MSUNDUZI LOCAL MUNICIPALITY
CASE STUDY

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDS</td>
<td>Centre for Development Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CoGTA</td>
<td>Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Integrated Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIG</td>
<td>Municipal Infrastructure Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLM</td>
<td>Msunduzi Local Municipality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDP</td>
<td>National Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>Reconstruction and Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSA</td>
<td>Republic of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACN</td>
<td>South African Cities Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDF</td>
<td>Spatial Development Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPLUMA</td>
<td>Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1. **SETTING THE SCENE**

It has been widely acknowledged that to overcome the legacy of colonial–cum–apartheid, cities in South Africa need to undergo spatial transformation (South African Cities Network [SACN], 2014). However, South Africa still grapples with issues of spatial transformation generally, and more specifically in intermediate cities where the situation has been grim (Nel, Campbell and Mphambukeli, 2013). Various conferences across the country have taken place in recent times to address issues of spatial transformation, and this case study contributes towards that discourse.

This case study forms part of ten case studies conducted across South African intermediate cities as commissioned by the SACN. This research study was undertaken by the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) at the University of the Free State and led by Prof Lochner Marais. Researchers from the Stellenbosch University, the University of Limpopo and the University of South Africa (Unisa) were involved in the project.

The Msunduzi Local Municipality (MLM) case study provides the critical findings of the research that was conducted between the months of April to June 2017. The research included an analysis of the MLM Spatial Development Framework (SDF) and a total of nine interviews; conducted with various stakeholders at the MLM. Specifically, the following key informants were interviewed:

- Acting senior manager for Human Settlements (Manager, Rental Units).
- An African National Congress councillor.
- Chief town planner.
- Manager for Tourism, Sustainable Development and City Enterprise.
- Acting senior manager for Financial Governance and Performance Management.
- Chief executive officer for Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Businesses.
- Manager for Water and Sewerage.
- Manager, Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan Performance Management.

Some observations were made during a sitting of the Sustainable Development and City Enterprise members of the Mayoral Committee on 6 June 2017.

This case study is divided into seven sections. The first section presents a brief historical overview of the MLM, its demographic setting and economic overviews. The second section presents the main spatial transformation issues that are currently evident in the MLM, followed by a presentation of the alignment of the MLM SDF with current national and provincial legislation, policies and guidelines. The fourth section presents an overview of the MLM SDF. The last three sections outline the assessment of the SDF, thinking about spatial transformation implementation more broadly than spatial planning and strategic development frameworks and general conclusions.
2. **BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MSUNDUZI LOCAL MUNICIPALITY**

The MLM was birthed in December 2000, as a result of the new post-apartheid demarcation of municipal boundaries. Currently, the MLM – commonly referred to as Pietermaritzburg or the ‘City of Choice’ – forms part of a larger district municipality called uMgungundlovu District Municipality (Figure 1). The MLM is referred to as the ‘City of Choice' because it is only 45 minutes by road from Durban (Africa's busiest port), one hour away by road to the new King Shaka Airport, one hour by air from Pietermaritzburg Airport to O.R. Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg, and 90 minutes from the central Drakensberg Mountain resorts. Following the constant changes and shifts of the boundaries of the municipal area over the years, the spatial extent and population of the MLM have substantially grown and become larger. Moreover, the growth of the municipal area is also attributed to quite a number of rural areas, previously outside the municipal area, that have now been absorbed to become part of the MLM. Vulindlela is one such area that was previously categorised as rural but has now been integrated into the municipal area.

![Regional map of uMgungundlovu District Municipality and location of Pietermaritzburg showing the road network that links the area with different other nodes](image)

**Figure 1:** Regional map of uMgungundlovu District Municipality and location of Pietermaritzburg showing the road network that links the area with different other nodes

2.1 **Geographical setting**

The MLM covers a total area of 634 km² and is situated on the N3 highway at the junction of an industrial corridor (from Durban to Pietermaritzburg) and an agro-industrial corridor (stretching from Pietermaritzburg to Estcourt). It encompasses the city of Pietermaritzburg (Figure 2) which is the capital of the KwaZulu-Natal province and the main economic hub of the uMgungundlovu District Municipality. Overall, the MLM consists of three areas: The former Pietermaritzburg borough, the greater
Edendale and the Vulindlela tribal area. These three areas were then divided into 37 wards which have different councillors.

On a regional scale, the MLM is located at the cross section of the N3 corridor and the Greytown road corridor to the north – a tourist route to the Drakensberg (Figure 1). It is also home to great international events such as the Comrades Marathon, the Duzi Marathon and the Midmar Mile.

2.2 Demographic and economic overview

The MLM is characterised by population growth. Statistics from the 2011 Census show that the population of the MLM was 618 536 in 2011; this reflects a population growth of 1.2% per annum between 2001 and 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Presently, the population of the municipality is estimated to be at least 670 000 with a 2% growth rate per annum (MLM, 2016). Table 1 provides a detailed comprehension of the demographic profile of the MLM.
Table 1: Demographic Profile of Msunduzi Local Municipality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profile</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>618,536</td>
<td>670,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population under 15</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population between 15 and 64</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
<td>64.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population above 65</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total percentage</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MLM (2016)

Table 2 presents an educational profile of the MLM and highlights that the majority (36.6%) of the over 20-year-old citizens in the MLM had some primary education and 31.1% had some secondary education. These percentages revealed that a significant number of citizens did not attain higher levels of education.

Table 2: Education Profile of Msunduzi Local Municipality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizens above 20 years of age</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some primary education</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed primary education</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some secondary education</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed secondary education</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics South Africa (2012)

2.3 A brief indication of economic growth/decline

Many economic performance indicators show that the economy of Msunduzi has been growing remarkably over the past years (MLM, 2017). Despite experiencing an economic decline in 2010, the economy of the MLM has continued to grow since 2011. The MLM contributes towards 80% of the gross domestic product by nine of the largest cities in South Africa. However, despite such economic growth, the municipality still experiences a high level of unemployment and growing levels of poverty, particularly in the townships and peri-urban settlements where unemployment rates may exceed 70% (RSA, National Government, 2017).

2.4 A brief overview of economic structure

The MLM emerged as the main economic hub within the uMgungundlovu District Municipality. The economy is supported by a vibrant manufacturing industry, retail trade, businesses, finance and government service sectors. Specifically, the main economic sectors of the municipality and their contribution are the following:
Community services (29%), finance (24%), transport (13%), trade (12%), manufacturing (12%) and informal businesses (10%). The location of the municipality also has a strong influence on regional channels of investment, movement and structuring of the economy for growth and development. In the MLM, the informal economy also operates as a significant component of the province’s economy. This informal sector operates alongside the formal economy and contributes to approximately 12% of the municipality’s gross domestic product (Ngqulunga, 2012). Overall, a set of factors were identified in the MLM Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (2016:17) that helped in sustaining the economy of the municipality, and these include:

- **Locational advantages**: Considering that Pietermaritzburg is located on the N3, it has attracted a significant number of businesses in the transport and logistics sector. This again has also helped to boost and sustain the economy of the municipality.

- **Geographical advantages**: Highly fertile land.

- **Human capital advantages**: Good schools and tertiary institutions.

- **Institutional advantages**: The MLM enjoys ‘Capital City’ status. Therefore, it is home to most of the provincial government departments and has attracted different businesses from the service sector.

### 3. **Main Spatial Transformation Issues**

Eight main spatial transformation issues emerged or were extracted from the MLM case study, namely capacity, the MLM officials’ understanding of the SDF, budget, business component, implementation challenges, spatial–social–distributive justice question, areas under traditional leadership, and political interference. The following subsections present a more detailed discussion of each of these issues.

#### 3.1 Capacity

A point of conflict that has emerged as a critical spatial transformation issue in the MLM has been the rampant corruption that led to the suspension of a number of senior employees and officials. Most of the vacancies were occupied by people on an ‘acting’ basis, a situation which greatly compromised the efficiency of the municipality. The high staff turnover negatively impacted on the success of most spatial transformation projects because the personnel usually did not relate well with some of the projects, hence these projects tended to be less successful. Furthermore, the issue of accountability has been greatly compromised because of the high staff turnovers.

#### 3.2 Understanding of the spatial development framework

Officials of the MLM seemed to have a good understanding of the SDF. From the interviews, it emerged that almost every department tried to align their work with the objectives of the SDF. It is clear that the officials made attempts to relate to the SDF as they sought to endorse the document. An example is the Water Master Plan that
has been prepared in line with the SDF. Likewise, the Human Settlement Department also recognised the goals of the SDF and made every attempt to contribute to the desired objectives. However, there was a big skills gap in various departments of the MLM such that the municipality could not produce its own SDF within their organisation, but would rather rely on the help of external stakeholders.

3.3 Budget

Budgetary issues were posed as a major issue for the MLM with regard to the SDF. There were instances where millions of Rand had remained unused due to failure to implement certain projects. The result was that the funds had to be returned to the treasury. Such situations have stifled development in the city and attributed to the lack of capacity to handle funds where politicians responsible for administering the affairs of the municipality, lacked the capacity to so. In addition, issues of corruption were also associated with the budgetary issues as the municipality has been synonymous with rampant corruption. Hence, there is need to get political interference out of the way and allow the municipal system to operate without such external influences.

3.4 Business component

Another issue raised was the delays with land use applications. Land use applications take a very long time to be processed and this was exacerbated by the municipality’s system that needs to be computerised. As such there is no accountability with regard to the operations within the systems which makes it vulnerable to corruption. Moreover, it is critical for the authorities to have a vision of the city to which people should align with. This is an important aspect that leadership should take care of. Therefore, opening new areas for economic development in the MLM remains a challenge.

3.5 Implementation challenges

Implementation challenges posed as a major constraint to the spatial transformation of the MLM. This is so because the SDF was still typified as a colonial–apartheid–spatial order. Most development projects that were undertaken seem to perpetuate the colonial legacies as most of the infrastructure developments continued to be biased in these areas. For example, one of the respondents argued that if the government wants to increase service delivery in poor areas, the infrastructure must be upgraded in high-income areas.

Such a mindset simply perpetuates the colonial–apartheid legacies. Moreover, in certain cases funds were not spent for the projects they were allocated for; a situation which stifled the implementation of the SDF. However, as an aspiring metropolitan municipality, it should have exemplified forward and strategic planning, rather than continuing to develop on such a skewed trajectory. Overall, it appears that the implementation of the SDF was not satisfactory in the MLM.
3.6 Spatial–social–distributive justice question

The lack of racial integration in space persisted to overwhelm the MLM. Although attempts were made to address the apartheid policies that created racial segregation and fragmentation in space, it seems that this problem persists to this day. This is explained by the fact that poverty and unemployment were still experienced by the same areas of the city which were still predominantly black. Although the MLM provide services in this area, they do not receive any significant income from these areas; hence these areas are subsidised by other paying citizens.

Parallel with the physical expansion of the boundaries of the municipal area, there has been another spatial issue which relates to the unnecessary loss of agricultural land, as well as biodiversity at the periphery of the city. This is because the SDF lacks an urban edge. As a result, vital agricultural land are lost, yet such land could help to support agricultural activities which contribute to feeding the city and may ensure that there is a constant supply of food. Moreover, the urban edge also helps to preserve biodiversity which promotes ecotourism; hence its loss translates into economic losses since the tourism industry may be affected negatively. On the other hand, the constant loss of this green edge means that vegetation is lost at alarming rates, a situation which possibly contributes to climate change through greenhouse gas emissions.

3.7 Areas under traditional leadership

Previously, the MLM was predominantly an urban municipality with a small area that mainly included Pietermaritzburg. The physical boundary of the municipal area has expanded to include areas under traditional leadership. Such areas include Vulindlela which accommodates close to 45% of the total population of the MLM. Interestingly, Vulindlela has about five traditional leaders (called amakhosi) who have power over the administration of their tribal trust lands. Spatial transformation is complicated in this regard because all these amakhosi need to be consulted when it comes to land development, which tends to restrain the implementation of the SDF. Moreover, there are instances when the amakhosi would take decisions that are not aligned with the SDF, for example parcelling out land in wetlands and other environmentally sensitive sites that have to be conserved.

3.8 Political interference

The study found that the increasing expansion of the municipal area, as well as integration of rural settlements such as the Vulindlela Traditional Authority was a significant factor with regard to spatial transformation which were embedded in the political landscape of the MLM. There is a lack of good political leadership which infiltrates the municipality’s governance decision processes, for example ward councillors wanting their areas to be better serviced than others. On the other hand, politicians dominated decision-making; hence, when projects are enforced, they are usually endorsed by the politicians. It was also evident that the interests of the politicians remained prominent in the SDF; thus, there was no planning for integration.
4. **Alignment of the Spatial Development Framework with Current National and Provincial Legislation, Policies and Guidelines**

The MLM has adopted an approach where they realised that the municipality was not located in a vacuum; hence one of the key elements of the SDF was its alignment with national and provincial legislation, policies and guidelines (MLM, 2015:157). Thus, the SDF was guided by different national and provincial legislations, policies and guidelines which focus on various aspects and issues pertaining to the socio-economic and environmental landscape of the MLM. Table 3 summarises the national policies, legislations and guidelines to which the SDF is aligned.

**Table 3: National legislations, policies and guidelines that align with the spatial development framework**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National policies and guidelines</th>
<th>National legislations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• South African Constitution and Principles of Sustainable Development as espoused in the Sustainable Development Goals</td>
<td>• The Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management</td>
<td>• Social Housing Act, Act 16 of 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa</td>
<td>• National Environment Management Act, Act 107 of 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• National Spatial Development Perspective</td>
<td>• Development Facilitation Act, Act 67 of 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• National Development Plan (NDP)</td>
<td>• Environmental Conservation Act, Act 73 of 1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Climate Change Response White Paper</td>
<td>• Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA), Act 16 of 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• State of the Nation Address 2012–2014</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Breaking New Ground</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the provincial context, the MLM SDF aligns with the following guidelines: The Provincial Growth and Development Strategy and Provincial Spatial Economic Development Strategy.

4.1 **Alignment with adjacent spatial development plans**

Various spatial development plans of the adjacent local municipalities were spatially cross checked with the MLM SDF review (2015:155). These plans are discussed in the following subsections for each local municipality.

4.1.1 **Msunduzi and Umgeni**

The MLM SDF has maintained the residual zoning of the Mpophomeni area and is zoned as such. Moreover, the MLM SDF also aligns with Umgeni at Winterskloof where the higher density corridor development along the quality bus service route of the
MLM’s integrated rapid public transport network is interfaced with residential development in Umgeni.

4.1.2 Msunduzi and Impendle
The M70 corridor provides mobility along the residential settlement areas of Vulindlela and into Boston. Adjoining land uses complement the existing use of the area. The viability of a services centre at Boston remains promising as the key centre proposed at Vulindlela is about five kilometres away.

4.1.3 Msunduzi and uMshwati
These two municipalities are aligned at Claridge and Tourism Linkage. There is a municipal open space system interface between Msunduzi and the uMshwati agricultural priority area. Tourism Linkage joins into the existing residential settlement of Northdale. Next is the alignment at Whispers and Tourism Linkage where the latter penetrates into the existing residential settlement of Copesville. However, the informal nature of some of the areas in Copesville would reduce the tourism potential and should therefore be considered and addressed. Considering the economic significance of these two as potential economic nodes they have been scheduled as such in the uMshwati SDF. Both the Msunduzi and uMshwati SDFs facilitated this through cooperative land use reservation.

4.1.4 Msunduzi and Ingwe
The interface between the Msunduzi and Ingwe Municipalities is predominantly agricultural. While settlements exist up to the furthest extents of Vulindlela, large ridges fragment the villages from the agricultural dominated land uses surrounding them in the adjoining municipality.

4.1.5 Msunduzi and Richmond
The interface between Msunduzi and Richmond is predominantly agricultural. At the south-eastern boundary of Msunduzi and the northern boundary of Richmond, are settlements such as Thornville and Manderstone. The SDF has identified the interface as potentially agribusiness/commercial in the medium term. The abutting the SDF of Richmond views the area as a secondary node and this facilitates potential wall-to-wall land use designation.

4.2 Local context
The MLM SDF also illustrates alignment with local plans, including the various sector plans (MLM, 2015:157). The following local plans that have been considered in formulating the MLM SDF:

- uMgungundlovu District Municipality (IDP and SDF).
- uMgungundlovu District Municipality Strategic Environmental Assessment.
- Msunduzi Local Municipality (IDP and SDF).
• Impendle Local Municipality (SDF).
• uMngeni Local Municipality (SDF).
• uMshwati Local Municipality (SDF).
• Mkambathini Local Municipality (SDF).
• Richmond Local Municipality (SDF).
• Msunduzi Local Municipality – Housing Sector Plan and Slum Clearance Strategy 2011.
• Msunduzi Local Municipality – Environmental Management Framework.
• Msunduzi Local Municipality – Transportation Plan.
• Vulindlela Local Area Plan.

5. **OVERVIEW OF THE SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK**

This section presents an overview of the Msunduzi SDF. It highlights some key issues regarding

5.1 **Spatial Development Framework Review, 2009**

The SDF forms part of a fundamental chapter within the MLM IDP. It represents the spatial expression (picture version) of the municipal Council’s development vision and goals. Thus, it should be reviewed regularly to take changing circumstances into account. Regarding this specific review in July 2009, the Council’s existing 2002 SDF was adopted and reviewed to incorporate the 2025 Development Vision, which was stated as: “to be the dynamic, caring Capital City of Choice in Kwa-Zulu Natal”. In fulfilling this vision, the MLM is guided by its mission for facilitating service delivery which includes community participation; social and economic development and growth; safety, security and HIV/AIDS; sustainable service delivery; sound finance; sound governance and sustainable environmental management (MLM, 2009:6).

The MLM SDF is provided in Figure 3.
The main purpose of this SDF was described as a plan that seeks to advance the development of the city as a cohesive system consisting of functionally interrelated elements that were subsequently redressed and were premised on, inter alia, the following:

- The integration of social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development.
- The historically distorted and fragmented spatial patterns of the city and its settlement.
- Development of a more compact city and the improvement of linkages to support an efficient and effective city.
- Accessibility to social and economic opportunities.
- The management of development by identifying areas for investment or upgrading to create unique places.
- Promoting a diverse combination of land uses, supporting the growth and investment potential within the urban system.
• Improving the distribution of services and facilities, especially to areas which are under-provided.

The adopted 2002 SDF was based on six main principles, which included the following: compaction of the city, integration of the urban fabric, densification, restructuring the city, meeting the land use needs, and identification of areas of economic development potential. Based on the above-mentioned principles, the 2009 SDF developed certain spatial goals, namely:

• To connect all nodes of the city.
• To create mixed economic activities within the urban area.
• To create an efficient land use system that will ensure the development of adequate housing.
• To develop sustainable environments.

5.1.1 The effectiveness of the 2009 Spatial Development Framework

This 2009 SDF was drafted before the enactment of the SPLUMA which made it quite obvious that these SDF principles would be different, but the major shortfall of this SDF is that it has failed to provide any details of how the proposed concept was applied in order to adhere to the guiding principles, as well as how the spatial goals would be achieved. It simply acknowledged some of the SDF structuring elements and immediately proceeded to identify existing and potential nodes. It was also not clear what would happen after those nodes had been identified, as an implementation plan had not be put in place.

5.2 Spatial Development Framework review: Final report, 2015

Based on a thorough investigation and understanding of the status quo of the MLM, a comprehensive SDF map was compiled in a systematic manner. The SDF was based on seven pillars identified as forming a backbone of sustainability for a city of the future (MLM, 2015:14).

The SDF phase identified the need for the following interventions, per pillar:

• **Global connectivity**: Better local, regional and national physical connectivity of the municipality via all nodes of transport, as well as connecting the city to the rest of the world via enhanced information and communication technologies (MLM, 2015:36).

• **Productive systems**: Developing a strategy for land release and rezoning along the N3 corridor; revitalising the central business district (CBD) and other secondary and tertiary centres of economic activity; introducing new economic centres in previously neglected areas such as townships and rural areas; and protecting the efficient use of agricultural land (MLM, 2015:37).

• **Ecological infrastructure**: Improving the open space framework within the city for improved natural service provision and ecological functionality, through the
protection of demarcated and non-demarcated nature reserves and open spaces; enhancing linkages across natural water catchments and ecological migration routes (municipal open space system) (MLM, 2015:39).

- **Sustainable transport**: Spatially identifying and promoting an equitable movement structure across the city, through an enhanced public transport backbone (for example, the integrated rapid public transport network and possible future non-motorised transport routes) and by reviewing the functionality of the rail network (MLM, 2015:40).

- **Quality urbanism**: Creating functional, well-serviced neighbourhoods; building a polycentric city structure with secondary major centres (such as in the greater Edendale – a historically black area); identifying areas for future smaller sustainable urban centres; promoting densification and public place-making in the aforementioned areas and along public transport trunk routes (MLM, 2015:41).

- **Social inclusivity**: Identifying areas for new housing opportunities, areas where informal housing needs to be addressed and/or upgraded on-site, and areas requiring the equitable distribution of services and public amenities (MLM, 2015:113).

- **Sustainable services**: Enhancing existing infrastructure based on findings per Area Based Management (ABM); identifying areas for future infrastructure installations and mechanisms for achieving infrastructure-related efficiency through economies of scale at densified urban centres and along key transport routes, using innovative and resource-efficient technologies where needed (MLM, 2015:9).

This SDF was based on a growth model developed as part of this study, which identified future populations as well as economic space required for the future. This enabled the SDF to have a sound basis informed by sustainable anticipated growth. The economic and population growth models identified a need to ensure a minimum of 2 500 ha of industrial land, 600 ha of commercial land and 9 550 ha of residential land (MLM, 2015:9). These land allocations were adequately tied into the forecasted 2050 SDF.

The SDF proposals resulted in an implementation of 50 catalytic programmes, with the intention to instil change. The following programmes were prioritised as the top five priorities:

- Launching an agriculture and logistics platform.
- Ensuring liveable cities.
- Promoting land release industrial development.
- Creating viable urban centres.
- Inception of a rapid delivery agency.
5.2.1 Comment on the 2015 Spatial Development Framework

This SDF can be regarded as fairly credible as it complies with section 12 and 21 of SPLUMA and displays and motivates spatial integration in the municipality’s vision that is accompanied by an implementation plan.

6. Assessment of the Spatial Development Framework

In this section, four critical points are discussed with respect to the MLM SDF assessment, namely: outsourcing of the SDF, the SDF guiding water infrastructure planning, the quality of the plan, and degree of implementation.

6.1 Outsourcing of the Spatial Development Framework

The SDF was outsourced, but there was interaction and involvement of internal staff. This was not a wise decision because not anyone coming from outside has a clear picture of the city. In most instances, outsiders would just ‘cut and paste’ ideas and projects which is different from what an insider would do due to their massive knowledge and experience of the municipality. In addition, external consultants would just prepare the document to make money and they might not have the whole vision of the city in mind. Overall, the process uses a top–down approach, which is a disadvantage. On the other hand, outsourcing may be an advantage for the internal staff and Council personnel because they would gain experience on how the document was prepared; hence, they would have the ability to prepare such documents in future without external assistance.

Considering that the SDF was outsourced, the document tends to corrupt the envisaged spatial outcomes. The most important question would be on whether the person or consultancy has enough knowledge of the city, and not just economic skills, but also knowledge of the political economy of the city because politics play a major role in how services are delivered. Moreover, when the project is outsourced, there tends to be some discontentment about the document among the internal staff members. Also, the main problem is that the documents are developed in silos and do not connect with each other. There is inadequate correlation between what the municipality has articulated on the SDF vis-a-vis what the community wants development to occur in various areas of Msunduzi. It is also in this regard that some content ends up being missed. For example, the community development forum may require a clean and safe city, yet such initiative requires policing, which may not be stipulated in the SDF.

A weakness of the process is that the municipality relied more and more on consultancies over the past years. Ironically, the municipality had sufficient skills when they became independent, whereas there has been a shortage of skills lately. The consultancies who are outsourced by the municipality are very skilled people from outside the country. The municipality has a panel of consultancies for various sectors; hence, cutting down the supply chain of the municipality. However, they fail to get the
required skilled personnel at times which may be to the detriment of service delivery. An advantage is that the panel assists in saving time for the municipality.

It was also suggested that there was a need to factor in the level of interaction between the consultancy and the municipal employees in preparing the SDF. Basically, the SDF was outsourced, wherein, the technical work was done by the consultancy based on information provided by the municipality, for example geographic information system data. Thus, it could be considered as being produced through a partnership between the municipality and the consultancy. The disadvantages associated with outsourcing the SDF relates to the ownership of the plan by the municipal employees. Another disadvantage of outsourcing is that it did not allow for transfer of skills and capacity-building because the municipal employees simply took an administrative role rather than actively participating.

An interesting issue that was raised is the concern of the personnel and workforce in the municipality. There has been a high staff turnover, as well as the suspension of top officials in the municipality. The result was that too many posts are held by people in an ‘acting’ position. This has negatively impacted on the performance of the municipality and the stability of the municipality has often been compromised as different people held a position of authority within a short space of time, especially since 2012. When someone is in an ‘acting’ position, it may be difficult for them to take full ownership of projects and people usually do not give their personal best in such situations; hence achieving the set goals becomes difficult. Issues of accountability are also jeopardised. Furthermore, there has been a shortage of employees which has resulted in some departments operating with 7 instead of 23 employees. Subsequently, the staff is overwhelmed and often fail to deliver what is expected of them. Overall, the SDF process is highly compromised in the municipality owing to the perpetual stability and instability within the administrative units of the municipality, much to the disadvantage of the citizens who are usually denied services or services taking longer than expected to be delivered.

6.2 Spatial development framework guiding water infrastructure planning
The water services authority – Water and Sewerage Section– plays a crucial role in the SDF. This section of the municipality provides information as to the current state of the water and sewerage infrastructure. In this way, they indicated where on the ground the pipes are located, whether an area was provided with a sewerage system or not. Subsequently, they allowed the SDF to be guided with regard to where infrastructure needs to be put in place, or where development could take place easily. This is so because it is difficult to think of developing a high-income residential suburb in an area without any water or sewerage infrastructure. Moreover, this section is often contacted by consultancies for interviews regarding this kind of information. The municipality has its own Water Master Plan which was 95% completed in 2016, but they ended up running out of time as well as having to incorporate two new wards in August 2016, hence the Water Master Plan had to be reworked.
The Department for Organisation, Compliance, Performance and Knowledge Management that is responsible for creating service, was divided into two units: Operational Planning and Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan. The Operational Planning Unit is responsible for ancillary support and focuses on issues such as internal audits, integrated development planning, marketing, finance and communication. An initiative of the municipality is the izimbizo with the community in which they update the community on what has been done the previous year as well as to capture the community’s needs. This helps to identify the community’s needs so as to align them with the SDF as well as the national and provincial plans.

At political level, the SDF needs to respond to national policies and legislations. The focus is to achieve spatial integration wherein the SDF has to conform to the NDP, provincial plans and districts plans. When preparing the local action plans, the SDF needs to respond to the national, provincial and district plans so that there will be integrated planning, which was not happening during the apartheid era. Thus, spatial integration could not be achieved unless all these plans are reinforced. Furthermore, the MLM is part of the SANC. The 2030 city development strategy is the highest level of plan in the MLM and all the developments that take place in the municipal area need to be aligned to this development strategy. The SDFs have been reviewed in line with the housing sector plans, the local economic development strategy, which are currently all being reviewed to be submitted to the Minister of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA). However, the Minister of CoGTA highlighted that, regardless of all the fanciness of the SDFs, the SDF lacks a comprehensive capital framework investment and it does not respond to other plans or is aligned with SPLUMA and the Capital Framework Investment Plan.

The way forward, according to the chief executive officer, is to appoint professionals as administrators in the municipality instead of having politicians run the affairs of the city. Secondly, there is need to get political interference out of the way and allow the municipal system to operate without such external influence.

A number of people are coming into the city of Pietermaritzburg for education and employment opportunities. The increasing number of students has resulted in the need for some new development to cater for student accommodation and related services. Currently, students are being accommodated in private properties which are just a temporary means to take advantage of the increasing demand for student housing. Moreover, there is increasing migration of people from rural areas and this increases the need for the development of new housing in the townships so as to limit encroachment of people into the CBD. Efforts have also been channelled towards introduction and development of small industries in residential areas. Another issue to note has been the existing town planning schemes which have disintegrated; hence the need to harmonise all town planning schemes.

The SDF also failed to make provision for mixed land use development since there is not much publicly owned land remaining and there are currently too many buildings in
a state of decay. The most important thing to do is to look at land from an academic point of view. Moreover, it is critical for the authorities to have a vision of the city which people should align with.

The municipality thus tried to designate land use through the SDF which was translated into the town schemes to make land available for industries and commerce so that there is connectivity between the industrial areas and the markets. The main objective of such a move is that it benefits both community and investors; and established industries, not only in the traditional industrial sites of the city, but also in a manner that benefits areas that are highly impacted by unemployment.

It seems that the MLM did not plan for integration, but rather tends to perpetuate the apartheid planning system. Subsequently, the SDF emerged like a ‘copy and paste’ document of the previous apartheid plans that focused more on spatial segregation and fragmentation of residential suburbs between different races. The decay in the CBD clearly shows its shortcomings which also highlights the failure to reimagine the city and integrate different land uses. The main argument is that people should not live far away from the city, rather there is a need to create a symbiotic relationship between retail and socio-economic activities and services. Schools, medical centres and jobs should be strategically positioned so that transport challenges are minimised. The municipality must find ways to provide what the businesses want and make sure that people are provided with the requisite services that support their livelihoods and well-being. However, it seems that the level of racial integration in the city has been achieved to some extent as there is marked racial integration in the schools and people are more comfortable being around each other. Nevertheless, there is some shortcomings with the structure of the plans which needs to be changed as they seem to perpetuate the apartheid city that promote racial segregation. Another issue that needs to be addressed is political division which seems to be associated with racial integration.

Another shortcoming within the city is that the plans are not informed by what the people want. People just develop and build ad hoc without public consultation; hence, not every development is always accepted by the public. The interests that are prominent in the SDF are those of the politicians. There is very little consultation which results in plans that do not address the needs of the communities. However, the municipality interacts with some stakeholders such as the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce. However, such consultation is mainly restricted to minor aspects of the overall development of the city such as opening up areas for development. Basically, there is lack of communication between critical stakeholders and the executive of the municipality when it comes to strategic issues for the municipality. Ultimately, there is no strategic plan for the city which is the reason for the persistence of the ad hoc developments, as well as unregulated and uncompleted developments.
6.3 The quality of the plan

The SDF has clearly indicated that it is aligned with the SPLUMA stipulations and the local action plans. The other main document which the Council uses is the NDP. In addition to the SDF, the NDP talks about local economic reform and local traders. Other documents are the City Development Strategy, Provincial Growth Plan, Local Area Plans and SPLUMA. The strengths of the SDF are that it contains broad areas of focal topics which are relevant in terms of development.

The main outcome from the SDF is to propel the municipality to become a metropolitan municipality through advanced service delivery and promotion of spatial integration. This will be effected through creation of job opportunities closer to residential areas, a move which will also help to reduce travelling time and costs, especially for the underprivileged communities which are located far away from the CBD.

Msunduzi is a complex municipality where 45% of people in the MLM come from Vulindlela. Vulindlela is rural in nature and under an IDP with about five amakhosi in the area. However, all these amakhosi need to be consulted when it comes to land development which tends to stifle the SDF, considering the huge outcry that came from the amakhosi when the SPLUMA was promulgated, on the basis that they were not consulted. Amakhosi at times stand in the way of the SDF as they feel they are the bosses and the SDF are white-oriented. An example is when a person wants land, they would simply go to the amakhosi and claim the land, even if it is a wetland. However, some amakhosi now appreciate the importance of the SDF and what should be done before they can use or allocate land.

Additionally, there is the Vulindlela Local Area Plan which is above the SDF. Council has recently adopted the Vulindlela Local Area Plan for traditional areas, as well as teaching the community with regard to the use and allocation of land within the jurisdiction of the municipality which was mainly under tribal land during the apartheid era.

Water challenges are very limited in the MLM. The MLM supplies water to 96% of the city, including the rural areas. The other 4% is difficult to serve mainly due to strategic reasons with regard to pipes and the supply system. It would probably take 20 years to service the 4% because it is more important to upgrade the 96% serviced areas and expand the existing, an issue which is raised in the Water Master Plan. Financial issues for installation of water and sanitation is a challenge because approximately R2 billion is required for the water systems. There should be skilled staff to handle that huge amount of money, as well as consultancies that have the capacity. Therefore, there is a scarce skills gap which will be a big gap in future and may ultimately affect the delivery of water and sanitation infrastructure. On the other hand, there are some councillors who push more than others and want things to be done in their councils immediately. Money-lending sources such as the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) have conditions when they lend money, for example to get grant it should be invested in previously disadvantaged areas, but in this case upgrading may need to be done in
a previously advantaged area so that the disadvantaged area will benefit. It therefore becomes difficult to service the disadvantaged areas. Vulindlela gets its water from a reservoir that is situated outside the municipal water catchment. When the reservoir needs to be upgraded, the MIG would not allocate funds for the upgrading of the reservoir because it is located in a strategic area. The MLM therefore needs to look beyond the lines between disadvantaged and advantaged areas when it comes to allocation of MIG funds.

The demand for housing is critical in the MLM and the Human Settlement Department has been overwhelmed in dealing with this problem. As a result, their effort has been mostly focused on dealing with people living in informal settlements. Little has been done to address the housing challenges faced by those living in overcrowding conditions. Efforts at present are therefore mainly focused on providing a shelter or a roof for those who do not have any shelter, while neglecting the needs of those who have been waiting more than 21 years for their own housing.

Within the CBD, land needs to be densified (with approximately eight units per hectare) due to its proximity to job opportunities. There have been a lot of future housing projects, but these specifically focussed on integrated development, unlike the previous ones which focussed much on rental and housing under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Ten projects have been identified which will integrate socio-economic activities and create a mixture of income groups that will support various economic activities in the area. They hope to integrate housing typologies, economic opportunities and services in RDP housing areas where the majority of the residents are poor and cannot afford their own housing. The bus rapid transit movement corridor has been a significant development through which the Human Settlement Department has identified land parcels along the corridor for housing development so as to support the rapid bus transit system. To date, 950 social housing units have been constructed by a social housing institution about one kilometre away from the corridor to densify the area along the corridor. The same is happening in different areas along the route.

The SDF regards the issue of mixed land uses in the municipality where formal businesses and informal businesses share the same land that is usually leased by the municipality. The Council is always trying to find the best outcome when it comes to land uses as it seeks to maximise on the outputs from land uses. There is a need to maximise outputs for the users and not only the economic gains to the Council. Considering the dire need for formal housing against a background of low income and unemployed people in need of housing, housing development becomes a critical issue in the municipality which is compelled to develop low-income housing. Yet this does not give room for mixed housing which can attract those with high incomes who have the ability to support socio-economic activities in the townships. The middle-and high-income earners end up opting to reside in the suburbs, which results in economic leakages in the townships. In this regard, the SDF has recognised the need for
residential development that integrates land uses such as residential, commercial and industrial, so as to bring services and employment opportunities closer to the people.

Another issue is how to increase densities in areas where services are available so as to reduce development costs and bring people in close proximity to services and social amenities. Of utmost importance is the distance that children must travel to school. In the former white areas, schools are in close proximity and children walk for approximately 100 m to get to a school, whereas in the townships children have to leave home very early and walk for about 45 minutes to get to a school. It is the task of planners to address the issue of accessibility in human settlements.

Yes, the plan has initiated the development of the bus rapid transport corridor which aims to ease transport challenges for those living in the periphery of the city.

The municipality is also conscious about climate change issues and takes a proactive stance in addressing the climate change challenge and various other related disasters. The SDF addresses climate change issues and how the negative impacts can be mitigated. In the same vein, housing development and energy use is developed so that it does not contribute to climate change-related disasters.

The SDF does not have an urban edge. Pietermaritzburg still has highly agricultural areas. However, people do not value these areas because commercial activities normally supersede natural resources, yet there is potential for ecotourism and agricultural areas. Housing development is undertaken in these places which are supposed to be conserved as ecotourism sites, as well as food producing sites that may feed the city and generate the economy. People need areas where they can go and relax, and these ecotourism areas have the potential to sustain the city. It was indicated that the utility of green space in urban areas and the need to encourage the green economy by investing in these areas. In this regard, the SDF and planners need to be bold by stipulating what they regard as the city edge and that no development beyond this area would be tolerated.

There is also a restructuring zone in the municipality. All social housing is located in the restructuring zones which are marked in the SDF. The restructuring zones are focused on socio-economic and racial integration wherein all the projects must be located in areas that enable residents to have access to economic opportunities as well as having racial integration.

Another challenge is that the budget does not align with the proposed projects. This is so because for the past years the same amount of money, or even less, has been allocated for development projects, yet the number of the projects that need to be executed keep on increasing every year. The competing interests such as need for housing, electricity, water and sanitation make it very difficult to prioritise on the issues to be addressed considering the little funds allocated. The missed opportunities relate to the financial constraints through which plans may not be implemented due to
financial constraints that tend to delay all the construction works and ultimately service delivery.

Despite the existence of housing sector plans and other local plans, the infrastructure sector plans are not always advanced and they do not impact on the level of services required. But infrastructure plans do not support human settlement plans and key projects within the municipality. Coordination with key infrastructure is compromised, hence this tends to cause delays in other departments and subsequently service delivery and ultimately the SDF process.

The needs of the vulnerable groups are mainly addressed in the human settlements development where the priority is on these vulnerable groups. Also, the way houses are designed and built, also accommodates all the vulnerable groups. In such a way, the SDF has managed to be inclusive with regard to the vulnerable groups that include minority groups, the poor, as well as being gender conscious.

6.4 Degree of implementation

It would be interesting to start with the point at which the SDF has been formulated. Pietermaritzburg was planned based on apartheid city plans which created spatial distortions that persist to this day. In 1995, the municipality inherited this apartheid city where more than half of the population lived in the former townships, where little or no development occurred for decades because the previous regime did not see it befitting to develop services in the areas were the Africans lived. Therefore, it is the mandate of the SDF to balance all these spatial distortions and make sense within the city.

The complication in implementing the SDF is that the first demarcation of the municipality was a small area that was manageable, yet at present the municipality now includes a larger geographic area that incorporates tribal lands, rural areas and urban areas. The first SDF was formulated and approved in 2009. Prior to this there were various town schemes that governed planning. However, the town schemes only applied to the city centre and a small portion of the city, while the rest of the city was not regulated by any town scheme at all. The complication with the SDF is that it demarcates some areas for residential and some for commercial use and this do not relate with events on the ground since traditional development took place without any regulations. Moreover, the issue of land ownership has also influenced the implementation of the SDF because the land transactions in the municipality have been largely informal and people have traditionally exchanged the land informally.

Developable land for large-scale residential development is in former white suburbs which has the highest rate base. Hence, it is unthinkable to establish low-income housing in these areas because of the highest performing rates from properties. Bringing in developments in such areas will compel the affluent to move out once the low-income developments come in, thereby negatively impacting on the rate base of the areas. This has left huge pockets of land which cannot be developed unless for middle- and high-income development.
There have been a lot of future housing projects but these specifically focused on integrated development, unlike the previous ones which focused much on rental and RDP housing. Ten projects have been identified which will integrate socio-economic activities and create a mixture of income groups that will support various economic activities in the area. With these projects, the MLM is hoping to integrate housing typologies, economic opportunities and services in RDP housing areas where the majority of the residents are poor and cannot afford housing. A catalytic project has also been earmarked some eight kilometres from the city. This is a compact development project which also has solar technology to generate electricity that is expected to have at least 3 000 units. A catalytic project is a project that is large in nature with different housing opportunities and socio-economic services and facilities. The objective is to create a suburb.

All the departments seem to work in ways that support the expected outcomes of the SDF. The municipality tries to designate land use through the SDF which is translated into town schemes to make land available for industries and commerce so that there is connectivity between the industrial areas and the markets. The main advantage of such a move is that it benefits both community investors to establish industries, and not only in the traditional industrial sites of the city. The economic situation is another factor that should be taken into account considering that unemployment and poverty are rife in the townships. The SDF thus addresses these economic imbalances and councillors have been critical of municipal moves to promote development closer to the CBD and infrastructure, and not where people live. However, investors still prefer to invest in the former white areas, the CBD and along the N3 due to the availability of resources and services in these areas. Such a situation continues to disadvantage the townships and exacerbate the socio-economic conditions of the citizens in the townships.

7. **Thinking about Spatial Transformation Implementation More Broadly Than Spatial Planning and Strategic Development Frameworks**

The SDF does not have an urban edge. Interestingly, Pietermaritzburg is an agricultural region that still has fertile land that can sustain agricultural activities. However, it seems that such agricultural land is not valued because the development trajectory in the MLM has seen commercial activities being given preference over natural resources. The loss of such viable agricultural land contributes to food insecurity because it is from agricultural activities that the province and the nation at large are fed from. Moreover, this urban edge comprises vital biodiversity which has the potential for ecotourism as well. Housing development is undertaken in these places which are supposed to be conserved as ecotourism sites, as well as food producing sites that may feed the city, and possibly support the local economy. People need areas where they can relax and experience the beauty of nature; hence it is these ecotourism areas which may provide such ecosystem services to the citizens. The
utility of green space in urban areas is undervalued. Therefore, it is critical to encourage the establishment and growth of a green economy by investing in these areas. In this regard, the SDF and planners need to be bold by stipulating the city edge and that no development beyond this area would be tolerated. Overall, it may seem that the MLM thus does not effectively use its IDP to spatially coordinate the municipal activities along the urban edge.

The first issue influencing the SDF relates to the legislative requirements which are imperative in any reconstructive and redevelopment programme. However, the incorporation of justice in planning is not achieved when the SDF is simply about socio-economic and political issues. The SDF is not a local plan; it is a national concept and process that is informed by national and provincial imperatives and legislations. Overall, the SDF at national level has been implemented through the need to bring change to geographic landscape and influence how to distribute and share resources, revenue and development across all the cities and metropolitan municipalities in South Africa. It is important to understand that the SDF is informed through a hierarchy of plans. Examples are provincial growth development strategies, the NDP and various other town planning schemes. The economy, social issues, and the IDP are significant factors that inform, shape and give direction to the SDF. Thus, the SDF addresses issues articulated by way of national guidelines such as desired land use, protection of agricultural land, what land should be developed for, and how to apply it at the local context, considering that it is a national concept.

There has been one significant development in a previously black township called Imbali, namely a R350 million Edendale mall. Normally, such a development ought to facilitate spatial transformation within the township area because a mall provides multiplicity of socio-economic goods and services required to transform any space. Furthermore, trading places have also been incorporated at the taxi rank that was developed alongside the mall. The trading place is meant to accommodate informal traders, considering that the economy of the MLM is also supported by a vibrant informal sector. The development of the mall in the township was meant to minimise the prevailing lack of economic opportunities and growth close to where the people, particularly the poor, live. Unfortunately, this has not been the case because the mall has not really been a success owing to a disconnect between the residential areas and the mall. Foot traffic that is supposed to go to the mall, is not there. The taxis which are supposed to facilitate mobility of people between the mall and the residential areas have not been reliable as they charge exorbitant fares which are equal to the fare for someone going to the CBD. Thus, the taxis have not been able to support people without their own transport to get to the mall for shopping. Subsequently, the development of the mall has not been a success. The failure of the mall in effecting spatial transformation is mainly attributed to the fact that the municipality has focused more on having the plans done, while paying little attention to the implementation of such plans which seems to be the most critical part of any spatial transformation projects.
Inasmuch as the SDF fulfils the requirements of SPLUMA, there were still some shortcomings with regard to the use of the capital investment frameworks. In the review of the SDF, the Minister of CoGTA highlighted that regardless of all the fanciness of the SDF, the SDF lacks a comprehensive capital framework investment and it does not respond to other plans, as well as aligning with SPLUMA. This is a weakness with the SDF because it makes it very difficult to identify the areas of the budget that align with the priority areas of the SDF. It also shows that the SDF should align with the budget wherein the planning department must effectively liaise with the finance department.

Prior to the beginning of each financial year, in addition to the SDF planning process, there is also a city development strategy wherein the Council goes through a process of prioritisation using prioritisation modelling. Spatial transformation is all about prioritising and identifying the key development and sustainable strategies that may be used to achieve the intended results. Public participation is one way through which the key spatial issues may be identified for the municipality. Hence, the Council holds izimbizo with the community in which they update the community on what has been done the previous year, as well as capturing the community needs. In this way, the Council can identify the community needs which may then be aligned with the SDF, provincial plans as well as the NDP. The same is also true with regard to the traditional leaders (amakhosi) in the tribal land areas who need to be consulted with regard to land development in areas within their jurisdiction. Through such consultations with local leaders the Council has managed to adopt the Vulindlela Local Area Plan which is above the SDF. In formulating the Vulindlela Local Area Plan for traditional areas, the Council has engaged in teaching the community with regard to the use and allocation of land within the jurisdiction of the municipality which was mainly under tribal land during the apartheid era. By so doing, the traditional leaders get to understand the spatial trajectory of the SDF, as well as contribute their ideas in developing the plan. However, at times there tend to be conflict with regard to community needs and aims of the NDP and provincial growth plans. In such instances, the Council will end up attempting to strike a balance through satisfying what the community wants – by not assuming what the community wants but instead try and hear the community’s needs.

8. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this case study was to provide the critical findings in spatial transformation in the MLM. The research methodology adopted for this study entailed an analysis of the MLM SDF, nine interviews conducted with various stakeholders at the MLM and direct observations. The findings illustrated various spatial transformation challenges, namely: capacity, the MLM officials’ understanding of the SDF, budget, business component, implementation challenges, spatial–social–distributive justice question, areas under traditional leadership and political interference. The researchers concluded that even in the face of the above-mentioned spatial challenges, the MLM
has made some progress with regard to spatial transformation. However, there seems to be deeper social and political issues that hindered the implementation process of the objectives of the SDF, thus delaying the progress of spatial transformation in the Msunduzi Local Municipality.

The likely outcome of this high-level scan is that most cities have so far relied mainly on getting plans done on paper and less on how to implement them. Like in the case of Msunduzi, it can be concluded that getting plans done on paper and less on how to implement them has made the cities to not effectively use IDPs and SDFs to spatially coordinate their own activities or those of other spheres of investment. Therefore, a limited appreciation of giving effect to SPLUMA and the implementation tools that SPLUMA has brought to the table, has started to clearly appear in intermediate cities.
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