

URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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Aerial shot of Johannesburg, South Africa. Photo credit: www.c40.org

The rise of the transformation agenda in urban thought and practice in South Africa since the 1990s has been quite profound. Despite all of the legislation, policy and planning mechanisms that have been introduced to foster transformation, it has been putatively acclaimed that it is not happening, or not happening as it should. Moreover, the political nature of the concept has not helped in its conception. This article seeks to explore the concept of transformation by firstly discussing its influences in urban development. This is followed by outlining the critical challenges for transformation. Lastly, the article puts forwards a conceptual framework of transformation that can provide a more practical way to foster sustainable urban change.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Apartheid Planning and its implementation have played a key role in the creation of a South African apartheid city structure (Mabin and Smit 1997). Apartheid was a system of racial separation which was introduced formerly in 1948 through a group of laws that curtailed the rights of the black majority. This structure was created through spatial planning with a segregating system of land use control. Therefore, South Africa was "... marked by deep social and economic inequalities, as well as by serious racial, political and social divisions" in the 1990s (RSA 1995b:2). Indeed, Smith (1992) noted that moves towards a solution meant that the negation of apartheid was the only beginning. It is not surprising that the dawn of democracy in 1994 was anchored around the pursuit of an agenda of transformation. Thus, the concept "transformation" was central to social change in South Africa (Williams 2000:168).

In planning terms, the normative objective in the new government was to adopt "equity-based, post-apartheid city building principles aspiring to stitch together apartheid's urban discontinuities and integrate the torn parts ..." (Bollens 1998:741). In their seminal book, *South Africa: A Manifesto for change*, Dewar and Uytendogaart (1991) envisaged the post-apartheid city through densification and infill of the existing urban system and upgrading and removal of those parts of the urban system under stress. According to Dewar (1992: 248-253) the post-apartheid form

of planning needed to: establish and maintain the relationship between non-urban and urban land; create a compact city by imploding growth; promote a more integrated urban form and more complex levels of order; redefine essential infrastructure; and, stimulate a more complex process of urban management. The agenda for transformation percolated much of the legislative and policy developments in the 1990s and 2000s, with a view to promote integrated urban development.

Various legislations, white papers and policies, both from national and provincial levels have been developed and implemented by local government in the past two decades. Also, South African urban policies have incorporated strategies that aim to achieve integrated and democratic local governments which support service delivery to the poor (Pillay 2008). In other words, each of the legislations, policy and strategies sought to realise a particular aspect of transformation using a variety of development metaphors. At a very high level, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was associated with reconstruction; the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) was linked to coordination; the Growth, Employment and Reconstruction (GEAR) was associated with privatisation; the Local Government White Paper of 1998 was focused inclusion/participation; the Structures Act of 1998 was fostering institutional restructuring; the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 promoted integration.

In addition, various urban development plans were adopted at local², regional³, and national⁴ levels to respectively promote integrated and strategic urban development in the country. The enactment of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act in 2013, and the subsequent development of provincial legislations for its implementation, marks a further attempt at providing a comprehensive legislative framework for advancing transformation through local planning.

This paper explores the concept of transformation by firstly discussing the impact of the legislative and policy changes on the built environment. This is followed by outlining the critical challenges for transformation. Lastly, the article puts forwards a conceptual framework of transformation that can provide a more practical way to foster sustainable urban change.



MODALITIES OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The impact of legislative change and policies has brought about certain outcomes of urban transformation. Williams (2000) discusses urban transformation as a multi-dimensional concept in the post-apartheid era with differentiated substance, form and dimensions. He identifies seven dimensions of urban transformation in the country. These include: epistemological, conceptual, Moral, empirical, institutional, managerial, and programmatic dimensions.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The epistemological dimension of transformation refers to “the origin and nature of specific sets of knowledge about social change, which in turn, reflects our thinking and cognition about the world. It is about the foundation and nature of knowledge with regards to social change, thus demonstrating our philosophy about the world” (Williams 2000:169). In today’s context, it means that new theories of knowledge have emerged as valid claims in the post-apartheid era, especially with regard to methods, validity,

Figure 1: A BRT lane is a New Phenomenon on the Streets of Johannesburg

and scope. Unlike the rigid, closed-off, racialized system of thought for the apartheid past, new ways of theory, methods, and practice have emerged (albeit contested and shifting) as valid ways of knowing and questioning.

One has seen the shift from the binary logic (of male/female; ruling class/working class; black/white; north/south; developed/underdeveloped; urban/rural; rich/poor; and so forth) (Williams 2000) towards an official embrace of diversity, contingency, assemblage and intersectionality in post-apartheid urban thought. New urban visions have emerged, such as the world class African city drawing from diverse cultural inspirations at global and local settings (cum-international and African environments). The drives by municipalities to reconfigure and reconstitute urban spaces through the new bodies of knowledge and knowledge formations that emphasise integration, de-racialization, compaction, etc., have become normative metaphors of change for post-apartheid society.

CONCEPTUAL DIMENSION

Conceptual transformation has been marked by the creation of new visions of society and of the urban setting. Whilst the city in the apartheid past was seen as exclusively a dwelling place for whites only and marked by variegated spaces of racial segregation, the new vision of the city incorporates an inclusive, unprejudiced, 'democratic' society that has a spatial setting where all the racial groups have access to social amenities (RSA 1998b).

In this content, Williams (2000) argues that transformation is seen as an interconnected sequence of materially-driven practices distinguishable from reformation. Thence, there has been emphasis on the development of "programmatic, plan-oriented, project-directed effort to change the unequal access to and occupation/ownership of socio-politically differentiated space in South Africa" against an "*ad hoc* and piecemeal fashion," of intervention that leaves the status quo largely intact (Williams 2000:169).

HISTORICAL, MORAL DIMENSION

In this dimension, Williams (2000) draw attention to the fact that transformation is driven by a constitutionally entrenched concern about redistribution justice. Thus, the adoption of new visions of urban change, such as integration, compaction and densification programmes, are geared towards the eradication of the spatial ills incurred from apartheid planning⁵. As such, "most planning policy frameworks programmes and projects emanating from government highlight the historical antecedents of unequal relations of power undergirding the urban regimes in South Africa" (Williams 2000:170) and the need to address them. This has definitely affirmed that the new rules of the game, as defined by legislation and policy, have changed and seek to change the practice/implementation in urban planning. For example, unlike the use of urban legislative, policy, plans, and frameworks associated with town planning of 1950s, the post 1990's emergence of the lexicon of a *framework* in South Africa marks a significant shift in thinking about development towards accommodative forms of urban planning (Sihlongonyane 2014).

EMPIRICAL DIMENSION

Under empirical dimension, Williams (2000) points out that transformation in the South African context encompasses a political content since it involves de-racialization and de-ethnicization (Cloete *et al.* 1991; Commonwealth Secretariat 1991; RSA 1998b). In his short discussion of the section, he argues that transformation at the urban level is a socialised space which is characteristically political in nature and so it is dialectical and continuously contested. As such, it is precisely the political character of transformation itself that is generative of transformation in urban South Africa. In other words, the opening up of space for political contestation is the engine behind transformation. This political space for contestation can be appreciated when considering that such spaces were closed down in apartheid past and currently in parts of the world especially in the many countries in the African continent.

It has been observed that the rate of protests has been escalating since 2004 (Alexander 2012). Since 2008 more than two million people have taken to the streets in protest every year (Plaut 2012). In many ways the local protests and struggles signifies the thriving of democracy in South Africa. Notwithstanding, the negating violence, many significant gains have been brought about by such contestations – as with the recognition of local structures, delivery of services, stoppage of removals or displacements, and provision of support to marginalised sections in society. Njabulo Ndebele (2012) argues that "Widespread 'service delivery protests' may soon take on an organisational character that will start off as discrete formations and then coalesce into a full-blown movement".

INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION

According to Williams (2000), the institutional practices of urban South Africa has transformed in principle. The norms, ethos, ethics and logos (logic) that governed the apartheid city has been dismissed in favour of normative guidelines that favour "regulations and codes of conduct that seek to facilitate forms of behaviour/relations of power that, for example, facilitate the provision of equitable services, especially to historically neglected communities" (Ibid p.170). The ad-



Figure 2: The Nelson Mandela Bridge linking Braamfontein and Newtown is a prime signifier of Integration

justments to transformative planning in public institutions have been influencing the pace of change in South Africa. Thus, most of the municipalities have adopted policies and practices that emphasise the empowerment or targeting of blacks, rural areas, women, youth, and disabled.

Since 1994, various institutions of government, current and erstwhile, have been established to push the agenda of transformation. Inter alia: the Development Planning commission was behind the setting up of the DFA; The Demarcation Board is central to the amalgamation and integration of various communities; the South African Council for Planners (SACPLAN) has set up various mechanisms and projects for the transformation of planning education e.g. the competency and standards project; and, the South African Planning Institute (SAPI) has undertaken a lot of training programmes and conscientization about planning in the country in the transformation of the professional practice.

MANAGERIAL DIMENSION

In the managerial dimension, Williams (2000) views transformation in terms of how government has created legislative frameworks for management such as the *White Paper on Local Government* of 1998, the *Municipal Systems Bill* of 1999, and the *Green Paper on Planning and Development* of 1999. These statutory documents have put forward specific managerial requirement for guiding implementation, practice and conduct of planning. Among other frameworks, the Municipal Structures Act of 1998, the Municipal Systems Act of 2000, and the Public Finance Management Act of 1999 (PFMA) have foster new ethos and ethics for new public management. Whereas in the Old Public Management system (OPM), efficient bureaucracy for public management was “equated with top-down, hierarchical and rules-bound public administration, staffed by permanent, neutral professional officials, motivated by the public interest and directly accountable to the political leadership,” in the New Public Management (NPM) thinking, the emphasis is “on novel incentive structures to combat the perceived inefficient and wasteful propensities inherent in OPM.” (Chipkin and Lipietz 2012).

To enhance this shift, government in collabor-

ation with different institutions of higher learning have been “training newly-elected officials from historically deprived communities in areas such as: democracy, co-operative governance, infrastructural services, housing and financial management, thus it has been practice oriented” (Williams 2000:171)⁶. Also international study tours, the study of best practice models, as well as the assistance of professional consultants have contributed in shaping urban management in South Africa.

Indeed, many developers, planners, architects and politicians, as well as a powerful industry of marketing and image makers, have promoted the world class city as an object of desire in South Africa (Perera 1999). In many ways, whilst this has brought fortunes to the upper tiers of the urban class, it has also marked a transformation from apartheid’s geographical structure⁷ whereby black people were removed and prevented from entering the cities towards cities that are governed by discursive practices of the market embracing privatisation, class and exclusivity. The sequence of equivalence between the apartheid and post-apartheid governance has been critically notable.

PROGRAMMATIC/PRACTICAL DIMENSION

Lastly, Williams (2000:171) talks about programmatic dimension of transformation which promotes a vision of a non-discriminatory democratic social order in relation to urban profile and its morphology. This has involved “redefining both the procedural and substantive aspects of development and planning, commensurate with the basic right of freedom of movement and equal access to places of residence, work and recreation in the post-apartheid South Africa” (Ibid). The development of budgets, the employment of people, the design of spaces, format of the national and local calendars (for events) have all coalesced around pushing a common transformative agenda of change and emphasising the affirmation of people who were marginalised in the past.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

Bremner (2000) also reiterates Williams’s (2000) points by pointing at three kinds of transformation namely: social, economic and image

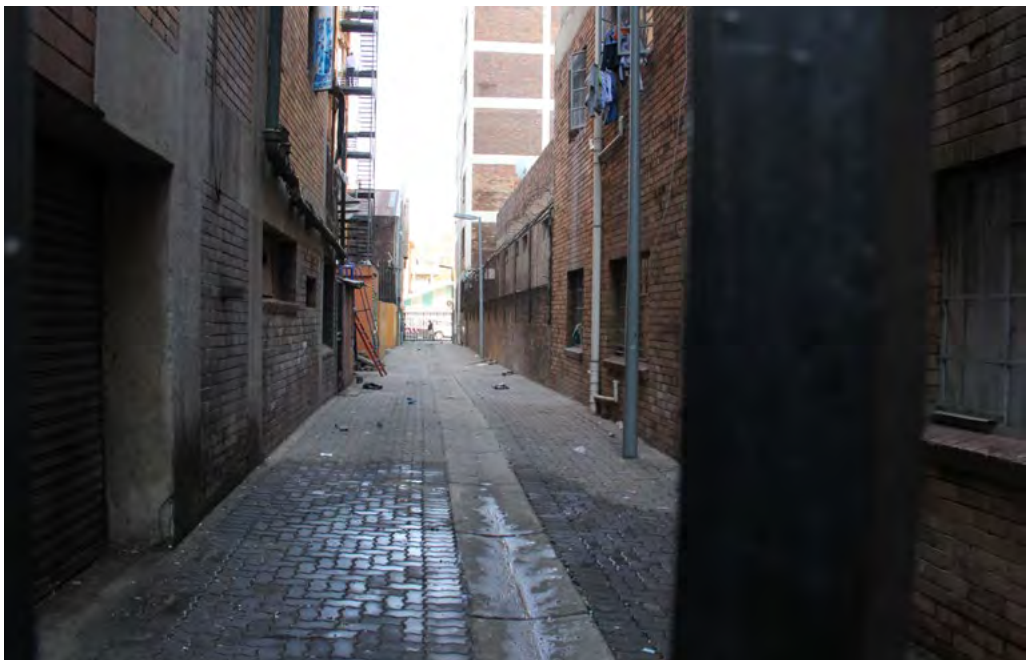


Figure 3: Neighbourhood transformation in Johannesburg. Hillbrow is a downtown inner-city neighbourhood built up with high rises in the 60's and 70's. Due to several factors including a collapse of laws governing rent control, health and building safety, and troublesome relationships between landlords and tenants, the neighbourhood went to high crime, "hijacked" buildings, debris in the laneways and drug infested parks that were entered at your own risk. By getting all the players together, laneways were cleaned up, parks were reclaimed for safe play⁸

transformations. Bremner (2000) talks of social transformation in relations to racial transformation especially in the inner city of Johannesburg. During apartheid, white inhabitants lived in the inner city, while the black working class, who were oppressed by the apartheid system, lived and commuted from Soweto (the sprawling township located to the south west of the city). However, the racial exclusivity of Johannesburg, at least in the inner city, began to unravel when the influx of Coloured and Asian families, together with a steady inward movement of African residents took place in the mid-1970s. Many more blacks sought accommodation in places like Hillbrow in the 1980s because of the intensification of violence in Black townships (Winkler, 2009). This was accelerated by the removal of the influx control legislation in 1986 which led to the rapid greying and consolidation of black presence in the city (Morris 1998). After apartheid laws such as influx control were lifted in 1986, the inner city had an approximately 20,000 black inhabitants (Bremner 2000).

Notably, the proportion of whites to blacks in the CBD was 7:1 in 1960; by 1970, the ratio had changed to 2 white employees to every 1 black employee. In 1990, the situation was closer to 1 to 1 (1 white worker to 0.85 black worker) (Inner City Ivukile, May 1995). Crankshaw and White (1995) observe that racial compartmentalisation and exclusivity in Johannesburg's inner city had effectively collapsed by the end of the 1990s. Oelofse (2003: 92) noted that more than two thirds of the inner city population were black with whites making up only around 20% of the total in the early 2000s.

A second demographic shift started to happen during the 1990s as more and more Africans migrated into the inner city (Bremner 2000). Hillbrow witnessed a steady flow of immigrants and migrants (Kihato 2010; Landau 2010) from neighbouring countries following the democratisation in the country in the early 1990s. This has seen a creation of a cosmopolitan mix of races in the cities of the country.

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

Bremner (2000) also notes that there has been economic transformation for Johannesburg. She observes that many of the major economic

headquarters that were located in the inner city, started to decentralise to the surrounding locations between the period of 1982 and 1994. In the 1990s, about 20% of top-grade offices in the city centre were leaving Johannesburg. Notably, even the Anglo American Properties (Ampros) sold its prime properties in the CBD including, the once precious Carleton Centre for R100 million, considerably less than its actual value (Sunday Times 1996; Business Report 1997). Consequently, one of the major problems of the inner city was the continued exodus of business from the CBD to the new decentralised nodes (Crankshaw and White 1995) such as Rosebank, Rivonia and the Midrand, Sunninghill and Sandton areas. At the same time, the informal trading market became the most "spectacular expressions" of the desegregation of urban space associated with the end of apartheid (Bremner 2000).

In the 2000s, the inner city has also re-affirmed its revival. The inner city became a magnate, attracting urban investments, through urban regeneration programmes that established precincts, city improvement districts, urban development zones, social housing and transitional housing as well as the Blue IQ projects. Besides public funded investments such as in Newtown, north of the CBD of Johannesburg, private investments provide a major signifier for urban transformation. An example would be the *en vogue* Maboneng Precinct in the south east of the CBD in Johannesburg. The inner city is now a space of encounter for different business activity between corporate and informal, large and small, black and white (Tomlinson 1999a).

IMAGE TRANSFORMATION

Bremner (2000) also notes that Johannesburg, like many other cities in South Africa, has adapted new ways to help market the city. During apartheid, Johannesburg enjoyed an image of racial exclusivity. It projected itself as the New York of Africa. This plan follows on what Beauregard (1993:26) called the 'mainstream approach to urban economic revival'. From the early 1990s, there was a strong sense in the city's Democratic Party-led administration that something had to be done to address the negative perceptions. This led to the re-imaged itself as a 'Gateway to Africa' because of its geograph-



Figure 4 (top): BRT Park Station in the CBD of Johannesburg Showcasing a Transformed Space Offering Public Transport

Figure 5 (bottom): The City Logo is a Common Image in the Streets of Johannesburg

ical location in the early 1990s (City of Johannesburg 1992). This period was marking a shift in the city's thinking by branding Johannesburg based on its locational advantages (Sihlongonyane 2015b). Also, in the catchphrase used in the 1990s was "Johannesburg- Economic Hub to Southern Africa" which focused on geographical advantages and emphasized Johannesburg's role as a financial hub (Rogerson, 1996).

Upon the election of new metropolitan local councillors in 1995 under the ANC leadership, the Johannesburg Inner City Development Forum (a partnership between government, civil society, labour and the private sector) came up with a new re-imaging initiative to make the city the 'Golden Heartbeat of Africa' (Rogerson, 1996). The year 2000 saw the transformation of the city towards achieving an overarching vision to be a globally competitive 'World Class African City' (City of Johannesburg 2001: 147). This has marked a shift from a city isolated in the international world to a city that is a major player in the international arena in terms of competition for attraction of investments, hosting of international events and fortifying its economic position in the region and the continent.

PITFALLS OF TRANSFORMATION

Despite these notable forms of transformation, it has been widely observed that, "Rather than compaction or integration, empirical research on South African cities, focused mainly on Johannesburg, ... show that new spatial divides are emerging along lines similar to patterns internationally" (Todes 2003:617; also in Mabin 1995; Beavon 1997; Tomlinson 1999b). This has made Dewar (1998:369) to lament that "the period that now might have been an urban planner's dream" (the new policies and the new political order are concerned with the well-being of the majority of the population) has "been marked by disappointment and in many cases by disillusionment." Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell (2000:116) assert, "recent erosion of the racial residential segregation has done little to affect the geography of inequality in Johannesburg." Also, Bremner (2000) observed that the official housing programmes have tended to reinforce the apartheid plan, with the erection of mono-ethnic settlements situated either adjacent

to existing African townships or not integrated with the surrounding predominantly non-African suburbs. Watson (2011:206) illuminated this observation by pointing out that 'Despite numerous national policy statements calling for integrated, sustainable and inclusive urban development, and despite the introduction of the Development Facilitation Act (Act 62 of 1995) which set out a process for replacing apartheid planning, this has not occurred'.

Peet (2002) argues that the switch of the ANC from a leftist, basic-needs-oriented Reconstruction and Development Programme as the popular foundation for its economic policy to a rightist, neoliberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy stressing privatisation, deregulation, and trade liberalisation undermined the ability of the country to undergo urban transformation that could foster democratic equitable, society. Khosa (2001:8-10) explains that the incursion of neo-liberal policy was the result of the state not having a choice than to accept a number of compromises, such as policies favouring big business, foreign investors, deregulation, and privatisation, in an attempt to reduce the role of the state through policies.

Similarly, Harrison, Todes, and Watson (2008:6) attributes the failures to the dangers of political transformation in South Africa which is associated with the "... transition to a liberal democracy" and an insertion into the global economy (Harrison, et.al., 2008:6). Within this realm, Pieterse (2004; 2008) reminds us of the globalised dimensions of power relations that dominate present planning practice. The nature of such a political transformation had been observed to cause tension between planning influences and market forces, as the policies have often gone in different directions. For example, the National Spatial Development Perspective statements, about where development should be supported, have not had much influence, and so planners (planning) and developers (market) do not pull development in the same direction. (Harrison *et al*, 2008).

There is literature that attributes the failure of urban transformation to the systems of neo-liberal forms of governance (Pieterse 2008; Winkler 2011; Be'nit-Gbaffou 2012). While a



Figure 6: Extensive redevelopment projects, driven by a tax incentive, have transformed the Johannesburg CBD. Photo credit: <http://mg.co.za/>¹⁰

wide range of market oriented instruments of spatial governance which promote integration of a kind have been adopted⁹, they largely support activities befitting of *homo-economicus*. In some cases, their visions, targets, budgetary cycles and standards do not carry the same mandate for supporting urban transformation that benefits the collective. The mandates of collective benefit if supported at all are secondary, if not tertiary, to the pressing logic market rationality. Therefore, these planning instruments have been found wanting because they do not support the institution of racial, economic, or gender equality. Part of their failure arises from the fact that planning instruments cannot respond adequately to the growing complexity and the increasing concern of rapid and random development which is characteristic of South African cities.

Bénit-Gbaffou's (2011:454) view is that participation is normally accompanied by 'clientelism - provisionally defined as the granting (by politicians to voters) of public goods based on personal networks and influences rather than on a well-established and clear-set of principles and rights'. Participatory practices from this perspective fail to be effective because they are perceived as linear, one-off and technocratic initiatives (Healey, 1999). In that way, participation is not transformative. In the city of Johannesburg for example, Parnell and Robinson (2006: 348) observe that "popular participation in the form of a mobilised community sector worked to delegitimize the process of policy formulation and as a result of on-going political conflict with the council, the participatory process was severely limited." They noted that public consultation was perfunctory in the Johannesburg CDS (Ibid p:344) as it was largely understood as a component of local political dynamics and not as a stand-alone solution to negotiating visions for the city's future (Ibid p.347). Similarly, in the City of Cape Town, "Whilst popular participation was supposed to be the main planning approach deployed, the City of Cape Town simply expected communities to support pre-designed IDP programmes without explaining the substantive processes informing such programmes to the citizenry" observes Williams (2006: 210).

Sihlongonyane (2015a) has also observed

that although public engagements are often couched in a deluge of African phrases such as *indaba*, *bosberaad*, *Lekgotla*, *tswele pele*, *khomanani*, *masakhane*, which are used as metaphorical tropes of expression for participation, decision making is largely occurring in a process that is overwhelmed by technical and imperatives of physical planning. There are no means of balancing the imperatives of physical planning and the obligations for participatory development in spatial planning. Often the precepts of physical planning and the accompanying imperatives for promotion of economic development trumps down the mandates that come from public participation especially by local communities. It has also been noted that participation is often once-off whilst the application of especially physical and economic instruments of urban transformation are indelibly sustained in the planning of urban spaces. In the City of Johannesburg, Todes (2012:405) notes that the Growth Management Strategy (GMS) defines areas in terms of their levels of priority for infrastructural investment while the Capital Investment Management System has a prioritisation model which scores projects based particularly on their consistency with the GMS. "The (GMS) policy is tied to the budget, and all requests for capital funding are assessed through the Capital Investment Management System, a GIS-based system linked to the GMS of the planning department" (Todes 2012). Therefore, despite the existential community participation, it is planners that technically make decisions using the GMS, GIS, and the Capital Investment Management System.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF TRANSFORMATION

To resolve the current problems, this paper puts forward a new conceptual framework for Transformation. This framework seeks to make an appeal to the person, the individual planner. It argues for an intrinsic process that redefines transformation from a perspective of changing attitudes, behaviour and practices. It seeks to promote an expression of new values, principles and premises of thought. It emphasises the transformation of the mind, space, practice and eventually our society at large.

Mind include: attitude, beliefs, perceptions, ideas, imagination and consciousness

Space can be: an open thing, container, abstraction, metaphor, or social construct

Practice are: approaches, behaviours, habits, gestures/signs, absence/presence, action or no action

Society: can be defined by traditions, beliefs, or values, sector, scale, interests, etc.

The **Transformation of the mind**: involves a change of mindset: what we think, imagine, believe, or choose, and what we create. Thoughts determine the orientation of everything we do and evoke the feelings that frame our world and motivate our actions. A process of decolonising education should be engendered to transform thought, discourse and worldviews.

The **Transformation of practice** is concerned with capacity to bring into its human environment many different approaches, behaviours, and policies and work that are effectively cross-cultural. It is concerned with the production of a collective vision to reimagine everyday spaces, and to see anew the potential of parks, downtowns, waterfronts, plazas, neighbourhoods, streets, markets, campuses and public buildings as an assemblage expressive of cosmopolitan cultural archive.

The **Transformation of space** should ultimately result from the previous two forms of transformation. The concept of "space" itself should be seen as a multi-faceted object - a thing, a container, an abstraction, a metaphor, or a social construct rather than merely as a container. Subsequently, the transformation of space should involve changes of the symbolic and material aspects of space such that it embraces shared traditions, beliefs, customs, history, folklore, and institutions of all people irrespective of ethnicity, language, nationality, or religion. Transformation of space should emphasise total change from inside out such that the form, appearance and expression are a means for creating a new form, function and structure that serves the whole of humanity.

The **Transformation of society** should entail a substantial complete change such that its set of values and principles, demonstrate behaviours,

attitudes, policies, and structures that enable it to work effectively cross-culturally. When a society recognizes, respects, and values all cultures and integrates those values into the urban system, it will be able to meet the needs of diverse groups, and so, social inequity and injustice will be made history.

ENDNOTES

1 Retrieved on 23 July 2016 from <http://www.c40.org/awards/2015-awards/profiles/71>

2 e.g. Integrated Development Plans (IDPs).

3 e.g. Provincial Development Strategies (PDS).

4 e.g. 2003 National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP).

5 Much of this emphasis is pressed upon in a litany of government policies (ANC 1994; RSA 1995a, 1997, 1998a, 1999).

6 Such programs have been offered by the University of Western Cape, the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Fort Hare, and the University of Stellenbosch.

7 Governed by the Group Area Act and influx control.

8 Images and caption taken from Rooftops Canada / Abri International Blog: <https://rcblog1.wordpress.com/2015/08/12/study-visit-15-neighbourhood-transformation-in-johannesburg/>

9 Including: City Improvement Districts (CIDs), Urban Development Zones (UDZs), Cultural Districts, and, the Urban Edge.

10 Retrieved July 23, 2016 from <http://mg.co.za/article/2016-04-15-00-a-strategic-vision-for-johannesburg>

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