

Cities in the suburbs: an exploratory look at Pretoria East as an evolving edge city

M.S. Badenhorst

Summary

Contemporary urban development in Pretoria manifests in the transformation of the south-eastern sector, generally known as Pretoria East, through the emergence of a "city in the suburbs" (an oxymoronic term) on the one hand, and a fundamental adaptation / adjustment of the Central Business District (CBD) to changing(-ed) circumstances on the other. In the case of the former, the inhabitants have to all intents and purposes turned their backs on the CBD, except for work in the case of (still) a substantial number of them. The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that the area is in the process of turning into a distinctive city/gravitational node in itself, developing interdependencies with other areas undergoing similar changes in the fashion characteristic of the post-metropolitan phase of urban development. The latter includes amongst others the moving of jobs out to the suburbs. Pretoria East was analysed in an exploratory manner so as to determine to what extent it meets the definitional criteria of Edge Cities which is the sole functional framework existing in terms of which postmetropolitan urban development can be measured. It was concluded that notwithstanding the fact that Pretoria East does not meet all the definitional criteria outright, it could nonetheless claim the status as an evolving Edge City.

STEDE IN DIE VOORSTEDDE: 'N VERKENNENDE ONDERSOEK OOR PRETORIA-OOS AS 'N ONTWIKKELENDE RANDSTAD

Kontemporêre stedelike ontwikkeling in Pretoria vind gestalte enersyds in die transformasie van die suidoostelike sektor deur die totstandkoming van 'n "stad in die voorstede" ('n oksimoroniese begrip) in die gebied wat in die algemeen as Pretoria Oos bekend staan, en andersyds deur 'n fundamentele verandering/aanpassing by verander(en)de omstandighede van die Sentrale Besigheidsgebied (SBG). In die geval van eersgenoemde het die inwoners vir alle praktiese doeleindes hul rug op die SBG gekeer, behalwe in die geval van 'n redelike groot aantal persone wat steeds daar werk. Die situasie word verder gekonsolideer deur die feit dat die suidoostelike voorstede in die proses is om in 'n afsonderlike stedelike nodus te ontwikkel wat sy eiesoortige suigkragte uitoefen en interafhanklikhede te ontwikkel met ander gebiede wat onderhewig is aan soortgelyke veranderings wat kenmerkend is van die post-metropolitaanse fase van stedelike ontwikkeling. Laasgenoemde sluit onder andere in die verskuiwing van werksgeleenthede na die voorstede. Pretoria Oos is op 'n verkennende grondslag ondersoek ten einde te bepaal in watter mate die gebied voldoen aan die omskrywingsvereistes van Randstede ('Edge Cities'), wat tans die enigste raamwerk bied waaraan post-metropolitaanse ontwikkeling gemeet kan word. Die ondersoek het bevind dat Pretoria Oos nie geheel en al aan die omskrywingsvereistes voldoen nie, maar dat dit nogtans met reg aanspraak op die status van 'n ontwikkelende Randstad kan maak.

1. Introduction

One of the main features of urban development in western-industrial countries over the past number of decades, including South Africa, has been the extensive growth of residential suburbs around the historical core of the city. This tendency has been widely reported on since the early 1960s (see *inter alia* Johnson 1972:129; Gottman & Harper 1967:vii; Harvey & Clark 1971:475). Referring specifically to the United States, Garreau (1991 (a):5) states that the process occurred in three waves. The first wave constituted the suburbanization of America, especially after World War II. This wave moved residences beyond the traditional idea of what constituted a city. The second wave occurred when Americans wearied of returning downtown for necessities of life and consequently moved the marketplaces out to where the people lived. This was the 'mall' of America, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. Now in the third wave, Americans are moving the means of creating wealth i.e. their work, out to where most of them have lived and shopped for two generations. On the premise that the formerly 'white' component of the South African city closely resembles the North American city (see Badenhorst 1987:320; Van der Merwe 1993:493), it can be hypothesised that the same has been happening, *mutatis mutandis*, in the area under study, viz. Pretoria East.

During the first wave, urban growth occurred through/as urban sprawl (see *inter alia* Carver 1971:7; Harvey and Clark 1971:475), with the resulting suburbs remaining focused / dependent on the Central Business District (CBD). However, somewhere down the line during the second half of the twentieth century, suburbs

changed into something more than just a commuting zone for the urban agglomeration, developing a life of their own with their own spatial specificities through a process involving the suburbanization of the suburbs (another oxymoronic concept) (Soja 2000:238). Of late, suburbia have turned into distinctive cities and gravitational nodes in themselves developing interdependencies with other (similar) entities beyond their own borders.

Over the years a rather extensive glossary of neologisms was compiled by historians and geographers in an effort to characterise the spatial transformation of the old urban order of the modern metropolis (see paragraph 3.1) Probably the most notably among them, for the fact that he was the only one to come forward with a functional definition of the nascent urban order, was Joel Garreau. He called the new urban form "Edge Cities" (Garreau 1991:4). Many a criticism has since been levelled at Garreau and his work (see paragraph 3.2). However, since his definition provides the sole organising framework in which to cast the analysis of the restructuring of the modern metropolis, it is accepted as the basis for the exploratory review of the evolution of "cities in the suburbs" (another oxymoronic concept) with specific reference to Pretoria East.

2. Suburbia

Before suburban expansion set in, the historical core more or less represented the total area of the city in the pre-railway era. With the advent of the train and the trolley bus, cities expanded axially (Harvey & Clark 1971: 476) creating ribbons of growth along their tracks. The filling-in of the interstices between these fingers of urban development was accomplished in due course through the extensive use of the automobile. Expanding residential suburbs are

partly the result of a social revolution. Urban populations increased through in-migration and the capacity of cities to retain the increase of their own expanding populations (Johnson 1972:129; Gottman & Harper 1967:18). To accommodate the population increase the cities by necessity had to extend horizontally on the edges. The latter was enhanced by rising affluence, particularly in the period after World War II, by a tendency in many affluent societies for families to become smaller and more independent, and a desire to live at lower densities (Johnson 1972:129; Carver 1971:8).

Land was more readily available and cheaper in suburban locations; low-density dwellings were cheaper to construct and above all, were regarded as offering more functional advantages for family living (Johnson 1972:129). Also, government aid to families building suburban homes resulted in the creation of a "vast home building industry" (Carver 1971:10) which, together with real estate developers who entered the scene, became a major driving force behind suburbanization (Soja 2000:240).

Concurrent with the social revolution, a technological revolution was occurring fuelled by the widespread use of the automobile. As Carver aptly points out: "The technological revolution put the family in the car and the social revolution gave the family a house in the suburbs and all it contains (1971:12). Improved public transportation facilities (Soja 2000:240) and extended road networks served as further catalysts in the suburbanization process, the end result of which was a "... sprawling dormitory landscape of detached and privately owned homes, a culturally homogeneous and "consumerist" suburbia where most jobs remained outside the local milieu (Soja 2000:240). The resultant urban form was characterised by a dual

configuration consisting of a major city center and its environs (Blumenfeld 1967:61), or as Soja so eloquently describes as a "... dual configuration of a monocentric urban world surrounded by a sprawling suburban periphery" (2000:239).

The emerging suburbs evoked conflicting and contradictory sentiments (see *inter alia* Carver 1971:3). Much of what was said about it was in the language of ridicule, a tendency, which persists to this day, particularly among the "true urbanists" who extol the virtues of "The City". However, what was emerging was in fact a new kind of suburbanised city, the polis in its modern form. The question arose, of course, as to what to name the emerging urban agglomeration. According to Blumenfeld (1967:61) it simply seemed no longer appropriate to refer to the "modern city" but rather to the "modern metropolis" since the former had undergone a qualitative change so that it was no longer merely a larger version of the traditional city but rather a new and different form of human settlement. Toynbee (1972:83) reiterated this novel nature of the new urban environment stating that it has had no precedent in the history of humankind.

What were the distinguishing characteristics of the modern metropolis? First and foremost, the city centre was the fulcrum on which everything hinged. The CBD accommodated all those functions that served the metropolis as a whole (retail businesses, business services, financial institutions and so on). Housing occupied the largest amount of land and the centrifugal movement of people to suburbia led to a separation of residential area and workplace and residential areas became segregated in terms of income / class (and race in the USA). In the emergent scheme of things, the metropolis turned out to be neither

city nor country but a complex of urban districts and open areas (see Blumenfeld 1967: 70 – 2). Four basic types of land use emerged in the modern metropolis, viz. central business, industrial, residential and open areas (Blumenfeld 1967:54) and the tie that bound all together was enhanced personal mobility brought about by improved public and private transport. The metropolitan environment turned out to be an expanding one (see Toynebee 1972:83), and above all, an ever-changing one.

3. Postsuburbia

This simplified structure of the metropolis, viz. a single central core surrounded by a suburban periphery (see Blumenfeld 1967:33) continues to dominate the imagery of scholars, and many discourse till this day, even though it has long since become clear that the metropolitan region today no longer fits the older model as it once did (Soja 2000:241). Clinging to this antiquated viewpoint goes hand in hand with what can be termed "urban nostalgia", a pining for what is being lost in the expansive restructuring of urban form that has become evident over the past three decades or so. In fact, the restructuring of the modern metropolis has opened up a distinctive subdiscourse that is concerned not so much with what is emerging but what is being lost in the restructuring of urban form that is going on (Soja 2000:246). An overview is hence presented of what has been happening in/to the suburban parts of the modern metropolis, and at Edge Cities as a functional framework in which to cast the analysis/description of Pretoria East.

3.1 Urbanization of the suburbs

Reviewing the literature on the issue of the transformation of the suburbs, it appears that suburbia was significantly transformed in the second half of the twentieth century through a process involving the "urbanization of the suburbs" (Soja 2000:238).

Reference to the emerging trend dates back to the seventies when Carter observed that: "We (began) ... to perceive that this thing we call 'the suburbs' is in truth a new kind of city: Cities in the Suburbs" (1971:4). One of the first persons to have observed that the city was "disintegrating", was Kenneth Boulding. In a seminal paper reviewing what he called "post-civilisation", he referred to Los Angeles as "... perhaps the first example of the post-civilisation, post-urban agglomeration" (1962:164). At more or less the same time Melvin Webber, in an equally seminal paper, stated that "... the age of the city seems to be at an end" (1971:496). He called the nascent order of (urban) things the "post-city age".

It was not only through horizontal spatial growth that the monocentered metropolis expanded. The coalescing of metropolises/metropolitan areas heralded the birth of polycentered urban agglomerations on a totally different, hitherto unknown, scale. Gottman termed this new phenomenon "megalopolis" and described it as "An urbanised area with a nebulous structure" (1961:5). The modern metropolis as a distinctive organisational form of human habitat turned out to be no longer what it once was since it became evident that: "... a new urban form and habitat is emerging, not as a total replacement but as the leading edge of contemporary urban development" (Soja 2000:239).

The novel nature of the emerging urban form and habitat was partly reflected in the way neologisms were created to describe the spatial transformation of the modern metropolis: post-industrial city, post-metropolis, post-modern metropolis and so on (see *inter alia* Soja 2000; Jones 1990; Venter & Van der Wath 1995). Other names include urban villages, technoburbs, suburban downtowns, urban cores, galactic city, city of realms,

superburbia, disurbia, perimeter cities, peripheral cities, Cosmopolis, Exopolis, Fractal City, and Edge City (see *inter alia* Soja 2000:xvi; Garreau 1991(b):581; Venter & Van der Wath 1995:42). The list is rather exhaustive. However, what all these descriptions share, implicitly or explicitly, is the notion that the era of the modern metropolis has ended (Soja 2000:115). The terminology also reflects the diversity of theoretical perspectives from which the phenomenon is viewed. In the final analysis, these terms have in common the fact that they stem from interpretative discourses that deal with the same phenomenon, viz. the post metropolis. The way the latter is described, like beauty in the proverbial sense, lies in the eyes of the beholder. The use of the prefix does after all not imply a break with the past, nor a sort of binary opposite to its central referent (the modern metropolis), but much rather a deconstruction (not destruction or erasure) and reconstitution (still only partial and ongoing) incorporating only selective components of the older order (see Soja 2000:170).

3.2 Edge cities

Joel Garreau (1991(a):3), author of *Edge Cities: Life on the New Frontier*, is of the opinion that Americans are creating the biggest change in a hundred years in how they build cities. His "... view of the restructuring of urban form emphasises not just the increasing polycentric nature of postmetropolitan cityspace but revolves specifically around the shopping mall and office-centered developments" (Soja 2000:243). He calls these new frontier cities "Edge Cities" – cities because they contain all the functions a city ever has, albeit in a spread-out form, rather unlike the way traditional imagery has it, and edge because "... they are a vigorous world of pioneers and immigrants, rising far from the old downtowns, where little save villages or farmland

lay only thirty years before" (Garreau 1991(a):4). In short, Edge Cities are urban centers in spread-out form emerging far from downtown.

Garreau (1991(a):5) sees Edge Cities as the third wave of American's lives pushing into new frontiers in the past half century i.e. the moving of work out to the suburbs (see paragraph 1 for an explanation of the nature of the three waves). Garreau is of the opinion that "Not since more than a century ago, ... have we made such profound changes in the ways we live, work and play (Garreau 1991 (a):5). There are about two hundred new Edge Cities in the USA, displaying "... tall buildings, bright lights, office space that represents white collar jobs, shopping, entertainment, prestigious hotels, corporate headquarters, hospitals with Catscans..." (Garreau 1991(a):5 – 6). According to the same author, two-thirds of all American office facilities are in Edge Cities, and 80 percent of them have materialised in only the last two decades (1991(a):6). Most of the trips metropolitan Americans make in a day completely skirt the older centers. The journeys to work, especially are to Edge Cities (Garreau 1991(a):5). Edge Cities rarely have a mayor or city council and hardly ever boundaries on a map. They therefore seldomly, if ever, have a name (Garreau 1991(a):6).

How is Edge City defined? In a rather modernistic way, Garreau (1991(a):6-7) offers a five part functional definition. Edge City is a place that:

- Has 465 000 square meters (5 million square feet) or more leasable office space – the workplace of the Information Age
- Has 56 000 square meters (600 000 square feet) or more of leasable retail space, i.e. the equivalent of a fair-sized mall (some of the most luxurious shopping in the world is found

in Edge Cities)

- Has more jobs than bedrooms
- Is perceived by the population as one place, and
- Was nothing like 'city' as recently as thirty years ago.

The concept of Edge Cities, if not the author himself, has come under criticism from various angles. Some of it is delivered through innuendo, emphasising the fact that Garreau himself is not a theoretician but a reporter (and keen observer of America) (Garreau 1991(b):581; Soja 2000:245) and that his optimism for Edge Cities is "soppy" (See Soja 2000:311). More legitimately, however, criticism is levelled at the fact that he equates "industry" to "commerce" and "office space", also that he misses the continuing links between urbanization and industrialisation, and that he rarely speaks of globalisation, except to intone connections to the New Information Age (see Soja 2000:244). Garreau is nonetheless credited with being the Pied Piper of Postsuburbia "... a guru to the mass audience of businessmen, academics and just plain folks trying to understand what has been happening to the cities in North America in the late twentieth century" (Soja 2000:243). The criticism, however, does not distract from the utility of the concept as such. Edge Cities are after all still "works in progress", and hence "chaotic". Also, they have "no history". It has nonetheless, become the place in which the majority of Americans now live, learn, work, shop, play, pray and die (Garreau, 1991: 8). Above all, Edge Cities offers a useful framework for analysing postmetropolitan urban development.

The foregoing paragraphs represent a cursory and selective excursion through the literature on suburbia and postsuburbia – cursory because it focused primarily on the spatial form of the urban habitat as it evolves(d) and selective since it did not visit the

different discourses on the topic. It is, however, adequate so as to set the scene for the analysis of Pretoria East as a city in the suburbs, or rather as an edge City in terms of Garreau's definition.

4. Pretoria East as an evolving Edge City

In order to contextualize developments in Pretoria East, a brief look at the CBD is necessary since understanding what has been occurring in Pretoria East depends to a large degree on what has been happening in the CBD.

4.1 Background

Prior to 1994 when the first democratically elected government was installed, Pretoria was a typically Apartheid city (see *inter alia* Badenhorst 1999; CDE 1998; Hattingh & Horn 1991). Spatially it reflected *inter alia* a dominant white CBD and frame; clearly segregated residential areas for the respective population groups, separated by buffer zones; and a concentration of Blacks with relatively lower status on the periphery of the urban sectors close to the main employment areas (Badenhorst 1999:5). Pretoria's CBD is similar to those of most American cities: a skyline dominated by modern tall buildings, streetblock consolidations and mega-centers, a system of one-way streets to improve traffic flow, the presence of corporate headquarter buildings reflecting the name of mutual funds and financial institutions, and typical of an administrative city of course, government buildings of all sorts (see Badenhorst 2001:5-6). Viewed within the international context, Pretoria obviously pursued the traditional Le Corbusierian model up till the 1970s at least (see Jordaan 1987:paragraph 2.5).

However, a process of change set in during the 1970s that have continued unabated ever since. It started with

the suburbanization of central city functions, which more or less coincided with the construction of the OK Hyperama in the late 1970s (Badenhorst 2001:4). The relative decline of the CBD which set in at the time is continuing to this day.

The clientele of the CBD has changed drastically in the recent past as Blacks have (re)claimed the CBD (and environs) for business and residential purposes (see Badenhorst 2001:7). The CBD has been adjusting rapidly and fundamentally to the changed(-ing) circumstances. Partly due to the lower buying power of Blacks, the vacancy rate of shops increased to between 13% and 25% in different sections of the CBD (Cronje 1999: 13-7); many long established businesses catering for higher income clients have either closed their doors or otherwise relocated to suburban centres; the introduction of cheaper lines of merchandise vis-à-vis high priced quality goods offered by the same concern in suburban centres; the proliferation of informal trade on the sidewalks; the presence of vagrants, beggars, street-children and others who have fallen on hard times; and of course there remains the racial divide still extant between Whites and Blacks which results in certain members of the former group avoiding places which bring them into involuntary contact with Blacks (see Badenhorst 2001:7). Crime, or at least the notion of high crime levels contributes to making the CBD less attractive to visitors. (In a recent survey by Schoonraad *et al.* (2000:35) of Paul Kruger Street between Church Square and the railway station, 49% of business owners regarded the security situation as poor and 32% regarded it as average and only 19% as good or excellent). The influx of Blacks in (affordable) centrally located housing, have led to a concomitant deterioration of the housing stock in the area in some instances leading to the blighting of whole street blocks (Badenhorst 2001:7).

In summary it can be concluded that the character of the CBD is changing ("informalizing") (see Badenhorst 2001:6) due to a population change-over resulting in changed lifestyles and altered environmental standards. This in turn pushes the wealthier sector of the population to the outlying suburbs which are more congenial to their needs. The development of Pretoria East as an economic node in turn accelerates the relative decline of the CBD, drawing more and more development to Pretoria East. The latter's dependence on/interaction with the CBD is diminishing as it increasingly turns into a gravitational node in its own right, developing interdependencies with other similar areas in its hinterland. The inhabitants of Pretoria East have to all intents and purposes turned their backs on the CBD, except for the purpose of work in the case of (still) a substantial percentage of them (Badenhorst 2001:1). In the process Pretoria East and the CBD are evolving into two separate social worlds, the boundary between which is becoming increasingly pronounced.

The foregoing might convey the impression that the CBD is in dire straits. On the contrary, the CBD is merely adjusting to changed circumstances and it is obviously a painful process. It is changing, but by no means dying.

4.2 Analysis

The area under study has no name, but is known by all and sundry as "Pretoria East". Neither does it have a fixed/concrete boundary. However, it represents more or less the south-eastern quadrant of Pretoria, to the south of the Witbank Highway and east of the railway line abutting the University of Pretoria, extending approximately 17 kilometres south-eastwards. In 1970 it extended about 10 kilometres from Church Square (see *Figure 1*) to include residential areas such as Waterkloof and Brooklyn. Though geographically

extended at the time, the residential density was very low. Even today, the gross population density is seven persons per hectare, the building density two persons per hectare and the occupation density 3,3 persons per dwelling unit. (The corresponding figures for the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Area are 14, 3 and 5 respectively) (Gapp *et al.* 1998:Table 2.7).

The growth of the south-eastern sector was fuelled by the availability of readily available and cheap(er) land; a vibrant property market, aggressively driven in the 1970s and 1980s by township developers (who have since disappeared from the scene); the prospect of making good profit investing in a house as a hedge against inflation; a robust building industry; prosperity brought about by a long-term economic upswing; government assistance to prospective homeowners; the involvement of the local authority in the provision of stands for middle-income households and so on. However, the dual configuration of a single city centre surrounded by a sprawling suburban periphery began to disintegrate when a series of decentralised suburban shopping centres began to dot the suburban landscape in the seventies (Badenhorst 2001:9).

The 'trigger' that set everything off, however, was the construction in 1979 of the OK Hyperama retail development. The latter consisted of some 25 000m² floor area which soon became incorporated into the existing Menlyn Park Regional Shopping Centre (Maritz 2000:3). The centre was extended in 1983, 1991 and 1993 (Labuschagne 1999:60), enlarging it to 60 000m².

In 2 000 a large scale transformation of the centre was completed at a cost of R800 million Rand (Menlyn Park 2001). The present size of the centre is 110 000m², and "... remains Pretoria's premier shopping, leisure

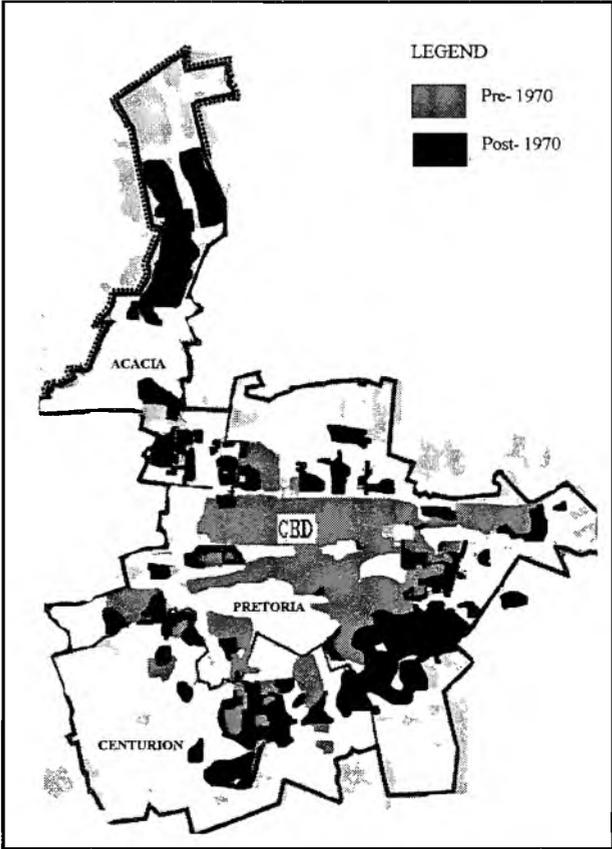


Figure 1: Suburban growth in Pretoria (Source: Adapted from Plan Associates 2000).

and entertainment destination" (Menlyn Park 2001). Much retail, office and other development have since taken place (see Figure 2).

To mention but a few: a competitor, Pick 'n Pay Hypermarket opened its own facility in direct competition to OK Hyperama about 3 kilometres down the road to the east; offices were developed first to the south of Menlyn Park Shopping Centre (MPSC) then to the east and then to the north of it. In 1990 a discount centre was developed in Garsfontein Road, followed by a competing facility across Pick 'n Pay Centre in Atterbury Road, subsequently a hotel was added as was a technopark (see Maritz 1999:5 for a more complete inventory).

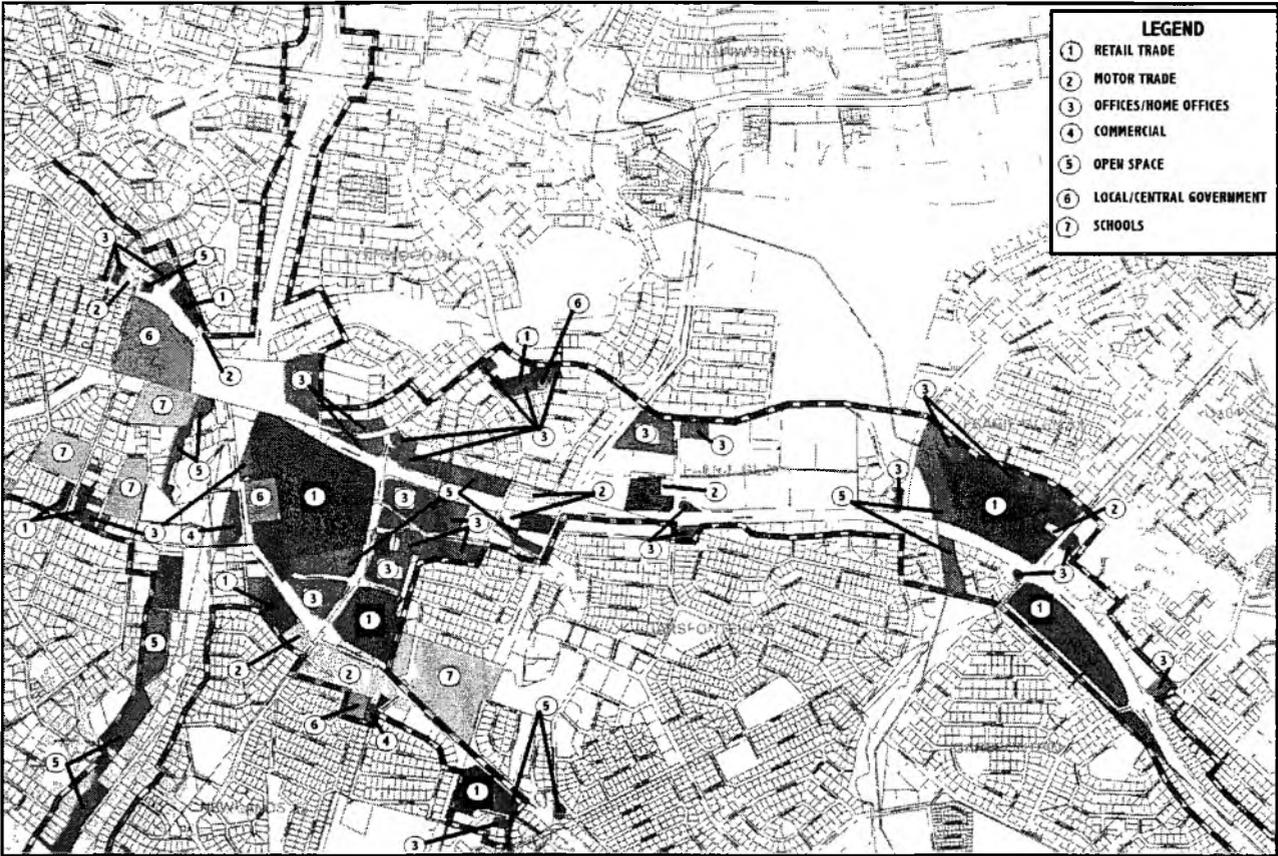


Figure 2: Menlyn Regional Economic Node (Source: Adapted from Maritz 1999).

MPSC now lies at the core of what has been dubbed the Menlyn Regional Economic Node (MREN), with three activity corridors focusing on it (see *Figure 2*). The land use (excluding residential) consist of:

- Retail trade: 23 1058m²
- Motor trade: 36 408m²
- Offices: 179 424m²
- Commercial: 5 032m²
- High-tech park: 50 615m²

TOTAL: 502 537m²
 (Allocated rights not taken up : 73 283m²) (see Maritz 1999:9).

In a survey in 1995, albeit limited inasmuch as the sample was concerned, Venter and Van der Wath (1995:87-9) found that 70% of the respondents shopped exclusively in the area; 50% never visited the Pretoria CBD for any other purpose than work, and 33% worked in the eastern suburbs.

In 1998 Roux and Ros concluded from another survey that the MPSC has replaced the CBD as a retail centre for the inhabitants of the south-eastern suburbs (1998:61). In yet another survey in 1992, Maritz found that 70% of the (mainly white) visitors to MPSC originated from the Greater Metropolitan Region, excluding the north-western and western parts (1999:5). Venter and Van der Wath's final conclusions were that the great majority of visitors to the MPSC were Whites and that the centre serves as a central shopping facility for this particular population group in Pretoria and its hinterland.

What about the other elements of the Pretoria East? It is characterised by high quality housing, mostly single detached houses on individual stands ranging from 800m² upwards in a wooded, gently sloping landscape.

The inhabitants are mostly Whites who enjoy high education levels, incomes and professional status. High income Blacks are also increasingly moving into the area. High walls and security systems are ubiquitous, reflecting the high crime levels in the area/country. For this same reason much of the new development takes the form of security villages. Applications to gate/fence-off communities for security reasons are on the increase (see Oos/East Rekord, 16 March 2001).

Two golfing estates provide both luxury housing and personal security. (There are another four 18-hole golf courses in the area). The best schools in Pretoria are found in Pretoria East, also two universities, four private hospitals, several retirement villages, four Virgin Health and Racquet Clubs (and other gymnasias) and even a cemetery. It is indeed possible to be born, grow up, be educated, pursue a professional career, retire and eventually die and be buried in Pretoria East. In fact, it can all be done within a radius of less than 10 kilometres! (Badenhorst 2001: 11).

What are the interdependencies between Pretoria East and other areas? From the morning peak travel links by automobile in *Figure 3*, it is clear that there is still much interaction with the CBD (Wapadrand and Garsfontein to CBD).

It is, however clear that a large proportion of the traffic skirts the CBD, heading for the external south, i.e. to Centurion, Midrand, Randburg, Sandton and Edenvale to the north of Johannesburg. This whole sub-region is developing more or less along the same lines as Pretoria East (see *Figure 4*), hence this flow and contra-flow of traffic. It is by no means presumptuous to claim that this sub-region represents the hub of the province of Gauteng's modern economy, if indeed not South Africa's.

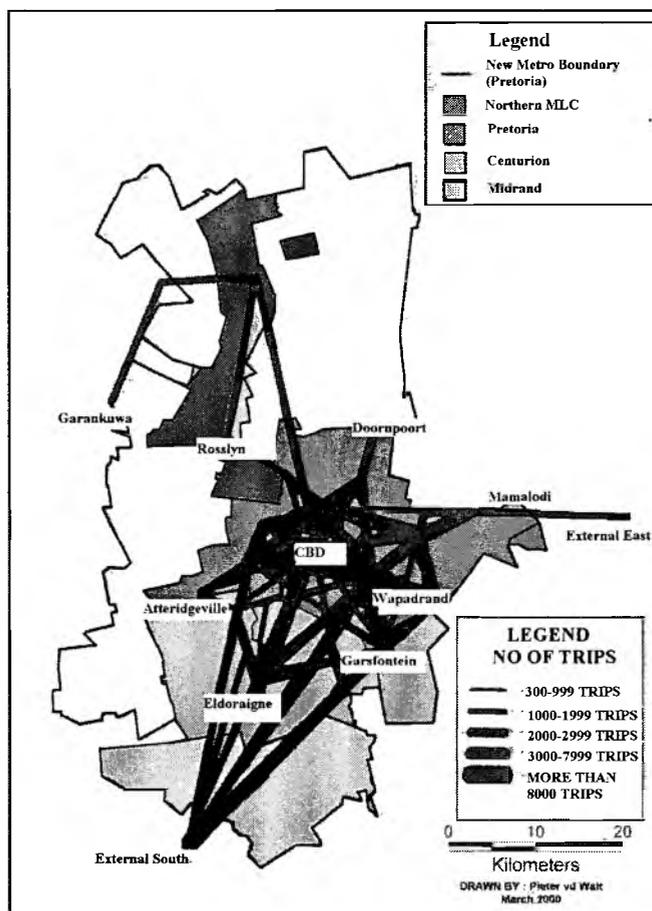


Figure 3: Morning Peak Travel in the GPMC and environs (Source: TRC Africa et. al. 2000).

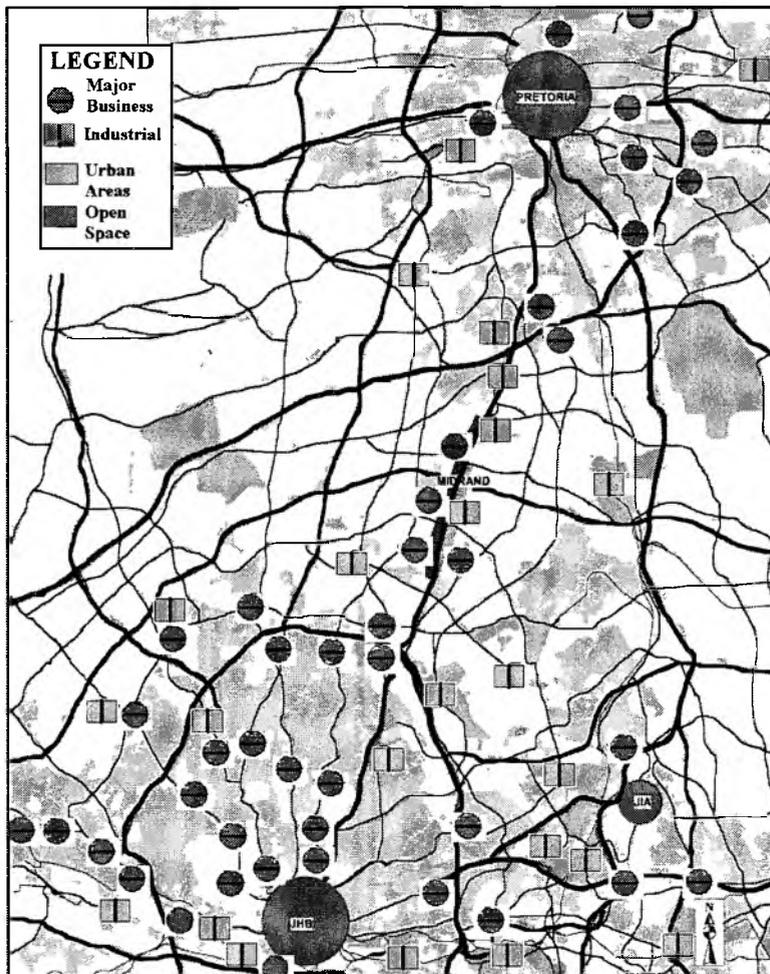


Figure 4: Development growth in the Pretoria / Johannesburg region
(Source: Adapted from Plan Associates 2000).

Prevailing knowledge has it that this is indeed where the top jobs are located, where high-technology prevails, where business is information driven, and where capital investment is directed. Above all, it is a region that is fully plugged into the global economy (Badenhorst 2001:12).

As indicated earlier on, Pretoria-East has no name, neither does it have a mayor, a city council or boundaries on a map. It was nothing like a city as recently as 30 years ago – in fact it was mostly farmland. In the minds of the inhabitants it is one place. The feeling is to a large degree cemented by the fact that the inhabitants have deliberately turned their backs on the CBD. It is chaotic if by chaotic is meant building is going on and construction work is taking place. It has

more square meters of leasable retail space offering some of the most luxurious shopping imaginable under one roof than deemed to be the minimum by Garreau (See paragraph 3.2). However, it falls (far) short inasmuch as office space is concerned. Since Garreau lumps "industry", "commerce" and "office space" together under the heading of the latter (see criticisms against the Edge City concept in paragraph 3.2), Pretoria East falls 42% short on "office space (271 500m² against 465 000m² per definition). Though no figures are available, Pretoria East most definitely has fewer jobs than bedrooms though jobs are growing at a much faster rate here than elsewhere in the city. However, in terms of Pretoria's Integrated Transport Plan's Strategic Land Use Scenarios, if current trends prevail,

the south-eastern sector will accommodate considerably more job opportunities than the CBD by 2020 (Plan Associates 2000). It is clear to all and sundry that Pretoria East have indeed achieved critical mass so as to generate and sustain future growth.

From the foregoing exploratory look into Pretoria East so as to determine its status as an (evolving) Edge City, it can be concluded that notwithstanding the fact that the area does not meet all the definitional criteria to qualify as an Edge City as laid down by Garreau, the evidence nonetheless point to the fact that if not outright, Pretoria East can (clearly) claim the title as an evolving Edge City.

4. Conclusion

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the foregoing exploratory analysis of Pretoria East is that a "city" is indeed in the process of developing in the south-eastern suburbs. When measured in terms of Garreau's functional framework of Edge Cities, Pretoria East in fact qualifies to be called at least an evolving Edge City. What is occurring in the area is clearly characteristic of the postmetropolitan phase of urban development in North American cities, which the South African resembles. It is obvious that the old paradigm of city form viz. a dual configuration consisting of a (single) major city centre surrounded by a sprawling suburban periphery has become obsolete in the case of Pretoria as such. In fact, continued endorsement of the paradigm is tantamount to applying old labels that are no longer fitting to radically changed circumstances- an antiquated view of how cities are supposed to look.

It is also obvious that the CBD and Pretoria East are not competing for the same development, nor does the latter draw development away from the CBD in the way primate cities suck up development/investment at

the expense of the rest. Pretoria's CBD is clearly adjusting to changed needs and circumstances resulting from what can be termed an "informatization" of the area, becoming less congenial by the day to the needs of the residents of Pretoria East. Pretoria East and the CBD in fact co-exist in a supplementary manner, each representative of a different social world. It is for this reason that the development of the Menlyn Regional Economic Node (MREN) is not expected to have a significant impact on the CBD as such.

The question is of course whether the forces that gave rise to postmetropolitan Pretoria East can be controlled / contained, and even turned around so as to redirect development to other areas, including the CBD through urban restructuring projects. The answer to this is a subdued "no", since it is difficult to answer to it in an absolutized manner. The relevant forces derive from a globalised economic order, which does not have a local turf. Massive public intervention in the situation to achieve goals, which are not consonant with this, is bound to have little success. It will probably result in no development / investment at all in a game of 'Pretoria East or else nothing' or 'Pretoria East or else another similar place'. In the final analysis decisions on urban restructuring should be guided by the fact that Pretoria East represents the leading edge of contemporary urban and economic development in the metropolitan region and hence deserves to be nurtured for the greater good not only of the metropolitan region as such, but also for the greater good of the country.

Bibliography

BADENHORST, M.S. 2001. Pretoria and its south-eastern edge: a tale of two cities. Multipolar Patterns of Urban Development – Competition or Cooperation. International Conference. Lodz. Poland.

BADENHORST, M.S. 1999. The South African city: a study in socio-spatial engineering. Third International Urban Planning and Environment Association Symposium. Pretoria.

BADENHORST, M. S. 1987. Die residensiële struktuur van die metro-pool: 'n sosiaal-ruimtelike vertolking van die Suid-Afrikaanse geval. Unpublished D.Phil thesis. Rand Afrikaans University. Johannesburg.

BLUMENFELD, H. 1967. The urban pattern. In: Spreiregen P. D. (ed.). *The modern metropolis :its origins, growth, characteristics and planning.* Cambridge (Massachusetts): The MIT Press.

BOULDING, K.E. 1962. Human Organization. Vol. & No. unknown.

CARVER, H. 1971. *Cities in the suburbs.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

CDE (Centre for Development and Enterprise). 1998. Pretoria: from Apartheid's model city to a rising African star? Johannesburg.

CRONJE, C.B. 1999. Stedelike herstrukturering met spesiale verwysing na die middestad van Pretoria. Unpublished B (T&RP) essay. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

GAPP, CSIR & K. QUANT. 1998. An integrated urban densification strategy for the GPMA.

GARREAU, J. 1991a. Edge City: life on the new frontier. Doubleday. New York.

GARREAU, J. 1991b. In search for the future inside ourselves. *Future Issues.* Vol. & No. unknown.

GOTTMANN, J. 1961. *Megalopolis.* Cambridge (Massachusetts): The MIT Press.

GOTTMANN, J. & R.A. HARPER. 1967. *Metropolis on the move.* New York: John Wiley and Sons. inc.

HARVEY, R.O. & W.A.V. CLARK. 1971. The nature and economics of urban sprawl in Bourne LS. (ed.). *Internal structure of the city.* London: Oxford University Press.

HATTINGH, P. S. & A.C. HORN. 1991. Apartheid Pretoria in Lemon A. (ed.) *Homes apart.* Cape Town: David Philip.

JOHNSON, J. H. 1972. *Urban geography: an introductory analysis.* New York: Pergamon Press.

JONES, E. 1990. *Metropolis.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

JORDAAN, G. 1987. An urban design strategy for placemaking in city centres. Unpublished MUD discourse. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

LABUSCHAGNE, S. 1999. Die ontwikkeling van die Menlyn Nodus. Unpublished B (T & RP) essay. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

MARITZ, N. 1999. *The Menlyn Regional Economic Node (MREN).* Unpublished report. Pretoria.

MENLYN PARK 2001. *Menlyn Park Shopping Centre.* Unpublished brochure.

OOS/EAST REKORD. Faerie Glen wil afsper, 14(21). 16 March 2001.

PLAN ASSOCIATES. 2000. Unpublished slides.

ROUX E & E. ROS. 1998. Kleinhandel in 'n 'post-suburban landscape': 'n gevallestudie van die oostelike voorstede van Pretoria. Unpublished B (T & RP) essay. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

SCHOONRAAD, M. D., A. STEENKAMP, G. YOUNG, L. ROODT & P. VELAYTHAM. Paul Kruger Street Spine. Unpublished research report. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

SOJA E. W. 2000. *Postmetropolis*. Malden (Massachusetts): Blackwell Publishers.

TOYNBEE, A. 1972. Has man's metropolitan environment any precedents? In: Bell G & J. Tyrwhitt, J. (eds.). *Human identity in the urban environment*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.

TRC ARICA & STEWART SCOTT. Inc. 2000. Household travel survey 1998/99. Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council. Pretoria.

VAN DER MERWE, I. J. 1993. The South African city in relation to international city form. *Development Southern Africa*, 10(4).

VENTER A. & N. VAN DER WATH. 1995. Die manifestasie van Edge Cities in Suid Afrika. Unpublished B (T & RP) essay. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

WEBBER M.M. 1968. *The Post City Age in Bourne L S. (Ed) Internal structure of the city*. London: Oxford University Press.