

Investigation of the State of Spatial Transformation Policy and Practice: Lessons from the City of Johannesburg

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1 ABSTRACT

country's spatial legacy. This planned segregation system left many South African cities with a spatial legacy that cannot support the ever-rising urban population, particularly the black African population that is ever migrating from rural to urban areas. The elements of concern include informal settlements, undesirable spatial configuration, single land use development, improper transportation and different forms of infrastructure. This paper aims to assess the level of spatial transformation across the city of Johannesburg. The paper adopts a case study research design and applies a mixed methods approach. Data was collected through interviews, a literature review on the spatial planning policies, and direct observations of the city's infrastructure. When the country gained its democracy in the year 1994, many policies and legislative frameworks were introduced, all of them having one primary objective: to transform South Africa spatially, mainly the cities. Since then, several policies and legislative frameworks have been implemented with the same vision of transforming the spatial configuration of the urban areas in the country. However, the spatial issues have remained the same for many if not all South African cities. Spaces in these cities remain divided along racial lines. The results revealed an improvement in the level of transformation across the municipality and an improvement in the policies and practice of spatial transformation. Developmental projects such as transit-oriented development have led to income elasticities for properties along the corridors of freedom. Overall, the paper recommends collaborative planning as a tool for assessing the performance of spatial transformation.

Keywords: Sustainable frameworks, collaborative planning, transit-oriented development, spatial transformation, Johannesburg

2 INTRODUCTION

The draconian planning system of the apartheid regime in South Africa played a huge role in shaping the country's spatial legacy. This planned segregation system left many South African cities with a spatial legacy that cannot support the ever-rising urban population, particularly the black African population that is ever migrating from rural to urban areas. Since the country gained its democracy in 1994, the government made it its mandate to introduce policies and legislative framework to address the challenges that were as a result of the apartheid system of spatial planning. All if not most of these policies and legislative frameworks had one primary objective which was to transform South Africa spatially, mainly the cities. Since then, many policies and legislative frameworks keep on being implemented, with the same vision as the ones before them, to transform the configuration of the country's urban areas spatially (South African City Network, 2016). However, the spatial issues have remained the same for many if not all South African cities. Spaces in these cities remain divided along racial lines (Ndhlovu, 2019).

With the noticeable undesired spatial legacy that the country inherited, spatial transformation is seen as the way forward to address socio-economic inequalities, racially divided spaces and transformation of the cities to provide equal opportunities and sustainable means of living for all citizens (Meerow & Miller, 2019). As Nkoane (2019) stated, South Africa needs spatial transformation not only to address the configuration of the urban areas, but also 'to embrace new spatial practices in respect of sustainability, liveability, resilience and facilitating technological innovation and economic structural change'. South Africa is noted as the most unequal society in the world; thus it is not surprising that South African spaces of cities reflect high inequality (Schensul & Heller, 2010). Johannesburg not being an exception adopted the spatial transformation approach to address the challenges such as inequality, injustices, and the social alienation that

the city faces (Noyoo, 2019). Even with the implementation of many various policies, legislative frameworks and projects across the city, the spatial configuration of the city is still highly fragmented. The efforts by the city mostly do not cater for the urban poor and as a result, the majority of the poor households continue to live in peripheral, poorly located areas with insufficient access to opportunities (Kruger, 2014). There is widespread poverty, criminality and a growing inequality which are the result of high unemployment rates that are unacceptably high; on the other side, the city's infrastructure is inadequate and not coping due to high migration. These aspects only highlight the reality which is that the city is not functioning properly spatially. This paper aims at assessing the level of spatial transformation across the city of Johannesburg with a focus on spatial planning policies, legislative framework and the practice of spatial transformation.

3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Transformation can be seen as 'a spatially defined, socially embedded process; with an interrelated series of materially driven practices, whereby the form, substance and overall dimensions of urban space are purposefully changed to reflect the principles of a more equitable social order' (Williams, 2000: 169). Williams (2000) continued to describe transformation as a 'programmatic, plan oriented, project directed effort to change the unequal access to and occupation/ownership of socio-politically differentiated space in South Africa. It is a multi-dimensional open-ended, fluid process of change, organically linked to the past, present and future' (Williams, 2000: 169).

It is increasingly acknowledged that 'spatial transformation' is required to address the injustices of the past. However, it is a concept with rather abstract and fluid meanings. The term has been used to refer to 'major urban change or restructuring', with very loose application in public policy, academic research and popular writing (Turok, 2014: 74). Spatial transformation is sometimes used interchangeably with the concept of urban restructuring, which can also refer to actions that reform while retaining the underlying power structures in order to minimise disruption and turmoil instead of pursuing fundamental change (Oranje, 2014).

Over the past two years, the understanding of the government's role in shaping and transforming cities and towns in South Africa has changed. The transformation of space is fundamentally linked to other key structural transformations: of institutions, capacity building, and the reconfiguration of power and influence (Williams, 2000). Fundamentally, the transformation of space can be equated to the living experience of urban dwellers. An inclusive, productive, sustainable and well-governed city is one in which residents experience a high quality of life, and both benefit from what the city offers and contributes towards making and shaping the city. It is important to understand that certain pathologies manifest in the urban environment when people are not able to determine, influence and ultimately access opportunities (Max-Neef, 1992).

4 STUDY AREA

Spatial transformation is critical for the growth of cities in South Africa as it addresses the challenges such as injustice and undesirable spatial configuration of the cities, making it an indispensable factor for the development in the cities. However, the current policies and legislative framework seem to be missing certain aspects to make the implementation of spatial transformation successful. Thus, there needs to be continuous improvements in strategies, procedures and elements that inform spatial transformation of the country. The Gauteng province is also affected by this challenge, and this being the economic hub of the country, it affects the development prospects of the country as a whole, both economically and socially.

The City of Johannesburg is faced with a mounting pressure of growing demand of infrastructure and services delivery. This is clearly visible from the protests that happen almost every year. The increase in population of the city and the demand for services and infrastructure is not being met by the investment in infrastructure and this is partially as a result of the current spatial planning policies and practices in the city. This has resulted in increased inequality, unaligned and uncoordinated development, continued inefficient spatial development, decaying urban infrastructure, locational disadvantage in projects aimed at assisting the urban poor, built environment investment not resulting in inclusive economic development and spatial fragmentation (SACN, 2016: 50-58). The scope of this study focuses on the city of Johannesburg, which is in Gauteng Province of South Africa as shown on the figure below (figure 1).

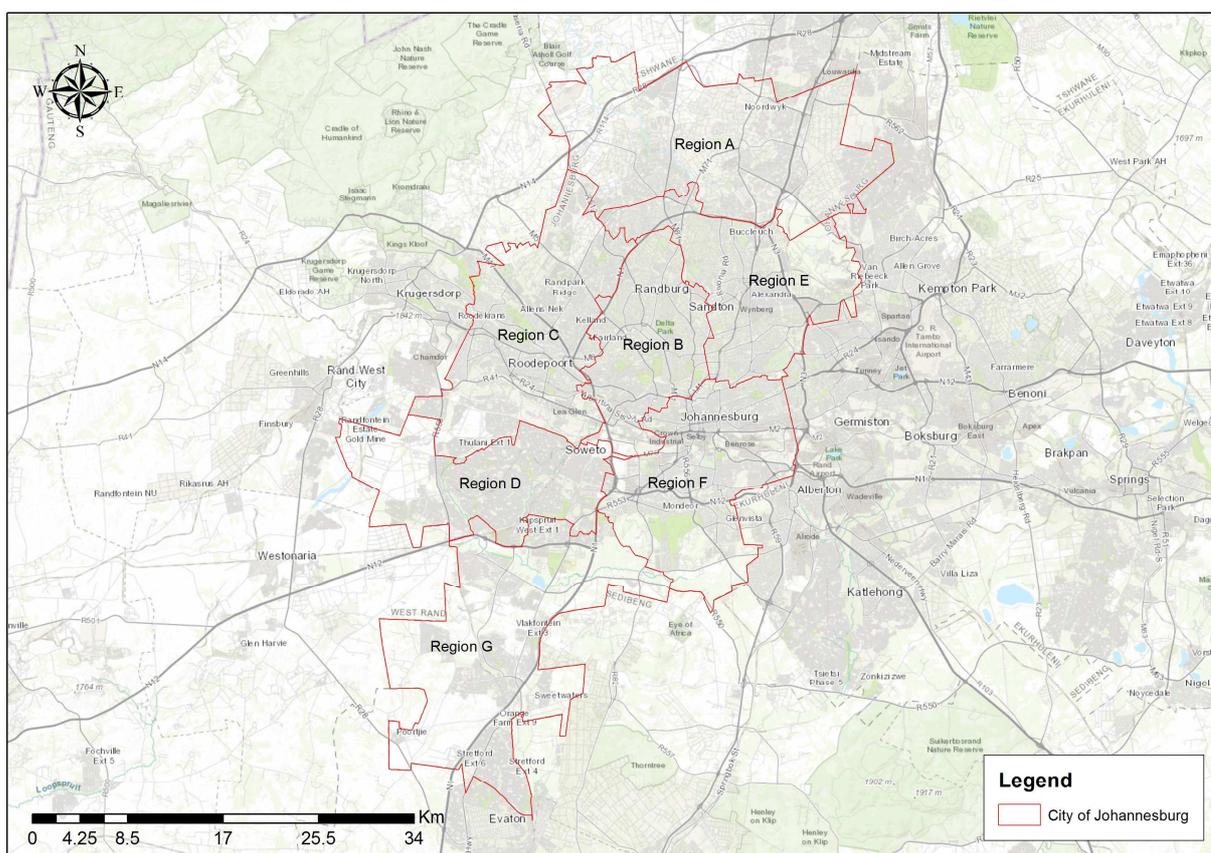


Figure 1: City of Johannesburg

5 METHODOLOGY

This study adopted the mixed method approach to fully explore the research question: ‘What is the current state of policy and practice of spatial transformation in the City of Johannesburg?’. A case study design was chosen to extract meaning from the experiences of residents living in the city of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Located in the Gauteng Province of South Africa, the City of Johannesburg is one of the three metropolitan municipalities in this province. It shares the borders with the Metropolitan City of Tshwane to the North, the Metropolitan City of Ekurhuleni to the East, Sedibeng District to the South and West Rand District to the West.

This study relied heavily on interviews and observations of the situation in the city of Johannesburg. Interviews were conducted with 30 respondents, in which 7 of them were from the city’s planning department, 7 were private developers within the city’s jurisdiction and 16 were people who reside in the city. Interviews with the municipal officials were unstructured and the ones conducted with residents were structured. Due to Covid-19 lockdowns in South Africa, the interviews were conducted via Zoom and Microsoft Teams. Observations and literature were also used to support the information gathered using interviews. For the literature review on spatial planning policies, a desktop study was used as the primary means of obtaining data. Text analysis was applied to qualitative data from interviews. Town planning professionals, private developers and community residents all provide their unique experience which were all used as the basis of analysing the current state of spatial transformation and spatial planning within Johannesburg.

6 FINDINGS

6.1 Policy and Legislative framework for spatial planning and transformation

The section of the interviews focused on the policy and legislative framework of the city. Only policies and legislative frameworks that relate to spatial planning and spatial transformation were reviewed and assessed in order to determine how they help in enforcing spatial transformation in the city of Johannesburg. The

policies and legislations that were reviewed included SPLUMA, GDS, IDP, SDF and Corridors of Freedom Initiatives.

The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) is South Africa's national legislation governing all spatial planning. It was enacted in 2013 and came into effect in July 2015. "In its mandate to spatially transform the country, SPLUMA introduces a new spatial planning system which now places the local municipality at the centre of spatial planning and decision making related to land use management. SPLUMA basically reinforces the vision set out by the NDP (National Development Plan) to deal with the serious socio-economic issues crippling South Africa through spatial transformation" (Spatial Transformation Conference Report, 2014). SPLUMA aims at closing the gap on the racial divide spatially and the transformation of the country's settlement patterns. It also seeks to address the legacy of inefficient, discriminatory, and costly special patterns that are a burden on the country's public resources (Spatial Transformation Conference Report, 2014). The act also plays an important role in the restructuring of South African cities (SPLUMA, 2013). SPLUMA principles are content focused which translates into the spatial transformation issues that the country is seeking to address through spatial planning. In Johannesburg, SPLUMA was found to be contributing greatly to the spatial transformation of the city. This was possible because it enforces intergovernmental cooperation. The cooperation of the three spheres of government contributed to the strategic spatial planning of the city which then translated to spatial transformation of Johannesburg. The proper implementation of SPLUMA is noted to be benefiting in terms of transforming space within Johannesburg, however, there are challenges with regards to the implementation of this legislation within Johannesburg. The key challenges are as follows: (1) Some principles are not clearly explained (vagueness); (2) there is no target specification, the legislation does not show which principle should be prioritised; (3) Co-ordination is complex in the sense that there is an "absence of a hierarchical relationship between the spheres of government" (Spatial Transformation Conference Report, 2014).

The SDFs (Spatial Development Frameworks) are also noted as important for spatial change or transformation of the city, mainly because the SDFs indicate the spatial vision for the city and the means of implementation (CoJ SDF, 2016). The breaking down of the SDF into eight Regional Spatial Development Frameworks meant that the city could give more detail into the plans and the implementation for each of the city's region. The SDF has been successful to some extent in dealing with some of the major issues in Johannesburg's spatial and social landscape which are increasing pressure on the natural environment; spatial inequalities and the job-housing mismatch; exclusion and disconnection; and inefficient residential densities and land use diversity.

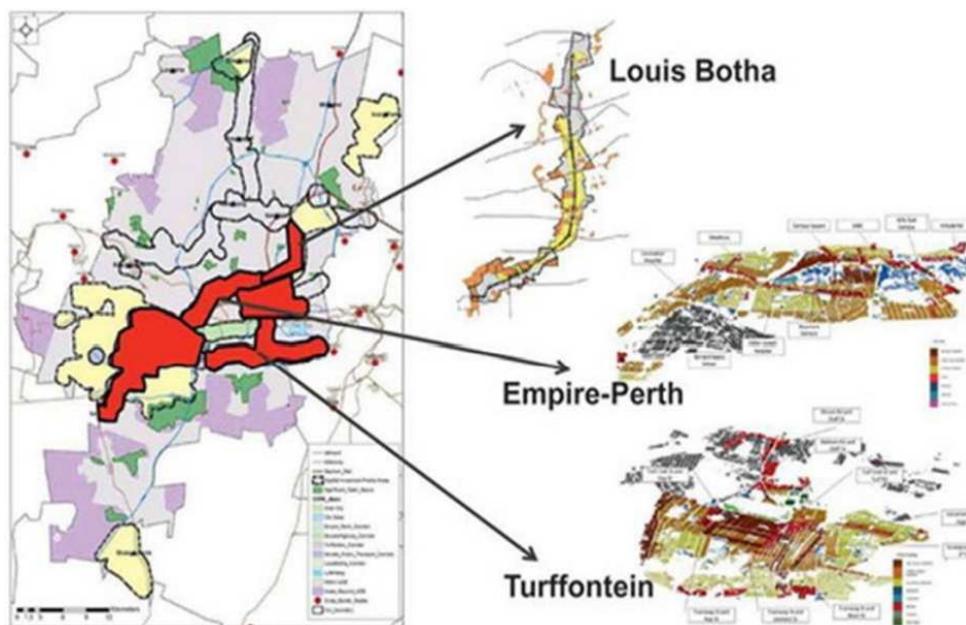


Figure 2: Corridors of Freedom in Johannesburg (City of Johannesburg, 2013).

The City of Johannesburg aimed at achieving "well-planned transport arteries linked to interchanges where the focus will be on mixed-use development of high-density accommodation, supported by office buildings, retail development and opportunities for leisure and recreation" (COJ, 2013, pp. 2, 4). The city had planned

to use the Corridors of Freedom to achieve this. The Corridors of Freedom transformed the entrenched settlement patterns by bringing access to economic opportunities and access to jobs and growth. Through the Corridors of Freedom Johannesburg was able to make a decisive turn towards a low-carbon future with an eco-efficient infrastructure that underpins a sustainable environment. Overall, the Corridors of freedom played a significant role in the urban and spatial planning of Johannesburg; however, the initiative does not have far reaching impacts across the city. Only a few areas in the city benefit from these types of development. The City of Johannesburg has already implemented three of these Corridors of Freedom, making it ahead of its counterpart municipalities in the pursuit of achieving spatial transformation the three areas: Louis Botha, Empire-Perth and Turffontein as shown on the figure below (figure 2).

6.2 Strategies, procedures and elements that necessitated and informed spatial planning and transformation

When the study was being carried out it was noted that for a spatial transformation vision to be achieved, there needed to be a transformation of institutions and intergovernmental relations. Effective intergovernmental relations play an important part in the spatial transformation of a city. These intergovernmental relations assist in recognising the role played by the local government. “The scope and pace of change in South Africa are also influenced/determined by the extent to which public institutions adjust to and comply with the current directives of transformative planning” (Williams, 2000: 170).

As one of the municipal officials interviewed notes, “one of the challenges we face is that there is a lack of integration within the departments in the city, thus information doesn’t smoothly move across all 15 departments of the City of Johannesburg”. There clearly is a need for the municipal departments and the municipality as a whole to move from this traditional silo approach in which each department aims to use the resources to fulfil their mandate or their own targets. The local level is the best place to achieve spatial transformation, and this cannot be achieved through a ‘fragmented approach’; however it requires an ‘institutional arrangement’ that is able to respond to the coordination, integration and nuance that may be required. As the COGTA (2016) notes, there is a need for the intergovernmental and interdepartmental relations to be strengthened so as “to drive the agreed policy, fiscal and regulatory changes, and to steer the priorities of the urban agenda” (COGTA, 2016: 101).

There is a need to transform politics and power. Williams (2000) argued that the “radical change needed to disrupt the power imbalances that exist within South Africa’s urban spaces would not be an easy or smooth process”. Mainly because there are still numerous vested interests in keeping Johannesburg the way it is and not equalising the power relations amongst black and white communities. Amongst the community members interviewed for this study, most still feel that white people are the ones that drive development in the city, mainly because they have the means (capital) and because they pull the strings of municipal officials behind the scene. Black communities feel that they are not being involved in the development processes as much as white people. They feel that they are excluded. According to Williams (2000), “People-driven development” helps in terms of the transformation of “social relations of power which give rise to the patterns of uneven development in South African society” (Williams, 2000: 172). To date, two decades later, the argument by Williams is still very valid. The City of Johannesburg is faced with political power-brokering, corruption, nepotism and inefficiency amongst some of the officials which all pose a great challenge to the city achieving its desired spatial transformation. The private sector and individuals (especially from the private sector) who power over decisions or even challenge decisions that are made which, in turn, slows down progress of spatial change as well as social integration. This is clearly visible in most suburbs for the middle income class and the high-income class. One classic example was when the Rosebank community objected to the construction of the BRT route through the area (RMD, 2011)/ However, the construction of this BRT was aimed at integration and sustainable transport to accommodate all social classes. This power display dynamics needs to be changed for spatial transformation to take place properly and with ease.

Transit Oriented Developments (TOD) refer to the “utilisation of an age-old phenomenon of urban development in terms of which more intensive non-residential and higher-density residential development concentrates at public transport (notably train and later on light-rail) stations” (Boarnet and Crane, 1997; Peters and Novy, 2012). In Johannesburg, these are done in a form of corridors of development. The City currently has three of those which are: (1) Louis Botha; (2) Empire-Perth; and (3) Turffontein. In Johannesburg’s perspective, these play an important role in the spatial transformation of the city because

they are the ones that connect most townships to the central business district (CBD). They increase densities along the transport routes which are mostly low densities, and are “physically and tangibly restructuring the highly inefficient sprawled-out city” (Oranje, 1999). In the city, the Transit Oriented Development (TOD) in its purest form is still limited, although if these kinds of developments were increased, it would be a right direction towards achieving the desired spatial transformation.

State-led Urban Renewal Projects aim to upgrade neighbourhoods and suburbs that are in a state of distress or decay. These projects would address the decaying urban areas and tackle challenges, such as poor physical infrastructure, dull urban areas, poor community services and deteriorating inner city housing. Currently the Johannesburg urban renewal projects are undertaken by the private sector. One example of this is the Maboneng Precinct. The end results of these projects being run by the private sector is that the developments do not intend to cater for the urban poor. Once properties are re-developed, the rents become so high that most people cannot afford them anymore, forcing them to relocate to other parts of the city. Urban renewal projects in Johannesburg should be undertaken by the municipality. It should form part of its broader projects of expanding the economy of the city as well as housing projects. In that sense, the city can achieve spatial transformation at the address the spatial justice issue by ensuring access and inclusion to the previously disadvantaged communities. In Seoul the state-led urban renewal proved to be effective, “this new form of high-density housing proved to have provided a longer term, (more) lasting answer to addressing the needs of a growing economy and expanding middle class” (Kyung, 2011: 10). However, the external stakeholders do not believe that this can work on Johannesburg. They feel that if state-led urban renewal projects are implemented, they will not work. They base their claims on the fact that most state led developments are mostly not properly maintained and they run down easily, thus coming to a conclusion that the urban renewal projects should be left to the private sector or that there should be a public-private partnership to make housing affordable.

6.2.1 Transformation of management and capacity

Numerous changes have occurred over the past two decades across the built environment, requiring a fundamental shift in the skills and capacity needed to transform and deal with spatial transformation and spatial planning issues. For instance, the skills needed to deliver housing products in the human settlements sector are now different from the ones that are needed to carry out ‘sustainable human settlements’, thus these two require co-production and cross-sectoral cooperation. This also applies to the transport sector. Achieving better transport systems needs a better integration between the modes of transport in the city. All this can be achieved through building capacity and skills of officials with the involvement of the communities, “so that they have the knowledge and are empowered to influence and determine city form and function effectively” (Williams, 2000). The current skills set of many officials is ‘silo’, their skills are related to a specific node. However, they need to be able to integrate different aspects of planning to achieve spatial transformation.

6.2.2 Intensified human settlements

Johannesburg, like most of South African cities, is characterised mainly by “low-density urban sprawl and higher densities on the outskirts of cities, not the inner cities” (SACN, 2016). This is mainly due to the apartheid planning that placed the majority black population on the outskirts of the city, and it is also as a result of the development of the low-cost housing on the outskirts of the city because land is cheaper. An example of this is the historical Sowetan Townships.

As shown in figure 4.8, Soweto is a low-density settlement in the outskirts of the Johannesburg CBD. According to the Census 2011, the population of Soweto is at 1,271,628 with a population density of 6,357.29 inhabitants per square kilometre (16,465.3/sq mi). “Better located and integrated development is critical to reducing urban sprawl and spatial economic transformation of cities” (Bertoldi, 2015). The land located in close proximity with the city is usually expensive, thus it becomes important to make the best use of this land. This land can be used for high rise buildings to accommodate greater population density, and this could contribute to ‘enhanced efficiency in the city space economy’ (Bertoldi, 2015). Currently, the government’s emphasis has shifted from delivering mass housing to delivering sustainable human settlements. Johannesburg in particular has acknowledged that there is a need for locating housing in ‘well-located urban neighbourhoods. However, “political and private developer vested interests have so far trumped concerns for better located, more compact and integrated housing alternatives”.

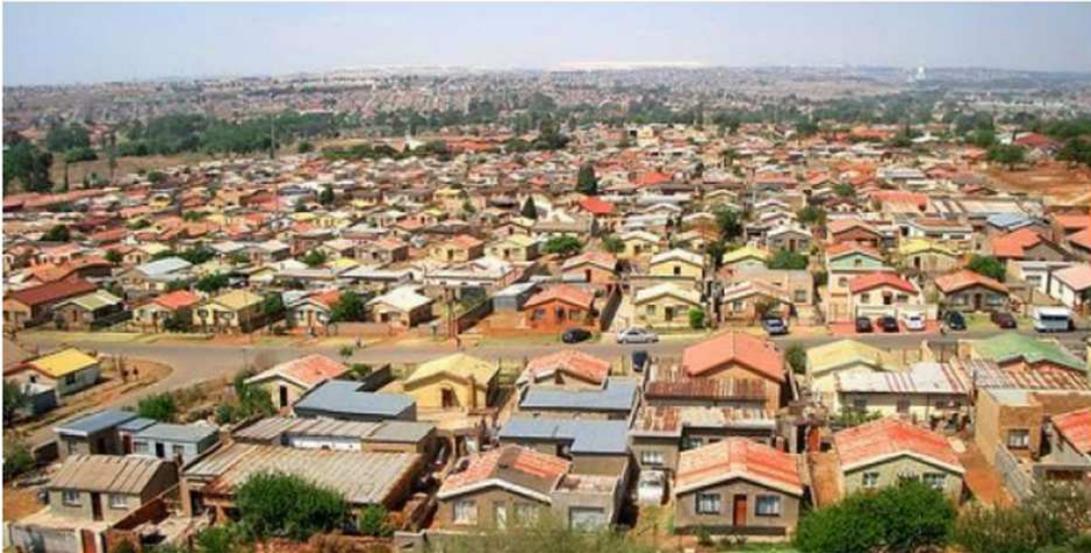


Figure 3: Soweto Township (Source: Mason, 2017)

6.2.3 Improved mobility and access to public transport

Johannesburg commuters face a daily challenge of security concerns, overcrowding, high cost of travel and long commuting times and this is most apparent in low-income groups who live in the outskirts of the city and work in the CBD. Thus, providing a public transport system that is affordable and reliable would definitely go a long way, and would help in reducing the traffic congestion that the city CBD encounters in the early morning hours and late afternoon when people come back from work. Reducing the cost of public transport and travel time enhances urban spatial connectivity and inclusiveness and enhances urban resilience. Consolidating city-level public transport presents the greatest opportunity to reshape the spatial patterns of Johannesburg.

6.3 Spatial Transformation Policy and Practice Outcome in Johannesburg

Since 1994, the spatial planning policy and practice have undergone some serious changes in Johannesburg and South Africa as whole. There have been some positive outcomes of the spatial planning policy and practice in transforming Johannesburg. However, the effectiveness of the spatial planning policy and practice on restructuring City of Johannesburg is being questioned as there is little evidence showing that this being achieved.

Dimension	Yes	No
Clear horizontal coordination with spatial plans of adjacent region	3	4
Clear horizontal coordination with spatial plans of adjacent municipalities	7	-
Explicit vertical alignment with provincial spatial plans and strategies	7	-
Clear consideration of national spatial development plans and perspective	6	1

Table 1: Institutional coordination and alignment of Regions in City of Johannesburg (Source, Author, 2020).

6.3.1 Improved Institutional Coordination and Alignment

There has been improved management of urban growth and improved governance. There has been quite a noticeable alignment between various departments within the municipality. “Spatial plans with other sector planning activities within municipalities and with the planning of neighbouring municipalities are aligned” one of the officials said during the interview. The regional SDFs of various regions within the municipality have their plans aligned which improves institutional coordination, but this is not the case for all the regions. Some regions still need to improve their coordination and alignment. Through literature review of various SDFs, the author came up with the following table that shows the level of alignment of the Regional SDFs with the other SDFs that are applicable to the city. The table below shows the alignment of the Johannesburg Regions SDFs with the Overall City’s SDF, Provincial SDF and the National SDF.

6.3.2 Increased Physical and Socio-economic Integration

“It has been argued that spatial governance in places characterised by existing levels of social inequality and racial polarisation will continue to be ineffective” (Robins, 2002). Johannesburg has shown much effort in combating the social inequalities. There are projects that are aimed at unification of the urban fabric and densification of human settlements, but the city is still facing problems in combating challenges of physical and socio-economic integration. There are projects within the city that are aiming at the ‘integration of the various aspects of land development’ (social, economic, institutional and physical), the integration of land development in rural and urban areas in mutual support and the integration of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity to each other. This is important because integration is an integral part of spatial planning policies, right from the local plans all the way to the National Development Plan 2030, which “contains as many as individual references to the concept of integration” (National Planning Commission, 2012). As contained in the NDP, each municipality is meant to have “explicit spatial restructuring strategy including identified priority precincts for spatial restructuring” and “critical interventions to redress past social segregation” (National Planning Commission 2012, p. 286). As much as this is noted as an important aspect by the municipality, they still have a long way to achieve a socio-economic integration.

6.3.3 The city’s Space Economy

“One of the key tension points in spatial planning in South Africa is the interplay and associated trade-offs between the need for economic growth and competitiveness on the one hand, and for socio-economic redress on the other” (Jenkins and Wilkinson, 2002). In this sense, cities have to compete globally with other cities in order to improve their financial position as well as developing the local skill set. Johannesburg competes with the world, and is currently ranked as the economic hub of South Africa. As such it contributes 17% of the total output of the South Africa and enabled the spatial planning policies and practices within the city. Johannesburg does not only hail as the financial capital of South Africa, but it is also ranked the first of the richest cities in the African continent.

6.3.4 Infrastructure Development and Capital Investment

“Infrastructure provision is one of the most powerful forces shaping urban areas” (Doxiadis, 1970). It cannot be denied that the infrastructure in Johannesburg is amongst the most advanced in the country and in Africa. The critical role of infrastructure and investment in achieving spatial planning objectives was confirmed by Healey (2004, p.46) by describing spatial planning as "self-conscious collective efforts to reimagine a city, urban region or wider territory and translate the results into priorities for area investment, conservation measures, strategic investment in infrastructure, and land use principles". Todes (2008, p. 11) further emphasises this view, stating that "infrastructure planning with its own spatial logic was more effective than spatial planning in shaping the spatial structure of cities." The NUDF also identified improved urban infrastructure and service delivery systems as one of the strategic outcomes for urban areas in South Africa (Republic of South Africa, 2009). There are specific issues in Johannesburg that adversely affect the integration of infrastructure development and capital investment. The problem involves the fact that spatial planning is the only dominant influence of low-income public sector-driven housing projects funded by the Department of Human Settlements, the shaping of cities through commercial and residential development in the private market sector, and the emphasis on 'mega-projects' disjointed from spatial planning. As one of the municipal officials notes, there is a need for planners to “call for the replacement of the traditional piecemeal pursuit of capital projects with a more coherent long-term view focused on selected areas and policy themes”.

Informal economy in the urban environment can stretch to different dimensions, like the development of infrastructure, land and housing, and processes of decision-making (Roy, 2005). Within Johannesburg’s context, the notion of urban informality is linked to the activities of the informal economic sector and to informal housing and services, both of which often involve some measure of illegality. Johannesburg has an informal economy that is vibrant and growing. The analysis of the Johannesburg SDFs clearly demonstrates that in spatial planning, informality remains largely unrecognised. Only two of the plans reviewed contained explicit strategies relating to the informal sector, with an additional six reflecting certain strategies that at least imply consideration of certain aspects of the informal sector. Those plans, which included informal

sector strategies, were almost exclusively concerned with upgrading informal housing settlements and with broad strategies for managing and controlling informal trading areas.

6.4 The proposed strategies for improving the state of spatial transformation

The city should use economic bridging plans. Spatial strategies should be highlighted by the nodes and corridors system of local economic development which is an economic bridging plan. Nodes of economic activity should be developed in central parts of townships and linked to other parts of the city using corridors based on existing transportation networks. The underlying concept of the nodes and corridors strategy should be that while people continued to live apart, economic activity could be spurred that bridged racial residential lines.

There should be an increase in economic density. To support its economic transformation and move up the industrial value chains, Johannesburg needs to significantly increase its economic density to reap productivity gains derived from agglomeration. A project which has good potential as an example is the Corridors of freedom developments across the city, if planned well, it could accommodate a significant amount of the region's projected growth and potentially become a new engine of growth for the city.

7 CONCLUSION

The paper sought to assess the level of spatial transformation across the city of Johannesburg. The paper went on to assess policies and legislative framework on the city's spatial transformation; the strategies that the city uses to promote and enable transformation and inclusivity within the city; and lastly focused on the current outcomes of spatial planning policies and practice within the city. The results revealed an improvement in the level of transformation across the municipality and an improvement in the policies and practice of spatial transformation. Developmental projects such as transit-oriented development have led to income elasticities for properties along the corridors of freedom. Overall, the paper recommends collaborative planning as a tool for assessing the performance of spatial transformation.

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