10	1	5	8	10	4	6	15	11
Agree	16	17	16	10	5	8	11	15	3	6	14	7
Neutral	3	3	1	7	8	8	8	8	8	9	6	4
Disagree	0	2	1	5	10	8	8	3	14	9	2	2
Strongly Disagree	0	1	2	5	11	5	2	2	9	6	0	0
Decline To Answer	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	4
Total	38	37	38	37	36	36	37	38	39	36	38	28

	I feel safe in Greenside	The residence Association Caters for my needs	The municipality understands my needs in Greenside	There is good public in vestment (public infrastructure)	There is a good network of public transport	Greenside is Developing into a more commercial area	There are more young people in Greenside	There are more middle-aged people living in Greenside	There are more elderly people living in Greenside
Strongly Agree	7	7	7	4	7	5	7	2	3
Agree	14	2	5	8	5	8	3	9	4
Neutral	12	3	2	2	3	2	5	5	7
Disagree	4	1	1	0	0	3	0	1	2
Strongly Disagree	0	4	3	2	2	0	1	1	0
Decline To Answer	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Total	37	17	18	17	17	18	17	18	16

4.5. Social Media

A total of 1 179 Twitter posts were recorded and characterised as referring to a social activity in Greenside, Community Information, Retail and Advertising and Miscellaneous. The functionality of this series of statistics is to demonstrate and what sorts of trends are happening in Greenside; lastly is valuable to measure the frequency Greenside is mentioned on the social media platform of twitter. This kind of data could only be obtained from Twitter; because Twitter has a hash-tag search function that allows an individual to 'tag' – which means to identify – a person or place in a post. Facebook does not have this option. Re-tweets we also counted and categorised; the content of the post was as important the frequency with which the category appeared. Each re-tweet meant that another person was 'talking about' or 'tagging' Greenside in their status.



Graph 11: Percentage of Tweets per post- category

Of the 1 179 Tweets screened 49% of post related to a social activity in Greenside. 'Social activities' were defined as inline with recreational activities described by Landman (2003). This category was defined by any mention of bars, clubs, parties, restaurants, coffee shops, eateries, street parties etc.

The second largest categories of tweets were miscellaneous. These were tweets that mentioned greenside, commented on activities there or in any way related to Greenside. A partial reason

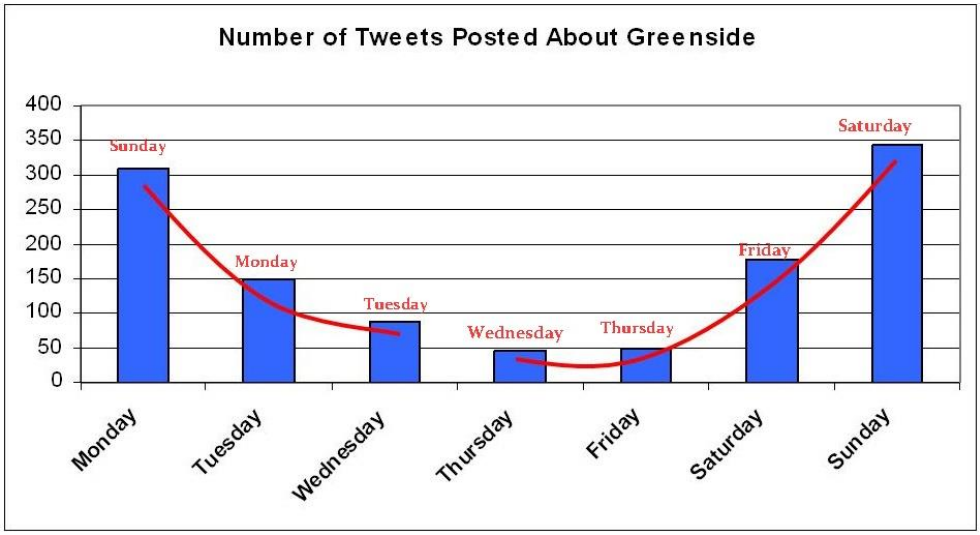
behind this category being so large is it also included post in a non-English language or as in most cases I could interpret our understand the ‘slang’ that was being used.

Twitter was an excellent platform for community information and contact between the GRA and community member who followed the GRA. The Community Information category included any posts that related to news and information regarding the community of Greenside. This included posts about traffic, load-shedding, safety and suspicious activities. 7% percent of posts related to community information, a large portion of this were generated by the GRA twitter account, but there were a moderate number of tweets from individuals regarding community information.

A total of 7% of posts related to retail and advertising of business in Greenside. Tweets included in this category were any posts related to advertising and marketing services and stores in Greenside. A large portion of the posts related to restaurants and property realtors.

The recordings of twitter posts were back-dated. This means that if a tweet was posted on a Thursday, it would only be recorded the day after – Friday. The reason for this is that posts are dated and have time stamps. If tweets were recorded on the same day as they were posted, it was almost impossible to determine when the posts of Greenside ended for that day meaning that it is likely some posts will have been missed. Additionally it is extremely difficult to follow and record frequency in relation to time stamps as apposed to dates.

The graph below reflects the back-dating of twitter feeds. Therefore, the numbers of twitter posts recorded on a specific day were posted the day before. For example, the recorded tweets represented on a Friday will be the posted of the Thursday before. So, what happened on Friday will be recorded on Saturday and what happened on Saturday will be recorded on Sunday.



Graph 12: Number of Tweets posted about Greenside per day (21 days)

There is a visible slump in the number of tweets over Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday; a slow incline during Thursday and then a dramatic rise in tweets over Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

In reflection of the distribution of the category of tweets and the frequency of tweets shows us that Greenside it supports an extremely social element that is unique to suburban neighbourhood.

4.6. The practice of living in Northern Neighbourhoods

Five separate narratives were extracted from the interviews that were conducted during this research project. The purpose of presenting them is this fashion is to provide the reader with a first hand reading of Greenside residents experience during their time in the Northern Suburb.

The first narrative is of a man who has lived in Greenside for 38 years. Although he did not disclose his age, he appeared to be in his early 70's.

Participant GR121301

Age undisclosed, White, Male, Self employed

About 38 years ago I moved to greenside, I had a growing family; I felt good here. We had all these busses running around and I could catch the bus to and from Braamfontein where I worked. When we used to come to the cinemas we used to take the bus or come by bicycle. Everyone used to take the bus they all worked in town in the 1950's. It used to work perfectly.

Things have changed since then. When we put up our front wall my friend put in a double garage; I asked him for what! I will never have two cars he said lets just do it any way.

When I moved in here I felt I was in an area where I was less likely to be misunderstood. In terms of security it's a nightmare although ADT are looking after as well. There is very little violent crime in the area, the night we were burgled we were the only people burgled and there hasn't been any violent crime for months.

There is a lot of wealth in Greenside; if you have a look at the share holding of the various companies, there is an extraordinary amount of wealth in greenside. This wealth is not as ostentatious like in Sandton and Hyde Park, I am sure there is more, I think that we have quite a high level.

I am involved in the GRA and have been with the Democratic Alliance for well over 30 years and I have always been very keen on the idea of trying to densify greenside but in a special way. I would like to see people who are coming up through the ranks and who are becoming you know very much the back bone of the modern business structure which basically would be the administrators and so on. So as a community we started looking into how we can achieve this.

So to try and kick start the densification we started having these meetings for about 2-3 months. The community was involved and the whole bit and the idea was to bring it from high rise around Gleneagles and then slowly drop it in size so that it would actually fit into the rest of the urban design. We really wanted to form a proper business precinct. There was a proposal to build a new shopping centre in Greenside along Greenway So the whole thing fell through because every one wanted to much money and it actually brings to the fore the dilemma that developers have. If they told residents what their plans are then their plans go sky high and

nothing gets done and if they don't they become a bunch of thieves and cheats and exactly how you draw that balance is quite difficult.

I am self-employed, so I don't have an office I go to everyday, I go where the work takes me but a lot of my work is in Greenside.

One of the most sticking features of this narrative is the attention to suburban development, deification and transport. Considering suburban neighbourhoods have been heavily criticised for being the antithesis of development as discussed in chapter two, this narrative suggests an opposition the conceptualisation of suburban spaces in planning.

The second narrative presented here is from a young woman. She previously lived in Greenside and attended Greenside High School. She and her family have since left Greenside and now reside in Albertville, close to Northcliff and one less well known northern neighbourhoods.

Participant GR011404

Age: 23; Female; Other; Single; No Children; Occupation: Claims Negotiator at a taxi insurance company -Greenside, Johannesburg; ex-resident of Greenside.

We lived in Greenside for 8 Years before we moved. We live in Albertville near Northcliff corner now. I moved 11 times within Greenside since we have been here. I don't know what the motivation was. I do consider myself a suburbanite; I was borne in the suburbs and because I work in the suburbs and live in the suburbs; so therefore I must be a suburbanite. I think pretty upper class people live here along with many students who live in the flats. There are a lot of old, white people in this area; in the houses its mostly elderly people but in these flats people range between 18 and 30. In the flats the demographic is mostly Indian and black. There is one park that I know of in Greenside. People don't visit it a lot. Drug dealers go there. There are no kids playing in the street but people walking in the afternoon, or jogging or cycling or people taking their dogs for a walk because their yards are to small, because they extent all the way to the front. No offence, but that's what Muslim people do that. I don't think traffic isn't heavier here than any where else; beside I sit in like two-minutes of traffic from work home. I think living in Greenside is close to perfect there is not a lot of robberies, people are friendly. The

weather is always nice in Greenside when it rains it doesn't pour type of thing. Everything is within walking distance, it is cosy it's clean; apart from the expensive lifestyle.

People are generally conservative and they stay in their houses. Sometimes it is like they are scared of people outside their fences. They try getting from their car to their gate in 0.5 seconds and closing their gate in 0.2 seconds and I don't think they know their neighbours; maybe in the flats. I don't think neighbours interact with each other. They really try to be as self-contained as possible. Like maybe a "hi" if you see me standing at my car at the. They will never invite neighbours over. But I consider Greenside a successful suburb because of the lifestyle. I don't know, lifestyle, party central. The only cultural thing in Greenside at the park; and the book shop here was very popular, it was almost always sold out. There was an Exclusive Books or CNA up the road and people were always there buying books

I wouldn't use public transport because I work with taxi claims every single day of my life, its like accidents and claims. So I get to see the carnage, the blood…the bodies sawed in half type of thing. It's not a very pretty job

There has been a lot of transformation in the suburb, it is like party central from Thursday to Sunday; we come drinking here almost every weekend. On this strip we are at mostly Tokyo Star and Bob Rock and The Office. Here's a place to smoke hubly; lots of places to drink. They cater for people my age.

Yes a lot of people I know hang out there. Well over time I pick up friends there Places to buy other things like drugs (marijuana, cocaine, cat and ecstasy) anything that you need is available in Greenside. I don't think drugs are a problem among Greenside residents. People are coming into greenside to buy drugs, party a little and then move out.

My only interaction with CSS (CSS Tactical, Private Security Company that patrols Greenside) they tried to pick me up once. As in 'Mac' on me as in 'hey can I take you out on a date'. Yes they were in uniform and I was a child in a school uniform just for your information. I was like 'nigga what?' We didn't tell any adults. I don't think they were being serious. They did it with my friends and me when we walked home and then we started hanging out with this dude and they stopped. It was a regular occurrence, but we never felt unsafe, or threatened.

This narrative starts to really look at the multiple identities a space can have. The dual-citizenship of the suburb can be seen in the demographic distribution of the populations that share the neighbourhood.

The third narrative is from a middle aged women who has been a resident of Greenside for little more than 12 years. Originally from Kwazulu-natal; she arrived in Johannesburg in 1990 she first situated in Bez Valley, then to Brixton, then to Greenside settled for a few years before moving again but still with in Greenside.

Participant GR021403

Age: 56; Female (Lesbian); White; Single; No Children; Occupation: Environmental Planner

I have been a resident for 12 years, I am originally from Natal. My relationship with my neighbours is generally good; not the one from hell across the road; we had a disagreement over her dog, but I have a good relationship with my side neighbours yes. We are friendly we might even chat on the pavement from time to time. I suppose if my neighbours and I had a similar social lifestyle, like if I lived next door to a gay couple, then you know they might be my friends and we may visit each other every day. I have some friends in Greenside who would drop in every Sunday with croissants from Veda and coffee; but now I haven't seen them in ages - depends how busy I am at work or not busy at work; never not busy at work.

Greenside has tended to attract a lot of similar people, a lot of professional people we are quite a like minded community and we are also very diverse. There are a lot of pretentious people who move in, there are people who move in and like the character houses, the green trees (we love the greens trees) and now you get a new constituency its near the mosque; tend to make their properties look like Dubai. Aesthetically it doesn't please me and it isn't inline with the character of the suburb. Greenside is a suburb that's gone through transitions because of the natural evolution of the city. Its locations good it happens to have good schools, you have families that move in; it is now on a bus route that becomes quite a big issue for people who want to start using public transport.

Right now my perception of the profile of Greenside, is that it is a lot of young single, professional people (quite a lot of gay people also), working in arts, media, academics, maybe financial. Quite a lot of self-employed, consultants. So there is a good mix of people. there are a lot more young families moving in with their young kids.

Safety is becoming a problem in Greenside; before people could walk on the street but that becoming a myth.

We had a hub, we had the spar on the local shopping strip - the neighbourhood shopping strip I call it the butcher, baker and candlestick maker. We had that down the road so we had a community centre where the community would interact; you could meet people as you did your shopping you chatted to them about what was happening we even had a community notice board. It was a very cohesive community and I think we are loosing it because of the way the business node developing. The commercialisation of the strip into these ugly monstrosities with all the untactful restaurants that make a noise and don't adhere to by-laws let along the laws is taking that away because of the way it is developed. Its actually taking that heart out the neighbourhood.

The new businesses are becoming a bigger problem and it has a major impact on this because people from outside Greenside have no investment in the suburb they come there to jol. There is just no investment in the area, people come here to party and then they leave and go back to their suburbs where it is quite. Then there are the people in the flats, I suppose you want different things from your life at different times. But they young and they just want to party but they don't know the damage they are causing to the suburban ecology.

Environment is becoming an issue and it has deteriorated; shockingly in from to front eyes and we all like quality and we are worried about it from an amenity point of view and aesthetically and the value of our homes point of view; we loosing that because along with this change they have actually taken away our amenities so its not like we are not getting the benefits of transforming to a more inner city environment.

This narrative touches on some interesting themes such as public transport in suburbs, commercialisation (gentrification) of the suburb. This can be summed up as the forced evolution of the suburban space and the cost to resident.

The following narrative is from a man who recently moved out of Greenside to a higher density area closer to the inner city. He lived in Greenside for some 16 years and was an active member of the GRA.

Participant GR021406

Age: Undisclosed, White, Male, Senior lecturer and Urban and Regional planner and urban designer. Wits University, Braamfontein

I lived in Greenside since December 1995 to November 2011. When I moved there it was a very calm, quiet leafy neighbourhood, I liked the greenness of it a lot of trees at that time and it was close to wits. I lived quite close to the Gleneagles strip so neighbourhood shops like the corner café or Woolworths which were there were often stops I made on my way home or if I needed anything. As far as entertainment goes, I was quite home based and I didn't really do much of my entertainment on Gleneagles or the strip, I didn't like the restaurants. I did often supported the strip, probably at least once a week between mid 90's to early 2000's at coffee bars but if anything Rosebank was just up the road or I would go to Parkhurst 4th avenue

I had many acquaintances, but not friends that I would go for drinks or invite people over; in general I had a very good relationship with the people in Greenside, again not really friends but a friendly relationship and if there was a crisis or something like a break in which wasn't that often we would contact each other when there were problems.

In general people like to stick to themselves, I think that's northern suburbs Johannesburg not that Greenside is any more or less; but the population is conservative. During my residency I felt there was a community, even though when it is a part of middle class suburbia you don't get into peoples faces but there was a feel of community

When I just moved in it was actually a communal house and we started off by renting that house and when the house came up for sale in about 2000 we decided to buy the house. It was a kind of big old house that you could easily change to suite different kinds of things it was quiet it had a fantastic swimming pool. That's why I think a lot of Muslim people move in (to Greenside) because its possible to include other members of the family and its close to Sandton, Rosebank, Cresta and Wits

Greenside has seen a transformation in its ecology, within about 2 years since my arrival most local business started moving out and so started coming in was all these restaurants and night clubs. The major transformations were around 2001/2002 but it became problematic in about 2007/ 2009 probably earlier but I wasn't in the country in 2008 so probably around there. We saw a lot of night clubs start opening and we worked really hard to stop it or at the least control it. I think that our needs were not really met by the city of Johannesburg I don't think that they had the capacity to be able to fulfil it I think it is largely unclear as to whose responsibility it was to handle this. JMPD (Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department) would do regular crime checks but they didn't really follow up. I mean of course they can be threatened but those are big night clubs that are doing incredibly well. I think the responsibility lies with the land lords with the owners of the building who were charging enormous rentals and I got this from a lot of establishments that were operating there. That they wouldn't have enough turn over just with the restaurants so they turned them into nightclubs I also think what spurred it on was a decanting of all those night clubs from Melville and then the next logical step was greenside. I don't have an issue with night clubs or development and commercialisation but it has to be in the right position and what came with the clubs were very loud music so the buildings themselves were not appropriate for that kind of thing. It all comes down urban management

I think consumerism is inherent in the middle. I look at my students they all aspire to suburbia and the middle class. Its' an aspiration of the two and I think the two go hand in hand. I do feel that the basis for cultural activity is there, but there isn't always support for that, for example, Pirates Park has tried a few things, but they are always under threat. Other cultural activities, soccer mums; that can all happen. Pirates Club and its facilities are there and it is not being used and it is not being promoted. My thing would be for that precinct should have a higher density and then people can use it.

This narrative brings to the fore some of the transformations (forced or natural) that suburban spaces can experience and what these effects are on the residence.. One of the most interesting points covered in this narrative is the idea that the middle-class is linked to consumerism which is inevitably linked to the northern suburbs.

The last narrative presented in this chapter in form a newly married women who has recently moved into Greenside.

Participant GR011401

Age: 28; Female; White; Married (1yr2months); Lecture at Wits and student; No children

We have lived in Greenside for a year and 3 months. We have no pets but I enjoy gardening and reading. It was an accident that we moved here, when we decided to get married we looked mostly in the parks area's and one day we saw this house in the properties news paper and we came and looked at it, when we realise that it was on the Parkview golf course, I knew I just had to live here. It is a really quiet suburb. I have never felt scared or that my security is under threat but we are cautious people. I used to live in a flat and I found it allot more secure when compared to a house.. I do prefer a house and garden to a flat. Things that i don't like is the isolated nature of suburban lifestyle and every being so far away that you cannot walk forcing you to travel by car.

I do think that the residences would use the woollies and the hairdresser I assume the commercial stores along the strip are more used by outsiders. The place is always very clean with hardly any litter around. There aren't huge amount of open spaces but all the parks look clean.

A very memorable moment for us was when we just moved in our neighbours, the right (who we are good friends with), invited us for dinner for a meet and greet, which I found very friendly. Another moment which occurs quiet often is going out and mock fighting with the golfers for hitting there balls from the golf course onto our roof and it cracks our roof tiles. The People are friendly and I have had a great time thus far. There are a lot of people that seem to

have been here for along time but Greenside is definitely changing, it is becoming more diverse, there are a few mixed couples and we know a few gay couples that live in Greenside. I think it has become a cosmopolitan and open minded area. The change is a good thing even if it may cause some rifts. There is a kind of individualistic nature that exists in South African suburbs, which can be isolating at time. I haven't gotten involved with the GRA or the community yet but people seem to be very aware of social responsibilities. We have a walk-in membership at the golf course and sometimes we walk around the suburb and we do feel safe walking around and people really appreciate the Greenery that is here even if it is just in the street, we often see runners and joggers along our walks. We often give salutation to each other along the road but hardly ever converse

Greenside has two places in one suburb; on the one side you have the quiet residential area and on the other there is the party strip. We don't hear anything from it (we live quite far away from the strip) and we are not on major road therefore we do not see drunk drivers often but I have heard others complain about it. I think it's very nice because a lot of people can come and have a good time - especially the late night clubbing it is more students and young adults that frequent them. Every now and then we would join in the festive vibe and spend a few hours here along the strip; I enjoyed the designer places but I don't feel as if the public benefit allot from them. I used to participate in the activities along the every weekend but that was about 5 years ago and I am no longer in that phase of my life. But I can understand how the people who live close by may find it annoying but it doesn't affect me and I don't really mind

The traffic here in Greenside is not as bad as other places I have experienced. There is only ever traffic along the STRIP or near to the Parkview Golf Course entrance.

If I had a convenient alternative to driving I would definitely make use of it. Yes but its convenience you have to pay for and it is not accessible to everyone. I think the people in greenside are rather interesting. There are no theatres or movie theatre of opera house around. I would love an extensive bus or train network

I think suburbanites are better educated and have better jobs the lingo most probably won't be much different when compared to other suburbs and you may find that conversations are more intellectual and political.

The value of ethnographic narrative is that it allows us to witness a moment of life from a first hand telling of the story. From the narratives I was able to extract an understanding of the practice of living in the northern suburbs unfolds. In addition to the practice of living, several common themes have emerged from the narratives that relate to the build form, socio-spatial dynamics and the production of the everyday. This will be dealt with in detail in the following chapter.

My Research Experience; an ethnographic account.

"It is the mark of a good researcher to anticipate challenges and threats to the research, but never in my wildest dreams could I have imagined that this research would be so difficult and on so many occasions threatened to collapse."

My interest in the topic suburbs and suburban lifestyles was invoked by observing an unobvious lack of interest and consideration in the planning, development and upgrading of inner-city suburbs. At first I addressed the topic as a legacy of apartheid, but it soon evolved –organically- to be an investigation into a rather forgotten portion of the Johannesburg city design; and so my project became an attempt to uncover a South African suburb that is to say: an attempt to identify a suburban space that was unique and representative of a South African culture.

I am a 23 year old, Indian, female. I grew up in a suburb on the west of Johannesburg near Cresta shopping mall. My childhood was like any other I suppose, I went to primary school near my home at Franklin D Roosevelt and later attended high school in Fordsburg at SAMA Primary and High school. It was a very long time ago that I realised that although I might reside in one place I can 'live' elsewhere and that is exactly what happened. My life was lived in spaces where my extended family was like Bostmont and Lenasia, furthermore my life was lived out in Fordsburg where my school and friends were. There is a lot of debate around the successful integration of mixed races into areas that were previously racially segregated. I think integration still remains largely unsuccessful as many areas remain alcoves and ghettos with the majority representation of a single race, having said this, it may help to shed light on the tendancy of

people to frequent and live in space that were previously designated to a particular class or race of people.

My first impressions about the suburb of Greenside were some what premature and presumptuous. When I began exploring the idea of a South African suburb I was looking for the American dream in South African. I was looking for the white picket fence and the linear, happy family that went to church on a Sunday and then came home for a family barbeque – the American Dream in a South African context or more ambitiously, I was looking for a South African dream and I was looking for it in the suburb of Greenside. Needless to say, the fact that Greenside is in a phase of transformation was useful as a setting of perspective. Greenside has managed to produce some of the most interesting spaces that very clearly situate Greenside outside the lines and characteristics of 'the suburb' as it is defined and understood as a physical space. The single question that was prompted when I really began delving into terminology was: "what are the characteristics, ingredients and elements of an urban and suburban space, and how do we define and generate distinction between the two?" That aside, returning to discussion of the value of Greenside as a study site - it is this transformation (in Greenside) from a low-density, low-rise suburban space to an area with higher densities and which is becoming a more metropolitan area that allows the researcher to really grapple with the conceptualisation of suburban spaces in South Africa; by being able to identify what it is not…. Having a chance to see the transformation, to see the evolution of a space as it is happening; is nothing short of watching history engrave itself in the urban-scape. Even if my project has very little to do with transformation and is more interested in uncovering the initium. I would be amiss if I did not admit that a brief moment I did consider my research as possibly producing insights into early Central Business District Development.

At first inspection, Greenside was this rather surreal, quiet, clean and safe suburb. During my early visits I remember observing several people, most likely residents walking through the streets with children in prams or on bicycles, some people jogging and others walking their dogs. The streets were wide and clean. Along the street ran the almost endless row of old, luscious green trees that lined either side of the road offering shade to pedestrians walking along the side walk. Driving and walking along these streets that seemed to disappear into more streets all exactly the same as they are enveloped in a canapé of trees, being able to hear the wind rustle through those very trees and being to a degree overcome by the sheer number of trees

was little short of enchanting. The suburban space of Greenside is successful as a sub-urban space as it allows one to escape the hurly-burly chaos inherent in any city, into a quiet and peaceful world – lined with trees, many trees. This is a moment of utter success of the sub-urban area- by definition, by experientiality, by design – by the incomplete list of characteristics that separate the urban from the suburban. A rare and fleeting moment when the city speaks out, identifying itself to the observer!

As a planner it was difficult not being aware of the continuous horizon of boundary walls. The Wall is a classic complement to any residential spaces in South Africa. But the presence of the standard 2 metre high wall toped with electric fencing and guarded by a private security company has a very specific effect on the space. The walls of the houses frame the streets of Greenside almost holistically and naturally as the trees which pepper the streets. This is enough to create an immediate sense of exclusion from the space despite a welcoming aura that is generated on a whole by Greenside. Without a home in the area, the beautiful scenery of Greenside becomes nothing more than a thoroughfare for passers-byes. Without access to the invisible spaces behind the boundary wall, as a researcher who is trying to invade (this is an important word) the space and dissect it, the feelings that are elicited are feelings of trespassing and invasion.

I was engaged in active research for about 3 months before I made any real contact with residence of Greenside. My very first visit to the area as a researcher was an adventure in and of itself. Perhaps my early visits were symptoms and indications of the larger challenges that I would come to face later on during my research period. On my first visit I along with two friends, we went to the study site with the objective of preliminary surveyance of the area and to document some of the physical characteristics of the area. At this stage there was no intention of engaging with any of people who we found in the area at the time. However, the opportunity was too great to ignore and I landed up chatting casually and engaged in informal interviews with some of the store owners and store patrons along the Barry Hertzog strip. The store owners and patrons overall were friendly in their responses and from these informal interviews I managed to gather insight into the transformation that was occurring in the area. It was George Simmel in his paper ‘The Stranger’ (1950) who suggested (however abstractly) that: money is the key to any space, perhaps it is no more truer than for Greenside, as I have been unable to feel the same sense of welcome to the area by the residence as I was able to experience during

my days at some of the coffee-shops and boutiques along the Barry Hertzog strip as I sat gathering an understanding of the suburban rhythm. Later, a friend and I were conversing about my research and the difficulties of convincing people to participate, she responded "…participation in research is work, effective you are giving them work. People don't like doing work which they aren't being paid for…"; however crude this statement, and it certainly does not represent the group of volunteers I did eventually manage to accumulate. This statement does allow for a aha moment. It would make research a lot easier if we could incentivise people to participate in research with something more material than just the feeling of accomplishment in production of knowledge.

Gaining access to residents and developing a network of people who I could approach and invite to participate in the research was extremely difficult. Initially I relied on friends and acquaintances to put me into contact with residence who would be interested in the research or just any resident who accept my phone call or email. Unfortunately this was not a sustainable method, in fact it was completely unsuccessful as not even friends of mine who are residents of Greenside were interested and willing to participate in the research. A major break through in the development of a network came when I got into contact with the Greenside Residence Association (GRA) ex- chairman, Mr Trevor Pengelly, an elderly white man who had lived in Greenside for 35 years. A pleasant fellow who seemed quite excited by my research and offered me assistance in any way that he could. It was clear that Trevor was going to be my main port of entry into Greenside. One of the greatest forms of assistance which Trevor offered was in providing me with a brief history of Greenside which he had written, but I could not use the information as the facts included in the paper were not referenced or sourced. However the paper was useful if taken as a memoire of a man who lived in the area and his experiences there. Another extremely helpful thing Trevor did for me was to copy me on a series email conversations between the GRA committee and members. I did not participate in the conversation but followed it with interest. This was my first real contact with the GRA and it was the first and last chance I had gotten to observe the GRA as they dealt with an issue; and the way they operated. Alarm bells (there is no other way to describe the feeling) went off in my head when I read the section where a plaintiff was being advised by: "Whatever you do NEVER sign his plans. Say a committee has been formed and they will deal with him. It includes the GRA but is a pressure group" he further advised: "The reason for this is you don't want to go head to head – it's the community so He can't pick off people because he will get angry and you live next

door.", of course the plaintiff and other residents are well within their rights to object to certain developments, but r this demonstrated to me the level of organisation that the GRA has and its efficiency and ability to mobilise committee members, community members and professionals in ways that best protects their interests, again they are well within their rights to do this, but it was shocking nonetheless, I had never encountered anything of the like.

However I did believe that I was 'safe' so to speak as I was on good terms with Trevor whose position really appeared to be that of a 'Don in the mafia' and Trevor, on several occasions jest-fully referred to himself as the Mayor of Greenside. Moving on, I then sent individual emails to all persons who were copied as part of the email conversation. There were a total of 9 other people included on the email list excluding Trevor and Myself. I received a positive response from four participants in the email conversation. Unfortunately, only one the potential four participants agreed to the survey and the interview but not the log-books. It is understandable that participation in research can be time consuming, which is difficult for people who are already on busy schedules; in addition to the email conversation I had been in contact with people on Facebook who were interested in the research and had a list of numbers which Trevor had given to me of people who I could contact. I did not manage to get into contact with these people, even after leaving voice messages and sending them SMS's in addition to the emails I had previously sent. There were instances where I did get hold of interested parties especially from Facebook (from the GRA Facebook page) and we had spoken a few times over the phone but when it came down setting up a meeting and completing the tasks needed by a participant - they sent their apologies and withdrew from the study. It had taken me weeks to build a network of people who were interested in my project and in a very short amount of time (approximately one week) they all withdrew or broke contact, with the last person calling me on a Monday morning (after having spoken to him at length in person the Wednesday before - at his house, and our conversation was longer than what the interview would have taken) saying "I am terribly sorry I cannot do this research, my time is just to precious".

Around the same time that this was happening, my communication on Facebook had also broken down and it seemed that people were extremely resisted the research. On a weekly basis for 10 weeks prior to this, I would posted the link to the online survey on the GRA Facebook page, the frequency of my posts increased as the time for the closing of research drew nearer. At this point I had gotten a very bad response to the online survey despite having

marketed the survey on the GRA website, the GRA Facebook page, on Twitter, via email and through Trevor. Eventually driven by desperation, I posted the following on the GRA Facebook page:

"Dear Greenside Residents, for the last 10 months I have been conducting research in Greenside as a Wits university researcher. Unfortunately there has been a poor response by residence to participate. The consequence is that the Greenside community will be under-represented in the dissertation that depends on the results. I urge ANY resident who have about 4 hours (not all at once!!!) to please offer their time and help me to represent the Greenside community as accurately as possible. next week 1 Feb - 8 Feb 2014 is the last week of this research! email me at muneebahkara@gmail.com or 072 16Y YYYY".

3 different people commented on this post, their comments were antagonistic and questioned the research legitimacy and methods. I did not respond to their comments publically but sent then a private message via their Facebook messages; inviting them to participate in the research. They promptly replied 'no thank you' and then removed their comments on my post. One of the posts read "have you gone door to door, I have been a resident here since 1965 and I have never seen a researcher here", this comment was also removed by the user. There was no shortage of comments on the post, some more antagonistic and hostile than others

I cannot say that there was one particular mode of communication that was most successful in contacting people, because I managed to get contacts and participants from an array of communication platforms. An interest dynamic to consider is that the majority of my participants are female. This was almost expected as I am female. Conducting the research frequently frustrated me; perhaps my method was too intensive and to complex. An important part of the research was the log-book, only one person had kept the log book, which was disappointing because after seeing one log book completed, I really convinced that the log book was a good idea and would have provided an amazing insight into the routine and lives of suburbanites. In addition to participant frustration was the inability to freely conduct my research on the physical space and spatial forms in Greenside. The presence of the CSS tactical and their surveillance of me made it uncomfortable to conduct the research. They stopped me in my car twice, one instance; I was parked on the side of the road, my brother was in the car with me and they pulled up in front of us. Both the driver and passenger got out of the car and walked towards us, the driver then came to my window and me asked why we are parked out

side ‘this house’ in the street, I panicked and said I am lost can they please direct me to Glen Eagles Road. I admit I drive white golf which is suspicious car. I have been assessed for suspicious activities on every one of my visits to Greenside especially when I am in the inner parts of Greenside. I think the most hilarious encounter I had with CSS was on the Saturday that I and my small team of volunteers went into Greenside to conduct surveys. We did this by walking through Greenside, and CSS actually followed my brother and I around, in their bakkie as we walked; they were monitoring us. There were several occasions we wanted to ring door bells, offering the residence to participate – but with CSS closely watching us. we were quite afraid, Often there were many people pulling in and out of their drive ways which was a potential point of contact. Given the crime situation in South African, it was not safe for us as researchers to approach people in their drive ways lest they considered us as a threat and retaliated. We did try standing on the opposite side of the street and scream across the road, but this didn’t help, the instant you began crossing the street towards them they became very defensive and the situation in general was quite tense. People were often rude in their dismissal of us, it was clear that we were not welcome there. Another interesting moment; we had rung a door bell in the hopes of finding willing participants inside. A man had come to a window, opened the curtain and looked through to see who was at his gate, he saw us, we waved at him, he then closed the curtain and ignored us. Conducting the research in Greenside was such an interesting experience. There were many people out on the street walking their dogs (which made it difficult to conduct the survey), jogging or exercising or they were on their way somewhere.

Near the end of my research period I discovered a documentary was being made on the transformation of Greenside. The documentary was being shot and relevant people (representatives of the GRA or closely related) participated in the documentary. It is highly possible that the major challenges I had faced in gaining access to respondents could stem from a misperception that the film makers and I were from the same project and the participants of interest in my research withdrew thinking that the project had been completed. On a cynically to conclude this ethnographic reflection – my research period had turned into a race for the ‘breaking story’ in Greenside.

Conclusion

The function of this chapter was to present findings of the research. The data captured and presented in this research covered a variety of topics that ultimately contribute to achieving the aim of this research report, answering the central question and resolving the core arguments.

Some of key findings of this data presentation is: firstly that Greenside remains relatively stable in terms of demography with little (albeit progressive) change in the racial diversity. Secondly, the idea that suburban areas a strongly associated with the family is being contested by evidence that suggest otherwise. Thirdly, there is evidence to suggest that Greenside is experiencing suburban gentrification. The growth of the commercial strip along Gleneagles and the densification along that strips may be symptomatic of a larger urban reform in Greenside.

Finally, the narration of the lived experience of Greenside residents and ex-residents has highlighted common themes about the habitus, the everyday and the built environment.

5

In Persuit of a South African Suburb : Unlocking the Everyday





5. In Pursuit of a South African Suburb: Unpacking the Everyday

5.1. Introduction to discussion of result

The intent focus of this research was to understand how the practice of living in northern suburban Johannesburg produces the everyday of these suburbs and their dwellers. The central research question: What does tracking the everyday reveal about the practice of living in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg; the case of Greenside is based on three key arguments. The first argument is: it is unclear to development planners what to consider the constitutional characteristics of northern suburbs and neighbourhoods and whether or not these characteristics align with the lived practice of these spaces. The second argument is that an inability of urbanists to define the phenomenological characteristics of Johannesburg's northern suburbs is a direct result of a loose or unclear representation and understanding of the socio-spatial dynamics that constitute these characteristics. The final argument of this research report has been: while several attempts by urbanists to construct and produce a completed list of characteristics that planners might be expected to find in suburban neighbourhoods, the list remains incomplete, presumptuous or outdated.

The method of data analysis used is referred to as *relying on theoretical propositions*. In essence this method of data analysis structures the analysis in relation to the theoretical arguments made in the literature reviews (Yin 1994).

To support these arguments, the literature review explored readings of the build environment that dealt with the conceptualisation of the everyday and neighbourhoods, the social production of space, extrinsic forces that act on neighbourhoods and a consort of literature that dealt with the socio-spatial production of the practice of living.

The research investigation that was conducted to evaluate the key arguments and answer the central research question and sub-questions was a combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection that produced Explanatory and descriptive data. Findings from the research were presented in the previous chapter.

This chapter will draw on the literature review in chapter two and findings in chapter four to generate a discussion that will answer the sub-questions and by transference consolidated a response to satisfy the central research question.

This chapter is divided into four sections, each dealing independently with one of the sub-questions.

Following this chapter will be a closing chapter covering a final conclusion on the arguments of this research report, an evaluation of strengths and weaknesses of this report, a personal recount of my experience during the research and a closing remark.

5.2. What is meant by 'the everyday'?

As examined in chapter two, the everyday is the boring and the mundane. It is the routine with which we live our lives and it is framed by the places and spaces that facilitate our everyday. Fleski (1999) argues that we have lost the everydayness of the everyday by trying to vigorously to untwine the complexities of socio-spatial dynamics and extract essence of the everyday. Lefebvre (1961) argues that the everyday is the everything and it is the most uninteresting and mundane that constitutes the practice of living.

From the literature a list of socio-cultural practice of suburban living was constructed. The list included proposals that:

- Suburban areas have more open spaces (parks)
- Suburban Residence commute from the suburbs to central business districts for work
- Suburbs are low density
- Suburbs consist mostly of the middle class
- Suburbs are a space of potential consumption
- Suburbs are spaces that lack cultural activity
- Suburbs are spaces animated by reading and religious activities
- The suburban lifestyle is considered/ depicted as a utopian
- The suburban population is generally conservative, apathetic and uninterested
- A suburb is an area with a neighbourhood but no community
- Family Oriented
- Technological Heroism
- Suburbanites aspire have a relaxed camaraderie with other suburbanites

Do northern suburbs have more open spaces such as parks than other areas? From a spatial analysis Greenside we have been able to ascertain that it is well serviced by amenities such as parks and recreational centres such as the Zoo Lake, Emmerentia, George Hay Park and Pirate Club. Open parks in Greenside also include the use of these open spaces form a large part neighbourhood design, however the value of these space the production of the everyday for residents is debatable, in one interview a resident explained her daily routine as "I go home quite late and I go to the park and walk my dogs…" (Participant GR011403Eagle 2014); another resident said "We often use the Parkview golf course but I am unsure if it is counted as a open park because access is restricted but we does not use the other parks" (Robyn Clark Raja 2014); and in a third interview the ex-resident was convinced that the residence to not make use of the parks. A redeeming quality of Greenside that can account for lack of use of surrounding parks is the large number of trees, the small alcoves of green spaces scattered through out the neighbourhood and appeasing aesthetic quality of the street-scape. During the interviews and surveys, and from my own observations, residents of Greenside frequently jog, walk and engage with the street-scape.

Are the northern suburbs mostly middle-class? Evidence from the census data (2011) indicate that northern suburbs are mostly middle class. This point can be debated on the grounds that middle class dwellings employ and have live-in domestic staff that do not fall within the middle-class (Tomlinson et al., 2003). Furthermore, with the integration of mixed use building and student residents and communes, the homogeneity of class in the northern suburbs is seriously challenged.

Are the northern suburbs mostly low-density? From the survey data, we can ascertain that Greenside represents a low-density residential area that is strongly juxtaposed against high density residential buildings along the Gleneagles strip. Interviews suggested that residents are not apposed to densification of the suburb, but they are extremely concerned that the densification needs to be managed.

> "I think that would be a very good, higher density possibly high rise, not more than four stories that would go probably all the way from Gleneagles all the way to victory road and that park where pirates is… but it would need to be better managed" (2014)

In another interview: “Not that I was against development… It would be nice to see a very strong development” (Trevor 2013)

Are the suburbs a space of potential consumption? Based on observations and in one interview with GR021406, it would appear that the middle-class, suburbs and consumption go hand-in-hand. Consumerism is tied the middle class (Debord 1994).

Do suburban residents commute from the suburbs to central business districts for work? There is a disparity in the applicability of this question. The location of the northern suburbs in Johannesburg does not coalesce with the concept of commute that Bramston (2002) is suggesting. The mixed use nature of Greenside means that residents have the opportunity to work in their own suburb as described in the narrative by Participant 011404 in chapter four. However this may not be true for other suburbs as Participant GR021406 comments:

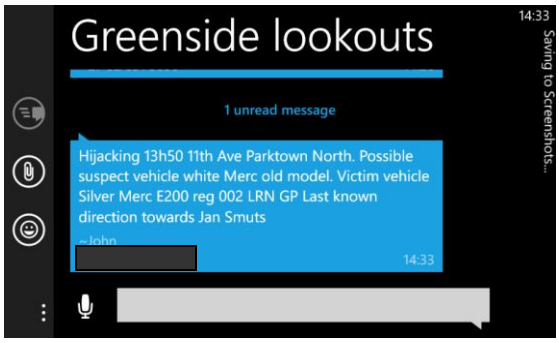
> “4th avenue in Parkhurst hasn’t changed by comparison to greenside I think the reason is that Parkhurst established itself as being specifically restaurant rather than night club which was illegally in greenside but that didn’t seem to really become an issue the other thing in Parkhurst is it had a very stable antique furnishing interiors kind of feel to it already to a lot of the land use and shops were established and antiques”

Do the northern suburbs lack cultural activity? This question itself is problematic; the everyday is embedded in spheres of proxemics and culture. To insinuate that there is no culture, that a space is bland is inaccurate at the least. The northern suburbs definitely have a social consciousness of an everyday. This everyday may vary amongst different races, age groups and genders but it does not detract from the fact that it is there. Even driving and the ritual of around getting ready for work is a presence of culture in the suburbs. For Greenside specifically the evidence of a suburban culture is expansive and is expressed through community interaction, urban architecture and how people engage with their suburban space, whether it is picking up litter on the street or taking your dog or children for a walk in the evenings.

Are the northern suburbs animated by religious and reading groups? From the interviews it evident that religion does not play a huge role in the mobilisation of the suburban community.

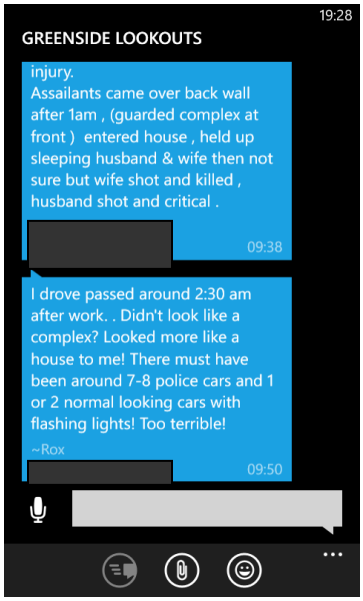
However, Greenside is an interesting case as until the Greenside Mosque was built there were no religious structures in the area. The presence of the mosque as prompted what is perceived an increase in Muslim residents (Participant GR021403 2014, Participant GR021406 2014, GR121301 2014 and GR011404), however this is not reflected in any of the data collected or reviewed. The reading group is a metaphor for social interaction amongst residence. The evidence does not suggest that this is the case as there is a profound importance placed on individualism and conservativeness.

Is the suburban lifestyle depicted as utopian? A major argument against this proposal is the presence of crime in the northern suburbs. Participant GR021403 described the safety of the suburb as a dwindling myth. A spurt in crimes as monitored over the Whatsapp community group supports this.



The idea that the suburbs are utopian is inconsolable. Participant GR011404 would be inclined to argue that despite issues of crime, Greenside is near perfect.

Is the population of Greenside generally conservative? Four of the five narratives included in chapter four conceded that suburban population are generally conservative and prefer to keep to themselves. This does not mean they are apathetic and generally unconcerned. Participant GR021403 noted that Greenside was a recycling suburb (Participant GR021403 2014), Participant GR011404 commented "….Greenside is a neighbourhood and then a community to homeless people." (Participant GR021403 2014)



Is Greenside a space with a neighbourhood but no community? To answer this question it is critical that we understand how our respondent understood what a community is. Community is

theoretically understood as a place with like minded people that attribute significance to the interests and wellbeing of the people around them as this secures their own interests (Johannes 2002).

The general consensus that I have been able to gather from the interviews that the conservatism, present in Greenside trumps neighbourliness; but in the moment of crisis ones neighbours are on call to assist.

Participant GR021406 explains “we are not friends but we have a friendly relationship and you know if there was a crisis or something like a break in which wasn’t that often we would contact each other when there were problems in the streets we contact each other” (Participant GR021406 2014)

Participant GR011401 comments :

> “I could see how that could happen and I think that greensides falls into this description because there are small communities instead of a large singular community. Therefore you would have loser and smaller communities I sort of feel part of a community. It is not a tight-knit community but it is a community nonetheless.” (Participant GR011401 2014)

The idea of community has shifted. With social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp communities can now be in contact with each other constantly. The sense of community that is derived from these platforms is a real-time sense of togetherness. If we accept that the concept of community strongly relates to the protecting shared interests, then Facebook twitter and Whatsapp is the platforms on which pseudo-communal life can be lived out.

Facebook was not as instantaneous in the production of a lived experience. Word limits on Twitter posts meant that tweets needed to be quick and concise, serving a single purpose of informing or inquiring. For example a twitter post may read: “Lights out on Greenway, any one know why”; however Facebook did not have a word limit on the posts which made it an extremely effective way of communicating longer, more intricate problems or issues residents wanted to convey. For example: members of the GRA Facebook page would post complaints about loud music or information on a lost dog; additionally, the GRA attempted to use their

Facebook page as a way of communicating about crime such as warnings or updates about crimes being committed in the area.

Suburban Residents are generally family oriented? There is evidence that both supports and rejects this assumption of suburbs. According to survey data that illustrated a large portion of the respondent did not have children. The perception presented in the interviews suggests that Greenside residents are very family oriented (Participant GR121301 2014, Participant 021403 2014 and Participant 011401 2014) and there are younger families with children moving in (Participant GR021403)

5.3. How appropriately does the 'habitus' facilitate 'the everyday' experience?

From the literature review a lists of socio-spatial dynamics were constructed as elemental in the evaluation of the habitus. These characteristics were Amenities, Security Features, Spatial Pattern, Single Function, Tenure status, Location, Homogeneity, and Rate of Change.

5.4. What amenities facilitate the everyday?

Amenities are part of frame the practice of living in suburban spaces. Based on observations during community meeting and following discussions on community forums such as Facebook and the GRA website, there an intense focus on what residence describe as the residential amenity. I have come to understand that the residential amenity means the quality of the space as residential. The residential amenity is in effect the suburban lifestyle. Residential amenities is an encompassing word that includes all physical spatial structures such as local businesses, schools, roads, typology and urban architectural. Furthermore, the residential amenity is inexplicably tied to the home.

When asked to comment on the changing fabric of the suburban space, one resident commented "I think the residence have the right to the suburb first. So how far would I go [to protect my suburb], when it starts fundamentally interfering with my residential amenity of the suburb … A home is your refuge" (Participant GR021403 2014)

The northern suburbs are equipped to provide a specific kind of everyday to its residents. Once the fabric of the suburb starts to change, the everyday of the residents is going to have to change. It is then unsurprising that the change will be met with resistance or at least a version of compromise where both the transitioned and transition-er can be satisfied.

What is the role of security in the production of the everyday? Safety and security is ranked extremely highly as elemental to all suburban neighbourhoods, northern or other. The difference I think is that northern suburbs have the capacity to take control of a space and thereby take control of the crime. Gated communities and enclosed neighbourhoods (Landeman 2000, Landman 2003) is almost an eventuality in the fight against suburban crime. Landman (2000) suggests alternatives to closing neighbourhood space; these are: safety patrols, neighbourhood clean ups and the sharing of information. I have found Landmans alternatives to closing neighbourhoods widely practiced amongst the northern neighbourhoods. Aside from the employment of private security companies such as ADT or CSS tactical, the GRA launched the Community Active Protection program to quell and control crime in the area.

When asked to comment on the presence of private security in the suburb one response was:

> "The whole philosophy is preventative. If you stop using your public space your suburb will die" (Participant GR021403 2014), and "They [CSS Tactical] have been around for a while, I never interacted with them only that I found that their vehicles drove to fast along the roads, I don't know if they were armed, I just recall some one saying that they were very militant." (Participant GR021406 2014)

What is the spatial pattern of northern suburban neighbourhoods? If we rely on the neighbourhoods unit model by Mumford (1965) we might find ourselves disappointed. The northern suburbs of Johannesburg are located extremely close to the central business district, and the suburbs themselves have been absorbed into an urban fabric. Historical the northern suburbs were designed in conscience of the neighbourhoods' model and therefore retain some of its spatial form, or at least the spatial form that was engrained through the design of the streets.

Do northern suburbs retain a single function? Typically suburbs evolve and change at a much slower rate than inner-city urban areas. By comparison to other northern suburbs Greenside is

experiencing a lot of gentrification, which is rapidly transforming the space into a mixed use area.

> " …this is not natural suburban development. Its speculation driven. If you had to ask the residence what they wanted from that strip we liked being able to do our dry cleaning get a cut of shopping go got the hard ware do our shopping at spar and speak to our neighbours and go home and then we got restaurants. It is an interesting suburb for you to choose but it is also a victim of its location in the city itself" (Participant GR021403 2014)

What is the expected tenure status of the suburbs? Traditionally it is expected that residence would own their properties. Based on the data discussed in chapter four, this characteristic holds true for the suburbs.

What is the typical location of suburbs? Centrality and accessibility are essential to defining a suburb. Greenside is according to the schema presented in Hanlon (2009) is a combination of White bedroom and suburban success. White Bedroom is defined as predominantly white, middle class, family oriented and Suburban Success is defined as higher income, higher levels of educational attainment, and some portion of the population is aging. From perceptions data presented in chapter four and from the discussion in the interviews we can ascertain that Greenside is a combination of suburban typologies. The inability to completely characterise Greenside as a single typology reflects the individualistic and organic nature of suburbs as a habitus. If this same question is applied to any of the surrounding suburbs; it is likely that they will also reflect a combination of typologies with at least one or both being in common with all the other northern suburbs. The same can be applied to all other suburban neighbourhoods.

What dimensions of suburban transformation could be traced in order to reveal and explain the extent to which Greenside has shifted?

This is a challenging question to answer as the previous records which would have reflected the a profile of northern suburbs focused particularly on demographics and then on spatial segregation. The suburbs are extremely stratified but also diverse as we have seen in debate class declaration in the northern suburbs.

Reflecting on existing data regarding demographics, the northern suburbs were conceptualised as being for and occupied by the white middle-class. There is a slow but prominent shift in racial trends in the northern suburbs (according to ward 87 census data 2011); and this is steadily reflected in the demographics of the respondents to the surveys. This demonstrates integration and a de-politicisation of the northern suburbs.

Secondly to establish an understanding of the extent to which Greenside has shifted and transformed we can be measure suburban gentrification. By quantifying the rate of change that is being experienced in the suburb we can determine what the drivers are and possibly project its direction of transformation. The transformation in Greenside has been described as unnatural and driven by speculation. The general consensuses amongst respondent were that development and evolution of the suburb is expected but the rate and way in which the suburb is unsustainable. The gentrification that is occurring in Greenside is similar to what happened in Melville before the residents took action. The GRA has been extremely active in trying to control and manage the transformation, but in the period of this research I witnessed a stead gain in the momentum of this fight to rights of this space. Melville residents were successful in ousting the unwanted developments; but respondents to this research propose that they community action decanted the development to Greenside. If this is true then if the GRA is successful in quelling and controlling the gentrification it is likely that the development will once again be decanted onto suburb. The cycle if observed may well present a unique perspective on urban and suburban neighbourhood evolution.

Lastly, an important dimension to understanding the shifts that are occurring can be seen in the practice of living and the lived experience of the suburbs. Ethnographic narratives are especially useful in reporting on the situation and the experience in the neighbourhood. From the narrative in chapter four we can see common pegs and threads that mark how residents measure transformation in their suburb. From this narrative we find that the transformation is strongly linked to rapid gentrification. The emotive response to the transformation varies amongst the respondents as I can only assume it varies amongst the residents of Greenside or any neighbourhood in a similar situation. for development planners, be able to measure or take into account the experience of people who have to live with the decisions of development planners as we design the city will give us a very different perspective on best planning practice. Not withstanding, there proceedings in planning practice that give residents an opportunity to

be involved in the decision making process, but the practice itself suffers varying methods of delivery.

5.5. What are the key characteristics that development planners could expect to find in (South African) northern suburbs?

South African neighbourhoods and suburbs are mostly conceptualised based on measuring statistics (Todes 2011). As development planners we have tended to loose perspective on socio-spatial dynamics and the importance of the practice of living in the urban. The key characteristics of suburban neighbourhoods that could be expected by development planners are more complex and integrated than the shopping list that was discussed in the production of the habitus in the previous question.

Instead, the elements that drive the production of the habitus and elements that drive the production of the everyday coalesce into a single practice of production. The question remains: which of the characteristics presented and discussed are most relevant to our South African suburbs?

Below is a matrix that concludes which suburban characteristics can be expected be found in northern suburbs in Johannesburg. (Table 3: Consolidated Matrix)

Characteristic	Applicability	Characteristic	Applicability
Amenities (services and amenities that produce the habitus)	**True**	**Suburban areas have more open spaces (parks)**	**Plausible**

Security Features (Private or community driven security)	**True**	**Suburban Residence commute from the suburbs to central business districts for work**	**Plausible**
Spatial Pattern (urban deign is essential to the production of the everyday)	**True**	**Suburbs are low density**	**True**
Single Function (distinct residential characteristic)	**Plausible**	**Suburbs consist primarily of the middle class**	**False**
Tenure status (More own their properties)	**True**	**Suburbs are a space of potential consumption**	**Plausible**
Location (centrality and accessibility are essential to determine	**True**	**Suburbs are spaces that lack cultural activity**	**False**

suburban typology)			
Homogeneity (Space with like minded people)	**Plausible**	**Suburbs are spaces animated by reading and religious activities**	**Plausible**
The suburban population is generally conservative	**True**	**The suburban lifestyle is considered/depicted as a utopian**	**Plausible**
A suburb is an area with a neighbourhood but no community	**False**	**Family Oriented**	**Plausible**
Relaxed camaraderie amongst residents.	**True**	**Technological Heroism (focus on technological elite)**	**Plausible**
Rate of Change is generally slower than in urban centres	**Plausible**	**The suburban population is generally apathetic and uninterested**	**False**

5.6. Conclusion

The complexity of the socio-spatial dynamics at work in the build environment is magmatic. Suburban neighbourhoods has not quite received as much attention as other dwelling spaces. The theoretical conceptualisation of suburban spaces has greatly affected the expectations of planners and consumers when approaching suburban neighbourhoods. The focus of this entire research project was to determine what is the extent of the relationship between the practice of living and the production of living space. Interrogation of literature, research, analysis and a discussion has led the project to a single loci, and that is the matrix that delineates what inner-ring northern suburban neighbourhoods can be expected to look like and the experientiality.

6

Critical Reflection on the South African Suburb: Opportunities and Weaknesses







6. Critical Reflections on the South African Suburb: Opportunities and Weaknesses

6.1. Introduction

Suburban Urbanism: Discovering a South African Suburbia intended explore and expand on the understanding of suburban lifestyles and neighbourhoods. This research report was based on the presuppose of 3 key arguments. These arguments were constructed from a literature review that examined theories on the production of space and the production of living in neighbourhoods. The first argument purported: it is unclear to development planners what to consider the constitutional characteristics of northern suburbs and neighbourhoods in Johannesburg and whether or not these characteristics align with the lived practice of these spaces. The second argument asserted; the inability of urbanists to define the phenomenological characteristics of Johannesburg's northern suburbs is a direct result of a loose or unclear representation and understanding of the socio-spatial dynamics that constitute these characteristics. The final argument of this research report has been: while several attempts by urbanists to construct and produce a completed list of characteristics suburban neighbourhoods that planners might be expected to find; the list remains largely incomplete, presumptuous or outdated.

This chapter is will serve as a concluding chapter to the research report. Firstly, it will outline critical deductions from the literature reviews; secondly, this chapter will deal with a critical reflection the research question and research methods. Thirdly, this chapter will outline and conclude on major and some minor findings of the research, and potential for future research. Lastly this chapter will conclude by conducting a 'SWOT' analysis of the research, elaborating on strengths, weaknesses, opportunities for improvement of short comings for the research.

6.2. Literature Review Summary and critical reflections

The literature review played a pivotal role in providing the theoretical underpinnings that guided this research report. Several key theoretical concepts were established in the literature review.

Firstly, the literature discussed in chapter two assisted in the identification and definition of South African inner-ring suburbs. Inner-ring suburbs are defined as ' the oldest suburbs often located closest to the Central Business District'. The work published by the American

Sociological Association has identified 12 separate typologies of inner-ring suburban-scapes within four cluster groups of investigation. Inner-city suburbs were clustered into 'white bedroom', 'manufacturing', 'suburban success' and 'working-diversity suburbs' (Hanlon, 2009 222). The types of suburbs are: At Risk Suburbs, Older Suburbs, Segregated Suburbs, Low Density Suburbs, Bedroom Developing Suburbs, Affluent Job Centres, Very Affluent Job centres, Rich Suburbs, Poor Suburbs and Immigrant Suburbs (Hanlon 2009).

Whilst this project focused on Northern neighbourhoods, it is important to note that the definition of inner-ring neighbourhoods also include southern neighbourhoods such as Turffontein, South Hills, Booysens and Kenilworth.

Secondly, in the literature review I debated whether or not we can explain a growing interest in residential neighbourhoods to a paradigm shift in planning. Whilst urbanists such as Murray (2004), Platt (2004) and Todes et.al. (2009) amongst others who argue in support of a paradigm shift all conceded: a shift in planning practice generates creative and innovative responses to urban dynamics and encourages planners and urbanists to address the urban from a new angle. We see this in new planning approaches that focus on sustainability, longevity and liveability of cities (Farmer et al., 2006 and Landman 2004). Based on the evidence and discussion in chapter two, this research report has also chosen to attribute a revitalised interest in residential neighbourhoods by planner to a planning paradigm shift. However, it is important to acknowledge that at about the same time as the paradigm shoft was happening globally, South Africa was experiencing several extreme events that occurred simultaneously during the mid-1980's to early 2000's. Landman (2003) asserts

> "The late 1990s and early 2000s brought about major changes in South African (SA) cities. This was partly because of huge political transformation, as well as major socio-economic changes that accompanied these. These changes also paved the way for the introduction of new urban design concepts to facilitate spatial transformation, both pro-active and reactive…." (Landman 2003 2)

Thirdly, the establishment and eventual post-apartheid conceptualisation of the South African middle-class is steeped in history. Historically, during the apartheid era, the middle class was limited to white individuals who owned a form of capital (Southall 2013). It wasn't until the

establishment of democracy that a black and non-white middle-class could be identified (Ndletyana 2014, Southall 2013 and Vosagie(a) 2013). We can conclude that any definition of a middle-class is not absolute; rather it exists on a continuum where multiple-middle-classes can exist, each relative to each other.

Continuing with the narrative of definition, a very significant moment in this research report lies in the definition around the terms 'Township' and 'Suburbs'. Epistemologically, these two words have the same meaning; they both refer to a form of a predominantly residential human settlement. However, cultural values and interpretations of the word greatly differ. In a South African context, townships are often associated with the black urban poor who have settled informally on the urban edge. Conversely, suburbs is a term associated more with white urban middle-class more than any other race. There appears to be a shift in this urban vernacular, with the rise of a black and non-white urban middle-class (despite this concept being highly contestable itself). Further along the point of transformation, the shift or increasing number of a black and non-white middle class may not necessarily be seen only as a de-radicalization of previously white suburban spaces, but may also be seen in the upgrading and development of previously black and non-white areas.

In concluding on the debate surrounding terminology - in planning is not a matter of neglect as much as it is circumstantial. At the end of apartheid, planning experience a dramatic shift in planning focus; around the same time globalisation was rapidly growing and so was its affect. Our history and the international events that shaped the urban so dramatically also influenced the perceptions and generated meanings of spaces. While there is a distinct language and meaning for the difference between urban and suburban spaces but it cannot be applied in this research. The question that remains for us – given that there is so much obscurity around the definition and characteristics of what makes a suburb, how do we as South African's and South African planners respond to this. Logically, I would suggest starting at the very beginning by redefining and reconstructing terminology and meaning; but, the problem is not only in the production of words, it is in the practice of these words.

Lastly, an extremely critical element of the literature review that extensively guided the research method was the establishment of a conceptual framework for the 'Everyday'. In summary, the production of the everyday and the production of space are inextricably linked.

The dialectic of the everyday and magmatic quantity of literature produced on the matter of the everyday is so extensive that this paper could not effectively cover the full oeuvre and ethos behind definition, meaning, value and comport without to radically deviating from the central theme of this research report. The definition selected and composed for this research report is: 'The everyday is the repetition of activities on a day-to-day continuum that is expressed in the most mundane and arbitrary tasks framed by the idea of a routine' (de Certeau 1984, Felski 1999, Highmore 2002 and, Lefebvre 1961).

6.3. Critical reflections on the research questions

The research question: "*What does tracking 'the everyday' reveal about the production of living in northern suburbs of Johannesburg: the case of Greenside?"* can be separated into 3 major elements. The first element of the question 'tracking', refers to method. This was important as it was considered the most appropriate method to answer the main research question. Secondly, the 'production of living' can be expanded to include the everyday and all that it encompasses (as discussed in chapter two), finally, it was critical to the research report, method and question to include in the main research question a context : 'northern suburbs'. As it was concluded in chapter two, four and five, the different typologies and representations of residential neighbourhoods meant that findings in this research report (which looked at a northern neighbourhood in Johannesburg) could not be responsibly applied as absolute for other neighbourhoods that fit in different categories.

In reflection, the research method of using 'log books' to track the everyday (discussed in chapter 3) was a failure and the project had to adapt in order to accommodate the loss of this method and potential data set. Therefore, it is important to consider if the word 'tracking' is still appropriate in this research question. In response to and after considering the contents of research project, I have come to conclude that it is still appropriate. Even though the log books failed, the research method was developed to produce data that was both interrelated and interdependent, but it also produced stand-alone data sets. Furthermore, several questions were included in the interview to establish a time-line for participant's everyday.

6.4. Summary and reflection on research methods

The field research for this project was conducted over a 20 week period (October 2013 to February 2014). The research methods used were a combination of successive quantitative and qualitative methods that complemented each other, but also produced stand alone data. Data offered in this chapter was obtained from statistical information rendered from an analysis of the survey; extracts form structured interviews and; data from social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and community forums. There is no data from the log-book method that can be presented as discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 3); contributions from participant observation will also be included.

Having accepted that the log-books failed. Some alternatives could be used in future research of this nature. Tow possible alternative that I would seriously consider is firstly, video logs (vlogs). Here participants would video-record their activities with their cellular phones and then upload it to a 'my-space' page or YouTube page where the research can view it. This is a lot more exciting than having to manually write down the days events. Important things to consider; this form of 'tracking' may only be accessible to a few people as it requires a smart phone, it also require that participants have enough cellular-data (megabites and gigabites) to upload the video, lastly, it is important to consider technical proficiency of participants. Alternatively, the research could consider supplying cam-corders to participants, but this become expensive and again there is the issue of technical knowledge. Another suggestion would be to provide participants with GPS trackers. They are relatively inexpensive and easy to come by. One example of a GPS tracker is the 'PocketFinder GPS Tracking Device'. This would allow the researcher unrestricted access to the whereabouts of their participants. There is no technical knowledge or action of any kind from participants other than they carry the device with them. It is extremely important to consider the ethical issues behind the use of this particular research method. The data from this could be quite harmful to participants if it is not properly censored and protected.

Part of considering different research methods to extrapolate the necessary data for a project of this nature, it is important to consider the applicability of different methods in different neighbourhoods. For example, you cannot choose a research method that would require the participant have a smart-phone if you are conducting research in a lower income

neighbourhood. It would be less likely that a participant owns a smart phone in a lower income neighbourhood as a participant in a higher-income neighbourhood.

6.5. Major Findings and Conclusions

To conclude this research report: there four major findings presented in this document that are indispensable to not only the research report but to the production of knowledge and the urban planning field at large.

Firstly, this research report looked extensively at the 'everyday'. It concluded on a definition of the everyday as: 'The everyday is the repetition of activities on a day-to-day continuum that is expressed in the most mundane and arbitrary tasks framed by the idea of a routine' which was constructed from reading and evaluating several other definitions ((de Certeau 1984, Felski 1999, Highmore 2002 and, Lefebvre 1961). 'The everyday as the everything' posed a slight challenge to the research method, ultimately I had to be selective on the data I chose to present in the report or consequently there would have been simply too much data. This action although necessary reflects Felski's (1999) criticism of 'selecting the everyday' thereby distracting from its value and complexity.

Secondly, the research report established and expanded on the link between the habitus and the everyday. The commercial strips in neighbourhoods plays a vital role in the production and maintenance of the everydayness. The change of said 'strips' into more commercialised zones are perceived as a loss to the residents and in most cases residents reacted with anger, disapproval or disappointment. In many ways the centrality of the commercial strips to the production of the local residents everyday ties residents to their neighbourhoods, and when those ties are broken or threatened it can be considered a way of threatening them and their 'everyday'.

A third major finding presented in this research report is that of suburban transformation. Changes in demographics, suburban ecology, typologies and overall experientiality can in some ways speak to the evolution or life cycle of suburban spaces. What is currently being experienced in Greenside has been reportedly experienced in Melville (Van der Walt 2001).

Lastly, the biggest contribution of this research report is the development of the Matrix, wherein is the evaluated list of suburban characteristics. The list was compiled from varying sources and looked at spatial social dynamics to contribute to an overall image of the northern neighbourhoods. Each characteristic was then evaluated through the research method and identified as either being 'True', 'Plausible' or 'False'.

6.6. Concluding the Arguments

The function of this research report was to answer the central question that inquired after the practise of living in northern neighbourhood in Johannesburg. Firstly, the literature review in chapter two ascertained there was disagreement in the number and quality if characteristics that were essential to constructing suburban neighbourhoods and the practice of living. This research consolidated the proposals of urbanists and investigated them for prevalence in the northern suburban neighbourhoods; the results were then compiled into a single matrix.

Secondly, the literature revealed that suburban neighbourhoods outside enclosed neighbourhoods, gated communalities or residential villages were neglected; this included the inner-ring northern suburbs of Johannesburg. The research has presented a defined a conceptualisation to the socio-spatial dynamics of suburban-scapes and hopefully given clarity to a multiple and diverse socio-spatial dynamics that drive the practice of living in the northern suburbs.

Lastly, the biggest contribution to development planning this report has attempted to make is the development of the matrix in chapter five. The matrix defines possibility of finding a particular characteristic in a northern suburban space. The matrix has the potential to be adapted and applied to all neighbourhoods as its essential function is to give context to the everyday of residential living.

6.7. Weaknesses

The major weakness identified during the completion of this project related to the surveys. There was the inconsistency in response rate to the surveys. This cause of this is unknown but it did affect the viability of the statistics produced. I think this problem relates directly to the use of the online survey. They survey was relatively complex and participant could benefit from a survey administrator being present to support the process of completing the survey. Another problem with the surveys were the inconsistencies in the ways participants answered the

questions. In questions that looked at frequency, some individuals responded with exaggerated numbers like 10 000 or 8 times a week. It is impossible to measure these numbers.

6.8. Opportunities

This research could benefit from a more extensive reading on the privatisation of public space the production of the neighbourhood.

There is a clear opportunity for further research in this report. If researcher can apply the same or ethos research to other suburbs and develop models that can be contrasted it would really strengthen the development planning practice on delivering spaces.

6.9. Personal Perspective

When I began this project, I was not very clear on what the function of the development planner was in the production of space, the practice of living and the production of the everyday; despite being a development planner. Having and intimate and extensive theoretical repertoire of the conceptual underpinning of these spheres of the built environment does not fully do justice to experience of seeing theory in practice. The most exciting moment of this entire project was being able to observe first hand the practice of living in this great city.

6.10. Closing remarks

Planning has always and continues to play a fundamental role in the production of the city. In the past the power of planning was used to create a stratified and fragmented city. Today, planning focuses on integration and production of a single and inclusive city. However, neighbourhoods and suburbs which are oldest and forerunning reminders of the spatial injustices of the past has been criticized for continuing the stratification of the city-scape.

Odds, Ends and Habedashery:
References, Bibliography and Annexures





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All maps

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Figure 1: Early Development of Johannesburg. Early settlers arrived in Johannesburg in the mid 1800's but it wasn't until the discovery of gold that the Johannesburg turned from settlement to city. Johannesburg was previously divided into a network of farms, the most famous of which was Laanlagte, Turfontien and Braamfonrien. **Source:** *South African History online at www.* sahistory.org.za/places/Johannesburg.

Figure 2: Early Division of the City into northern and Southern Suburbs. Northern suburbs were located along the Parktown ridge away from the mines. The southern suburbs were located south of the city. It is from the geographical orientation that these ajor city features got their name. **Source:** *Tomlinson et al., (eds 2003)*

Figure 3: Distribution of Northern Suburbs in Johannesburg. During the years of white flight in South Africa the suburban white-middle-class spread northwards away from the mines and the inner-city. **Source**: *Tomlison et al., 2003 26*

Figure 4: Map describing the spatial relationship of Greenside to major economic nodes. Greenside is well located and well serviced by arterials. **Source** Google Maps **www.google.com/maps/greensidehtml** . The map was edited with photoscape photo editor ltd. software

Figure 5 and 6: The **subdivision of Emmerentia. Originally Greenside was apart of the Emmerentia farm until the farm was subdivided and sold. Source: *Map Office (Pty) Ltd 1908 51* Figure 13 (Left) Historical development of the Northern Suburbs.** Greenside was established in 1930 making it one of the last to be developed in the 'parks' cluster. **Source** *Fair et al., 1973 1956 35*

Figure 7: Figure 14 Ward 87 Demarcation. Areas included under Ward 87 are: Parktown, Westcliffe, Melville, Parkview, Forest Town, Emmerentia and Greenside. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board 2011 (http://www.demarcation.org.za/)

Figure 8: Figure 158: Regional Demarcation Map of Johannesburg. Johannesburg is located in Region B which is highlighted in purple. Source: City Of Johannesburg Website http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=3185:sdfs&Itemid=114

Figure 9: Highlighted Commercial Strip along Gleneagles Road, Greenside. This commercial strip the focus of much contention in the area. Soutce: *Google Maps.* www.google.com/maps/greenside.

Figure 10: Figure 10: Highlighted Commercial Strip along Gleneagles Road, Greenside (b). There has been an estimated 13 new developments along this strip in the last two years. Source: *Google Maps* www.google.com/maps/greenside. Image edited with photoscape photo editor (ltd) software

Figure 11: Figure 16: Still Life; Greenside Residential Street (a). A street in Greenside showcasing the residential quality of the space. Greenside is well known for their green trees and aesthetically appealing image. **©Muneebah Kara 2013**

Figure 12: Still Life; Greenside Residential Street (b). Street life in Greenside tends to take on a more 'mature nature. It is unlikely that you would find children playing in the streets but you will find people walking their dogs, running or jogging. **© 2013 Muneebah Kara**

Figure 13: Still Life; Greenside Residential Street (c) Boundary walls line the streets of Greenside, although this is often a feature of all neighbourhoods in South Africa (for neighbourhoods outside enclosed neighbourhoods and villages). **© 2013 Muneebah Kara**

Figure 14: Still Life; Greenside Residential Street (d). Residentual fortification is also a common image in Northern suburbs. It out would be very difficult to assertain from a single case study whether or not Greenside has more or less fortification than other Norther suburbs. I must comment that the fortification of these homes made it generally difficult to conduct the research as it was very difficult ot 'access' residents inside their homes….but perhaps that's the point. **© 2013 Muneebah Kara**

Figure 15: Still Life; Greenside Commercial Strip (a). A long the commercial strip in Greenside we are introduced to a very different image. Here there is mixed use, high density residential buildings. From this image you can see Greenside is starting to look very urban. **© 2013 Muneebah Kara**

Figure 16: Still Life; Greenside Commercial Strip (b). Traffic and Parking issues. The increased commercial activities along the Barry Hertzon, Greenway and Gleaneagles strip has put pressure on adjacent residential streets. The high volumes and lack of parking facilities is forcing visitors to the strips to spill out and over into the residential spaces of the suburb. **© 2013 Muneebah Kara**

Figure 17: Still Life; Greenside Commercial Strip (c). A core element that you would not expect to find in a northern suburb is *urban decay.* Again we there are sugn and symptoms that point to a very urban area**. © 2013 Muneebah Kara**

Figure 18: Still Life; Greenside Commercial Strip (d). The Suburban Street Vendor. Absolutely not something that you would expect to find on the local commercial strip of a northern suburb. Once again we are drawn into this image of an urban area located in the heart of a suburb. **© 2013 Muneebah Kara**

Figure 19: Suburban Urbanism (a) © 2013 Muneebah Kara

Figure 20: Suburban Urbanism (b) © 2013 Muneebah Kara

Figure 21: Conceptual Framework of the Research Report

Figure 22: Illustration Imagining a Teleology of Urban Development. If we are to consider Wyly correct in his proposal, we can imagine the teleology of urban development to look a bit like this

Figure 23: Model of Identity formation Source Jones and McEwen 2000 405

Figure 24: Field site for Case Study Separated into Quadrants

Figure 25: Movements of people from Greenside to places of work. Adapted from Duca 2012 (unpublished works)

Annexure

Annexure A: Survey

The Greenside Investigation

Page 1

Greenside is a suburb of the historic Johannesburg city and it is an area in the midst of an amazing transformation!!. Greenside is no longer singularly residential, but neither is it predominantly a commercial area. We are interested to know WHY and HOW this transformation is happening. Whether your Live in Greenside, Around it or simply VISIT it frequently or infrequently you posses an insight into the area that is valuable to the us. SO we want to know why you choose to live in or visit Greenside and what you choose to do there.

This survey was designed by researchers in the school of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. In this survey, approximately 150 people will be asked to complete a survey that asks questions about what you do in Greenside and why you choose to do it in Greenside. It will take approximately 15 minutes to complete the survey.

The purpose of gaining an 'on-the-ground' understanding of how people live in suburban Johannesburg will help planners develop a more integrated and inclusive vision for Johannesburg city.

The data collected from this survey will not be published in any official capacity or made public, instead it will be used as part of an analysis that will be compiled into a master's dissertation and submitted for examination to the faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of the Witwatersrand. Thereafter, should the dissertation be passed, it will go into library archives, accessible only to registered Wits university students and Wits University staff. Furthermore all data collected through this online survey will be coded and accessible only to the administrators of this survey.

Participation in this questionnaire is entirely voluntary; participants cannot and will not be paid for participating. All participation will be kept strictly anonymous and the results confidential. At no point during the administration of the survey will you be asked to record your full name or any personal information that can be used to identify you later on. At any time you may stop the questionnaire or skip any questions that you find offensive or are not comfortable answering.
As a participant, you have a right to withdraw at any time from the survey and a right to withhold or withdraw any information that may be collected during the study. You also have a right to any information that you feel will make your participation easier and more informed. If you have any questions at any time about the survey or the procedures, you may visit our facebook page at www.facebook.com/thegreensideinvestigation and post your question or send a message to the researchers; who will respond within at least 24 hours.

Your opinions and insight is extremely important and valuable to us.

Thank you for your time and support

When you are ready to continue, please press the "NEXT" button below to move on to the survey.

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1. Are you, or have you ever been a resident of Greenside?

- ○ yes
- ○ no

2. If you answered YES to question 1 then, Are you still a resident of Greenside

- ○ yes
- ○ no

3. Please specify your GENDER

- ☐ Female
- ☐ Male

4. Please select an AGE catagory

- ○
- ○ 21-29
- ○ 30-39
- ○ 40-49
- ○ 50-59
- ○ 60-69
- ○ 70+

Please select an Ethnicity with which you most identify with

- ○ Other
- ○ Asian
- ○ Black
- ○ Coloured
- ○ White

Please indicated your employment status

- ○ Employed (Full Time)
- ○ Employed (Part Time)
- ○ Unemployed
- ○ Student
- ○ Scholar
- ○ Other

6a. If you are employed, either part time or full time, What is your Occupation (optional

6b. Where is your place of employment or study (Please specify suburb and city)

7. Relationship Status

- ○ Married
- ○ Domestic Partner
- ○ Single
- ○ Seperated/Divorced/Widowed/Widower
- ○ In a Relationship

8. Do you own or rent your property?

9. How many members are there in your household?

○ 1	○ 4
○ 2	○ 5
○ 3	○ 6+

10. Would you consider the members of your household as your family and as "sharing a living space" with you; as apposed to "just living with you?

- ○ yes
- ○ no

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11. How many sources of income does your household have?

- ○ 1
- ○ 2
- ○ 3
- ○ 4+

12. How many adults are there is your household?

- ○ 1
- ○ 2
- ○ 3
- ○ 4+

13. If you WERE once but are no longer a resident of Greenside, why are you no longer a resident? If you were never a resident, please SKIP this question?

13a. Where do you live now please indicate the suburb and city? (optional)

13b. How often do you visit Greenside? please indicate on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is Hardly Ever and 10 is Very Frequently?

Hardly Ever Very Frequently

14. Where are you and your family more inclined to shop or seek entertainment? (Please indicate the city, suburb and activity)

15. IF you HAVE CHILDREN or ANY children under your care or there are ANY children in your household, do they attend or have they ever attended Greenside Pre-Primary, Greenside Primary or Greenside High schools?

16. If NO, why not?

17. IF YOU ANSWERED NO TO QUESTION 15; then Do your children, or Any children under your care or Any children in your household attend or ever attended any of the following schools?

17. IF YOU ANSWERED NO TO QUESTION 15; then Do your children, or Any children under your care or Any children in your household attend or ever attended any of the following schools?

- ☐ Emmarentia Primary
- ☐ King David Vicotry Park Primary School
- ☐ King David Victory Park High School
- ☐ Parktown Boys High School
- ☐ rktown Girls High Shool
- ☐ Roosevelt Park High School
- ☐ The Japanese School
- ☐ Parkview Primary

18. What is your and or your family's primary mode of transport during the week and weekends?

	How often? (per week) Please indicate in numbers	How often? (per week) Please indicate in numbers	How often during the Week
Metro Bus			
Gautrain Bus service			
REA VEA			
Gautrain			
Metro Rail			
Taxi Cab			
Minibus Taxi			
Tuk Tuk			
Private			
Bicycle			
walk			
Lift clubs and Car Pooling			

19. Please briefly describe your activities during the weekend (For example do you spend a lot of time doing DIY around the house, or do you spend lots of time with your family. Where and how do you do this.)

20. What do you do in Greenside or What businesses and or services attract you to Greenside?

	Frequency (per week). Please indicate in numbers	How often during the Week	How often during the Weekend	Rarely, Seldomly/ As Needed
Religious Structures				
Coffee shops/ Bars/ Pubs				
Sports Bars				
Parks				
Sports Clubs/ Recreation Centres				
Restaurants				
Primary School				
High Schools				
Tertiary learning institutes				
Friends/ Family				

Pharmacy/Chemist	☐	☐	☐	☐
Medical Practitioners / Alternative medical practitioners	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lifestyle and Beauty	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lifestyle and Entertainment (clubs, exhibitions, art galleries or lounges)	☐	☐	☐	☐
House and Home	☐	☐	☐	☐
Health and wellness centres	☐	☐	☐	☐
Specialised stores	☐	☐	☐	☐
National chain store (Woolworths, Checkers)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pets and Animals	☐	☐	☐	☐
Building consultants (includes construction and architectural consultants)	☐	☐	☐	☐
General office services	☐	☐	☐	☐
Property related (seeking, maintenance, security)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Auto motor industry	☐	☐	☐	☐
Financial, banking, accounting	☐	☐	☐	☐
Legal centres	☐	☐	☐	☐
Insurance centres	☐	☐	☐	☐
Travel and Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
Work	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other	☐	☐	☐	☐

If you are NOT or HAVE NEVER BEEN a resident of Greenside you may now close this window. For results or information about the study, or even if you just want to speak to our researchers, please visit or facebook page at www.facebook.com/thegreensideinvestigation where you can write on our wall, comment on posts or send us a message. Good Day.

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21. How long have you and or your family lived in Greenside?

- ○ ≤ 1 Year
- ○ between 1 and 5 years
- ○ between 5 and 10 years
- ○ Greater than 10 years

22. What are the top 3 reasons you or your family moved to Greenside OR if you have always been a resident of Greenside?

23. If you, in your life-time have moved to Greenside, In what area was your previous home? (please specify suburb and city)

24. How do you feel about the following?

For previous or current Greenside residence ONLY

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Decline to Answer
Greenside is a pleasant place to live	○	○	○	○	○	○
Greenside caters for my needs (housing, shopping, school)	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would recommend Greenside as a place to live	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have many friends near my home in Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have many relatives near my home in Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○
I visit my friends or relatives frequently in Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○
I know my immediate neighbours very well	○	○	○	○	○	○
I frequently greet my immediate neighbours	○	○	○	○	○	○
I frequently visit my immediate neighbours	○	○	○	○	○	○
My immediate neighbours and I frequently help each other (car pooling etc.)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Greenside is culturally, ethnically and racially diverse	○	○	○	○	○	○
Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel safe in Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel as though Alcohol and Drug abuse is a problem in Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel as though mental illness such as depression is common amongst people in	○	○	○	○	○	○

needs of Greenside						
The municipality understands and caters for the needs of Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○
There is good public investment and maintenance in infrastructure (roads, water, sewerage)	○	○	○	○	○	○
There is a good network of public transport that connect Greenside to the rest of the city	○	○	○	○	○	○
Greenside is developing into a more commercial area	○	○	○	○	○	○
There are more young people living in Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○
There are more middle aged people living in Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○
There are more elderly people living in Greenside	○	○	○	○	○	○

You have completed the survey. Thank you very much for your participation.
For more infomation, feedback and results of this survey or simply to speak to the researchers • visit our facebook page at www.facebook.com/thegreensideinvestigation

You can now close the window.

You have completed the survey. Thank you very much for your participation.

You can now close the window.

Annexure B: Interview Question

Suburban Urbanism. Tracking the Every-day Experience of Suburbanite

Below is a list of themes and questions that we will be looking at during our interview. It may be useful to read through them so that you can have some idea of where the interview is going and how it is likely to get there; additionally you may wish to prepare or think about some of the question and their answers.

Theme 1: Personal Background, History and expectation of the future

- Name/ Alias or allocated Identification number
- Age
- Gender
- Race
- Relationship Status
- How many occupants share your household
- Do you have any children
- Occupation
- City and or suburb of employment
- How long have you been residing in Greenside
- Family History
    - Where did you live
        - When did you move there, why
        - When did you move away, why
    - Your mother
        - Origins
        - Occupation

    - Her family
- Your Father
    - Origins
    - Occupation
    - His family
- Where did you attend school
- Did you have any pets, interests, hobbies as a child
- Any events from your youth that stand out
- When did you move to Greenside
- Why did you choose to move to Greenside
- Do you have a family that lives with you in Greenside
- Do you know your neighbours
- Please describe your relationship with your neighbours
- Where and how do you usually spend your holidays?

Theme 2: Your Experience of Living in Greenside

- What were some of your reasons for moving to/ staying in or moving out of Greenside
- Please describe your experience during your time in Greenside, are there any moments that stand out in your mind, regardless if they are positive or negative.
- Are there any moments during your time in Greenside that stand out
- Would you say living in Greenside is different to living in any other suburb
- Have you had any interactions or experience with CSS or the GRA. What were they
- Greenside is transforming, how do you feel about this
-

Theme 3: Identity

- In 6 sentences or less, please describe yourself. Try to include your family and lifestyle
- Do you consider yourself a suburbanite, why
- Do you feel that Greenside is apart of Johannesburg city, if no why not
- Do you feel connected to jo'burg
- Are there any particular identities of suburban lifestyle that you strongly identify with, What are they and why
- Do you think there are any common practices or characteristics among Greenside Residence that might eventually be turned in to a cliché, why
- # show list of characteristics

Theme 4: Urbanism, The way of living or your lifestyle

- Briefly describe your daily routine during the week
- Briefly describe your routine during the weekend
- Where are you more inclined to shop or seek entertainment during the week and during the weekend
    - Why
- What is your primary mode of transport
- Would you and your family use alternate modes of transport
- How often, if at all do you make use of the facilities in Greenside such as Restaurants, bars, parks, recreation centres etc.
    - Where do you prefer to go and why
- Are there any other places aside from what you have mentioned that you enjoy going to or prefer over other places
- Greenside is transforming into quite the 'happening place' how do you feel about this
- How do you feel about the increasing number of people visiting Greenside
- Are there any places in and around Jo'burg that you avoid specifically, why?

Theme 5: Greenside as a complex, layered Space

- What is it like living in Greenside
- Do you think that Greenside is an area in Transformation, and how would you describe this transformation
- How do you feel about the transformation
- How do you feel about CSS presence in Greenside
    - #CSS is a medium for residence to take de facto control a space# how do you respond to this
    - My experience with CSS although not unpleasant did make it difficult to submerge myself into the area, make first contact and conduct my research. If I could go back in time, how would you recommend I do things differently
- Do you feel like you belong to Greenside
- Do you feel apart of a community in Greenside
- Are there any residence in Greenside who may not feel or be apart of a community in Greenside either by exclusion or by choice.
- Is there anything you would change about Greenside, what is it and why

Theme 6: Miscellaneous

- Are you involved in the community?
- Most memorable moments of community action
- Greenside is regarded as one of the most organised active residence associations, after Melville. What are your comments regarding this statement.
- Some might criticise the work of the GRA as a means of privatizing public space and or as sometimes going to far. How do you respond to this?


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