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ASSESSING CAPACITY FOR SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES NETWORK (SACN) MEMBER CITIES

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Executive summary

This report presents the findings of a study conducted by the South African Cities Network (SACN) in eight SACN member municipalities (EThekweni, Msunduzi, Tshwane, Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Buffalo City, Mangaung and Port Elizabeth) assessing local government capacity for spatial transformation. The SACN is an established network of South African cities and partners that promotes the exchange of information, experience and best practices on urban development and management. Its strategy framework for 2012 – 2016 seeks to position local government in cities as an effective driver of local and national development. Improving the capacity of local government to promote spatial transformation is a central pillar of this strategy framework.

This research study is part of a series of studies in support of the aforementioned agenda. The aim of the study was to assess local government capacity for effectively driving spatial transformation. The research project sought to avail holistic fine grain details that critique local government capacity to effectively drive spatial transformation in South Africa's eight major cities.

From the time democratic local government boundaries were demarcated in 2000, metropolitan municipalities adopted institutional challenges due to the amalgamation of formerly separate local authorities. Spatially, they adopted a legacy of inefficiency and segregated developments from the apartheid era. Although to date strides have been made in so far as creating integrated sustainable human settlements as evidenced by sporadic linked developments and improvements in basic service delivery, the apartheid spatial legacy persists. Majority of the underprivileged racial black population in South Africa's major cities are still domiciled in peripheral low income settlements that are far away from socio-economic opportunities.

The report is divided into four main parts. The first part of the report is the introduction and background to the SACN local government capacity for spatial transformation study. This section argues that twenty years after democracy and fifteen years of transforming local government in South Africa, spatial transformation remains a pipe dream. Myriad spatial challenges facing local government and the piecemeal capacity development interventions on the other hand are highlighted. As the central argument, this section advocates for a holistic fine grain capacity for spatial transformation assessments and interventions for local government. An approach, which in turn is adopted by this study.

The second section provides a synthesized literature review and methodology for the study. It conceptualises 'capacity' in the context of spatial planning based on international and local precedents. Capacity generally refers to the ability of organisations to accomplish their mandates based on individual, institutional and environmental factors. Individual capacity is the potential and competency found

within an individual manifested in the specific technical skills and generic skills, knowledge, attitudes and behaviour obtained from education training and workplace experience. Institutionally capacity is the potential and competency found within organisations including human resources, strategic leadership, organisational purpose, support systems, infrastructure, and financial abilities. Environmentally, the focus is on capacity and competency outside the organisation's formal structures such as the tax base, demographic composition, political, legislative social capital as well as available natural resources. In the context of spatial planning and transformation, capacity refers to the impact of the aforementioned three factors on the ability of local government to promote the creation of sustainable human settlements.

The methodology for the study was based on semi-structured open ended interviews that were conducted with officials from key departments from the eight SACN member cities that are involved in spatial transformation initiatives. These included City Planning, Human Resources, Corporate and Shared Strategy; Human Settlements and Economic Development. The interview schedules were structured around the main structuring elements of capacity for spatial transformation (departmental understanding of spatial transformation in the context of local government in South Africa and institutional, individual as well as environmental indicators).

The third section of the report presents the findings from the eight SACN member municipalities. Central to this section are the capacity strengths and weaknesses of the eight SACN member municipalities that were the focus of the empirical analysis. Based on the findings of this section, the final section provides a conclusion and recommendations. Capacity strengths for spatial transformation in the SACN member municipalities include a clear understanding of the local government agenda with regards to spatial transformation in South Africa generally, as well as in their specific contexts.

However, it is underscored that in as much as there are commendable and worth noting capacity strengths in most of the cities, there are also weaknesses that hinder spatial transformation. In most of the SACN member cities there is a shortage of critical skills in the planning, project management, and engineering for instance. There is also room for improving the links and coordination of interdepartmental spatial transformation initiatives. This is particularly the case in the relatively small metropolitan municipalities such as Ekurhuleni and Buffalo city that have 'weak' planning departments. In some cases there is also lack of proper alignment of departmental inputs to spatial transformation especially among Transportation, Economic Development and Human Settlement Departments. This is a consequence, it is argued, of a lack of clear cut spatial targeting with regards to spatial transformation interventions in the Growth and Development Strategies (GDS), Municipal Spatial Development Frameworks (MSDF), and Local Spatial Development Frameworks (LSDF) in cities.

The above mentioned challenge is also linked to problems that face cities with regards to Inter Governmental Relations (IGR). Municipalities experience several serious IGR-related challenges pertaining to environmental capacity for spatial transformation. These challenges are in the complementary role that the national and provincial governments are supposed to play in local government spatial transformation initiatives. There is no proper alignment of National, Provincial and Local government spatial plans in most instances. As a result effective coordination of line responsibilities and functions is lacking.

Institutional instability has also been a key challenge especially for relative small SACN member cities. This is because of the high leadership turnover rate for reasons that include political and maladministration.

The extent the national, provincial and local government legislative context is viewed as supportive to the municipalities' spatial transformation initiatives varies. For instance, SPLUMA provides legal standing to detailed plans which otherwise was not the case. However, acts that include DAFF (Act 70 of 70), Heritage Acts (eg. requirements by AMAFA), Housing and Land Acts (PIE Act) are viewed as hindering spatial transformation in some instances.

There are also competing housing needs which are proving difficult to balance. Backyard shack dwellers, informal settlements and those on low-income housing waiting lists have equal expectations from government.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ABM	Area Based Management Plans
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ACBF	African Capacity Building Foundation
ACR	Africa Capacity Report
AMAFA	Heritage conservation agency for KwaZulu Natal
ATR	Annual Training Reports
BAPs	Bi-annual Plans
BCMM	Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality
BEPP	Built Environment Performance Plans
BNG	Breaking New Ground
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit
CBD	Central Business District
CDC	Coega Development Corporation
CIF	Capital Investment Framework
CMPR	Central Municipal Planning Region
CRUs	Community Residential Units
DAFF	Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
DCGTA	Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
DRD	Department of Rural Development
DTA	Durban Transport Authority
DTP	Dube Trade Port
DWS	Department of Water and Sanitation
GCR	Gauteng City Region
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECSA	Engineering Council of South Africa
EMM	Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality
EMPO	Enterprise Project Management Office
HDA	Housing Development Agency
HIV	Human Immune Virus
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IDZ	Industrial Development Zone
IGR	Inter Governmental Relations
IRPTN	Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network
ISDG	Infrastructure Skills Development Grant
ITS	Intelligent Transport Systems
KPI	Key Performance Indicators
KZN	KwaZulu Natal
LAPs	Local Area Plans
LGSETA	Local Government Sector Education Training Authority
LSDFs	Local Spatial Development Frameworks
LTD	Long Term Development Framework
MBSA	Mercedes Benz South Africa
MDB	Municipal Demarcation Board
MBDA	Mandela Bay Development Agency
MFMA	Municipal Finance Management Act
MILE	Municipal Institute of Learning
MSA	Municipal Systems Act

MURP	Mdantsane Urban Renewal Programme
NDP	National Development Plan
NDPG	Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NLTA	National Land Transport Act
NMBM	Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality
NMPR	North Municipal Planning Region
PDoHS	Eastern Cape Provincial Department of Human Settlements
PIT	Provincial Intervention Team
PTISG	Public Transport Infrastructure and Systems Grant
SACN	South African Cities Network
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SARS	South African Revenue Service
SDBIP	Service Delivery Budget and Infrastructure Plan
SCUs	Sustainable Community Units
SEDis	South Eastern District
SETAs	Sector Education Training Authorities
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro-sized Enterprises
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
WMPR	West Municipal Planning Region
WPLG	White Paper on Local Government
WSP	Work Skills Plans
RDP	Reconstruction Development Programme
SADC	Southern African Development Committee
SDBIP	Service Delivery Budget Implementation Plans
SDIs	Spatial Development Initiatives
SMPR	South Municipal Planning Region

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The aim of this research project was to assess South African local government capacity for effectively driving spatial transformation, with a specific focus on South African Cities Network (SACN) member cities. Twenty years after democracy and fifteen years of transforming local government, the vision of a developmental local government articulated in the White Paper on Local Government (1998; hereafter WPLG) is resilient. In the WPLG (1998), local government is envisaged as developmental; which implies that government must work with citizens and groups within communities to find sustainable ways of meeting social, economic, and material needs to improve the quality of lives. This vision has been irrepressible despite the challenges that local government is facing. The level of municipal service delivery progress attained during the last 12 years reaffirms the solidity of the path chosen when the vision of a developmental local government was affirmed in the White Paper.

Yet, the resilience of local government cannot be celebrated without underscoring some of the serious challenges facing local government. In 2011, 63% of South Africa's population was expected to be urbanised. Unlike in the case of Europe, and the other developed parts of the world, South African urbanisation is premature. It is driven by poverty and under-development. Major cities currently face challenges of infrastructure and service backlogs which manifest themselves spatially by way of informal settlements scattered across undefended public and private spaces. The influx of migrants and immigrants to metropolitan inner-city areas and the concomitant capital flight also mean that urban decay has been a persistent challenge for major cities in South Africa. These challenges are exacerbated by the legacy of fragmented apartheid spatial planning that rendered cities inefficient due the separation of complementary land-uses.

In view of the aforementioned, spatial transformation is the main agenda of local government. Spatial transformation is viewed as the exercise of changing the form and function of space in a manner that directly benefits economic development. The focus is on three main issues namely urban patterns, dynamics and logistics. Transformation of urban patterns seeks to curb urban sprawl, car dependency and unsafe public transportation as well as unsustainable low densities in strategic city areas. The urban transformation agenda also targets addressing the historical spatial separation of functionally compatible land uses, bifurcation between the rich and the poor and environmentally unsustainable trends. Addressing urban dynamics of ageing, resource-intensive and fragmented infrastructure networks as well as inefficient institutions are also core components of spatial transformation. Also part of these dynamics is addressing relatively highly regulated spaces that are anti-informal as well as entangling sluggish economic growth. Finally, the urban logistics target of spatial transformation seeks to promote infrastructure systems that are central to

urban flows of resources, people, and goods. Land and property markets, including movement choices are viewed as central to driving urban form.

In light of the aforementioned arguments, the scope of South African local government spatial transformation agenda entails manipulating the spatial and built environment function of city spaces to promote inclusive socio-economic development/growth; adaptation to climate change, and long-term municipal efficiency and resilience. This local government agenda seeks to ensure that cities have an effective and efficient spatial form and functioning through effective spatial planning and land use management strategies and systems, effective public transport systems enabling livelihoods and economic development as well as effectively planned human settlements that meet developmental objectives and enhance social cohesion. However, this can remain a pipedream if capacity of local government in this respect is not addressed.

The capacity of Local Government to deliver in general, specifically with particular reference to spatial transformation, faces a myriad challenges. Various stakeholders concerned with local government the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB), Local Government Sector Education Training Authority (LGSETA), Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (DCGTA), South African Local Government Association (SALGA) and Department of Rural Development (DRD) - have been embarking on serious minded attempts to capacitate local government. For instance, as is the case with the LGSETA, capacity development initiatives have been framed within the ambit of the Municipal Systems Act (2000) and the Skills Development Levies Act (9 of 2000). The Municipal Systems Act (2000) obliges municipalities to develop their staff to levels that enable them to perform their functions. The Skills Development Levies Act compels municipalities to pay a skills development levy equal to 1% of their payroll. The levy is collected by the South African Revenue Services (SARS) and allocated to Sector Education Training Authorities (SETAs) based on the employer's Standard Industrial Classification (in this case it is the LGSETA). A municipality without enough funds for skills development can approach the LGSETA for additional funds.

From 2001/2, the MDB has also been undertaking capacity assessments. These have focused by and large on staffing, management experience and qualifications, management vacancies, technical and specialist skills and determinants of performance. The DCGTA also focused on developing a national capacity building framework for local government. Currently, the Department of Rural Development is also undertaking a study assessing the preparedness of local municipalities to implement the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) of 2013. The SPLUMA seeks to promote consistency and uniformity in procedures and decision-making in spatial planning as well as addressing historical spatial imbalances and the integration of the sustainable development principles into land use and planning regulatory tools and legislative instruments.

Regardless of these noteworthy initiatives, challenges for local government capacity to effectively drive spatial transformation are still glaring. The lack of a common definition of capacity development, its outcomes and impact has led to an uncoordinated, directionless approach to capacity building in local government . The SACN (2013) also identifies a number of challenges with regard to the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of Work Skills Plans (WSPs) and Annual Training Reports (ATRs) in most of South Africa's major cities. The main challenges noted include budgeting constraints, lack of service providers (outside the big cities), lengthy procurement lead times as well as line managers who do not prioritize or see the benefits of training and developing their employees.

In the face of these challenges, the LGSETA 2014 Turnaround Strategy also fails to fully acknowledge the fact that the SETA does not exist in order to drive skills development independent of municipalities . Rather the reason for its existence is capacity development support initiatives for municipalities. The LGSETA is in existence for purposes of facilitating capacity development in municipalities. The LGSETA turnaround strategy does not fully place municipalities as the focal points of its analysis. As such, the LGSETA capacity development initiatives are not responsive to the heterogeneous challenges facing different municipalities which require a differentiated approach to skills development. Unsurprisingly, the skills addressed by the LGSETA are irrelevant to municipalities in most cases and hence Municipalities end up devising their own capacity development initiatives.

Furthermore, some of the capacity development initiatives for Local Government outlined above (as in the case of the LGSETA, Department of Rural Development and MDB), tend to orient capacity towards individual/human capacity issues at the expense of interrelated environmental and institutional facets of capacity. Over and above, all capacity development interventions for Local Government in post-apartheid South Africa have been compromised by a largely broad brush and 'a one size fits all' approach with regards to municipal categories as well as line department functions. Focus has mostly been overall municipal capacity. This approach is not responsive to fine grain nuances of capacity in different municipalities and specific challenges facing local government. It also fails to pay attention to the relatively new/emerging capacity issues that vary depending on the size and type of municipality.

1. 2 Objectives of the study

This research project seeks to assess local government Capacity for effectively driving spatial transformation. Spatial transformation is currently at the fore of the developmental local government agenda and is viewed as integral to positioning local government as an effective driver of local and national development. The research project seeks to avail holistic fine grain details that critique local government capacity to effectively drive spatial transformation. The research also

pays respect to differential capacity requirements for spatial transformation issues among different categories of SACN member cities.

1.3 Conclusion

This section of the report outlined the background and general context of the study as well as the rationale for undertaking the study. It acknowledges the good work that democratic local government in South Africa achieved especially with regards to the provision of basic services. However, it makes it clear that spatial transformation is a goal yet to be fully achieved. On the other hand the capacity of local government to achieve this goal is lacking hence the need for this study.

2. Research Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The assessment of local government capacity for effectively driving spatial transformation empirically focuses on the eight SACN member municipalities. These are namely Tshwane, Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Mangaung, Port-Elizabeth, Buffalo City, Msunduzi, and EThekweni.

2.2 Data collection and sources

Data collection and gathering in the SACN member municipalities targeted all the stakeholders involved in local government spatial transformation initiatives. With regards to the human/individual capacity element of local government, the aim was to ascertain the match between job requirements and qualifications, experience as well as competence of employees and if there is adequate staffs in all key positions in all the local government departments that proactively play roles in spatial transformation initiatives. Therefore, the sources of data were local government Human Resources (HR) departments and departments such as Planning, Engineering, Transportation and Human Settlements that are involved in spatial transformation initiatives. Primary data were collected based on semi-structured interviews with authorities from these departments. Secondary data on individual/human capacity were also collected from these departments. Likewise, primary and secondary data were also collected from government departments and agencies such as CoGTA, MDA, National Treasury, and LGSETA, to mention only but some of them that have been involved in human/individual capacity initiatives for local government.

Institutional capacity data gathering and collection focused on determining the institutional stock, financial resources, management, enabling environment mastery, programme delivery, institutional character and leadership vis-à-vis spatial transformation initiatives. Primary data were collected based on semi-structured interviews with relevant local government authorities from municipal departments involved in spatial transformation initiatives. These include Planning, Human Settlements, Engineering and Transportation. Secondary data were also collected based on relevant documents from the departments such as Built Environment Performance Plans (BEPP), Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), Human Settlements Strategies as well as Transportation and Infrastructure Plans. In the same manner, both secondary and primary data on the institutional capacity of local government with regards to spatial transformation were also gathered from relevant government departments and agencies (CoGTA, MDA, National Treasury, and LGSETA), that play a supportive and facilitative role to the local government endeavour.

The aim of the environmental aspect of local government capacity data gathering and collection with regards to spatial transformation was to ascertain the

responsiveness of the local government regulatory and governance environment to this cause. Secondary and primary data were drawn from the stakeholders of local government focusing on socio-economic conditions, civil society role, private sector, legislative context, as well as stakeholder support and engagement. Primary and secondary data collection also focused on ascertaining the view of local government departments on the conduciveness of the governance environment. The sources of data for the study in the in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Data sources for the local government capacity for the local government for spatial transformation study

Entity	Role	Sources of Information
1. Municipal planning departments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate development planning in municipalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents to institutional capacity for spatial transformation in local government
2. Municipal Transportation Departments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strategic Transportation Planning, preparation of comprehensive plans and Integrated Transport Strategy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents
3. Municipal Human Settlements Departments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate the housing delivery and the creation of sustainable human settlements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents
4. Engineering Departments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision and maintenance of infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents
5. Economic Development and Business Support Units	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promote economic development; job creation, and economic transformation in municipalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents
6. National/Provincial Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Develops national policies and legislation with regard to provinces and local government, and monitors the implementation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents

(COGTA)		
7. Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is an independent authority responsible for the determination of municipal boundaries. The Board's status as an independent authority is also protected by section 3 of The Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act, 1998, and various judgments by the Constitutional Court 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents
8. Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is a Development Finance Institution wholly owned by the government of South Africa and focuses on large infrastructure projects within the public and private sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents
9. South African Local Government Association (SALGA)- National/Provincial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SALGA is the voice and sole representative of local government. It interfaces with parliament, the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), cabinet as well as provincial legislatures. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents
10. Department of Rural Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeks to initiate, facilitate, coordinate, catalyse and implement an integrated rural development programme. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant documents
11. National Treasury	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supports efficient and sustainable public financial management for the promotion of economic development, good governance, social progress and a rising standard of living for all South Africans. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Primary: Interviews Secondary: Relevant

3. Findings, Analysis and Results

3.1 Introduction

This section of the report presents the findings, analysis, and results from the empirical assessment of local government capacity for spatial transformation in the eight SACN member municipalities. It is based on primary data from interviews that were conducted with representatives from the municipal departments that are involved in spatial transformation initiatives namely Transportation, Human Settlements, City Planning, Corporate and Strategy, Economic Development and Human Resources Departments. The key findings from each municipality are presented on the basis of key indicators of the study namely goals and objectives of different departments involved in spatial transformation initiatives; Departmental understanding of the developmental agenda of local government; and Departmental understanding of the spatial transformation agenda of local government as well as initiatives towards achieving this goal. The findings are also presented based on individual, institutional and environmental capacity indicators.

3.2 Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality

Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (EMM) was formed in 2000 as part and parcel of post-apartheid re-demarcation of fragmented local government administrative boundaries of the apartheid era. Former local administrations of the nine towns in the East-rand – Alberton; Benoni; Boksburg; Brakpan; Edenvale/Lethahong; Germiston; Kempton Park/Tembisa; Nigel and Springs- were amalgamated into a new metropolitan municipality alongside with two other councils – the Khayaleni Metropolitan Council and the Eastern Gauteng Services Council (Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality IDP, Budget and SDBIP, 213/14 – 2015/16). The main places and centres are shown in Figure 3.2.1 below.

EMM has a total land area of 1 975 km² and in 2001 it had a population approximately 2.5 million (Statistics South Africa, 2002). According to the 2011 Census the population increased to 3, 178, 470 which equates an overall growth rate of 2, 47% between 2001 and 2011. The size of the population groups namely the economically active (15-64 years); young (0-14) years and the elderly (over 65 years) in ascending order is in 2011 was 71, 7%; 24, 3% and 4% respectively. The population distribution in the municipality is shown in Figure 3.2.2.

Figure 3.2.1: Main places and centres in EMM

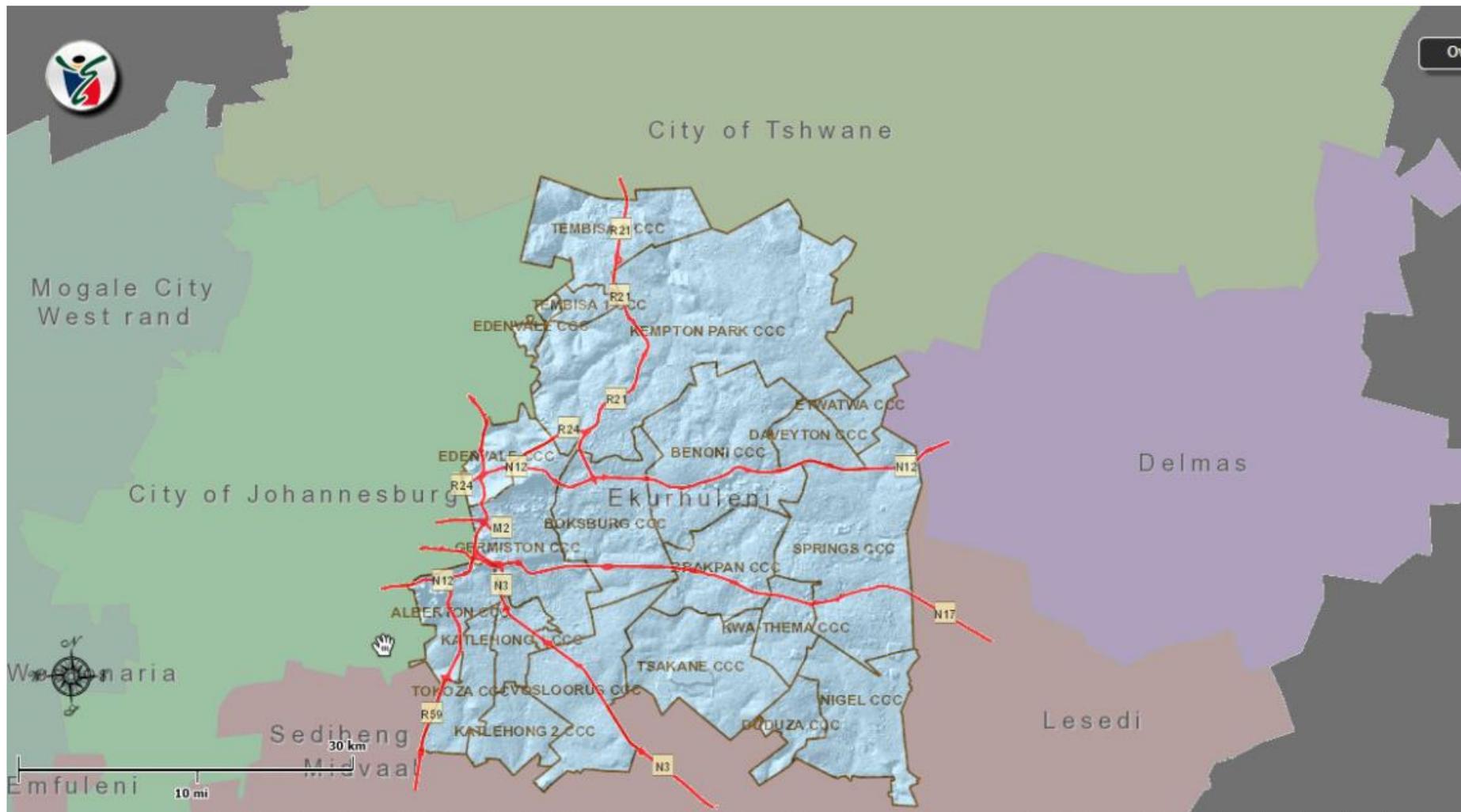
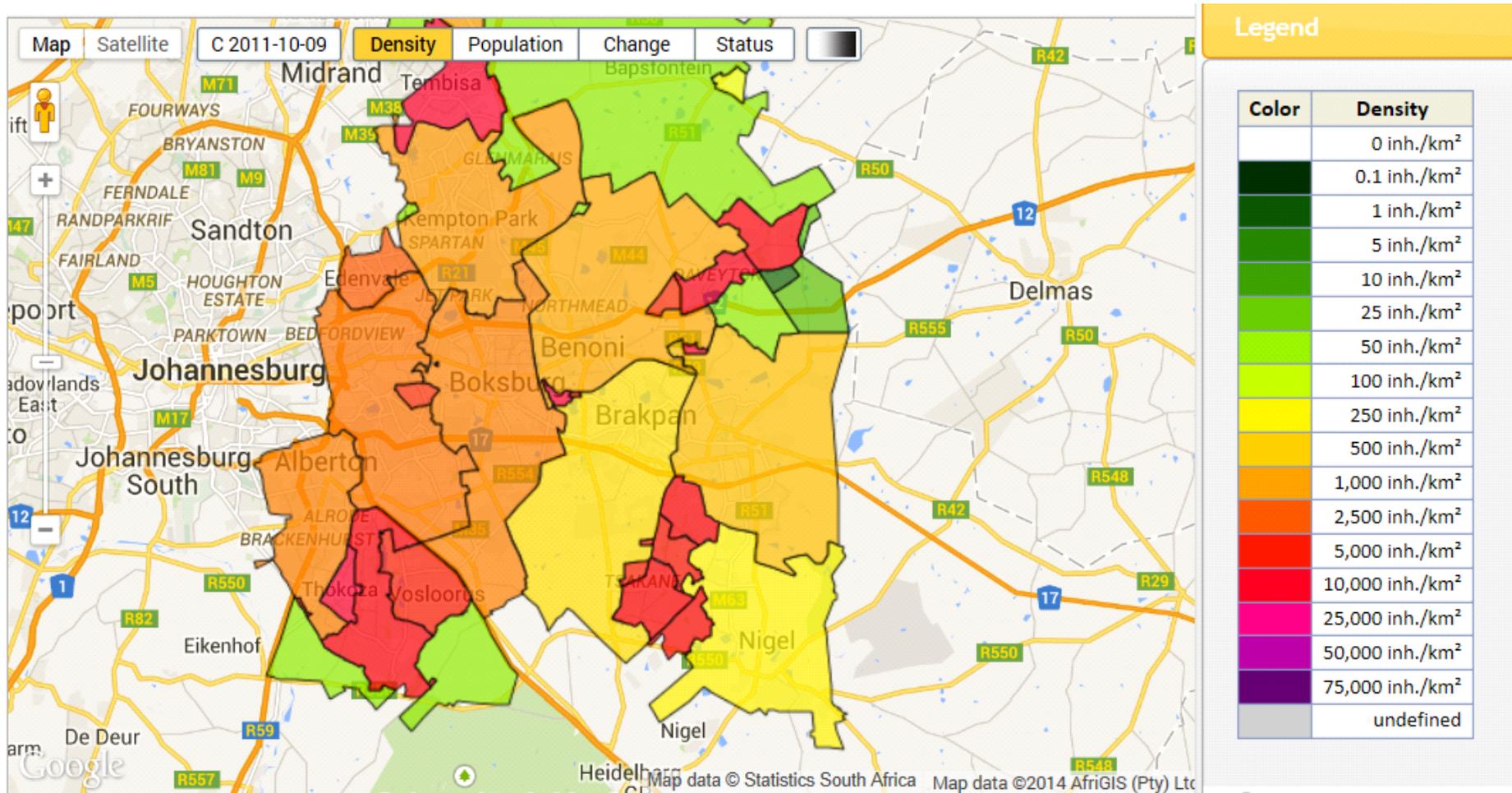


Figure 3.2.2 Population distribution in EMM



Average population density in the Municipality is relatively high as the average density in 2011 was 1 609 persons/km² in 2011 compared to the Gauteng Province average which is less than a 1 000 persons/km². The EMM is made up of a range of settlement typologies that include informal settlements; established formal neighbourhoods; Townships and inner-city neighbourhoods. Relatively high densities are found in the Townships of Katlehong, Vosloorus and Thokoza (South West), KwaThema, Tsake and Duduza (South East). In the eastern periphery of Daveyton and Etwatwa as well as Tembisa in the North-east there are also relatively huge concentrations of people in townships as well as informal settlements close to commercial town centres of Germiston, Boksburg, and Benoni (Huchzermeyer, et al, 2004). These relatively populous areas which comprise a significant proportion of the disadvantaged people are located at the periphery of the main urban centres where the majority of the job opportunities are located. The disadvantaged communities include communities of Tembisa, the Katorus complex, the KwaTsaduza complex and the Daveyton/Etwatwa complex. In 2004 the disadvantaged areas in the municipality were estimated to be accommodating approximately 65% of the total EMM population (24% Katorus Complex, 14% Tembisa and Kwatsaduza Complex and 12% Daveyton Complex) (Ekurhuleni Municipality, 2010).

The settlement patterns and land use patterns in EMM are also characterised with central, east-west oriented mining and industrial activity belt which served as the core around which the nine towns were established as well as the residential developments surrounding the abovementioned activity belt (Ekurhuleni Municipality, 2010). Rural/agricultural areas are also found in the north east, central and south portions of the metropolitan area.

The settlement pattern in EMM is a microcosm of fragmented apartheid spatial planning where black racial group residential areas were situated on the periphery of urban areas, followed by a vacant buffer area, followed by industrial development which was intended to provide job opportunities, and which in turn linked the main economy via rail or road network (Ekurhuleni Municipality, 2010). Thus EMM adopted spatial challenges from the amalgamation of formerly separate apartheid local authorities with varying fortunes with regards housing, transportation, and economic development as well population dynamics. As a result of the apartheid spatial planning some areas are well located in relation to current economic opportunities while others (mainly townships previously reserved for African people have remained locationally disadvantaged Todes, et al, 2010). Challenges have thus mainly been integrating and improving fortunes of formerly disadvantaged areas; poor linkages across the area; decaying central business districts; service backlogs in formerly disadvantaged areas; legacy of mining coupled with geo-technical problems in some parts of the area; uncoordinated land use management approaches between different former towns and uneven distribution of social and institutional infrastructure (ibid). Eversince 2000, when EMM was promulgated, focus

has therefore been on spatially transforming the space to create integrated sustainable human settlements that are responsive to social, and economic needs of the formerly disadvantaged as well as creating spatial efficiency in general.

After the amalgamation of the different local authorities there was a need for the standardisation of Human Resources (HR) management and work processes in the Metropolitan Municipality. In accordance, a centralised, appropriate and real-time HR information system was established in 2005 (Ekurhuleni Municipality, 2005). There has been acknowledgement of weak institutional development at the metropolitan level as a result of the historical context of the amalgamation of several separate municipalities (Machaka and Roberts, 2004) more especially as compared to South Africa's other five metropolitan Municipalities. It is in this context that EMM in 2012 initiated an institutional review process with the aim of reconfiguring departmental structures for operational efficiency and capacitating line functions of the municipality through ensuring personnel with the right skills and competence occupied all job positions in the municipality.

Table 3.2.1: CAPACITY FOR SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES PER INDICATOR IN EKURHULENI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY		
Indicator	Strength	Weakness
Departmental understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is clear understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda by all top level officials in the municipality 	N/A
Individual capacity (staff competence, qualifications experience etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly experienced and qualified staff members at managerial and higher levels in all departments involved in spatial transformation, • Opportunities for professional staff development, • Continuous training of inexperienced talent e.g. Internships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Performance reviews do not cascade to junior staff members, • Departments poorly staffed in terms of support and administrative staff, • Differential retirement ages for females (60) and males (65), • Lack of sufficient technical skills in City Planning Department for urban design, architecture and strategic planning
Organisation culture (Management style etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusive decision making processes (strategic planning sessions) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In some cases junior staff members do not feel included in the decision making
Institutional stock (EMM legal framework, rules and procedures, access to equipment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to logistical needs, facilities and equipment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to expedite the institutional review process
Financial resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Departments have input and access to municipal budgetary requirements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not enough resources for strategic projects in housing and transportation
Enabling environmental mastery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different departments involved in spatial planning regularly meet e.g. during BAPs, • Circulation of development proposals before implementation of projects, • There is bureaucratic support for spatial transformation • Civil society participation in spatial transformation activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Room for improving the links and coordination of interdepartmental spatial transformation activities, • Lack of clear spatial targeting in strategic planning tools such as the GDS, MSDF, and RSDFs, • City Planning Department needs to play a more leading and focused role in giving EMM departments involved in spatial transformation a uniform direction, • Need for a more alignment of Transportation and Human Settlement Departments spatial intentions, • Fragmented departmental office arrangements
Programme Delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Client satisfaction is monitored • Departments have clear visions and missions that acknowledge the need for spatial transformation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of indicators for measuring the performance of some spatial transformation interventions.

<p>Environmental (natural, and socio-political context)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National and Provincial Departments Provide funding local spatial transformation initiatives e.g. National Treasury, Transport Department, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical environment inhibits housing- developments - dolomitic, • Environmental degradation due to mining activities (no mechanism for obliging mine owners to rehabilitate degraded land), • Dated housing policy and legislative context (Housing Act of 1997 was never updated, BNG introduced in 2004 was never translated into an Act, No straightforward guideline for densification and appropriate subsidy regime in densification zones, • Lack of alignment between provincial and local government on housing priorities because of bickering over the issue of 'assignment' (Difficult for local government human settlements officials to properly work according to local spatial transformation imperatives because of disjointed provincial interference - tensions), • Land and Transportation Act fails to deal with route allocation for Taxis, • National and Provincial Departments such as Education and Health fail to adequately fulfil the spatial transformation mandates, • In some cases local African culture not compatible with some of the EMM spatial transformation concepts such as high rise rental apartments- preference of owner occupied free standing residential units and the • Not in my Backyard Syndrome, • Ambivalence at national political level to tackle land issues, • High rates of inward migration- infrastructure services backlogs- competing housing needs (spontaneous vs backyard shakes).
<p>Resilience</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Piloting housing designs that are responsive to dolomitic geological conditions, • Informal settlement management planning that provides interim services, • Forums and workshops for community engagement, 	

3.3. State of Capacity for Spatial Transformation in Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

“A lengthy and controversial policy debate on the form of metropolitan governance that is most appropriate for the local circumstances in South Africa” (Reddy 2003) culminated in 2000 in six metropolitan municipalities, as mandated by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) and the Municipal Structures Act (Act 117 of 1998) (ibid.). One of the six metropolitan municipalities, Tshwane, was an amalgamation of more than sixteen municipal councils – Akasia, Centurion, Crocodile River, Ga-Rankuwa, Hammanskraal, Mabopane, Mamelodi, Pienaarsriver, Pretoria, Soshanguve, Temba, Tswang, Winterveldt – and was one of the biggest municipalities in South Africa. Currently, following its incorporation in 2012 of the Metsweding District Municipality, CoT Metropolitan Municipality is spatially the largest city government in Africa and the third largest in the world after New York, USA and Yokohama/Tokyo, Japan (CoT 2012). With a population of approximately 2.9 million people scattered across 7 administrative regions of total area 6,298km², CoT is one of the most populous municipalities in Gauteng Province and the RSA (ibid.).

As one of the three metropolitan municipalities housed by South Africa’s commercial provincial capital (Gauteng Province), the City of Tshwane now “forms part of the Gauteng global region, the wealthiest and fastest growing economic region on the African continent” (CoT 2012). A significant player in the South African economy, the CoT contributes approximately 29% to Gauteng’s GDP and “8% to the country’s GDP” (ABN Digital 2012; Ganief and Thorpe 2013). Approximately 70% of CoT’s economy is centered on government and/or services, which ensures that the CoT is South Africa’s diplomatic hub (ABN Digital 2012; CoT 2015). The municipality’s other main economic sectors are the manufacturing industry (21%) - and commerce/finance (13% - all major banks have offices here) (ibid.). Additionally, the municipality’s incorporation in 2012 of Metsweding District Municipality will give the metropolitan city “an opportunity to exploit agriculture’s contribution to the Gross Value Added of the city” (Ramokgopa 2012 as cited in ABN Digital 2012). With seven of the eight national research centres (including the National Research Foundation and the CSIR) concentrated in the municipality and four universities situated here, CoT has “the highest level of education in the country” (ibid; Tshwane 2055 [2012]). Home of 132 foreign embassies, CoT is “second only to Washington DC with the most number of embassies” (ABN Digital 2012; CoT 2012). Currently, the city government’s key godfathers are its executive mayor Councillor Kgosientso Ramokgopa (appointed in 2010) as well as its municipal manager Jason Ngobeni (appointed in 2011) (CoT 2012).

As an institution, City of Tshwane’s goal and/or mission is to sustainably enhance the quality of life of all its residents through a developmental system of local government and by rendering efficient, effective and affordable services (CoT 2015).

In line with this vision, Tshwane Vision 2055 was launched in 2013 as an articulation of the city's future. Launched by the Executive Mayor, the vision is an extension of Tshwane 2055, a long-term development strategy expected to ensure a well-managed, well-connected and well-governed city. In realising the vision and aspirations of Tshwane Vision 2055 and Tshwane 2055 respectively, the City has hatched multiple projects in accordance with the long-term strategy, the most notable ones being the A Re Yeng BRT (within Pretoria) and the citywide Tshwane Free Wi-Fi project, and the one to be discussed in this section being the Tshwane Free Wi-Fi project. Spearheaded by the Executive Mayor in conjunction with Project Isizwe, the Tshwane Free Wi-Fi project - an initiative aimed at ensuring free Wi-Fi coverage for all of the City's residents - has been successfully rolled out to the bulk of the metropolitan municipality (Alfreds 2014). States the Executive Mayor in his State of the Capital City Address,

Tshwane has made history by becoming the first metro to roll out free Wi-Fi and indeed our announcement of the provision of this service was made before the City of New York's announcement - this is indeed a ground-breaking achievement for an African city. (Alfreds 2014)

The free rollout of Wi-Fi is expected to ensure a citywide connection of the city's citizens to the internet especially since "a lack of mobile operators stymies their ability to provide high speed coverage" (ibid). The project is expected to benefit especially poor people, most of whom are concentrated on the municipality's lagging/northernmost areas, thus ensuring that even people in "displaced urbanisms" (Mabin 2012:) are connected to 'well-off' areas. This begins to point at the notion of spatial transformation.

Yet, physical and socio-spatial challenges persist and continue to plague Tshwane. Whilst excellently connected to Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni - the two thirds of the Gauteng City Region - via the Gautrain Rapid Rail Link and roads which are in perfectly good condition; the municipality itself still remains acutely spatially fragmented, with "pockets of wealth" (Ganief and Thorpe 2013: 22) still concentrated in the municipality's southernmost regions and "widespread poverty" (ibid) in the whole municipality, most notably in the northernmost parts. Mabin (2010: 181) Pretoria - Tshwane's premier city component - has been "a city straddling a Bantustan boundary and later a city with sections in different provinces" (Mabin 2010: 181), and such spatial disparities, the legacy of apartheid, appear to haunt the unicity. Perhaps by virtue of Tshwane's size and the actuality that it comprises rural, urban and industrial components (Ganief and Thorpe 2013; Mabin 2010) - "Tshwane is the only metro in Gauteng that incorporates former homelands [former bantustans]" (Ganief and Thorpe 2013: 9), parenthetically - each of which has its own unique and/or specific challenges, it is perhaps the most complex metropolitan municipality to deal with in Gauteng. While the municipality's incorporation of Metsweding - a district municipality to the north of Pretoria, that is predominantly rural in nature - presents opportunities for an agro-based economy in the City's

northern sections, it is still worth noting that this municipality brings with it financial challenges as it is/was cash-strapped, thus compounding the spatial and socio-economic inequalities that were already prevalent (Interview with CoT official, ref here). What is more challenging, according to the City of Tshwane official interviewed for the study, the incorporation of Metsweding has not translated into the injection of more resources – skills, funding/grants from the National Treasury, to mention but a few - into the municipal resource base (interview reference, ref here). Thus, not only has the incorporation of Metsweding placed strain on the City's already-limited resources, it also poses a threat to the possibilities of a compact city (Tshwane official reference).

These are not the only challenges facing Tshwane with regard to spatial transformation. Perhaps a major obstacle to spatial transformation has been the illegal occupation of land on the outskirts of township areas such as Atteridgeville, Donkerhoek, Mamelodi, Nellmapius, Olivenhoutbosch, Mooiplats and Soshanguve (CoT 2014; Skelton and Dlamini 2015). These illegal land invasions, said to be induced by opposition political parties, take place on land that has been earmarked for housing projects targeted mostly at the City's poor (ibid); and are thus a disruption to the City's housing plans. Moreover, given that spatial transformation in the South African context implies sensitivity to the context of the marginalised (Bickford 2013); the illegal land invasions not only undermine the poor but they also "undermine the City's efforts to achieve spatial transformation" (CoT 2014). Although the City has gone to great lengths to deter illegal land invasions – getting court interdicts, for instance – much still needs to be done because in most instances, illegal occupiers of land are protected from evictions by statutes such as the PIE Act (Interview with Housing official).

3.3.1 A summary of findings from Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

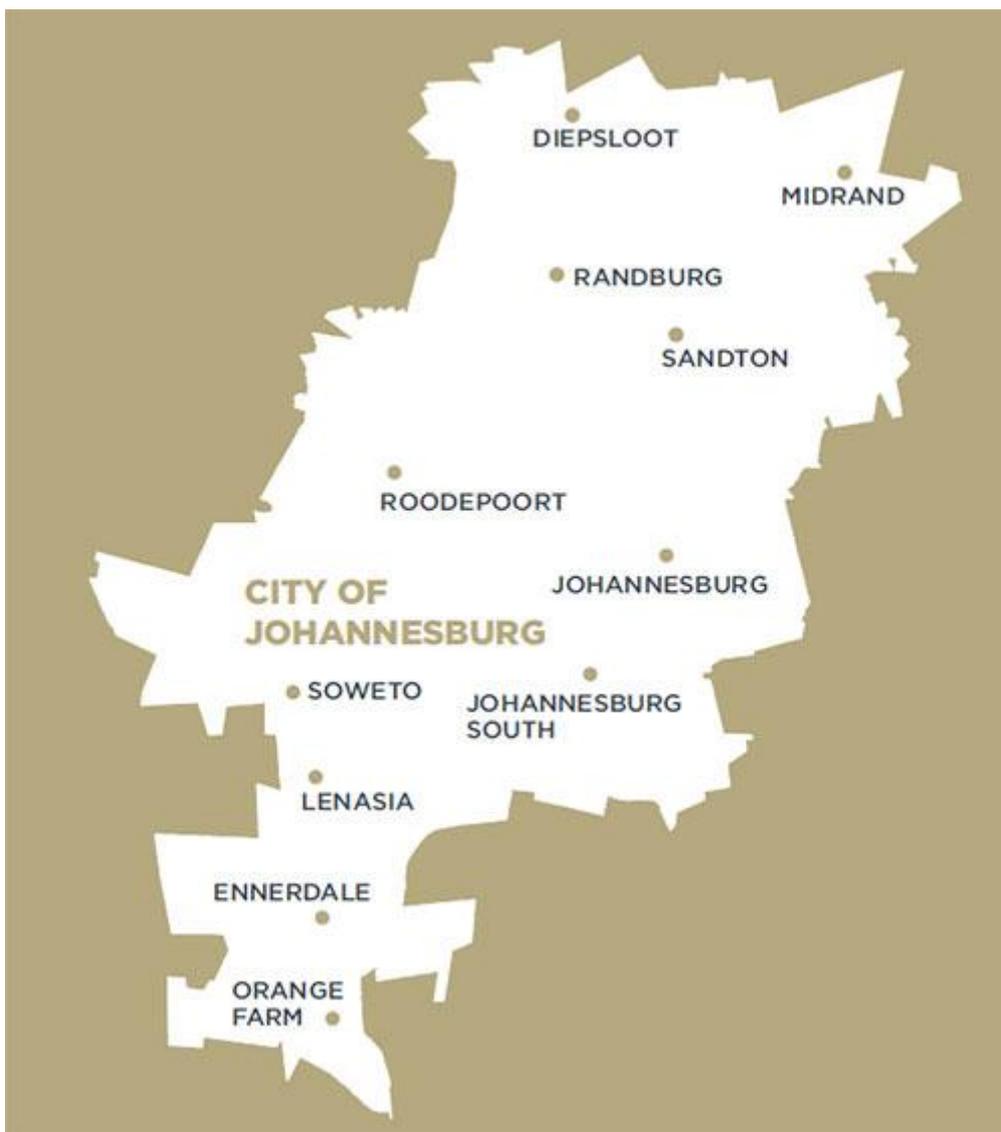
TABLE 3.3.1: CAPACITY STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES PER INDICATOR IN TSWANE METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY		
Indicator	Strength	Weakness
Departmental understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda	There is clear understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda by all top level officials in the municipality. It was emphasized that focus is on shortening the distance between home and work, redressing the apartheid legacy of spatial planning fragmented along racial lines through promoting spatial and socio-economic integration.	N/A
Individual capacity (staff competence, qualifications experience etc.)	Opportunities for professional staff development, Continuous training of inexperienced talent eg. Internships	Have serious capacity issues especially on technical fields- need to attract more technical expertise
Organisation culture (Management style etc)	Inclusive decision making processes (strategic planning sessions) Regular meetings	
Institutional stock (EMM legal framework, rules and procedures, access to equipment)		Procurement system is not efficient
Financial resources	Departments have input and access to municipal budgetary requirements But strict on how budgets are managed	
Enabling environmental mastery	Internally doing very well with other departments like human settlements, services, infrastructure, city planning, environment, working together in spatial transformation initiatives.	The spatial planning department is relatively strong. It is able to coordinate the activities of the different departments involved in Spatial Transformation

Programme Delivery	There is reliance on city customer satisfaction surveys	Lack of indicators for measuring the performance of some spatial transformation interventions.
Environmental (natural, and socio-political context)	International, National and Provincial Departments Provide support spatial transformation initiatives e.g UNHABITAT, DFD (French Organisation), National Treasury, Transport Department, NDP adds value to spatial transformation initiatives in the city	Lengthy township establishment processes – Delays in the accreditation of municipalities - accreditation of metropolitan municipalities to have more responsibilities to execute in the new settlement value chain Land invasions - Serious land invasions where big land portions that have been earmarked to unlock the housing backlogs are invaded IGR – lack of proper alignment with other spheres of government e.g education Violent protest - protests because most of them are violent, they even affect properties and assets of the municipalities
Resilience	Inner city urban regeneration zones delineated to arrest urban decay.	

3.4. Capacity for spatial transformation in Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

During the apartheid era, present day Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality comprised of eleven local authorities that were delineated mainly according to apartheid racial segregation lines (7 White and 4 Black/Coloured). In 2000 the re-demarcation of apartheid era local authorities merged the 11 formerly separate local authorities into one Metropolitan Municipality. The main places in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality are shown in Figure 3.4.1 below.

Figure 3.4.1: Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality



Source: <http://www.localgovernment.co.za/metropolitans/view/2/City-of-Johannesburg-Metropolitan-Municipality#map>

For purposes of urban management the Metropolitan Municipality was divided into seven regions as shown in Figure 3.4.2.

Figure 3.4.2: Regions in Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

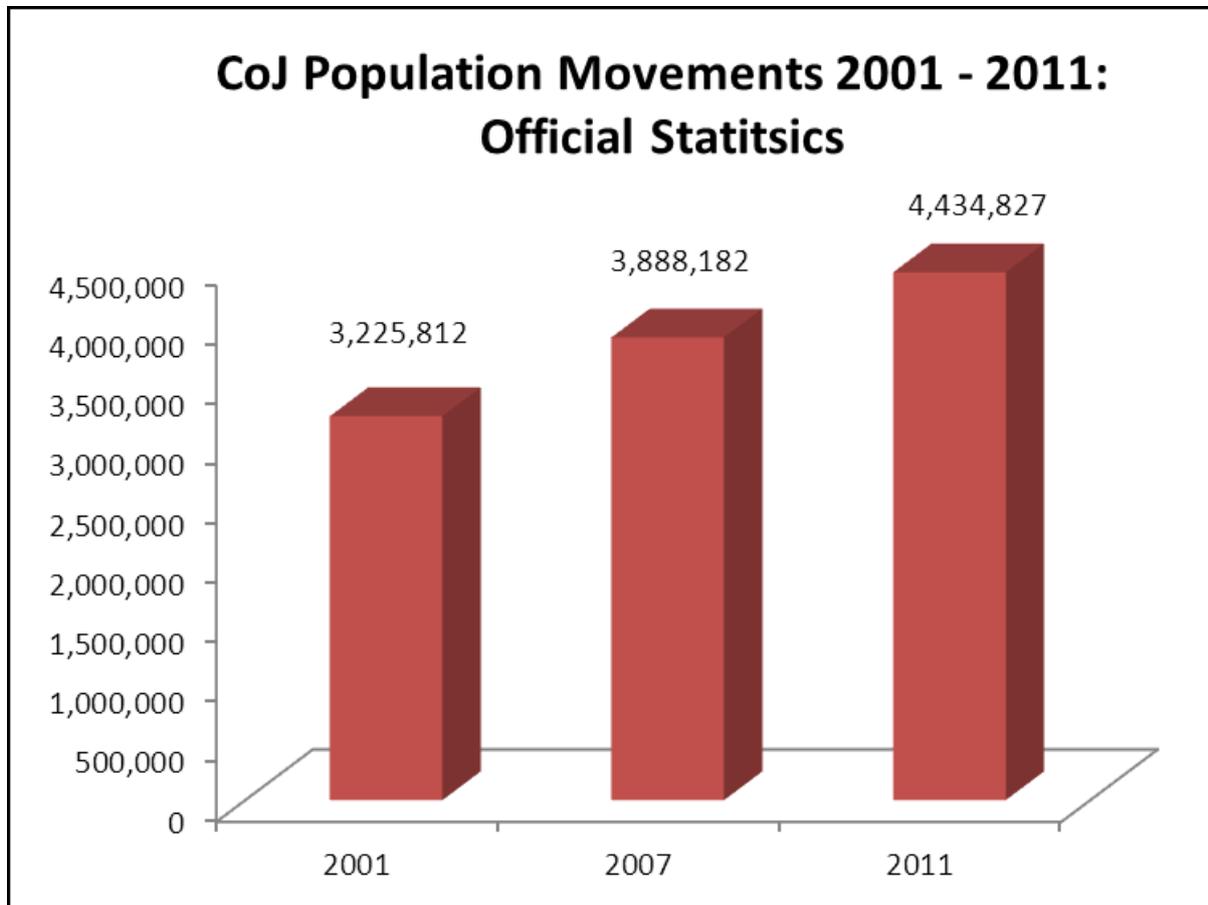


Source: Johannesburg.org.za

Statistics South Africa estimated that the total population of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality was 4.4 million in 2011. According to the Municipality's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2012/2016 the metropolitan's municipality's population account for 36% of Gauteng Province's population and 8% of the total

population. Population growth trends in the Municipality are shown in Figure 3.3.3 below.

Figure 3.4.3: Population Growth Trends in the City of Johannesburg

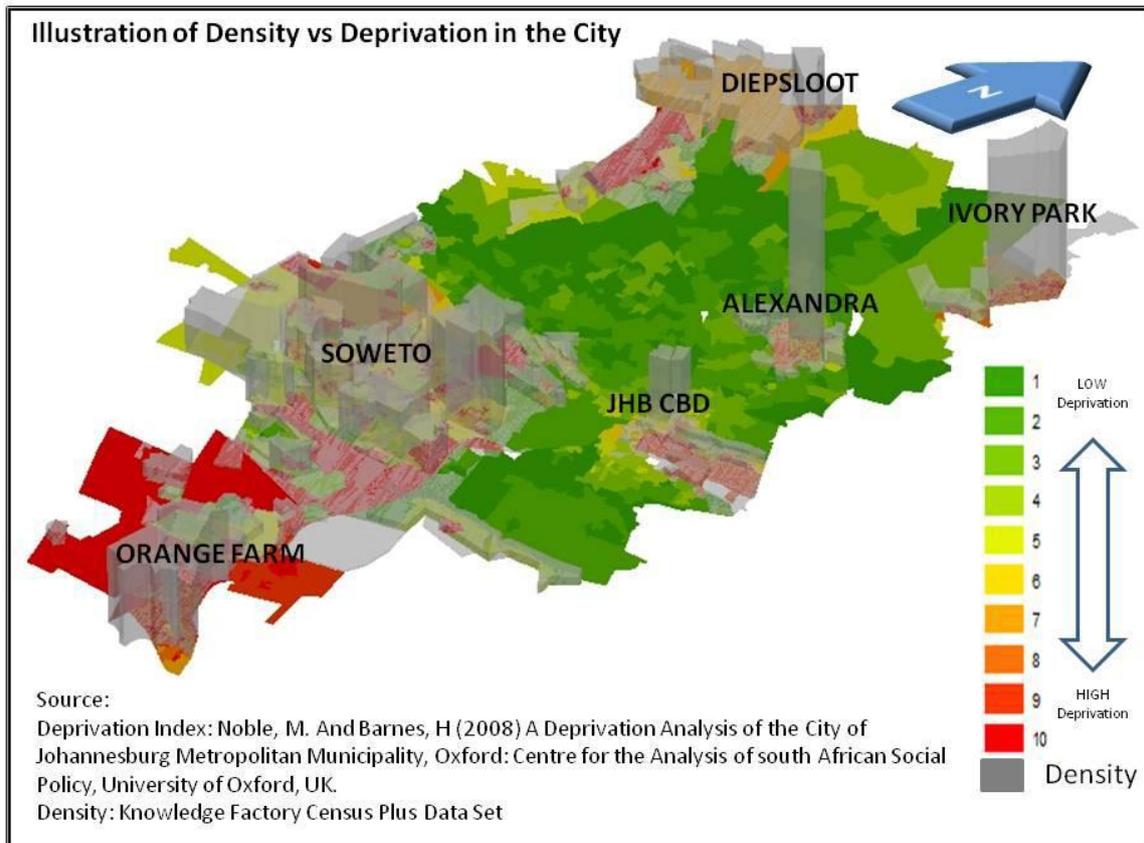


Source: City of Johannesburg IDP 2012/16

One notes that between 2001 and 2007 the population grew by 20.5%, between 2007 and 2011 it grew by 14% and 2001 and 2011 it grew by 37%. Population distribution per region in the metropolitan municipality is as follows Region D (24.4%), Region G (16.7%), F (13.4%), A (12.6%), E (18.8%), C (11.6%) and B (9.4%) respectively.

The spatial challenges facing Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality include the spatial concentration of poverty in peripherally located low-income settlements. There is relatively high concentration of poverty and population low-income settlements of the apartheid era such as Soweto, Orange Farm and Ivory Park. The shortage of land in areas close to services and facilities also means that most of the post-apartheid low-income housing initiatives occur at the periphery of the metropolitan municipality.

Figure 3.4.4: Spatial concentration of poverty in Johannesburg's low-income peripheral settlements



3.4.1 A summary for Findings from Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

TABLE 3.3: CAPACITY STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES PER INDICATOR IN JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY		
Indicator	Strength	Weakness
Departmental understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda	<p>There is clear understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda by all top level officials in the municipality.</p> <p>It was emphasized that focus is on shortening the distance between home and work, redressing the apartheid legacy of spatial planning fragmented along racial lines through promoting spatial and socio-economic integration.</p> <p>A number of initiatives are also in place to address the spatial transformation eg. Jozi at work (local job creation), corridors of freedom (good transport systems, walkability, liveability – facilities, local neighbourhood and city wide)</p>	N/A
Individual capacity (staff competence, qualifications experience etc.	<p>Highly experienced and qualified staff members at managerial and higher levels in all departments involved in spatial transformation, Opportunities for professional staff development,</p> <p>Continuous training of inexperienced talent eg. Internships</p>	<p>There is a 50% match between job requirements.50 percent of the posts are unfunded especially in the planning department</p> <p>Shortage of staff with strategic planning experience</p> <p>Difficult to retain qualified staff. Eg in the Human Settlements and Planning departments</p>
Organisation culture (Management style etc)	<p>Inclusive decision making processes (strategic planning sessions)</p> <p>Regular meetings</p>	
Institutional stock (EMM legal framework, rules and procedures, access to equipmenty)	<p>Access to logistical needs, facilities and equipment</p> <p>ICT network is set in an efficient manner</p> <p>Departments operate within the strategic framework of the city</p> <p>The GDS sets the agenda for development</p> <p>This also includes legislations such as the</p>	Procurement is a burning issue it is not consistent

	Municipal Systems Act (MSA), Municipal Finance Act and the Housing Act	
Financial resources	Departments have input and access to municipal budgetary requirements But strict on how budgets are managed	
Enabling environmental mastery	Different departments involved in spatial planning regularly meet Cognate departments belong to the same cluster where planning on projects is done together. Eg. Most of the departments involved in spatial transformation initiatives belong to the sustainable services cluster.	The spatial planning department is relatively strong. It is able to coordinate the activities of the different departments involved in Spatial Transformation
Programme Delivery	There is reliance on city customer satisfaction surveys	Lack of indicators for measuring the performance of some spatial transformation interventions.
Environmental (natural, and socio-political context)	International, National and Provincial Departments Provide support spatial transformation initiatives e.g UNHABITAT, DFD (French Organisation), National Treasury, Transport Department, NDP adds value to spatial transformation initiatives in the city	Contradictions among the environmental, housing and transportation legislation However, the burden of expectation is too high at a national level
Resilience	Inner city urban regeneration zones delineated to arrest urban decay.	

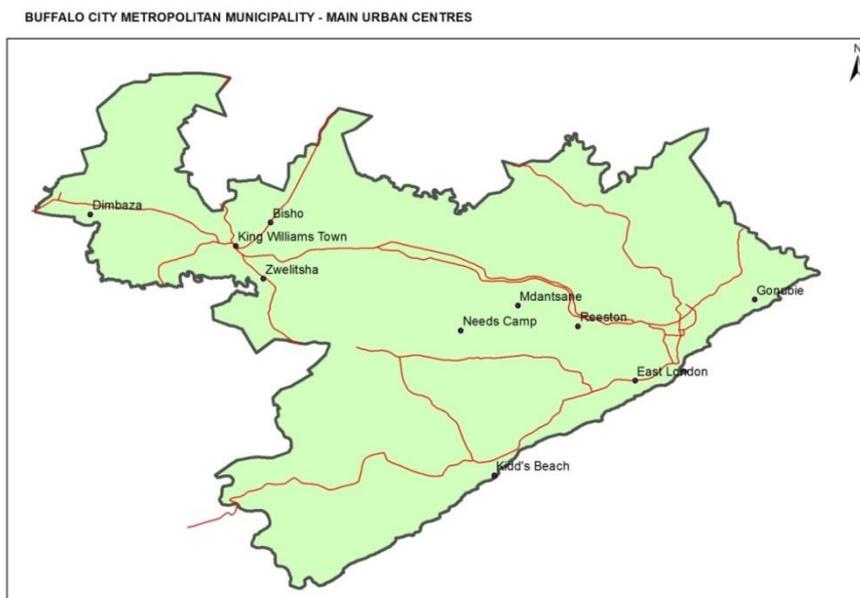
3.5 The State of Capacity for Spatial Transformation in the Buffalo City Metropolitan municipal report

This section presents the assessment of local government capacity for spatial transformation in the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality. It is based on a review of key strategic documents such as the municipality’s IDP, SDF and BEPP, and on primary data from representatives from the municipal departments involved in spatial transformation initiatives, in this case the City Manager’s office (Enterprise Project Management), Infrastructure, Human Settlements and Forward Planning. The first part presents background information on spatial challenges facing Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) and the need for spatial transformation in the municipality. This is followed by a discussion of the key findings of the study, looking at the goals and objectives of different departments, the understanding of both the developmental agenda of local government and the spatial transformation agenda of local government and issues around individual, institutional and environmental capacity within these departments.

3.5.1 Overview of Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality

Located in the Eastern Cape, Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) is a port city made up of two former municipalities (Transitional Local Councils), East London and King William’s Town. It ‘consists of a corridor of urban areas, stretching from the ‘port city’ of East London to the east, to Mdantsane and reaching Dimbaza in the west. Buffalo City’s land area is approximately 2 515km² with 68km of coastline.’

Figure 3.5.1: Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality – Main urban centres



The total population of Buffalo City in 2011 was 704 855 making up 11.5% of the Eastern Cape provincial population and representing a population growth rate of

0.7% between 2001 and 2011. This is below the provincial average of 1.4% growth in the same period. The total population is projected to grow to 1 290 000 people by 2020.

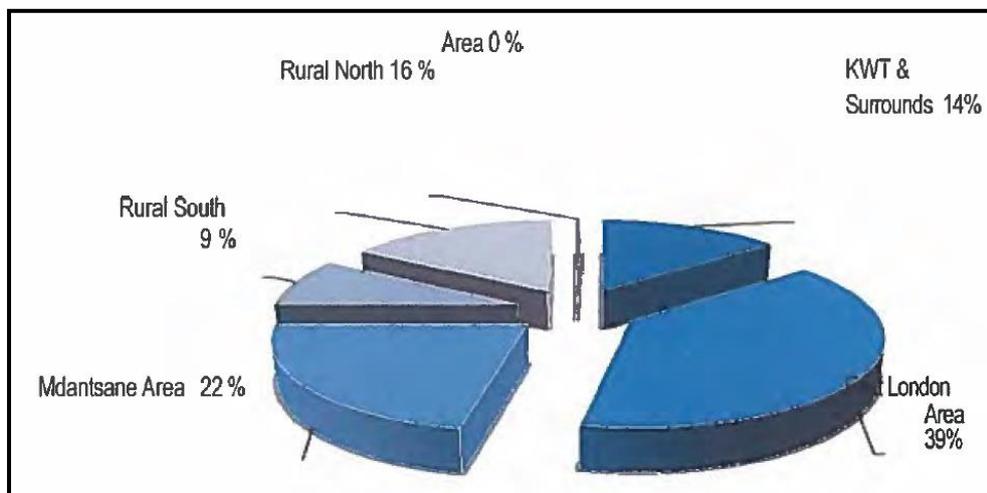
The municipality has 223 568 households (2011), of which 72.6% are formal dwellings, 22.3% are informal and 4.1% are traditional. There has been an increase by almost 10% in formal dwellings between 2001 and 2011, and a decrease in informal and traditional dwellings.

Over two thirds of the population are illiterate (over 20 years of age with a Grade 5 or less) and 48% of households live below the poverty line. The unemployment rate in 2011 was 35.1%, a substantial decrease from 53.1% in 2001. The municipality also has a higher Human Development Index than the provincial or national average (0.60) which its IDP attributes to good education and health facilities and a vibrant economy. However, the GINI coefficient, a measure of income inequality, has increased since 1996, implying an increase in inequality in the municipality.

Buffalo City is classified as having medium economic potential and therefore is not a national development priority. The IDP states that the majority of the population is 'disadvantaged by their impoverished circumstances and low levels of skills'. The municipality has therefore identified the need to focus on overcoming this legacy of underdevelopment that affects the population and economy of the municipality.

Population distribution is spread out, with 39% being concentrated in East London and 22% in Mdantsane. The urban zones (Greater East London, Mdantsane/Potsdam and Greater King Williamstown) account for 69.75% of the total population. These areas are also characterised by primarily formal dwellings, with the rural areas having less formal traditional dwellings. A quarter of the population is located in rural areas.

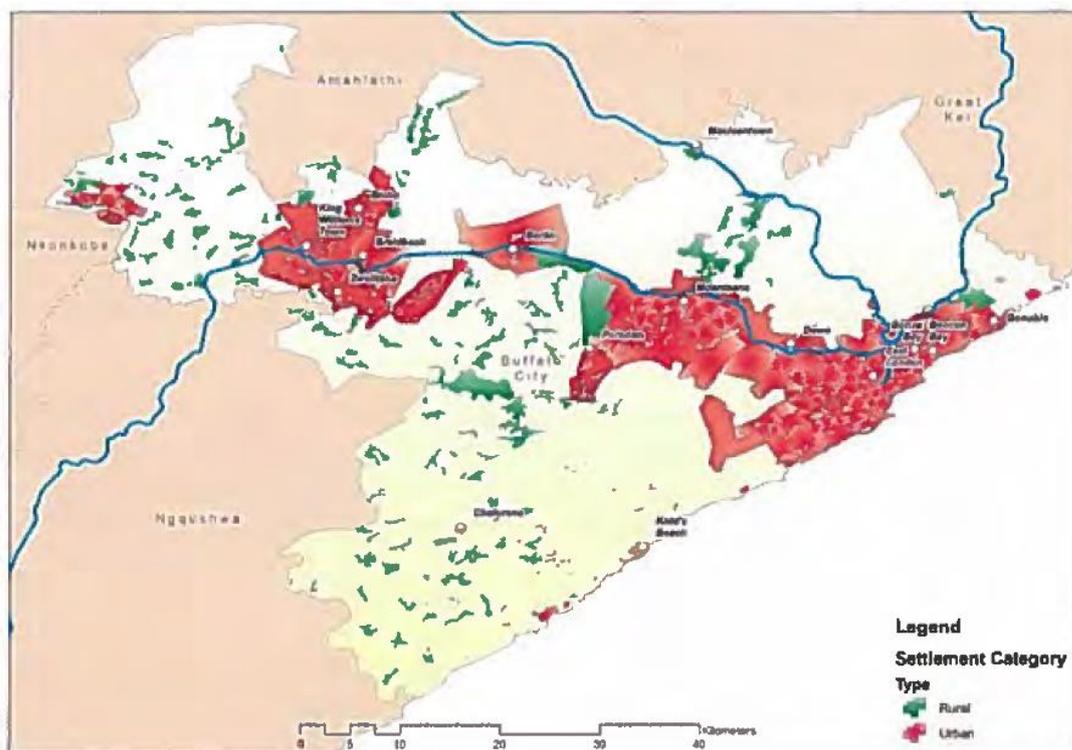
Figure 3.5.2: Population distribution (2011)



The municipality's IDP identifies the existing spatial fragmentation of urban areas and settlements in Buffalo City. Specifically, it identifies the following land use and land need patterns:

- The urban settlement pattern is dominated by the East London-Mdantsane-King Williamstown -Dimbaza urban development axis. It includes the primary industrial and service sector centres and East London serves as the primary node for the region. King Williams Town is a spatially fragmented area and functions as a regional service centre.
- The second area consists of non-urban land mainly within the areas of the former Ciskei but also on the outskirts of East London, where rural and peri-urban settlements accommodate approximately 20% of the municipal population. These are primarily in the western and southern parts of the Buffalo City.
- Commercial farming areas form the third distinctive type of land use and are dominant in the north-eastern and south-western areas of the municipality.

Figure 3.5.3: Rural-urban land use, Buffalo City Metro Municipality



Urban or built up areas cover approximately 7.8% of land cover in the municipality. There are a total of 230 rural villages covering 13 339ha. Approximately 9% of the land is cultivated on a semi-commercial/subsistence basis.

3.4.2 Strategic initiatives to address spatial transformation

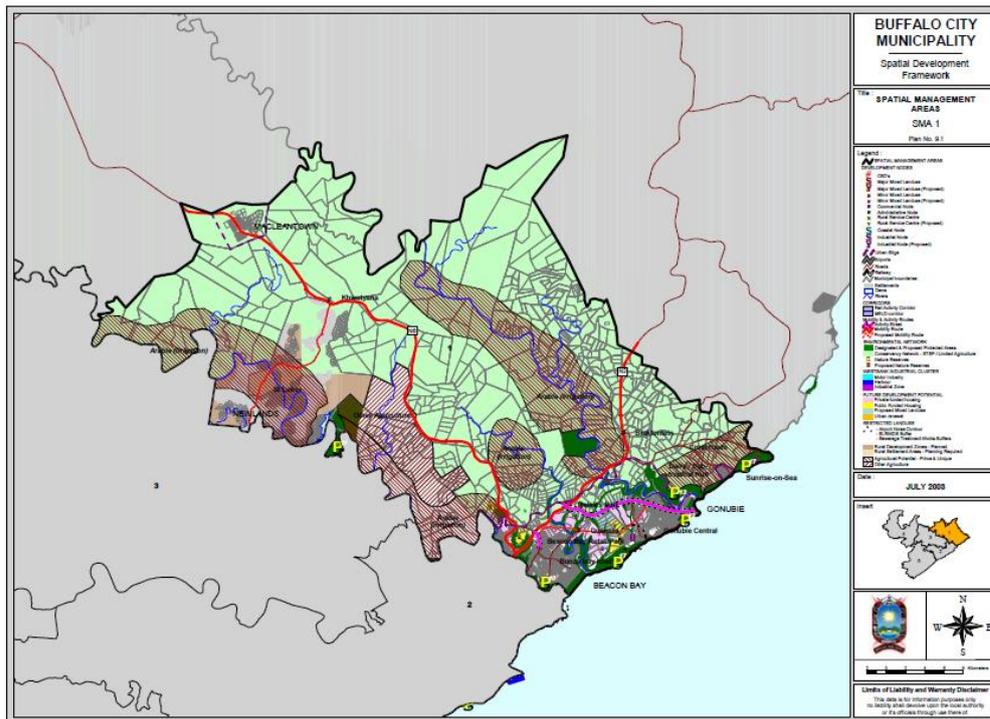
Buffalo City's first SDF was approved in 2003, following which a series of Local Spatial Development Frameworks (LSDFs) were completed to support the SDF and provide a more detailed spatial plan of specific localities. A spatial policy has also been completed and approved and currently incorporates both the urban and rural spatial plans. The municipality is also in the process of updating the urban plan completed in 2000 that focuses on linking Bhisho with King Williamstown, and the Mdantsane LSDF. The latter is one of the national urban renewal zones and the municipality therefore expects to receive significant funding for its development and in support of the Mdantsane Urban Renewal Programme (MURP).

The municipality's most recent SDF (2013) outlines the broad spatial development strategies to include:

- The use of the urban edge and Land Use Management System as spatial management and investment guidance tools
- Consolidate and integrate spatial development by developing land in proximity to public transport facilities and existing services
- Proactively manage land use and set appropriate levels of services to achieve sustainability in urban, peri-urban and rural areas

The 2013 SDF also proposes "three areas of strategic priority where, if focused attention is placed on implementing key catalytic projects, enormous developmental benefits can be attained." Priority 1 is the investment and growth of the Central Urban Renewal Areas which includes East London and Mdantsane and the areas between them. The second priority is the West Bank area which is in close proximity to the city centre and has been viewed as having significant development potential with the third focusing on the investment in the land in Quenera area and the upgrading of infrastructure to support the King Williamstown Bhisho Master Plan implementation.

Figure 3.5.4: Spatial Management Areas, BCM



The municipality’s Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP) states that ‘the spatial system in BCMM is complicated by the fact that the population consists both of communities that are more dependent on, and therefore functionally linked to, the urban economies of the towns and cities, and communities that pursue a more “independent”, functionally rural lifestyle’ .

A presentation by SACN for the 2014 Land Summit “outlines the municipality’s broad intent in relation to land management, acquisition and development. It addresses the key challenges and constraints as being rapid urbanisation and the municipality’s inability to keep up with capacity, infrastructure and maintenance requirements. Spatial fragmentation, urban sprawl, access to land and poverty and low skill levels were also noted” . In the past the municipality focused on addressing the housing and basic needs backlogs but now places increasing emphasis on the creation of sustainable human settlements, in line with the shift nationally. “Implicit in this approach are the principles of spatial transformation and inclusive urban spaces” .

The SDF contains a Land Framework which “focuses on the management of the property portfolio, contributing towards the revenue generation for the municipality by selling and leasing of municipal properties and land administration which includes the acquisition of land for municipal related activities for human settlement development”. The Municipality has prepared an asset register which includes all municipal land assets but has not yet developed a Land Asset Management Strategy which would assist in better managing land to achieve the overall objectives of spatial transformation.

3.5.3 Key findings Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality

TABLE 3.5.1: CAPACITY FOR SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES PER INDICATOR IN BUFFALO CITY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

Indicator	Strengths	Weaknesses
Departmental understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is some understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda by some top officials in the municipality • Staff involved in spatial transformation can clearly describe their roles and responsibilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Officials tend to situate their understanding of spatial transformation within the context of the core business of their department, rather than across the municipality as a whole
Individual capacity (staff competence, qualifications experience etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Officials indicate a good match between job requirements, skills and qualification • Staff involved in spatial transformation can clearly articulate their roles and responsibilities • Opportunities for professional staff development • Continuous training of inexperienced talent e.g. Internships • Implementation of Infrastructure Skills Development grant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shortage of resources to address training needs • Challenges related to rolling out performance management system to lower levels
Organisation culture (Management style etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managers tend to have participatory and enabling style, staff are professional and limited political interference occurs • High vacancy levels in senior management have generally been addressed • Effective delegation of management responsibility to second level, occurs and there is 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management style seen as top-down, bureaucratic with bottom up reporting • The new metro organisational structure has been adopted but not yet funded •

	sufficient management depth	
Institutional stock (EMM legal framework, rules and procedures, access to equipment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective financial management and accounting procedures in place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not all departments have access to facilities and equipment they need • Some departmental structures not fully funded, over long period of time • Need for coherent land acquisition strategy • Inadequate infrastructure for spatial transformation (especially maintenance)
Financial resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Officials appear to have realistic expectation of budgets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budget limits what can be done • Some underspending e.g. of Municipal Capacity Development grant, Human Settlements project implementation
Enabling environmental mastery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sector specific forums exist across the municipality, drawing in key stakeholders as necessary • Departments provide input into the municipality's strategic plans and are aware of objectives • There is bureaucratic support for spatial transformation • Spatial transformation outcomes are measured and documented and widely known to departmental managers through the Project Tracker system • Sharing of information takes place, particularly through BEPP processes • Civil society participation in spatial transformation activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sometimes mobilisation of civil society is seen as counterproductive
Programme Delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Client satisfaction is monitored where relevant • EPMO has implemented a Project Tracking system to monitor project performance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

<p>Environmental (natural, and socio-political context)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National and Provincial Departments Provide funding for and support to some local spatial transformation initiatives e.g. National Treasury's CSP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical environment inhibits housing development and spatial transformation – lack of flat land, hills, rivers • Legislative procedures associated with land prohibit effective spatial transformation • Tends to be over-regulation • It is difficult for the legislative framework to keep up with the rapid changes taking place • Engaging with some national and provincial departments requires the need to find a middle ground
<p>Resilience</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New microstructure is being implemented • BCM is seeking alternative funding sources • Works with strategic partners to source additional capacity including scarce skills • Developing 10 year asset programme to increase resilience 	

3.6 The State of Capacity for Spatial Transformation in the eThekwini Metropolitan municipality report

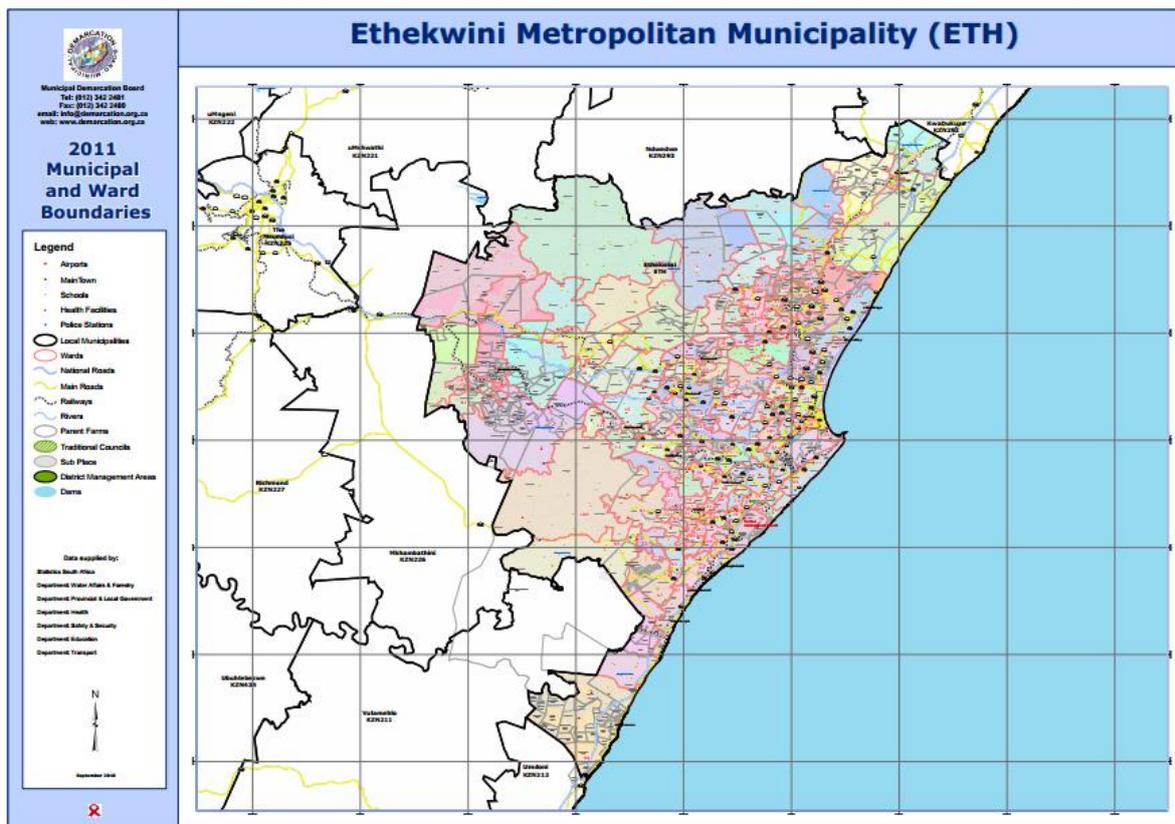
This section of the report presents the assessment of local government capacity for spatial transformation in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. It is based on a review of key strategic documents such as the municipality's IDP, SDF and BEPP, and on primary data from representatives from the municipal departments involved in spatial transformation initiatives, in this case Development Planning, Human Settlements, Infrastructure Coordination and the eThekwini Transport Authority. The first part presents background information on spatial challenges facing eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality and the need for spatial transformation in the municipality. This is followed by a discussion of the key findings of the study, looking at the goals and objectives of different departments, the understanding of both the developmental agenda of local government and the spatial transformation agenda of local government and issues around individual, institutional and environmental capacity within these departments.

3.6.1 Overview of the eThekwini municipality

A new council for eThekwini Municipality was established in 2000 which involved the amalgamation of seven councils administered by the old Durban Metropolitan Area, the Umkomaas Traditional Local Council and portions of ILembe and Ndlovu Regional Councils. This was done as part of Developmental Local Government Agenda that required that one local government body be responsible for the overall strategic planning and management of the area.

The eThekwini municipality is a port city that covers an area of approximately 2,297km² and consists of 103 wards. The Spatial Development Framework (SDF) states that approximately 45% of the eThekwini municipality is rural, 30% is peri-urban and the remaining 25% is urban. About 90% of the rural areas are under traditional leadership and authority.

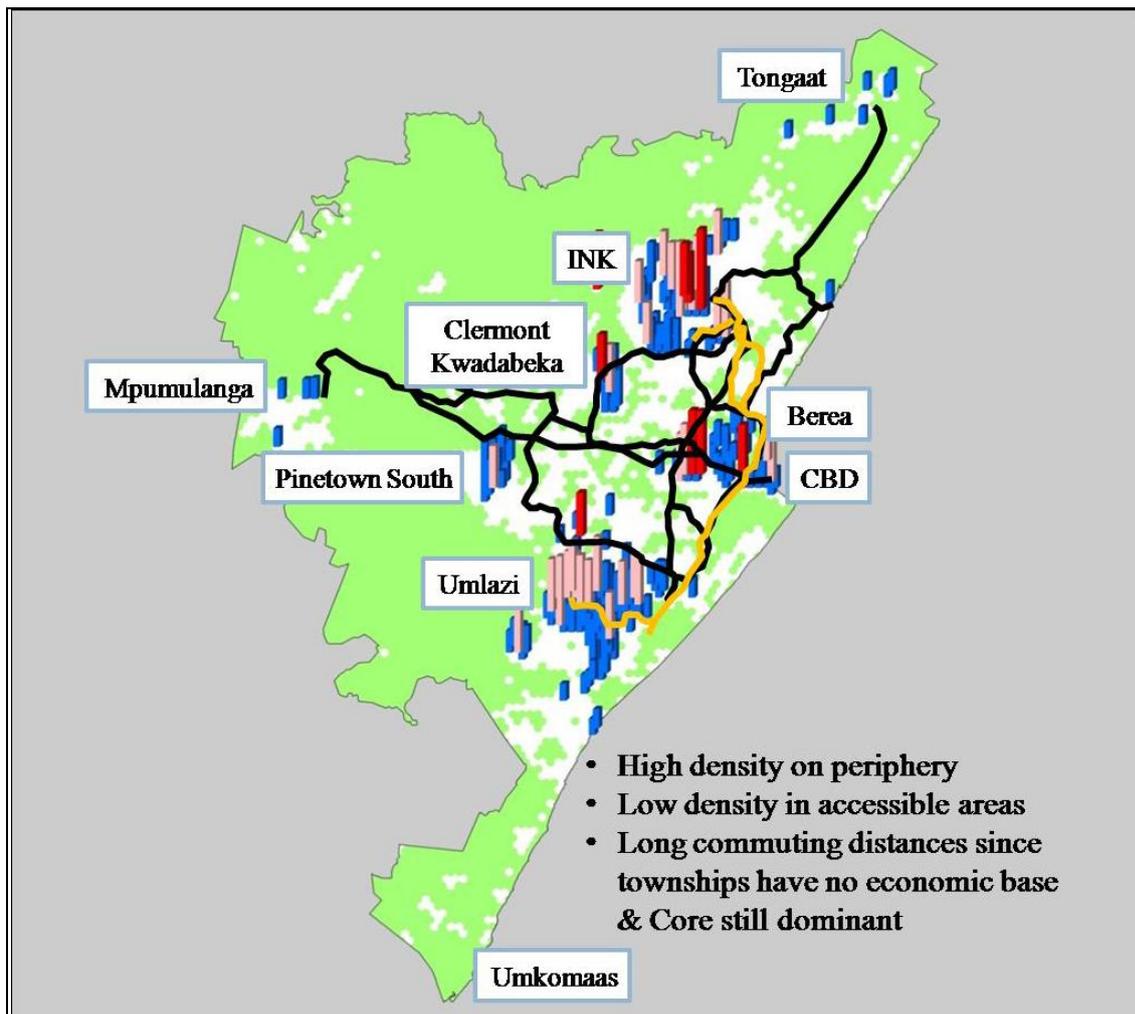
Figure 3.6.1: eThekwi metro municipality, municipal and ward boundaries



The population of eThekwi has grown from 3.09 million in 2001 to 3.44 million in 2011, making up 956 713 households (2011). It is further expected to grow to about 3.7 million by 2020. About 66% of this population is below the age of 35 years, while 67% of the population is economically active (from 15 to 59 years). eThekwi experiences high migration levels with the largest sources of migrants coming from KwaZulu Natal, followed by migrants from outside South Africa.

eThekwi has a population density of approximately 1 500 people per km². However, large areas of ultra-low residential densities with less than three dwellings per/ha, make up 55% or more of the municipal area. The former township areas are medium density, often with pockets of high density, where informal settlements occur. 'These densities are not supported by the provision of amenities. These poor resource areas have high unemployment rates, low household incomes, poor levels of education and low levels of access to areas of opportunity. This implies that there are few employment opportunities where people live, and that economically active residents must commute between work and home'.

Figure 3.6.2: Population densities in eThekweni metro municipality



The city's GDP comprises 65.5% of KwaZulu-Natal's GDP and 10.7% nationally and has grown at an average of 5.6% over the last decade. However, just over one million people in the municipality live in poverty. In 2011, 38% of the city's population was economically active, decreasing by 2% in 2006. However, there was 'significant improvement with respect to the municipality's unemployment rate, decreasing from 31.4% in 2006 to 20.4% in 2011'.

EThekweni metro municipality is structured into four functional areas: the Central Municipal Planning Region (CMPR), South Municipal Planning Region (SMPR), West Municipal Planning Region (WMPR) and North Municipal Planning Region (NMPR). The functional boundaries of these regions are defined by the Umgeni River, the Umlazi River and the Kloof Ridge and are catchment based. The city's largest population concentrations occur in the central and northern areas of the municipality. The central area is the urban core and houses approximately 1.18 million people (34.54%). The northern region has approximately 1.15 million people (33.61%). The southern areas of the municipality accommodate approximately 758 000 people (22.03%) while the outer west, and more rural / peri-urban area of the

municipality, accommodates the smallest number with a total population of approximately 338 000 people (9.82%).

Predominant land use includes residential and economic land uses, with less prevalent land uses including agriculture, traditional settlements and industrial uses. Economic activity is heavily skewed towards the Durban City Centre, the Durban South Basin, the Port of Durban and the Pinetown and New Germany areas. There is uneven distribution of economic opportunities with most employment and consumption opportunities concentrated in the central core areas.

eThekwini's Built Environment Performance Plan notes that in the city's urban form there is a clear separation of residential uses from economic uses, implying that 'there are few employment opportunities where people live, and that economically active residents must commute' .

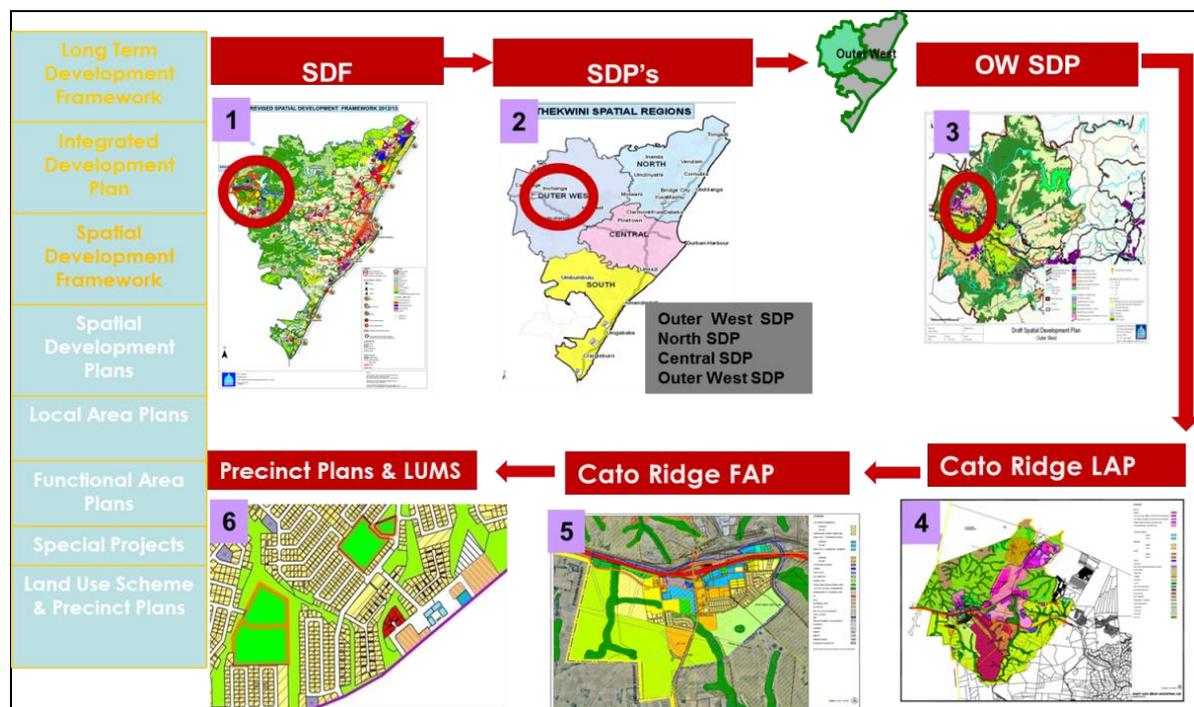
3.6.2 Strategic initiatives to address spatial transformation

The Spatial Development Framework highlights the T-shaped movement network that is formed by the intersection of the N2 running in a North-south direction and the N3 running towards the North-western direction. The former forms part of the provincial and national corridor running north to Richards's Bay and Mozambique. To the south it runs across the CBD main metropolitan and regional transport hubs including the Port of Durban, Isipingo, Amanzimtoti and continues down to Port Shepstone and the Eastern Cape province. The latter, N3 corridor, plays a critical role in providing access to main metropolitan and regional transport hubs including the Port of Durban, Durban and Pinetown CBDs. It also links Durban with Pietermaritzburg and further north, to Gauteng.

In a reflection on the SDF and the BEPP, one official notes that the SDF presents future land-use potential and an indication of priority areas. What it lacks is a phased and integrated roll-out of implementation taking into account population and economic growth and estimated take-up, infrastructure capacities, implementation readiness across municipal, provincial and national departments, agreements with developers on guaranteed take-up, identification of costs and benefits of providing infra to different areas, the defining of areas where there will be ‘deep’ investment vs ‘shallow investment etc. Only recently has there been a start to move into implementation (CIF). These shortcomings are addressed in the BEPP. The focus of the BEPP has since inception been focussed on integrated implementation and linking Planning and Budgeting and this is another one of the BEPP strengths .

In developing its spatial and strategic plans, the municipality has adopted a package of plans to promote an integrated planning system. The Long Term Development Framework (LTD), IDP and SDF Strategic component are carried through to implementation by undertaking plans with increasing levels of detail, namely the Spatial Development Plans, Local Area Plans, Functional Area Plans, Special Project and Land Use Schemes and Precinct Plans. This is illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 3.6.4: Package of plans, eThekweni metro municipality



The intention is to establish a land use management system culminating in a city wide scheme that reflects the vision and objectives of the IDP. This is expected to lead and direct strategic investment across the city, unlock economic opportunities, informing the roll out of infrastructure such as water and sanitation and the location of human settlements & social facilities. This should ensure that eThekweni becomes

an efficient and sustainable city by addressing spatial transformation through densification and supporting a viable and efficient public transport system .

Key challenges to urban transformation facing eThekweni are settlement patterns, low densities and low incomes. To address these, the BEPP 2015/16 highlights the following approaches adopted by the city:

- Roll out of IRPTM
- Three integrations zones, dense urban, suburban and non-urban. Dense Urban contains around 50% of the population and the bulk of economic activity and needs to be densified. It requires big investments in mixed use type development and supporting infrastructure. It is the area in which to grow the economy rapidly and serve the maximum number of people
- Framework planning projects which are well-aligned with dense urban integration zones, focused on transport oriented development, and moving into implementation
- Urban network precincts, nodes and hubs which aim to integrate townships into the movement and economic system, revitalise township nodes and stimulate economic development and support transit-oriented development
- Economic programmes including the NDPG, which are well aligned with Dense Urban Integration Zones where the bulk of spend is occurring but also serving other areas, through a range of intervention types
- Economic aspects such as the Durban Investment Dashboard, a predominantly private sector development proposals, most of which are within close proximity to the N2 and N3
- Housing – the bulk of informal settlements is located on the edge of the Dense Urban IZ, many of which are to be formalised in-situ. Most Greenfields sites are also on the edge of Dense Urban IZ. Northern projects are well located to the airport growth corridor. There are some well-located greenfields where densification is crucial. There is a need for more densification projects in CBDs.
- Housing – all identified mega/catalytic projects are well-located and show the direction in which Human Settlement projects need to move. Typologies and funding models become critical. The city has good partnerships with the private sector in this regard.
- Housing projects nearing completion – there is good spatial proximity between Housing and Economic projects, which are well positioned with regard to PT trunks. The city has a good mix of development types which means both revenue-absorbing and revenue-generating elements in the same project which enhances financial viability.

The city has several catalytic projects that are expected to contribute greatly to transforming the city, such as the Dube Trade Port (DTP) and Cornubia. Challenges experienced by the municipality in bringing these to fruition to achieve their full

transformational potential relate to IGR and issues over which the municipality has little control. For example, in DTP a water use licence has not yet been issued by the national department, environmental closure is needed on sewer trunks that will cross environmental compensation land, the project needs the Provincial Tongaat Eastern Arterial and agricultural land needs to be converted in terms of Act 70 of 70 (Subdivision of Agricultural Land Act). Greater Cornubia needs at least two national freeway interchanges, provincial roads, and social facility clusters. However, there are funding shortfalls from other spheres of government and no agreement on cost-sharing with other spheres.

Major challenges experienced in relation to implementation of projects in economic development nodes include the following:

- Infrastructure constraints such as water, sanitation, roads for key projects, and the inability to install infrastructure due to national departments (Act 70 of 70, Water use licenses)
- Skilled Human Resources internally to drive programme implementation and project management
- Alignment in planning and implementation related to competing needs, and the application of environmental regulations
- Market factors such as the fact that business cycles influence the timing of development
- Electricity supply problems which limit growth
- Funding for economic infrastructure as funding is biased towards social needs
- Ease of doing business related to the high cost of doing business and red tape creates which create barriers to investment, SMME development and growth

There appears to be great excitement around the BEPP and its potential to drive spatial transformation. For example, one official notes that the city's integrated plans have never driven the budget. The budget has been driven by municipal departmental plans, politics, national priorities etc. resulting in a budget that is broadly developmental but unfocused and not integrated. While the IDP presents a good synopsis of the state of the municipality by collecting the individual plans of each sector in one document, departments were not really able to synchronise their activities around the plans. However, a planning official feels that the BEPP is largely infrastructure driven with limited linkage back to spatial plans as a context and informant. This relates back to the challenge of planning not taken sufficiently seriously and the general lack of integration institutionally.

To bring about urban transformation, the following is needed:

- Support is needed from DWS on fast tracking WULAs especially for catalytic projects
- Continued support is needed from DWS regarding full engagement with the municipality on gazetting of river classes
- Support is needed for densification & informal settlement upgrading from DoHS. The municipality has not solved the dilemma of how to fund pro-poor multi-storey housing
- Support is needed from provincial DoT for road improvements on provincial network
- Support is needed from national and provincial social facility departments for implementing the outcomes of the DPSA study
- Although there are good partnerships on specific projects (eg THD, Toyota etc) these need to be expanded to grow the economy

3.6.3 Key Findings in eThekweni Municipality

TABLE 3.6.1: CAPACITY FOR SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES PER INDICATOR IN ETHEKWINI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

Indicator	Strengths	Weaknesses
Departmental understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is clear understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda by top level officials, in most cases identifying both residential and economic aspects of spatial transformation 	N/A
Individual capacity (staff competence, qualifications experience etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly experienced and qualified staff members at managerial and higher levels in departments involved in spatial transformation • In some key departments, e.g. Human Settlements, all strategic posts filled • Scarce skills allowance helps retain technical staff • Opportunities for professional staff development, • Continuous training of inexperienced talent e.g. Internships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Position of Deputy City Manager: Human Settlements and Infrastructure has been vacant for about 4 years – key integrative post • Shortage of skilled human resources to drive implementation • Shortage of staff with skills for coordination, integration • Shortage of project management skills • In the past city offered 5 year contracts rather than permanent posts which was less attractive – this is being changed • Municipality seen as paying less than private sector therefore difficult to retain scarce skills
Organisation culture (Management style etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory and inclusive decision making processes in most cases • Sufficient management depth in key departments • Integration Forum for inter-departmental coordination around BEPP has promoted collegial approach and integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning function not taken sufficiently seriously
Institutional stock (EMM legal framework, rules and procedures, access to equipment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to logistical needs, facilities and equipment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Red tape and high costs of doing business creates barriers to investment and SMME development; supply chain management constraints • Need to finalise the proposal around the Programme Management office in the office of the City Manager
Financial resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Departments have input and access to municipal budgetary requirements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not enough resources for strategic departments • Lack of resources to fulfil the development agenda; Pace

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> of transformation slowed by budget allocations • Funding shortfalls particularly from Province • Resources needed to drive the BEPP
Enabling environmental mastery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Durban Transport Authority and Integrated Public Transport System working well to restructure the city • There is senior management support for spatial transformation • Information is shared between departments, and, through MILE, with other municipality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fragmentation of some departments or functions, e.g. Planning inhibits spatial transformation • Absence of spatial targeting and prioritization limits the extent to which a common integrated approach to spatial transformation is being promoted • Spatial plans have not been able to influence delivery to a large extent, and most delivery still happens in silos • Civil society participation in spatial transformation activities tends to be superficial but mechanisms in place to address this • Developers are not sufficiently incentivised
Programme Delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior officials have clear understanding of and acknowledge the need for spatial transformation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little evidence of monitoring client satisfaction apart from some community surveys in Human Settlements • Lack of indicators for measuring spatial transformation interventions
Environmental (natural, and socio-political context)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some National and Provincial Departments provide funding or and support local spatial transformation initiatives e.g. National Treasury, provincial Human Settlements • Excitement around BEPP and its potential to drive spatial transformation, now elevated to City Manager and Council level • CSP liaison unit established to improve communication with residents • BEPP Review Forum with national and provincial departments • Private sector has skills such as understanding of market trends, project management and property management which are lacking in the municipality • External actors such as Tongaat Hulett play a 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Serious IGR challenges, e.g. those relating to sharing costs of roads with KZN province; there is no agreement or commitment re cost sharing • IGR commitment from provincial and national government around transport is reportedly poor, although this is not the case for Human Settlements • Delays in issuing of water licences by national government • Lack of developable land in development corridors and nodes although structures have been put in place for a dialogue around this (e.g. with SOEs) • Province tends to play a monitoring role rather than true engagement • City needs to engage with the private sector around cost sharing of bulk infrastructure • Not always an alignment of plans between the municipality and external actors

	<p>major role in shaping the city's spatial outlook</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appropriate forums are in place for the city and Tongaat to engage, assisted by the BEPP process 	
Resilience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipality has implemented spatial mapping of the budget in the SDF to identify gaps and determine alignment between spend and spatial priorities, and the planning department is in the process of influencing the BEPP • Information sharing through MILE is strong • Strong partnerships with tertiary institutions and some key private sector players 	

3.7 The State of Capacity for Spatial Transformation in the Mangaung Municipality

Located in the Free State - South Africa's most central province – Mangaung is not only the biggest municipality in the Free State but it is also the only metropolitan municipality in that province. With a total area of 6 284km², Mangaung is the sixth largest city in South Africa (SALGA 2015; The Local Government Handbook 2015). An amalgamation of former 'white' (Bloemfontein, Bloemspruit) and 'non-white' transitional local councils (Thaba Nchu, Botshabelo, Mangaung, Heidedal); Mangaung is a multiracial and culturally diverse metro boasting Sesotho, Setswana, Afrikaans and English as its prevalent *linguae francae*. After the local elections of 2000, the transitional local councils (TLCs) were amalgamated - in line with the provisions of The White Paper on Local Government 1998 and the Municipal Systems Act 2000, The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, among other statutes - to form a Category B municipality (local municipality). Following the May 2011 local government elections, Mangaung turned into a Category A municipality (autonomous metropolitan municipality), a move which has purportedly given Mangaung's administrators/managers "more responsibility and power, a bigger budget and exclusive executive and legislative powers" (Molewa and Berkowitz 2011; SALGA 2015). Prior to being upgraded to metropolitan municipality, Mangaung – in conjunction with the Naledi and Mantsopa local municipalities - formed part of the Motheo District Municipality. Currently, Mangaung is governed by Councillor Thabo Manyoni (executive mayor) and managed by Ms Sibongile Mazibuko (city manager).

As Mangaung is home to Bloemfontein – South Africa's judicial capital city, Free State's commercial hub and seat of government, and Mangaung's most prominent node – it is perhaps unsurprising that the metro's economy is strongly driven by tertiary services such as the government sector. For instance, community services currently contribute approximately 35% to the city's GVA (The Local Government Handbook 2015). According to the Local Government Handbook (2015), the government sector in Mangaung "has seen the fastest growth in the last five years as a result of increased programmes in livelihoods improvement interventions". Another fastest-growing tertiary sector in the metro is finance, which contributes 26.8% to the metro's economy and whose growth is largely attributable "to very active estate and construction activities" (ibid) currently taking place in the municipality, among them the expansion of the Bloemfontein Airport and the establishment of the Klein Magasa tourism museum (SALGA 2015). Other main economic sectors are trade (16%), transport (11.8%) and manufacturing (3.5%). A significant contributor to the Free State's economy, Mangaung contributes approximately 25.5% to the province's GDP. Mangaung contributes about 1.6% to the national GDP, a relatively small figure especially in comparison to the contributions of other metropolitan municipalities (for instance, Tshwane contributes approximately 8% to the national economy).

Like the budding government and finance sectors in Mangaung, the City's population appears to have been on the rise. du Plessis (2010) records the number of Mangaung's inhabitants as having been 645,437 in 2010. Currently, there is uncertainty as to the metro's actual population, with The Local Government Handbook (2015) reporting it as 747,431 and SALGA (2015) arguing that it is 850,000. Whilst there is no clarity in this regard, what is evident is the population growth of Mangaung, perhaps due to the metro's economic growth. Yet, the growth of formal sectors such as government, finance and transport has not translated to the materialisation of jobs in the metro. There appears to have been jobless growth, as evidenced by the relatively high levels of poverty and unemployment as well as the proliferation of small businesses in the metro (The Local Government Handbook 2015; SALGA 2015; Mangaung IDP 2012/2016). "Small businesses have a major role to play in ... the Mangaung economy in terms of employment creation, income generation and output growth" (The Local Government Handbook 2015). Having taken note of the importance of SMMEs for the citizenry and economy of Mangaung – "sustainability of the local economy, increas[ing] the competitiveness of local businesses, generat[ing] jobs and broaden[ing] the tax base of the municipality" (SALGA 2015) – the metro has supported the SMME sector via establishing a SMME Service Centre, whose objective is "co-ordinating quality business development support services to local SMMEs" (ibid.). This objective, among others, is clearly articulated in the metro's IDP; and it begins to point at the City's attempts at socially transforming the City.

Mangaung is excellently connected to neighbouring Lesotho and the RSA's metropolitan centres - Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Tshwane, Durban and Cape Town – via a well-constructed, well-maintained multimillion rand road network stemming mostly from Bloemfontein (SALGA 2015). Yet, spatial disparities within the metro remain a critical challenge. Whilst Bloemfontein plays a critical role of “link[ing] up all the important railway connections between the industrial north and the south” (SALGA 2015); the legacy of apartheid planning is still evident. By virtue of the actuality that Mangaung comprises urban and rural areas, the previously advantaged communities within the metro – most of whom are concentrated in formerly marginalised areas (Botshabelo, Mnagaung and ThabaNchu) – remain spatially disconnected to the rest of the city (ibid.). Most socio-economic opportunities still have to be accessed in Bloemfontein, which implies that there are still vast distances to be covered by citizenry from disadvantaged backgrounds to places of opportunity (ibid.). The municipality has gone to great depths to spatially transform Mangaung via ensuring every citizen's connection to the rest of the city. In doing this, the municipality has, amongst other things, hatched multiple transit-oriented development projects aimed at bringing amenities closer to the people. Some of these TOD projects include “N8 Corridor Development Programme ... and development of Shebeen and Tavern Tourism Route” (The Local Government Handbook 2015). As well, the City – via regeneration attempts in the Bloemfontein CBD – is making a concerted effort to bring people to the decaying inner city, thus closer to socio-economic opportunity.

3.7.1 Key findings

TABLE 3.571: CAPACITY FOR SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES PER INDICATOR IN ETHEKWINI METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

Indicator	Strengths	Weaknesses
Departmental understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is clear understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda by top level officials, in most cases identifying both residential and economic aspects of spatial transformation 	N/A
Individual capacity (staff competence, qualifications experience etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities for professional staff development, • Continuous training of inexperienced talent e.g. Internships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shortage of skilled human resources to drive implementation • Shortage of staff with skills for coordination, integration • Shortage of project management skills
Organisation culture (Management style etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusive decision making processes in most cases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning function not taken sufficiently seriously
Institutional stock (legal framework, rules and procedures, access to equipment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to logistical needs, facilities and equipment 	
Financial resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Departments have input and access to municipal budgetary requirements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not enough resources for strategic departments • Lack of resources to fulfil the development agenda •
Enabling environmental mastery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information is shared between departments, 	
Programme Delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior officials have clear understanding of and acknowledge the need for spatial transformation 	
Environmental (natural, and socio-political context)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some National and Provincial Departments provide funding or and support local spatial transformation initiatives e.g. National Treasury, provincial Human Settlements • Private sector has skills such as understanding of market trends, project management and property management which are lacking in the 	

Resilience		
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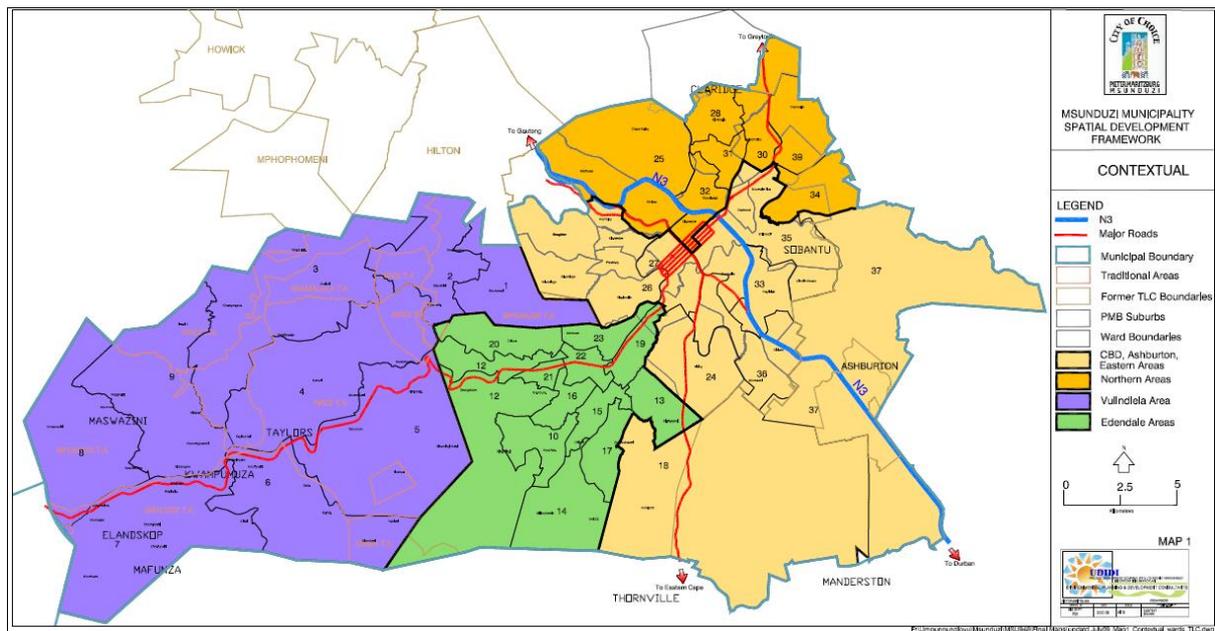
3.8 The State of Capacity for Spatial Transformation in the Msunduzi Municipality

This section focuses on the assessment of local government capacity for spatial transformation in the Msunduzi Municipality. It is based on a review of key strategic documents such as the municipality's IDP, SDF and BEPP, and on primary data from representatives from the municipal departments involved in spatial transformation initiatives, in this case Town Planning officials and Human Resources. The first part presents background information on spatial challenges facing Msunduzi Municipality and the need for spatial transformation in the municipality. This is followed by a discussion of the key findings of the study, looking at the goals and objectives of different departments, the understanding of both the developmental agenda of local government and the spatial transformation agenda of local government and issues around individual, institutional and environmental capacity within these departments.

3.8.1 Overview of Msunduzi Metropolitan Municipality

The Msunduzi municipality consists of three former district areas (the former borough of Pietermaritzburg, Greater Edendale and the Vulindlela Tribal area) which were amalgamated into the current municipal area in 2000. The municipality is the core urban and economic centre of the Umgungundlovu District Municipality. It is the smallest of the seven local municipalities in the district in terms of land area (634km², making up 6% of the district municipal area) although it houses 61% of the district municipality's population and is the second largest municipality in KwaZulu Natal, in terms of population size. It consists of 37 wards. The municipality is located along the N3 corridor which links Durban to Gauteng. It is predominantly urban to peri-urban in nature, with some rural residential areas.

Figure 3.8.1: Contextual map of Msunduzi municipality

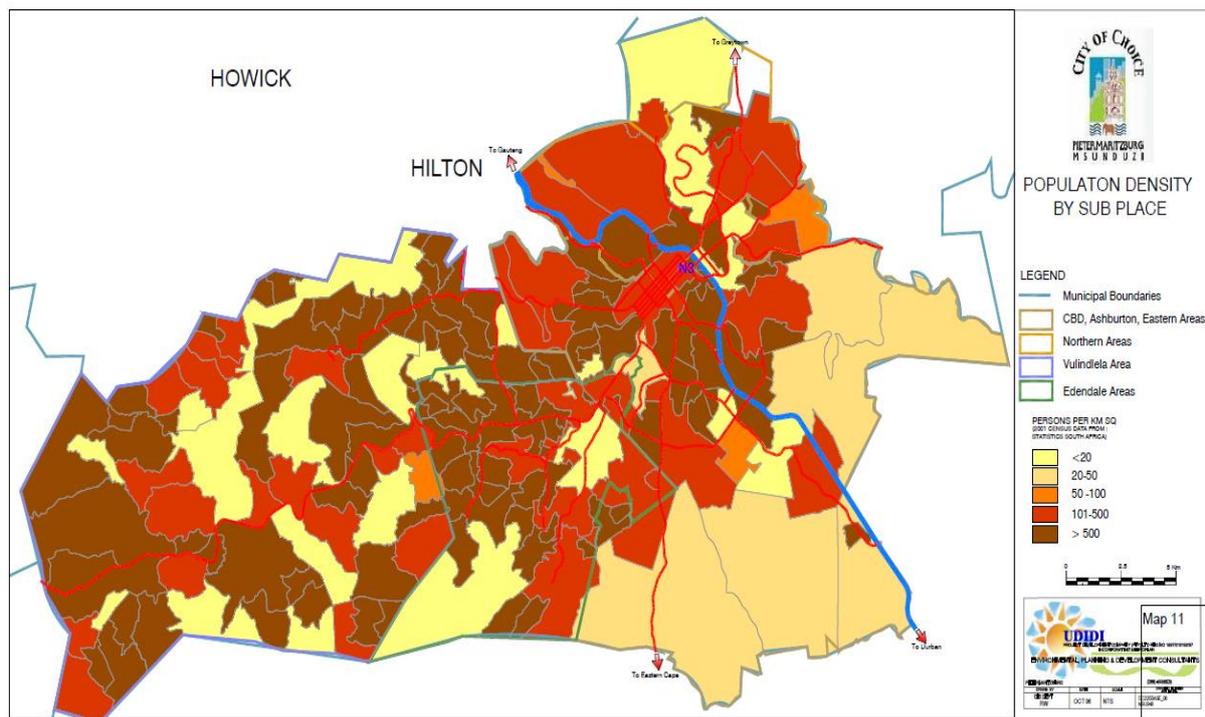


The population of Msunduzi increased from 552 837 in 2001, to 618 536 in 2011 (12%). The number of households also increased to 163 993 in 2011 although the average household size decreased from 4.0 people per household in 2001, to 3.6 in 2011. However, this remains significantly larger than household size in other major cities in South Africa. The majority (68.4%) of the population fall within the economically active age bracket (15 to 64 years).

Unemployment rates have declined from 48.2% in 2001, to 33% in 2011. Youth unemployment has also declined to 43.1% in 2011, from 58.2% in 2001.

The municipality has an average population density of 975 people per km². Msunduzi's highest population densities are in the Edendale/Imbali area, with densities of 29 538 persons per km² as well as in the northern ABM Northdale area in wards 28 and 31 where densities are an average of 18 000 per km². These areas also have the highest number of informal dwellings.

Figure 3.8.2: Population densities, Msunduzi municipality



In 2009/2010, Msunduzi faced serious financial challenges that led to the intervention of a Provincial Intervention Team (PIT) under section 139 of the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA). By mid-March 2010, the budget deficit for 2009/10 was estimated at R162 million. Contributing factors towards this deficit included poor collections processes, unfunded expenditure and high municipal expenditure on services. A number of senior staff members were suspended for corruption and mismanagement.

Generally, the city is not financially sound, an opinion shared by the Auditor General and National Treasury. The capital budget is 87% grant funded and the municipality is unable to generate significant funds of its own to fund service delivery linked to growth and development. A concern is that budget priorities and delivery could be more aligned to grant conditions and sectoral outputs rather than municipal priorities. There has been underspending on capital expenditure, which means that large sums have had to be refunded to national government, reducing the municipality's ability to achieve its priorities.

As was noted in Nelson Mandela Bay metro, Msunduzi has high levels of poverty and therefore many properties funded by housing capital subsidies are not billed for rates and receive Free Basic Services. While this provides much needed poverty and shelter relief it is financially unsustainable and places a heavy financial burden on the city.

The municipality's Integrated Development Plan highlights a number of economic advantages including:

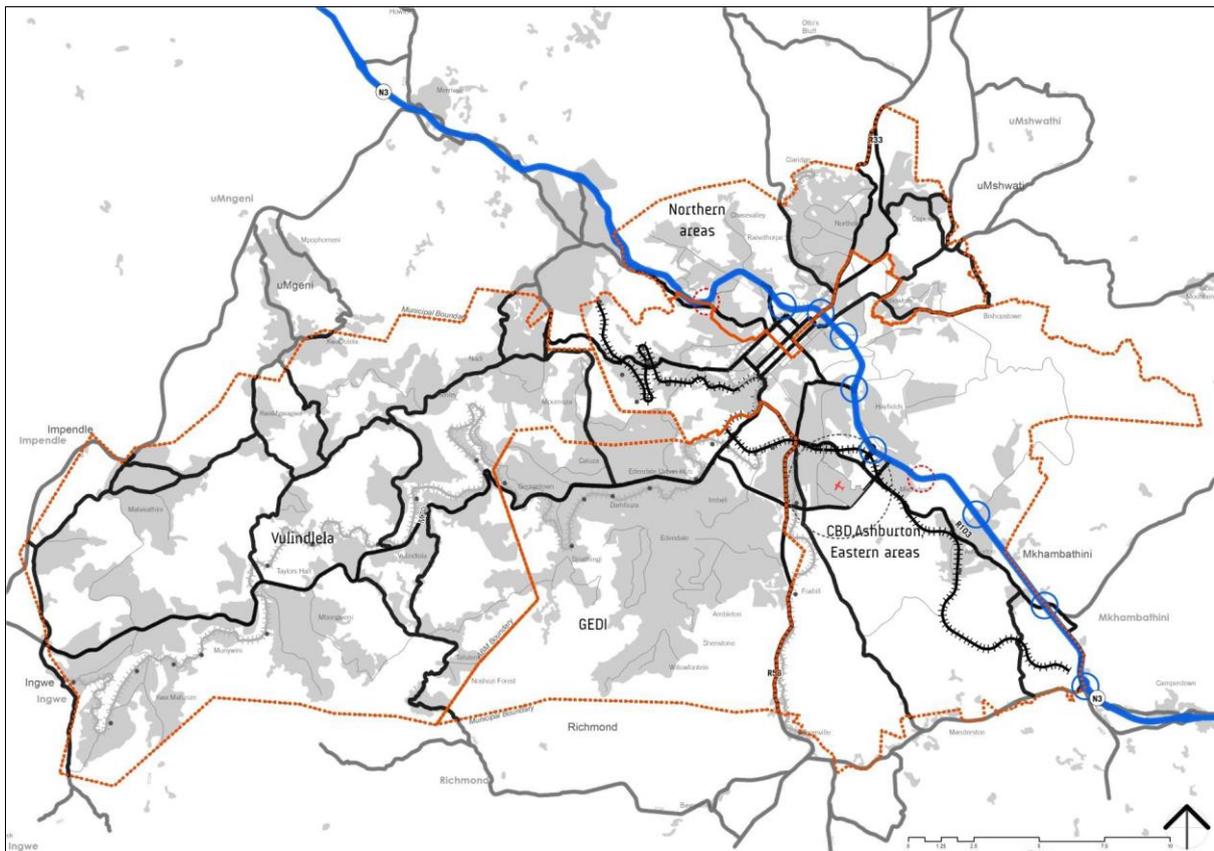
- Locational Advantages: the centrality of the Municipality and the fact that the Municipality is bisected by the N3 corridor, which is the primary logistical corridor linking Gauteng with Durban Harbour
- Natural/Geographic Advantages: Highly fertile land
- Human Capital Advantages: Good schools and tertiary institutions; and
- Institutional Advantages: Msunduzi enjoys 'Capital City' status

3.8.3 Strategic initiatives to address spatial transformation

In 2009, a consolidated Spatial Development Framework (SDF) was adopted by Council, and the following year a series of Area Based Management Plans (ABM) were adopted for areas including:

- Vulindlela
- Greater Edendale and Imbali
- The Northern Areas
- CBD, Ashburton and the Eastern Areas

Figure 3.8.3: Reference map of Msunduzi's ABM areas



The Msunduzi Municipality is now developing a long-term Spatial Development Strategy, which will inform the refinement and review of the Integrated Development Plan and the Spatial Development Framework.

The 2015 SDF Review is based on seven pillars: Global Connectivity, Productive Systems, Ecological Infrastructure, Sustainable Transport, Quality Urbanism, Social inclusivity and Sustainable Services. Key objectives of the SDF Review are Transformation, Equity/ Equality, Restructuring, Recycling/ Upcycling, Reinventing and Public Place Making. Transformation “involves the need to move away from the status quo and develop a new, fresh way of thinking. For example, viewing the introduction of the new Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network (IRPTN) or the Ecological Infrastructure as an integrator and asset rather than a constraint to the municipal development, and relooking at the concept of nodes and corridors changes the focus to look at areas of need. The SDF must have transformational objectives and seek to bring about change, it should not merely reinforce the existing status quo. In summary, the SDF must be a tool to transform the city and create equity. As a result equity and equality become the founding and vital way in which space is structured”.

Fifty projects were proposed in the SDF Review, across the following catalytic programmes:

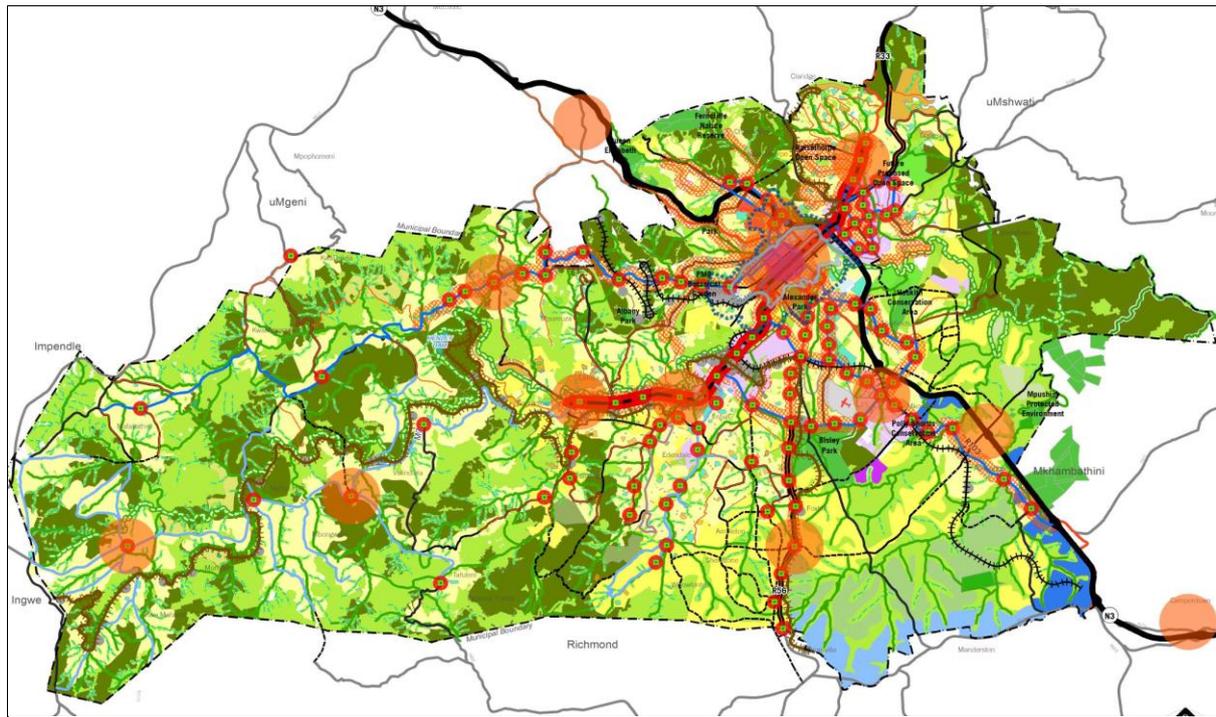
- Programme 1: Launching an Agriculture & Logistics Platform
- Programme 2: Ensuring Liveable Cities
- Programme 3: Promoting Land Release Industrial Development
- Programme 4: Creating Viable Urban Centres
- Programme 5: Inception of Rapid Delivery Agency
- Programme 6: Enhancing Municipal Knowledge Management
- Programme 7: Revival of the Garden City

Details for each of the 50 projects in terms of budgets, time-frames etc have been prepared, and all have been checked in terms of their alignment with key planning tools (e.g. the IDP).

The SDF Review proposes that in order to address the critical issues of departmental alignment and long term financial planning and forecasting, the city consider establishing the following:

- A Rapid delivery Unit to assist with key aspects such as appropriate funding mechanisms, streamlined project management and overall efficacy;
- An internal Municipal Development Alignment Forum for officials to discuss issues of alignment and conflict.

Figure 3.8.4: Msunduzi Draft SDF, 2015 – Consolidated Plan



Legend:

GLOBAL CONNECTIVITY

- National Route (N3 Corridor)
- Primary Network
- Regional Network Linkages
- Gauteng - Durban Rail Link
- Railway Stations
- Oribi Airport
- Existing Interchanges
- Proposed Interchanges

GREEN STRUCTURE

- MOSS (Conservation Use)
- Existing Major Open Spaces (Conservation Use)
- Proposed Major Open Spaces
- Henkey Dam
- Major Tributary and 40m Buffer (Conservation Use)
- Minor Tributary and 40m Buffer (Conservation Use)
- The Msunduzi Parkway (Conservation Use)
- Open Space Lattice (Conservation Use)
- Fossil Links
- 1 km Coverage Buffer

QUALITY URBANISM

- Existing Residential
- Intensification/Intensification Zones
- CBD Growth Boundary
- 5 km Catchment Coverage
- CBD
- Urban Hubs
- Sustainable Urban Centres
- Public Place Making

SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORT

- Secondary Route
- Distributors/Tertiary Routes
- Proposed New Linkages
- Minor Access Routes
- East West Rail Connection/Proposed NMT Route
- BRT R.O.W Trunk
- The Msunduzi Parkway NMT

PRODUCTIVE SYSTEMS

- Existing CBD
- Existing Commercial
- Existing Industry
- Logistics/Business
- Agri Business/Commercial
- Industry
- Agriculture

SOCIAL INCLUSIVITY

- Existing Residential
- Informal Settlement Redevelopment
- Proposed Housing
- Civic and Social
- Education
- Hospitals
- Recreation Land Use
- Cemeteries
- Waste Water Treatment Works

The municipality is in the process of preparing Local Areas Plans (LAPs). The LAP for the South Eastern District (SEDis) and for the Central Area and CBD Extension Node were prepared in 2014, following stakeholder consultation. Through analysis of development scenarios, the vision, strategic objectives, spatial development frameworks for the area, guidelines for precinct development, proposed strategic interventions needed, and an implementation framework, the spatial development concept in the LAPs aims to achieve long term sustainability socially, economically and environmentally. This is conceived at a number of different spatial scales to ensure that the development of the area is connected into the sub-regional and city systems and integrated internally.

The municipality has developed a Project Prioritisation Model in the IDP which should provide a useful test for measuring the importance and priority of future projects. This scores each proposed project in terms of its alignment to key strategic plans and the KPAs of the IDP. If applied properly, this should assist in promoting the city's vision for spatial transformation.

Msunduzi is not a metropolitan municipality and therefore, unlike the other case studies which are metros, needs to situate its spatial planning in the context of the plans for the district in which it is located (uMgungundlovu) as well as the province and national plans. The plans make reference to national initiatives such as the Durban-Gauteng SIP2 N3 Corridor and the potential economic support role that could be provided by Msunduzi.

From a spatial perspective housing expenditure has occurred against the stated intention of the Housing Sector Plan in respect of the Human Settlement Development Strategy adopted in 2011 since the projects have increased urban sprawl. Very few housing projects have been built that are higher density projects that contribute to spatial restructuring. Similarly, there are no gap housing projects that could contribute to spatial restructuring if correctly located.

Gap housing and social housing fulfil the particular needs of income earning qualifying housing beneficiaries and represent additional revenue streams for municipalities in comparison to non-revenue or low revenue generating housing developments such as RDP housing or rural housing. However, in Msunduzi gap housing has not been implemented and social housing has yet to deliver at the required scale .

Transport Planning and Housing Development have been driven by sector priorities with no attempt to functionally integrate them to date. As the municipality has Level 2 accreditation for housing, and has the function for planning and implementing the IRPTN, it needs to ensure that planning practice is improved to address the functional integration of these key built environment functions.

It is clear from the development of the LAP for SEDis that the municipality is adopting a proactive and forward looking approach to assessing what it needs to do to achieve the transformation needed for efficient and sustainable development. The SEDis is a key growth area in the city, and is critical for the “spatial restructuring of the city, the accommodation of urban settlement growth, the generation of economic investment and employment and the protection of environmental and agricultural assets”.

By developing LAPs, the municipality has initiated a process which is proactive and forward looking by identifying and assessing long term needs for land release and for associated infrastructure and transportation requirements. However, spatial transformation requires a clear intervention by the municipality to show commitment to growth, development and restructuring and to encourage participation by other key role-players in the city.

The key interventions identified in the SEDis LAP are applicable across the city, namely to:

- Coordinate, integrate and align activities and energies of all key stakeholders.
- Release land for development in a coordinated manner.
- Align public investment for infrastructure, transportation, housing, community facilities.
- Prioritise more detailed levels of planning in areas that will require rezoning.
- Enforce the Urban Development Line and Development Phasing Line.

This includes aligning the budgets and planning of all relevant provincial and national departments to the LAPs, and alignment of bulk infrastructure, and of housing, investments.

3.8.4 Key Findings

TABLE: 3.8.1 CAPACITY FOR SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES PER INDICATOR IN MSUNDUZI LOCAL MUNICIPALITY

Indicator	Strengths	Weaknesses
Departmental understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda by planning officials • Officials believe their activities align with the municipality's vision, mission and priorities with regards to spatial transformation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Failure to respond by most officials could indicate lack of understanding of the local government spatial transformation agenda
Individual capacity (staff competence, qualifications experience etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities for professional staff development, • Continuous training of inexperienced talent e.g. Internships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High vacancy rate • Not all key positions filled by adequate staff • Difficult to attract and retain key staff • Tendency to rely on consultants for key skills including engineering and GIS • Concern about a possible shortfall of talent in the immediate to short term
Organisation culture (Management style etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management style is democratic and participatory • There is sufficient management depth in planning and delegation to second level managers • Effective financial management and accounting procedures are in place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of response from most officials could indicate lack of understanding of the potential value of research
Institutional stock (legal framework, rules and procedures, access to equipment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some managers have high degree of fiscal and operational awareness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not all departments have access to what they need to meet their logistical and communication needs • Some systems in the municipality hamper speed and efficiency of delivery
Financial resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Departments have necessary resources to promote and drive spatial transformation with support from HR and Finance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Departments do not have control over their own budgets and therefore access to resources needed is limited
Enabling environmental mastery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information is shared within departments, through advertising, on the website, and through direct requests • There are appropriate links with other institutions and across departments regarding spatial transformation (forums, meetings, day-to-day interactions) for engagement with stakeholders of government e.g. national and provincial line departments • Several civil society bodies participate in the activities 	

	of the municipality	
Programme Delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatial transformation outcomes should be known to departmental managers through the SDBIP and Municipal Turn Around Strategy • Planning department responds to complaints and feedback within 24 hours 	
Environmental (natural, and socio-political context)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extent to which national, provincial and local government legislative context is seen as supportive to the municipality's role in spatial transformation varies • SPLUMA gives legal status to detailed plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rate of land release by DAFF in terms of Act 70 of 70 hampers private investment • Aging infrastructure hampers further substantial development • Rampant land invasions around the city • Most proposed developments in the inner city have been hampered by Heritage requirements by AMAFA • Rampant sprawl, particularly on tribal land
Resilience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipality is building resilience by being proactive, preparing detailed local area plans and precinct plans, the infrastructure Master Plan and modelling for water and sanitation • Land acquisition to fast track development 	

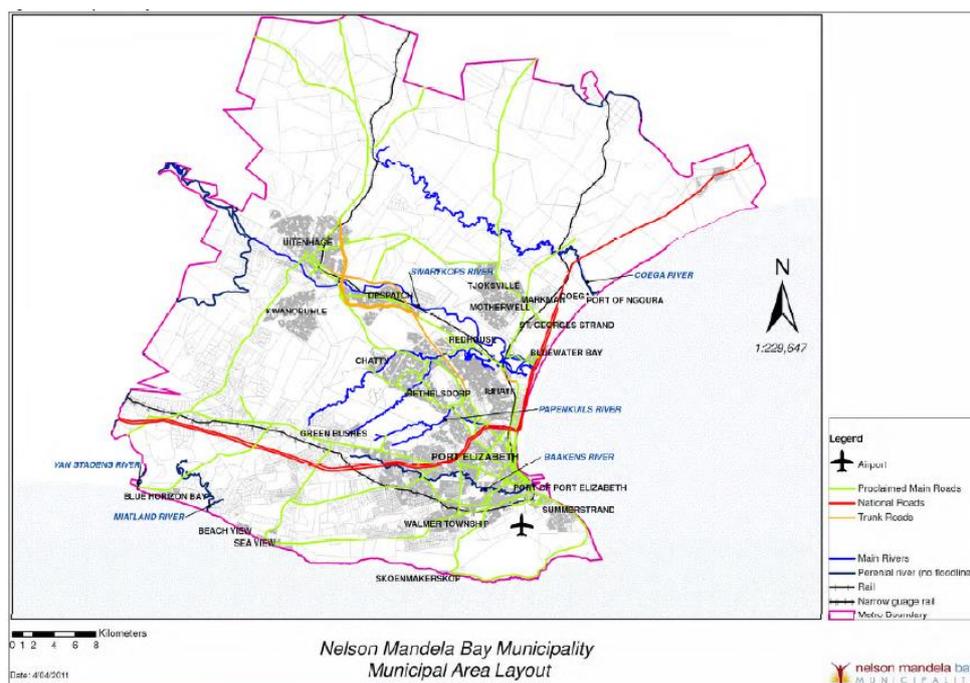
3.9 The State of Capacity for Spatial Transformation in the Nelson Mandela Bay

This section of the report presents the assessment of local government capacity for spatial transformation in the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality (NMBM). It is based on a review of key strategic documents such as the municipality’s IDP, SDF and BEPP, and on primary data from representatives from the municipal departments involved in spatial transformation initiatives, in this case the office of the Chief Operating Officer (Strategic Planning and Coordination), Human Settlements, and Infrastructure and Engineering. The first part presents background information on spatial challenges facing Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality and the need for spatial transformation in the municipality. This is followed by a discussion of the key findings of the study, looking at the goals and objectives of different departments, the understanding of both the developmental agenda of local government and the spatial transformation agenda of local government and issues around individual, institutional and environmental capacity within these departments.

3.9.1 Overview of the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality

The municipal area of Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (NMBM) includes the city of Port Elizabeth, and the nearby industrial towns of Uitenhage and Despatch. In addition, the municipality houses two of the province’s three ports: the city’s original port and the new industrial port, Nquara, part of the Coega Industrial Development Zone (IDZ) which covers an area of 110 km². The entire municipality covers an area of 1 950 km².

Figure 3.9.1: Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality, spatial layout



In 2011, the population of NMBM was 1 152 115 with a total of 276 850 formal households and 30 202 informal households. Over two thirds of the population (69.04%) fall into the economically active age bracket (i.e. between the ages of 15 and 64) . Another quarter of the population are 14 or younger, implying the need for relevant health, social and education facilities. Over 71 000 of the total number of 276 850 formal households are classified as indigent in terms of the indigent register of the Municipality), while 44% of households access at least one social grant .

NMBM has the lowest population density of all metros in South Africa and the highest percentage of people living in poverty – almost one third of the city's population. It is also second highest in terms of unemployment, but has relatively high levels of literacy (90% of the population, second highest metro after Cape Town). The proportion of people living in poverty in the municipality increased from 29.5% in 1996 to 38% in 2013. The Human Settlements Development Plan indicates that in 2012, approximately 18.7% of households in the metro earned nothing and relied on grants. In addition, 65.4% of households earned less than R3500 per month, and therefore qualified for a housing subsidy. A further 31.9% fall into the gap/affordability category, earning up to R16 000 per month. The proportion of households who earn over R38 400 per month is only 2.7% . This has serious implications for the metro as it means that the metro has an extremely low rates base from which to raise funds.

The municipality contributes 42% to the provincial economy, which is almost twice the size of the other metropolitan city in the Eastern Cape (Buffalo City) . Despite this, the municipality notes a number of economic challenges. These include an unemployment rate that in 2013 was measured at 32.34% , which is compounded by low education levels and large numbers of illiterate adults. In addition, infrastructure is ageing with inadequate investment in maintenance and upgrading. The economy of the municipality is also highly dependent on the automotive sector with a lack of diversification.

The NMBM contributed 3.8% of the country's output in 2000, but this decreased to 2.7% in 2010, partly attributed to the reduction of highly skilled workers in the metro.

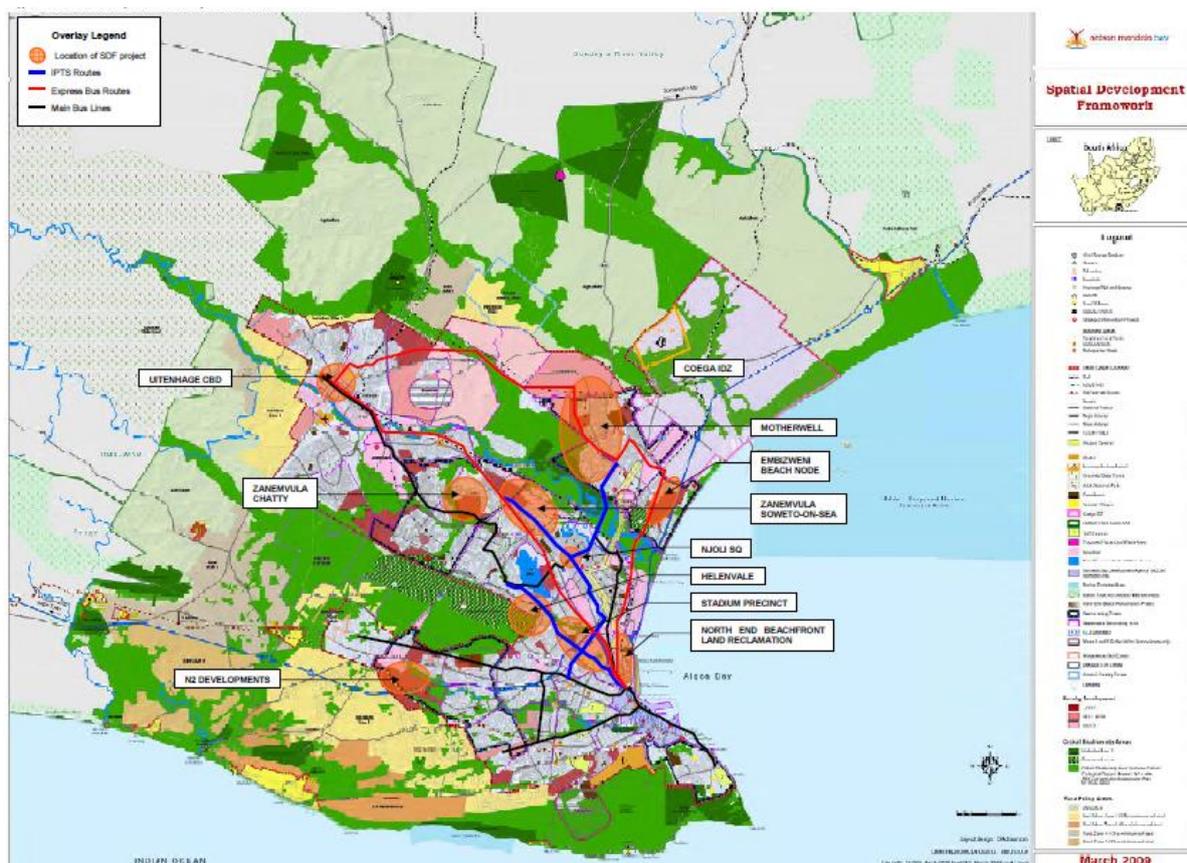
Between 2000 and 2010, NMBM was heavily affected by the recession, more so than other metros. In recent years many light industries in the city have closed. Negative growth was recorded in 1998 and 2009 and low growth (<2%) in the late 1990s and 2013. Between 1996 and 2012 NMBM lost 30% of its manufacturing jobs . However, despite recovering during 2010, the municipality has seen a dramatic decline in the number and value of building plans submitted in the 2012/13 financial year, indicative of an economic decline within Nelson Mandela Bay, decreasing investor confidence and a consequent decline in investment.

In terms of delivery of basic services, NMBM does relatively well compared to other metros. According to the BEPP, all households have access to water within a 200 m radius, informal areas receive water through standpipes (within a 200 m radius) and water tanks, 90.87% of households have sanitation, 99.99% of households receive a basic level of refuse collection (excluding smallholdings), and all households in formally demarcated residential areas have electricity .

3.9.2 Strategic planning and initiatives to address spatial transformation

In 2014/15, the municipality will be completing a shared long-term vision and strategic plan, which will inform the Spatial Development Framework of the Municipality. The current Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) was approved in 2009. To address the results of segregation-based planning the MSDF prioritises the development of corridors along major routes that have the potential for integrated mixed land use development. These corridors will be supported by improved public transport. The Integrated Transport Plan therefore forms a key component of the MSDF.

Figure 3.9.2: Nelson Mandela Bay Metro Municipality – Spatial Development Framework



NMBM is also in the process of developing Local Spatial Development Frameworks (LSDFs) for the entire municipality. So far, at least eight have been developed, with four more to be finalised in the 2014/15 financial year.

The municipality has also introduced Sustainable Community Units (SCUs) in an attempt to achieve a more balanced structure in Nelson Mandela Bay, promote integration and provide for economic activities and employment opportunities. 'These areas are defined by the distance that an average person can comfortably walk in half an hour, i.e. a 2 km radius. The planning methodology aims to provide the requirements for a minimum standard of planning and living within those areas; in other words, amenities, facilities and job opportunities must be within walking distance of all residents'.

The development goals and principles for spatial planning in SCUs are:

- a) Poverty eradication and the satisfaction of basic needs.
- b) Focus on special needs groups (HIV and AIDS affected persons, children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities).
- c) Gender equality and equity.
- d) The environment (physical, socio-economic).
- e) Participation and democratic processes.
- f) Local economic development.
- g) Accessibility (public transport and pedestrian focus).
- h) Mixed-use development.
- i) Corridor development.
- j) Safety and security.
- k) Variation and flexibility.
- l) Densification.
- m) Reducing urban sprawl.

The BEPP is seen as a strategic tool aligned with NDP objectives to achieve grant alignment and spatial transformation, enable metros to improve their own plans, and promote spatial transformation. It should coordinate funds across sectors and involves plans for all infrastructure grants. The focus is on spatial transformation in terms of co-ordination with key national initiatives (Strategic Infrastructure Projects and National Upgrade Support Plan), sub-metro spatial targeting via Urban Networks, Integration Zones and hubs/Municipal nodes, and land .

NMBM's 2014/15 BEPP outlines spatial and planning challenges as including households living in stressed areas such as servitudes, floodplains and overcrowded areas, and shortage of well-located government-owned land in inner city and well-serviced areas. NMBM adopted a Human Settlements Strategic Framework in 2012 which proposes that spatial restructuring be undertaken through the following: Urban Renewal Precincts, Spatial Transformation Precincts to concentrate spatial

transformation within 10 km of the major focus areas namely the PE CBD, Uitenhage CBD, Coega IDZ and Bay West/N2 Hub, implementing a uniform and integrated zoning scheme and Land Use System, and assembling well-located public and private land for development of Integrated Human Settlements.

The BEPP highlights a major concern around the lack of focus on water and sanitation for the future development of Coega. The municipality estimates that it will cost R4.3 billion to provide bulk water and sewer infrastructure, critical for the development of the IDZ. Although the municipality has begun planning for this, e.g. the Nootigedacht low level scheme, the Coega waste water treatment works and sea outfall, and the Coega effluent scheme, it lacks the necessary funds to implement this in the short to medium term.

An Industrial Development Strategy for the metro was developed in 2012 by the NMBM Think Tank, a partnership between the Chamber and the municipality. The strategy indicates the following as the priority sectors in the metro: Agro-processing, automotive, maritime and tourism 'Real Estate'. The IDS includes as key constraints facing the metro institutional and strategic constraints including vision, leadership, enabling and coordinating agencies/organizations, accumulated poverty, deprivation and exclusion, inadequate infrastructural provision, logistical constraints, the high cost of doing business in NMBM and resource challenges.

The Mandela Bay Development Agency (MBDA) has played a key role in spatial transformation since its establishment in 2003. A special purpose development company initially established to address urban regeneration in the inner city, its mandate was extended in 2007 to include areas such as New Brighton, Uitenhage and Despatch, the Happy Valley Area and the new stadium precinct. A study conducted for the municipality in the CBD confirmed that investments by MBDA have resulted in significant property value increases, increased business turnover, and increased rates, business expansion and upgrades.

3.9.3 Key challenges related to spatial transformation

The documentation review has highlighted the following key issues relating to the ability of the city as a whole to adapt to the changing economic and social context and to the municipality's capacity to drive the spatial transformation necessary. These are:

1. A protracted period of institutional instability and poor governance has compounded the economic decline of the area. However, the newly appointed city management appears keen to work in partnership with the private sector to develop and transform the city.
2. There has been no common vision for the city's future to drive planning and development, although this also seems to be changing. This lack of vision has negatively impacted the approach to economic development, as is evident by the fact that the municipality does not yet have a clear economic development strategy. A stronger economic development department in the municipality,

greater municipal incentives to small and large investors, and greater flexibility for smaller organisations would assist to develop a more solid economic base, particularly in townships.

3. Institutional relationships are critical to the spatial transformation of NMBM, particularly given the fact that there are a range of key players beyond the municipality who control large geographic areas of the city, e.g. Transnet and Coega Development Corporation. Parastatals play a key strategic role in the city and can wield significant influence over its future growth path. It is important that these parties work together towards a common goal for the city. In several respects it appears that the longer term interests of the city are being subverted by the performance management and profit motives of the individual parastatals, as has been shown in other research .
4. The private sector appears to be relatively strong in NMB, and the municipality has recently started working productively with the Chamber as is seen in the development of the Industrial Development Strategy and the work of MBDA.
5. Although the city has suffered a loss of skills, some capacity appears to be duplicated or under-utilised. For example, staff from the Coega Development Corporation (CDC) are being used to manage and implement Public Works projects as far afield as KZN. It would be useful to better understand the overall skills/capacity profile in the city and how best this could be deployed to the long term benefit of the city.
6. Poverty levels in the city are extremely high, which means a very low rates base, severely constraining the municipality's ability to implement the changes necessary for spatial transformation.
7. An extended period of little to no maintenance of existing infrastructure and failure to expand infrastructure is seriously impeding economic and social development.

3.9.4 Key Findings

TABLE 3.9.1: CAPACITY FOR SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES PER INDICATOR IN NELSON MANDELA BAY MUNICIPALITY

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Strengths</i>	<i>Weaknesses</i>
Departmental understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is clear understanding of local government spatial transformation agenda by senior officials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is not always a common understanding of what spatial transformation means. This is compounded by the lack of a clear vision by the municipality in recent years.
Individual capacity (staff competence, qualifications experience etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities for professional staff development • Continuous training of inexperienced talent e.g. Internships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High staff turnovers especially amongst skilled staff and younger staff • High levels of vacancies for skilled and experienced staff • Lack of appropriately skilled staff in key areas
Organisation culture (Management style etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally inclusive decision making processes although this varies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High levels of political and administrative instability over long period has had negative impact • Feelings of political intervention in some appointments
Institutional stock (EMM legal framework, rules and procedures, access to equipment)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited access to logistical needs, facilities and equipment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insufficient funding across the municipality
Financial resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some departments have input and access to municipal budgetary requirements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not enough resources for strategic projects related to spatial transformation, e.g. Nooitgedacht
Enabling environmental mastery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recent appointment of senior management team offers hope and appears to be well regarded • There is managerial support for spatial transformation • Universities work with the municipality in key areas • The private sector works with the municipality in key areas • The municipality has a good relationship with Coega, which has excess capacity which could be used by the municipality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to improve the links and coordination of interdepartmental spatial transformation activities • Limited civil society participation in spatial transformation activities • Certain SOEs appear not to be working with the municipality with serious ramifications for long term spatial transformation (in particular, with regard to land at Port Elizabeth port)
Programme Delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is some monitoring of client satisfaction is monitored 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of indicators for measuring spatial transformation interventions • Only limited monitoring of client satisfaction of spatial transformation

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The municipality has lacked a clear long term vision for several years and it is not clear that departments have clear visions and missions that acknowledge the need for spatial transformation
Environmental (natural, and socio-political context)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National and Provincial Departments provide some funding and support for local spatial transformation initiatives e.g. National Treasury 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is little input from, or meaningful engagement with, the Province • Lack of coordination between all three spheres of government
Resilience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support from National Treasury through the City Support Programme and subsequent plans being developed • Relationship with private sector, Coega, tertiary institutions • MBDA • Strategic Planning and Coordination office • BEPP 	

4. Conclusion and recommendations

The following points emerge from the empirical assessment of capacity for spatial transformation in the 8 SACN member cities.

In most of the eight SACN member municipalities, senior officials seem to have a good understanding of spatial transformation. However, there is a need for more “integrators”, people who can work beyond the confines of their line departments and develop good relationships with other sector departments within the municipality and other spheres of government.

In most of the cities, there is also a well-developed hierarchy of spatial plans, from the SDF to precinct plans. However they appear to lack clear cut spatial targeting as evidenced by the fact that they fail to efficiently align inter-departmental and intergovernmental spatial transformation roles and responsibilities. It is in this context that the BEPP provides an integrated roll-out of implementation of these plans, but needs to be resourced. It also provides the opportunity for officials to work together in a more integrated fashion than has hitherto occurred. In most of the cities it is taken seriously by the city’s top management and Council.

Also linked to the aforementioned issue is the fact that the municipalities experience several serious IGR-related challenges with regard to environmental capacity for spatial transformation. The IGR challenges relate to the complementary role that the national government and province are supposed to play in local government spatial transformation initiatives. In the case of eThekweni for instance, lack of commitment to cost-sharing of key infrastructure, particularly by Province with regard to interchanges, bridges and roads is having a detrimental effect on progress with respect to spatial transformation. At the same time, delays from other national or provincial departments are problematic, e.g. around issuing of water licences. In the case of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality the provincial housing and education departments have not been proactively support the municipality’s spatial transformation initiatives. The aforementioned challenge withstands the fact that the Municipal Planning, Housing and Transportation departments, have several forums available for engagement with stakeholders of government e.g. national and provincial line departments.

Across all the SACN member cities, it can be argued that there is shortage of technical skills in professions that are central to spatial transformation initiatives. These skills relate to architecture, planning, urban design, engineering and project management. There is a high vacancy rate. Not all key positions are filled by adequate staff and the municipality finds it difficult to attract and retain key staff. There is a tendency to rely on consultants for key skills including engineering and GIS.

Institutional instability has also been a key challenge especially for relatively small SACN member cities. For instance, with regards to Nelson Mandela Bay metro long term political and administrative instability has severely impacted on the municipality's ability to address spatial transformation. This is being addressed and there appears to be increasing optimism among officials and in the private sector. However, this is fairly fragile, and any sign of renewed insecurity is likely to damage confidence and the ability to implement initiatives to address spatial transformation. In the case of Ekurhuleni, as noted earlier, there has been acknowledgement of weak institutional development at the metropolitan level as a result of the historical context of the amalgamation of several separate municipalities (Machaka and Roberts, 2004) more especially as compared to South Africa's other five metropolitan Municipalities. It is in this context that EMM in 2012 initiated an institutional review process with the aim of reconfiguring departmental structures for operational efficiency and capacitating line functions of the municipality through ensuring personnel with the right skills and competence occupied all job positions in the municipality. In the context of Msunduzi Municipality, instability was mostly because of corruption allegations against senior managers. By mid-March 2010, the budget deficit for 2009/10 was estimated at R162 million. Contributing factors towards this deficit included poor collections processes, unfunded expenditure and high municipal expenditure on services. A number of senior staff members were suspended for corruption and mismanagement.

The extent to which national, provincial and local government legislative context is seen as supportive to the municipalities' role in spatial transformation varies. SPLUMA gives legal status to detailed plans which otherwise was not the case. However, the rate of land release by DAFF in terms of Act 70 of 70 hampers private investment. In some cases most proposed developments in the inner city have been hampered by Heritage requirements by AMAFA.

In the context of housing, the national and provincial legislative context does not give the Human Settlements Department freedom to facilitate housing developments in line with the local government priorities. Funding for housing comes from the national through provincial housing departments which in turn dictate where the money should be invested in the cities in ways that sometimes contradict local priorities. As a result there are tensions pitting the local human settlements departments on one side and the provincial and national human settlement departments on the other.

In addition in the context of human settlements there is also a Housing Act of 1997 that has not been reviewed ever since. In 2004 the Breaking New Ground (BNG), compressed nine principles but these have not been translated into an Act. So it remains the choice of whoever is operating the housing space to abide either with the 1997 Act or principles of the BNG. There is need to review the Housing Act to align it to the realities in cities. The Housing Code of 2009 gets updated regularly which is better. However, it should be realized that from a housing perspective there are also a number of policies that are still outstanding. There is need for a

densification policy and subsidy regime that is aligned to densification objectives. A straight forward policy in this regard will be easy for practitioners to utilize.

There is also concern from the Transportation departments about the way the National Land Transport Act (NLTA) is silent on the regulation of Taxi Associations. Whereas in the previous Transition Act there was some form of regulation. At the centre of this conflict is whether transportation departments should allocate Taxi Associations routes or not.

The culture of the local city populations in some cases is also not consistent with sustainable human settlement governance policy objectives. In some instances the 'not in my backyard syndrome' hinders low-income housing infill projects in up-market neighbourhoods. Some up-market neighbourhoods such as those in the Esseline Park in Ekurhuleni Municipality with adjacent land suitable low cost housing suitable for infill were reported to have been resisting the initiative. On the other hand low income black families in some cases are also resisting densification based on high rise apartment housing as there is a socio-cultural preference for owner occupied free standing housing units with a yard. Linked to this is the fact that some low-income communities fail to fully embrace the rental housing market as they are in favour of home ownership.

There are also competing needs in terms of housing provision which is difficult to balance. The major cities are facing the challenge of balancing the housing needs for backyard shack dwellers, informal settlements and those on the waiting list as all of them have equal expectations from government. To address this, the Human Settlements Department is developing a policy guideline that the council is expected to approve for the allocation of green field housing projects based on a quarter systems for these competing housing needs.

A serious challenge in investigating the capacity of the municipality to drive spatial transformation has been the lack of response from officials. Despite frequent e-mails and telephone calls, officials have either been away or unable to respond. This could be telling in terms of either lack of capacity or lack of commitment or both.

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