

INFLUENCE OF SPATIAL PLANNING ON URBAN SPACE ECONOMIES:

TWO CASE STUDIES FROM JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

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of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this Thesis is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

_____ (Signature of candidate)

_____ day of _____ 20_____ in _____

ABSTRACT

This research explores the influence of spatial planning on urban space economies using two case studies from Johannesburg in South Africa. The two precincts, Sandton central in the north of Johannesburg and Jabulani CBD in Johannesburg's south, were selected to represent two distinct processes of urban spatial transformation, with one featuring a heavier private-sector, market-led processes of development, and the other shaped more strongly by public-sector action.

The study began by tracking the historical processes of spatial transformation in each node using a combination of historical, archival and spatial analytical approaches. This then enabled an identification of key actors and agencies shaping transformation, and, through in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, a closer examination of the shifting spaces and roles of spatial planning in the mediation of spatial outcomes.

The research unpacks the complexity inherent in urban spatial transformation, and the deeply entangled nature of public and private sector action. In Sandton central, where private sector was presumed to have played a dominant role, it was demonstrated that planning action was also present, playing diverse and adaptive roles. In Jabulani CBD, a stronger public-sector role was apparent, but this action was originally disjointed and fragmented.

As a result, the role, and influence of spatial planning vis-à-vis other actors was fluid and difficult to determine at times, or complex and fragmented at others. Despite this complexity, fragmentation and diversity, there emerged some coherence in planning action over time as multiple and seemingly disjointed aspirations, processes and projects accommodated each other, or as contested perspectives were mediated, and as disjunctures were identified and resolved.

The research also critiques the methodological attempt to isolate or privilege specific roles, actors or influences, due to the deeply entangled, interlinked and relational nature of urban spatial transformation. Instead, it proposes a

shift in focus to process and context in urban spatial development, and a deeper exploration of the adaptive approaches applied by various assemblages of actors, agencies and processes as they seek to mediate among competing visions, identify and resolve disjunctures, and adapt to new realities.

This project is dedicated to:

The late Mzee Mutahi Muraguri, who believed that true independence
came from education and learning.

Mrs. Marion Wanjiku Mutahi, who passed this wisdom to her children,
grandchildren, and great grandchildren.

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ACRONYMS

BEPP - Built Environment Performance Plans

BLA – Black Local Authorities

BRT – Bus Rapid Transit

CBD – Central Business District

CID – City Improvement District

DED – Department of Economic Development

EAA – Economic Area Analysis

EDU – Economic Development Unit

EMSS – Eastern Metropolitan Substructure

GDS - Growth and Development Strategy

GJMC – Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council

GMA – Gautrain Management Agency

GSDC - Greater Soweto Development Committee

JDA – Johannesburg Development Agency

JPC – Johannesburg Property Company

JRA – Johannesburg Roads Agency

JSE – Johannesburg Stock Exchange

JTC – Johannesburg Tourism Company

LAC – Local Area Committee

NAFCOC - National African Federated Chamber of Commerce

NDP – National Development Plan

NDP - Neighborhoods Development Programme

NDPG - Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant

NMT – Non-Motorized Transport

PPP – Public Private Partnership

PROD – Sandton Promotion and Development Association

PUAB – Peri-Urban Areas Health Board

RSDF - Regional Spatial Development Framework

SANCO - South African National Civic Organisation

SBDC - Small Businesses Development Corporation

SCCI – Soweto Chamber for Commerce and Industry

SDF – Spatial Development Framework

SDI – Soweto Development Initiative

SMSS – Southern Metropolitan Substructure

TOD – Transit Oriented Development

TPA - Transvaal Provincial Administration

UDAC – Urban Design Advisory Committee

UDF – Urban Development Framework

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

WRAB – West Rand Administration Board

WSSD – World Summit for Sustainable Development

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

There has been a convergence in global urban discourse over the decades with the growing appreciation of cities and urban areas as critical nodes in an interconnected, globalized economy, an acknowledgement of the multiple and diverse influences on urban spatial form and functioning, and on the evolving role of spatial planning as it attempts to direct or mediate spatial outcomes within an environment marked by uncertainty (Scott, 2000; Sassen, 2005; Albrechts, 2006; Healey, 2007). Developments in these fields occurred concurrently, and have led to a shift in theoretical understanding and articulation of urban phenomena.

With increasing urbanization and global economic integration, the historical role of cities as nodes of material and information exchange has intensified (Taylor et al., 2009). Cities and urban areas are continually shaped by changing global economic circumstances, as well as attendant demographic, environmental and technological changes occurring as a result (UN-HABITAT, 2016). In the past, analyses of urban development and growth either took on purely economic, or purely spatial perspectives with limited appreciation of the multifaceted drivers shaping urban transformation and growth. These perspectives were also faulted for failing to cater for the effects of economic growth and development on inequality and marginalization.

Contemporary perspectives on urban development, economic geography and urban space economies present a more enhanced appreciation of the complex and interconnected nature of urban spaces and urban economies, acknowledging the fact that cities and urban areas are complex and contested spaces (Scott & Storper, 2014; Healey, 2007), that materialize out of the actions, decisions, and investments of multiple and diverse actors and agencies operating at multiple levels (Massey, 1995; Healey, 2007; Scott & Storper, 2014). There is also an appreciation of the fact that cities and urban areas remain embedded within their specific social, spatial,

political and historical trajectories, which turn structure and shape social, economic and political outcomes (Storper & Walker, 1989; Storper, 2013).

Spatial planning is just one of the 'actors' affecting urban space economies. By definition, however, planning is also expected to influence the future spatial distribution of activities by mediating, guiding, or regulating present uses and activities on space in pursuit of specified outcomes (UNECE, 2008). The term 'spatial planning' is applied in this research to represent the collective systems of spatial governance that together, affect future land use. This is differentiated from 'land use planning'¹ which focuses on the processes through which land uses are regulated and coordinated through prescriptive, regulatory, and technical tools and systems to achieve various goals of urban development.

Spatial planning, in this case, is broader and multi-sectoral and occupying a more proactive stance, and incorporating a wider range of systems, tools and strategic approaches, *including* land use planning systems (Joscelene, 2015). Spatial planning therefore refers to the collective range of policies, strategies, frameworks, guidelines across national, provincial and local level and across various sectors relating to spatial development – including transportation, economic, environmental plans and policies, as well as technical legislative tools geared towards urban development, including the various policy, procedural, planning or management instruments that structure and coordinate urban development and land use (Sihlongonyane, 2014).

This evolution in perspective and definition of spatial planning is itself a manifestation of developments within the field and theory. Planning, in the modern age, has normative roots in the fact that it arose as a means for addressing urban challenges arising from industrialization. From this, planning was expected to rationally shape and direct land use and action through technical means, towards a predetermined desired end goal.

¹ Also referred to as 'traditional' land use planning.

With time, however, the definition and theoretical understanding of spatial planning shifted and evolved. This evolution has emerged from an appreciation of the complex and continually shifting 'reality' that is spatial development, and of the fact that traditional land use planning or market solutions cannot solve modern challenges (Oosterlynck, Albrechts, & VanDen Broeck, 2010). Additionally, the shift has also emanated from an acknowledgement that spatial outcomes are driven by multiple actors in pursuit of diverse, competing, and often contradictory visions, calling into question the idea of a 'desired end goal'. Planning action therefore has shifted, from passive land use management and development control, to proactive, strategic approaches whereby planning seeks to coordinate visions, actions, means of co-production and development (Albrechts, 2006).

This research sought to investigate the influence of spatial planning on urban space economies, using two case studies from the City of Johannesburg in South Africa. The study was positioned at the intersection of two fields: the exploration of the transforming urban space economy, and the analysis of spatial planning as a deliberate instrument for mediating spatial outcomes. Though these fields emerged and evolved along different historical trajectories, in more recent times, the themes have converged with continued appreciation of the complexity and interconnectedness of urban phenomena (Brenner, et al., 2011).

Studies documenting and tracking the transforming urban space economy now acknowledge the inextricable link between economic activity; space; and social, political and cultural dynamics (Scott, 2000). Although these explorations originate from varied fields, and analyze cities from different perspectives, authors have observed that they have fairly similar guiding questions including: the formation and growth of cities, dynamics for urban growth (or decay); the role of government policy in affecting urban economies; actors who benefit (and lose) from urban economic growth; and the role of cities in regional, national economic development; as well as the impact of economic globalization on cities (Kim & Short, 2008).

From an economic geography perspective, analysts have focused on the spatial manifestation of economic phenomena, economic differences across and between areas, the distinctiveness and disparity of places, the political, cultural, social and historical dimensions of industrial and regional development, inter-scalar economic relationships and their significance for firms, industries and regions, and the causes and consequences of unevenness between and within cities in the world economy (Evans, 1985; Arnott, 1987; Aoyama, Murphy, & Hanson, 2011).

Spatial planning is also presently understood as complex, evolving, and deeply intertwined with the environment it seeks to affect, with literature in the field exploring the shifting forms and aspirations of planning, as well as the continually transforming environment within which it operates (Sandercock, 2004). There are many definitions of planning, depending on context, purpose or scope. Some definitions highlight planning's normative purpose – that of balancing present demand with future needs – and these define planning as the breadth of activity that attempts to influence the future spatial distribution of activities by regulating present uses and activities on space in order to create a more rational territorial organization (Fainstein, 2005; UNECE, 2008). Others define planning by its agencies and functions, noting that it comprises of 'a range of public organizations, policy mechanisms and institutional processes at various tiers of government and administration that, together, influence the future allocation and use of space' (Tewdr-Jones & Williams, 2001, p. 8).

Over time, there has also been an increased appreciation of the integrated, interconnected, and multi-actor nature of spatial development, of the increasingly complex systems that constitute 'space', and the fluid context and environment within which planning operates (Healey, 2007). Contemporary definitions of planning therefore appreciate this expanded environment of operations and the evolutionary nature of planning. These foreground the evolving role of planning, society and space, and highlight the role of planning as that of mediating and negotiating spatial outcomes within a more complex and contested environment. Roles played by

planning include: expanding the collective capacity for development and change (Masser, 1980, p. 39), facilitating mutual learning across various actors (Faludi, 2000, p. 299), and managing 'coexistence in the shared spaces of cities and neighborhoods in such a way as to enrich human life and to work for social, cultural, and environmental justice' (Sandercock, 2004, p. 134).

For this research, planning was understood in this more contemporary lens and understood as incorporating a broader range of systems involved in spatial governance. These accommodate both 'old' and 'new' understandings of planning roles and functions, incorporating formal and regulatory apparatus for planning with other emerging strategic spatial practices seeking to coordinate and regulate land uses and activities (Haughton, Allmendinger, Counsell, & Vigar, 2010). These include land use plans and systems of zoning and development control, transport and infrastructure plans, local and regional strategic development planning systems, economic development plans, policies and investments, and other initiatives and projects that attempt to achieve specific spatial outcomes.

1.2 Problem Statement and Contribution

The aim of the study was to investigate the evolving spaces, roles, intentions, actions, and influences of spatial planning on the continually transforming urban space economy of Johannesburg. The broader research inquiry was: what is the influence of spatial planning on the urban space economy? Is spatial planning merely subservient to existing flows, processes and market forces shaping the urban space economy, or does it strategically apply various tools to direct these forces in pursuit of a broader spatial goals? How and when are these tools applied, and to what end?

The investigation was rooted in a number of key framing concepts: that it is a combination of global transitions and local forces that shape and reshape urban space, that spatial outcomes and developments are the result of diverse decisions and actions from multiple agencies pursuing diverse and often contradictory goals, and although state-led spatial planning formed but

one of these ‘actors’ – and bearing in mind that spatial planning itself comprises of a multiplicity of actors - it nonetheless was expected to proactively coordinate the achievement of spatial outcomes and could therefore be observed as a specific object of investigation.

The research is nested within two key areas of investigation, and offers useful contribution to these and other fields. On the one hand, it contributes to the growing field of grounded exploration and analysis of local urban space economies. On the other, it builds on analysis of the role of public-sector spatial planning in driving the formation and transformation of urban space. A key theme emerging from research documenting the emergence, formation, and transformation of urban space (and the urban space economy) is the cumulative effect of the decisions and actions of a diverse range of actors pursuing varied goals, and the resulting complexity in establishing causality in urban development (Healey, 2007). At the same time, with the appreciation of the diversity of phenomena across various contexts, there still remains a need for grounded research that highlights varying manifestations of this evolution while speaking to the broader and more general themes and theoretical perspectives. This research sought to offer rich and grounded specificity from the selected case studies, through which it could contribute and engage with broader theories.

The study also contributes to research and theory on spatial planning and planning practice, and in a more limited way, to studies of the state and public sector. As the case studies are based in Johannesburg and South Africa, the research also speaks to local planning and urban theory. Global and South African literature has, over the years, acknowledged the complex role played by spatial planning in shaping urban space, observing how historically, urban areas were not merely spheres of economic growth, but also spaces of social, political and economic contestation and marginalization (Masser, 1980; Massey, 1995; Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2008).

The study also sought to track the evolution of spatial planning Johannesburg through the city's history. Here, the impetus was to inquire how planning seeks to achieve efficient spatial outcomes within an environment that is marked by increasing globalization on the one hand, and uneven development, socio-political transition, accelerated urbanisation, and increasing informality on the other. In post-Apartheid South Africa, urban areas are spaces that have continued to be focal areas in the quest for restructuring and socio-spatial transformation, again, with spatial planning as an envisioned tool for urban spatial integration (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Mabin, 1995; Todes, 2012; National Planning Commission, 2012).

In the post-Apartheid era, local governments were constitutionally mandated to promote democracy and accountability, social and economic development; and to drive the production of safe and healthy environments (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Plans and policies produced by local, provincial and national governments in the past two decades demonstrate continued drive to transform and reshape the urban space, and to create equitable, just and sustainable environments. Examples include Johannesburg's Growth and Development Strategies and Spatial Development Frameworks (City of Johannesburg, 2006; 2016), Gauteng Province's Spatial Development Framework (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2016), and South Africa's National Development Plan (National Planning Commission, 2012).

Spatial planning in South Africa therefore remains a focal area for research, with analysts exploring its evolution, intentions and approaches, as well as its successes and failures in shaping post-Apartheid spatial aspirations (see, for instance Mabin, 1995; Mabin & Smit, 1997; Watson, 2001; Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2008 and Todes, 2011). From the literature on South African planning, there is a continued engagement on how planning has evolved to meet the development and transformation goals of post-Apartheid South Africa, how successful it has been, and factors contributing

to its success or failure (Mabin, 1995; Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2008; Pieterse, 2006).

From these, it is apparent that spatial planning in post-Apartheid South Africa has evolved in an effort to effectively and strategically coordinate the functions of spatial actors (Todes, 2014). At the same time, however, there have been concerns that planning has failed to accelerate the pace of transformation and meet its mandate in the past two decades, as South Africa continues to exhibit economic, spatial, and social inequality and marginalization (Todes, 2014; Moodley, 2018). This research contributes to this body of work by focusing on the specific influence of planning in Johannesburg in the selected case study nodes, and in relation to transforming urban space economies.

Last but not least, the research employed a case study method and approach which sought to explore whether (and how) spatial planning had played a role in shaping the city's urban space economy. The key tasks of the research were to explore how this role was implemented, and what outcomes it achieved. Appreciating that the eventual patterns of spatial formation are the results of multiple actions and decisions of actors from the public and private space, the research also explored the relational role played by planning and planners vis-à-vis other processes and agents in Johannesburg's urban space economy. Other tools and techniques were applied to map the processes shaping urban formation, to identify actors and agencies involved in driving this transformation, and to analyze the roles, motivations, and influences of planning action.

1.3 Narrowing the Scope

The broad concern of the research was on how spatial planning influences the development and evolution of urban space economies. The intention was to generate a richer and more nuanced exploration of how spatial planning operates within various spaces to achieve varied and continually evolving spatial outcomes. To effectively implement the research, a narrowing and sharpening of scope was necessary.

For purposes of the research, spatial planning was understood as a strategic initiative for coordinating spatial outcomes to achieve identifiable goals, while appreciating that planning is located in multiple spaces, agencies (public and private) and institutions, and exists along multiple planes, both inside and outside the city's administrative systems. The study drew from UNECE's (2012 p. v) definition of planning as 'a public-sector function to influence the future spatial distribution of activities...with the aim of creating a more rational territorial organization of land uses and the linkages between them, to balance demands for development with the need to protect the environment, and to achieve social and economic objectives'.

From this perspective, the collective tools, institutions, policies and processes applied to manage spatial governance were considered, including systems seeking to coordinate and regulate land uses and development activities, transport and infrastructure planning and development, local and regional strategic development planning initiatives, spatial and economic development plans, policies and investments. Initiatives and projects from outside the public sector were also considered, as were other initiatives which seek to mediate or negotiate identified spatial outcomes.

As other authors have noted, planning also operates within a multi-actor environment, with its actions and influence structured by the constraints of capitalist economic, and democratic political systems (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003). Others have highlighted the integrated, interconnected, multi-actor nature of spatial development and the complex and fluid context within which planning operates (Healey, 2007). The research therefore appreciated that planning also reaches beyond public/private sector dichotomies. The research therefore observed how spatial outcomes were mediated and negotiated within environments marked by complexity and contestation.

In this light, while tracking the evolving forms, functions, spaces and actions of planning, I also took cognisance of the social, economic and political

drivers affecting development of the space economy – with the aim of mapping out a more grounded scenario of urban spatial economic transformation, and the environment within which current planning was being implemented. Spatial planning was also understood as an evolving system which transforms and evolves in response to changing social, spatial, economic and political contexts.

There has also been an evolution in studies and analyses of urban economies, including spatial economics and economic geography, towards an increased appreciation of the diverse and multiple factors affecting space economies (Derycke & Huriot, 1998; Jonas & Ward, 2007). For this research, the ‘urban space economy’ was taken to broadly represent economic activity as manifested in space, paying attention to the factors that influence where and how economic activity is located, how these change over time, and how economic activity and transformation in turn shapes space and society. The study was based in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, as illustrated in Figure 1.1 below. This is however within an acknowledgment of the fact that the city’s economy functions in more complex ways and is not bounded by the territorial-administrative boundaries. This is also true of the Gauteng region within which it is based (Vigar, Graham, & Healey, 2005).

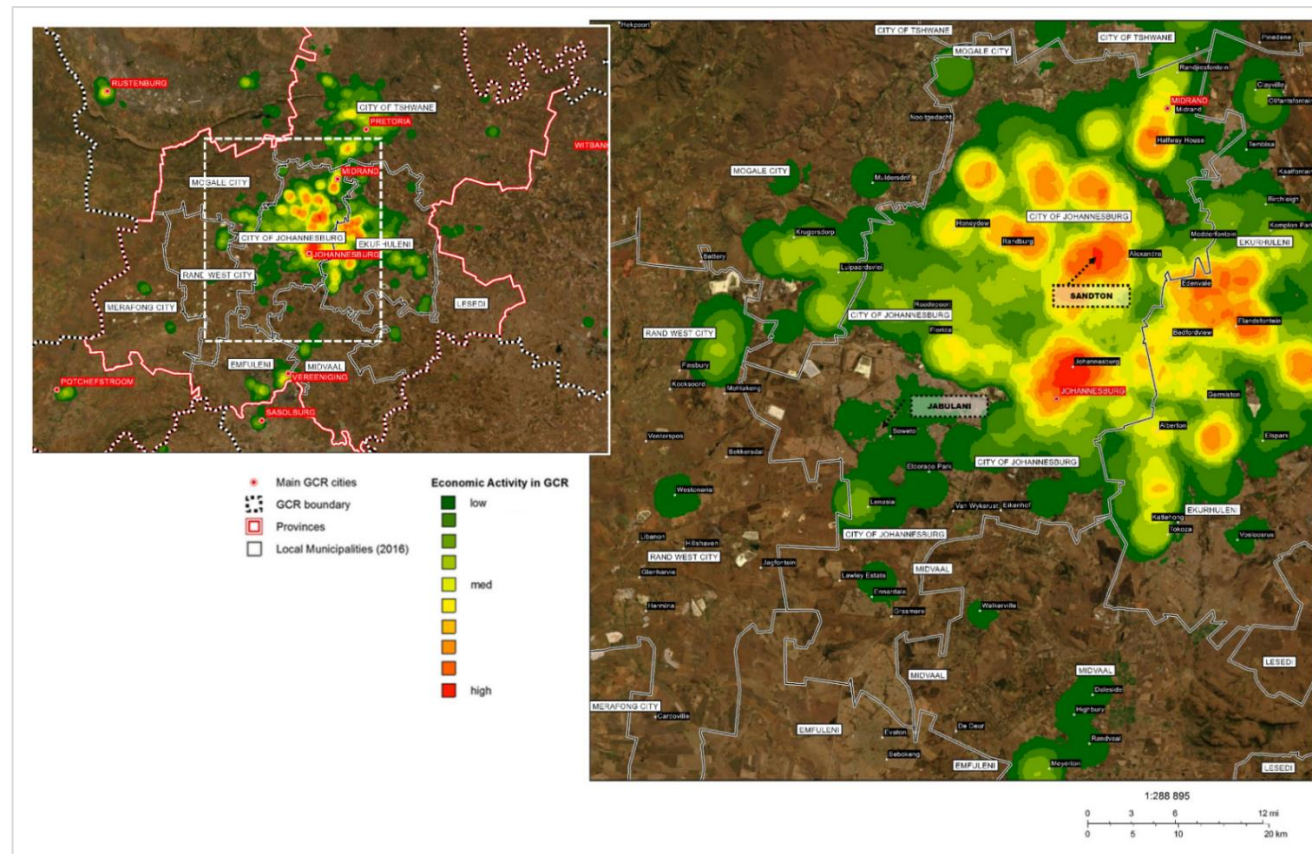
Johannesburg’s post-Apartheid administrative boundaries represent an amalgamation of formerly separate regions and towns established under Apartheid. Functionally, the metropolitan area forms part of a broader economic region which was historically referred to as the PVW (Pretoria-Vereeniging-Witwatersrand) area, and is presently known as the Gauteng City-Region (Mabin, 2013). An appreciation of Johannesburg’s space economy would need to acknowledge this broader context. As Figure 1.2 below illustrates, the economic footprint of the broader region stretches beyond the province’s administrative boundaries. While this context was appreciated, the focus of investigation was on the metropolitan area as (currently) bounded by the Johannesburg Metropolitan administrative boundary.

Figure 1.1: Johannesburg Location and Context



Source: Author, 2019

Figure 1.2: Economic Activity² in and Around the Gauteng City Region



Source: Author, created with GCRO's web-based GIS Viewer, 2019

² Economic activity is presented as a heat map using the AfriGIS, Spatial Technologies and Matrix Marketing Bizcount dataset (May 2010 release) where the number of businesses in a 2 km radius are calculated and symbolized on a sliding scale (Gauteng City Region Observatory, 2019).

The City of Johannesburg's spatial economic transformation was however still a fairly broad area of inquiry. From the literature, it was evident that Johannesburg's overall urban space economy has undergone continual transformation since the city's establishment in the late 1800s (Beavon, 2004). The town was established as a small mining town, and grew through the expansion driven by mining and manufacturing economy, but also by a pattern of urbanization shaped by market-led real estate development, and colonial and apartheid-era strategies of racial separation.

By the mid-1950s, the town of Johannesburg had grown, and its spatial and economic footprint stretching outside the town's municipal boundaries. This growth had occurred alongside an expansion of town and regional space economy, the continued urbanization and development of 'white' residential areas, and expansion of separately administered townships for the residential accommodation of black African³ residents outside the boundaries of 'white' local authorities. For the urbanizing peri-urban areas, the then Transvaal Provincial Administration created new towns outside Johannesburg boundaries, including Sandton.

A few decades later, following the collapse of Apartheid regime and the democratic transition into the post-Apartheid era, Johannesburg's administrative boundaries were extended to incorporate surrounding municipal areas and former townships established under the apartheid regime to house black African residents. The resulting effect was that areas that had emerged, developed and evolved separately and along different trajectories were assembled into a single administrative area (Goga, 2005; Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002; Beavon, 2004). The original object of

³ Race-based categories in South Africa are more complex and nuanced than can be covered in this thesis. For context, however, I was using categories as were defined in older legislation. The now repealed Population Registration Act (1950) grouped population in to Black, White, or Coloured population groups. A Black person was defined as being a member of an 'African' race or tribe, a White person defined as one whose parents were both white. A coloured person was applied to persons of mixed European ("white") and black African ("black") or Asian/Indian ancestry. This law was repealed by the Population Registration Act Repeal Act No. 114 of 1991.

observation had to be further narrowed down to selected nodes and instances that could better unpack the key research question.

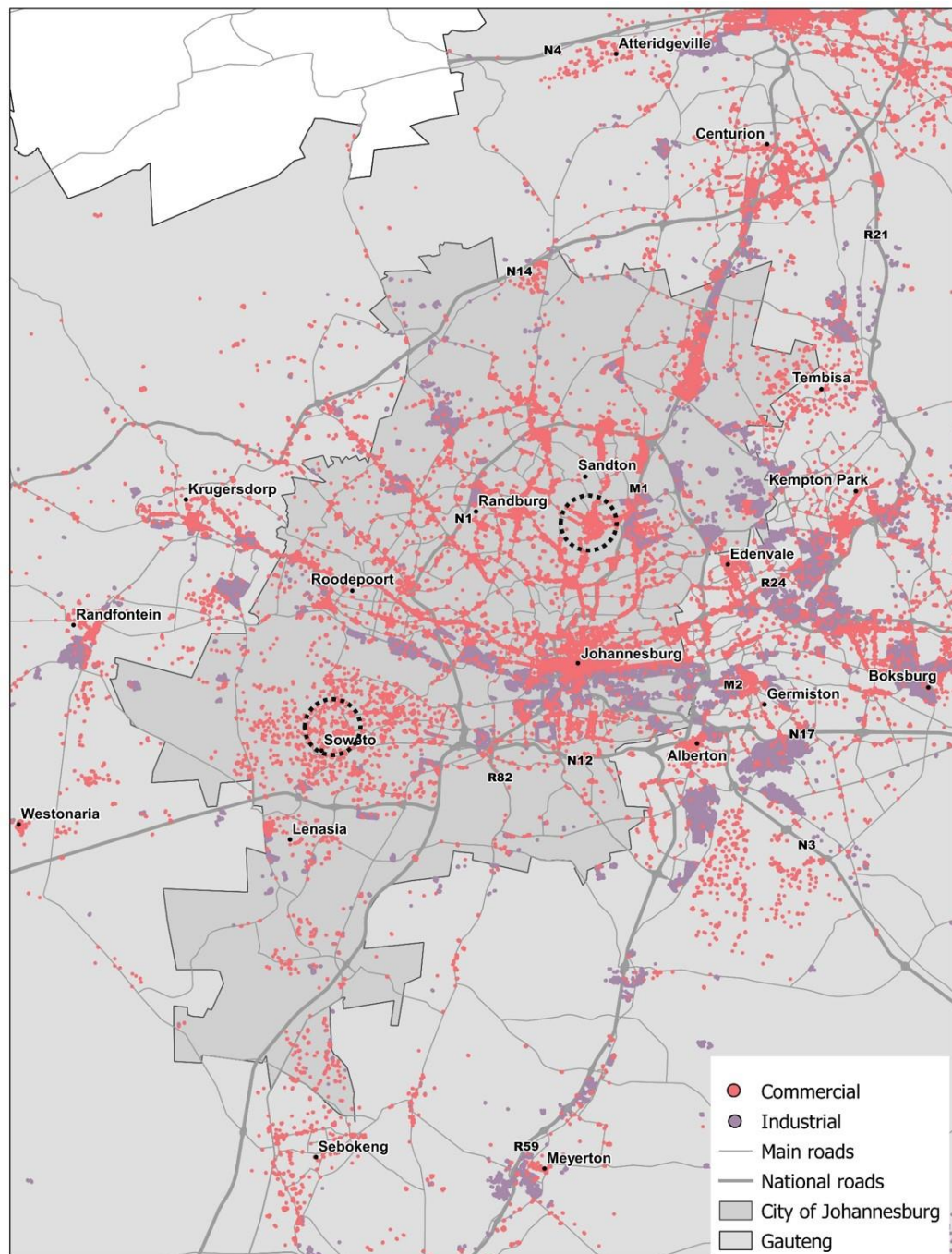
For this, I selected two key processes of transformation in Johannesburg's urban space economy: the northward 'intra-metropolitan shift' of economic activity that occurred in Johannesburg after the 1950s , largely influenced by private initiatives and some spatial planning efforts; and (b) state-led initiatives to revitalize and regenerate the spatial economies of formerly marginalized township areas in the post-apartheid period. These two processes were geographically 'represented' by two areas from which I identified economic nodes for analysis: Sandton Central representing the former, and Jabulani node in Johannesburg's iconic township – Soweto – for the latter. These are located in

Figure 1.3 below.

Johannesburg's urban history is traced back through literature to the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in the late 1800s though this emergence was embedded in a longer history of colonization dating back nearly two centuries (Gray, 1937; Shorten, 1970; Beavon, 2004). In exploring the development of the City's urban space economy for purposes of framing the evolution of the two case study areas, I focused on Johannesburg's development in the 'modern' era, starting from the establishment of the mining town in the late 1880s.

The two case study areas also have varied and separate historical trajectories. These histories are outlined in background chapters, framing the emergence and evolution of the two nodes. For detailed analysis, however, greater attention was paid to the areas' more recent history. In the case of Sandton Central, I mapped the area's evolution from 1969, when the Sandton Town Council was established and a few years later, a CBD created. In the case of Jabulani in Soweto, I focused on the post-Apartheid period, inquiring how more recent plans and investments are shaping the area's urban space economy. The fact that Jabulani CBD was established in the 1950s to serve as Soweto's CBD under Apartheid was also appreciated.

Figure 1.3: Johannesburg's Economic Footprint with Case Study Areas



Source: Author, with layers from GeoTerra Image, 2016

1.4 Research Questions and Hypothesis

The main aim of the research was to interrogate the influence of spatial planning on urban space economies, unpacking the spaces, roles, intentions and actions of spatial planning and their impact on the transformation of the urban space economy.

The specific focus of analysis was Johannesburg's urban space economy, with two commercial nodes selected for detailed investigation.

The main research question was:

How has spatial planning - as an instrument of state intent and in relation to other influences – shaped the transformation of Johannesburg's urban space economy in cases where (a) the private sector and (b) the public sector has, respectively, appeared more dominant?

This main inquiry was broken down into five sub-questions as follows:

- i. What does the literature say on the role of spatial planning vis-à-vis other actors and agencies in shaping urban space economies?
- ii. How has Johannesburg's urban space economy transformed in the last few decades in the cases where:
 - The private sector has appeared to take a more active role in shaping urban spatial economic transformation of the North of Johannesburg?
 - The public sector has apparently taken a more dominant role in shaping urban spatial economic transformation in the South of Johannesburg?
- iii. What have been the main factors that have shaped the changes in the space economy, and how have these interacted?
- iv. What has been the specific role of spatial planning as an actor in these urban spatial economic transformations?
 - What have been the forms and evolution of spatial planning?
 - What were the intents of spatial planning?

- What were the actions undertaken by spatial planning?
 - How has the relationship between spatial planning and other practices and processes influencing spatial outcomes changed over time?
- v. To what extent did other actors and agencies besides spatial planning shape these spatial transformations?

1.4.1 Main argument

The thesis' original hypothesis or argument was that spatial planning had played a significant role in shaping urban space economies, but that this role is diverse, complex, and varying depending on context. In Johannesburg, in cases where spatial planning seemed absent or subservient to private-sector processes that are already underway, it has in fact played a significant facilitative role, exhibiting a strategic understanding of ongoing urban market dynamics. On the other hand, where the hand of spatial planning appeared more obvious and direct, it could in fact have been limited, with spatial planning playing a lesser role compared to other actors, influences and agencies. I argued that it was this complex and varying role of spatial planning that made it elusive, necessitating a flexible evaluation strategy.

This hypothesis was confirmed, with the key finding being that spatial planning had indeed played a significant role in driving spatial transformation over the evolution of both nodes.

Spatial planning action was also located in multiple spaces, manifesting as a broader range of actions from diverse agencies collectively – and cumulatively – mediating the nodes' spatial transformation. Spatial planning thus took on a more diffuse role than had been anticipated. The role of planning was also 'adaptive' and varying over time and in response to context.

The research also concluded with a critique of its original intent which rested on the assumption that sharp distinction could be made between public action and private action. In reality, spatial outcomes are complex, and

activities contributing to this diverse and fluid. Similarly, spatial planning and spatial governance roles and actions are intertwined with those of other actors, and difficult to distinguish.

1.5 Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into three key sections: an introduction and background section, an empirical section; and the analysis and conclusion section.

The first section comprises of the first three chapters which provide a broad introduction to the research (chapter 1), a background to the key arguments and positions as presented in global literature (chapter 2), and the key theoretical and conceptual frameworks drawn from these and applied in designing the research (chapter 3).

The second section presents the empirical material. It begins by tracing the evolution of spatial planning and Johannesburg's urban space economy as documented in literature (chapter 4). This is followed by four chapters which present the two case study areas, with two dedicated chapters for each case study area. Chapter 5 charts the historical evolution of Sandton Central's urban space economy for the past half-century, with the aim of highlighting key moments of transition in the area. These critical junctures are unpacked in more detail in chapter 6, where the influence of spatial planning on Sandton central's evolution is discussed. The historical evolution of the second case study, Jabulani CBD is outlined in chapter 7 alongside the development of the Soweto region. Chapter 8 explores the influences of spatial planning in the area's transition through selected critical junctures.

Chapter 9 then presents the analysis and conclusion to the research, using findings from the two case studies to reflect back on the key research question and original hypothesis, and to discuss the concepts and arguments highlighted in global and local literature. This chapter also concludes by highlighting gaps for future research.

2 SPATIAL PLANNING AND THE URBAN SPACE ECONOMY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter maps out evolving theories and debates on the influence of spatial planning on urban space economies. It brings together global literature from diverse but connected fields, including studies of the urban space economy, studies of spatial planning theory and practice, and studies of actors and agencies shaping urban space economies. The goal of this is to identify key developments and arguments driving understanding of the phenomena under observation.

As outlined by the main and secondary research questions, the research sought to map out the evolution of the urban space economy and identify actors driving its transformation, and then investigate the evolution, role, and influence of spatial planning on this transforming urban space economy. It also intended to unpack the interaction and relationships between spatial planning and other actors on the urban space economy.

The research draws from a number of academic fields that have traditionally evolved separately but converged over the years. This convergence comes from an increasing appreciation of the complexity and interrelated nature of urban issues, and the inextricable link between interconnectedness of issues, challenges and opportunities facing urban areas (Massey, 1995; Friedmann, 1995; Kim & Short, 2008; Aoyama, Murphy, & Hanson, 2011).

The discussion is presented in three sections. The first outlines key themes on the evolution of the urban space economy, and this is followed by a section presenting key theories and debates on spatial governance and planning. The third section draws from these two to extract the key concepts and ideas that were used to frame and design the research.

2.2 The Evolving Urban Space Economy

The relationship between economic development and urban formation and transformation has been understood and analyzed in literature, as cities and urban areas continue function as points of material and information exchange for local, national, regional, and more recently, global economies (Taylor et al., 2009). Analysis of the urban space economy explores the distribution of economic activity on space and the changing character of economic space, as well as the spatial structuring effects of economic activity and economic change; and the economic opportunities and challenges presented by spatial form, structure and functioning (Gotz, 2016).

These explorations are represented in two key fields: *spatial economics*, which represents a subset of the broader field of economics that pays more attention to spaces within which production occurs (Arnott, 1987; Friedmann, 1995); and *urban economic geography*, which branches from geography and explores economic phenomena and its manifestation on space (Aoyama, et al., 2011). While these two bodies of work have separate origins and trajectories, they have drawn influences from similar trends and patterns over time.

As with related fields, the study of the urban space economy also evolved and transformed over the decades, through a growing appreciation of continually transforming urban spaces. In tracking the evolution of the field of urban economics, Button (1998) highlighted four key stages of development: a precursor phase, a development phase, a period of expansion, and a modern phase.

In the first and second phases, focus was on analysing the locational choices of firms and industries, with transportation to the core being the main concern, and later, through the application of mathematical modelling under similar assumptions. In the third phase, these theories and models underwent expansion, with dominant assumptions laid out in the previous

periods being called into question.⁴ At the same time, the significance of social, cultural, political and institutional factors in shaping urban economic phenomena was being acknowledged.

In the modern phase, contemporary economic geography appreciates that spatial economic transformation results from a more complex combination of factors. At the same time, economic space at the local, regional, national and global level has also significantly transformed, thus necessitating the formulation of a broader range of concepts to understand and explain economic functioning and performance (Krugman, 1994, Fujita, Krugman, & Venables, 2001).

Urban economies presently function in the form of polycentric urban systems, representing multiple but interdependent system of nodes that emerged through various processes including: the natural expansion of economic activity from a traditional urban core, the rise of edge cities through the dispersal and decentralization of urban form and the emergence of multiple centers of retail, office and residential developments centered on highway interchanges surrounding older central cities, the incorporation of adjacent towns and their respective CBD's into expanded urban areas, or through the emergence of new nodes at activity areas and transport nodes (Stern & Marsh, 1997; Anas, Arnott, & Small, 1998)

These developments in spatial economics can be aligned to changes in the field of economic geography where exploration and analysis unpacks, from a spatial and geographic perspective, the patterns, trends, and causes of economic location and performance. Originally, these were rooted in classical location theories which sought to explain where economic activities were located and why, and factors driving the location of various land uses in a city or urban area (Alonso, 1964).

⁴ For example, assumptions relating to the predominance of a monocentric urban form, unidirectional movement of labour; and the role of suburbs as dormitory areas were increasingly weakening within continually transforming economic and spatial realities.

These classical location theories have been credited for developing theoretical and methodological tools for understanding and explaining the location of various land uses in relation to economic cores or markets; and for understanding varying land costs as a result. The theories were however also critiqued for their economic determinism, particularly since it would be later demonstrated that spatial and economic change was affected by a more diverse range of factors, thus necessitating the appreciation of human motivation and behaviour in decision making (Krumme, 1969; Dicken & Thrift, 1992).

The field therefore developed by exploring a wider range of variables affecting the manifestation of economic activity on space and the location and range of goods and services across regions. From a behavioural perspective, studies of organization and firms explored and elaborated on the location decisions of individuals and firms and implications on spatial formation, emphasizing the need to understand socio-organizational aspects of firms and enterprises, their internal and external transactional relationships and to conceptualize this in terms of different power relationships within interdependent production systems (Dicken & Thrift, 1992).

While behavioural geography offered insight into individual and firm decision-making logics, these were also critiqued for being divorced from the broader structural features within which firms and individuals were situated, and for ignoring underlying forces (Krumme, 1969; Massey, 1995). Authors also highlighted that processes of change were not always influenced by economic factors, but were reflective of a variety of forces, including society's cultural institutions and value systems (Dicken & Thrift, 1992).

With deeper structural analysis, the adoption of Marxist ideas, and with added perspectives from the fields of political economy, key questions and lines of inquiry in the field could be reinterpreted. Geographic phenomena could be viewed as part of larger forces within capitalist society and 'freed

from strictures of neoclassical economic theories' (Webber, 1992, p. 737). And while economic geography was understood as being influenced by a broader range of factors, it was also appreciated that spatial formation was also central to the 'social, economic and political fabric of society'.

Further developments in the field have also called attention to the structures and processes through which spatial formation occurs. Under 'new relational geography' for instance, the temporal scale is highlighted, with authors arguing that social processes are embedded in – and therefore cannot be abstracted from - their specific temporal settings, or the 'long flow of history' (Scott, 1988, p. 232).

Massey (1995) also adds that this temporal dimension is dynamic. Geographic activity is, at any time, overlaid on and combined with patterns produced cumulatively over previous periods, with each new combination then producing a new form which becomes the geographical basis for the next round. Current economic geography therefore endeavours to track, document, and engage with these phenomena across various individual contexts and shifting territorial scales; over time; and in shifting global economic and socio-spatial circumstances.

Presently, the two fields of spatial economics and economic geography both feature an expanded understanding of the relations between spatial structure and economic development. Both have shifted from classical and economic perspectives towards social, structuralist, relational, and feminist perspectives which highlight the dynamic and complex role of spatial formation and organization on economic social and political fabric of society, and conversely, the impact of these formations on spatial and economic formation and transformation. These developments have allowed for a more detailed understanding of the various 'elements' of economic production, as well as the broader spatial and temporal environments within which these phenomena occur.

2.2.1 Urban spatial formation & transformation

Developments in urban space economies have also benefited from the broader field of urban studies, particularly those documenting the cyclical relationship between economic development and performance and urban spatial transformation at the local, regional, and national scales. Analyses from this field also show the varied spatial patterns that emerge from economic activity and change, and that these patterns vary within and between cities, thus affecting cities' efficiency and production capacities differently. This necessitates adaptation in the urban form, which then facilitates further economic development, and so on (Konvitz, 1985; Anas, Arnott, & Small, 1998; Luo-cheng, Tian-ming, & Shi-mou, 2005; Scott & Storper, 2014; Turkina, Oreshkin, & Kali, 2019).

Literature and perspectives on cities and urban areas have evolved as, over the years, urban areas continued to function as linkage points for 'material flows and information transfers' (Beaverstock, Smith, & Taylor, 2000). Urban spaces have been viewed as complex and continually evolving systems that simultaneously fulfil economic, political, social, administrative and ecological functions. With increasing acknowledgement of the diversity and multiplicity present within these spaces, cities are also understood as spaces of constant social engagement or struggle (Massey, 1991; Murdoch, 2006).

The function of cities as integral points in the local, regional, national, and increasingly, global economic networks of interaction however still remains (Tonkiss, 2005; Geyer, Geyer, & Geyer, 2015).

Over time and with increasing globalization and interconnectedness in the global economy, literature has continued to track cities' spatial formation and development from multiple perspectives. While some authors track the economic transformations contributing to the processes of globalization and integration of local and national economies (Clark, 1996), others track the socio-political implications and effects of globalization - for example, the introduction of new actors and agencies - on the city (Sassen, 1997) and

the manifestation of globalization on local, regional, national and trans-national economic systems (Brenner, 1998). Other sources engage with the conceptual, theoretical, political and economic imperatives of the integration of economies on individual countries, cities and regions (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982; Friedmann, 1995; Beaverstock, Smith, & Taylor, 2000).

The impacts, opportunities and challenges of globalization have been mainly manifested through, and within cities. While historically, cities were merely nodes of exchange; they are now seen as places where processes of production are intensified and articulated on a global scale. Rather than functioning as singular, central nodes in a national framework, cities now form part of a transnational network of interconnected and interdependent system of 'command and control points' through which the global economic system operates (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982; Clark, 1996; Sassen, 2005).

These (mainly economic) transformations have required a shift in how cities define their economic roles (Hall, 1997, p. 316). With enhanced mobility of capital and labour, cities' functioning competitiveness is gauged and negotiated at this global scale. Structural transformations in the mode of production also require internal adaptations, calling into question how local needs and aspirations are negotiated within this framework (Fainstein & DeFilippis, 2016). The developments in the international division of labour, for example, coupled with the developments in the services and tertiary sectors call for smarter, inclusive, efficient and sustainable cities⁵.

At the same time however, the 'rescaling and reconfiguring' effect of this transformation on cities has been observed in literature. Vigar et al. (2005) for instance highlight the continued blurring and disruption of classical notions of the 'city', or territorial forms within a non-localized economic context. While cities territorially grounded, and tied to the specific

⁵ The 'Smart City' debates, for instance, engage with the characteristics of cities to accommodate future urban developments, and are mostly geared towards developing urban areas that can efficiently capitalize on technological developments to improve political, economic, social and cultural development (Hollands, 2008; Caragliu, Del Bo, & Nijkamp, 2011; Neirrotti, De Marco, Cagliano, Mangano, & Scorrano, 2014).

development trajectories of their immediate regions, they are also increasingly embedded within global economies, continually seeking to leverage their respective positioning to capitalize on transnational capital investment, and to enhance cities' ability to generate, attract and retain capital, and people and ideas (Brenner, 1998, p. 3).

With changing global economic conditions, it is evident that the spatial and economic form and functioning of cities and urban areas is increasingly reliant on global economic influences and forces. Though these nodes still function as critical points for internal growth and development, the extent to which they function within this global economic ecosystem remains pertinent, thus highlighting a need for institutional settings and infrastructure that creates an enabling environment for this growth (Turok & McGranahan, 2013).

In the literature, there is therefore also exploration on the role and efficiency of the state (or broader systems of governance) in enhancing urban areas' ability to flourish within these global economic environments (Leffel & Acuto, 2018). This literature has continued to highlight the changing systems and patterns of economic performance, including transitions towards creative and innovation-based economies, and developments in production systems and firm specialization and clustering (Aarstad & Kvitastein, 2018). Spatial conditions required for these economic changes, and the spatial outcomes of this continually changing economy are also documented in the literature (see, for instance, (Moser, et al., 2019).

The spatial and economic geography created in the rise of innovation districts – which are defined as dense hubs of economic activity where innovation, entrepreneurship, creativity and place-making intersect - capitalizes on cities' capacities to increase connectivity and knowledge exchange within an environment marked by increased density, and proximity for collaborative, open innovation and strong networks (Wagner, Katz, & Osha, 2019).

As the above summarized bodies of literature tracked the changing forms, patterns, systems, and spatial manifestations of economic production, another body explored and analyzed the forms of spatial planning and governance that create and manage these spaces. Within the framework of globalizing economic systems, Graham (1995) identified two seemingly divergent perspectives on spatial governance: a '*localist*' view which foregrounds the deepening of the local through decentralization of institutional and regulatory structures, political identities and potential for policy to improve cities through local economic strategies; and the '*globalist*' view which stresses the fracturing of urban economies under the forces of globalization, and the 'uprooting of capital' from 'reliance on particular spaces'. While a localist view anticipates stronger roles accruing to local institutional and regulatory structures, the '*globalist*' view argues that the dominant actors lie outside the influence of local policy makers, which significantly confines the space for influential policy action (Graham, p. 84).

This dualism between the local and the global has however been critiqued in the literature (Brenner, 1998; Robinson, 2009). These authors note that it diverts attention from the fact that the state is playing some role by reconfiguring its institutional and regulatory systems to facilitate these processes. They then propose that rather than being eroded, the territorial scale is being rearticulated in relation to both sub-state and supra-state scales. Another critique is that the focus on the internationalization of capital has led to the neglect of economies, actors and players operating within these new and emerging spaces (Sassen, 1997; Robinson, 2009).

Majority of literature linking the processes of globalization to the city's form and function highlight the effects of economic transformation and restructuring on urban space, from a non-economic perspective, other factors are evident. Some authors foreground the increased mobility and movement of capital, goods, people, ideas and jobs, and the introduction of a new set of actors of varying scale and reach within the city and national political sphere (Clark, 1996; Sassen, 1997). A notable actor within this economic framework is the 'hypermobile, transnational corporation' which

represents a broad range of capitalist institutions that 'organize global production and markets' and are motivated by market-led rationalities that aren't always aligned to particular nation states (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982, p. 309).

Some authors have also highlighted the increased contestation between local needs, inequalities and expectations with the non-local ones (Fainstein & DeFilippis, 2016). A key issue arising from this point is the disjuncture between the fact that the scale and patterns of production and exchange has expanded to the global scale and cities need to continually increase efficiencies to compete at this scale, but that the social and economic implications and outcomes of production and exchange – including opportunities, advantages, but also conflicts, injustice, inequality and poverty – are felt more keenly at the local level, and need to be attended to (Clark, 1996).

The literature therefore appreciates the socio-political effects of changing economic conditions on the spatial form of cities and urban areas. Sassen (1997), for example, highlights the divergent and conflicting claims on the city space caused by the trans-nationalization and global division of capital and labour while Friedmann & Wolf (1982) and Clark (1996) point to the political implications of shifts on the micro and macro political sphere (see also Brenner, 1998 and Robinson, 2009). Additional complexities raised at the local level have arisen with increased mobility and migration, whereby marginalized and disadvantaged groups also attempt to access the same urban space, thus increasing the complexity of the city's socio-political fabric (Sassen, 1997; Robinson, 2009).

Other bodies of literature focus on the spatial effects and impacts of economic change and transformation on cities and urban areas, including transformation of the size, function and sphere of influence of cities, and internal formation, transformation, and performance of urban spaces. At a macro level, a key spatial shift that has occurred in cities under globalization is the changing notion of centrality at multiple scales, and the multinodal

urban form created through the dispersal of economic activity as a result of changing organizational needs, the structural transformation of corporate systems, and by changing technologies. These spatial changes have also been brought on through the dislocation of traditional CBDs – and of cities themselves – as the centre of economic activity, leading to the emergence of a global ‘grid of cities’ as centres of production (Sassen, 2005).

Contemporary literature on the urban space economy therefore acknowledges the complex environment within which urban spaces are currently manifesting. Within this complexity, however, there still remains a need to conceptualize, document, and theorize urban phenomena across these diverse contexts. The interplay of diverse and often competing actors, interests, and agencies – including the state, which is expected to negotiate and coordinate the process through which urban agendas are ultimately met, remains the focus of the majority of the literature. While literature and theory in the above fields has come a long way in appreciating the multiple and diverse influences that affect space economies, it is also evident that this field has evolved separately from theories of spatial planning and spatial governance, with the two having different leanings and motivations (Moore, 1983; Evans, 1985).

Where theories of urban economics and economic geography sought to observe, document and explain urban economic phenomena; modern urban planning originated from an interventionist background, initially focusing on public health and urban design. This, according to Evans (1985), also led to a distancing of planning from economics and economic issues although economics was still linked to transport planning and efficient network formation. Over time, however, these disciplines have converged as, in both spheres, an appreciation of the interconnectedness of urban phenomena came to the fore. In the following section, I track the progress and evolution of spatial planning through the literature, exploring how it has come to understand and respond to changing economic conditions and environments, and their spatial manifestations.

2.3 The Influence of Spatial Planning

Literature on planning theory and practice has, over the years, documented and engaged with the evolving visions, goals, and aspirations of planning, as well as with the changing spatial realities within which planning operates (Sandercock, (2004). There are many definitions of spatial planning, highlighting its purpose, the goals it seeks to achieve, and the approaches and means through which these goals are achieved. Some definitions highlight planning's normative purpose, viewing planning as an activity which attempts to influence the future spatial distribution of activities by regulating present uses and activities on space in order to create a more rational territorial organization. This approach underscores planning's need to balance present demands with future needs which include protecting the environment, and meeting social and economic objectives (Fainstein, 2005; UNECE, 2008). Planning is also appreciated as comprising of a diverse 'range of public organizations, policy mechanisms and institutional processes at various tiers of government and administration that, together, influence the future allocation and use of space' (Tewdr-Jones & Williams, 2001, p. 8).

These normative and proactive perspectives on planning were rooted in its modern origins, where planning grew in an attempt to address and counter the challenges and ills manifesting in the industrial cities. Over time, this expectation would remain, but the definition and understanding of planning shifted, with an expanded and increased appreciation of the environment within which planning operated, and of planning itself.

Initially for example, planning was expected to rationally drive and coordinate investments and land uses towards a desired end goal. With time, however, it was increasingly appreciated that there was no agreed upon 'desired end goal', and that spatial outcomes were contested, and best achieved through a negotiated process. Additionally, it was also appreciated that by achieving some goals, planning could lead to the promotion of some interests over others (Adams, 1994). With an increasing appreciation of the

integrated and interconnected nature of spatial development, it is now also understood that urban formation and transformation is the result of the actions and decisions of a diverse range of actors embedded within a continually evolving capitalist market-based system. Spatial planning therefore cannot be detached from this environment but is intertwined within it (Healey, 2007).

Contemporary definitions of planning therefore appreciate this expanded environment of operations and its evolutionary nature. The function of planning is increasingly understood as mediating outcomes within a more complex and contested environment. In its mediating role, planning's function becomes that of capacity for development and change (Masser, 1980, p. 39) or facilitating mutual learning across actors (Faludi, 2000, p. 299). The evolving nature of planning and society and space in general is also underscored by Sandercock (2004, p. 134), who defines planning as an 'unfinished social project whose task is managing our coexistence in the shared spaces of cities and neighborhoods in such a way as to enrich human life and to work for social, cultural, and environmental justice'.

The evolving definitions planning illustrate a shifting understanding of planning, and a growing appreciation of the increasingly complex systems that constitute 'space', and the fluid context and environment within which planning operates (Healey, 2007). Planning is understood through a broader range of systems shaping spatial governance, including traditional land use planning and management, zoning and development control; transport and infrastructure planning and development; strategic spatial development; and economic development planning.

2.3.1 Evolution of planning theory

Planning theory has been dubbed complex and 'slippery', as it covers a wide range of activities relating to spatial governance. These range in theme and discipline and include descriptive, explanatory and normative roles, applying diverse and multi-disciplinary tools to achieve a specific outcome which could be defined as 'the good city and region within the constraints of

a capitalist political economy and varying political systems' (Fainstein & DeFilippis, 2016, p. 13).

Literature relating to planning and spatial governance reaches beyond traditional planning to cover a broad range of themes including spatial, economic, social, and political development, governance and public sector administration to mention a few. These sources highlight evolutions and transitions within planning, and also in the environment that planning seeks to affect or transform.

Faludi (1978) identified two main strands of inquiry in planning: procedural, and substantive theories. Substantive theories focus on the '*why*' questions, focusing on the ideological and epistemological questions underlying planning practice (Masser, 1983). Procedural theories, on the other hand, attend to '*how*' questions, offering description, analysis, and detailed investigations of the processes of implementation, highlighting how planning functions and operates, as well as how it relates across various levels of implementation and organizational behaviour. This distinction was further developed by Bolan (1983) who suggests the need for additional sub-categorization that highlights the focus of the literature. In one perspective, a group of literature focuses on the *object* of planning – including cities, urban areas and regions – while other focuses on the range of *actors*, including planners. From Fainstein (2005) subcategories include: the process of planning; the context of planning; and the object of planning.

Some authors have however argued that such sub-categorizations within literature and analyses have led to separation and isolation between fields as over time, each strand generated separate sets of theoretical questions and priorities, thus ultimately undermining a singular definition and theorization of planning (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003; Fainstein, 2005). From another perspective however, these distinctions are seen, not as separate from each other, but as representing progression and evolution in planning thought and theory through expanding understanding of planning's evolving form and context (Bolan, 1983).

Analysts tracking the development of planning theory (and practice) in the modern era have identified four distinct phases in the literature. Beauregard (1989) identified these as a formative phase, a period of professionalization, institutionalization and standardization in the post-war era, a period of crisis and diversification, and lastly, a period of redefinition and reconceptualization. Through these periods, there have been shifts in the definitions and understandings of planning, expanded and more nuanced appreciation of the context within which planning operates, and a reconceptualization of the 'purpose and goal' of planning intent and action.

An alternative view of the transitions that have occurred in planning thought and literature is in its focus and approach. In responding to the ills of the industrial city, planning's initial focus was in achieving an ideal end state, using design and technical tools to create an 'ideal' city or urban form. This 'reformist' period evolved through increased focus on standards, processes and scientific methodologies through which this ideal end state could be identified and achieved in the 'rational' era. Here, planning branched into multiple strands and specialization. With the social, economic, and political upheaval that occurred in the 1960s-70s in the post-war era, there was an increased acknowledgement of the interconnected nature of planning with its context and environment, and an increased focus on planning processes and methods in achieving its goals, the complex and contested nature of these goals and outcomes.

The reformist roots of planning were established at the turn of the 19th century – as was its predominantly urban focus – as it sought to mitigate and address the challenges of the industrial city through the application of technical, rational approach to achieving an efficient and orderly use of space. Predominant focus was on housing and public health, and this would expand and extend towards spatial ordering and design in pursuit of normative principles and ideals (Hall, 2014).

This model would continue into the post-war period where planning assumed and employed top-down approaches and technical/rational

methods to controlling urban space and development and providing solutions to urban problems. The institutionalization, professionalization of planning grew from this base. This period witnessed an increased reliance on technical processes, standards, and methodologies for identifying the ideal end state and for enforcing its achievement - through regulation, zoning, and other spatial tools and technologies (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Within this period, planning also diversified and extended from land use management and housing, into multiple fields, including environmental planning, manpower, energy, social, regional, health, transportation planning. With increased specialization, however, analysts observe that planning's original object – the city, was also gradually lost (Beauregard, 1989).

A critical assumption in this period was that planning existed in isolation from the market or the 'planned', and planning was therefore expected to rationally manage, coordinate, and deliver the achievement of an ideal end goal. This and other assumptions came under criticism in following periods, with increasing acknowledgement that there was no singular 'end goal', and that method and techniques applied by planning had unintended negative outcomes. Rittel & Webber (1973, p. 158) however argued that in the immediate post-war reconstruction period, it was also 'fairly easy to get consensus on the nature of the problem... [assign the] task to the technically skilled, who in turn could be trusted to accomplish the simplified end in view'.

Over time, however, this approach would prove inadequate, particularly with the acknowledgement that society's problems and challenges were more complex and deeply interconnected, and that there would not always be consensus on desired end goals. Furthermore, planning operated in bounded environments, and the assumed conditions for rational decision making – including the presence of 'a well-defined problem, an array of alternatives to consider, full baseline information, full information about the consequences of each alternative; full information about the values and preferences of citizens, adequate time, skills and resources - did not exist (Lindblom, 1959; Forester, 1984). The rigidity of these plans also rendered

them unable to cater for continually transforming circumstances (Albrechts, 2017).

Hall (1983) notes that though the transitions in understanding of planning took different paces in differing contexts; they were progressing along fairly similar trajectories. The rise of Marxist ideas in the 1970s for instance illuminated the complexity and conflict-ridden nature of the environment within which planning operated. Outcomes of planning action also had to balance trade-offs, with costs and benefits accruing to different groups. Significant critique directed towards planning in this period focused on the fact that it failed to account for its role in facilitating social control and oppression; and maintaining existing power structures (Yiftachel, 1998) and by assuming that planning was apolitical, supported and retained existing power asymmetries (Hillier, 2008).

Expansions and shifts in planning following this period – both in theory and practice – included replacement of the quest for efficiency with that of inclusiveness, redistribution, equity, and the acceptance of conflict (Todes, 2011). In place of a pre-determined ‘end-goal state’, planning instead sought to formulate systems and means through which it could achieve incremental structural change; promote participation and legitimacy; bring all urban stakeholders together; and prioritize citizens’ needs. Through this critical lens, planning was seen as a ‘state sanctioned strategy for the creation and regulation of space, populations and development’ (Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000, p. 911). Here, planners were also viewed as instruments of the planning process, whose key task was to mediate processes of decision making (including conflicting rationalities) amongst diverse stakeholders (Bolan, 1983).

Through a lens that observes the changing context within which planning operated – and therefore its intents, approaches and methods - analysts highlighted the transitions in urban space and society and our understanding of this to post-modernism, and implication for planning (Beauregard, 1989). In the modern era, spatial planning was expected to

maintain a critical distance and to apply scientific objective logic to achieve identifiable goals which included coordinating capitalist-led urbanization, producing a functional urban form, and shaping the redistribution of the benefits of growth. The 'post-modern' era has however brought shifts into the urban form, its functioning, and its relative position in relation to other spaces. Inevitably, the understanding of planning and expectations of what planning is supposed to achieve have also had to evolve.

Various elements in the present systems of economic development have significant implications for spatial planning. These include hypermobile capital, and spatial concentrations of production systems that transcend geographic boundaries and are negotiated through diverse actors and agencies spanning an increasingly interconnected system of cities and urban areas. These have given rise to new geographies of centrality and marginality (Sassen, 2000).

While the State was previously (albeit incorrectly) understood as existing and functioning separately from 'capital', it is now apparent that it is difficult to demarcate between the two, and the traditional 'state' or public sector is increasingly dependent on capital and market systems. At the same time, the spatial form and functioning of cities has been significantly affected by increasingly mobile capital and investments, and these manifest through deconcentration of spatial and economic activity, increased informality, and marginalization to mention but a few. Planning itself is also under critique, especially on the notion of political neutrality, and while planners are acknowledged as having limited legal capacity and/or political weight to reshape the investment and employment prerogatives of capital, still having to function as 'dealmakers as opposed to regulators' (Beauregard, 1989, p. 381) to ensure sustainability and viability and to effectively compete for resources, jobs and capital in an increasingly globalized capitalist system (Harvey, 1989). The 'post-modern city' is also understood as being a more intricately complex and contested space, which is:

layered with historical forms and struggled over by fractions of capital and labour, each of which is dependent upon economic activities that are industrial and post-industrial, formal and informal, primary and secondary (Beauregard, 1989, p. 388).

Contemporary planning theories represent a more realistic adoption of these ideas, and the exploration of systems, models, and approaches through which modern challenges can be addressed. These theories have also sought to stitch together traditional separations between theory and practice, or between previously fragmented subdisciplines. These adopt constructivist perspectives, and appreciate the partial and fragmentary nature of planning, and its evolutionary nature:

I regard planning and planners as experiments or speculations entangled in a series of contingent, networked relationships in circumstances which are both rigid (e.g. legally constrained) and flexible, where outcomes are volatile, where problems are not 'solved' once and for all but which, over the 'lifetime' of a strategic plan, are constantly recast by changing actors, situations and preferences, to be reformulated in new perspectives (Hillier, 2008, p. 26).

The evolution of spatial planning presently therefore comes from an appreciation that traditional planning tools are not adequate to tackle modern urban challenges (Albrechts, 2012). Approaches identified in literature, which include but are not limited to strategic planning, communicative planning, evolutionary approaches and co-production represent an effort to better coordinate and proactively deal with current realities (Albrechts, 2006) and to facilitate better coordination of the diverse actors that influence spatial formation (Wong & Watkins, 2009).

Here, planning and other systems of spatial governance are expected to acknowledge and recognize the diversity and multiplicity of actors:

a recognition of multiplicity and diversity is an essential optic through which to keep in the focus of attention the complex ways in which

distributive justice, environmental well-being and economic vitality can be generated and experienced. If the ambition in initiatives in urban governance is to keep all these values in conjunction in the foreground of policy attention, then it is important to resist tendencies in spatial strategy-making towards reductionist, monotypic, hegemonic viewpoints, and to recognise the messy and multiple daily experiences of urban conditions (Healey, 2004 p.268).

The shift towards strategic spatial planning has drawn from various influences, including the transformations apparent in modern urban and regional spatial realities, the need to develop solutions to these challenges in a flexible yet coherent manner, and consider the interests of multiple actors, negotiate conflict within a globalizing and rapidly transforming environment (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009).

From the literature, we see that, in addition to transforming the social, economic and political systems across the world, globalization has also necessitated new forms of governance and coordination within the public sector, with more emphasis on the flexible decision making, action-oriented strategies; as well as coordinated, joint action across a variety of stakeholders. Within this environment, strategic planning represents a 'creative participatory and open process which establishes the basis for joint actions of all relevant urban stakeholders for a defined period of time.' (Steinberg, 2005, p. 70)

Strategic planning does not represent a single or unified concept, but refers to a set of concepts, procedures, and tools that are applied to varying situations and outcomes (Albrechts, 2012). A notable similarity across these varying spaces is the increasing need for planning to bring together and coordinate the various actors and elements, in order to achieve 'better vertical and horizontal policy integration of processes that are diffuse, fluid, and multidirectional' (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009, p. 620). This task of steering 'collective action' requires the application of a wider range of 'hard'

and 'soft' tactics which are also then observed and documented in the literature (Newman, 2008; Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009).

Literature on strategic spatial planning (mainly drawn from Europe) has however observed that planning action still remains weak. Newman (2008) suggests that this could be a result of persistent focus on the normative expectations on planning – which tend to focus on results - which detracts attention from the actual experiences of planning. He recommends, therefore, that greater attention be paid to the practice of strategic planning, pointing out that this view would illuminate the spaces in which planning is operating; ways in which policy processes are being developed; and the interaction of various actors across the sectors and scales. Additionally, proponents of performance-based, strategic planning – argue that by shifting focus from outcome to performance, planning would form a frame of reference for negotiations, with the goal being decisions as opposed to material outcomes; and comprising of a continuous interaction of various actors and agencies towards an open future (Faludi, 2000).

More recent literature therefore highlights the interlinked and interconnected context/environment within which planning operates that strategic planning often attempts to attend to. These include the fact that planning seeks to pursue normative goals – developing a good city within the constraints of a capitalist political economy and democratic political system (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003). Strategic planning also works through inherently political spaces and processes as it seeks to coordinate the aspirations, actions and investments of a diverse range of actors and agencies who pursue diverse and often conflicting visions and agendas (Healey, 2007). Spatial goals and aspirations also lack fixity, and this creates ongoing tension, but also spaces of opportunity (Hillier, 2008).

Across all the fields – there is a search for a more open and equitable organization of the relationship between all actors, which is apparent in communicative and collaborative planning, co-production, and evolutionary planning approaches, to mention a few.

Adopting social learning theories, communicative planning highlights planners' roles as mediators, occupying increasingly political spaces where they can inform, mobilise, and develop arguments, discourses and ideas that travel and inform action. These approaches are also open to conflict and contestation (Forrester, 1982; Healey, 2007; Hillier, 2008). With the increasing presence of multiple actors in urban space and urban development, the need for collaborative planning and development is also apparent, and this is represented by an increased engagement of the state and society around issues relating to planning and urban development.

Co-production refers to a form of development whereby the state and society engage around urban development issues, and where citizens play an active role in producing public goods and services, and are not merely passive consumers of services provided by the State (Albrechts, 2012). In the case of the global South, co-production approaches have been applied by non-state actors and residents to service poor and underserved communities in instances where the state is either unwilling or unable to deliver (Watson, 2014).

The model of co-production has a longer history and has evolved in different contexts, and is applied differently. And while co-production bears many similarities to participatory and collaborative planning, it moves beyond consultation into production and delivery (Albrechts, 2012). While collaborative and participatory planning systems have been viewed as focusing on the methods and debates through which plans are shaped, co-production focuses on delivery and management of projects. In the case of the global South and other spaces where 'formal' channels of engagement are absent or inadequate, co-production works outside (and sometimes against) established rules and procedures of governance and in engagement with the state. Co-production is therefore applied as a strategy by citizens seeking to shift relations with state agencies and lobby for change, inclusion, and rights to the city (Watson, 2014).

A notable change in the theory has come from an expanded appreciation of the varying realities and knowledge emerging from the 'global South', and adoption of knowledge, practice, and realities manifest in these spaces in theory and discourse. These came from an acknowledgement that the centre of gravity of knowledge production in planning knowledge and ideas was framed by social and economic conditions in the 'global North' (Watson, 2014), but that an expansion of this to incorporate practice and development from the 'south' could inform and expand theory.

Cities and urban areas in the global South are positioned to absorb the bulk of urbanization and growth in the coming decades, but this growth is also occurring in environments marked by poverty and inequality, unstable political, institutional, and administrative conditions, and poor infrastructure. At the same time, planning theories, systems, and approaches within many of these regions are outdated and therefore ineffective. From these, we see a more complex scenario manifesting in contexts that still feature planning systems and approaches that are extensions of former colonial systems or inspired from the global North within increasingly interconnected and globalizing social, economic and political ecosystems (UN-Habitat & IHS-Erasmus, 2018).

2.4 Conclusion: Key Concepts and Emerging Issues

Present-day spatial planning is therefore said to exist within a contested reality where, on one hand, there is an increased awareness of the vast range of uncertainties and circumstances that affect spatial formation and are beyond the control of planning and on the other, a continued need to make decisions 'for the long run' (Terry, Boelens, & Pisman, 2016). The rise of cross-disciplinary research in the fields of planning, geography, urban studies and spatial governance is driven by this acknowledgement, and the need to understand the complexity of issues from multiple perspectives (Madanipour, 2013).

The transitions and evolutions observed in spatial planning theory and practice have therefore included a more expanded understanding of the

object which planning seeks to change, transform, or develop and the continually transforming environment and urban realities, including contemporary challenges that it must grapple with. At the same time, the ‘what’ of planning – including how it is defined, what spaces it occupies has also evolved, as has our understanding of ‘how’ planning functions. Another body of work focuses on evaluating planning action, and formulating systems aimed at determining whether or not planning is successful in achieving its goals, and in identifying factors that shape success or failure.

These transformations in planning therefore have evolved alongside broader evolutions in urban studies and in the understanding of urban space economies discussed in the previous section. From the fields, there has been an evolution in the understanding of urban phenomena – both from studies of urban space economies and those of spatial planning – towards a convergence that appreciates the complex and multi-faceted nature of urban phenomena as well as the interconnectedness of elements, actors and forces that shape urban development and transformation. The continued evolution and transformation of urban spaces over time also meant that issues under observation lack fixity, hence the need to continually track and observe phenomena within this context.

Literature exploring urban space and urban space economies depicted the changing role of cities from an economic lens, from isolated administrative and commercial units and nodes into multi-functional nodes in an increasingly interconnected globalized economy. At the same time, however, cities and urban areas remain embedded in their specific spatial, geographic, social and political contexts. While early theories emphasized the economic factors that shaped and influenced urban formation and transformation, in subsequent periods, a broader range of social and political forces were also appreciated as affecting spatial formation. This expanded view emphasized the critical importance of context in understanding and theorizing urban development and transformation (Healey, 2007). It is the combined effect of the global and local social,

political and economic forces continually shapes and reshape urban spaces, and the framing base for the research.

At the same time, it is now broadly acknowledged that the urban space economy results from the decisions and actions of a diverse range of actors and agencies, from individuals, to firms, and state and non-state actors. These actors and agencies are driven by varying (often conflicting) motivations and interests and are in pursuit of a diverse range of interests and outcomes. The various influences, actions, and decisions operating on the urban space economy are however also constrained by the path-dependent nature of urban formations, and by decisions and actions taken in the past – with each urban space then having a specific historical trajectory that affects its current and future development.

From planning literature and discourse, it is also apparent that while spatial planning is still understood as a predominantly state-led instrument for shaping spatial outcomes, this role is also acknowledged as being more diffuse. Planning is seen as but one of many ‘actors’ engaged in spatial governance and administration. In many aspects, however, a normative expectation remains, whereby it is assumed that planning *can* proactively lead the activities of other actors in the achievement of identifiable spatial outcomes. As a result, attention has shifted to the multiple and diverse spaces within which planning operates, both within the private sector and the public sector. Additional focus is on *how* planning mediates between varied, competing, and sometimes conflicting agendas.

The incorporation of an evolutionary perspective to understanding spatial governance rests on the appreciation of the fact that the context, environment, and institutional structures that constitute society and space are continually transforming and indeterminate:

neither society nor space is a fixed realm. They both develop in unsuspected and even inscrutable ways, beyond the control of planners. Moreover, due to ongoing network developments, there is not one society but several, each developing in their own direction,

with their own interests and at different paces. Therefore, more and more developments become increasingly complex and their futures are hardly predictable. There is a fuzzy mutual dependency of actors and the capacity to achieve a consensus is challenged by growing and difficult-to-manage institutional and spatial complexity (Terry, Boelens, & Pisman, 2016, p. 2).

Evolutionary perspectives appreciate that this transformation and evolution is a continuous process, and this view can allow a more comprehensive appreciation of systems of spatial governance as they also transform and evolve through the influence of these dynamic networks of actors, discourses, and institutions.

Variations in markets and democracies, and in their evolutions have produced many different governance systems... Understanding variations and evolutions can help theory and practice to develop a more critical distance from perspectives presenting a stark choice between 'big or small' government or between 'the' free market or 'the state'. Many markets and many forms of government are possible. Many linkages are possible, between law, economy and politics, and many configurations of formal and informal institutions can be found in practice. Recognizable markets emerged in evolutions that simultaneously shaped rules (institutions), roles (actors), and the organizations embodying these roles and embodying specific linkages between economic, political and legal domains (Van Assche, Beunen, & Duineveld, 2014).

The above chapter presents a high-level scan of the evolution of planning thought, economic geography, as well as other fields that document urban spatial transformation. Across many of these fields, the complexity of urban space is now appreciated, as is the dynamic interaction of actions, decisions and investments from a wide network of actors that collectively and cumulatively shape and reshape space. With developments into collaborative and strategic planning, there is a stated acknowledgement that

planning operates within an environment marked by complexity, and must mediate and integrate actions of a diverse range of stakeholders. The application of these developments within the sphere of the urban space economy was the focus of this research. The following chapter elaborates on the design of and implementation of the study to achieve these goals.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Overview

The study was based on a number of key framing ideas. First, cities and urban areas have historically been – and still remain - integral engines for global and local economic development, playing a critical role in shaping future social, and political evolution. Secondly, cities are continually transforming in response to a multitude of factors through the interaction and decisions of a wide range of actors and agencies. Thirdly, as a specific and deliberate tool for spatial governance and management, spatial planning has also been transforming in response to variety of issues, including a growing understanding of the context within which it functions.

This research appreciates the fact that the urban space economy transforms through a range of dynamic, complex, inter-related and continually evolving factors and influences which are manifested through the actions of multiple actors and agencies. Spatial planning was understood to be one of these actors, but one that is also mandated with the task of directing or mediating specific spatial outcomes. The study therefore sought to investigate the influence of spatial planning, using the City of Johannesburg in South Africa as the main unit of observation, and two case study areas for detailed analysis.

This chapter elaborates how the above intent was operationalized into a research project. It begins by unpacking how the key concepts were applied to frame the main and subsidiary research questions, and how these were structured into a research design, and operationalized in the field.

The first section presents the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that underpin the study, and how these were defined for purposes of this research. This is followed by a methodological section which outlines the research design, the methods and approaches. It then details out how the scope was narrowed, and how the specific case study areas were selected.

The final section then reflects on how the project was implemented, highlighting key opportunities and challenges that emerged.

3.2 Conceptual Framework

3.2.1 Framing the research

The main research inquiry was on how spatial planning influences the urban space economy. As articulated in the previous chapter, the research was positioned at the intersection of two broad thematic areas: the study of the evolving urban space economy on one hand, and the study of spatial planning as a deliberate instrument for coordinating spatial outcomes. These two fields emerged and evolved along different historical trajectories but thinking in both fields gradually converged over time as a result of a growing appreciation of the complexity and interconnectedness of urban phenomena, and of the actions, influences and decisions that lead to the transformation of urban space (Brenner, Madden, & Wachsmuth, 2011).

The research began with the assertion that spatial planning still holds to its normative roots, and attempts to proactively coordinate and direct multiple actors, agencies and resources in pursuit of identifiable spatial outcomes. The aim of the research was to understand how this influence is applied within a designated context. For 'context', I selected the urban space economy which is acknowledged in the literature to be continually transforming through various processes, influences and decisions.

Theories and literature exploring the urban space economy perceive and define it in varying ways although over time, these perspectives have coalesced (Kim & Short, 2008). In this research, the (urban) space economy represents: the distribution of economic activity on space, the structuring and transformation of space with changing economic activity, the effects of economic activity on spatial form, fabric and functioning, and the evolving and changing characteristics of economic space (Gotz, 2016).

The research therefore acknowledged the complex and multi-faceted nature of the phenomena being investigated and was designed with both

exploratory and empirical aspirations. On the one hand, the research sought to explore the transformation of the urban space, inquiring: how are cities shaped and transformed? What are the external and internal influences of change? Which actors are driving these changes? What are their motivations?

Having outlined the patterns of transformation in the urban space economy and the key actors and agencies shaping these changes, the research then turned to spatial planning as a specific actor/agent. The intention here was to explore how spatial planning operated and achieved its specific aspirations in relation to a continually transforming spatial and economic environment, and in relation to other actors. Here, the aim of the research was not to determine the presence (or absence) of spatial planning, but rather, to investigate its influence. In this way, the research inherently assumed the presence of spatial planning as an agent in urban development, acknowledging that it might take different forms in different contexts. The goal then was to identify the different forms and spaces occupied, and the influence achieved as a result.

A second assumption – though this would be tested in the empirical work – is that spatial planning has deliberate aspirations and intentions of guiding the various actors in the pursuit of specified goals. Within this aspect, key lines of inquiry were: what are the intents of spatial planning? Which spaces does spatial planning occupy, and what actions does it undertake, when and why? What are the outcomes or influences of said action?

From planning literature and discourse, it is evident that while spatial planning is still understood as a normative and predominantly state-led instrument for coordinating spatial outcomes, it is also increasingly appreciated for strategically coordinating the actions and investments of diverse actors, and mediating among varied interests. For this research, I drew on contemporary discourse which views planning as a multisectoral function spanning a 'range of public organizations, policy mechanisms and institutional processes' at various scales of government and administration

with the intention of cumulatively influencing the future allocation and use of space' (Tewdwr-Jones & Williams, 2001, p. 8). Planning intents and actions were drawn from various sources based on this understanding. Sources ranged from legal and traditional technical tools land use management and control, to broader initiatives and strategic action intended to mediate, coordinate, or direct spatial decision making and in pursuit of determined outcomes (Vigar, 2008).

3.2.2 The case study method

The research began with an inherent assumption that spatial planning has indeed played a role in shaping the city's urban space economy, but that this has not been the sole or even primary determinant of unfolding spatial outcomes. From the literature, it was apparent that the eventual patterns of spatial growth and development could be attributed to multiple policy and non-policy related factors, and the specific role played by each of these factors could not be *easily* isolated; neither could their impacts on city development be individually attributed (Hillier, 2008).

The study therefore sought to explore the relational role played by planning vis-à-vis other factors as pertains to the urban space economy, with the City of Johannesburg as the selected case for deeper investigation. The study employed a range of tools to map the processes through which the city's urban space economy was transforming, to identify the key actors and agencies which shaped this transformation, and to investigate the roles, motivations and actions of planning within these processes.

The study was implemented through the case study method. A case study is defined as a 'study of an individual unit or phenomenon, with emphasis on developmental issues and relationships with environment, and often with the intention of comparing this unit to a larger group' (Collins English Dictionary, 2012). Key elements of the case study method that were instrumental for the research included: an individual bounded unit of observation, focus on developmental factors or evolutions in time and place, and observation that pays attention to context (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

The case study method has been critiqued over the years for being too context dependent and therefore not generalizable, for being unreliable in contributing to scientific development and for tending to contain a bias toward verification and confirming researchers' preconceived notions (Flyvbjerg, 2001; 2006; 2011). As a result, case studies are considered useful at the pilot stages of research, and considered unsuitable for theory development. Flyvbjerg (2006) however refutes these claims, arguing that the context specific nature of case studies is a strength, and not a weakness. By exploring a specific case in detail, case studies offer a rich image of context and of the particular nuances of specific phenomena, thus contributing grounded information that can then be applied when building theories relating broader social phenomena. Yin (1981) also noted that case studies are particularly valuable in observing phenomena where the boundaries between a phenomena and its context are not clearly evident – as with the study of human affairs or society.

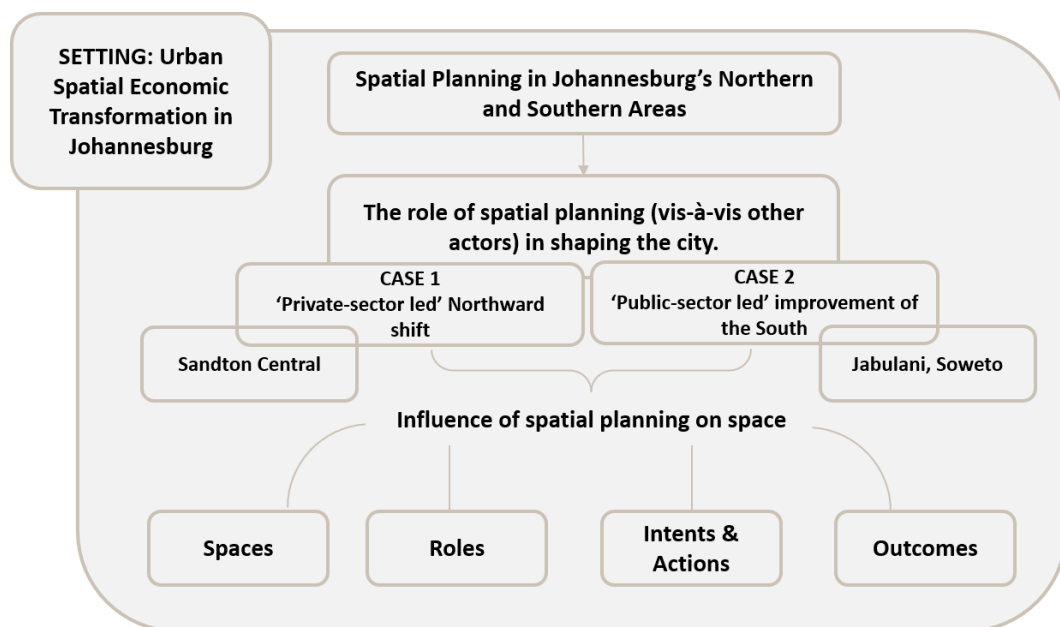
This capacity to explore phenomena in detail is a key strength of the case study method. Case studies enable thick description and depth which facilitates a detailed exploration of the rich complexity of phenomena, providing a level of detail that also allows progression from grounded levels of learning or understanding to increased expertise (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 71). The ability to investigate phenomena within its context allows the researcher to articulate linkages between causes and outcomes, pay closer attention to context and historical development. This provides useful material for theory development (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

The Johannesburg Case Study

Contemporary definitions of case studies therefore acknowledge the fact that rather than being an approach or tool for implementing research, the case study functions as a strategy which informs and shapes the entire research process: from the criteria for case selection; research design and theoretical framing; data collection methods and techniques; data analysis; and reporting.

As we see in Figure 3.1 below, the study's theoretical interest is on the influence of spatial planning on urban spatial economic transformation, and this would have to be implemented within a specific case study area for purposes of this research. I selected the City of Johannesburg as a case study region, and its urban space economy as the setting within which the research would be implemented. Here, I intended to explore the role that spatial planning had played in shaping the evolution of Johannesburg's urban space economy, and its relation to other actors operating within the same context.

Figure 3.1: Main & Embedded Units of Analysis



Source: Author, adapted from (Rule & Vaughn, 2011).

As outlined earlier, however, spatial planning takes diverse forms and occupies multiple spaces. Depending on context, various methods, techniques, processes or systems could be considered to be actions of spatial planning. This complexity is acknowledged in literature, and another body of literature seeks to explore what this multi-faceted nature of planning means for evaluation of spatial outcomes (Terry, Boelens, & Pisman, 2016). A key theme driving this research was – how can we determine the presence and efficacy of spatial planning in directing spatial outcomes?

Johannesburg's urban space economy was however still too broad an object for the research. To further narrow the scope, I selected focal processes and areas for empirical analysis. These areas were selected in the development stages of the research, and fine-tuned during the fieldwork process. The formation and transformation of Johannesburg's urban space economy in the last century results from diverse, complex and inter-related social, economic and political factors. These transformations are discussed in more detail in the following chapter. From the literature, two distinct processes of urban development were identified in Johannesburg as with the rest of South Africa: the development and evolution of formerly white areas and municipalities, and the emergence and growth of controlled, marginalized, and formerly suppressed black African urban areas under the colonial and Apartheid period.

As Johannesburg town continued to grow and expand, market-led residential development occurred in the town's Northern areas, catering mainly for the white population. This growth and development continued, with economic activity following, driven predominantly by the retail and services sector (Beavon, 1998). For black African residents, separate residential accommodation was provided over the years, mainly through the State, leading to the creation of segregated black African townships. The largest of these would become Soweto, to the south of Johannesburg.

By the 1950s, urban sprawl to the north of Johannesburg necessitated the creation of new municipalities adjacent to the city, and with these, new CBDs and economic centralities. In black African areas, under Apartheid, economic activity was suppressed and controlled through overlapping policies and legislation though it was not non-existent. Analysis in the late 1970s and 1980s of economic activity in townships highlighted the presence of scattered trading and retail activity, though this could not be compared to activity in the 'white' areas of the city.

Johannesburg's multi-nodal urban space economy in post-Apartheid era therefore reflects this trend, with dense and intensified economic activity in

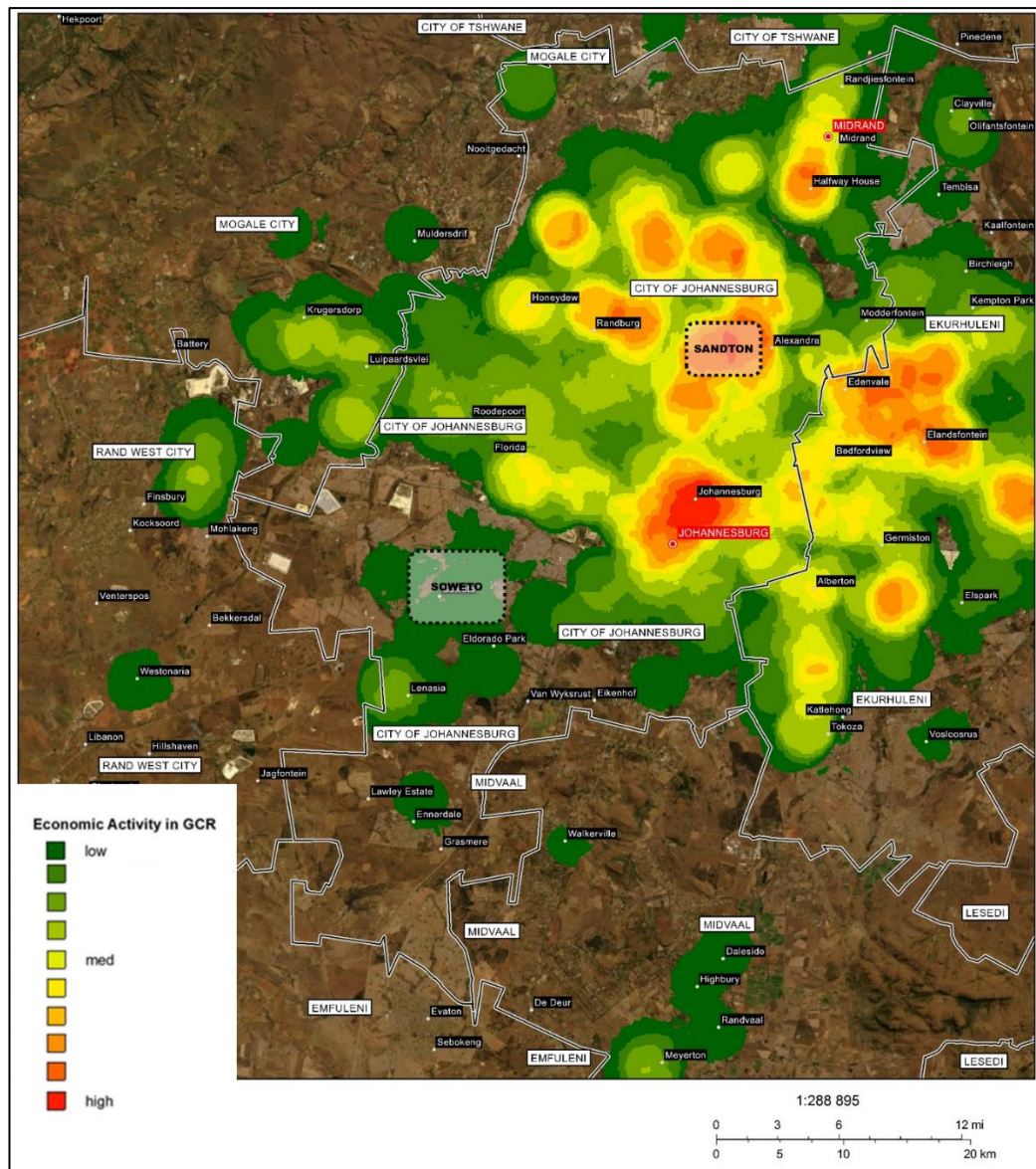
multiple nodes in the North, and less intensity and diversity in the South. This is illustrated in Figure 3.2 below.

In post-Apartheid Johannesburg, considerable resources have been channelled into the large township of Soweto aimed at the spatial and economic transformation and improvement of the area. These have been predominantly public sector-led, with private sector investment being in the development of malls and shopping centres. Public sector investment has been channelled into physical upgrading of areas, transport and infrastructure development, housing, green infrastructure and open spaces, cultural amenities, public space, as well as in the creation and development of commercial nodes. This, in addition to economic activity existing at a smaller scale, has led to a relatively transformed space economy in the region compared to the Apartheid period. As the map illustrates, however, economic activity in the Soweto region is still relatively sparse in relation to the area's population, and in comparison, to areas in the City's north.

The two case studies selected for in-depth investigation were these two processes of evolution in Johannesburg's urban space economy: (1) the northward shift of economic activity that has occurred over nearly half a century and generated 'new centralities' in the city's Northern areas, and (2) the state-led efforts to develop new economic activity (or new nodes) in areas that were suppressed and marginalized under the Apartheid regime. In the first, I used the Sandton area as a case study and in the second, Soweto.

Multiple case studies are useful for enabling deeper focus and breadth in research, while allowing for methodological replication, which strengthens the contribution to theoretical and methodological frameworks (Rule & Vaughn, 2011). The dissimilar development trajectories of these two regions in Johannesburg – and their present form and functioning as part of the broader metropolitan space economy – allowed for a deeper look into the issue under research. The two case studies offered a more nuanced look into the city's historical, social, political and spatial evolution and of the various actors and influences that have shaped its urban space economy.

Figure 3.2: Intensity of Economic Activity in Johannesburg



Source: Author, created with GCRO's web-based GIS Viewer, 2019

Two nodes in the case study areas were selected for in-depth analysis. In Sandton, I selected the Sandton central node (formerly known as the Sandton CBD) as a case study area. Sandton central was established as the CBD for Sandton municipality when the town was established. The node developed first as the area's CBD and later, in Johannesburg's post-Apartheid metropolitan framework, as one of Johannesburg's leading corporate and commercial nodes. Sandton central today is considered one

of the most dominant nodes in Johannesburg and surrounds, serving critical corporate, financial, transport and commercial functions.

The node selected for observation in Soweto was Jabulani CBD. This node was established in the 1960s under Apartheid by Johannesburg municipal authorities, and intended to function as the CBD for the Soweto region at the time. Post-Apartheid Soweto features a multi-nodal distribution of economic activity, with various nodes developing either through public or private sector investment. Over the decades, the CBD at Jabulani has remained largely underdeveloped, though renewed investment and development at the node began from 2006.

Although Soweto's space economy was limited and suppressed under Apartheid, it developed a polycentric internal regional economy with nodes mainly featuring trading activity (Morris, 1980; DeMontille, 1990). In the post-Apartheid years, considerable investment was undertaken in multiple nodes in Soweto, including Baralink, Orlando, Kliptown. These nodes have, over the years, developed into precincts that equal or outcompete Jabulani CBD as potential case study areas. For this project, the Jabulani CBD was selected because it had been demarcated to function as 'Soweto's CBD'. Over the decades, this 'vision' has remained, though little development would occur in the node until the mid-2000s. The research therefore traced the precinct's development trajectory over time under both the Apartheid and post-Apartheid regimes, and finally, as one of the key nodes under development in post-Apartheid Johannesburg.

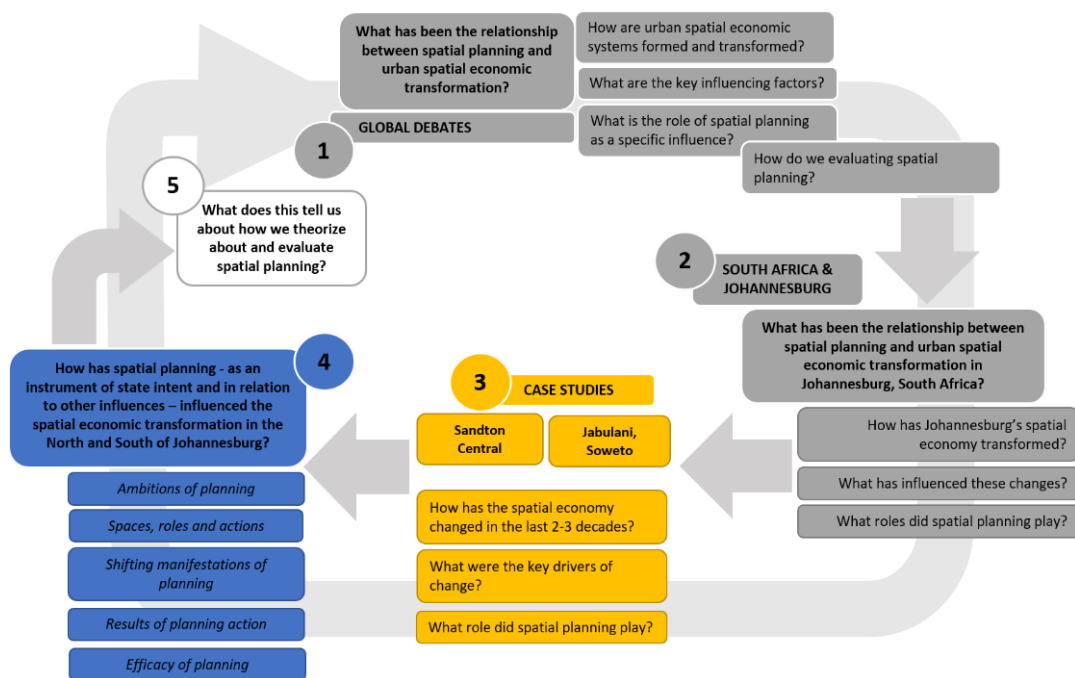
Approach to the Study

The study was implemented through two key phases. The first phase involved an analysis of global and local literature, identifying key theories on the transformation of urban space economies, and on the evolving role, actions, and influence of spatial planning in relation to urban space economies. This also included a literature review on the historical evolution of Johannesburg's urban space economy, of spatial planning thought within

Johannesburg and South Africa, and on the historical evolution of the two case study areas.

This phase was followed by an empirical phase where I investigated the role and influence of various actors and agencies in the development of Sandton central and Jabulani in Soweto. Finally, there was an analytical phase where findings were generated from analysis of the data and materials gathered in the field and in communication and engagement with the literature sources. The steps undertaken in the research are outlined in Figure 3.3 below, with the guiding queries in each phase.

Figure 3.3: Research Process



Source: Author, 2015

Mapping the Transforming Urban Space Economies

The second phase of the project involved an engagement with the processes of change in the selected case study areas' urban space economy. This entailed a mapping of the evolution of the individual areas' urban space economies; an investigation of the processes that have

contributed to their transformation, and the actors that have shaped these developments.

The steps here included: (1) detailing out the patterns of transformation in the case study areas; and (2) identifying actors and agencies that shaped this transformation; with the aim of (3) locating and exploring the role and influence of spatial planning in shaping this transformation.

As articulated in the previous chapter, the formation, growth and continued transformation of urban space is the result of multiple processes and influences manifesting in the form of decisions and actions of individuals, institutions and firms operating across multiple levels. In tracking the evolution of Johannesburg, Sandton and Soweto's urban space economies, I drew from a variety of sources and methods, ranging from secondary historical and archival material – including national, regional, and local policy, planning, and historical records tracking employment, production, and spatial development in the regions. These included City of Johannesburg municipal and historical archives and reports from the Non-European Affairs Department (NEAD), Reports from the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Peri-Urban Areas Board, and national government department reports tracing back to the beginning of the century.

These were supplemented by academic research and historical literature analysing and tracking the spatial and economic transformation of the regions over the century, and newspaper articles and archives over the century. The research also drew from personal archives of former City of Johannesburg officials available from University Libraries, including the Patrick Robert Brian Lewis Papers, 1949-1987 held at the University of the Witwatersrand Historical Papers Research Archive (University of the Witwatersrand, 2016); and digital archival material availed by the Digital Innovation South Africa platform at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Digital Innovation South Africa, 2019). Newspaper archives were accessed through the South Africa Media Archives available at the Sabinet Reference platform (Sabinet, 2019).

Spatial data on Johannesburg's land use, changing economic patterns, and other contextual layers were acquired from the national Municipal Demarcation Board; the City of Johannesburg's Land Use Department, the Gauteng City Region Observatory (GCRO) and GeoTerra Image, or generated by myself through georeferencing from online mapping sources.

Identifying Critical Junctures and Periodization

Having mapped the evolution of the space economy in the case study areas, focus shifted to identifying moments for investigating the relationship between spatial planning and other actors in the evolving urban space economy. For this, I identified key moments that constituted turning points in the areas' development trajectory for deeper investigation. These could be moments, events, or even transitional periods.

To identify and select these moments, I drew loosely from techniques applied in periodization and in the identification of critical junctures. These methods are mainly used in fields of history, political studies, comparative institutional analysis or the study of developmental processes to analyse historical development and identify key moments or turning points over an institution or nation's history (Hogan, 2006; Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007).

A critical juncture is defined as a 'period of significant change', which occurs in distinct ways in different units of analysis and produce different legacies (Collier & Collier, 1999). In the studies of longer, more stable, path-dependent phenomena, for instance political or institutional development – critical moments could represent brief phases or punctuations on this stability during which more dramatic change is possible (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007). These instances, moments or phases also represent 'forks in the road' (Brooks, 1988) or 'watershed moments' (Collier & Collier, 1999) which then establish specific trajectories of change and foreclose others, thus generating self-reinforcing, path-dependent processes (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007, p. 354).

Other characteristics of critical junctures that influenced the research include: the fact that these junctures are relatively shorter in time than the

path-dependent process they instigate, and they are marked by a loosening of the constraints of structure to allow for agency or contingency to shape divergence from the past, or divergence across cases. (Soifer, 2012); they could range from relatively quick transitions to long periods of change, including shifting regimes (Collier & Collier, 1999); the fact that they could be attributed to various elements, and not only specific individuals; and that agents face a broader than typical range of feasible options, and their choices have a significant impact on subsequent outcomes. Choices made at periods considered to be 'critical junctures' also close off alternative options and establish trajectories that then generate self-reinforcing path-dependent processes (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007). Critical junctures could also represent moments whereby change was possible and plausible, considered, and ultimately rejected.

A number of shortcomings have been identified in using critical junctures as a methodological device. Soifer (2012) for instance, notes that periods or moments are labelled as critical moments, without inquiry into what distinguishes them from others preceding or following it, while Capoccia & Kelemen (2007) also noted that critical moments are also conflated with moments of change, and that often-power asymmetries are often common and unexplored.

In exploring the role and influence of various actors within these moments of change in nodes' development, I also applied theoretical tools from Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) as both theoretical and methodological systems for studying the interactive roles and effects of agents, and organizations (Law, 1992; 2009). One of the key strengths of ANT that influenced this research was that while other theories try to explain why something happens, ANT takes on a more descriptive approach, articulating how relations assemble or fail to assemble. As such, ANT allows for better capturing of the fibrous, complex nature of modern societies (Law, 2009, p. 141).

ANT also adopts a non-dualistic view, viewing society as comprising networks of human and non-human elements, and is reluctant to distinguish

between previously separate social elements such as: society and nature; truth and falsehood; agency and structure; context and content; human and nonhuman; micro and macro level phenomenon; or knowledge and power (Law, 1992; Latour, 1996; Hetherington & Law, 2000; Crawford, 2005). This, according to Latour (1996), enables a richer focus on agency and action, and therefore a deeper analysis of various actors, their properties and characteristics, distributions and connections and transformations through time.

Methodologically, ANT takes the role of tracing and characterizing networks in their heterogeneity, exploring how they come to be patterned to generate effects like organizations, inequality, and power (Law, 1992, p. 381). It also brings a sense of agnosticism to the nature of networks, causal conditions, or accuracy of accounts; and symmetry and free association whereby all pre-given distinctions between dualistic classes of actors are refuted (Crawford, 2005).

ANT has been increasingly applied in numerous studies and is appreciated for its pragmatic analysis of the various processes and practices that comprise modern society, its acceptance of heterogeneity, and the indeterminacy and fluidity of social phenomenon (Law, 1992; Johannesson & Baerenholdt, 2009). As such, it has been applied in diverse sociological and economic studies, organization, world city studies and policy implementation (Law, 1992; Callon, 1999; Taylor, 2001; Stanforth, 2007; Bryson, Crosby, & Bryson, 2009)

This research drew from these strengths of ANT: its usefulness in meticulously mapping out and analysing social relations thus demystifying power (Law, 1992); its ability to eliminate the 'tyranny of distance' and the distinction between inside and outside, local and global (Latour, 1996); its appreciation of heterogeneity, complexity and fluidity in tracing spatial relations and complex networks (Murdoch, 1998). It was nonetheless cognisant of the weaknesses identified in this approach, most notably the

failure to explicitly or normatively deal with questions of power, domination, oppression, or colonization (Johannesson & Baerenholdt, 2009).

Having identified and selected key actors involved in driving transformation in critical moments, I undertook in-depth interviews with these informants. The purpose of the interviews was for the actors to narrate in detail the choices and actions they undertook in the identified periods. Here, the intention was not to map out the *processes* of transformation, but to understand the key motivations and choices that faced actors, and the reasoning behind these choices.

Interviewees were selected based on these criteria and were asked to narrate their experiences and actions in the identified periods and through this, to reflect on their role in effecting change. The interviews were also designed to draw from respondents' narrations their understanding of the roles that spatial planning played in the processes. To achieve this, respondents would not merely be retelling their roles in the processes, but also the relationship that they (or their agencies) had with spatial planning in its various forms.

For the research, I interviewed 25 respondents including 10 from various public sector agencies, 6 from private sector organizations, and 9 experts, historians and researchers on Johannesburg. Respondents were identified through a variety of methods, including snowballing technique. The main categories of respondents are outlined in Table 3.1 below, with a more comprehensive list of individuals, organizations and positions provided in the Appendices.

Ethics clearance and permission had to be acquired from the University of the Witwatersrand ethics committee, and from the City of Johannesburg's Innovation and Knowledge Management Unit.⁶ The ethics procedures in the two departments were relatively similar, as they required an articulation of the goals and intentions of the research, potential respondents, and key

⁶ See Appendix 2 and 3 for the University Ethics Clearance and the City of Johannesburg's Research authorization respectively.

research questions. For the City of Johannesburg, it was also necessary to highlight the value and usefulness of this research for the City, and potential applications of this knowledge in the municipality's day-to-day work.

Situating and Exploring the Role of Spatial Planning

The final task of the research was to analyse collected information to explore the role played by spatial planning in influencing spatial economic transformation. Although the research was not aimed at evaluating the efficacy of planning, it nonetheless aspired to highlight the *influence* of planning on urban spatial transformation. In this regard, I drew from Faludi's (2000) argument that spatial planning *could* be evaluated based on its role in shaping decision-making processes, and not merely on establishing conformance.

I therefore paid specific attention to the decision-making processes within the identified critical periods of transformation in the nodes' development, exploring the relationship between these decisions and spatial planning goals and aspirations. Aspirations of planning were drawn both from intents outlined in various policy and plans, in various forms of action and implementation from multiple spatial actors. Information and insight on the spaces, roles, and intents of planning as well as its actions were garnered through review of planning policies and documentation, related literature, and through interviews with key planning officials.

The nodes under investigation have been evolving for over half a century, and this implied that planning aspirations and actions had to be drawn from a variety of sources, from historical documents and archival reports, past and present spatial plans, reports, and newspaper articles, as well as interviews with current planning officials. A particularly instrumental piece of data and information acquired in the course of the research was an unpublished autobiographical series of essays compiled by one of Sandton's key planners, the late Mr. Barry Bristow. These offered insightful, first-hand narratives on the creation and establishment of Sandton Town at

the start, and the decision-making processes and actions that shaped this emergence.

The eventual outcome of the research was to present, through the two case studies, an analysis of: the contexts, environments, and spaces in which spatial planning occupies; its manifestation and how these changes over time; its roles in the identification, articulation, and legitimization of spatial economic agendas; its interaction with the multiple actors and agencies; and its execution of decisions on space. These findings were then used to engage with broader theoretical debates on the role and influence of spatial planning.

Table 3.1: List of Interviewees

INTERVIEWEE/DISCUSSANTS	PURPOSE
City of Johannesburg Department of City Transformation & Spatial Planning	To examine the operationalization of CoJ's high-level strategic planning goals and aspirations through implementation, project coordination, and stakeholder mobilization across the metropolitan area and in the case study areas.
City of Johannesburg Department of Transport	City transport planning and investments in Johannesburg and in the case study areas, and the pursuit of spatial transformation goals through the development of transit-oriented nodes in Sandton and Jabulani.
Johannesburg Development Agency	The JDA is the City of Johannesburg's development agency, charged with task of implementing, managing, and facilitating area-based developments (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2019). JDA officials were interviewed to understand the JDA's overall approach in driving area-based development in Johannesburg, and in the case study areas; and the interaction between JDA and other city agencies in developing the case study areas. The JDA is also one of the key agencies steering the (re)development of Jabulani CBD.
Johannesburg Property Company	The JPC is a state-owned corporation established in 2000 and charged with managing and developing the City of Johannesburg's property assets by coordinating utilization and investment to maximize social, economic, and financial

	value. (Johannesburg Property Company, 2019). For this research, JPC was instrumental in informing the strategic and logistical approach that informed investments in Sandton Central and Jabulani CBD.
National Treasury (Government Technical Advisory Centre)	National Treasury's support for and investment in revitalizing township economies, with focus on the progress, transformation and development of Jabulani and Soweto in general.
Gautrain Management Agency	The Gautrain Management Agency is in charge of management of Gauteng Province's high-speed rail network, Gautrain. In this regard, they coordinate development, land use, and management along the rail-route and around train terminals. The interview with GMA offered insights on the planning and development of the Sandton node as part of the network, and on regional transportation and infrastructure planning for the Gauteng and Johannesburg region.
Sandton Central Management District (SCMD)	The Sandton Central Management District was created in 2002, and functions as a privately managed entity which offers and provide complementary and supplementary services to the City for the maintenance and management of a designated area within Sandton central district. The SCMD oversees the day to day maintenance functions within the node, and is also charged with the task of strategically managing the node's development. Interviewed officials provided key

	insights into perspectives of property owners in the node as regards the development, functioning, and future progress of the district. Similarly, this discussion offered insights on the system of co-production and co-creation created through coordinated action between private sector property owners and City planning and strategic development systems.
Private Sector Developers, Architects, Planners and Urban Designers	As the lead agencies driving investment and development in the two case study areas. representatives from private sector were interviewed to shed light on the locational, economic, and other factors shaping investment decisions. Organizations interviewed include: Liberty Life, Calgro M3, and StudioMAS Architecture and Urban Design
Urban historians, Analysts, and other experts	Through the research, I held in-depth interviews with 8 selected historians, authors, and individuals who had expertise in Johannesburg's evolving urban space economy through previous work, private, or public sector expertise. These included authors and historians on Johannesburg, former municipal officials at the City of Johannesburg planning, economic development, and property management departments, or individuals formerly within the private sector who had node-specific expertise.

Source: Author, 2019

3.3 Reflections on Method & Approach

The above section provides an overview of how the original inquiry was shaped into an implementable research project, and on the methods applied to collect, synthesize, and analyze information.

The research ultimately comprised a mixed-method approach that relied partly on urban history and archival research and partly on field-based primary data collection. The application of a grounded and exploratory approach to the research allowed for the development of a rich and detailed scan of the evolution of Johannesburg's urban space economy over time, and the articulation of the interconnected influences behind this transformation. Additionally, the two case studies – which, though existing within the same metropolitan region had developed along distinctly different trajectories - offered an additional layer to the diverse patterns of evolution that have occurred within two areas within the same metropolitan context. The two case studies had more disparities than similarities, and this poses varying implications for spatial planning.

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the trajectory of developments in the urban space economy is murky, and the result of diverse actions by multiple actors and agencies pursuing varied goals and outcomes, and it is this complexity that made it difficult to track causalities in urban spatial outcomes. The study adopted perspectives and techniques from both spatial planning and economic geography, and this enabled a broader and multi-layered understanding of the development of the two precincts. However, as the study was implemented in two fairly different areas, the research was not able to explore factors influencing transformation in sufficient depth, or to trace the intricate relationships across diverse actors and agencies in detail.

The research also required historical archival research, and while this deepened the scope further than was originally anticipated, it also enabled an expanding the scope of analysis for the two nodes. At this point, data collection was significantly constrained by availability of information and the

accessibility of informants and research respondents, as well as the limited timeframe of an academic project. The historical administrative and socio-political transformation of Johannesburg (and separately, of Sandton and Soweto) implied that not all historical material was systematically and equally available across both nodes. While, for example, considerable documentation exists on Soweto's social, political, and administrative transformation over time, less exists on the area's internal space economy.

The mixed-method applied was instrumental in constructing the historical narratives of the nodes' development as outlined in Chapters 5 and 7, and for distilling the factors that influenced their transformation. A challenge experienced at this phase was that of locating primary research sources to map the evolution of the case study areas, due to limited availability of complete, centralized and consolidated archives, reports, records, and documentation for all areas that fall within the metropolitan municipality, seeing as these would have been different (and in the case of Soweto, continually changing) administrations. Documents, minutes, and reports from the former Town Councils of Sandton and Soweto were not centrally available, and therefore required considerable level of effort to identify and find. To plug these gaps, the study drew from a combination of primary and secondary sources, including individual documentation and archives hosted in various repositories and digital libraries.

In the following section, I delve deeper into the selected case study area, beginning with a high-level summary of the evolution of the City of Johannesburg's urban space economy. This is followed by a more detailed exploration of the case study areas.

4 SPATIAL PLANNING AND JOHANNESBURG'S URBAN SPACE ECONOMY

The chapter presents the historical development of Johannesburg as presented in the literature, framing the transforming urban space economy alongside its broader social, political and economic context, and exploring the shifting aspirations, roles, and influences of spatial planning within the same period.

Johannesburg's historical evolution has been documented in a wide body of literature, with some tracking the city's spatial growth and transformation, and others documenting its evolving economy (as examples, Van Onselen, 2001; Beavon, 2005; Ahmad & Pienaar, 2014). Yet another body traces the shifting forms, institutional spaces and aspirations of spatial governance and planning in Johannesburg and South Africa over the years (for example Smit, 1989; Mabin & Smit, 1997; Mabin, 2013; Todes, 2012; Harrison et al., 2007).

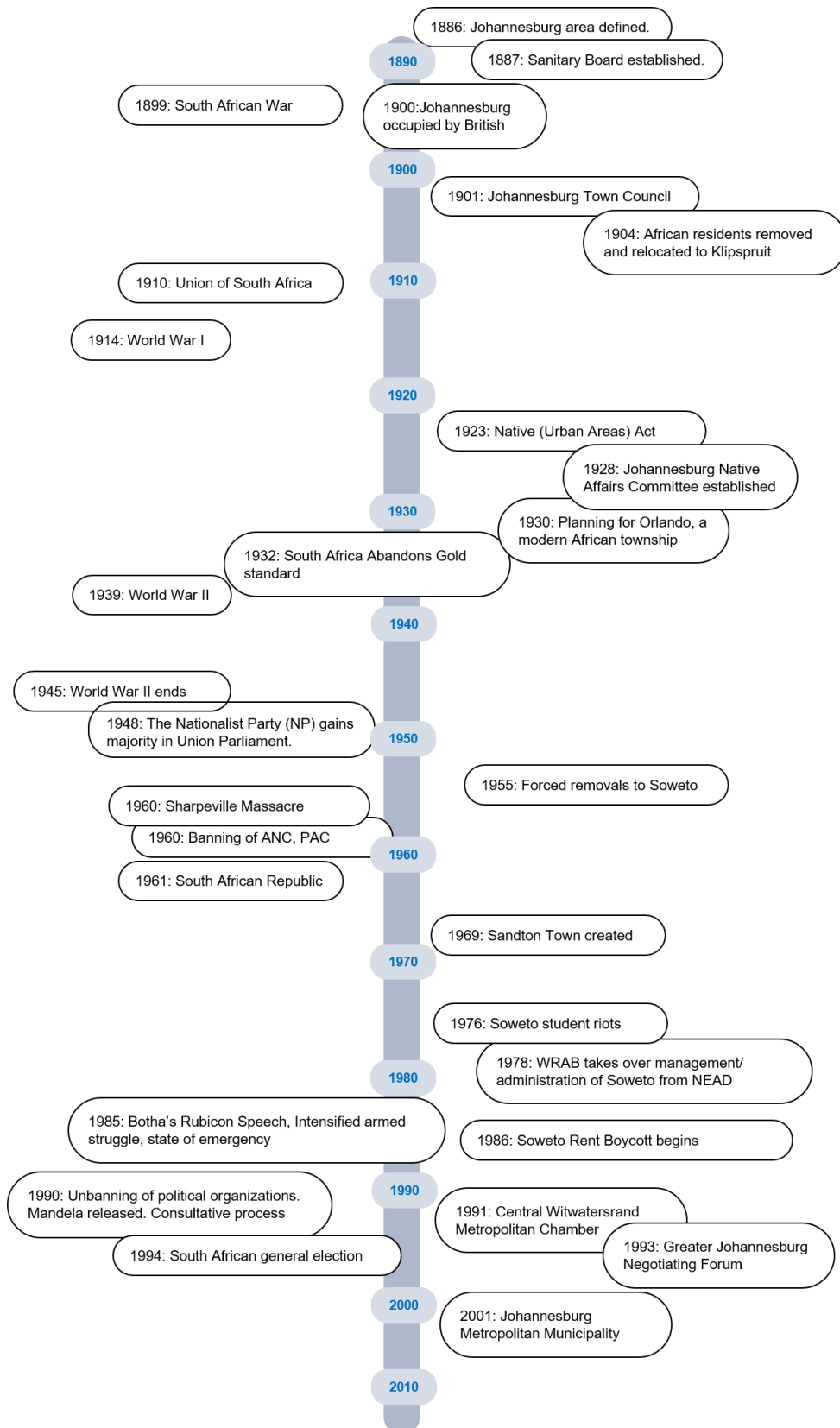
Johannesburg's history can be traced from the town's formation and establishment with the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886 (Beavon, 2004). Following this, the town, its immediate metropolitan area, the broader Witwatersrand region, and South Africa progressed through a series of social, political and economic changes, with these affecting the metropolitan area's urban space economy.

The following sections present an overview of Johannesburg's development trajectory focusing on the development of the city's urban space economy, and the shifting aspirations and roles of spatial planning within the same period. The evolution of Johannesburg's urban space economy and the town's spatial planning systems are framed within broader economic and socio-political developments occurring at the national and international spheres.

Johannesburg's development is presented in three phases. The first focuses on the town's emergence as a mining town from 1880s to the

1930s. This is followed by the second phase within which the town and country transitioned towards a manufacturing-led economy within the apartheid regime from the 1940s to the 1970s. The third phase then tracks the period of democratization that begun with the decline of the apartheid regime from the mid-1970s, the transition to a democratic, post-Apartheid democracy, the shift into a tertiary-sector led economy, and the unification of Johannesburg into a post-Apartheid, metropolitan administration.

Figure 4.1: Selected Historical Events in South Africa and Johannesburg



Source: Author, 2019

4.1 1880s-1930s: The Mining Town

Johannesburg urban history has been traced back to the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand and subsequent influences of this discovery on the social, political, and economic development of the area, the region, and the country as a whole (Gray, 1937; Shorten, 1970; Beavon, 2004). As with the rest of South Africa, Johannesburg's development was embedded in a longer history of colonization and conquest that had been underway for over 200 years, accelerating with the rise of the mining-driven economy. For most of the late 18th and early 19th century, the space economy of the Southern African region comprised white commercial, mercantile, settler and farming communities on the one hand; and on the other, African communities and kingdoms that were increasingly being dispossessed of their lands. Over the 19th century, the expansion of British Imperial interests and Afrikaner Republics extended through the region, establishing the political and legislative environment that would control the area's development at the expense of local black African communities (Feinstein, 2005).

The discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886, two decades after the diamonds in Kimberley, fast-tracked South Africa's transition towards modernization and industrialization. The wealth and power generated by these industries however also heightened political tensions between the British Empire and the Afrikaner Republics, with significant local and regional implications (Meredith, 2007). In Johannesburg, at the local level⁷, these tensions manifested through increased contestations between the British mining and commercial interests and the Pretoria-based Kruger administration. Some of the issues under contestation included: local representation and political rights for the white immigrant (*Uitlander*) community, taxation policies imposed on the new mines, as well as on monopoly concessions on dynamite and rail transportation (Meredith, 2007). The culmination of this broader tension between the British empire

⁷ The Witwatersrand area but more critically, the Johannesburg mining town.

and the Afrikaner Republics was the South African War (1899-1902) which devastated many parts of South Africa. Ultimately, the British won the war, annexing the Transvaal to the Empire first as an autonomous region, then as part of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (GCIS, 2014).

While the larger tension highlighted in the literature in the early 1900s was between the British Empire and Afrikaner Republics, it is also observed that these developments were occurring within a 'pre-existing' colonial environment, whereby both groups represented a minority white population that exercised social, political and economic dominance over the remaining black⁸ population. Following the establishment of the Union of South Africa, more laws and systems of land use, ownership and control were instituted to solidify these systems.⁹

The subsequent economy that was created in this period therefore rested on these underlying socio-political frameworks, and further embedded them through the establishment of capitalist production systems that relied on the presence of a labour force provided by the increasingly disenfranchised black population (Wolpe, 1972; First, 1982; Feinstein, 2005). It is on this backdrop that town of Johannesburg was established, and within whose dictates the systems of spatial governance would evolve.

4.1.1 Gold Mining and the Witwatersrand Region

Sources documenting the developments of Johannesburg following the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand region highlight the critical role played by the mining industry in establishing the form and functioning of the region's space economies; and in the transforming its social, economic, political, and demographic structures. While initial mining activity started with thousands of small claims and prospecting initiatives, these would

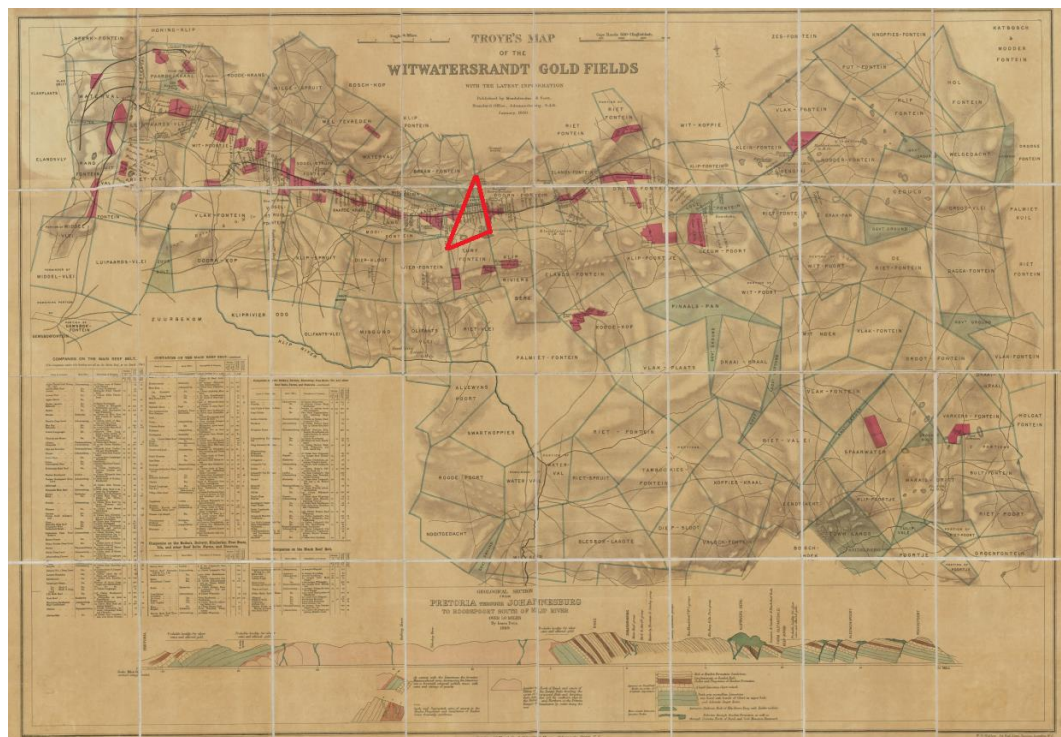
⁸ Including Black Africans, Indian, and Coloured residents of the country.

⁹ As examples, the 1913 Natives Land Act; and 1936 Native Trust & Land Acts which designated areas where black Africans could own and acquire land (Native reserves) thus excluding them from accessing land in the rest of the nation; and the 1923 Urban Areas Bill, which would limit black Africans access to urban areas through the compulsory segregation of proclaimed Municipal areas and movement control.

gradually be replaced by bigger, large scale mining operations as the industry stabilized (Beavon, 2005).

Through the consolidation of mining and related economic activity, mining towns like Johannesburg would form and grow, extending along the linear form of the gold reef. The spatial form of the area therefore emerged via a string of towns along the reef, stretching from Krugersdorp in the West to Springs in the east, including Germiston, Boksburg, Benoni and Springs as examples. Germiston was the site of a local gold refinery – the Rand Refinery – established in 1921¹⁰, and was selected for its proximity to Johannesburg, and also because it was well connected to the coast via rail infrastructure (Rand Refinery, 2016). The immediate Witwatersrand region was then linked to other towns and nodes across the country through expansion in railway infrastructure (Feinstein, 2005).

Figure 4.2: Location of Johannesburg in Relation to the Witwatersrand Gold Fields



Source: Author¹¹ (2019)

¹⁰ Prior to this, crude bullion would be shipped to London for refining.

¹¹ Adapted from Troye's map of the Witwatersrand Goldfields accessed from the University of the Witwatersrand Archives.

The mining sector attracted supportive industries and economies, leading to the creation of the town's commercial node alongside supportive residential facilities. The industry also brought together a wide range of actors from across the world, including financiers and investors from the diamond mines in Kimberley, prospectors and skilled mine-workers from Europe and Australia, and unskilled black labourers from other provinces in South Africa and from other regions across Southern Africa (Van Onselen, 2001; Harrison & Zack, 2012).

The gold mining industry did not stabilize immediately, nor did Johannesburg. Within the first year of discovering gold in Johannesburg, little mining activity actually took place as the required infrastructure had to be imported into South Africa and then transported from the coast into the Witwatersrand region. As a result, the main economic activity along the reef within this period was actually speculation and trading in digging claims (Beavon, 2005). In this way, Johannesburg's financial economy¹² was up and running before the town's administrative, cultural or commercial character developed.

Mining activity began in 1887, but stalled soon after following the discovery that the gold along the reef was of low quality, requiring the extraction of large quantities of ore; and that this gold was steeped deeply in the rock, and required costly mining techniques. This led to a dip in production output, declined investment, a fall in the price of gold shares and a financial slump in the town, mine closures, and mass departures from the reef (Van Onselen, 2001; Mandy, 1984; Beavon, 2004; Harrison & Zack, 2012).

The early town and its gold industry were rescued by the development of deep-level mining techniques through the McArthur-Forrest process of extraction, but this also led to a structural transformation in the sector in the form of large mining-finance houses which could raise the necessary capital for opening and operating the mines through group control, and the

¹² The speculation and trading in gold claims would attract banks and financial investors and the establishment of a stock exchange with investment from local and international capital.

utilization of cheap African labour which could ensure low production costs (Van Onselen, 2001; Wheatcroft, 1993; Beavon, 2004). The mining houses formed – and there were six main houses¹³ that dominated the sector – were represented in the Chamber of Mines, and would lobby in unison to structure wage and labour relations, thus controlling the industry through oligarchic control (Nattrass & Seekings, 2010; Harrison & Zack, 2012).

Another concern for the gold industry was that gold had to be traded at internationally fixed prices. In order to ensure profitability in the sector, industry players benefited from the presence of cheap black African labour sourced from South Africa and the immediate region. Additional systems applied by the mining industry – drawing from experiences in the diamond mining sector – included labour control and the provision of boarding-style housing for black African male workers which kept production costs low.

These systems benefited from (and entrenched) existing socio-spatial conditions and environments that significantly affected Johannesburg's spatial form, and socio-economic trajectory for decades to follow.

Johannesburg was also affected by the political instability created by the South African War, which broke out in 1899, pitting forces representing the British against those of the Boer republics. The war led to a halt in mining production, with Johannesburg falling under British control following occupation in May, 1900. The town was not physically damaged from the war, but would experience accelerated urbanization and population growth through an influx of displaced migrants from rural areas looking to find work in the mining town. Once the region stabilized following the end of the war in 1902, mining resumed in Johannesburg, propelling the Witwatersrand region into one of the world's largest gold-producing regions (Nattrass & Seekings, 2010; Harrison & Zack, 2012).

¹³ These were the Gold Fields of South Africa (which later became Consolidated Gold Fields) established by Cecil Rhodes and his partner Rudd; the Albu Family (which would grow into General Mining); Eckstein (which would become Rand Mines); Wernher and Beit (which grew into Central Mining), Goerz (which became the Union Corporation), and Barnato (Johannesburg Consolidated Investments or JCI) (Nattrass & Seekings, 2010)

4.1.2 Johannesburg's urban space economy

This first phase of Johannesburg's development was also marked by South Africa's transition into a modern state, and with this, the creation and establishment of 'new' political and administrative systems, tools and systems of spatial governance and administration, and systems for planning and managing urban development (Mabin & Smit, 1997).

Johannesburg's emergence was influenced by the growing mining sector, but also by these systems of spatial governance. The rapid urbanization and growth that followed the discovery of gold on the Rand forced Paul Kruger, then president of the Transvaal, to formally allow public diggings in Johannesburg and establish the town. The site selected for the new town's location was a publicly owned 'leftover triangle' (*uitvalgrond*) between Braamfontein, Doornfontein and Turffontein farms, and it was from this central node that mining, commercial activity, and the town's CBD would grow (Beavon, 2005).

Johannesburg's spatial form and functional layout expanded outwards from the original mining town, structured by the town's economic form, the mining reef, and by socio-spatial ordering of society. Johannesburg town had commercial activity at the centre at the town's original location; mining and industrial activity to the south and extending east and westwards along the gold reef; and residential areas to the north of the CBD, away from the mines.

The internal form of the CBD was distributed according to varying economic activities, which, at the time, included retail, the finance sector, and the mining and related industrial functions. The commercial core was centered around the town's original Market square, which was established in 1887. Retail activity and department stores extended along the northern frontage of this area along Presidents Street, a finance quadrant¹⁴ to the south western areas.

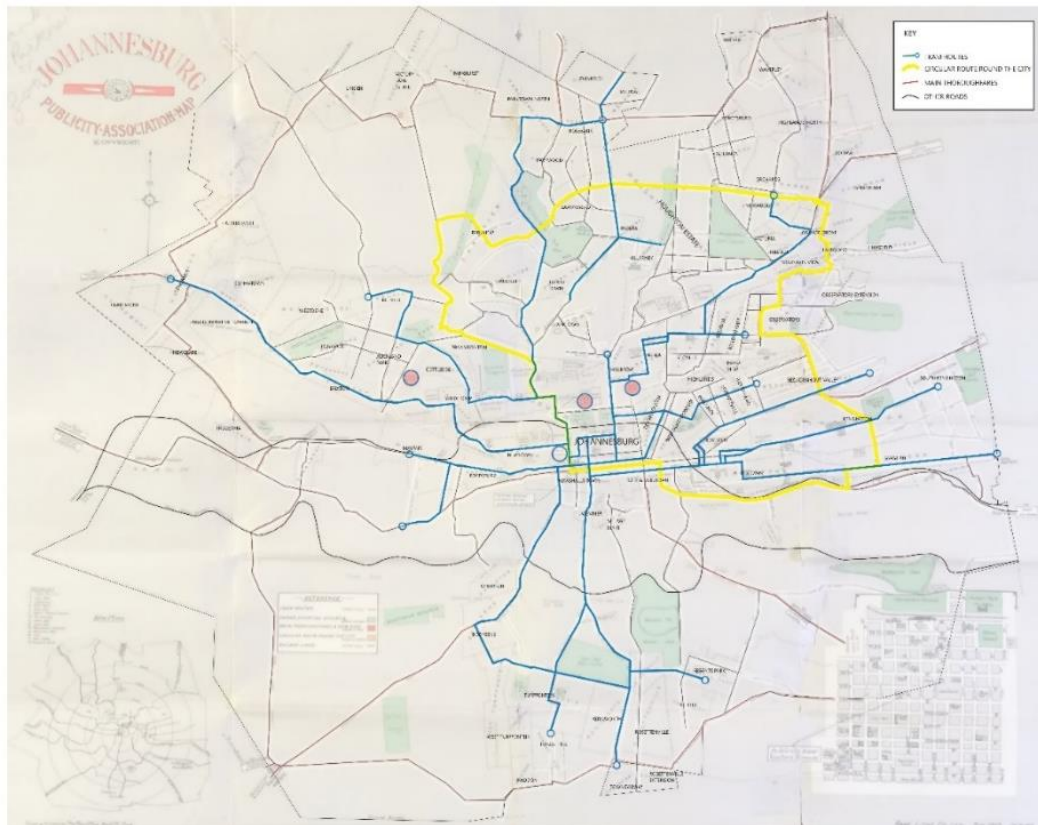
¹⁴ The finance quadrant had the Stock Exchange, the Chamber of Mines, the Rand Club, and related stock and finance offices.

The gold reef stretched to the south of the town along an east-west formation, and this structured the location and layout of mines and mining compounds. Industries supporting the mining sector – including engineering, building, milling and brewing – and workers residential facilities (which comprised compounds, boarding houses and slum yards) were also located close to the mines (Beavon, 2001; 2005).

As the town grew, local and regional transport systems developed, from oxen and mules, to a light rail (the Rand Tram) which ran from Boksburg to Johannesburg transporting coal, as well as passengers. The railway line was extended to Krugersdorp in the West and Springs in the East, and would later be extended to connect Johannesburg to towns in the coast.

Johannesburg's residential spatial form also grew in similar format, reflecting colonial and racial administrative systems of the time, laying the foundation for the town's future development. For the city's wealthy residents, a variety of residential options were offered through private development companies, and these were initially provided to the north and north-eastern areas of the town, away from the mines. As the town grew, residential development continued northward, driven by the extension of transportation (tram) networks and the decisions of property development companies (Hart G. , 1996).

Figure 4.3: The Tram Network in Johannesburg



Source: Author (2015) adapted from (Johannesburg-1912, 2013)

The lower-lying western areas comprised a mix of residential and light industrial activities, including the brick-making industries (Brickfields, Burghersdorp), as well as housing for a mix of poor white Afrikaners, black African, Indian and coloured¹⁵ residents. For the skilled mine workers and unskilled black workers, residential development was provided in racially segregated boarding houses and mine compounds respectively in the city's southern areas within closer proximity to the mines. Other black African residents not employed in the mines and working in a variety of trades (including domestic work, shop workers, brick-making, washer-men, and employees in small-scale businesses) sought their own accommodation in

¹⁵ Coloured residents, in the South Africa context, is applied to refer to the population designation applied by administrations at the time to describe persons of mixed European ("white") and black African ("black") or Asian ancestry.

municipal 'locations' and inner-city slum yards such as Doornfontein, and Prospect.

4.1.3 Institutional Location and Role of Planning

At a broader level, historians have observed that spatial planning and urban management in South Africa developed through attempts to better control and coordinate urban growth and development, mainly in response to speculative residential development responding to urban growth (Mabin & Smit, 1997). From this period, then, planning was based on the scientific, rational ordering of urban space and land use through various instruments, schemes and land use controls (Sihlongonyane, 2014).

These systems were developed through separate provincial/regional administrations that existed at the time¹⁶, and were later centralized following the creation of the Union of South Africa, with the administration of township establishment tasked to provincial administrations. The main entity in charge of this role was the Townships Board, and its functions included setting conditions, regulating and approving the establishment of townships (Mabin & Smit, 1997). Planning functions were centralized and assigned to provincial administrations due to the failure of municipal administrations (at the time) to adequately enforce slum clearance requirements of national government (ibid). Over time, this would constrain the ability of local municipalities to control and manage urban growth as required.

Provincial administrations administered land use and planning within their jurisdictions via land use planning ordinances¹⁷. These provided guidelines for municipal planning, requiring municipal areas to prepare town planning schemes to provide the technical guidance on land use, densities among others, with the Province retaining powers of review and approval. Within the Witwatersrand, efforts at establishing joint planning and service delivery

¹⁶ First in Natal in 1881, and then the Orange Free State in 1884.

¹⁷ The Transvaal Planning Ordinance was adopted in 1931.

systems were also initiated, though these would not take root as different areas pursued differing and competitive goals (Mabin, 1995).

While spatial planning and urban management was present in overseeing Johannesburg's growth (through township establishment) it is not clear that planning took a leading role in shaping the development of the town, nor did it have a broad, grand objective to achieve. As the decades progressed, however, these systems of spatial governance would be applied more strongly for land use management and control, as well as in racial spatial ordering of urban development.

These systems were however not in place when Johannesburg town was established, and therefore, the town's spatial governance systems evolved incrementally with the growing town. Historians have emphasized the interlinked relationship between the town's economic emergence and the town's systems of spatial governance (Van Onselen, 2001; Beavon, 2005). The fact, for example, that Johannesburg's administrative systems were created after the economy had been established meant that specific aspects of the town's economy would be 'outside' the reach of area planning systems and aspirations (Beavon, 2004). Mining areas, for example, were administered under separate laws and administrative systems from other areas. This meant that a significant portion of land in Johannesburg area was excluded from municipal control. At the same time, Johannesburg spatial administration policies were also implemented within a broader framework of national systems and policies, which meant that colonial systems of racial spatial segregation and administration were also implemented in the new town.

Prior to being established as a Municipality, Johannesburg was first under the management of a special *landrost* (magistrate) as part of the District of Pretoria within the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* (later the Province of Transvaal). When the town was established, a Diggers Committee was set up to administer the licensing of mining rights and claims. A Sanitary Board was established in 1887 to replace this Diggers Committee and undertake

administrative management roles. The tasks of the Board expanded with the town's growth: from the laying out of stands and allocation of diggers rights, to the planning and provision of transport networks and provision of infrastructure.

Johannesburg was proclaimed as a municipality under British rule in 1902, and the town's boundaries were expanded to include the mining land to the south and townships to the north, which provided increased revenue and land for planning and development (Beavon, 2004). Under this Town Council, planning mainly comprised land use and development control, which was first under the town's engineering department before a Town Planning branch was established in 1931 (Shorten, 1970; Beavon, 2004).

Segregation of black African Residential Areas

The growth of the mining industry and the growth of Johannesburg attracted more and more low-wage labour to the city, leading to the growth of congested, low income residential areas, or slums, thus necessitating state intervention (Smit, 1989). municipal intervention in slums came in the form of removals and relocation – of the predominantly black population – from the central city following the outbreak of the Bubonic plague in 1902 (Bonner & Segal, 1998).

While these removals were framed as public health interventions, they also served goals of racial separation and segregation of residents, and posed significant challenges for black African residents. Labourers were forced to endure long and inconvenient travel distances and time to work. Furthermore, the economic activities and opportunities that had been created in these compounds, such as the selling of African liquor to mine workers, were disrupted. Living conditions in the new location at Klipspruit were reported to be as unhealthy as those in the inner-city slums.

The spatial template formed by Johannesburg's urban space economy and the surrounding residential form in the beginning of the 1900s would continue to grow along similar patterns: with the mining belt and the adjacent industrial spaces running on an east-west axis, the CBD and its

functional zones in the middle; and the North-South separation of the working class (and black African) residential spaces from those of more affluent residents with northern areas housing the predominantly white upper income residents, and in the South, a mix of lower income residents with Black African population in Klipspruit, the early beginnings of what would be Soweto.

4.2 1940s – 1970s: Manufacturing and the apartheid regime

The period from the 1940s to the 1970s also coincided with a series of social, political and economic changes at the global level and within the South African state that would significantly alter Johannesburg's urban space economy. These included the expansion and structural transformation of South Africa's state and economy with the shift towards manufacturing in the World War II period, the establishment of the Apartheid regime, and spatially, the continued urbanization and growth of Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand region and within this, the creation of the racially segregated spatial form under Apartheid planning systems of spatial governance.

While many western economies were affected by the global economic depression in the 1930s, South Africa was severely affected by this depression, but recovered rapidly once it abandoned the gold standard in 1932, following which gold prices and mine profitability increased, and South Africa experienced an economic boom. The country's economy continued to expand in the 1930s, driven largely by growth in the mining sector and continued capital inflows into South Africa and Johannesburg (Beavon, 2004). Even after mining declined in the Central Rand following the discovery (and opening) of new and more profitable mines in the Far East Rand and the Free State, the Witwatersrand region continued to be the corporate centre for the gold mining industry (Harrison & Zack, 2012).

In the 1940's South Africa's economy began to shift towards manufacturing. Manufacturing initially began through import-substitution as the Second World War disrupted the country's import chains, but would then expand

and consolidate during the period of the War into becoming the leading economic sector in the country. The growth of manufacturing has been attributed to a number of reasons, including: shifts in government policy towards import substitution, local industry stimulation, and the protection of local manufacturing interests; as well as increased reliance on local manufacturing as a result of reduced imports during the Second World War.¹⁸

The growth and expansion of manufacturing was also orchestrated and structured by administrative and structural shifts in the South African state over the same period.

The coming to power of the Pact Government through an alliance of the National and Labour parties in 1924 introduced changes and new directions in policy, ushering in a regime through which South Africa's systems of administration, governance, and planning would be expanded, and the country's fiscal, strategic, technical and political capacity channelled towards directing specific forms of spatial and economic development (Nattrass & Seekings, 2010).

Policy and administrative systems introduced at this time were geared towards the protection and support of interests of the local (South African) white population, presenting a contrast from the previous decades when mining dominated, and mining interests - which, through their reliance on foreign capital, were seen as representative of foreign interests – were more strongly supported (Feinstein, 2005; Nattrass & Seekings, 2010). The Pact Government and succeeding administrations created the conditions and environment for manufacturing to grow and expand, including the establishment of physical infrastructure and supportive industries. In addition to the railway, the state would establish Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) in 1923; the Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation (ISCOR) in 1928; and the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in

¹⁸ The manufacturing share of GDP rose between 12% and 19% between 1939 and 1949 (Nattrass & Seekings, 2010)

1940. The IDC was created to facilitate, promote, and direct the financing of industrial activities in the country, and financed the establishment of the Phosphate Development Corporation (FOSKOR) and South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation (SASOL) in 1950. Additional supportive policies that were created to support the manufacturing sector include: tariff protection and the subjection of private enterprises to fiscal, monetary and legislative controls; and direct investments in key infrastructure.

In 1948, the National Party (NP) gained a majority of seats in the Union Parliament, thus ushering in a socio-political transition for South Africa whereby colonial policies and systems were extended to full segregation and separate development through racially discriminatory legislation and policies under Apartheid.

The Apartheid regime was far-reaching in structure, intention and manifestation, with its spatial and economic impacts lingering to date. These have been documented and analyzed in diverse academic and non-academic sources over the years. While some authors have focused on the evolution of the state and administrative apparatus under Apartheid and its role in shaping the country's economic development (Wolpe, 1972; Nattrass & Seekings, 2010), others have documented the continual structuring and restructuring of the apparatus of the state to control and manage urbanization and growth based on these principles of Apartheid; and the evolution of spatial planning in this period to drive spatial development under this regime (for instance Mabin & Smit, 1997; Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2008). Yet others have highlighted the impact and influence of Apartheid on the control and management of black African urban experiences (Bonner & Segal, 1998). While a main focus of analysis and documentation on the Apartheid regime highlights the application of socio-spatial engineering systems to expand opportunities for the Afrikaner population; authors have also highlighted the system's economic logic, and the fact that it merely perpetuated existing (colonial) systems of economic production, class rule and domination at the expense of the black population (Wolpe, 1972).

A collective theme emerging from these and many other authors is the role played by the Apartheid state and institutions in the structuring of South Africa's social, spatial, and economic development, and, through spatial policy of residential segregation, impacts on cities and areas' spatial formation and development. Through policy development, expansion of the state through the public and parastatal sectors, as well as direct intervention in the economy to promote agricultural and industrial development, the Apartheid state drove and shaped the country's economy through the rise of the manufacturing sector. Policies of apartheid were also applied to directly intervene in the labour market to control economic production.

As mentioned earlier, the manufacturing sector grew and expanded through state development and support policies. Within the industry, state policies intervened in different ways, from the protection of skilled white labour from competition through provision of inflated earnings and higher living standards; limitation of black African urbanization through influx control and through forced removals of the black population to the Bantustans. This model of state-support for the sector was critiqued by historians for harbouring weaknesses and contradictions that would ultimately compromise the manufacturing sector in later decades (Callinicos, 1987; Russel, 1993; Bell & Madula, 2002).

As examples, the reliance on a low-wage economy in the mining and agricultural sectors left them vulnerable to competition from the higher-wage manufacturing sector. At the same time, however, this created rapid urban growth, which posed control issues for the state which was still implementing policies of racial segregation under Apartheid (Nattrass & Seekings, 2010). Additionally, firms were also protected from international competition and were ultimately unable to achieve returns to scale (Nattrass & Seekings, 2010). The growth experienced in the manufacturing sectors was not efficient and ultimately, would not thrive within the context of a shrunken domestic market (Feinstein, 2005).

The state-led protection of the domestic market however also had some benefits, most notably an increase in private-sector concentration of ownership and diversification of private capital into industrial sectors, as well as growth of financial conglomerates. Anglo-American, for example, had already acquired a chemicals manufacturer (AECI) in 1929, and went on to establish Highveld Steel, acquire Skaw Metals, establish Mondi Paper business and further expand in the 1970s to automobile retailing and production, property, banking and so on. In 1995, 86% of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange was controlled by six conglomerates: Anglo-American, Sanlam, Rembrandt, South Africa Mutual, Liberty Life and Anglo-Vaal (Nattrass & Seekings, 2010). This diversification would drive the growth of the tertiary sector which would continue to drive the economy following the decline of manufacturing.

The Apartheid regime steered the spatial development of towns and cities across the country through the continued centralization of systems of spatial governance and planning, the development of spatial and economic policies to support the visions of the Apartheid state. Planning powers and decision-making was increasingly centralized at the national level, through the establishment of agencies for spatial and economic planning, the enactment of policies and laws for the achievement of the broader goals of Apartheid, which sought to pursue visions of racially separate development.

A key theme identified in policy at this time was the centralization of planning and control of land use and spatial development both at the local and regional scale. Planning agencies such as the Social Economic Planning Council (SEPC), the National Resources Development Council (NRDC), the Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB), the National Department of Planning¹⁹, and the Department of Community Development and Bantu Affairs Administration Boards (BAABs) were created within this period. These departments implemented technical systems of planning, spatial

¹⁹ The National Department of Planning was created in 1964 to replace the NDRC and the LTAB.

restructuring and development in pursuit of Apartheid aspirations for racial segregation, and also orchestrated the implementation of these policies.

The Physical Planning Act of 1967, for instance, sought to determine the location of industrial development, the centralization of metropolitan and regional land use planning through guide plans; and the establishment of machinery for planning at the regional and national levels. Complementary efforts towards centralization were introduced through the metropolitan transport advisory boards (MTABs), which planned and invested in metropolitan transport systems including the development of highways, through which spatial administration was centralized, although they also simultaneously fragmented planning action (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Maylam, 1990; Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2008). Broader framework related regulation dictating land use and determination of related spatial functions – housing, education, economic activity and transport which fell within the broader dictates of modernist planning in place at the time (Parnell & Mabin, 1995).

At the national and provincial level, then, the wide range of policies and legislation were being applied to determine the form and functioning of the broader space economy; and locally, the structuring of space to ensure racial separation and segregation. From the literature, spatial planning under Apartheid played two key roles: the technical management of space and spatial development through land use management systems; and the pursuit of Apartheid spatial visions through removal and relocation of 'non-European' residents from the 'white' city into state-developed black residential townships or rural homeland areas (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2008).

In the case of Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand therefore, where the expanding manufacturing sector led to continued urbanization and growth of reef municipalities, planning systems manifested across multiple levels. In the ordinary 'white' cities and areas under their jurisdiction, provincial and local governments formulated plans and initiatives to coordinate and

manage spatial growth and development, facilitate cross-border planning and resource management, and regulate private-sector led development of residential and commercial spaces (Mabin & Smit, 1997).

Within towns and cities, extensive measures were undertaken to ensure spatial racial segregation and sustain the 'temporary' status of black African urban residents, including forced relocation of residents into segregated townships; and controlled management of activity within townships to contain and suppress growth and hamper economic expansion. These initiatives, would continually encounter contradiction and conflict as the economies of 'white' South Africa relied heavily on production systems underpinned by low-wage black African labour.

Johannesburg's development between the 1940's and 1970s was therefore heavily influenced by these factors, with the town growing and expanding through these twin processes. The town received powers to prepare town planning schemes in 1931 and in 1932, the first town planning committee was constituted. Through these functions, authorities could regulate development more directly (City of Johannesburg, 1986).

4.2.1 Johannesburg Urban Space Economy: 1930s-70s

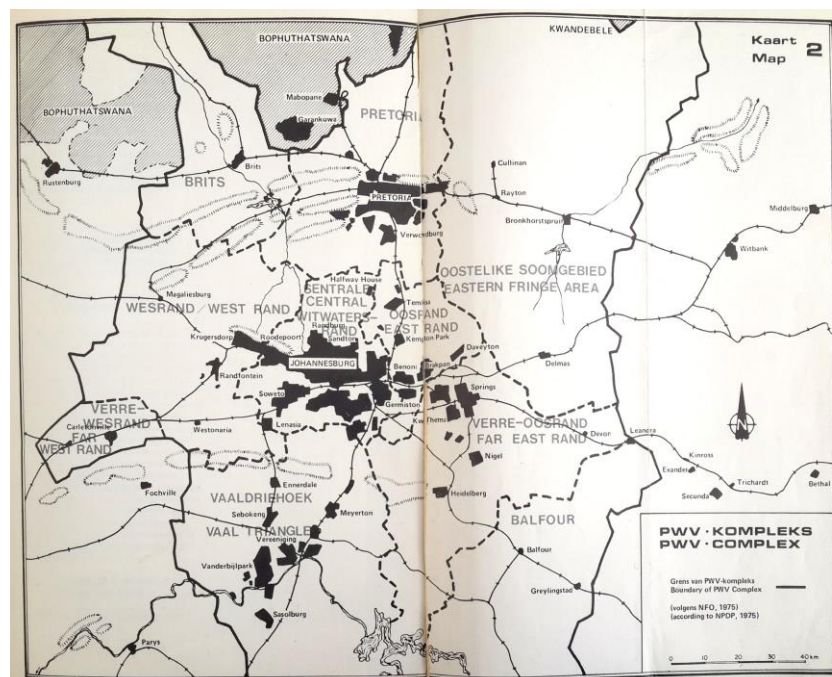
Johannesburg's evolution from the 1930s to the 1970s could be summarized through a number of key transformations, all linked to the region and country's shifting economy on the one hand; and socio-political transition on the other. These include: the expansion and growth of the main CBD and the expansion of industrial areas with the growth of manufacturing; the northward expansion of the town through suburbanization of white residential areas; the resulting spatial changes influenced by developments in local and regional transport to meet this growth; and finally the separate though not unrelated developments in the black residential areas due to the implementation of various forms of racial segregation and urban control policies.

Although actual mining activity in Johannesburg was in relative decline with the rest of the Central Rand region from the 1940s, the town continued to

grow as a commercial and corporate node, and through the agglomeration of mining, finance, and investment companies as well as the stock exchange, remained strongly linked to the mining industry. Manufacturing and industrial activity also expanded and grew within the region, consolidating around the established space economy.

By the 1950's the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PVW) region had already emerged as an integrated hub of economic activity that spanned across a number of municipalities along the north-south and east-west corridors (Mabin, 2013). The spatial location and growth of manufacturing activity in Johannesburg and the broader region however took on varied forms, as outlined by Cole (1957). The availability of open and level land in the East Rand, for example, enabled the local municipality to lay out spacious, well equipped industrial sites. Towns in the Central Rand, including Johannesburg, Germiston and Roodeport, however, had limited sites as industrial areas formed after mining and residential growth, and were therefore confined to areas along the railway line and abandoned mining land.

Figure 4.4: The Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PVW) Complex



Source: (Republic of South Africa, 1981)

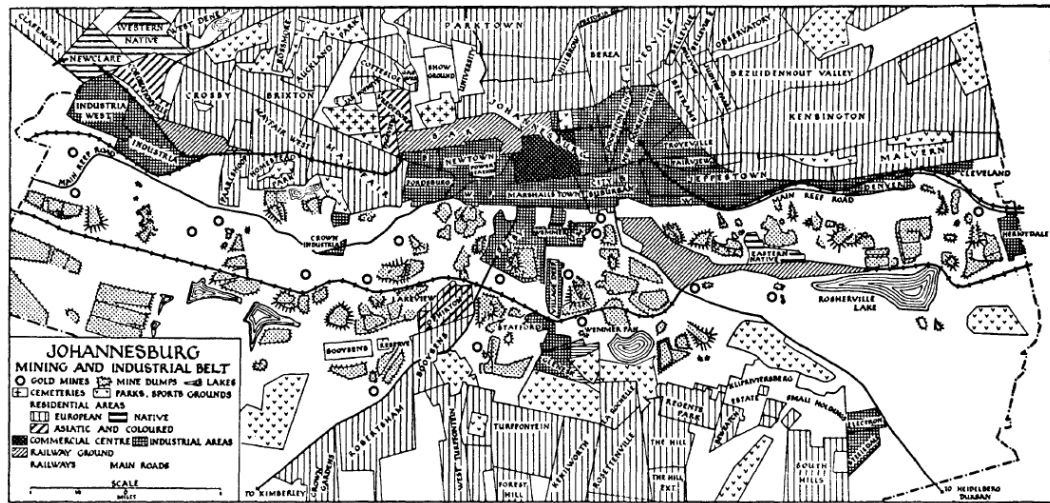
Industrial activity in Johannesburg was established relatively early on the back of mining growth, and featured more diversity. Through rail connections, Johannesburg's industrial areas were connected to iron and steel production areas in Vereeniging and Pretoria, and to ports and inland markets.

Industrial spaces in Johannesburg therefore developed with shifting needs and growth of the manufacturing sector. As initial production was to support the Witwatersrand gold mines, industrial sites were located close to the mines in the townships of Marshalltown and City and Suburban.

With increased manufacturing during and after the war, these industries relocated to spacious sites, still along the railway line, in the townships of Denver, Jeppe, Industria and Heriotdale. In addition to proximity to the railway line, other factors that influenced the location and clustering of industries in Johannesburg included proximity to markets, convenience of travel for workers; as well as clustering to related industries (as with the food processing, abattoirs, cold stores, wholesale produce and grain mills in Newtown²⁰). Further industrial development also occurred 'outside' Johannesburg's boundaries; with areas like Kew and Edenvale in the North benefiting from access to cheap labour from Alexandra; and in Roodeport in the west, engineering and cement works relying on proximity to the railway (Ibid)

²⁰ The clustering of food and beverages sector around Newtown would have links to the rise of South African Breweries

Figure 4.5: Johannesburg's Mining and Industrial areas



Source: Cole (1957)

Alongside the expansion of industrial and commercial areas, Johannesburg also grew through residential development through the twin process of suburbanization on one hand, and the expansion of segregated black residential areas under Apartheid on the other. The growth of these residential areas followed spatial patterns that had been established in earlier decades, and was solidified by Apartheid laws and policies of racial segregation which sought to steer separate processes of urbanization for 'white' and 'black' areas.

For the city's white population, residential townships would continue to develop in the city's North, and were mainly led by private development companies, although this growth was also facilitated through the availability of transport infrastructure over the decades (Mubiwa & Annegarn, 2013). Suburban expansion was facilitated by the expansion of private motor-car use in 'white' areas, and the decline of the tram in the 1960s.

This residential development and township establishment in the north of Johannesburg was occurring both within the municipality's administrative boundaries, as well as in peri-urban areas outside the municipality. This continued suburbanization in the peri-Urban areas outside the municipality forced Transvaal administration to create a Peri Urban Areas Health Board,

which was charged with controlling development and providing services for these areas. With continued urbanization, however, these areas would be established as separate municipalities. The effect of this, as will be elaborated in the following chapter, was that an otherwise singular space economy was split into multiple and diverse administrative areas.

The wave of residential suburbanization in Johannesburg caused significant changes in the city's urban space economy. The process in itself was not unique to South Africa, as the increased use of the motor-car led to suburbanization of many cities across the world. In South Africa, however, the suburbanization caused by the decentralization of white residential spaces meant that the economically viable communities would relocate further and further away from the original CBD, and these would lead to the decentralization of retail and commercial activity from the CBD and the rise of suburban shopping centres (Beavon, 1998).

With residential activity moving further and further away from the CBD (and with these, retail and suburban nodes serving these communities) over time, new centralities were being established further and further from the municipality's traditional commercial node. These new nodes were further consolidated through developments in transportation infrastructure, most notably the expansion of the roads network and the construction of freeways in the North of Johannesburg from the 1970's. While these infrastructural investments created a more connected, multinodal regional space economy, they also offered opportunities for new corporate and commercial investment away from traditional CBDs, and these have been partly identified as the cause for the decline of Johannesburg's CBD.

Johannesburg's CBD experienced a period of growth between 1940 and 1970, although this growth was also compromised by decentralization activity that occurred through a process of suburbanization that occurred from the 1960, and which introduced new competitive cores and nodes in these areas. The CBD also experienced internal challenges as a result of its form and spatial layout from the original mining town.

The decentralization of Johannesburg's urban space economy has been identified and described in the literature through two inter-related processes: the gradual decline of the CBD through which the core was rendered increasingly incapable of meeting the spatial needs of the growing corporate sector; and on the other hand, the decentralization of high-order retail, businesses and the corporate sector from the core CBD to competitive suburban nodes and CBD's in the North (Beavon, 1998; 2000; Goga, 2005). The ultimate effect, as identified in this literature, was that the CBD continued to lose its primacy as the leading economic centre in the region; and also underwent a dramatic process of decay and decline.

The decentralization process has however also been traced back to a more gradual process that started in the 1890's, when wealthier city residents relocated from Doornfontein to the Parktown Ridge in the north, thus establishing the first of the northern suburbs (Beavon, 1998). These residential developments attracted small shopping centres and retail activity although these offered little competition for the CBD. The nodes however continued to grow and expand through mall development, and the agglomeration of service functions drawing closer to white residential suburbs which represented the main consumer markets. Over time, these nodes provided significant competition for retail activity to the CBD (Goga, 2005).

The first significant wave of corporate decentralization only came in the 1950s with the relocation of Johannesburg's Council to a new Civic centre in Braamfontein, and the rezoning of additional stands to accommodate more commercial functions (Beavon, 1998). The move to Braamfontein by companies like Eskom, SAB, Shell, Imperial Chemicals and the Schlesinger Company have been interpreted as representing early decentralization, but also attested to the convenience and proximity of Braamfontein, and to the CBD's tight real-estate market as opposed to falling confidence in the CBD. In the 1960s, however, the inadequacies presented by the CBD's spatial form became more inconvenient to the needs of the growing corporate

sector. The original CBD, planned to serve the mining town, comprised narrow streets, small city blocks, and small stands (Beavon, 1998, p. 3). As the town grew, the use of cars increased, as did the demand for office space, with developers constructing blocks that spread over more than one stand. Over the decades, a number of planning initiatives and solutions were developed to address these challenges, including the extension of business rights across to Braamfontein, which allowed development to spill over outside the traditional CBD (but not too far); the removal of density and bulk restrictions to allow for the construction of taller buildings as well as the construction of superblocks²¹; as well as traffic management in the CBD. Transportation solutions were developed through the development of connecting bridges linking the northern suburbs to the CBD, though these transport solutions did little to decongest the CBD.

Planning interventions led to considerable densification in the CBD in this period. Within a decade, as Beavon (1998) outlines, there was a 34.6% increase in floor-space achieved through the development of over 60 additional buildings in the CBD. Ultimately, however, the increased development of taller buildings was unable to curb the corporate decentralization that was already underway (Beavon, 2000; 2004). Johannesburg's CBD however continued to function as the main economic node, and only lost this pole position when corporate activity was also drawn out of the CBD in the 1990s.

4.2.2 Controlling African Urbanization (1940s-1970s)

Another key spatial trend that occurred Johannesburg in the period from the 1940s to the 1970s was the continued separation of black African residents from the 'white' areas through processes of colonial racial segregation and later, through the extension of these policies under the Apartheid regime. Literature on this period documents the formation, establishment, and subsequent development of these black residential areas, highlighting how

²¹ These were sites on which developments covered one or more city blocks (Beavon, 1998).

a wide range of tools of spatial planning, administration and governance were applied to control and limit black African urbanization, and to contain residents' participation and involvement in the local economy (Turok, 1994a).

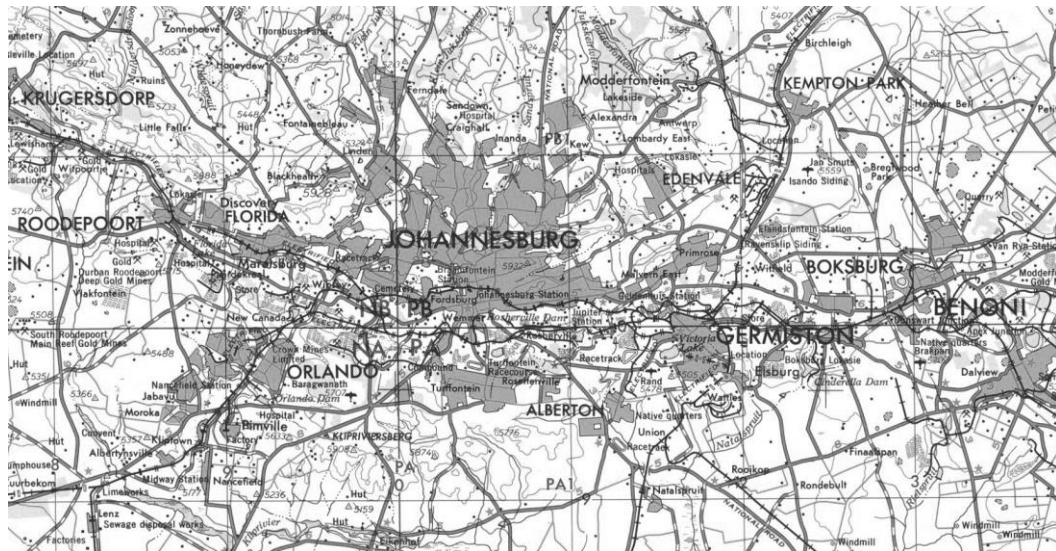
These goals were achieved through the forceful removal of black and other 'non-white' urban residents from the 'white' city, and their relocation to townships outside municipal boundaries. The subsequent existence of these residents was controlled through multiple laws and policies which also dictated the economic roles of residents in these urban spaces and within the rest of the country.

In Johannesburg, the removal of black African and other 'non-white' residents from the city was achieved incrementally and through a number of strategies including: forced removals and slum clearances through public health interventions; and the rezoning of areas along the railway line for industrial expansion, thus making them unavailable for residential use (Beavon, 2004). A number of authors cover the processes through which Soweto and other black residential areas would emerge and evolve before, during, and after Apartheid, highlighting the challenges that were faced by local and national governments in attempting to control black African urbanization (see, for example Pirie, 1986; Callinicos, 1987; Bonner & Segal, 1998).

The process of relocation however was not continuous, and depended on resource availability within national and municipal administrations. While the Johannesburg municipality attempted to provide housing for black African residents in the early 1920s and 1930s, the housing provided was not adequate to cater for the ever-increasing black African population. By the 1940's, Johannesburg's black African population was growing twice as fast as the white population, and, due to lack of adequate housing, would continually reside in informal settlements in established townships such as Orlando, Pimville, Sophiatown, and Alexandra in Johannesburg. While Johannesburg authorities continued to attempt to clear these rapidly forming

informal settlements, these efforts would be unsuccessful as there was no adequate housing to accommodate the evicted households (South Africa History Online, 2011).

Figure 4.6: Johannesburg Topographical Map indicating populated areas, 1962



Source: Republic of South Africa, 1962

The post-war period – which also coincided with the coming to power of the Apartheid regime – was marked by more aggressive removals and relocation of black African residents, and through this, a significant expansion of the Soweto area. At this time, the town's black African residents had structurally shifted, from one dominated by male workers employed in the mining and industrial sectors to a more generalized population comprising with family units.

In pursuit of its key goal of restricting and preventing African urbanization, the Apartheid administration attempted to reverse the permanent status of black Africans in the City through the implementation of a wide range of laws, and through the forceful removal of residents to independent African states known as 'homelands'. For urban areas, the state passed legislation²² that would fast track removal of black Africans, and enable

²² For example, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (which would enhance forced removals) and the Native Building Workers Act which established municipal Departments of Housing as well as enable the use of skilled black labour in constructing houses.

municipalities to accelerated housing provision in designated areas. These enabled the complete removal of black African, coloured, and Indian residents from central Johannesburg.

Johannesburg's housing department was created in 1954, and provided housing for black Africans through construction of townships, the lease of land to black Africans for own construction. Removals and relocations implemented to achieve this disrupted the social and economic lives of residents as authorities forcibly relocated residents with little consideration and adherence to existing social ties (Bonner & Segal, 1998). Finance for township development came from Government Housing Loans; Loans from Bantu Services Levy Fund; Loans from Mining Houses and Soldiers Housing Organisations; the municipality's Consolidated Loans Fund and the Capital Development Fund, and from grants from the Services Levy Fund (Lewis P. R., 1966). The regional collective of black African townships that would later be named 'Soweto' – South Western Townships – grew significantly in this period as listed below.

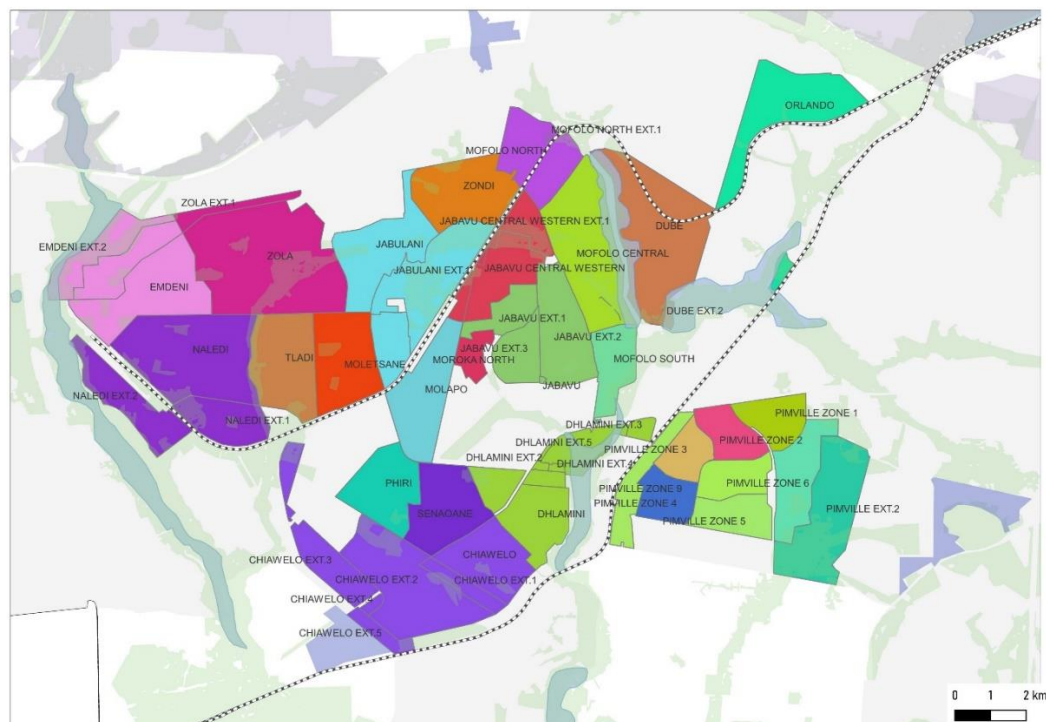
Table 4.1: Soweto's Size and Estimated Population, June, 1964

NAME OF TOWNSHIP	YEAR	POPULATION	NUMBER OF HOUSES
Pimville (Klipspruit)	1906	29088	1232
Eastern Native Township	1926	3968	627
Orlando	1930	65593	11314
Jabavu	1948	25468	5100
Dube	1948	12727	1957
Mofolo	1954	28284	4543
Central Western Jabavu	1954	25468	1432
Moroka North	1955	15207	2693
Molapo	1956	8188	1466
Moletsane	1956	10360	1962
Tladi	1956	10000	1860
Dhlamini	1956	9015	1422
Tshiawelo (Chiawelo)	1956	20152	3989
Jabulani	1956	11721	2039

Naledi	1956	19923	4043
Mapetla	1956	11476	2105
Phiri	1956	11332	2190
Zondi	1956	8861	1548
Senaoane	1958	8732	1511
Zola	1958	30630	5572
Emdeni	1958	11680	2298
TOTAL		360994	60902

Source: South Africa History Online, generated from Non-European Affairs Department (NEAD) reports

Figure 4.7: Soweto's early suburbs



Source: Author, 2019, with data from NEAD reports

The exception to this pattern of development was Alexandra Township. Having been established in 1912 prior to the 1913 Land Act, 'Alex' remained one of the few areas in Johannesburg where black Africans could own property under freehold right. The township was located in the North East of Johannesburg and fell outside the then municipal boundaries, and was administered by a Health Committee established in 1916. Due to limited

resources, living conditions in the area remained inadequate amid a context of increasing population. By 1948, Alexandra's population was estimated at 80-100 000 residents.

Under the Apartheid regime, Alexandra's management was put under the national Department of Native Affairs. Within the following decades, the government attempted to manage Alexandra's growth, through influx control; to decrease its population by harsh implementation of pass laws and the removal and relocation of residents to other townships; and lastly, to withdraw existing freehold rights in the area. And while some form of decongestion occurred, with residents from Alexandra being moved to Soweto and Tembisa in the East Rand, authorities were unable to completely remove the township. Indeed, historians have noted that this was never the intention, as Alex township was too valuable as a labour pool for the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg (Roefs, Naidoo, Meyer, & Makalela, 2003). The area however remained under continual threat of removals, and continued efforts of restructuring, replanning, and disruption within the Apartheid era.

The physical and social environment in these black residential areas was varied, although they were generally underserved by physical and social infrastructure in comparison to white residential areas. Public transport was provided through bus and railway²³, although this was also limited and inadequate, thus highly inconveniencing for both residents and employers. Similarly, social and economic infrastructure such as parks, sports grounds, shops, banks, commercial services, electricity, and roads were generally lacking (Kane-Berman, 1978; Bonner & Segal, 1998).

Johannesburg's economy was deeply intertwined with that of black African residential areas, and therefore shifts and changes in this economy would also be felt within these areas, though the impacts would be unequal. The expanding economy of Johannesburg and the transition to manufacturing, for example, led to increased demand for labour which meant continued

²³ Until the private minibus 'taxis' came to dominate the sector in the 1970s.

urbanization and population growth within townships. South Africa's participation in the Second World War led to an increase in manufacturing jobs for black African labourers, and continued demand for accommodation in the city which, within the post-war economic boom, was possible. In the post-war period, Johannesburg authorities increased the production of housing for black African residents with additional financing from the private sector, leading to a significant growth of Soweto.

Throughout this period, however, the economic participation of black African residents was heavily controlled and curtailed through variety of policies and laws, and this created stunted economic development in black African townships. In the Apartheid era, economic restrictions were two-fold: the direct control and limitation of economic activity within the townships on the one hand; and the redirection of any 'large scale' commercial and industrial activity to the Homelands ('Bantustans') with the intention of fostering the emergence of self-sustaining political and economic states.

The restriction of local economies in black residential areas in the urban areas was mainly through policy and legislation. As black African residents were expected to mainly serve as labourers for the 'white' city and as black African townships were expected to serve as mere dormitory facilities for these purposes, formal commercial development was highly restricted. Formal trading was heavily legislated and curtailed in these areas, and traders could only lease a single premise to offer basic domestic goods. The formation of partnerships, trading corporations, financial institutions, or wholesale enterprises was not allowed, and, professional service providers such as lawyers or bankers were not granted consulting rooms in the areas but were persuaded to offer services in the homelands (Kane-Berman, 1978).

The overall effect of these policies was a stunting of commercial and corporate enterprise within townships, the outflow of local spending power to the white areas of the city (as local businesses could not offer the same diversity of goods, or competitive prices as businesses in Johannesburg)

and an obstruction of the growth of a black African entrepreneurial class (ibid). Black residential areas remained monotonously residential, with a notable lack of formal economic nodes akin to their white residential counterparts. A notable informal sector however developed under these restrictions, as did home-based commercial and service establishments as is outlined in the following section.

Apartheid-controlled systems of spatial governance experienced continued resistance and opposition, in particular from black African residents who were continually disenfranchised and oppressed through systematic economic, social, and political deprivation. Additional pressure against the regime came from international political and economic sanctions, general economic decline, and rising local political pressure through protest action and economic boycotts. In the mid-1970s, this Apartheid regime began to unravel, ushering in a period of transition and transformation that then established South Africa's post-apartheid democratic regime.

4.3 1976s onwards: Post-Industrial Johannesburg

The period following the 1970's in South Africa and Johannesburg is marked by a number of sweeping social, political and economic changes influenced by global transitions, as well as by internal forces. These included the collapse of the Apartheid political regime and the transition to a non-racial democratic order, the transformation of South Africa's economy from one driven largely by manufacturing, to one led by the services and tertiary sector, and the spatial and administrative of national, provincial and local systems of administration and spatial governance within the democratic regime. In Johannesburg this included the unification of formerly white, black African, coloured and Indian municipal areas into a single metropolitan region.

The collapse of the Apartheid system would be influenced by a wide range of changes, including increased internal resistance to the discriminatory policies and systems that upheld it, and the continued erosion and decline

of the country's economy which worsened in the face of global economic sanctions starting from the late 1970s (Nattrass & Seekings, 2010).

In response, national government attempted to implement a variety of interventions between 1970 and 1990, including legislative and policy adjustments to loosen restrictions on black African populations; upgrading of black African townships and socio-economic upliftment, though these were ultimately unsuccessful.

One of the most notable shifts in South Africa's economy in the 1970's and 1980's was the phase of gradual economic decline between 1973-1994, which was triggered by changes in the broader global economy, but more significantly by domestic socio-political and economic factors. At a global scale, there were structural transformations that included: an increase in flows of foreign direct investment, the new international division of labour, growth in the services and financial sector, as well as an emergence of a global labour market, which shifted the broader patterns and structures of economies across the world (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 1665).

Internally, between 1974-1994 South Africa experienced worsening economic performance, and this was exacerbated by mounting political unrest within the last stages of the Apartheid era. Feinstein (2005, pp. 201-2) summarizes the situation as one marked by a:

decline in real output per head, and a ... slowdown in the rate of growth of output, employment, labour, productivity and exports, [with further signs including] stagnation in real gross fixed capital formation, diminishing output per unit of capital, rising unemployment, rapid inflation, a steep depreciation in the exchange rate, and a persistent balance-of-payments problem. (pg. 201-2)

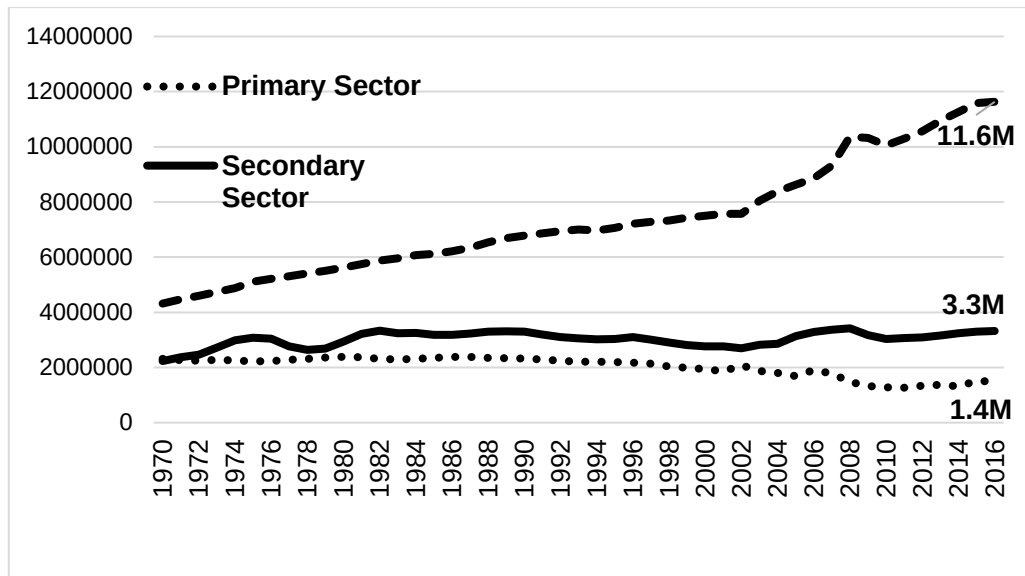
Historians have attributed this economic downturn to a combination of economic, and socio-political factors. Politically, this period was marked by accelerated political discontent, protest and various forms of opposition to the Apartheid regime which affected the general performance and output in the country. These factors cannot be separated from the economic, as, for

instance, continued opposition to Apartheid led to international trade and financial sanctions. However, there were notable shifts in sectoral performance, with a decline in the performance of the gold mining industry, and a decline in the manufacturing sector (ibid; Tomlinson, 1999; Nattrass & Seekings, 2010).

Some of the causes for the decline of manufacturing in South Africa include: internal structural flaws²⁴ in the country's manufacturing sector which stunted the sector and led to reduced performance in later years, changing global and national economic conditions and a decline in mining in the 1970s, barriers to exports from economic sanctions which dulled investment incentives, labour militancy which held back productivity growth in manufacturing, and the existing political environment. Similarly, factors that led to the growth in the tertiary sector in South Africa included the country's economic isolation in the 1980s which forced internal circulation of capital thus increasing investments in shopping malls and the real-estate sector, and growth in the corporate sector and the rise of related business services, including finance in the 1990s (Kaplinsky, 1995; Crankshaw & Parnell, 2002; Nattrass & Seekings, 2010).

²⁴ While manufacturing had expanded in the post-war period, bolstered by state support and policies of tariff protection, it was also quite inefficient, uncompetitive, and served a small domestic market (Feinstein, 2005; Nattrass & Seekings, 2010).

Figure 4.8: Employment by Major Economy Sector: 1972-2017



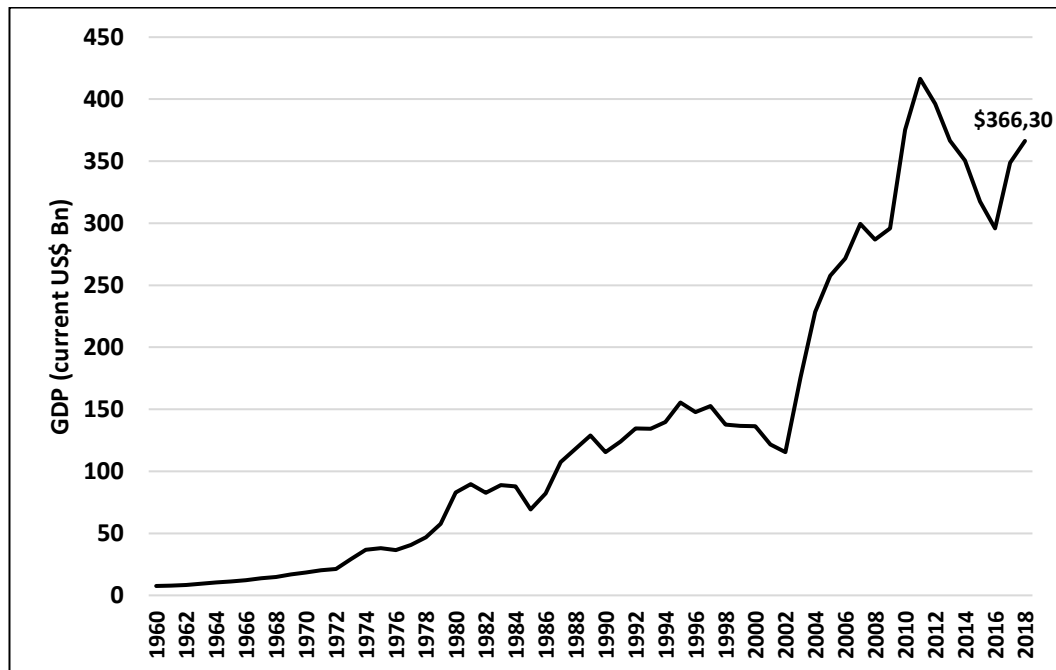
Source: Author, with data from Quantec, South Africa (2018).

In the 1990s, South Africa transitioned into a post-Apartheid democratic dispensation. This period included the dismantling of system of Apartheid laws and policies, the unbanning of political parties and release of political prisoners, and the constitution of the country's first democratic elections in 1994, following which the first black-African administration led by the African National Congress (ANC) came into power. This also included the comprehensive restructuring of nearly all administrative, social and political systems, the development of a new Constitution, and the formulation and institution of equitable, democratic systems of governance and administration.

The country's first post-apartheid administration however inherited a range of economic challenges, including a sharp decline in per capita incomes, slow growth of the manufacturing sector, low levels of investment, capital drain, high unemployment and levels of inequality (Kaplinsky, 1995; Natrass & Seekings, 2010). The new administration was therefore tasked with coordinating and fostering economic growth within the shifting global economy, while attempting to meet post-apartheid policies of eliminating

poverty and inequality while fostering growth (Habib & Padayachee, 2000; Makgetla, 2004; National Planning Commission, 2012).

Figure 4.9: South Africa GDP: 1961-2016



Source: Author, with data from World Bank Open Data, 2018

As Figure 4.9 above shows, South Africa's economy improved in the post-Apartheid era, but would once more suffer setbacks in 2008 in the global financial crisis, which caused an economic recession in South Africa. While improvements were recorded post 2009²⁵, recovery has remained at a slow pace, affected by slow recovery in other regions (Mabugu, 2013). National growth policies in post-Apartheid South Africa have continued to grapple with challenges of high unemployment, poverty and inequality, seeking to stimulate growth and create employment through the revitalization of labour intensive sectors including manufacturing, mining, inputs industries mid-skill service exports and business process outsourcing (BPO). (National Planning Commission, 2012).

²⁵ Influenced also by a growth in manufacturing and the construction industry in the run-up to the 2010 World Cup which was hosted in South Africa.

4.3.1 Shifts in Spatial Planning and Governance

Prior to the transition to post-apartheid South Africa, the framework of spatial planning and development in the country was fragmented and diffuse, managed through a range of overlapping and contradictory systems and frameworks designed to achieve aspirations of the then Apartheid regime (Joscelene, 2015). By the 1970's, these policies were operational and underway – though not without contradiction or continually under opposition. In the 1970s, opposition to the systems of Apartheid was intensified, and was most manifest in urban townships.

Following the social and political upheavals of 1976, the State sought to introduce stability through a combination of reforms and repression of unrest. Efforts at reform included the introduction of self-government through locally appointed Black Local Authorities (BLAs), orderly urbanization through the development of planned township areas in designated areas; and through efforts to stabilize a black, urban middle class through provision of secure tenure and local area upgrading.

This period has been flagged for shifting focus to planning, within an environment which was marked by increased conflict:

What had previously been a rather sedate, unexceptional, technicist and consensual profession, has suddenly become high profile and conflict-ridden.... when planners [began] to ask questions, somewhat belatedly, about the social role that they are actually playing (Mabin & Smit, 1997, p. 28).

One of the key planning reform initiatives introduced at the time was the introduction of guide plan framework for land use development. Guide plans provided frameworks for land use planning by provincial and local governments, demarcating area regions and sub-regions, and setting up land uses within a broader national decentralization strategy (Hendler, 1992).

It was under the Guide Plan framework that plans for the development of the broader PVW complex were developed in the 1980s. Aspirations

outlined in the Guide Plan sought to relocate work opportunities from the central Witwatersrand region to support the growth poles in the periphery, both as a strategy for decentralization, as well as an attempt at stimulating growth in the Bantustans outside the region. Some of the key outcomes of this process were therefore the growth and expansion of townships at the peripheries of the region in pursuit of these decentralization policies, though the planning process also led to expansion and growth of townships within the region, including Soweto. Some proposals outlined in the 1986 Guide Plan for the Central Witwatersrand Area were highly controversial – most notably the suggestion to create a new African township “Norweto” to the North West of Johannesburg - and therefore failed to materialize.

Another key planning function that emerged within this period was an increased function of transportation planning through Metropolitan Transport Advisory Boards (MTABs). These agencies undertook the planning and construction of highway routes and were also empowered to undertake land use and transport planning functions. The increase in highway construction and development at the time led to a shift in land-use patterns, often outside the realm of spatial development planning (Mabin & Smit, 1997).

Another set of reforms introduced within this period was the introduction of Regional Services Councils (RSCs) in 1985. RSCs represented an attempt at restructuring and reforming the system of local government (Seethal, 1991; Cameron, 1993). RSCs were expected to be cross-cutting regional authorities that would undertake regional functions²⁶ at metropolitan scale, allowing for multi-racial decision making. Racially-based local authorities within the RSCs were expected to perform supplementary functions for their communities. The intention of establishing RSCs was to steer redistribution

²⁶ Including bulk water supply, bulk electricity supply, sewerage, land usage and transport planning, roads and stormwater drainage, passenger transport services, traffic matters, abattoirs, fresh produce markets, refuse dumps, cemeteries and crematoriums, ambulance and fire brigade services, health services, airports, civil defense, libraries, museums, recreational facilities, environmental conservation, promotion of regional tourism, and the establishment, improvement and maintenance of infrastructural services and facilities (Cameron, 1993).

and upgrading, and improve the quality of life in underserved black African areas, as part of reform initiatives attempted by the Apartheid state.

The effect of these policies was contradictory, for while they allowed for increased urbanization, the improvement and upgrading of African areas, and the development of new townships in the peripheries of municipal areas, they also were doomed to fail under continued internal pressure and ultimately failed to stem the collapse of the Apartheid regime (Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2008). Similarly, although aspirations of planning were aimed towards integrated spatial development, development was still shaped by racial land zoning policies established under apartheid. As a result, the spatial development trajectory continued along similar trends (City of Johannesburg, 2009).

This transitional period however witnessed a shift in the approach, position, and intent of planning that would continue into the post-Apartheid years. Of note was the introduction of progressive ideals and aspirations through a collaboration between progressive planning groups and civic movements; and within the broader planning establishment. Ideas on urban reconstruction, integration and greater participation filtered into policy aspirations, alongside broader shifts toward strategic and forward planning.

A key planning agenda under the post-Apartheid regime has been spatial transformation, and the reversal of the negative spatial impacts of Apartheid. This quest for transformation, spatial justice (and more recently, spatial efficiency and resilience) has prevailed in post-Apartheid policy documents, and includes a variety of policies ranging from local economic development, investments in formerly marginalized areas, and investments in housing, infrastructure and social amenities, as well as broader urban investment projects to create spatial integration (for examples, South Africa's National Development Plan (National Planning Commission, 2012), the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (Republic of South Africa, 2013), Gauteng Province's Growth and Development Strategies

(Gauteng Provincial Government, 2016); and Johannesburg's Growth and Development Strategies).

As Harrison et al. (2008, p.37) outline, South Africa's post-Apartheid transition came through negotiation and compromise²⁷ and therefore featured marked elements of continuity between the old order and new, as opposed to a radical departure. In the transition to post-apartheid dispensation, apartheid era policies and systems were abolished through the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act (Republic of South Africa, 1991) and new policies and systems were put in place to streamline development and accelerate development of formerly marginalized areas and groups – for example, the 1995 Development Facilitation Act (Republic of South Africa, 1995). At the local levels, formal negotiating platforms and forums were also established to deliberate and determine the various elements of the post-Apartheid order.

The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) introduced in 1995 was expected to bring uniformity to South Africa's planning systems, and it was anticipated that following this, provincial administrations would develop planning legislation in similar light (Joscelene, 2015). One of the key weaknesses identified in the DFA, however, was that it did not repeal existing laws governing land use management and development, and therefore resulted parallel and complex systems of land use development and management (Republic of South Africa, 2012). The provisions of the DFA were however contested, and found unconstitutional in 2010, particularly in their infringement of Municipal planning powers (Fokam, 2017).

Municipal authorities were accorded with planning powers by the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, which requires the development of Integrated Development Plans (IDP) for their areas of jurisdiction, and within this process, formulate a Spatial Development Framework (SDF) which offers the strategic vision for their area's spatial development.

²⁷ As opposed to military defeat or state collapse.

The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) was formulated and introduced in 2015. The Act has been touted for providing a more comprehensive framework for spatial planning and land use management in the country, for providing guidelines on the relationship between spatial planning and land use management and other forms of planning. This, it is anticipated, would enable planning to facilitate cohesive development, for the achievement of post-Apartheid social, economic, and spatial transformation.

Amalgamating Johannesburg's Administrative Boundaries & Spatial Vision

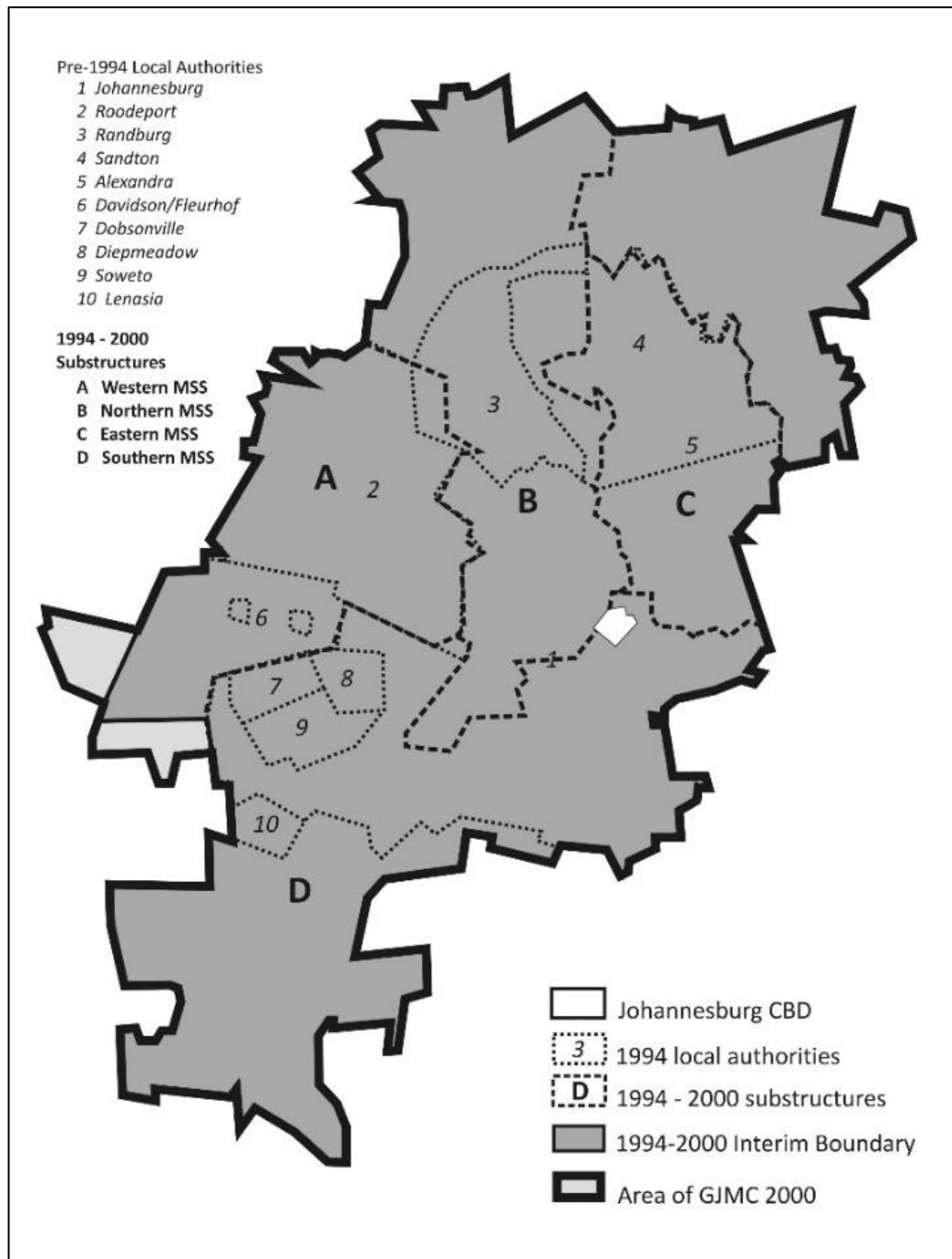
As with the rest of the country, Johannesburg had to completely reconfigure its social, political, legislative and administrative systems in the post-apartheid era. At the municipal level, this involved the consolidation of its separate and racially demarcated administrative areas into a single municipal area, the consolidation and negotiation of the new metropolitan agenda, and the co-ordination of municipal resources to coordinate the achievement of this agenda.

Literature tracking this segment of the city's evolution observes that while the eventual outcome was the administrative, political and fiscal unification of the metropolitan region, the process was lengthy, complex, and highly contested, taking nearly a decade to resolve (Beall, Parnell, & Crankshaw, 2002).

The process (of formulating a common urban agenda) involved intense negotiations, building on initiatives that were already underway in the Civic movement, and which were later formalized into metropolitan negotiation forums. This task was however also being undertaken in a period of broader political and administrative transition, which means that the vehicles through which transformation would be achieved were also in their formative stages, with powers, duties, and functions still being formed, tested, negotiated and reformed (Camay & Gordon, 2000).

Key issues under debate in Johannesburg included how to create an administratively and fiscally unified Metropolitan municipality; the formulation of a common urban agenda for the City; and the prioritization of investment and resource allocation goals from among a larger pool of conflicting demands (Poulsen, 1994; Beavon, 1997; Goga, 2005; Todes, 2012). In the two decades between the late 1980s and 2000, Johannesburg's internal regions were re-organized from 10 local authorities, to 4 metropolitan sub-structures operating under the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council; and later, into 10 regions which would be adjusted into 7 regions under a single-tier metropolitan authority, the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, in 2000.

Figure 4.10: Changing Administrative Boundaries in Johannesburg, 1994-2000



Source: Adapted from Beall et al. (2002)

Prior to the consolidation of Johannesburg's spatial agenda, the spatial-economic goals of Johannesburg's various towns and municipalities varied from area to area. In the pre-amalgamation period, white Town Councils and Municipalities seeking to ensure viability of the economic performance

of their areas, employed strategies to attract commercial activity to their newly formed CBD (Beavon, 2004). At the same time, Johannesburg authorities were also employing varied strategies to ensure the continued viability of its CBD and other suburban nodes. In the case of space-economies of black African township areas and Town Councils, focus was on the physical improvement and upgrading of areas and the stimulation of local economic activity through the development and generation of nodes. The success of these initiatives was however constrained by resistance and limited resources, and as apartheid project headed towards collapse. The overall effect of this was a differentiated pattern of development across regions, divergent and often competing agendas which would have to be consolidated within the new regime (Beavon, 2004; Goga, 2005; Fletcher, 1979 and Todes, 2012).

As these separate regions were consolidated, the combined aspirations from township areas, and the formerly white municipalities would be integrated in the new planning agenda; with planning expected to shape the emergence of a more efficient and equitable urban space economy; revitalize declining economic areas and nodes; enhance the functioning of other established nodes; and enable the establishment and creation of viable and vibrant economies in formerly marginalized Black African residential areas (Ahmad & Pienaar, 2014).

The spatial agenda for Johannesburg in the late-Apartheid and post-Apartheid years has been relatively consistent, featuring an aspiration to achieve socio-spatial transformation while ensuring economic growth and efficiency (Beall, Parnell, & Crankshaw, 2002). Instruments applied to achieve these spatial transformation goals, however did not always have the expected outcome, and some even had the unfortunate effect of accelerating existing spatial trends. The main trend of development – continued decentralization of investment activity to nodes in the North and marginalization of the city's south, in particular, was a particularly difficult trend to break (Poulsen, 1994).

Perpetuated development in the late 1990s and early 2000s has been attributed to a number of factors, including the complexity of stitching together a unified metropolitan urban agenda from the different municipalities; the challenge of enforcing spatial goals and aspirations within a period marked by institutional flux; and the existence of conflicting and contradictory policies and political imperatives within this transitional phase (Todes, 2014).

Spatial goals in the 1990s, as represented in the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber's interim strategic framework, sought to compact and integrate the city, and create strongly linked nodes (Turok, 1994). The spatial outcome within this period was however the reverse of this intention, as development continued to sprawl northward, further creating the socio-spatial marginalization of the South, this time along economic lines (ibid, Beavon, 2004).

Analysts have reflected on the factors that led to these spatial developments. Johannesburg's administration in this period featured a decentralized administrative structure with strong sub-structures and a weak metropolitan administration, with various metropolitan substructures pursuing different and competitive strategies. Inevitably, development pace and activity varied depending on local context. At the same time, ongoing negotiations within the different metropolitan sub-structures within the same period varied, with Johannesburg CBD reported as having a more contested and protracted process due to its perceived primacy (Goga, 2005). Development activity therefore gravitated to seemingly 'friendlier' regions such as Sandton and Midrand which were then pursuing strong growth agendas (see also Fletcher, 1979; Todes, 2012).

The fact that land use planning and development control systems in this period were also gradually being consolidated meant that development within different areas in the city was still administered under fragmented and contradictory land use schemes and controls, outside a broader and more consolidated metropolitan spatial development framework. This allowed for

unchecked developer activity along pre-existing market trends (Todes, 2012; 2014).

For example, planning efforts in the 90s sought to compact and intensify development along corridors and key nodes, and reverse urban sprawl, seeking also to intensify development within townships, city centres, and suburban nodes. Development activity in this period was however intensified along corridors, nodes, and areas to the north of the metropolitan region with less activity occurring within townships and marginalized areas. Other challenges included the continued administrative flux as a result of ongoing restructuring, weak and inexperienced political leadership, and internal political competition and contestation amidst financial crisis.

A more consolidated system of planning in Johannesburg emerged following the creation of a unified, executive metropolitan administration in 2001. Following this, planning was also able to stabilize, through the creation of new planning structures and systems, the development of coherent planning frameworks that sought to pursue deliberate policies and spatial strategies.

Planning functions are therefore presently coordinated by Municipalities and metropolitan governments. In Johannesburg, these take the form of long-range strategic planning, short-range development planning, strategic spatial planning, and development control and management through township establishment systems, land use management, and building control (City of Johannesburg, 2009). More recently, the Built Environment Performance Plans (BEPP) have been introduced in 2014 as complementary systems which seek to streamline integrated development plans and sector investment strategies to the spatial development guidelines.

Planning aspiration in the metropolitan region are still similar to the previous decade, including the achievement of an efficient urban form, and the promotion of investment in high-density residential and mixed-use development in close proximity to key nodes and strategic

corridors/arterials. Through the enforcement of an urban development boundary, planning also aspired to contain and compact growth in areas served by infrastructure, while also promoting the development of a functional and extensive public transport system.

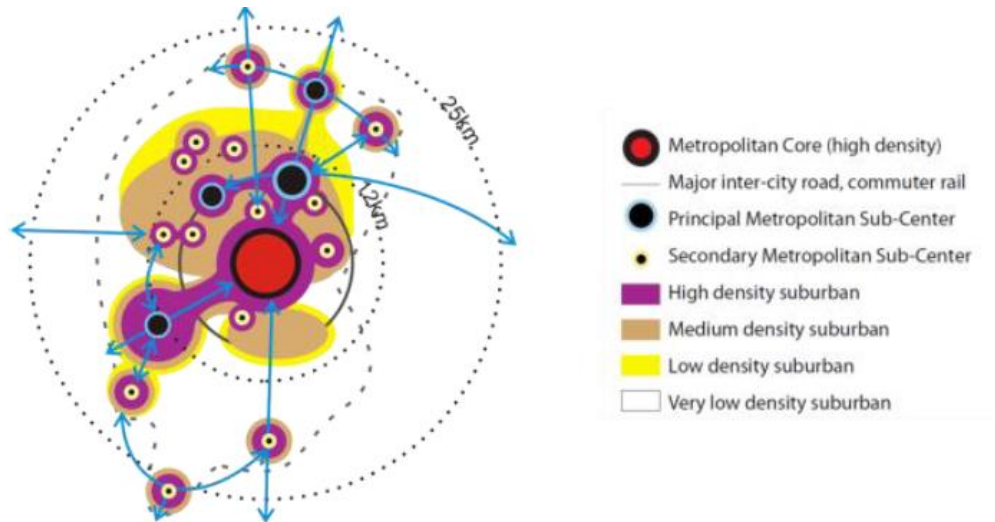
At the metropolitan level, development plans and spatial management strategies sought to achieve fairly similar goals to previous years, including equitable and shared economic growth management; integration of the broader urban space economy; and more effective integration of marginalized areas, and townships economic development with the rest of the urban form (City of Johannesburg, 2006; 2009; 2011). Over the years, a more stable planning system enabled the integration of these visions, mainly through coordination of public-sector planning, investment, and resource allocation.

The development of metropolitan Spatial Development Frameworks and Regional Spatial Development Frameworks from 2001 onwards were a critical first step. In 2007-8, with the Growth Management Strategy, planning was further able to align spatial goals to development aspirations and public sector infrastructure investment, and by integrating its development application and land use management system (LIS) with GIS systems, to track growth trends and patterns, as well as monitoring of policy and strategic goals (Ahmad & Pienaar, 2014).

Prior to 2010, spatial management strategies sought to coordinate and channel public (and private) investment to identified priority zones and areas and compact urban growth and development (City of Johannesburg, 2010); and through the implementation of integrated public transport systems to connect people to jobs. In the more recent years, the spatial vision has evolved, with plans seeking to accelerate goals of spatial transformation by leveraging private sector resources for delivery of inclusionary and affordable housing, and by guiding the effective development and functioning of economic nodes (City of Johannesburg, 2018). In this case, the aspiration is to 'bring... jobs to residential areas and housing

opportunities to job centres rather than simply transporting people between the two' (City of Johannesburg, 2016, p. 11).

Figure 4.11: Johannesburg's envisioned Polycentric Urban Form



Source: 2016 Spatial Development Framework (City of Johannesburg, 2016)

In addition to tracking the role played by planning, literature has also highlighted the role played by other agencies in driving the transformation of Johannesburg's urban space economy. Although they have not always pursued aligned goals, public and private sector agencies have both played key roles in shaping Johannesburg's transformation to date (Ahmad & Pienaar, 2014). In the private sector, analysts have highlighted the role played by various decisionmakers, including financiers and investors in commercial and residential real-estate (Beavon, 1998; 2004; Goga, 2005). Goga (2003) provides in-depth analysis into the roles played by investors in the property sector, and how developers would deliberately valorise investment in suburban nodes ultimately devaluing their own investments in the CBD.

Within the public sector, the variety of goals and investment decisions across national, provincial, and local government – as well as the various decisions by various agencies within local government – have also been highlighted as driving spatial transformation. At the national and provincial

government level, the urban renewal and township transformation agenda significantly shaped policy and investment, as will be dealt with later. Other initiatives included the investment in regional transportation systems, for example the construction of highways in the 1970s, which led to changing perceptions of space by creating new centralities in previously remote areas (Mabin, 2013). Later investments in the regional high-speed Gautrain railway would integrate regional nodes, enhancing property development opportunities within strategic nodes.

Planning in the post-2000 era has therefore been lauded for featuring a more consistent link between strategic development goals and spatial plans; and for filtering these goals down to the local level. Additionally, municipal planning systems in Johannesburg have been able to integrate spatial goals to municipal budgeting and infrastructure investment (Ahmad & Pienaar, 2014; Todes, 2014).

4.3.2 Regional and Local Urban Space Economy

The most significant changes that occurred in the space economies of Gauteng and Johannesburg in this last phase were mainly influenced by the changing structure of the region's economy and the spatial manifestations and impacts of these transformations as a result. As with the rest of South Africa, Johannesburg and the greater Gauteng region have experienced a shift in the economy, with the tertiary and services sectors overtaking manufacturing as the lead economic driver. Within the labour market, these changes were observed through an increased *demand* for skilled, white-collar, professional employment in the commercial, corporate and financial sectors (Crankshaw & Parnell, 2002); and a decline in demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labourers.

The regional and local manufacturing sector has transformed in a more nuanced pattern, although the general trend has been one of decline, particularly in terms of employment. In the older industrial areas, changes have been more complex, with older industrial areas (including parts of the Johannesburg Inner City, Alberton, Benoni, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging,

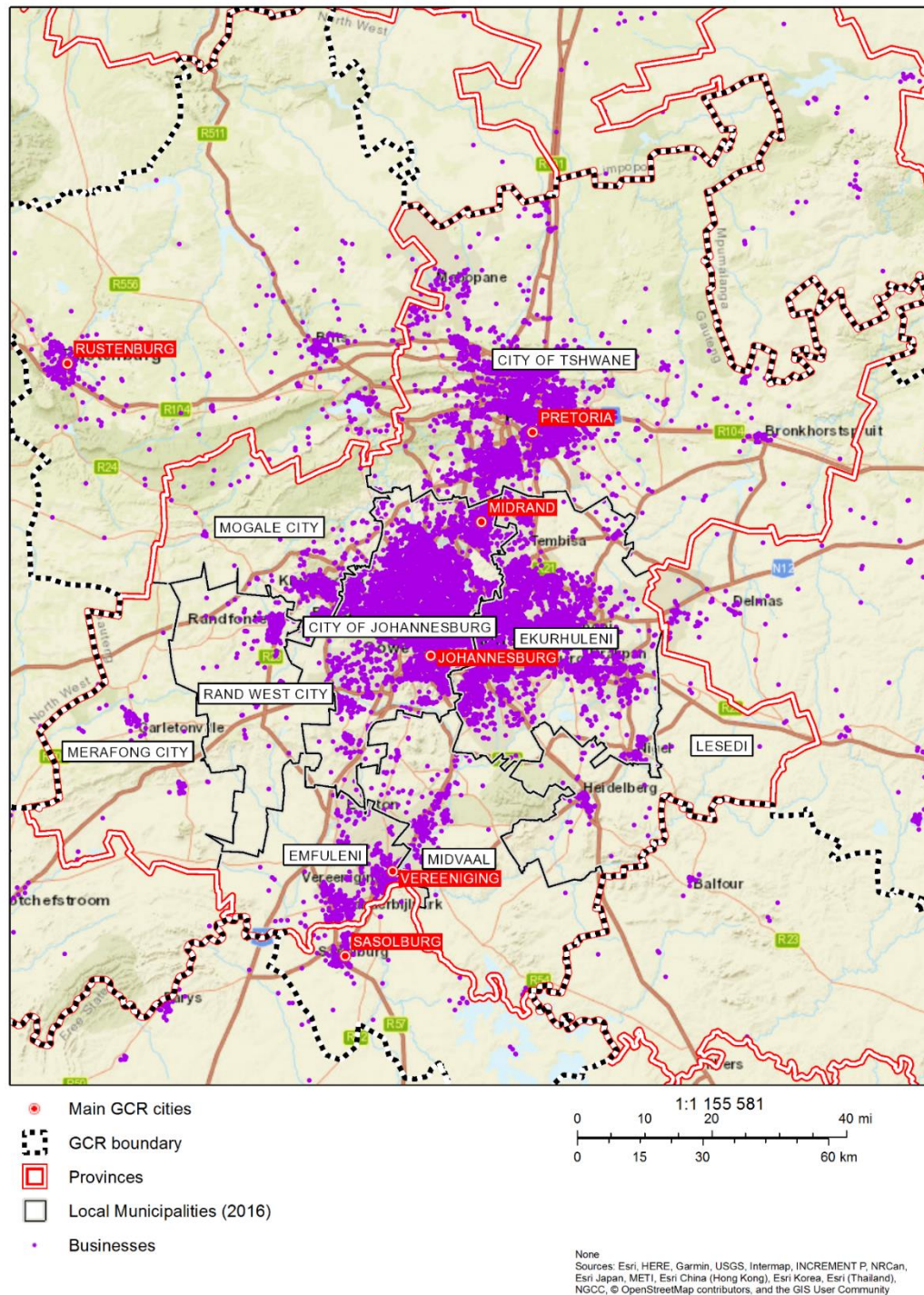
and the Far East Rand) experiencing relative and absolute losses in manufacturing employment, while other areas such as Johannesburg and Pretoria experiencing a shift through the emergence of small and medium sized enterprises, as well as a growth in the informal sector (Rogerson & Rogerson, 1997; 1998; 2000).

New manufacturing growth has occurred in 'new' industrial sectors, including light manufacturing and high-technology sectors²⁸ which have created the growth of new nodes in the North of Johannesburg, including Midrand, Kya Sands, Strijdom Park and Randburg among others (ADEC, 2008). The agglomeration and clustering of these industries in the new spaces has been attributed to the presence of highway infrastructure, proximity to the airport, the availability of land on which premises could be constructed to match specific needs, or on which more flexible spaces could be developed to match a variety of needs; and to aggressive place-marketing by respective local authorities which had established the area as a progressive, prestigious, and up and coming area for high-tech industries (Rogerson, 1998). A social effect of this transition however has been increasing unemployment and underemployment within the unskilled and semi-skilled population which predominantly comprises of black African residents, and as a result, rising inequality and socio-spatial polarization (Crankshaw & Parnell, 2002) .

The regional urban space economy, as illustrated in Figure 4.12 below, represents a consolidation and integration of a cluster of formerly separate towns and municipalities into an integrated and interconnected economic mega-region, extending beyond Gauteng's administrative boundaries.

²⁸ Which comprises of high-technology manufacturing of electrical industrial machinery, radio, television and communications equipment, aircraft, photographic and optical goods, scientific instruments, office, computing and accounting machinery, and light industry, including the production of synthetic resins, plastics and pharmaceuticals.

Figure 4.12: Distribution of Commercial Activity: Gauteng Region



Source: Gauteng City Region Observatory, 2019

Within Johannesburg, two key spatial trends have been highlighted in the literature: the internal transformation of older mining and industrial areas as a result of the changing spatial and economic needs; and the changing

corporate and commercial landscape emerging as a result of the decline of the traditional CBD and the rise of new nodes in the city's northern districts. These were affected by the changing structure of the local and regional economy, and by the shifting administrative and socio-political landscape in the post-Apartheid era. With the turn of the democratic era, this urban space economy would be consolidated, with spatial planning efforts and initiatives attempting to coordinate the growth and development of this broader metropolitan urban form.

The rapid increase in gold prices in the 1970s led to some profits in mining, although within the central rand, mining had been physically in decline. The closure of mines in the region opened up land for reclamation and redevelopment through residential development (Harrison & Zack, 2012). Analysts and authors have tracked and documented the transformation of these former mining areas, highlighting the intricate role played by large-scale mining companies -turned property owners²⁹ in influencing and steering the development of mining areas along a demand-driven land development model. Developments on these reclaimed parcels of land included industrial, commercial, infrastructural, and low and middle-income residential areas.

The performance of older industrial areas in Johannesburg varied over the decades, with expansion under the Apartheid era occurring as a result of private investment decisions while also serving as a strategic 'buffer' between black residential townships and white areas. In 2008 analyses, ADEC (2008) outlined varied performance of Johannesburg's diverse industrial areas, emphasizing the vastness and complexity of the city's space economy.

Some nodes in Johannesburg's traditional industrial core of Johannesburg, including the CBD, Marshalltown, Ferrierasdorp, Braamfontein, Doornfontein, New Doornfontein, Selby, Fordsburg, New Town, New Centre,

²⁹ For example, Crown Mines, which set up a property subsidiary, the Rand Mines Company.

Village Main, Wemmer, City and Suburban and Salisbury Claims were in stagnation or decline³⁰, while others continued to serve industrial purposes though these were now surrounded by other incompatible uses as the City developed. Yet other areas were experiencing expansion via new growth, including Florida, Kya Sand, Alrode, Isando and Midrand; and other areas featured an emergence of new industrial activity. For each, analysts identified policy strategies for future development, including the expansion of existing, functional and well-located nodes; the regeneration of older though still productive nodes; and the change from industrial activity where this is no longer feasible. (ibid).

Studies of the 'declining' inner city industrial areas have however depicted internal shifts and changes within the sector, represented by a narrowing in focus, towards small and medium size production in clothing and textiles, printing and publishing, and other manufacturing in food, and fabricated metals, thus representing an opportunity for an emerging small and medium size industry (Rogerson & Rogerson, 1997).

The final transformation that has occurred within Johannesburg's space economy has been the transition from a smaller Municipal Council served by a single, dominant economic node – the original CBD – to a larger, multi-nodal metropolitan area with an economic form that still features a distinct north-south divide.

As highlighted in the previous period, these changes emerged gradually through: the northward expansion of residential activity and the emergence of retail and commercial suburban nodes; the consolidation of these nodes over time; and a shifting economic structure which brought with it new spatial demands that could no-longer be met by the traditional CBD. In addition, the existence of several Municipalities within the proximity of Johannesburg also provided alternative location areas for new firms, thus leading to the establishment of new CBDs in towns like Randburg, Sandton

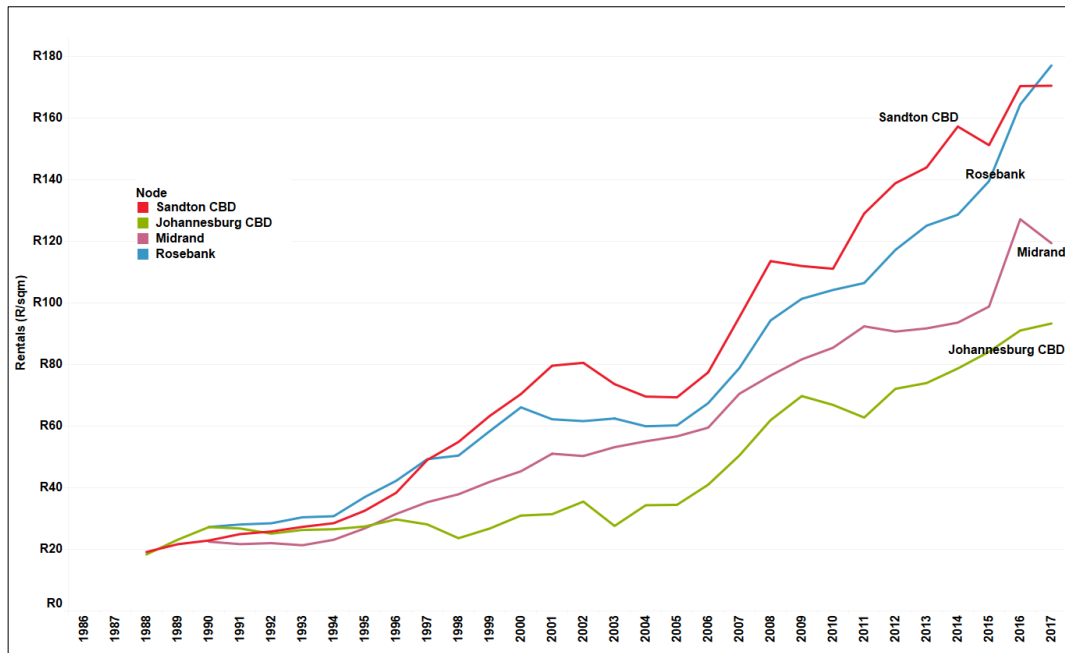
³⁰ Areas under decline were marked by a high 'death rate' of existing enterprises due to relocation of plants to new spaces and closure of other plants, and a low 'birth rate' of new establishments.

and Midrand. When Johannesburg's administrative boundaries were expanded in the post-Apartheid era, these new towns and their CBD's formed part of Johannesburg's metropolitan economic form.

The more significant decline of the CBD as presented in the earlier sections was marked by the exit of high-value retail, and A-grade corporate users, which relocated a major chunk of the buying power from the original CBD to retail and commercial nodes in the North. These functions were however replaced by others, and thus the CBD took on different functions over the years. Tomlinson (1999) tracks this parallel process, pointing out that while the CBD had lost its position as the city's main corporate core, a different economy had established itself in the area. In the late 1980s – 90s, following political changes and economic reforms, conditions for urban black residents began improving, and with these, their purchasing power. The CBD, being the most accessible point, became a key service centre for these residents, and spaces vacated by white targeted businesses were replaced by other businesses offering goods and services that would meet the needs of this new market (Beavon, 1998; Garner, Unsted, & Mason, 2014)

Tomlinson (1999) highlights these different phases in the CBD's development trajectory: first, the process of 'decline and decay', marked by the exit of high-value retail, and commercial firms alongside the arrival of informal and black owned (small scale) businesses into the CBD; a second transitional period that was marked by the shift and renegotiation of business and commercial interests; and thirdly, a resurgence period whereby, despite losing its primacy as the premier high-value retail and commercial node in Johannesburg, the CBD still remained a dominant node in the City, while also re-defining itself as a space for new commercial activities, most notably SMMEs and the informal economy (Tomlinson, 1999).

Figure 4.13: Rental Trends Johannesburg Nodes

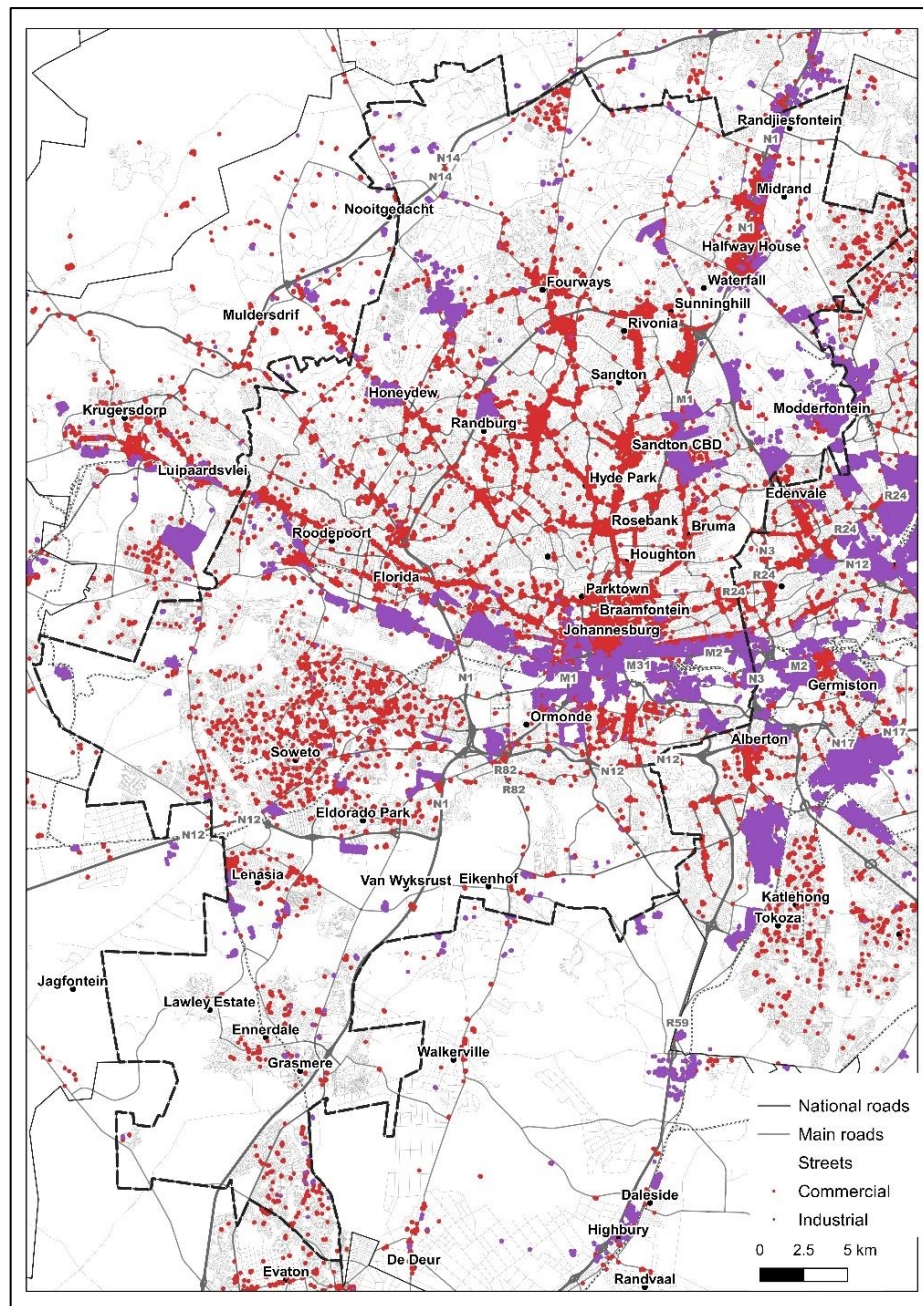


Source: Rode Property Data, 2014

As Figure 4.14³¹ below highlights, the city's current spatial economic footprint features the original clustering of economic activity at the main CBD and along the East-West mining belt, as well as other activity along main arterials and around nodes in the City's north including: Sandton, Rosebank, Sunninghill, Fourways, Woodmead, Rivonia and Midrand, as well as to the City's western areas of Roodeport, Randburg and Kya Sands industrial node. In the geographic South, we see the presence of commercial activity, but no notable clustering in the nodal form that has emerged in the North. From the literature, this was a result first of policy-led suppression of economic activity in black residential areas, but also because, lacking adequate buying power, black residential areas did not attract decentralized retail facilities, and majority of residents continued to shop in the CBD.

³¹ The map has been created using 2010 land use per building datasets from Geo Terra Image (2010), which presents a point-base land use categorization for individual buildings in the city.

Figure 4.14: Spatial Location of Economic Activity in Johannesburg



Source: Author, with data from GTI (2016)

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a broad scan of the transformation of Johannesburg's urban space economy over the last century, highlighting the various economic, political, and social shifts that influenced - and were in turn affected by - it. As the Johannesburg's economy developed, it

transitioned from one driven predominantly by mining to one led by manufacturing; and later on, by the tertiary and services sectors. As a result, the city and region grew in size and dominance, becoming South Africa's leading economic driver. Johannesburg is a critical contributor to the economies of Gauteng Province and South Africa's – contributing 47% and 16% of their GDP respectively (City of Johannesburg, 2014). Although the city functions as a critical node in the national and global space economy, Johannesburg's internal urban space economy features elements of the town's historical trajectory.

Over the century, the forms, systems, and aspirations of spatial planning also evolved, driven by shifts in South Africa's social, political and administrative systems, but also through developing approaches to the changing environments. Planning was actively applied at the national, regional, and local levels to achieve the spatial aspirations of different regimes over the century. In the post-Apartheid era, spatial planning is once more expected to proactively achieve current spatial visions, including remedying and reversing negative spatial forms created by colonial and Apartheid planning (Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2008).

More recently, reforms in planning policies and legislation have sought to strengthen the capacity of planning to facilitate and spatial development and coordinate activities across diverse sectors. This has also included a refinement of the various instruments and systems of planning to achieve goals of spatial and economic transformation. The centralization of the functions of planning within the Municipal/metropolitan level has been a critical factor, as has the synchronization of spatial aspirations and integrated investment projects of public sector. Despite these shifts, however, there still remain some notable limitations, mainly in the power of planning to proactively direct and negotiate development as pertains to investment decisions of private-sector investments (Todes, 2014). This disjuncture has been attributed to a number of factors, including complex legal and institutional arrangements (Abrahams & Berrisford, 2012). Planning in South Africa has also been critiqued for remaining rooted in

spatial and economic logics, and for failing to cater for socio-political realities.

The literature however also highlighted the fact that spatial outcomes in Johannesburg and South Africa were not mainly as a result of spatial planning. The evolution of Johannesburg's urban space economy resulted from overlapping actions, decisions and investments undertaken by other state actors at the regional and national levels; and local economic actors (most notably mining companies in the early stages of the town's formation or commercial and residential property developers in following decades), transportation planning and investment among others. Various forms and actions of planning by these actors at different points in the town's development would shape and reshape the town over the years, through multiple networks and relationships, and in pursuit of varying and evolving goals.

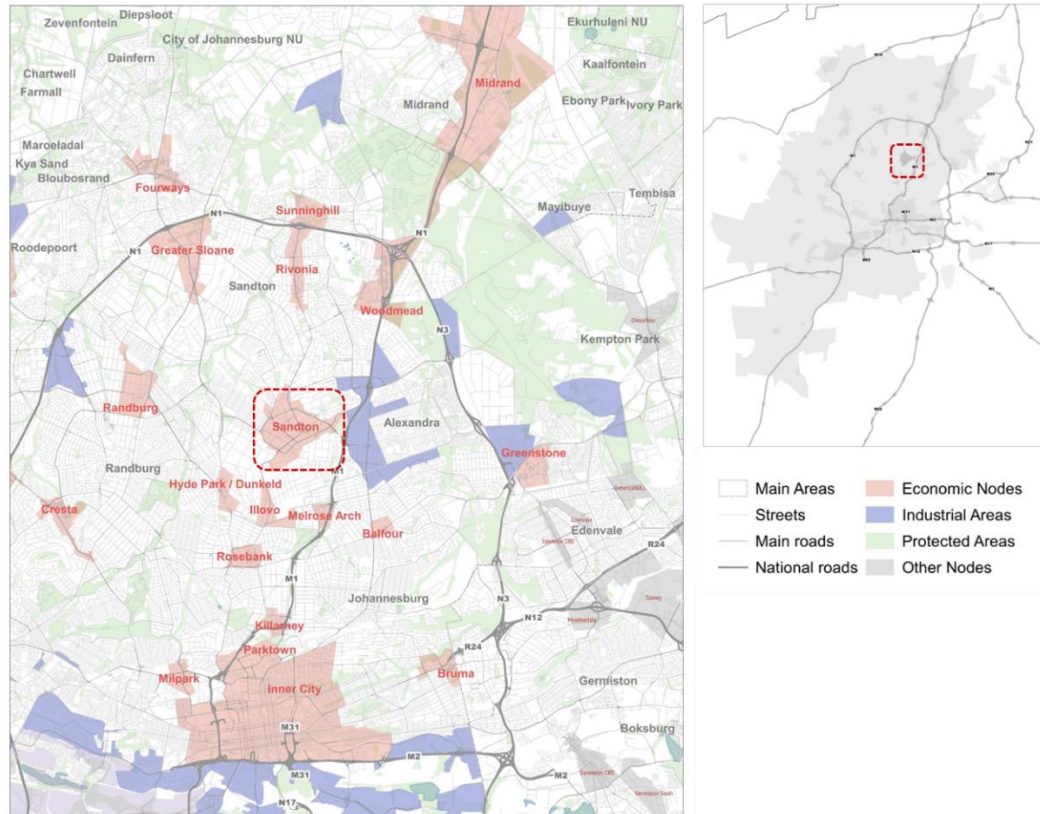
It is this internal diversity and complexity that underscores the need for detailed exploration of spatial planning at a more granular level. Acknowledging the fact that diverse, multiple and complex circumstances affect urban space economies at any point in time, focus now shifts to the catalytic role that emanates from the varying roles, actions (or inaction), and aspirations of spatial planning in different areas and at changing points in time.

In the next four chapters, the two case studies are unpacked in more detail, picking up on the two main trends that have occurred in Johannesburg's urban space economy.

The first case study (presented in chapters 5 and 6) will explore the Northward sprawl of residential growth and subsequent economic activity that occurred in Johannesburg from the 1940s onwards, culminating in the rise of Sandton central. The second, covered in chapters 7 and 8, captures post-Apartheid efforts to revitalize marginalized urban space economies in formerly segregated black urban areas, using the Jabulani CBD in Soweto as a focal point.

5 THE RISE OF SANDTON CENTRAL

Figure 5.1: Location and Context: Sandton and Surrounds



Source: Author, 2019

This chapter maps out the emergence and growth of Sandton Central (also referred to as the Sandton CBD) within the context of Sandton and Johannesburg's transforming urban space economies, and as articulated through secondary literature sources. The chapter offers a contextual background to Sandton's development, tracking the historical evolution of the area's urban space economy. It also highlights key actors and influences that shaped the node's development over time. A more detailed interrogation of the role of planning is then presented in the following chapter.

Focus in this chapter is on spatial planning as it relates to Sandton central, though it also acknowledges the many forms, locations and spaces occupied by planning, as well as the varying intentions and activities that

would collectively be considered planning. The relationship between spatial planning and other actors is also highlighted.

The working argument is that on one hand, Sandton's urban space economy appears to have been shaped by the 'market' - in various forms - with spatial planning playing a subservient, passive role. In reality, however, spatial planning has not been absent in Sandton's transformation, but rather, has been playing diverse roles over the years and actively facilitating the node's development at various points.

From the literature and empirical analysis presented in Chapter 6, it is apparent that spatial planning has been present and actively involved in Sandton's evolution over the node's existence. The form, location and aspirations of planning have however shifted and changed with changing socio-political contexts and in response to changing urban issues, and macro-economic environments. Sandton central's evolution was also shaped and influenced by other agencies, most notably private developers and users of the area; as well as public sector investment agencies outside spatial planning such as transport and infrastructure developments at the regional levels.

5.1 Brief History of Sandton's Urban Space Economy

Sandton's historical evolution can be segmented into three main phases, which are also loosely aligned to shifting systems of administration and spatial governance, as well as the changing spatial character of the broader Johannesburg region. Prior to 1969, Sandton was administered as part of Transvaal's Provincial Administration, functioning mainly as one of Johannesburg's residential northern suburbs. The area was semi-rural, with a limited economy, and did not have a 'town' centre. The area grew through continued urbanization and residential development, ultimately being established as a Town Council in 1969.

Following this, a town centre was identified and gradually consolidated over the next two decades, first as an administrative and retail centre, and later through growth of corporate activity, and finally into one of post-Apartheid

Johannesburg's leading corporate nodes. This evolving role is summarized in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: Phases in Sandton Central's Historical Evolution

	Phase/Period	Sandton's Urban Space Economy	Spatial Planning & Governance	Notable Actors
PHASE I	Before 1969 Centreless, rural, residential Sandton	Limited, semi-rural, subsistence local economy. Slowly urbanizing via residential development Reliant on Johannesburg's economy.	Part of Transvaal Province. Later incorporated into Peri-Urban Areas Health Board. Contestations and calls for the establishment of an autonomous area.	Transvaal Provincial administration Peri-urban Areas Health Board City of Johannesburg Residents
	1969-1980 Emerging commercial node at Sandton Central	Residential suburbanization & growth. Subsequent retail and commercial extension into Johannesburg's north. Town centre established in the 1970s.	Sandton Municipality but under heavy supervision from Transvaal Province. Influenced by regional planning & investment in freeway planning and development.	Transvaal Provincial Administration Sandton Town Council. City of Johannesburg Property developers
PHASE II	1980-1994 Consolidating the Sandton CBD	Commercial core strengthens through internal growth. Node attracts decentralizing firms from Johannesburg CBD. Continued northward residential sprawl.	Sandton municipality's actions in deliberate planning, place marketing and development control. Unintended consequences of planning action in Johannesburg affects. Actions of private investment in relation to market demand.	Sandton Town Council Property developers & investors. Corporate actors City of Johannesburg

PHASE III	1995-2004 Post-apartheid institutional integration	Sandton Central becomes Johannesburg's second largest node and the leading corporate and financial node. Node strained by continued growth and inadequate infrastructure.	Post-apartheid transitional structures. Sandton institutionally integrated into greater Johannesburg. Situating SCBD within the planning, budgeting and investment projects	City of Johannesburg CoJ Transitional structures Property Developers
	2005 to date Rise to Metropolitan and Regional corporate and financial core	Sandton develops into leading financial and corporate node. Nodal design, planning and development to strengthen node's expanding functions. Shift in focus to improved linkages, public transport integration and permeability.	City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality Part of Region B in Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality	City of Johannesburg Gauteng Province Sandton Central Management District Property Developers

Source: Author, 2019

5.1.1 Phase 1: Centreless, Rural, residential Sandton: 1900 - 1969

Sandton's urbanization is closely linked to Johannesburg's development, and has been traced back to the 1900s when mining-led economic growth in Johannesburg increased employment, urbanization, and increased demand for land for residential development. The result was a continued increase in farm subdivision and land values in the town's northern areas, as well as in farms to the north of the Johannesburg's boundaries. According to area historians, Sandton's development in the first few decades following the 1900s comprising subsistence rural farmers and a growing community of wealthy white residents from Johannesburg (Carruthers, 1993, p. 26)

Sandton was attractive for a number of reasons, as identified in the literature. At the time, the area was composed of a scattered and largely rural community administered by the Transvaal Provincial Administration under a *Landrost* in charge of Pretoria District. Under this centralized format, administration in the area was considered relatively weak. Land was cheap and plentiful, and did not attract any rates or taxes. Services were provided individually, or by township developers. This rural character appealed to Johannesburg's wealthy residents seeking a 'horsey' suburban lifestyle within relative proximity to the town's CBD (ibid; Beavon & Larsen, 2014). Township developers were also attracted to the area's affordable prices, though many of the proclaimed townships would lay undeveloped for decades as properties were too small to attract either wealthy or poorer farmers, and yet too far from Johannesburg to attract a commuting population (Carruthers, 1993, p. 33).³²

Through the continued growth of Johannesburg's economy, urbanization and suburban sprawl continued in surrounding areas outside the city – including Sandton – thus necessitating action from provincial authorities. First was the Feetham Commission appointed in 1936 to consider the potential extension of Johannesburg and Germiston's boundaries as a means to address the emerging trend of suburban sprawl (Province of Transvaal, 1937, p. 4).

The Commission highlighted the relationship between urbanization and sprawl on one hand, and the region's growing economy on the other, and the resulting challenges as a result. It proposed the extension of the boundaries of the two towns to cover these areas, or the formulation of a new administrative unit for the areas. The Commission however cautioned against the creation of multiple and separate local authorities, as the areas functioned as a single social and economic unit (Province of Transvaal, 1937, p. 60). These recommendations were however opposed by Johannesburg authorities, who viewed such extensions as imposing an

³² Proclaimed townships include: Sandhurst and Wynberg (1902), Rivonia (Edenburg) in 1903), Atholl and Parkmore in 1904, New Brighton and Sandown in 1905.

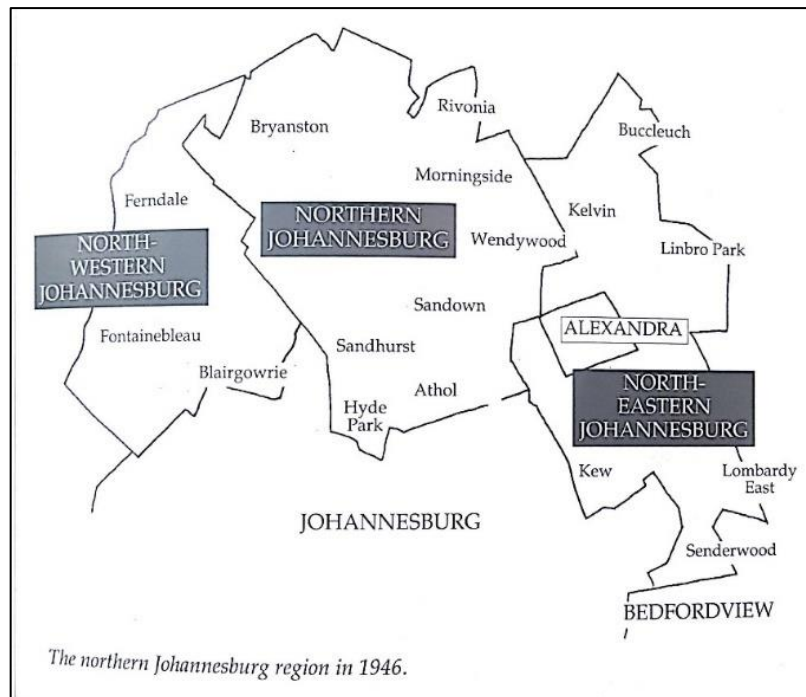
unnecessary financial burden on the Municipality and its residents. None of the recommendations were adopted by Transvaal Provincial Authorities.

The challenges posed by continued urbanization and growth however persisted, and in 1938, the national government appointed the Thornton Committee to look into the public-health hazards of uncontrolled urban growth and development in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal provinces. The committee's mandate was to focus on all peri-urban areas, ranging from squatter and informal settlements in black residential areas, to wealthier suburban communities like those emerging in Sandton (Carruthers, 1989).

The Thornton Commission flagged the Transvaal region as an area of particular concern, particularly for the public-health concerns emerging from inadequate urban services in the rapidly urbanizing areas. As neighbouring Municipalities were not willing to extend their boundaries to cover these areas, the Commission proposed the creation of a new authority that would be endowed with sanitary powers and function with a decentralized staff operating all over the region (Transvaal Provincial Administration, 1953). In 1943, Transvaal Province created the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board (PUAB) to undertake this role.

The Board came into operation in 1944, and was mandated to undertake the original functions of service provision, and some added roles, including the provision of general municipal services such as roads, the preparation of town planning schemes, and electricity provision. The Board controlled an area covering over 23 000 sqkm, comprising of less urbanized areas which were called 'general areas', and denser, more urbanized 'local areas' which were administered by the Board through appointed Local Area Committees (LAC). Sandton fell under the Northern Johannesburg LAC as illustrated in Figure 5.2 below.

Figure 5.2: Sandton in the Context of the LAC Areas



Source: Carruthers (1989; 1993).

The PUAB occupied an experimental, intermediate space, having more power and resources than traditional Local Authorities, and yet under the oversight of Transvaal's Provincial Administration. The board had functions and powers of an elected body - levying rates, providing services, and resolving public health matters - though it was run by appointed officials (Beavon & Larsen, 2014). This position was strengthened through national and provincial legislation, though the growing power, influence, and resources held by the Board would raise contention (Transvaal Provincial Administration, 1953; Carruthers, 1993; Larsen, 2005).

Over time, and with continued growth and development, communities under Board control also stabilized, becoming increasingly disgruntled with the Board administration and control. While the concerns were varied, they were related to the fact that the Pretoria-based Board appeared distant and disconnected from local issues, treating residents in an authoritarian, arrogant manner. This was particularly true of communities in the north of

Johannesburg who had intentionally sought to escape such administrative controls (Carruthers, 1993).

In 1952, the Barry Commission was appointed by Transvaal authorities to look into the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board's form and function. Some of the issues that had arisen included: a need to clarify the Board's roles and legislated functions; concern for the PUAB's growing powers, and granting autonomy and self-government to the more established communities (Transvaal Provincial Administration, 1953).

The Commission observed the Board's peculiar evolution and development where it appeared to function as a local authority *but* did not take on all functions of a local authority.³³ It also noted that areas administered by the Board were too diverse, and the region too large, and this compromised the Board's capacity to effectively implement Local Authority functions. Calls for local democratic representation and autonomy – concentrated mainly in the wealthier, white areas to the North of Johannesburg³⁴ – were also inspired by the fact that these communities were forced to subsidize lowly valued areas which were 'miles apart with no community of interest' (ibid. p.16). Residents therefore argued against this model of financial management, calling for democratic representation as a start, and full autonomy and self-governance as an end goal.

In its defence, the Board underscored the efficiencies and economies of scale that had been achieved from managing the region, including the implementation of regional schemes, cross-subsidization of smaller communities, and the administrative advantages of pooling staff. It also noted that its overall goal was to transition local communities towards autonomy, but that this was still premature. This paternalistic attitude by the Board towards local communities was flagged as a key source of tension

³³ As an example, the Board collected rates and provided services, infrastructure, and town planning services, but it did not provide health services.

³⁴ Only 6 of the 22 LACs under board control gave evidence to the Barry Commission, half of which were from the Northern Johannesburg area.

and proof that the Board, despite its claims, did not have the desire to develop areas towards self-governance.

The Commission recommended that the Board fast-track local area trajectories towards self-governance, though it also noted that resident communities could seek autonomy through application to the Provincial Administrator. These recommendations were adopted slowly with the Board continuing to deliver services amidst residents' efforts to establish autonomy. These delays were also attributed to continued political infighting between the Board and the Province and lack of cooperation or strong leadership from among local residents.

The path towards autonomy was however already underway. The North Western Johannesburg LAC was the first to successfully break away from the PUAB in 1959, forming the town of Randburg. The success of Randburg has been attributed to other factors – including influence from national politics, and Transvaal Province's continued attempts to check the powers of the Board.³⁵ Following the establishment of Randburg, the Board attempted to improve local administration and representation, but these changes were however too little too late. More communities in the LAC areas continued to vie for self-governance on one hand, and on the other, Transvaal Province continued to search for a more effective solution to local government in the region. In 1958, as a solution to both problems, Province created the Department of Local Government, put the PUAB within it, and in 1966 refocused its task towards developing areas for autonomy (Carruthers, 1993). It is against this backdrop that Sandton was created.

The restructured PUAB pursued a more focused mandate, chief of which was the transition of areas towards autonomy (Carruthers, 1993). There was however also pressure from neighbouring municipalities seeking to

³⁵ Solid evidence to support the notion that the Province was biased against the Board was the fact that the then Transvaal Provincial Administrator, appointed T.A.N. Lorenz 'an outspoken critic of the Board' to chair the commission that would consider Randburg's application (Carruthers, 1993, p. 49).

annex the settled and well-resourced communities under PUAB control.³⁶ In response to this threat, Northern LAC residents were incentivized to accelerate their transition to independent areas. Residents from the Northern LAC (Sandown) and Bryanston LAC were advised by the PUAB to combine and form a single Municipality, and these proposals were submitted to the Director of Local Government. The Director however appointed the Van der Spuy Commission in 1965 to deliberate on the administration of the whole northern Metropolitan fringe of Johannesburg, triggering what was dubbed the 'scramble for Northern Johannesburg':

Randburg applied for large tracts to its Northern and Western boundaries, Edenvale asked to take over Rietfontein farm, Rembrandt Park and Lombardy East and West. Bedfordview applied for Senderwood, Essexwold and parts of Rietfontein, while Roodeport applied for some farm portions on its Northern boundary and parts of Western Johannesburg local area around Fairland. Johannesburg Municipality... then ... retaliated by making a bid to control the whole area – Randburg, Sandown, Bryanston, the North-Eastern LAC, Alexandra township, and all the areas applied for by the Bedfordview, Edenvale, Randburg and Roodepoort Municipalities as well (Carruthers, 1993, p. 59).

A notable fact at this point was that Johannesburg's arguments in their bid to control the whole region ironically echoed those it had opposed in 1936 under the Feetham Commission and in a form, those raised by the PUAB at the Barry Commission. Instead of continually forming small towns or slightly enlarging those already in place, Johannesburg authorities called for a strong metropolitan – or regional – government to administer the entire northern Witwatersrand region. These efficiency-driven arguments were however overcome by calls for self-administration and autonomy and in the end, the Commission settled for the establishment of a new Municipality

³⁶ These communities were seen as settled, taxable, and already serviced with excellent administrative and infrastructure services.

North of Johannesburg and the adjustment of existing boundaries to accommodate some of the other demands.³⁷ One of the decisions reached by the Commission was the creation of Sandton Municipality out of the remaining Northern LAC areas.

5.1.2 Phase 2: Sandton Town Council: 1969-1990s

In 1956, the Peri-Urban board had bought large tracts of land for municipal purposes, one being the 11-hectare site in Sandown where the Civic Centre now stands. Of this, 3,4ha was sold to the Transvaal Provincial Administration for the building of Sandown Primary School, and in 1965 the land directly south of the Civic Centre area was allocated extensive retail and flat rights. At that stage, the land belonged to Bob Edmunds, the chairman of Standard Bank, and was sold to property developers Rapp and Maister – now Liberty Properties – in 1968. (South African Property Review, 2017)

In 1969, Sandton Town Council was created, amalgamating areas that were in the Northern Local Area Committee (Sandown) and Bryanston Local Area Committee. The town was managed by an elected Town Council, though under heavy provincial supervision. Administrative focus in the first decade was on the establishment of a local identity, and the articulation of the area's development agenda, though this was done in an environment constrained by national and provincial government.

Literature tracking Sandton's development in the first decade following the town's formation observed that while there was continued expansion of its residential areas; a commercial function also gradually emerged. The growth of Sandton is discussed in contrast to the decline of Johannesburg's CBD, for instance with the former growing and expanding as the latter went into demise (see, for instance, Beavon and Larsen, 2014).

37 Bearing in mind that this was the Apartheid period, discussions in the Van der Spuy Commission did not take account African areas in the region as they were, with the exception of Alexandra, under Central Government Administration.

A third theme that emerges in the literature is the role played by the Town Council to guide the area's development trajectory. Historians observe that from the onset, administrators had to balance needs for urban growth and development against those of preserving the town's character and semi-rural identity (Carruthers, 1993). This would require negotiation and a balancing of varied interests, with local area residents preferring Sandton's semi-rural character and environmental quality; and administrators needing to encourage growth and raise revenue.

The first plan developed by the Council in 1969 expressed these aspirations, and was disseminated to residents via promotional brochures (Sandton Town Council, 1970). The plan represented an effort to drive the planning process from within, rather than having externally imposed plans. It also outlined the intended trajectory for future development, highlighting efforts by the Council to proactively meet pressures of growth and urbanization without destroying the area's 'unique character' (ibid, 1970, p. 1).

Figure 5.3: Plan for Sandton's Proposed Town Centre, 1970



Source: Shaping Sandton Brochure (Sandton Town Council, 1970)

The plan identified a site and proposed the development of the Town's centre, articulating principles for the area's future development, including 'good densification' and efficient transportation through internal and regional linkages. It also proposed the placement of a rapid-transport station in the west of Sandton town, for future connections to Johannesburg and Pretoria. The town's centre was to cover the area from the site proposed for the Sandton City development³⁸ to the junction of Maude Street and Rivonia road, in a precinct envisioned as a mixed-use, traffic-free, all-pedestrian precinct (Sandton Town Council, 1970, p. 3). From this document, it was evident that the Council was intent on attracting commercial development, while also assuring residents that the area's growth would be controlled so Sandton did not compete with other towns for industry and commercial enterprises (ibid).

In addition to balancing residents' aspirations with a growth agenda, administrators also had to consider the environmental management of the area:

One of the first concerns of the Council was the acquisition of land for recreational and parkland purposes and in April 1970 a report was prepared. At about the same time some residents, like Mrs H. Senger and Mrs B. Hutchinson, aware that economic pressures might tempt the Council to increase population densities, suggested suitable areas for conservation, ways of acquiring them, and proposals for their use (Carruthers, 1982, p. 21).

The Council's plan began with identifying and acquiring land for recreational uses but this goal expanded into a broader conservation agenda. With support from the provincial administration and agencies like the Wildlife Protection and Conservation Society of South Africa, the Council developed a number of proposals for this. As historians observed, the implementation of these plans would not always have been smooth, as administrators

³⁸ At this point, the Sandton City project was also being formulated, and the Council's plans were to leverage on this development to create the future node.

struggled to balance these demands with those of developing a stronger, business-based agenda (Carruthers, 1993; Beavon & Larsen, 2014).

The intended commercial core did not emerge immediately, and the plan served the function of establishing the Council's business-oriented aspirations. The two initial developments at the centre were a Civic centre, and directly opposite it, a regional scale shopping, retail, and office complex proposed by the property development company Liberty Life & Rapp & Maister -. Sandton Council's support for the Sandton City development further cemented their aspirations for commercial core.

Liberty Life was started as the brainchild of Sir Donald Gordon in 1958 as a life insurance company. Currently, the firm is known as Liberty International and is a global financial empire spanning across the banking, finance, property, mining, commerce and industrial sectors (Romain, 1989). Liberty Life's venture into property came through the acquisition of property development company, Rapp & Maister, which drove the development of Sandton City. The Sandton City site had originally been planned as an up-market residential development in the late 60's, and, in indication of the strategic vision and foresight by the developer, these plans would be changed to align with the new city's plans:

With the proclamation of the new municipality in Sandton... the plans were changed dramatically as Michael Rapp rapidly grasped the importance of the site; he had assembled on land adjoining the new town's city centre. Despite objections, noisy public hearings and all possible obstruction by the – mostly rich and influential – residents of the area...consents for the office and shop development – as opposed to the original residential-only zoning were granted in 1973 (Romain, 1989, pp. 257-8).

Sandton city was opened in 1973 – then the first regional-scale shopping centre in the southern hemisphere. The development of Sandton City has been flagged by historians as 'the single most important development' in the history of the centre, not merely for forming the beginnings of the node

around which the commercial core could aggregate; but also, for its' impact on Sandton's evolution. Beavon & Larsen (2014, p. 370) argue that this development also marked an end to Sandton's semi-rural phase, and also the 'beginning of the end' for Johannesburg's CBD.

The underlying debate and contestation over the town's development trajectory would surface as these developments came into consideration, and would be resolved at Transvaal Province's Townships Board considering the rezoning application for the Sandton City development. As elaborated in the following chapter, arguments and discussions at the Townships Board encompassed these broader debates on Sandton's internal development trajectory; the implications of creating a node in Sandton on neighbouring towns (especially Johannesburg) as well as the broader regional urban space economy.

The Townships Board gave their approval for the rezoning for Sandton city as well as to the plans for the Sandton Town Centre, thus supporting the Council's aspirations and plans for the area. This would however have dire political repercussions for some Sandton representatives:

In 1972, after many Townships Board hearings – as Bristow³⁹ himself recalls (1994) – and a municipal government election where several councillors lost their seats because of their association with the planning proposals, both the Town Centre plan and the Major Roads plan were accepted (Larsen P. N., 2005, p. 40).

While developments like these can be identified in hindsight for their symbolic roles, in the early 1970s, progress was still slow. The Sandton area remained largely residential, with the town's centre still playing a secondary role to larger nodes like Johannesburg's CBD and Rosebank. Between 1970 and 1980, Sandton's commercial node consolidated slowly, and was interpreted as the Council still grappling with the need to balance resident's expectations with a growth agenda.

³⁹ Barry Bristow was a Town Planner in the first Sandton Town Council, and, as discussed in the following chapter, instrumental in driving the town's development in the early years.

A special report by the Financial Mail on Sandton (Financial Mail, 1979) presented the still lingering conflict between the Council and residents' elitist expectations for Sandton and economic realities. Interviewed officials in the report recognized a need to relax some of their policies on residential densities, and to attract commercial, office, and industrial development. At the same time, such positions were being critiqued as they went against earlier goals on environmental management and conservation. Environmental aspirations from a decade earlier were being abandoned by the turn of the decade.⁴⁰ Local resident historians and conservationists lamented the change to Sandton's 'rural, sleepy character' (Hedding, 1978, p. 15) noting that Sandton was 'well on its way to becoming a town of the type it had scorned':

In 1979, a new development plan, which conflicted with entrenched Sandton principles was accepted by the Town Council with only one dissenting vote, that of Clr. N.D. Panton-Jones. It was designed to encourage increased commercial and residential development without providing for additional open space of any kind within proclaimed townships, let alone nature reserves. Through the increase in population densities and encouragement of commercial development, the opportunity to preserve the country is being lost. (Carruthers, 1985, p. 9).

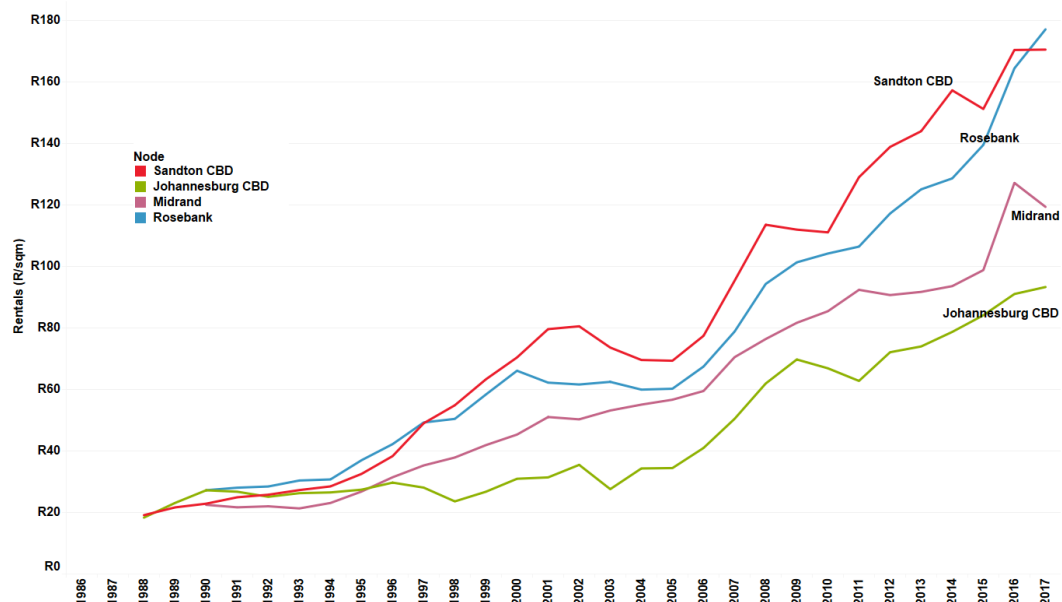
In the 1980s, Sandton's town centre developed more noticeably, attracting corporate and commercial firms relocating from the Johannesburg CBD, but also through internal growth. Notable developments in this period included Allied Park, the Allied Building Society's head office, Sandton's new Municipal building in 1984, with a GLA of 560m²; a new office development in Alice Lane by Rapp and Maister; Head offices for Grey Phillips; and Tiber Bonvec's new offices in Sandown (Larsen, 2005).

The particular success of Sandton has been highlighted in literature by analysts and historians, suggesting a deliberate strategy by Sandton

⁴⁰ As examples, proposals for the development of an arboretum and a waterfowl sanctuary.

authorities to develop policies and incentives that would attract development to the town. These included the exemption of corridors and circulation space from bulk calculations in commercial buildings and lower parking bay rentals, which gave Sandton's town planning scheme an edge over that of Johannesburg and other counterparts (Shklaz, 2012). These, coupled with the accessibility and availability of cheap office land⁴¹ encouraged a rapid pace of development. Further evidence is seen in the means through which the Town Council were marketing the node in local media, or through strategic connections with organizations such as the Sandton Chamber of Commerce. Sandton's growth was also enabled by changes that were occurring in Johannesburg's CBD, and emerging deficiencies in the node that were pushing firms out of the node (Segall, 1979; Beavon, 2004; Larsen, 2005). From the late 1980s, Sandton emerged as the dominant choice for commercial development, outpacing the other nodes such as Rosebank, Randburg, and Midrand, as illustrated in Figure 5.4 below.

Figure 5.4: Grade-A Commercial Space Rentals in key Nodes 1988-2017



Source: Rode Data, 2018

⁴¹ R350/m² compared to R900 - R1000/m² in Johannesburg's City Centre (Larsen, 2005)

‘The council has reluctantly agreed to designate a new office node outside of its existing CBD. Having stalled as long as it could... The pressure for new office space is now so intense that the council has little choice...

(Financial Mail, 1987)

The rate of growth in Sandton Central was such that by the mid-1980s, demand for development in the Sandton node had outstripped plan provisions. The node had also begun to experience challenges related to growth, most notably traffic congestion, and this put the Council under pressure to extend the core. In 1987, Sandton’s planners developed proposals to decongest the crowded CBD, having to extend the boundaries of Sandton, and to redirect development to other nodes, including Woodmead, Sunninghill and Midrand. These ideas were adopted in Sandton’s 1989 Structure Plan, but ultimately could not sway development in the town centre (Larsen, 2005).

In 1987, the Wierda Valley area in Sandton was rezoned as a low-bulk office area. Impetus for this rezoning was from residents seeking enhanced property values, signifying a notable shift in perspective from the town’s formative years when residents would have opposed such developments. Sandton’s evolution through the second phase was therefore one of growth and consolidation. This growth continued into the 1990s when, during the transitional period and Johannesburg’s unification, more commercial and corporate activity relocated from the Johannesburg CBD into nodes in the North.

Majority of literature documenting changes in the period between the late 1980s and early 1990’s emphasizes socio-political changes that occurred throughout South Africa and Johannesburg. In Sandton, similar processes were underway, culminating in the absorption of Sandton Town Council and other local areas into Johannesburg’s post-Apartheid administrative system. A second process within the same period as identified in literature was the rise of Sandton’s former town centre to becoming Johannesburg

and South Africa's leading financial and corporate capital (Beavon & Larsen, 2014).

5.1.3 Phase 3: Sandton in post-apartheid Johannesburg: 1990s onwards

Sandton's post-Apartheid trajectory can be explored under two key themes: through the political and administrative change that occurred in post-Apartheid era – through the restructuring of municipal boundaries and systems of spatial governance; and the general change in the urban space economy that occurred in the same period. These changes occurred alongside broader shifts that were happening in South Africa and Johannesburg.

As articulated in the previous chapter, the period of democratic transition in South Africa involved the complete transformation of the country's political, administrative and socio-economic systems. At the local government levels, this included the consolidation and restructuring of racially segregated administrative units into unified, multi-racial, democratic administrations. Over the period, Sandton's administrative area was absorbed into Johannesburg's administrative structures, first as part of the Eastern Metropolitan Substructure (EMSS), then as a sub-area in Johannesburg's Region 3, and later into Johannesburg's Region E.

One of the key tasks faced by the immediate post-Apartheid administrations was that of achieving socio-spatial and economic transformation; with particular focus on the extension of infrastructure and services into marginalized black residential areas. At the same time, ongoing political and administrative transition implied that the vehicles through which transformation would be achieved were also undergoing transformation, with powers, duties, and functions still being formed, tested, negotiated and reformed (Camay & Gordon, 2000).

Prior to being consolidated into Johannesburg's regional administration, Sandton and other white municipalities were financially stable and self-reliant, with rates collected from the areas' high-value real estate and vibrant

commercial centres, affording residents high-quality infrastructure and services. While the goal of consolidating the wealthier and poorer metropolitan areas was to enable wealthier areas to cross-subsidize the rest, the manner in which this cross-subsidization would occur was a matter of contention.

In the first phase of transition, a two-tier governance system was created; with the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council overseeing the governance of the metropolitan region, and four metropolitan subsystem (MSS) units managing local-level administrative tasks. MSS boundaries were aligned to combine wealthier and formerly white neighborhoods with adjacent poorer black neighborhoods. The Eastern Metropolitan Substructure included Sandton and the adjacent township of Alexandra.

In an effort to raise revenue and to standardize rates across the metropolitan region, the GJMC imposed a uniform assessment on rates across the Metropolis. This led to an increase in property rates in areas that had previously enjoyed relatively low rates, with Sandton, for example, suddenly facing increases of up to 385% (Camay & Gordon, 2000).

This decision caused protracted conflict between residents and property owners in Sandton. In July 1996, residents and businesses in Sandton united under the Sandton Federation of Ratepayers' Associations (Sanfed) and embarked on a rates boycott to protest the GJMC's rates increase. A few months later, 10 of the big businesses⁴² based in Sandton also challenged the legality of the GJMC and EMSS's budgeting and rates increase in court.

This conflict between Sandton area residents and the GMJC has however been linked to a broader scope of issues, including the scale, forms, and powers of local government; the autonomy of local communities in relation to the metropolitan administration; and the politics of race, space and

⁴² The businesses included: Fedsure Life Assurance Limited; Holding 24 Strathavon Ltd; JDB Beleggings; Liberty Life; Momentum Property Investments; 100 Grayston Drive Property Ltd; Rivonia Annex Ltd; Rycklof Beleggings Ltd; Terama Ltd and Clearstream Properties Ltd

redistribution of resources in the post-Apartheid urban agenda. While residents and businesses in Sandton were immediately opposing the abrupt and unexpected increase in rates, they were also contesting the authoritarian nature of the GJMC and EMSS; the lack of adequate consultation in these agencies' decision making; while also questioning the metro administration's policy approach to redistribution; as well as its efficiency in implementing said policies (Clarno, 2013).

In court cases to resolve this matter, the GJMC argued that their actions were both lawful and equitable, stressing on the fact that its overall goal was to meet post-Apartheid goals of redressing inequality by extending service delivery to the historically marginalized areas in Johannesburg's South and West. In 1998, the Constitutional Court resolved the boycott by upholding Johannesburg High Court's decision that the GJMC and EMSS's actions were legal, thus compelling businesses and residents to pay their rates (*Fedsure Life Assurance Ltd and Others v Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council and Others*, 1998).⁴³

The Sandton rates boycott has been identified as being significant as it enabled a variety of post-Apartheid issues to surface for mediation: These included:

issues of governance which are of great significance to the emerging democracy. It reflected the challenges faced by new government structures in establishing effective and legitimate decision-making processes, representing the needs of and remaining accountable to all sections of their constituency, and redistributing resources in order to provide for redress of the previously disadvantaged portions of that constituency (Camay & Gordon, 2000, p. 2)

Although literature tracking the transition to Johannesburg's metropolitan administration does not focus on the specific impact of these changes on

⁴³ The resolution of the conflict was also achieved through continued negotiations between the metropolitan and local administrations and Sanfed within the period (Camay & Gordon, 2000).

Sandton central's urban space economy, it is apparent that the node's place, role and function transformed significantly in this period and as a result. Analysts observed that the continued rates boycott in Sandton would worsen Johannesburg's financial position in this transitional period, ultimately tipping it into a financial crisis (Clarno, 2013).

The Sandton Rates boycott also foregrounded critical issues relating to space, race, and urban governance, particularly heading into the post-Apartheid era where aspirations towards socio-economic transformation, equitable resource redistribution and spatial transformation would have to be balanced alongside the need for growth amidst an environment marked by diverse and conflicting interests of a wide range of stakeholders (Clarno, 2013; Pernegger, 2016). While some of the issues under debate would be resolved with the formation of the single, centralized Metropolitan government in 2003, the continued contestation over interests and ambitions within the metro has continued to date.

Once Johannesburg's post-Apartheid administration stabilized, Sandton's development continued along fairly similar trends, albeit within a changing metropolitan and regional space economy. As part of a broader metropolitan and regional economic complex, Sandton formed but one of multiple commercial nodes, and would thus have to compete for resources and Municipal attention amongst other areas. At the same time, post-Apartheid policies were geared towards urban transformation, redistribution and development, with priority and public investment being channelled to formerly marginalized areas and communities (Republic of South Africa, 1994; 2003). In Johannesburg, this included revitalizing the already declining CBD, as well as investing in infrastructure in the former black residential townships (Camay & Gordon, 2000).

The continued growth and dominance of Sandton however continued in this period despite changing administrative priorities. In the following decades, Sandton grew into Johannesburg's leading economic centre and an essential node in the regional, national and global space economy.

Sandton's continued growth benefitted from changes occurring in the global, national, and regional economy with structural shifts towards the tertiary economy, including financial, investment, real estate, wholesale and retail sectors (City of Johannesburg, 2006). Spatially, this meant an increased demand for office and retail space, with the locational concentration of development shifting from the CBD to Sandton and other nodes in the north. While growth was occurring in most of the nodes in Johannesburg's northern areas, not all growth was uniform, and Sandton central was particularly successful as outlined in Figure 5,4 above.

Sandton's transformation in the post-apartheid era has been documented and analyzed in various literature sources (Larsen, 2005; Shklaz, 2012; Beavon & Larsen, 2014). Authors have observed that while the node had gained prominence over the years through the relocation of commercial and corporate headquarters, a more significant shift occurred when the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) relocated from Johannesburg's CBD to Sandton in 2000. The JSE's relocation triggered an outflow of financial services, legal companies, and other blue-chip corporations from the CBD into Sandton (Beavon & Larsen, 2014). This move is considered significant and symbolic for, prior to this, Sandton was a strong commercial, corporate and retail node, but secondary in function to the CBD. With the relocation of the JSE and related FSC firms, the 'nexus of financial influence' and by extension, Johannesburg's economic centre of gravity was now in Sandton (Shklaz, 2012 p.51).

In the early 2000s, however, this progress in Sandton's functional and economic role would be dampened by immediate physical and infrastructural challenges brought on by this very growth. Continued demand for office space in the node had encouraged rapid speculative development, sometimes even leading to an oversupply of space (Beavon & Larsen, 2014). At the time, the node's physical form and levels of infrastructural services were not yet equipped to handle intensified development.

Despite early intentions by the first Town Council's to establish a pedestrian-friendly node, Sandton had developed into predominantly car-dominant space, and continued usage and demand led to traffic congestion. Additionally, the core's physical form and design offered little convenience for pedestrian users. Basic infrastructure – water, sewerage and electricity – were also inadequate, and with intensified use, Sandton ironically ran into the same challenges that had plagued the Johannesburg CBD a few decades prior (City of Johannesburg, 2002). These challenges would lead to a brief decline in the area, with rental values dipping, and some firms and companies⁴⁴ leaving the area.

These challenges were however short lived, with Sandton experiencing a turnaround after 2004 (Beavon & Larsen, 2014). The area's resurgence has been attributed to diverse interventions from property owners, the municipality, provincial and national government, as well as to input from other quasi-public agencies which undertook management, marketing and promotion roles, including the Sandton Tourism Association; and, with the transition to Business Improvement Districts, new private-sector agencies such as the Sandton Central Management District.

Sandton central has therefore grown in the post-Apartheid era, and while most of the literature attributes this growth to the concerted role of the private sector (most notably the property owners and developers) the node's development was also influenced by spatial planning in various forms. Actions of planning have shifted over the years, and have expressed various intentions and aspirations for the area. These included an acknowledgement of the node's significance in the local and regional space economy and deliberate preparations to ensure that the node meets this role; strategic investments by both public and private actors to improve the node's capacity and functionality; and finally, continued management and improvement of the node in collaboration with private sector actors.

⁴⁴ For example, a number of companies affiliated to Liberty Life, Old Mutual, MTN, Vodacom, Tiger Brands and Gillette & Saatchi.

As articulated in the previous chapter, some key spatial goals of post-Apartheid administrations were the transformation of urban form and functionality; and the encouragement of economic growth and efficiency. In 2000, Gauteng Province's economic growth and development plan outlined 10 strategic projects aimed at guiding resource based economic development, coordinating and managing urban growth, and enhancing mobility and accessibility in the region. One of the projects was the Gautrain Rapid Rail Link (GRRL) which would connect Johannesburg, Pretoria, the then Johannesburg International Airport (JIA), and other existing (and proposed) nodes and economic areas⁴⁵ in the region, including Sandton (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2000). The identification of Sandton in this plan highlighted the node's increasing dominance and function as a transportation hub, and its central role in the regional economy. The Province also proposed the development of Gautrain nodes into dense, mixed-use precincts to capture and add value and to enhance project feasibility (Joubert et al. 2011, p. 6). In this way, Sandton's Gautrain station – to be located on the site of the former Town Council offices which were owned by Johannesburg Property Company – was primed to be a central transportation hub directly connected to the local, regional and global space economy.

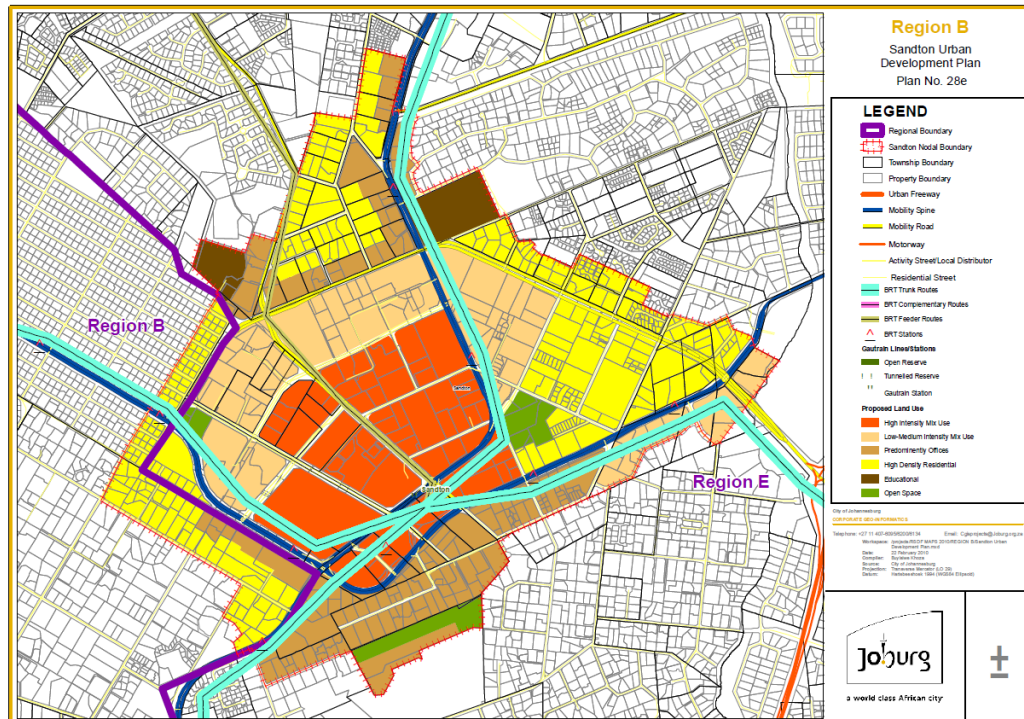
At the local level, Johannesburg's spatial and economic policies and strategies also reflected similar aspirations: economic growth, spatial growth management; and the achievement of an equitable urban form (City of Johannesburg, 2006). While over the years the actual plans and strategies have been adjusted to better manage the ever-changing urban context, these core aspirations still remain. An overarching goal for the City has been to manage the resulting poly-centric (multi-nodal) urban form; and to meet goals of spatial equity by connecting the city's separate areas via efficient systems of public transport (City of Johannesburg, 2016).

⁴⁵ Hatfield, Pretoria CBD, Menlyn, Centurion, Ivory Park/Tembisa, JIA, Kempton Park CBD, Midrand, Johannesburg CBD, Soweto, Alex Wynberg and Fourways. Subsequent planning documents also intended to extend the rail to Soweto (Bara Link), Rosslyn, City Deep and Eastgate.

Sandton's place in the metropolitan space economy was already established from the start, with strategic planning documents acknowledging the node's 'critical role' – not only for the high concentration of local and international corporate activity, but also as a commercial, retail, transportation and tourism hub (City of Johannesburg, 2006, p. 17). In the decade between 2000 and 2010, significant upgrading was undertaken in Sandton to promote its performance, and these investments were supplemented by marketing and promotion activities by the Sandton and Johannesburg Tourism Companies (JTC). The opening of the Sandton Convention Centre in 2000; Johannesburg's hosting of the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) at the same venue in 2002 also bolstered Sandton's position within the City (City of Johannesburg, 2003; City of Johannesburg, 2007).

As part of the broader metropolitan economy, Sandton has also been the focus of significant planning efforts and aspirations aimed at developing a more efficient urban form. These include: strategic management and coordination of plans and investments to improve the local and regional multi-nodal urban space economy; the development of more efficient linkage systems within and between nodes; and initiatives to link people to areas of employment opportunities. These three goals have been synchronized more comprehensively through the City of Johannesburg's 'Corridors of Freedom' project, which sees Sandton as a critical metropolitan node (City of Johannesburg, 2016). Continued efforts to meet these goals is apparent in the City growth strategies, integrated development plans and spatial development frameworks over the years (see, for examples, City of Johannesburg, 2002; 2003; 2004; 2011; and 2016). At the nodal level, plans and investment initiatives have sought to improve the greater Sandton central precinct, seeking to transform it into an integrated, transit-oriented precinct that offers mixed-use, intensified land-use environments, including a higher proportion of residential uses than was previously accommodated

Figure 5.5: Sandton Urban Development Plan, 2008



Source: City of Johannesburg, 2008

Sandton central is still undergoing intensive development in the past decade, with some authors attributing these developments to public sector investments in creating the transit node in the area.⁴⁶ With continued investments in public transport and continued developments from private sector, it is apparent that Sandton is well positioned to becoming one of the functional TOD nodes in the metropolitan area. The task of turning this vision into a reality is however quite challenging as it requires the collaboration and cooperation of a diverse array of actors and investors, minor adjustments to the node's urban fabric, and finally, a modal shift by users from cars to public transport. While significant progress has been made to meet this goal, some notable challenges and complexities have also arisen.

⁴⁶ A separate study on the impact of the Gautrain on Pretoria, Midrand and Rosebank stations confirmed intensified property development around Gautrain stations (van Jaarsveld & Monteiro, 2010).

Operationalizing the TOD

To effectively function as a 'real' TOD, Sandton central needs to be transformed from its current form into a vibrant, mixed-use, pedestrian friendly node. Despite considerable transformations in the physical improvement and enhancing mobility and pedestrian environment, majority of Sandton users still rely on cars, leading to severe traffic congestion. The high proportion of commercial and corporate uses in the area implies that the intended mixed-use, 24-hour environment is yet to materialize.

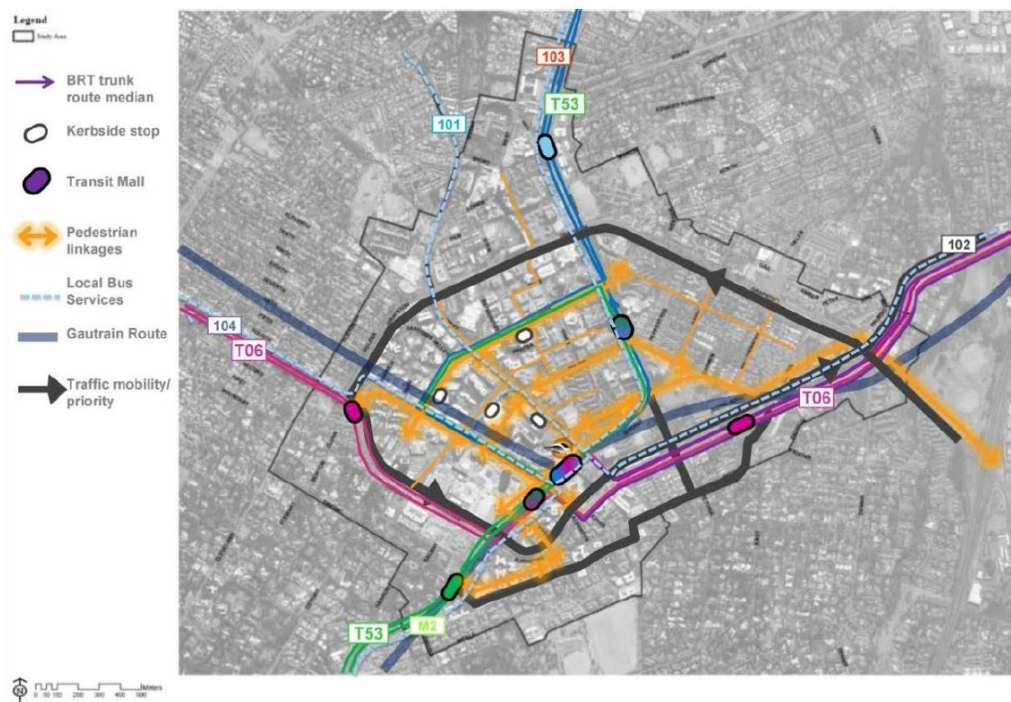
Recently, planning strategies and interventions have sought to address these challenges. The Sandton Urban Development Framework for example, proposed a mix of hard and soft interventions to: enhance the functional linkages between of the Gautrain, BRT and other forms of public transport; improve connectivity and mobility for pedestrians through a system of open spaces; and also through marketing public transport as a viable alternative to cars (City of Johannesburg, 2006). These aspirations would be implemented through various actors, including city spatial and transportation planners, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), Johannesburg Roads Agency (JRA), and developers coordinated through the Sandton City Management District (SCMD).

In 2013/4, CoJ's Transport department steered a collaborative transportation planning exercise that was funded by the Sandton Central Management District (SCMD) and which brought together a wide range of actors, including property developers, city planners, the JRA, and users of the node. The outcome from this was the Sandton Integrated Transportation Master Plan, which proposed some solutions for the area's transport and mobility challenges, as well as it's future role as a TOD (Johannesburg Roads Agency, 2015).

Ideas raised in the plan to improve Sandton's functionality included: improvement of the precinct's permeability and internal connectivity; effective integration of all existing and proposed public transport systems; and improvement of the quality of non-motorized transport infrastructure

and environmental quality through green spaces and design of permeable city blocks. As an integrated transportation node, the Sandton precinct will serve as an interchange point for local (bus and taxi), regional (train) and international (airport) linkages. Around the Station, the city is developing two dedicated Rea Vaya bus-lanes, an east-west link, and a north-south link, with stations located within the district. For future functionality, the plan has proposed the development of specific streets into pedestrianized non-motorized transport (NMT) routes as illustrated in Figure 5.6 below.

Figure 5.6: Planned Transport Systems in Sandton City Management District



Source: Sandton Transportation Master Plan (2014).

The implementation of these plans is still underway, with notable concerns raised in the integration of old and new systems of public transportation. The proposed integrated public transport interchange at the Gautrain station offers a good illustration. For it to effectively function, the station would have to integrate the train, buses and private minibus taxis, while offering amenities for integration with the upcoming Rea Vaya buses system. Additional amenities for pedestrian and non-motorized users would also

need to be provided, as well as site-level upgrades to integrate the station area to the rest of the urban form.

Initial concerns and challenges in the development of the transportation interchange and node could be a result of the 'early' stages of development of the TOD. Additionally, the successful achievement of these goals requires the alignment of multiple goals, aspiration and agendas. These issues could be attended to over time, and with a more collaborative planning that adapts to the contemporary complexities of the institutional and legal environments within which mega-infrastructure projects (such as the Gautrain) are developed. In time, other unexplored aspects of the node – such as a more amenable environment for street trading – could be developed.

New developments underway in the Sandton central district reflect some positive shifts, and indicate closer alignment to densification and intensification aspirations outlined in the UDF and SDF, as well as transport and mobility enhancements outlined in the transportation plan. Precinct-wide and site design changes in new office developments have been attributed to changes in the locational and spatial needs of users of the work environment, as well as general technological and design developments.

Regardless, upcoming developments in the area are now offering walkable, mixed-use, integrated corporate environments that offer users opportunities to live, work and play, thus a more integrated urban fabric. In Sandton, such development goals align with the broader aspirations for the node. For examples, the new Discovery headquarters located across from the Gautrain station has been designed as an integrated precinct covering over 20 000 sqkm and is anticipated to be fully integrated with the TOD node and public transport systems. Similarly, above the Gautrain station, the Kgoro Gateway development is expected to seamlessly combine it's residential, retail and entertainment facilities into the public transport interchange; as well as a mix of public and private open spaces (Vantage Capital, 2013). Other developments around Sandton include the Alice Lane cluster,

Sandton Wedge, as well as refurbishments to around Sandton City that adopt modern, eco-friendly building techniques, and are marketed as being better integrated with the surrounding urban fabric (Business Day, 2013).

5.2 Conclusion

Sandton's development and evolution has been traced, in this chapter, from the period before the town council was established. The town's commercial node, presently called Sandton Central, has grown in size and dominance over nearly half a century, and now functions as a critical node in a much larger and increasingly interdependent local, regional and global urban space economy. The node's growth, development and transformation over this period has been the result of continued and cumulative investments from actors across both the public and private sector. These have elevated the node into a corporate, retail, tourism and more recently, transportation hub.

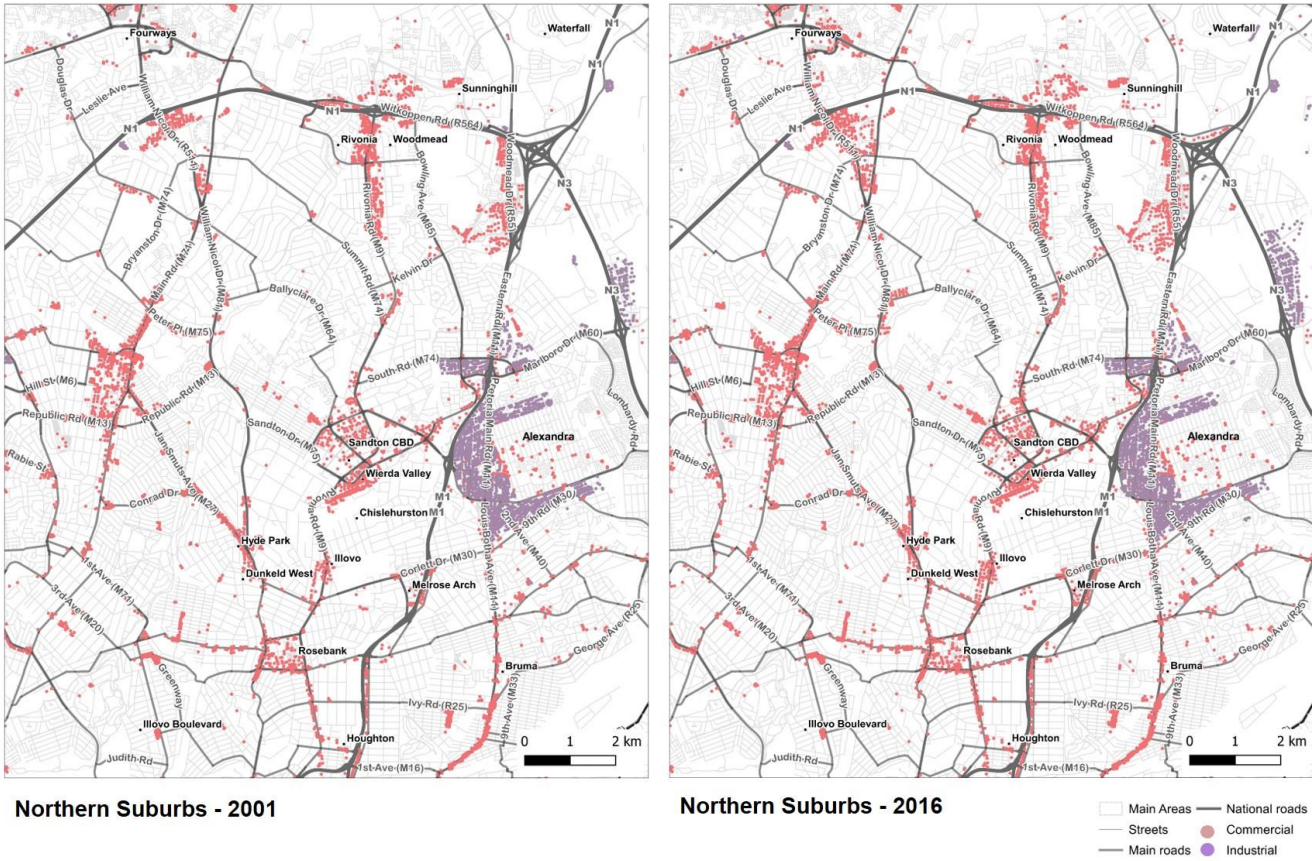
The original vision for the CBD outlined in 1970 by the then town council was to create a compact, dense, pedestrian friendly and mixed-use CBD. This vision is still evident in present plans and spatial aspirations for the node, though it covers a much larger region than the original council had envisioned. Sandton central still features notable spatial and functional challenges which can be attributed to multiple factors, including the slow nature of urban transformation, the difficulty of coordinating divergent visions and aspirations for the node's future development, among others.

This chapter contextualizes the node and region's spatial growth and development, highlighting the diverse influences, actions, and factors that affected its transformation over time. Of particular interest for this research is the shifting roles, spaces, and actions of spatial governance as the node continued to develop, and in the next chapter, these are unpacked in more detail.

The progression of Sandon central and its broader town council is unpacked through selected critical moments which mark various stages of the town's development trajectory. In each critical moment, I highlight notable actors

and players involved in the moments of change and transformation, other influences of change and most importantly, the various spaces, roles, and actions of spatial planning in these moments.

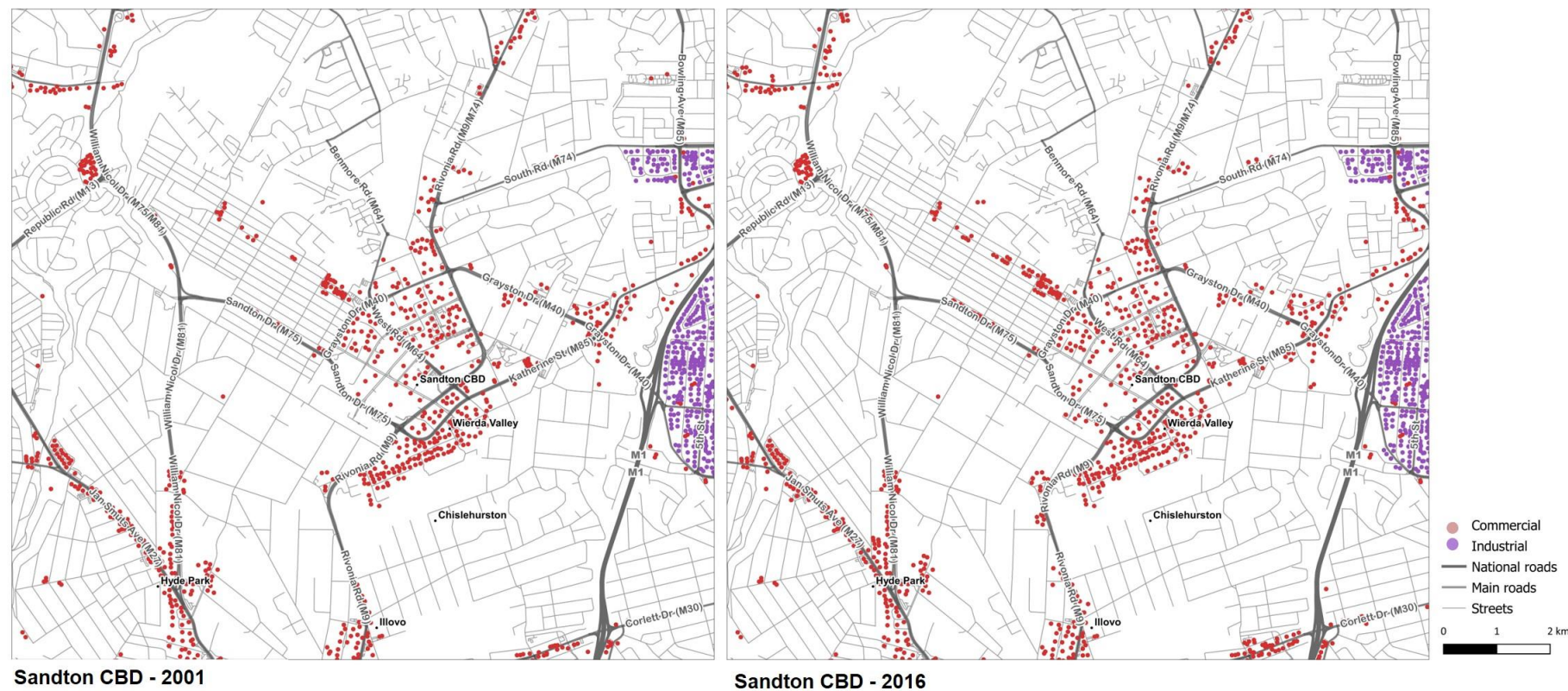
Figure 5.7: Commercial and Industrial Land Use in the Northern Suburbs: 2001-2016⁴⁷



Source: Author, 2019 with land use data from GeoTerra Image, 2019

⁴⁷ Data from GeoTerra Image covers the period from 2000 onwards, and is less reliable for earlier years.

Figure 5.8: Commercial and Industrial Land Use in Sandton Central: 2001-2016



Source: Author, 2019 with land use data from GeoTerra Image, 2019

6 SPATIAL PLANNING AND SANDTON'S URBAN SPACE ECONOMY

6.1 Overview

In less than half a decade, the former Sandton town centre has grown and transformed into Johannesburg and South Africa's leading corporate district, Sandton Central. The node developed through changing social, political, and economic contexts, evolving from the CBD of Sandton town in the north of Johannesburg into a critical district node in Johannesburg's broader metropolitan space economy.

In the previous chapter, the node's historical evolution was outlined as presented in literature, with focus on the key developments, changes, actors and agencies that shaped the area's transformation over the decades. From this, it was apparent that spatial planning has played a critical role in shaping the node's development, though it took on various forms, occupied different space, and applied its influence in various forms, with varying outcomes.

Prior to the formation of the Sandton municipality, the area functioned mainly as a semi-rural, predominantly residential area under Transvaal province's administration. At a higher level, the area also developed through colonial and apartheid systems of administration and spatial governance. In this regime, as a white, urban residential area, key functions of spatial governance and administration related to the regulation and control of development. With increased urbanization in this and other peri-urban areas, national and provincial administrations appointed commissions to consider area development and formulate policy interventions. The commissions represented a space within which spatial planning and governance issues would be deliberated and policies developed, with majority of recommendations from commissions being adopted into policy.

There were 6 Commissions⁴⁸ appointed between 1939 and 1969 to offer guidance on matters touching on Sandton (Carruthers, 1993).

Sandton's second phase of development came when the town was gained autonomy in 1969, and majority of the day-to-day planning functions were transferred to the council, albeit with provincial oversight. In the town's formative years, the Council's main focus was on shaping and directing the town's spatial formation, establishing a functional CBD, and controlling patterns of growth. The Council would drive Sandton's transformation for the next three decades. A wide range of actors came into play in shaping this period of Sandton's development, including political and administrative actors within the town council, representative groups for residents, business interests and other lobby groups,⁴⁹ and representatives from provincial planning and administration.

The collaborative and complementary actions of these stakeholders in negotiating Sandton's development over these three decades is particular to Sandton, and context specific. Nonetheless, these actions are instrumental in unpacking the evolving and strategic role of spatial governance alongside evolving social, spatial, and economic realities.

By the 1990s, as Johannesburg and South Africa transitioned into a post-Apartheid democratic period, Sandton central was already a dominant node in the region. In the node's third phase of development, it continued to grow in dominance, outpacing Johannesburg's original CBD, and ultimately becoming the region's main corporate and financial district. At the same time, however, a broader process of political and administrative

⁴⁸ Including the Feetham Commission on boundary extensions for Johannesburg, Thornton Commission on the management of South Africa's peri-urban areas, Barry Commission on the structure of the PUAB, Lorentz Commission that led to the foundation of Randburg, the Commission appointed by the Department of Local Government on the internal structure of the PUAB, and finally, the Van der Spuy Commission that would determine the fate of Johannesburg's northern metropolitan fringe.

⁴⁹ As examples, the Sandton Management Committee, the Sandton Historical Association, the Sandton Action Committee (later known as the Sandton Civic Foundation), the Sandton Chamber of Commerce, and the Sandton Promotion and Development Association (PROD).

amalgamation was underway, with Sandton being absorbed into Johannesburg's metropolitan boundaries.

In this third phase, Sandton central transitions through two key processes. First, through the consolidation of spatial management and administrative systems, local businesses and residents in the area had to adapt to being part of a larger and more complex local political and administrative system, challenges which resulted in the Sandton Rates Boycott. Following the negotiated resolution of this crisis and the stabilization of Johannesburg's metropolitan administrative systems, planning attention shifted towards the establishment of the metropolis' multi-nodal urban space economy. Key actors in this period are property owners – represented through City Improvement District (CID) organizations such as the Sandton Central Management District (SCMD) – who collaboratively managed the node's development.

Sandton's fourth phase extends from the mid-2000s to date, where the node functions as one of Johannesburg metropolis's key economic nodes, serving a more diverse range of functions than was initially envisioned. The focus of planning and investment in the node is on intensifying and diversifying existing uses in the node, and improving the node's form, functionality and accessibility for greater efficiency. Here, the actions of planning range, from nodal and strategic planning for the spatial integrated development of the node in relation to the broader metropolis and region, transportation planning and investment, private-sector precinct planning and development, site-level integrated development for greater permeability, walkability and functioning, and collaborative mobilization over the node's functioning as an integrated, mixed use, transit-oriented development.

6.2 Exploring the Influence of Planning: Critical Junctures

Three critical junctures have been identified to explore the influence of spatial planning on Sandton's development:

1. Driving Sandton central's establishment and growth (1970-1980)

2. Integrating Sandton central into Johannesburg metro (1990s –2005)
3. Modifying Sandton central into a ‘real’ CBD (Post-2010)

The selected moments represent significant junctures within which spatial planning – in one form or another - played a notable role in shifting the trajectory of the node’s development. For each moment, I provide a brief summary of how Sandton’s broader urban space economy was transforming, and the key actors who were involved in this process. This is followed by a deeper engagement with the intents and actions of spatial planning, as well as some outcomes from this action. Lastly, I identify other actors and agencies that would have been instrumental in these moments, before exploring the relationships between spatial planning and these actors in shaping these changes.

6.2.1 Driving Sandton Central’s Establishment and Growth: 1970-1980

“The town-planners have an answer for Sandton”

In Sandton’s first two decades, a stronger and more proactive role was played by the Town Council in establishing and negotiating the town’s development trajectory. The Council was also involved in determining the location and function of the new town’s CBD.

When the town was created, it had no CBD, and the council’s initial agenda was to establish and develop a commercial centre in the new town. Sandton’s first critical juncture, identified for this research, was in the processes of mobilization and decision-making within which the town’s commercial centre was created. This period was marked by the council and its planners playing key strategic and proactive roles to steer the town’s development, fortuitous opportunities presented by aligning public and private sector planning and investment, and lastly, the mediating role played by Transvaal Provincial Authorities to resolve conflicting aspirations for the area. When the town was first formed, it had an internal town planning department located within the Engineering department. Sandton’s Chief

Town Planner was Mr. Barry Bristow, who was appointed to this position by the Peri-Urban Board:

Right at the beginning it seemed to me that no effective planning could happen without the question of a town centre being determined, even whether there should be a centre as such or instead some system of dispersed nodes without any being dominant. My preference was for one dominant centre but if so, then where? (Bristow, 2000).

The fact that Sandton's commercial business district was to be established in what was essentially a greenfield site provided the ability for area planners to reflect more deeply, and work more strategically for the area's development. At the same time the town's centre was being conceptualized and planned, Liberty Life's Sandton City development was also being considered. From Bristow's own recollections, planning for the town's centre and the development of the mall lent each other momentum:

While pondering this question after about ten days in the saddle I had a phone call from Michael Rapp, the M.D. of Rapp and Maister...wanting to discuss his firm's development proposals for the regional centre that it was about to develop. We met in my office a few days later... to seek an amendment to the parking requirements that had been imposed in regard to the shopping centre... to be allowed to spread it over the adjacent land zoned 'Residential' so as to increase the area available for the actual shopping centre.

I told him that I'd like to think it over for a day or two... He agreed but stressed that their planning was far advanced and that they would be ready to move on to the site early in the coming year. The meeting really concentrated my mind regarding the town centre question (Bristow, 2000).

As a planner in Sandton first administration, Bristow's role and approach was critical, and has been noted in other sources (Larsen, 2005).

The person in charge of Town Planning, at Municipal level in Sandton at the time was ... Barry Bristow. He was a smart guy and a nice guy, and easy to get along with. And [Bristow] said, 'We should choose (we being the Municipality) we should choose to locate Sandton City opposite our Town Council offices and create a node around which more things will develop. Because we are an independent Municipality, and we have to make this thing viable, so we have to have valuable properties, and valuable businesses which we can tax. And he wanted to create a kitty for Municipal works all around. And if we choose the location opposite the Municipal offices, it's on a piece of high ground. And this means that if you put a tall building there, you will see it from whichever direction you're approaching. It will give this place an iconic skyline. Which is exactly what it has done (Keith Beavon, Author & Historian, Personal communication, April 5, 2017).

The task of synchronizing plans for the (future) town centre and the Sandton City development included a broader range of coordinating activities, as discussed by Bristow (2000). These ranged from coordinating the council's plans as well as developers' aspirations for their individual sites to consolidate enough sites for a viable town centre. In re-aligning the road plans to consolidate the regional mall with the Civic centre:

I pointed out to Rapp that it was unfortunate that the proposed major east-west road, now called Sandton Drive, whose alignment had been recently approved, would cut off the regional centre from the civic centre and all the rest of the development in Sandown and therefore would not be part of an integrated central core. I knew it was a long shot but put forward the suggestion that he consider an alternative site...though he was not totally opposed to the idea he pointed out the practical difficulties of which I was well aware.

The idea was that if the proposed east-west road were re-aligned to the south instead of the north side of the proposed development and

the existing Fifth Street lowered and bridged over, then Rapp's development could be integrated with the civic centre and an extensive area to its north which could then become a viable and properly-planned town centre.

Had Rapp been ten years older [he was then no more than thirty] he would have laughed at these proposals as being impractical but as it was, when we met again, he liked the idea. Had I had more experience I'd have realized that, given the time constraints and the way that bureaucracy works, all this was mission impossible. As it turned out, it all happened just the way I had proposed. How it all happened is another story with many others involved (Bristow, 2000).

Another key task raised by Bristow was the need to relocate Sandown Primary School from the CBD:

The other incident where I was instrumental in setting up a deal very rewarding for the council was in the re-location of the Sandown Primary School... By this time, it was clear enough that the development of the town centre would almost certainly materialise and that the school as it was then located would be engulfed by business development.

Should the building of the hall go ahead, the school would be more entrenched on the site and the inevitable problems such as young children being exposed to traffic hazards would become a nightmare.

There were a number of obstacles to clear... to have the construction put on hold... to convince the governing body ... to re-locate [and] then to convince the Education Department of the same, to find a suitable site for a new school...and finally ... the question of what should become of the old school once a new one were built (Bristow, 2000).

Cumulatively, these processes were achieved through soft negotiation processes, with Bristow having to negotiate through meetings with the East Witwatersrand School Board, the school's governing body, as well as

through his association with the provincial planning authorities, and Sandton town Council representatives. Looking back, Bristow observed that “it was against very long odds that the outcome went the way it did.” (ibid).

From the above, it is evident that the key processes of planning and visioning for Sandton were developed and steered internally by the Town’s planners. The development of the plans was however also contracted to external expert consultants:

Once the joint committee had decided on the principle of locating the town centre in Sandown, with the civic centre and what was to become Sandton City as the nucleus, it appointed consultants⁵⁰ to carry out the detail planning, including the defining of the boundaries...The consultants worked closely with me and Mr. Ledlie the Town Engineer and there were frequent working meetings with the [Sandton] Management Committee (Bristow, 2000).

Municipal planning officials were also in close consultation with the then seminal developer, Rapp and Maister, who also had hired planning (and other) expertise on the development:

Meanwhile Rapp and Maister had been consulted in the course of our planning as they would need to accept the proposals that affected themselves, in particular in respect of land they would need to provide for planned new roads and widenings.

In compliance with our requirements they had already submitted their rezoning application to Province and coinciding more or less with our public presentation the Townships Board scheduled its meetings in the Sandown Hall to hear their application and the submissions of objectors (Bristow, 2000).

At the town level, these plans and developments for Sandton symbolically signified a shift in the town’s development trajectory, from one that was

⁵⁰ These were Prof. Charl Viljoen from the University of Pretoria, Prof. Wilfred Mallows from the University of the Witwatersrand, Dave Nichol. Later, Dr. Bindle Kruger was appointed to prepare the roads plan for Sandton.

semi-rural and predominantly residential, to one that was more urbanized and commercial. This vision had to be communicated to residents to gain buy-in. The plan for the area was published by the Town council and disseminated to residents in the form of a brochure. The brochure outlined the vision for Sandton, and proposed plans to develop a town centre (Sandton Town Council, 1970). The report sought to acquire buy-in from residents by assuring them that while the intention was to encourage commercial development, this would not come at the expense of the area's 'unique' character:

Sandton people are used to the placidity of semi-rural living. Many have deliberately withdrawn from the hurly-burly of places like Johannesburg, seeking in exchange a fresher, greener, way of life. But Sandton is growing, inevitable, and it is of cardinal importance that the town's character should not be submerged in a wave of decentralized business developments intended to cater for the resident's shopping, entertainment and cultural needs...

The town-planners have an answer for Sandton...the concentration of Sandton's major business needs into a traffic-free all-pedestrian precinct (Sandton Town Council, 1970, p. 3).

The proposals outlined by the Council were however not wholly accepted by local residents:

Once our planning proposals had been made public a huge swell of public opposition built up, both against the roads plan and the town centre proposals. By the time the Sandton City rezoning application started the various groups of objectors were well organized with top legal representation (Bristow, 2000).

The inevitable opposition to Sandton's proposed development trajectory came from area residents seeking to preserve Sandton's semi-rural identity and from neighbouring Municipalities which saw the new CBD as potential competitor to their own nodes, for example Rosebank in Johannesburg Municipality. The resolution of this conflict would come from the Transvaal

Province Townships Board, where hearings over the proposed Sandton City rezoning, the Sandton town centre proposals, and the Sandton roads plan would be convened.

The Townships Board hearings are a critical space in which Sandton's future trajectory was deliberated. The varying positions and conflicting aspirations held by different actors over what Sandton could become were presented, contested and unpacked at these hearings:

It was opposed by the Johannesburg Municipality... [Town Council of] Randburg just attended the hearings and kept a watching brief [while] Johannesburg briefed senior counsel/advocates. The resident's association in Sandton also objected to what was being proposed by Rapp & Maister⁵¹, and there were two senior advocates.... One was Van der Spuy, was the advocate for Rapp & Maister, and Osborn, a senior advocate that appeared on behalf of Johannesburg and the Residents (Keith Beavon, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

The presence and participation of Johannesburg at these hearings emphasized the extended role and impact of Sandton's 'planning' aspirations within the regional space economy. The proposed Centre at Sandton posed a hindrance to Johannesburg ongoing plans to develop the Rosebank commercial node, and to revive the troubled Johannesburg CBD:

Because they could see that if it was successful, it would... further affect the development of Rosebank and the downtown of Johannesburg in terms of retail activity. And it turns out that it's not only retail activity. It's office space as well. We didn't take up that space into calculations at all, but if you sort of thought it through, then office was eventually going to want to go to Sandton. Then the uncertainty of the political situation in South Africa, the mishandling of the parking policy of Johannesburg Municipality where they tried to force people to use the public transport by limiting the parking

⁵¹ Developer for Sandton City.

bays, simply saw people take their cars and go somewhere else (ibid).

Despite these intentions, the focus of the debates at the Townships Board was on the technical feasibility of developing a mega-mall at Sandton City, and potential for the mall's success or failure, as well as the implications for developing a 'new' centre to the viability of other existing areas. In a letter to Liberty Life's Michael Rapp, Z. S. Gurzynski⁵² advised:

Osborn will want to recall you and possibly Keith Beavon into the witness box, to show 1) that the amount of space – shops and offices – has not been properly supported by evidence, and 2) that to take Sandton into *consideration without due regard to Rosebank and all the other centres is bad planning and ought not to be supported (by the Administrator, if need be)* – Letter from Z. S. Gurzynski to M. Rapp (Liberty Life) dated 5th Jan, 1971.

Indeed, the Consultants (for Liberty Life) went to significant detail to justify the technical viability of the Mall's proposed size, location, and function:

We...could support it with the figures we had ourselves. It was clear that residential growth of Johannesburg was Northwards. So, we were able to ... apportion population to different towns... [map] existing shopping centres and [calculate] the time distance relationships from different residential components to this theoretical shopping centre.

And the results were outstanding! Because the shopping centre was located where it was, it would intercept cars... if you wanted to go to Rosebank, you'd first have to go to Sandton City. If you wanted to go to Johannesburg downtown, you'd go past Sandton City. Because most of the population of Johannesburg Municipality was going Northwards, this was the interceptor position for the key alternatives. This indicated that this was a very very sharp location. Its success

⁵² Gurzynski and Beavon were appointed as Consultants to Liberty Life to assist with the application (feasibility and viability studies) for the Sandton City Mall (Beavon, 2017).

would be staggering if it was successful at all (Keith Beavon, personal communication, April 5, 2017).

The Townships Board approved the Sandton City redevelopment, and later, Sandton's town centre and roads plan, thus paving the way for the node's development and expansion. Bristow highlighted the benefit of having relied on expert consultants in this process:

In light of [how] events later unfolded, without the support of the highly-regarded consultants and in view of the massive opposition that our proposals generated, it is most unlikely that our plans would have been approved at provincial level.

[The consultants] later played a huge role in persuading the provincial authorities via the marathon Townships Board hearings, of the merits of the planning. [They] not only had the knowledge and expertise but also an impressive degree of authority (Bristow, 2000).

This outcome however had heavy political repercussions for the area's politicians:

...there was an election and only two out of the twelve councillors retained their seats...The new council turned out to be surprisingly objective in its approach to the problem child it had inherited, despite most of the councillors having been elected on a 'halt the development' ticket. Though it scaled down the rights and some of the roads and though the plan it finally approved went a long way to placate all but the most violently opposed, it was close enough to the original conception and set the course for the future development of Sandton (Bristow, 2000).

Although Sandton City development is considered symbolic in kickstarting the rise of Sandton central, it would take a few more years for the commercial node to consolidate. In the first decade, Sandton authorities managed to retain the area's low-density, residential character, as proposed in the initial plan. By the end of the 1970s, however, demand for denser residential development in the area persisted. Prior to this, Sandton

authorities had been able to contain residential development, though such efforts could still be overruled by provincial authorities. By the end of the decade, Sandton administrators were forced to adjust these positions:

Why the change of heart? Sandton believes it has to fall into step with modern thinking on better land use. But more than this it finally realises that it just has to do something about broadening the local tax base...much to the delight of the Townships Board (Financial Mail, 1979, p. 14).

Policies instituted in the late 1970's therefore included a relaxation of policies on residential densities; improved roads and plans for improved public transport systems; as well as the pursuit of a deliberate strategy to attract and encourage intensified commercial development in the town centre, and industry in the industrial townships of Wynberg and Kramerville. Reports and plans from this period were difficult to obtain, therefore hindering identification of the various planners or departments that were pursuing these strategies. It is therefore presumed that these decisions were undertaken at different departments within the Municipality.

Commercial development in Sandton was however not just encouraged through change in policy, but also emerged as a result of an aggressive strategy to attract commercial development and head offices to Sandton and market the town's new approach in the financial circles. This was achieved through the collaboration of various actors in the public and private sectors, including politicians, administrative and planning officials within the Council, and lobby groups from outside the Council. Quasi-municipal agencies such as the Sandton Management Committee and the Sandton Promotion and Development Association⁵³ (PROD) played a key role in promoting Sandton through various outlets. Resident groups that had

⁵³ The Sandton Promotion and Development Association (PROD) occupied an intermediary space in Sandton's administration, with its role including the creation and promotion of value in Sandton; driving community awareness; attracting private enterprise through investment in luncheons, seminars, among others.

originally opposed Sandton's development also became proponents of the town's direction and vision, providing support through the Sandton Civic Foundation.⁵⁴ In addition to supporting the town's development agenda, the Civic Foundation was also represented within the Council, and could occupy multiple spaces, pushing to 'cut red tape' within the Council, or by mobilizing funds from the private sector..

These cross-cutting and collaborative functions played by different actors in Sandton's political, administrative and corporate spheres is critical, as it meant that these agencies could align and collectively drive a common vision from different spaces. These efforts generated significant momentum, leading to intensified development in the node through residential densification and commercial office development in the town's CBD (Jeans, 1980).

The first critical 'juncture' in Sandton's trajectory therefore highlights proactive and diverse action played by 'planning' in various forms over the town's first two decades. These actions were made possible by the particular conditions around which Sandton was created, and by the fact that the relatively wealthy town was essentially creating a node 'from scratch'. Nonetheless, the evolving aspirations and roles of planning were apparent in the node, and these aspirations also 'transformed' as the town continued to grow and evolve.

Sandton's initial decades have been presented in literature as having been marked by rapid private sector development and growth of retail and corporate activity. Often, this growth is contrasted with the declining dominance of the same functions in the Johannesburg CBD, and planning failures in Johannesburg to counter this growth (Beavon & Larsen, 2014). It is however also apparent that there were significant efforts from the Sandton

⁵⁴ The Civic Foundation was a rebranded body formed out of the former Sandton Area Committee, a residents' association that had been established in the town's formative years and in which had been opposed to proposed developments by the Council.

planning and spatial governance institutions to facilitate and strategically guide this development:

much thought, effort and planning have gone into the formulation of our policies for the development of our town...The strategic location of the town in relation to major road networks and the current policy of its Council are also reasons for the increasing interest of important companies to invest...here.

Mr. Louis Conway, Chairman of Sandton Management Committee, quoted in The Star, August 1980.

The shifting roles of planning varied in these two decades, from imagining and strategically outlining a vision for the area's development, leveraging on private sector planning and investments, and identifying and pursuing strategic opportunities that could facilitate the establishment of a productive town centre. Here, the role played by specific personalities within and outside the Council is critical, as they focused the attention of the Town Council towards a specific growth path for the node.

The role played by the Council in then strategically negotiating between development plans and residents' expectations, acquiring buy-in and mediating the pressures that arose as a result of this plan is also notable, as was the task of consensus building over changing policy positions, for example when there was need to shift strategy and allow for residential and commercial densification in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Over time, Sandton's planning authorities applied a range of policies, strategies, incentives, and techniques to manage and sustain the CBD's performance over time. In the late 1970s, the Council, having decided to pursue a growth strategy, set competitive rates and taxes to attract growth to the node. Later, in the 1980s, when the node had grown beyond plan

aspirations, authorities instituted measures to curb excessive growth, though these measures were not successful.⁵⁵

Within this juncture, multiple positions and roles of planning within and around Sandton were also apparent. First, the visions held by Municipal planners were instrumental in setting the development trajectory of the town, though these visions couldn't be achieved through the support of other Municipal officials and Council politicians. Sandton's Council employed and contracted expertise from the private sector to advise on various technical issues relating to the area's development, and these inputs were then aligned and synthesized into the town's planning agenda. Private sector developers also coordinated their own plans and investments, with support from planning expertise from the private sector.

Similarly, the role of various citizen-and business interest groups like the Sandton Promotion and Development Association (PROD) and Sandton Civic Foundation was also notable. From within Johannesburg, planners were opposed to Sandton's aspirations, as these compromised their visions for nodes like Rosebank. Last but not least, the Transvaal Townships Board played a critical legislative role as a space where the vision for Sandton's future trajectory could be negotiated.

6.2.2 Integrating Sandton into Johannesburg Metro: 1990s-2005

The second critical juncture in Sandton central's development was in the period of transition to a post-Apartheid democracy. At the political and administrative level, the racially demarcated local governments were being combined into more functional metropolitan system and here, Sandton Town Council and other surrounding areas were incorporated in the Johannesburg's metropolitan administration. At an administrative level, this period was marked by contestation over various issues relating to spatial governance, fiscal management amid broader social and political change.

⁵⁵ When Sandton CBD's growth and development would exceed original plans and intentions in the late 1980's, planners would attempt to redirect investment to new nodes in Sandton, though these efforts would be unsuccessful due to the node's success.

These transformations were also occurring within broader transitions in the national political environment, and a changing economy represented by increased growth and output in the tertiary and services sector within which corporate nodes such as Sandton central grew in dominance.

Institutionally, Sandton town's administrative and planning structures and systems had to be consolidated into those of the Johannesburg consolidated metropolitan Municipality. At a metropolitan level, a key spatial planning agenda was the transformation of the Apartheid urban form and development trajectory, and the social, spatial, and economic redevelopment of formerly marginalized black urban areas. In the case of Johannesburg, these goals were to be met by channelling infrastructure investments to former Township and residential areas in the South, enhancing economic growth, revitalizing declining economic areas such as the CBD of Johannesburg, and shaping a more equitable and sustainable multi-nodal space economy.

These goals of planning however had to be balanced against the need to enhance local, regional and global economic competitiveness and resilience. This meant that highly performing economic nodes like Sandton central – now the leading financial district in the metro – could not be neglected.

By the time of transition, the Sandton central node had grown significantly in size, absorbing majority of commercial development relocating from the Johannesburg CBD. The relocation of the JSE and other legal and FSC firms in the year 2000 onwards elevated the node to regional dominance, with Sandton becoming the leading financial district in the metro and region. At the same time, however, the Sandton node was experiencing significant shortcomings as a result of this growth, requiring considerable investments in infrastructure to curb the node's decline.

While Sandton's need for infrastructural upgrades was dire, the node would still have to compete for limited resources, and within Johannesburg's post-Apartheid administration having to focus on formerly marginalized areas,

the area was not of immediate priority. The pursuit of these agendas would generate considerable conflict and contestation, raising critical implications for urban management, spatial governance, and democratic policy development.

A key factor in this period was the fact that the process of administrative amalgamation was still largely a process under negotiation, and the various areas that composed this metropolitan region still had different identities, with various groups pursuing varied agendas. Institutional relations were still fraught, and the environment within which these decisions were being taken was still strained:

...[T]here was this kind of confusion and hiatus around how capital investments were being made into the broader Johannesburg as we know it today. But then of course, it wasn't. It was Sandton, it was Johannesburg, there were lots of contestations between the different municipalities, and certainly amongst Sandton and the Northern suburbs (Li Pernegger, Former official at Department of Economic Development's Economic Development Unit, 24 April, 2017).

The Sandton rates boycott grew out of this contestation, emerging from contestation over fiscal decisions undertaken by the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council and the Eastern Metropolitan Substructure (EMSS) within which Sandton fell. When the GJMC and EMSS decided to consolidate rates across the metropolitan area, areas like Sandton – which had previously enjoyed low rates – experienced a sharp increase in rates, causing tension between local business and resident representatives, and metropolitan authorities.

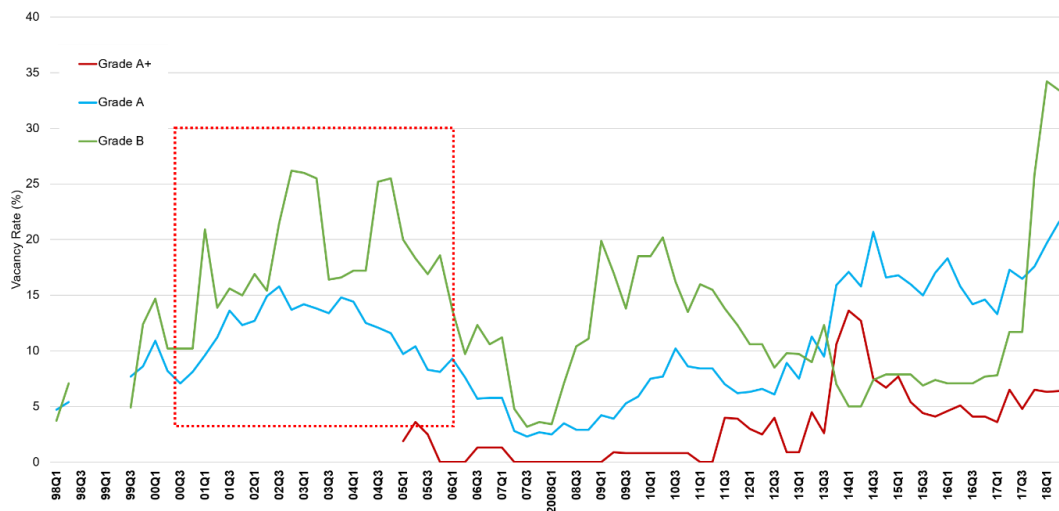
As outlined in the previous chapter, the Sandton Rates boycott was lengthy and protracted, representing a broader tension between local residents and the metropolitan administration than mere rates. The outcome, however, was that while the City was under pressure to invest in formerly marginalized areas, it also could not neglect a node as significant as Sandton. As a result,

City policy makers then had to adjust their attitudes and soften its perspective on the node:

something changed in the early 2000s... probably a combination of things... one was an acknowledgement in the City that money, capital investment had to be made in the Northern areas of the City, as well as in the South, because that's where the rates base was. [Sandton] was contributing let's say 80% of the City's rates base but wasn't getting much of investment, but you could see that it was becoming a bit of a crisis because the sewerage was an issue, the roads infrastructure was not coping with the amount of traffic in the area, transportation was an issue (Li Pernegger, Former official at Department of Economic Development's Economic Development Unit, 24 April, 2017).

Indeed, an analysis of rental demand data in Sandton in the period indicates a period of decline in the early 2000s, which has been attributed to these declined conditions.

Figure 6.1: Vacancy Rates in Sandton, 1998-2018



Source: Rode Data, 2018

The second critical juncture focuses on the process through which attitudes within the city, and among residents, businesses and developers in Sandton were changed, and a more collaborative approach to Sandton's development was instituted. This was achieved within the period of the Sandton Rates boycott which, though ultimately resolved in the courts, culminated in a more conciliatory environment from which the node's declining form and status could be reversed. Interviewed respondents observed that at the same time, spaces of negotiation were also being opened up, through which opposing positions could be resolved amid the crisis:

The Private Property sector was very strong in Sandton. They had quite a lot of muscle, and they had quite a lot of way-with-all with resources to be able to start planning how to take Sandton into a new direction, which was where the visioning work happened... So, while the Sandton central CID is putting its vision together, the City is also softening its position from a sort of hard-line against Sandton ratepayers... to something that says, "No, we must protect our rates base, although it's politically difficult to motivate" (Li Pernegger, Former official at Department of Economic Development's Economic Development Unit, 24 April, 2017).

This turnaround could also be attributed to the fact that at the same time, Johannesburg's administrative and planning machinery was also stabilizing, with plans and economic policies produced at the time also explicitly acknowledging the fact of Johannesburg's multi-nodal urban space economy, and the need to enhance the functioning of *all* economic nodes in the metro.

A noticeable push from Sandton came from property owners and developers who were invested in ensuring that the node remained viable and competitive, and that the value of their investments in the node increased. Capitalizing on new policies of urban management and regeneration (which were supported by provincial and local government

policies⁵⁶) property owners in Sandton came together to strategize for private-sector led management of the area, ultimately forming the Sandton Business Improvement District & Sandton City & Convention Management Districts that would later combine into the Sandton Central Management District (SCMD).

While property owners and developers in Sandton central were invested in the node's development in the former phase, their participation and involvement would be more proactive and direct in the late 1990's and early 2000's. The Sandton Central Management District, as mentioned earlier, was formed during this phase as a legislated, private-sector funded urban management tool. While the original functions of the City Improvement District (CID) were to address issues of cleaning and security, this role has expanded to urban management and promotion of the node:

The property owners didn't want to go through the what the inner city had gone through, the decay, the decline, and the upkeep was needed...Knowing that the City needed resources to keep meeting those maintenance needs...The property owners, in order to protect their very assets, which is the properties, said, "Look. Let's form this body where we look after our own, where we take responsibility and provide complementary and supplementary services" (Elaine Jack, Personal communication, 06 June, 2017).

CIDs have been critiqued in literature for advancing neo-liberal goals, and for leading to further splintering of the urban space through the creation of exclusive, privately managed enclaves, and for reproducing forms of physical and social organization that pay little attention to the daily struggles of ordinary people. This is particularly critical in the in the case of urban South Africa where significant spatial disparities still exist (Peyroux, 2006; Sihlongonyane, 2014). While this could be the case, it is also apparent that without the SCMD, Sandton's eventual transition in the mid-2000's would

⁵⁶ Johannesburg was one of the early municipalities to endorse and adopt City Improvement Districts in the early 1990s, with later support coming from Gauteng Province via the Gauteng City Improvement District Act, 1997 (Blueprint Group, 2006).

not have occurred. The management district has actively driven the node's improvement and rejuvenation and solidified its corporate identity over the years. Over time, the SCMD has even taken leadership roles in driving and shaping the node's planning agenda:

Interventions in Sandton also encompass the preparation of a planning strategy and an integrated Urban Design Framework to take further steps into landscaping (street furniture, signage and banners in the public space), change in architecture, improvement in pedestrian and traffic flows, improvement in road infrastructure and services infrastructures, consideration of the effect of the Gautrain on the flow of the area, implementation of an urban management and municipal services plan. By embarking upon such ambitious restructuring programmes, CIDs in the suburbs tend to supplant local authorities in urban planning and urban design in these specific areas (Peyroux, n.d., p. 40).

SCMD management however insists that their role remains supplementary to the City, although actors in the node actively participate in shaping development agendas. In essence, however, the SCMD has been able to play a more critical role in shaping Sandton's development, including funding the development of a transportation master plan for the node, investing in traffic management and security infrastructure and facilities, and affecting urban management decisions in the district, particularly relating to controlling informal trading:

[W]hat we as a CID do is try to manage that from a numbers point of view. So, we don't allow the increase of traders.... what we do is that we keep them in order, and we make sure that they're within the by-laws, the informal trader by-laws. But we don't do the allocations, we don't do the licensing. That comes with the City, and that's one of the co-partnerships that we're trying to work with the City. So much as we don't really want those traders there, but I guess it's also economic development for them to be there as part of the City's

initiative of creating jobs and things like that. We've got two places that are declared as trading spaces. That's Maude and 5th. That's the – otherwise all the other areas we don't allow traders (Elaine Jack, Personal communication, 06 June, 2017).

Sandton's second juncture is briefly presented in this research to highlight the 'scattered' set of actions, decisions and investments which cumulatively shifted focus and resources towards the node's revitalization. This occurred in the mid-2000s, within an environment that was focused at driving equity and spatial transformation. These emanated from multiple processes, with actions, decisions and processes scattered across a myriad of actors employing a combination of formal and informal systems of negotiation and collaboration, and all these were made possible by the fact that the node now occupied a critical position in the city and region's urban space economy, and therefore could not be overlooked:

There were these formal links, and these informal links. You know? Informal... John Spiropoulos driving from his side, and Roland Hunter [Economic Development, CoJ], and Graeme Reid [Johannesburg Inner City Partnership] also being open to... I think JDA was also involved tangentially in this visioning exercise of the Sandton Business District ... [T]his would come in here somehow and result in these turnaround measures and a closer synergy... of the private and the public sector working together (Li Pernegger, Former official at Department of Economic Development's Economic Development Unit personal communication, 24 April, 2017).

While these were not adequately explored in this research, Sandton's transformation during the transitional period highlights a changing 'role' for planning at this point of the node's transformation.

Little is available on the shift in spatial planning and strategy for Sandton node in this first decade, particularly when contrasted with previous decades when the node was managed as the former Sandton Town's CBD. In the

transition decade, attention was at a wider scope. However, development in Sandton and Johannesburg continued.

In addition to planning and investment action by area property owners, developers and approval from Metropolitan planning agencies, other agencies identified as being pivotal in this phase included: traditional Metropolitan authorities and departments (including Spatial Planning, Economic Development, Transport, Tourism, and the Johannesburg Development Agency); provincial authorities; area residents and business owners; property developers and investors (through the SCMD); and financial and corporate sector actors.

At a metropolitan level, Johannesburg was engaged in the pursuit of a broader range of equally important goals – including socio-political transformation, economic development, restructuring of the apartheid city and amalgamating administrative boundaries, whilst navigating broader economic changes facing the city. At this level, planning activities ranged from high-level economic and strategic planning, land-use planning and development control, as well as planning at the nodal and precinct level.

This phase underscores the fact that the influence of planning might not always come from the ‘traditional’ domains of land use planning and control, but draw from a broader range of efforts and actions from different agencies operating at the public and private sectors.

To highlight Sandton central as a priority area for municipal investment, new spaces of planning and collaboration also emerged, driven from varying sectors including other public agencies as well as the private sector. These formal and informal spaces had significant impact on building consensus and shifting attitudes, and thus collaboration, joint planning and ultimately, a more coordinated investment and upgrading environment.

From the creation of the Sandton area management district, there has also been a more dominant and active role played by the property owners (under the banner of the SCMD) in actively shaping and protecting the node’s development and promotion; including driving planning and development

projects. The fact that the SCMD operates within a highly functioning district implies that the CID is better resourced to drive the node's development and to supplement municipal functions in the area.

The reorganization of planning into the metropolitan level also shifted scope to that of a multi-nodal metropolitan spatial form. As outlined above, the shift in attitudes and attention towards upgrading and developing Sandton came with stabilizing metropolitan planning structures, and increased infrastructure investment in the node.

At the provincial level, regional spatial and infrastructure planning and investment also elevated Sandton's position and functionality in this period. Planning and investment in the Gautrain rapid rail transport, coupled with the City of Johannesburg's integrated public transportation system was critical for the emergence of Sandton central as a TOD, as discussed in more detail in the following section.

6.2.3 Modifying Sandton Central into a 'real' CBD (2010-Onwards)

Sandton's third critical juncture emerges in the post-2010 era where planning and investment aspirations for Sandton had to evolve, turning the now vibrant and successful district into a functional and integrated CBD.

By 2010, Sandton central had risen to prominence as the financial heart of Johannesburg, the symbolic centre of the country and region's new financial economy, and, through the Gautrain rail project linking Gauteng's key nodes to the Airport, as a key transport hub and an 'entry point' into the region and country.⁵⁷ Private-sector development in the node has continued, in the decade, inspired by the node's growth and development, and by the success of the Gautrain station.

⁵⁷ While claims of Sandton as Johannesburg or Gauteng's new CBD have been more symbolic and anecdotal than factual, these cannot be overlooked as while the Johannesburg CBD continues to be the functional center of the City and a critical transportation hub from the greater Southern African region, but Sandton's transport interchange functions are elevated through its link to the Airport by the Gautrain and as a financial district, through its linkage to the global financial ecosystem.

Johannesburg's planning and spatial management institutions had, by this time, stabilized, with Sandton being part of Johannesburg's administrative Region B. Planning functions were present at the Metropolitan's strategic planning department where a planner was in charge of Region B. As the Region office, planners were also stationed to cater for the development of the area, acting as the interface with community, but also in monitoring development activities at the ground level.

In an interview with a planner stationed at Johannesburg's Region B office, some of the identified tasks ranged from community liaison, meeting coordination, monitoring of local level delivery, among others. Additional functions related to planning and service delivery at the region level included the Integrated Service Delivery, the Citizen Relationship, and the Planning, Profiling and Data management departments. The Region's office also liaised with the CIDs to coordinate activity at the node:

We are the interface between the city and the community... So, I hardly do any planning work anymore. I see planning applications come through my office... [but] I don't approve. I look at it, give my comments if there's a comment to give, but the planners [at the head office] need to make a decision. We [also] deal with things like service delivery breakdowns. That's a huge chunk of what the region does, citizen relations. They will arrange for public meetings, mobilize people whatever else. We are also the interface with the ward councillors.

I do area-based management, I oversee those kinds of things to make sure that they're actually rolled out. So, I'm not [an] implementer, I just make sure that this is what the community had asked for... We just oversee to make sure that those things are happening. And to make sure that projects that were actually suggested are the ones that are being implemented....

Other things that we do is like special projects. For example, [offering advice when companies] want to do some corporate social

investment. We see if we can help facilitate those kinds of things. For example, we all know that there's no community centre in...let's say Klipfontein. So [the corporation] will go and build a community centre. But then you've got to make sure that there's actually someone who can run it, once it's done. So that's basically area-based management (Inneke DeVilliers, Region B Planner, Personal Communication, 12 March, 2018).

In this last critical juncture, a broader range of actors has emerged that deal with Sandton central's development. Outside the metropolitan spatial planning departments, notable spatial actors include City Transport planning and management departments involved in development of public transport facilities (including the City of Johannesburg's Transport Department and Rea Vaya BRT developers and implementers). From Gauteng Province's Gautrain Rapid Rail project, the Gautrain Management Agency (GMA) and Bombela Concessionaire are also involved in the management of this facility. The GMA has dedicated planning functions to cater for the spatial planning, coordination and management along the route. From interviewed officials, the GMA is involved both in the internal planning and coordination of planning for purposes of the railway, and for planning and coordinating land uses around station areas:

So, when you talk about spatial planning, during the planning of the Gautrain, during those early stages, we had what we called, Station Impact Area Committees with the cities, the City of Johannesburg, the City of Tshwane, and Ekurhuleni. We used to have those interface meetings, and in the end, we developed what we called Station Impact Area Guidelines with the cities for all the Gautrain stations. Then the cities also came up with bright ideas to also have, what we call, Urban Development Frameworks. And you'll see most of them were published in the years of 2008, 2007, just after we started construction.

We've had very interesting interactions with the cities to influence spatial planning. So for instance, we would tell the cities that, you know what, we encourage land users that promote public transport usage, land uses that promote non-motorized transport, for instance. So, in the UDFs you would find, in the guidelines that around the stations, we try to limit the usage of land for car showroom, dealerships, you know, those that don't encourage public transport.

And then, in the way that we've influences the cities, in their spatial planning, we would guide them and say, you know what? Around these areas we would like to see all the rezoning applications (Gautrain Management Agency Official, Personal communication, 5 October, 2017).

The interaction between agencies like the GMA and the City is legislated, but also relies on collaborative action across the departments. Interviewed respondents from the Gautrain Management Agency also acknowledged this, observing that in the end, the approving powers rested with the City:

GMA Official: We know we are an entity that doesn't have teeth to bite, but we request the city to discourage land uses such as showrooms around these areas. [And] because it's not all over or below the railway line. We'll have no authority, per se, to say yes or to say no.... But we can use the cities because they are the authority of first instance to actually help us with that.

Miriam: Are Cities obligated to send you all rezoning applications around the Gautrain station areas?

GMA Official: The Act⁵⁸ says that the cities must actually forward those applications to the MEC. So it's a legislative requirement, but you would understand that some... slip through the cracks, you find there was a rezoning that was approved due to lack of information,

⁵⁸ The Gautrain Management Agency Act 5 of 2006 was developed to 'provide for the establishment of the Gauteng Management Agency', outlining its roles, objectives, functions and duties (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2007)

or... they overlook the existence of the Gautrain due to lack of experience or lack of information and then the application ends up being approved without us having had comments on those.

But for the ones that people already have rights, we use the site development process to say for every site development that happens or that gets submitted within a certain corridor, we also require the cities to also send us those SDPs, so when we see that they are intending to do something that will have an impact on us, then we start to put down conditions that would protect our systems (Gautrain Management Agency Official, Personal communication, 5 October, 2017).

In the post-2010 era, 'new' spatial needs and demands have emerged for the node, emanating from increased usage of the node in general, from continued investment in public transport infrastructure, and from transitioning nodal form towards a denser, integrated, and mixed-use district. In the 2008 urban development plan, some of the key interventions for Sandton included the creation of a quality public environment, prioritization of fixed investments and viable public transport, the implementation of appropriate land management mechanisms, development of better pedestrian links and development of green spaces, the integration of land use and transportation, intensification and containment of node growth, and the promotion of the node's identity and the creation of a recognizable centre at the node (City of Johannesburg, 2008, p. 83).

Sandton is always going to be a priority, much like [Johannesburg] CBD...We encourage the growth of Sandton. We don't want to limit it in anyway. We try to facilitate it to flourish as much as possible (City of Johannesburg Strategic Planner, personal communication, 22 February, 2018).

The acceptance of Sandton as a critical district/node in Johannesburg's multinodal space economy is a foregone conclusion. The task then has

shifted towards the transformation of the node into a functional, effective, and integrated CBD, and this task has emerged more gradually. If the vision for Sandton is to transform it into a dense, integrated mixed-use node, it is also observed that this vision is commonly shared by all stakeholders across both public and private sectors (City of Johannesburg, 2007; Johannesburg Roads Agency, 2015).

How would Sandton central function as a fully functioning, integrated TOD? How would the formerly disparate forms of public transport – taxis, Gautrain, BRT –function seamlessly within a precinct that is more pedestrian-friendly? As with other nodes in Johannesburg, Sandton central developed into a car-dominant node, with limited pedestrian amenities. In the post-2010 era, improvements have been made to the Sandton grid, making it more pedestrian-friendly, though interviewed respondents still argued that more could be done.

Interviewed respondents observed a gap between policy and planning aspirations - to create and promote a mixed use, intensified, transit-oriented node - and implementation:

They say, “We want a walkable city.” But...what does that mean? What does the floor feel like? The pavement on which you walk – how wide should it be? What do you do when you have an entrance for a car into a parking bay? Do you put kerbs on there? Or do you tell the car that you’re now driving over a pavement, you’re not in the road anymore? So, it’s small little things. But if I walk around with you in Sandton, if I show you how the new Sasol building’s parking entrance looks like, it looks like an intersection with another road. As a pedestrian, you’re almost afraid to cross. Because people come around the corner at 80kph because they can. They feel entitled to because you designed the space that way (Pierre Swanepoel, Personal communication, 17 July, 2017).

The granular look and feel of the district at the wider scale has been considered and outlined in the area’s urban development frameworks and

these were further elaborated in the 2014 integrated transportation plan⁵⁹ (City of Johannesburg, 2008; Johannesburg Roads Agency, 2015). These have proposed critical changes in the Sandton central area that, if addressed, could enhance movement and mobility in the area, creating a high-quality pedestrian environment.

The implementation of these proposals, however, could prove more challenging than outlined in the plan, as it requires collaborative investment action and decision making among adjacent sites and within the broader district. To address the challenge posed by Sandton's large block and grid sizes which, coupled with 'uninviting' sidewalks and limited public spaces, limit pedestrian mobility across the node, see Figure 6.2 below, for example, developers would have to open up connections between and within blocks, and create more green spaces. This requires the collaboration of various City agencies and private developers, as well as inter and intra-departmental co-ordination and shared action between public and private development activity, which remains a challenge.

⁵⁹ The planning process was collaboratively funded by the SCMD and Johannesburg's Department of Transport, bringing together a wide range of actors, including the users of the node, property developers, spatial planners, the Johannesburg Roads Agency (JRA) among others.

Figure 6.2: Block Sizes in Sandton Central



Source: Sandton Transportation Master Plan (2014).

A good case for observing contemporary challenges in Sandton is the Gautrain Station site. While this site is itself complex and the issues particular and layered, it nonetheless represents a critical node in Sandton central's transition into a viable TOD node. It therefore warrants close observation and exploration.

As an integrated public transportation node, the Sandton Gautrain Station site is expected to function as a multi-modal interchange point, connecting the Gautrain facilities with those of Gautrain buses and taxis. Under the Corridors of Freedom project, the City of Johannesburg proposed to develop two dedicated bus-routes through Sandton, with two stations within SCMD, including one outside the Gautrain Station. To further enhance permeability and mobility, specific streets in the node have been proposed for NMT and pedestrianization as illustrated above. The aspirations for Sandton then attempt as much as possible to reduce the traffic congestion challenges by facilitating a shift to efficient public transport.

[T]he key was that Gautrain is an agglomerator. It helps to create economies of agglomeration. And that the flagship Station was going to be Sandton which was going to be *intermodal*! The Taxis were going to come there. And the buses were going to come there. And on top of that it was a TOD development, there were going to be hotels, and flats, and... and that would be like the core, around which all development would happen. And it should be a flagship station. It should look beautiful, it should be like San Pancras (Lisa Seftel, Personal communication, 2 August, 2017).⁶⁰

When all development is complete, the Sandton station site should have: the Gautrain stations serving a North-South line connecting Johannesburg to Pretoria and an East-West line connecting Randburg to O.R. Tambo International Airport; a public transport interchange, with facilities for minibus taxis inside the building, and facilities for Gautrain buses; Rea Vaya bus lanes and stops outside and around the station site; and finally, the Kgoro Gateway Development⁶¹ – a high-density, mixed-use project planned above and around the Station site.

From the UDF, the plan for the area already anticipates this, and has catered for these developments, by offering urban management principles that include:

Sidewalks and pathways [that] ensure the mobility of all users, the provision of a pedestrian network that provides continuous direct routes and convenient connections between destinations...and

⁶⁰ San Pancras is a TOD/Rail station in London <https://stpancras.com/> that was designed by ARUP, a transportation planning firm that also works in Sandton. Due to their involvement in Sandton, ARUP was contracted by SCMD to prepare the Sandton Integrated Master Plan in 2014.

⁶¹ Kgoro is widely marketed as the premier mixed-use destination in Johannesburg and Gauteng. The development intends to integrate the public transport interchange; designer apartments; world class retail and entertainment facilities; art museum, exhibitions and a theatre; offices, a luxury hotel; and a multi-functional landmark square designed for active commuting within the block-size 'smart precinct'. The project capitalizes on Sandton's Gautrain Station and OR Tambo International Airport by extension, whereby the station – and node – acts as the 'Gateway to South Africa' for international visitors, and 'Gateway to Sandton' for South Africans from across the country arriving in Johannesburg and Sandton (Vantage Capital, 2013).

public transport facilities. It further suggests the use of ‘good design... to enhance the look and feel of the pedestrian environment which is anticipated to... include open spaces such as plazas, courtyards and squares, building facades that give shape to the space of the street, and amenities such as street furniture, banners, art, plantings and special paving, along with historical elements and cultural references that promote a sense of place (City of Johannesburg, 2008, p. 122).

Currently, only the Gautrain station, the public transportation interchange, and some commercial amenities on the ground floor have been developed. With these, however, it is evident that the achievement of the spatial goals for the site have raised considerable unforeseen challenges and complexities that bring into question the feasibility of practically creating this mixed-use facility at the site.

Interviewed respondents highlighted the fact that some challenges should have been considered at the planning stage, but were not:

You need 6 meters of pedestrian zone...Remember when a train stops... then it’s a whole carriage of people that comes out at once...And these can be up to 200 people. And that’s why, if we’re gonna make this thing work, we’re gonna need up to 6-meter-wide pavements. So, if you say that to the JRA, they say, “What?! That’s two car lanes!”

A car lane in Sandton has got a capacity of thousand cars an hour. So, you take 2000 cars per hour off the grid. What does it do to the traffic? (Pierre Swanepoel, Personal communication, 17 July, 2017).

Another interviewee noted that the intention to combine multiple uses within and around the site – without any planned road widening exercises – would prove a challenge:

How does the Kgoro Site actually look like in the end? You want to have integrated development. You have to have freight access. You have to have pedestrian access. You have to have cycle lanes. You

have to have public transport access. You have to have rubbish bins to get in and out. You have to have health and safety. You have got the space like this – it cannot fit. It sounds wonderful from a public transport kind of space, good integration, and so on. But do we have the capacity to manage it? It's hard (Lisa Seftel, Personal communication, 2 August, 2017).

Within the site, internal management issues arose, relating to the coordination of intermodal transportation systems – whereby space provided for taxis was inadequate, thus necessitating the provision of alternative holding facilities elsewhere (ibid), and also, in the coordination of varied activities which are to be managed by various actors and agencies.

While some of these challenges point to teething problems that could be ironed out in time, others raise questions regarding the multi-actor management frameworks proposed for the node, and the complex land ownership and development rights that exist on the node, which are both unique and unprecedented.

The land on which the station is built is still owned by the City of Johannesburg under the custodianship of the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC). Land use rights for the development and management of the station are owned by the Gautrain Management Agency (GMA), with additional rights going to the developers undertaking the Kgoro mixed-use development above the station. The GMA has then subcontracted the Bombela Concession Company with management rights to the Gautrain for a period of 25 years (up to 2025), and shops and areas outside the train station are under the coordination and management of various property management agencies and tenants. The use, ownership and management rights and agreements on this single site have created complex site management challenges, and interviewed officials acknowledged that some of these challenges were not anticipated:

...we didn't expect that, you know, we could have difficulties with the city, and public transport systems that come with them at the station.

For example, now, the issue that we've been talking about now about the pollution that is currently happening due to exhaust fumes at the PTI in Sandton. The other issue is with services, for example some of the shops are now draining their grey water in areas where they should not be flowing and then you ask yourself what was the initial agreement with the shop owners or whoever the land owner is whoever has been sub-letted...Now, it's very difficult especially from the city side...it's very difficult to achieve the integration that was envisaged (Gautrain Management Agency Official, Personal communication, 5 October, 2017).

The Sandton Station site raises critical queries on the applicability of PPP financing and implementation models on spatial and infrastructure projects, and interviewed transport officials reflected that the implications of this on management of an integrated node were not considered:

Gautrain is a PPP. Their PPP succeeds if they can satisfy their passengers... But it's also that they've also got to satisfy their funders, the banks... So, the moment you say, "No, actually we want *you* to manage the Taxi Rank plus the Bus park", they'll say, "No, it's not in our ... agreement. If you are going to a variation to our contract, you have to pay a premium, you're going to pay Lawyer's fees to do the variation, there's too many risks."

So, it is problematic having a PPP for Transport. Because it's got a lot of rigidity (Lisa Seftel, Personal communication, 2 August, 2017).

As the main public transit point in Sandton, the Gautrain station site offers a useful case for exploring how public transit systems can be integrated into the Sandton central grid. The site however also highlights complex issues that are unique to the models of financing and management of the Gautrain, but that also offer useful lessons as mega-infrastructure projects continue to involve public-private collaborations. Further improvements on the site will come with the development of the BRT and NMT infrastructure, as well as street-level design and articulation.

The above articulation of the site-level challenges that have emerged in Sandton is useful for unpacking the emerging complexities apparent at the site level, where a mixture of private and public sector actors and agencies are attempting to create a mixed-use development comprising of multiple activities managed under a wide range of management arrangements.

This, at a larger scale, spells the development environment within which Sandton central today is being coordinated, necessitating a more sophisticated approach to site, nodal, and district level urban management.

The unique position of Sandton central emerges from the fact that the strategic vision for the area's trajectory is not under contestation. All actors operating in Sandton – from public sector spatial and transport planning to area property owners, developers and users – all appear unified in their aspirations for what the node should be, and how it ought to function more effectively. At a nodal level, despite significant improvements, the Sandton central precinct still bears functional inefficiencies, particularly in the functionality and integrated form of the node. These could be attributed to the fact that the node is still 'under construction', and once complete, the node could function more effectively. As of the time of this research, the node still faces traffic congestion, with uneven provision and limited integration of NMT amenities.

An emerging concern for planning at this stage of the node's development is how to direct the ongoing investments and actions in the node to towards the achievement of the commonly held goals outlined in the plans for the area. And while some of the gaps have been identified in the coordination of Municipal built environment capacities, considerable action is also expected from property developers. The success of the node also requires the re-orientation and transformation of individual sites and blocks towards permeable, accessible, and integrated spaces (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

This could require redevelopment in older developments, and for this to happen, a more assertive role is expected from area planners:

Let me give you the example, if you look at Sandton City... I was still at planning when we got the site development plan, (and they) were going to reconfigure the site.

And *we told them*, 'Listen here, you need to open up to the street...People must be able to see in and out of the building. But if you take a drive down there...there is one door and that is it.... Is that also not the city's fault? It shouldn't have been approved that way (Inneke DeVilliers, personal communication, 12 March, 2018).

Interviewed planners however pointed towards the need for a more strategic and collaboratively developed compact regarding the vision for Sandton's urban design frameworks. Johannesburg's system of development control relies heavily on plan approval systems that are spread across multiple departments, and this means that visions and ideals held at the strategic planning level could be overlooked as development applications progress through the various departments. Interviewed planners however noted that through spaces like the Urban Design Advisory Committee, specific urban management principles and aspirations could be applied for priority nodes and corridors in the city:

Planner 1: We have an Urban Design Advisory Committee. And in areas Sandton or the corridors, we send the development applications there. It's a group of town planners and urban designers within the City [who] look at the functionality of the proposal, how it interacts with the street, the urban design of it, and how it would work best. And they give their stamp of approval or their inputs, and ensure that those goals are met. [So] whatever UDAC suggests in the Site Development Plan, that would be put in the conditions of approval.

Miriam: How statutory are their recommendations?

Planner 1: It would be something in the conditions of approval. Once Land Use [department] approves an application, they make conditions, and once the Building Plans are ready from developers' side, they have to go to Building Control [who then] check that those

conditions have been met. At that point, our influence is very minimal, and we're not able to get into those details.

But at SDP stage, because they need to have an approved SDP from Land Use Department, and that is what would inform how they place their buildings, and configuration of the building, and how it interacts in the street... That is something we can control. But sometimes, some things slip under the radar. It happens because not every application goes there, or makes it there. It's usually those very strategic ones... in the corridors, and in the nodes (Discussion with City of Johannesburg Strategic Planners, 22 February, 2018).

The separate nature of the various approving 'bodies' however implied that recommended 'urban design principles' could still be overlooked by planners and developers at a later stage. This way, they called for a more deliberate design compact – agreed upon by both planners and developers – that could compel individual actors and developers to adhere to a broader blueprint:

Planner 2: That's why I think an urban design manual would benefit Sandton a lot. To guide how the public realm is developed.

Miriam: How enforceable would a manual be?

Planner 2: In areas like Dunkeld it has worked.⁶² It's not something that's legislated, but as a landowner, you know that the local area association holds you accountable. That this is what you need to do.

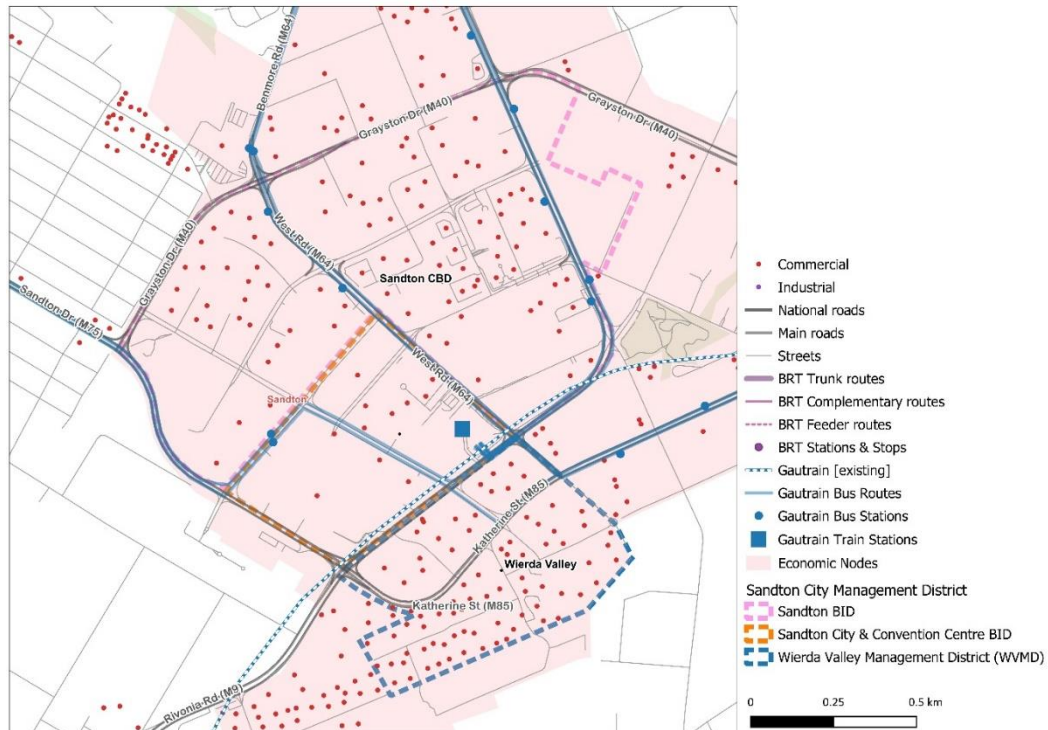
Miriam: Was it developed by the City, or the community?

Planner 2: By the community together with the city.

⁶² The public realm design manual prepared for the Dunkeld area outlines urban design principles intended to guide decision making in the investment and management of the Dunkeld-Illovo management district in Johannesburg (dhk Architects, 2015). The manual functions as a link between the nodal plans provided by the district's UDF provided by the city and the individual sites.

6.3 Conclusion

Figure 6.3: The Sandton Central Area



Source: Author, 2019

The space economy of Sandton and its commercial district have changed significantly in the past century, consolidating over the last 4-5 decades into Johannesburg and Gauteng's most dominant financial node. Generally, the Sandton area transformed from a semi-rural, residential area in peri-urban regions of the then Transvaal province, into an autonomous Town Council, and in the post-Apartheid dispensation, the region was absorbed into Johannesburg's metropolitan area, as one of its administrative sub-regions. Sandton's CBD was created in the 1970s, gradually expanding in size and dominance, from from a small-town CBD into one of Johannesburg's leading corporate, financial, retail, tourism, and transportation hubs. Once a relatively small core serving commercial, administrative, and retail functions for a small white population, the node now spreads over multiple precincts⁶³

⁶³ The Sandton Central Management District – combines three BIDs, the Sandton business improvement district, the Sandton City & Convention Centre business improvement district, and the Wierda Valley management district.

and operates as part of a regional multi-nodal urban space economy with international linkages.

The role of planning in Sandton has shifted with the node's evolution, and with changing aspirations for the node. While most literature on Sandton focuses on investment activities from private sector, this chapter has highlighted that spatial planning has been present in the area's transformation, operating in diverse forms and occupying multiple scales.

The approach, intent, and methods applied by planning have also evolved over the years and depending on context. Planning activity varied, from strategy development and vision-building, negotiation amongst conflicting visions, negotiating diverse aspiration and expectations for the area, and coordinating multiple investments as the node progressed. Planning functions were operating at multiple scales and spaces, with the 'lead' role changing from agency to agency, depending on imperative at the moment. Planning occupied a number of spaces, traditional land use planning and development control, strategic planning, and created spaces such as those created in the Apartheid era commissions of inquiry, where planning issues would be deliberated and policies formulated. At the same time, spaces of planning were apparent in decision making and conflict resolution spaces, including courts, and planning oversight agencies such as the Transvaal Townships Board. Other forms of public-sector planning – most notably regional transportation planning and metropolitan economic development planning, were integral for Sandton's development.

In the past decade, the spatial imperatives for the node have shifted, and planning activity, distributed over various spaces, is now focused on creating a vibrant and functional mixed-use node in the district. Within this juncture of the precinct's development, spaces of coordination and shared achievement of identified goals have taken precedence, though not without contestation.

Through these shifting spaces and roles, and within the historically changing context, the intentions, aspirations and actions of planning changed, from long-term agenda formation; vision-building and resolution of conflicting

ideas via diverse spaces; marketing and promotion of the CBD to achieve goals; and in land-use planning and development, guiding changing functions of the node through managing growth and expansion, controlling and redirecting excessive growth, coordinating improvement and upgrading, and driving intensification and densification of land uses in the node.

At a broader regional level, developments around Sandton's Gautrain station highlight the lingering disjuncture between transportation planning and spatial planning that was not dealt with in depth in this chapter.

At the site level, these transport planning and spatial planning issues are then layered with precinct-level planning, internal nodal integration and site-management issues which are further complicated by contemporary models of project financing and management of large-scale infrastructure projects under PPP models. The shifting opportunities for various systems and actors in planning to manage and coordinate site-development – even at this level of complexity – was a key reflection area for this research.

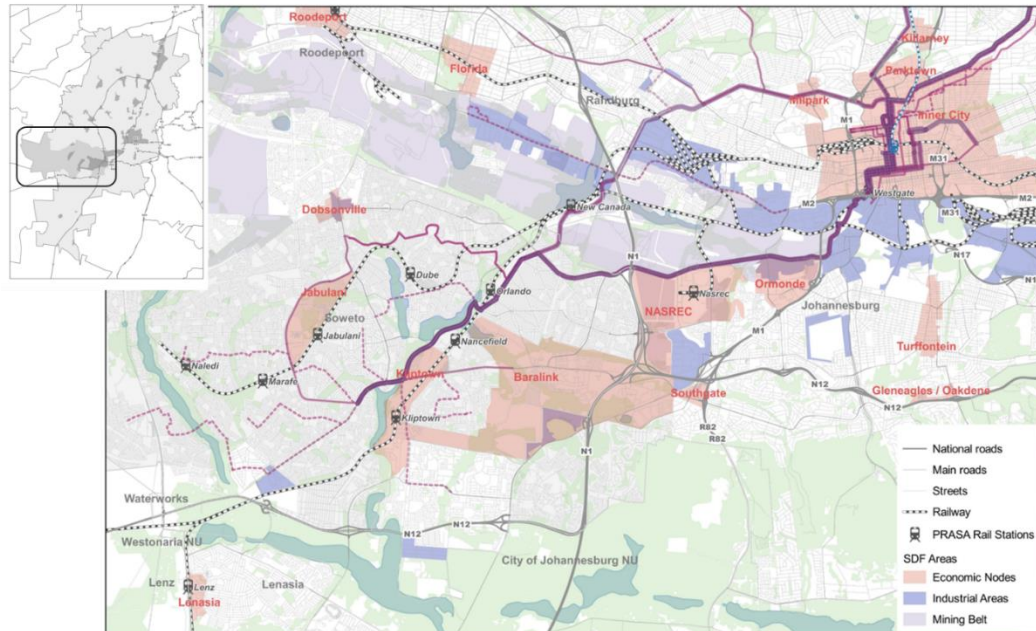
In Sandton, the role of a broader range of actors and agencies also emerged, with private sector investment and planning emerging as a critical player in the node. And while residents' associations, property developers and business interests in Sandton were involved in the area's development through various organizations and lobby groups in the 1970s and 1980s, this role was solidified in the mid-2000s with the creation of Area management districts. The goals, aspirations and actions of private sector (developers and users) also shifted depending on context, and actors would sometimes operate in opposition to planning aspirations, and in other times shift to collaboration and support. In the late 2000s, the space and role of 'private' sector, now represented by Business Improvement District organizations, is more direct and proactive, where they take charge of planning and deliberating on the future of the node, though this could also be occurring at the expense of less capacitated actors represented by informal traders, and the taxi-industry interests in the node.

The relationship between spatial planning and these actors has varied depending on context. Overall, however, a pattern of strategic collaboration emerged in Sandton, where different actors and agencies would ultimately advance into a negotiated shared vision for the node's development. It is this long-term position that supports the hypothesis that while planning may have appeared absent in specific moments, or subservient to market processes in others, planning was actually always present, and played strategic roles in driving the node's transformation.

7 REVITALIZING THE SOUTH: SOWETO

7.1 Introduction

Figure 7.1: Location and Context: Greater Soweto



Source: Author, 2019

Soweto's development trajectory is long and complex, with the region having evolved over nearly a century from a residential dormitory established in the colonial era, into one of South Africa's largest and most celebrated township. In the post-apartheid era, Soweto has received considerable state attention and investment, and therefore offers a useful platform for exploring post-Apartheid planning and investment aspirations (Harrison & Harrison, 2014).

This chapter outlines the historical evolution of Soweto's urban space economy over the past century as outlined in literature, exploring the influence of various actors in the region's transformation over this period. In tracking the influence of spatial planning on the region's urban space economy, I focus on the comprehensive infrastructure of spatial governance beyond traditional land use control, to incorporate policies, laws and regulations that cumulatively structured the form, function, the day-to-day

administration and functioning of townships and township economies (Turok, 1994a). I also explore the role played by other actors and agencies in driving the evolution of these economies over time.

The goal of this chapter is also to provide a contextual background to Jabulani 'CBD', which, as illustrated in Figure 7.1 above, is one of Soweto's main nodes. The argument presented in this case study is that while the mandate and role of spatial planning in transforming formerly marginalized spaces in post-apartheid Johannesburg seems obvious and direct, in reality, this is not the case. The spaces and functions of planning, particularly if viewed as a collective set of spatial governance and investment activities driving urban development, are instead ambiguous and diffuse. In some instances, spatial planning appeared to play a more subdued role to other actors.

7.2 Evolution of Soweto's Urban Space Economy

The emergence and evolution of Soweto is strongly intertwined with the development of Johannesburg, and is reflective of a broader narrative of black African urbanization in South Africa. The key periods used to discuss the region's development in this chapter are aligned to transitions in South Africa and Johannesburg's social, political and administrative systems, to changes in Johannesburg's spatial and economic development, and to broad policy transitions in the management and control of black African urbanization.

Soweto's historical trajectory is divided into four key phases that align to major shifts in the above themes including: the establishment and creation of Soweto as a residential dormitory with a limited internal space economy; the growth of the area under the Apartheid regime and the continued stifling of its urban space economy; the transition to upgrading and transformation starting from the late 1970's with the decline of the Apartheid regime, and finally, accelerated improvement and redevelopment in the post-Apartheid era. These periods are summarized in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1: Phases in Soweto's Historical Evolution

Period	Spatial growth and Soweto's urban space economy	Spatial Planning and governance	Notable Actors
Phase I 1902 – 1940s Establishment	Initial establishment of black African settlement in Klipspruit. Settlement connected to Johannesburg's economy, with limited local economy developing.	Focus on management, coordination and control of black African urbanization. Framed within broader network of policies governing black Africans' access to land. Contestation between limited local administration and management and increasing National government control over urban areas.	Johannesburg City Council Johannesburg Native Affairs Department
Phase II 1940-1970s Expansion and growth.	Main growth in Soweto through township development and mass housing programs. Stifling restrictions on local economic development hamper growth. Informal economy and small-scale trading dominate, with little emergence of economic nodes.	Stronger administrative systems for control and containment of increasing black African urbanization. Accelerated implementation of Apartheid policies of racial segregation, area development, and economic functioning of township areas.	National Government Native Resettlement Board Department of Native Affairs National Housing and Planning Commission Department of Bantu Administration Johannesburg City Council

	Civic node planned at Jabulani.	Increased National government control of urban governance, especially in black African areas.	
Phase III 1970's-1990s Early upgrading and reform	Limited reforms and loosening restrictions on townships economic development. Upgrading and revitalization of township spaces. Emergence of a local space economy through malls and shopping centre development as well as through real estate.	Loosening of restrictions and stringencies on township administration and physical development. Planning for upgrading and Improvement. Transition to autonomous local black administrations amidst increased local opposition and contestation.	National Government Small Businesses Development Council WRAB Soweto Community Councils Civic movements (Committee of Ten) and the Soweto Civic Administrations.
Phase IV - 1990's onwards Post-Apartheid 'redevelopment'	Accelerated improvement and investment in townships. Reimagining role of townships, investments in local economic development and general upgrading. Increased investment from private sector, mainly in Retail malls.	Transitional structures of administration and governance, followed by a post-Apartheid administration. Post-Apartheid urban spatial agenda formation and implementation. Reform of existing systems of spatial	National Treasury Gauteng Provincial Government Greater Johannesburg Municipality, Transitional structures and Metropolitan Municipality Johannesburg Development Agency

	Integrated multi-nodal space economy.	planning for integrated development. Public-sector led investment and upgrading in townships. Economic revitalization agendas for townships and formerly marginalized space economies.	Johannesburg Property Company Private sector developers. Informal traders

Source: Author, 2019

7.2.1 Creation, Establishment and Growth: 1900s – 1970s

Phase I - Early Segregation -1880's – 1940's

As with the rest of the research, this chapter will focus on the evolution of Soweto and broader patterns of black African urbanization following the establishment of the gold-mining industry in Johannesburg. At the time, municipal administrations were in charge of managing urban areas within their boundaries, under provincial supervision. This management was framed within colonial land administration and management systems which limited black Africans' access and use of urban space, viewing them as temporary occupants of urban areas (Department of Cooperative Governance, 2009, p. 16).

As Soweto was not yet created in this period, focus on the literature is on Johannesburg's evolving administrative system and its approach to managing black African urbanization which, as summarized by Lewis (1966, p. 45) shifted from a 'hesitant and tardy' approach reflecting a reluctance to acknowledge responsibility, to a more active approach.

In Johannesburg's early days, black African workers had limited access to accommodation, often having to live in congested, cramped environments, or in mine compounds. For contract mine workers, accommodation was provided in the form of single sex mining compounds developed by the

companies. Existing laws prohibited black Africans (and other communities, including Indian, Malay, Chinese and others) from owning urban land, constrained their ability to legally rent or buy property, thus pushing them to renting and squatting in already congested, under-serviced areas such as Sophiatown, Newclare, Prospect, and the Malay Location in Johannesburg as well as in Kliptown, outside Johannesburg's boundaries.

As Johannesburg's economy continued to grow and develop in these early years, the city's black African population increased, leading to congestion and overcrowding in these available locations. This forced the Johannesburg municipal authorities to intervene, and following an outbreak of the Bubonic plague, the Council's Water and Sanitation Board removed all black African residents from Brickfields (Newtown, Johannesburg) and relocated them to Klipspruit (Pimville) in 1902 (Bonner & Segal, 1998). The Klipspruit site was located approximately 20 kilometers from Johannesburg's centre, and was adjacent to a peri-urban mixed community that had been established outside the town's administrative boundaries. This would eventually become part of the Soweto region.

Analysts have called into question Johannesburg's 'public health' motivations, noting that living conditions in Klipspruit were hardly an improvement on the former congested slums that residents had been evicted from (Frescura, 2000). Another challenge was that the site was far from the core city, and residents had to incur additional travel costs to travel to work. As a resort, many black African residents opted to live as squatters, or to rent in slums and other city neighborhoods, thus posting continued challenges for the Municipality.

The management of Klipspruit and other black African areas was under the superintendent of Locations within the Council's Parks and Estates Committee, whose main role was to provide housing. While the Council would attempt - within the constraints of limited resources and against the interests of white ratepayers - to provide improved living conditions for black Africans, the increased demand from continued black African urbanization

coupled with the inability of black Africans to secure land and access housing in the city meant that the City would struggle to adequately meet existing demand (Kagan, 1978).

Some form of reprieve came through the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923. This law cemented the role of local governments in catering for black African residents in their jurisdictions while strengthening segregationist goals. The law provided a facility for municipalities to raise separate resources for their Native Accounts through monopolies to brew and sell beer within black African areas under their jurisdiction (Union of South Africa, 1923).

In 1927, Johannesburg established the Native Affairs department, thus adopting a more focused approach to addressing black African residential areas. This shift in approach was both in the city's attitude towards black African residents, as well as renewed investment in its responsibilities and development of black African areas. As an example, in the planning for the development of Orlando, the city sought to provide its black African residents with a 'modern' township with a full range of social and economic facilities including:

administrative offices, a public hall, a cottage hospital with dispensary and clinic, a central police station, police post and district offices, a fire station, sites for schools and religious purposes, a shopping centre, market and a community store (Lewis, 1966, p. 49).

The development of Orlando was however stalled by an inadequacy of resources. At the same time, residents opposed the fact that the township would still be located in a remote location (Kane-Berman, 1981).

The post-depression economic growth that occurred in Johannesburg led to an increase in revenue for the Council, and this period was also marked by continued urbanization as more workers relocated to work in the mining and manufacturing sectors. In Johannesburg, this period was also marked by accelerated removals and relocations of black Africans to areas around Klipspruit such as Orlando, as well as in the Western Native Township as inner city areas and sites were rezoned for industrial activity. As the

Municipality could not meet the increasing demand from the growing black African population, this period was also marked by increases in squatting and congestion in black African areas (Bonner & Segal, 1998).

Therefore, although economic growth was on the rise and systems of spatial administration and governance stabilizing, in the case of black African areas, limited intervention was possible as resources were inadequate to cater for the scale of demand. Added to this was the fact that the involvement and participation of black African residents in their own socio-political determination was restricted, with their participation only being accommodated later through limited and largely ineffective Advisory Boards in the 1920s (Department of Cooperative Governance, 2009).

As black African residential areas in this period were only being established there is little documentation on Soweto's urban space economy in Soweto in this period. Literature at this level focuses on the economic role played by black African residents as labourers in Johannesburg's emerging and growing economy (Kagan, 1978; Kane-Berman, 1981; Bonner & Segal, 1998).

These sources highlight several key issues, including the broader policy and legislative environment that was aimed at restricting and limiting black Africans' general economic prospects, pushing economic activity into the unregulated and informal space. The lack of adequate documentation and academic documentation of such activities (although documentation existed in other forms such as creative writing) and thus a limited conceptualization of the space and role of these activities in shaping urban space economies at this period (see, for example (Hart D. , 1991)).

Black African residents were involved in various formal and informal economies in Johannesburg. Formal employment was in the mines, in white residential areas, and in the supportive manufacturing and industrial sectors. Informal sector activities ranged from brewing and selling of beer, street trading, and other home-based services (Rogerson, 1980; Van Onselen, 2001).

Within Soweto, residents were also engaged in various forms of trade, including running of general stores, butcheries, bakeries and dairies in the location, though overall, activity was limited and constrained (Krige, 2011). Township stand layouts provided spaces for commercial activities, but this intention was countered by legislation which hindered economic activity for black African residents:

Municipal policy also led to hardship for traders in the location. First, they had to pay £1.60 for a trading stand. Secondly, their businesses were hampered by the enforcement of the Shop Hours Act. since many residents only returned to the location after the shops of traders had closed. As a result, many residents did their buying in town. Thirdly, in spite of a bye-law prohibiting-any person other than a Native or Coloured person of South African origin from trading in the location, local traders had to face competition from white wholesale farmers who crossed into the location to sell their wares (Kagan, 1978, p. 95).

Phase II - Expansion and Growth: 1940 – 1970s

Soweto's evolution between 1940 and 1970 was marked by considerable spatial expansion and growth within a context of local, national, and global socio-political change. Literature tracking Soweto's development in this period highlights the impacts of these on Soweto. On the one hand changes were introduced in national social, economic, spatial, and administrative policies as the Apartheid regime came into power, and these national-level policies could then be contrasted against continued efforts by Johannesburg municipality to manage black African townships in the same period (Lewis, 1966; Venter, 1977; Kane-Berman, 1981; Bonner & Segal, 1998).

As outlined in Chapter 4, Johannesburg's economy stabilized in the 1940s through the expansion of the mining sector and later, the manufacturing sector. This growth accelerated in the post-war era, increasing the demand for labour, and leading to accelerated urbanization. The number of black African residents in Johannesburg continued to increase, and literature

observed a demographic shift in this population. In addition to nearly doubling in number, Johannesburg's black African population gradually shifted from a larger proportion of single males to a greater number of families. Housing options were still limited at the time, and squatting and informal settlement formation continued (Bonner & Segal, 1998).

A key theme raised in the literature was the continued yet contradictory efforts by various state agencies to contain or reverse this process of black African urbanization. Johannesburg authorities, for example, had to balance the contradictory goals of limiting African urbanization and providing housing for their black African residents – and with limited resources (Kagan, 1978, p. 95). The municipality's lack of resources was attributed to various inter-related factors, including an institutional indifference to African urbanization, and racially segregated city finances which held that expenditure for the various racial groups could only come from revenues derived from these areas. As a result, to improve black African areas such as Soweto, Johannesburg Council would have to rely on limited revenue from fines, pass and labour registration fees, rents generated from the area, or well as the sale of Bantu Beer (Lewis, 1966).

The coming to power of the National Party in 1948 and the establishment of the Apartheid regime entrenched systems of economic production that were already in existence under the previous colonial administration, though these were now cemented through policy and legislation (Wolpe, 1972; Kane-Berman, 1981). To implement these policies, subsequent Apartheid administrations would undertake comprehensive restructuring and reorganization of the bureaucratic systems including those of spatial planning and governance.

In this period, the approach of the state shifted from 'limited management' to active restriction of African urbanization, the implementation of policies of total segregation. It was in this period that the Soweto region physically grew, through the relocation of African residents from the rest of the city into the settlement.

To facilitate this process, legislation was put in place to increase the capacity of Local Authorities to completely remove black African residents from areas designated as white, and provide housing for them in the townships.⁶⁴

A key goal of the Apartheid regime – regarding black African residents – was the containment and limitation of their presence and functions in areas that were designated for white areas. The permanent settlement of black African residents in urban areas was not encouraged. In this period, state control over township growth and development was intensified, through national policy and municipal day-to-day administration. These were aimed at controlling the spatial development and growth of township areas and determining the patterns of African urbanization (Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2007).

Despite increasing oversight and control from national government, the day-to-day management of Soweto was initially still under Johannesburg municipality's Non-European Affairs Department (NEAD). Roles here included planning and development of black African townships, housing development, service provision and administration. Adjacent to Soweto, the national government through the Native Resettlement Board also created the townships of Diepkloof and Meadowlands.

Soweto was therefore established and managed through state systems of spatial administration and governance, with spatial planning playing a key role in the design, development and management of the area. Authors have recognized the complex and contradictory role that 'spatial planning' in general occupied in the apartheid era.

On the one hand, systems of land use management control and administration were instrumental in meeting the goals of Apartheid, and include a wide range of activities. These included: the use of technical instruments to locate, design, and organize black African residential areas,

⁶⁴ Including the Native Building Workers Act (1951) which enabled the use of Black labour in developing low-cost housing Schemes.

the establishment of natural and industrial buffers to separate black African areas from the white city, determining the internal layout and organization of townships for residential functions with limited social and economic facilities, the design of settlement forms for basic living, and the determination of house sizes and design, plot layouts, community amenities and social facilities, infrastructure supply. Although settlement design at this time adhered to commonly accepted international practice, adopting modernist principles, they were also created in pursuit of segregationist ideals of Apartheid, with plot sizes and service levels significantly lower than in the white areas of the City (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2007). On the other hand, however, the deliberate effort to provide formal and planned settlements for black African residents has however also been documented as an improvement when compared to previous tactic of neglect or eviction (Lewis, 1966).

Overall, the apartheid era constituted an impressive scale of coordination, mobilization of resources bureaucratic systems and programs across national, provincial and municipal government - even drawing resources from the private sector – to create the segregated city.

Sources tracking the development of Soweto's urban space economy in this period noted an overall environment of restriction. While there was commercial activity in Soweto, this was still disproportionate to the population it was expected to serve. Trading and commercial activity was dampened by restrictive policies on trading and commercial development, by limited spending power due to low incomes in the area, and by competition from the Johannesburg CBD, where majority of Soweto's working population was employed and had access to a greater number of stores offering a larger variety of goods at competitive prices.

Within Soweto, residents were not permitted to own land or buildings, and had to lease trading space from the Council. Legislation prohibited them from owning more than one store or trading outside designated black African areas. Restrictions on shop sizes and on buying in bulk forced

traders in Soweto to sell goods at higher costs than in the Johannesburg CBD (Magubane & Lee, 1978). These restrictions were enforced through licencing, though it is unclear how thoroughly the laws were policed.

In continued efforts to limit the consolidation of solid economies in urban townships, the state discouraged the establishment of small industries, encouraging their relocation to Bantustans. Furthermore, professional service providers such as doctors and lawyers were also encouraged to relocate their services to homelands.

It was in this period however that the Johannesburg authorities floated the idea for the development of a CBD in Jabulani at the centre of Soweto. In 1964, plans were announced for the construction of a R 600 000 civic centre at Jabulani, and this development was seen as an effort at establishing a planned, consolidated centre concentrating civic and commercial amenities in the area. As cited in the Rand Daily Mail, the node was expected to be:

[the] most outstanding and beautiful construction in Soweto with sites for a technical college, police station, fire station, courts, social clubs, post office, library, beer hall, banks, gardens, nursery schools and shops' (Mayekiso, 1964).

7.2.2 Liberalization and Transformation: 1970s to 2014

Phase III: Uprising and Late Apartheid Reform efforts: 1970s to 1994

By the 1970s, the bulk of greater Soweto had been developed and established, and in 1973, administration over the area had been transferred to the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB). Increasingly, however, there were growing challenges emanating from the contradictions created by urbanization and economic development under the Apartheid regime, emanating from the cumulative and inter-related series of laws under which townships were managed and coordinated. The growth of Soweto in previous decades had created 'an unwanted city' (Kane-Berman, 1981, p. 56) which, though fairly developed and relatively well serviced, was still inadequate for the resident population. The region's urban space economy, in particular, was largely underdeveloped:

during the day, Soweto lacks commercial dynamism. It has no business centre with streets that throng with shoppers, office workers and activity. No shopping centres like the white suburbs. Even the 1500 shops that have made a living for their keepers are not much more than country trading stores, with prices higher than those in Johannesburg stores (Magubane & Lee, 1978, p. 73).

Literature documenting the evolution of Soweto⁶⁵ from the 1970s onwards highlights a growing resistance to the increasingly unacceptable conditions of African urbanization on one hand, and transformations in Johannesburg and South Africa's socio-political and economic environment as the country's manufacturing economy declined and globally, sanctions against the Apartheid regime were instituted. These led up to the dissolution of the Apartheid systems of spatial administration and governance in the 1980s, ushering in South Africa's post-Apartheid democratic regime.

As elaborated in Chapter 4, the Apartheid bureaucratic and spatial governance framework featured contradictory elements, but it had managed to relatively contain the organic development of black African urban spaces over the decades. A series of policies, legislation and administrative structures had been put in place to manage and coordinate Soweto's development in this period. With the Black Administration Act of 1971, national government consolidated the administration of black African townships through the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) which acted through local Administration Boards. Parts of Soweto that were under Johannesburg's administrative boundaries were consolidated with Meadowlands and Diepkloof to be managed as a single area. Some changes experienced by Soweto residents under this new arrangement was a loss of relative benefits that were made possible through subsidies under Johannesburg administration (Magubane & Lee, 1978). Under the West Rand Administration Board, Soweto residents would receive services of lesser quality than before, while paying the full economic

⁶⁵ And other black African townships.

cost of said services, essentially paying more and receiving less. Despite housing a large population, African townships were considered incomplete urban settlements that barely catered for the massive populations they served (Kane-Berman, 1981).

Township economies in this period were still hampered by an overlapping set of conditions and barriers. First, spatial and economic policies implemented over the years continued to obstruct and contain black African urban entrepreneurial efforts within urban spaces, encouraging investment and industrial development near the borders of homeland areas. In addition to widespread limitation of residents' access and participation in markets, employment and urban spaces which created overall impoverishment and economic hardship, economic activity was also regimented and controlled (Bonner & Segal, 1998). Black African traders were restricted from trading in 'white' areas of Johannesburg, thus limiting their range of activity. Additionally, prohibition of urban land ownership which rendered them unable to raise security for bank loans; stringent allocation of trading sites; dragging of development approval; a general environment marked by unequal competition between white capital interests, larger black entrepreneurs and small-scale traders in the townships (Simon, 1981). Planned developments in the Jabulani CBD had also gone unimplemented.

State control over township economies was however never absolute, and Soweto's urban space economy would therefore also grow internally through the emergence and establishment of a local entrepreneurial class, as well as the growth of the informal trading and taxi industry. Two studies undertaken in 1980 and 1990 highlighted the presence of a multinodal space economy in Soweto, though this was limited in scale (Morris, 1980; DeMontille, 1990).

In 1980, Morris (1980) mapped economic areas and activity in Soweto, highlighting that it was largely composed of trading activity scattered in multiple nodes and sites - dealing mainly in convenience goods, food and related items (Morris, 1980). Economic activity was however limited in the

number and size of stores which were estimated at a GLA of 83, 842sqm.⁶⁶ Some large nodes had agglomerated in Orlando West and East townships, with Dobsonville, Kliptown, Jabavu, Mofolo North and Diepkloof also having medium-sized nodal activity. The planned CBD at Jabulani had not yet been developed.

Figure 7.2: Economic Nodes in Soweto



Source: Morris (1980)

In 1990, DeMontille (1990) observed that these nodes had formed close to activity areas such as schools, community halls, administrative offices, clinics, hospitals and rail, bus, and minibuss taxi termini. Through this analysis, she highlighted that a lingering challenge in the region was the limited range of goods on offer and the relatively higher prices of goods compared to other areas in Johannesburg. In response, there would be need to develop a strategic plan to enhance economic activity in the area by expanding of local enterprise to reduce outflow of local spending, developing skills, lifting of restrictions and regulations, allocation of existing

⁶⁶ Contrasted to over 1.04 million sqm in CBD, and 204,630sqm in Roodepoort, which was smaller than Soweto in size.

industrial sites, targeted support for black businessmen and extension of credit, infrastructure expansion, extension of linkages between Soweto and other regions; and the development of tax concessions and grants.

The period of resistance and revolt against the Apartheid regime in the 1970s was caused by mounting frustration against the overall conditions in townships, which manifested through daily life while worsening over time as unemployment and poverty increased with declining economic conditions (Kane-Berman, 1981). In Soweto, this opposition and pressure came from local business and investment interests and community leadership, represented by the Soweto Civic Association (SCA), with these movements growing from the 1976 student riots and other avenues of political opposition against Apartheid. These changes in South Africa were also occurring within an environment of global political and economic changes.⁶⁷

In response, the state instituted a series of reforms in the next two decades aimed at introducing more representative forms of (self)administration, loosening Apartheid era restrictions on township residents, and physical improvement of township areas coupled with lifting of policies that had previously sought to reverse African urbanization in South Africa. Initially, these policies were introduced with the intention of 'improving' the conditions for black Africans within the broader framework of Apartheid but were continually opposed as residents lobbied and advocated for the complete dismantling of Apartheid.

The 1971, under the Black Affairs Administration Act and the Black Local Authorities Act, the government created autonomous Black Local Authorities (BLAs) to manage and administer township areas. These efforts at encouraging self-administration were further solidified in 1977 with the Community Councils Act of 1977 where elected Community Councils were instituted in these BLAs. For Soweto, three separate local authority areas:

⁶⁷ Other contributing factors would be successful political changes that would have swept across Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as increased political independence in the Bantustans which created uncertainty among urban black African residents (Magubane & Lee, 1978).

Soweto, Diep-Meadow and Dobsonville Councils were created. Under these administrations, a number of plans, initiatives and developments aimed at improving Soweto were launched, including a comprehensive plan for the redevelopment of the Greater Soweto Region. The implementation of these plans was stalled by opposition, inadequate resources, disagreement over who would bear the financial burden of township improvement, and continued pressure and violent revolt against the Councils and the Apartheid regime which they represented.

By the late 1970s, the state was coming to a recognition that it would have to adjust its attitudes and policies towards African urbanization, and in 1979, the Reikert Commission was appointed to consider the adaptation of influx control and other policies to respond to ongoing socio-economic realities. The Commission's recommendations were much broader and included: lifting of restrictions on Africans regarding site allocation, on controlled admission into Township trading, and in accessing CBD zones and licensing, allowing Africans to operate commercial or service undertakings; facilitation of funding for industries outside homelands through the Investment Development Corporation, permission of partnership formation for black businesses, removal of all restrictions on the size or form of partnerships allowable for African residents or in their ability to mobilize white capital and expertise for their business while still retaining [nominal] control under a 51-49 partnership models, and also lifting of restrictions on white-owned businesses from operating in black townships.

This period of uprising and revolt and subsequent reform brought to the fore issues of spatial planning, centering issues on urban management and development of areas (Mabin & Smit, 1997). The two key reform initiatives regarding Soweto's urban space economy were therefore planning, upgrading and improvement efforts by the Local Councils, and overall lifting of restrictions on trading and business activity in the region as proposed in the Reikert Commission. The two initiatives were related, and had varied results.

In 1979, the guide plan for the Greater Soweto region was developed by the Community Councils in the area (Soweto, Dobsonville and Meadowlands/Diepkloof); the West Rand Administration Board; and Ecoplan Consortium, which comprised professional firms in engineering, architecture, planning, and transportation⁶⁸ (The Civil Engineer, 1982). This 5-year plan laid out a strategy for the region's spatial development and improvement, its future growth, transportation linkages, regional nodal development, housing, and economic functioning (Hupkes, 1979; Oosthuizen, 1979). The development of the plan was also motivated by a need to draw investment into the region:

The plan has been rushed through at our client's request so that officials, developers and investors interested in building and operating in the projected city centre will have the necessary information available to initiate discussion. However, before finalisation, further discussions will be undertaken with various agencies and potential users (Mannie Feldman, Ecoplan Consortium, Quoted in Financial Mail (Financial Mail, 1979.12.01).

In addition to outlining models to upgrade and improve the area, the guide plan also symbolized an intention by Soweto authorities to shift towards self-financing. Councils intended to raise additional resources through home ownership, from local residents' service levies, and by expanding and diversifying local commerce and industry. In their view, Soweto would function like a 'real city' with residents enjoying an improved quality of life:

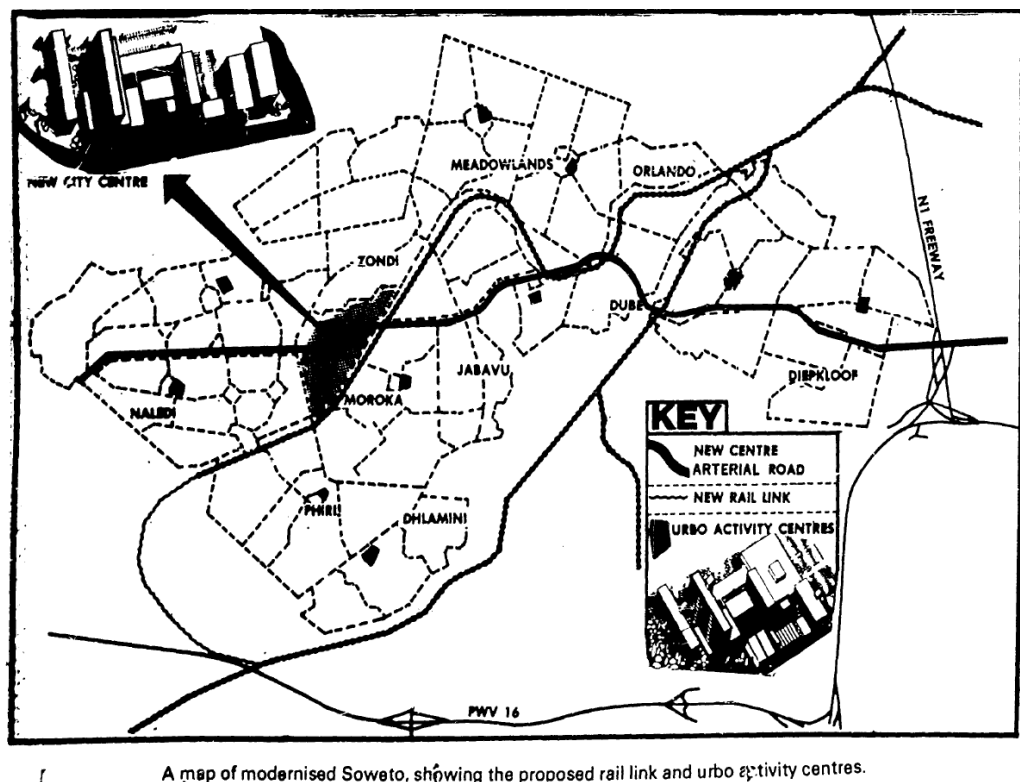
at this stage, the priority is to decentralise economically and institutionally in order to make Soweto a real city, to improve its quality of life, release it from its captive status and to push some genuine power into black hands' (Race Relation News, 1977)

⁶⁸ Including GH Marais and Partners Inc, consulting engineers (electrical and mechanical); Walter Roux and Partners, consulting engineers (civil, structural and roads), Abramowitch Sacks Moss Sack Feldman and Associates Inc (architects and planners) and De Leuw Cather and Associates Inc, consulting engineers (civil, structural, roads and transportation).

The plan also envisioned greater Soweto's transition to a multinodal urban space economy. As outlined in Figure 7.3 below, Soweto's spatial form would comprise of interlinked communities serviced with local nodes and urbo-activity areas which would then be connected the city centre at Jabulani (Smith, 1979a; 1979b; 1979c).

Urbo-activity areas were considered nodes of a higher order than community centres, which would offer 'major shopping centres, medical services, small cinemas, exhibition spaces, post offices, local administration offices, professional services, filling stations, repair shops, among others ((Smith, 1979c). As a 'full-fledged city centre', Jabulani – still largely underdeveloped – would have administrative, commercial, and social facilities, a multimodal transport facility, corporate, trading, and entertainment facilities (Financial Mail, 1979).

Figure 7.3: Jabulani at the 'Centre' of Soweto



Source: Smith (1979a)

These plans were however not implemented as within the same period, mainly due to inadequate revenue within the Local Councils. Local incomes were still strained, levels of property ownership limited, and local commerce and industry nearly non-existent. As a result, the potential for expanding Local Councils' financial base would be low. Additionally, residents were opposed to having to bear the financial burden for township improvement.

these local administrations crumbled against continued community rejection of all Apartheid apparatus. The CBD at Jabulani remained underdeveloped:

The 77-hectare site is as yet incompletely developed. Branches of major banks and building societies are located there as well as the administrative buildings of the Soweto Town Council. Only 3000 square meters of retail space has been developed although several proposals have been submitted for the development of the remaining portions of land. Several major retail firms have expressed interest in leasing store space in the proposed retail expansions (Montille, 1990, pp. 46-48).

The stalled development of Jabulani as Soweto's CBD is unpacked in more detail in the next chapter, although it is worth mentioning that delayed development in the node came as a result of conflicting and contradictory state attitudes and systems facilitating investment in Soweto.

A series of reforms were introduced in South Africa in line with recommendations from the Reikert Commission, including interventions aimed at improving township economies. The impact and influence of these reforms on Soweto's urban space economy was varied. While township trading and investment restrictions for both African and white investors were lifted, these still came at the expense of African traders who were still hampered by other restrictive laws. As an example, while restrictions on legal trading in urban areas were lifted, additional requirements on urban residency and citizenship were not adjusted. To be able to 'legally' trade in cities, African entrepreneurs still had to prove that they had either been born

in the townships, or lived there for over 15 years. At the same time, to receive a new license, one was required to take out Bantu citizenship papers of the Homelands, thus negating their urban citizenship (Kane-Berman, 1981).

Within an environment marked by systematic empowering of white capital at the expense of African capital, black entrepreneurs once more found themselves unable to compete as reforms accelerated white capital's access to Township markets without making it easier for already undermined black entrepreneurs. The presence of lingering legislation – such as the Group Areas Act –limited black residents' access to specific development areas, access to land (and therefore equity) thus constraining their progress.

A good example of the overlapping inconveniences that hampered development in Soweto was in investors attempts to acquire investment sites in Jabulani CBD. This investment in Jabulani was stalled by protracted negotiations between local entrepreneurial interests represented by the Soweto Chamber for Commerce and Industry (SCCI) and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), and state representatives including Soweto's Community Council and the West Rand Administration Board on the other (Financial Mail, 1978; The Star, 1978).

At the same time, Johannesburg authorities were also attempting to develop a Hypercentre in Klipspruit, which fell within their jurisdiction (Becker, 1978; Post, 1978). Investors inside greater Soweto argued that creating a node in Klipspruit would hamper the success of their planned investments in Jabulani, particularly since they were locked in a slower development process.

The frustration expressed by black business representatives highlighted the overlapping inconveniences that investors faced, even within this 'improved' investment environment. Additional tensions also emerged from the 'unfair' competitive environment created by loosening Apartheid restrictions on investing in townships (which also allowed for white capital interest to now

invest in these areas). Black entrepreneurial interests considered the involvement of white capital interests in the region as unfair competition (Financial Mail, 1978; The Star, 1978).

It also underscored broader arguments that gradual improvements in policy could not hide the fact that much larger transformations were necessary:

but black businessmen still remain subject to all the laws that put any black at a disadvantage. The Group Areas Act cuts them off from access to the real commercial action in particular...It's no use using an economic argument when the issues are political. (Simon, 1981).

Despite considerable reforms and transitions in the period between the late 1970s and the early 1990s, there was limited change in Soweto's urban space economy, and only limited improvement of the region's physical form.

The main reason for this was the difficulty in establishing credible and autonomous local government in township areas amid rising opposition from local communities against the broader Apartheid regime which was already under collapse from continued local and international pressure.

Local authorities operating in townships in the period struggled to establish credibility and confidence with communities; lacked autonomy to deliver as expected, and had a limited revenue base. The varied challenges were however interlinked: to gain credibility and confidence from their constituents, local administrations would need to effectively govern and administer townships - a venture that required financial resources. With local residents however reluctant to bear the financial cost of their upgrading and local commerce and industry limited, Councils increasingly lacked resources. Questions of revenue generation were also linked to broader issues of integration and administrative autonomy, with administrators acknowledging that as long as the local administration remained racially segregated, Black Local Authorities would remain unviable (Howe, 1985)

No one disagrees that the quality of life in the townships should be improved. The row is over who should pay the price. Three black Councils have just announced that they are going to make the people

pay by upping site rents by as much as 200%. Their argument is that the white authorities have neglected the townships and that black pride and independence should now take over. The counter argument is that apartheid put blacks in a township situation – and whites must pay the price of apartheid. (Inside Mail, 1979).

Implementation in the 1980s was further crippled by violent local uprising and opposition to Community Councils; and local authorities would find themselves caught between local communities' political aspirations and continued state controls (Mazwai, 1985). A positive development to emerge from this was the rise of the civic movements and an increased involvement of local residents in determining their own administration. Movements like the Committee of Ten⁶⁹ sought to negotiate with existing local administrations for improved services and other community needs (Race Relation News, 1977). These allowed for the development of negotiated spaces and for deliberating broader issues relating to the area's development.

The loosening of restrictions on African entrepreneurship also unlocked opportunities for black businesses within Soweto, expanding activity in the minibus taxi industry and in general trading, commerce, and the retail sector. Additional changes in national policy shifts in this period and in following decades – for instance, implementation of reforms from the 1979 Reikert Commission and the creation of the Small Businesses Development Corporation (SBDC)⁷⁰ also facilitated expansion in entrepreneurship in the period. Through the Small Business Development Council, industrial parks and sites were established in Orlando West and Emdeni, and an additional 73 sites in Dube, 55 in Nancefield, and 56 in Dhlamini.⁷¹

⁶⁹ As an example, the Committee of Ten was formed in 1979, and later became the Soweto Civic Association, a critical actor in shaping Soweto and Johannesburg's post-apartheid urban agenda.

⁷⁰ The SBDC was established with funding from both public and private sectors on equal shareholding. Its role was to provide investment capital and business support for small and medium sized enterprises.

⁷¹ Activities included light manufacturing; production services; and wholesaling facilities.

Through agencies such as the National African Federation Chamber⁷² (NAFCOC), black African entrepreneurs organized and lobbied for their welfare, leading to considerable policy and institutional change, including: the removal of restrictions on black African business expansion; amendments to the Bantu Investment Corporation to support urban investment; increased representation on licensing boards, enhanced land and property rights for black entrepreneurs in urban areas and white CBDs; the amendment of tax laws affecting black African traders; and removal of restrictions on the formation of black African business partnerships and companies. These associations also opened up resources for investment in retail and commercial spaces, for instance Black Chain supermarket in Diepkloof, developed through a NAFCOC loan from Urban Foundation and USAID (Berkowitz, 1987).

Other developments in Soweto were however still in the 'planning' stages, with the slow pace of development being attributed to competing interests in the area, inadequate capital, and the absence of an overall guide plan for the area's spatial economic development (DeMontille, 1990). The predominance of Johannesburg CBD as the choice destination for most shoppers however also affected investment in Soweto. Despite deliberate initiatives and plans for development and upgrading, Soweto's urban space economy in this period did not significantly transform, and trading would remain limited and small-scale (Finance Week, 1989).

Phase IV- Integration and Revitalization: 1990s to date

Soweto's development in the transition to a post-Apartheid regime will be discussed under two key themes: the shift in administration and governance whereby Soweto was absorbed into Johannesburg's broader metropolitan systems; and through processes of upgrading and economic revitalization,

⁷² A Black Business Lobby formed to contest and pressure government for improved conditions for black business in the country. NAFCOC's original mission was purely on the expansion of African's involvement in the economy, though this objective would expand to political causes in the mid-1980s, advocating for the unbanning of the ANC and other political organizations and later, towards the indigenization of the economy (Berkowitz, 1987).

where the area and other marginalized spaces were transformed through planning and investment from the public and private sector.

Within the first decade of the post-Apartheid era, attention shifted to negotiation and deliberations on developing systems of governance, administration and municipal financing for service delivery. These spaces developed out of informal spaces of negotiation that had developed in the previous decade, building on political mobilization and opposition against Apartheid local administration. Here, a vital role was played by local civic and grassroots organizations in Soweto, in mobilizing resources and applying enough pressure to force State actors into informal negotiations, and in representing community interests through informal and later, formal negotiation (Yap, 1979; Reconstruct 8, 1993; Turok, 1994b).

It was within these spaces that actors could outline expectations and visions for the area's development, although the main focus of these initial negotiations was on the immediate factors that had stalled township administration. Residents' demands included: writing off of rent and services arrears; transfer of houses to residents; upgrading of infrastructure and services; the design of an affordable rates formula; and the establishment of a single tax base for Johannesburg and Soweto. These demands were laid out in the Greater Soweto Accord, which was signed in 1990 by representatives from the Soweto Civic Association (SCA), the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), and the Soweto, Dobsonville and Diepmeadow Councils. This agreement was not successfully implemented, as area local authorities lacked capacity and power to convince residents to pay for services, to track payments, or to discontinue services in the case of non-payment. Additionally, residents were still opposed to paying for services:

The Soweto Civic Association argued that the black Councils and the TPA were responsible for the failure, since people could not be expected to pay as long as services remained dismal; nothing but a

complete reorganization of the system, involving the dissolution of the Black Councils, would solve the problem (Ottaway, 1993, p. 127)

Although outcomes from these negotiations were limited, they were relevant in shaping the region's future development trajectory. As a result of sustained contestation regarding Soweto's development and administration the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber was established. Here, original deliberations regarding the improvement and upgrading of Soweto were now extended to encompass broader metropolitan and administrative issues, with Soweto's representatives once more playing a key role.

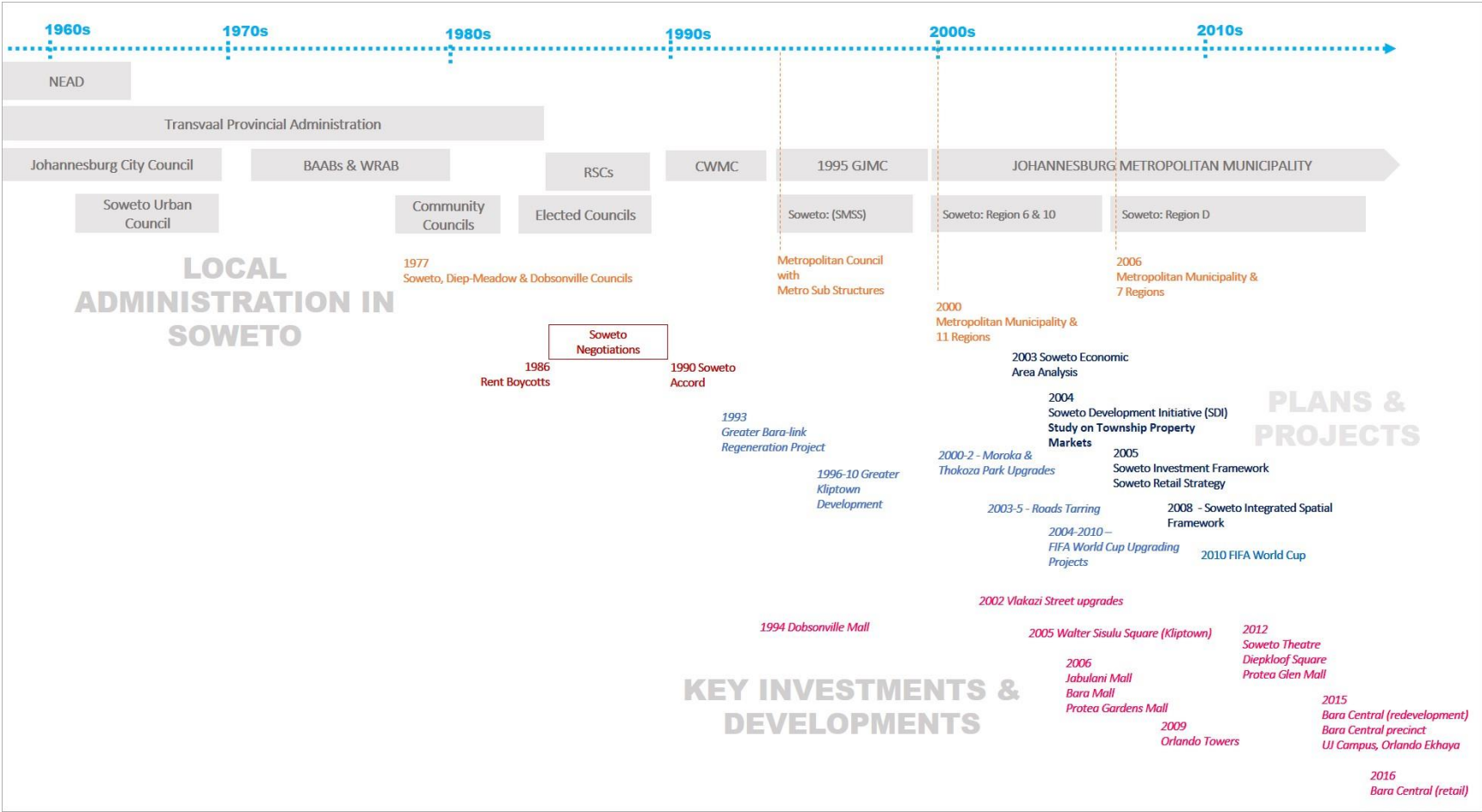
These informal and interim negotiation forums have also been credited for offering framing ideas which influenced planning and urban reform in the post-Apartheid era (Turok, 1994b; Beall, Crankshaw, & Parnell, 2002). Key issues emerging from negotiations in the transition from? Apartheid included governance and administration concerns – most notably how to share metropolitan resources, as well as the improvement of township residents' lives, through the transfer of houses, upgrading services and infrastructure, and writing off arrears (Wafer, 2012). These were then scaled up to the national level as components of policy and local administrative strategies, though analysts observed that the achievement of these local goals from this scale was also difficult. Beall et al. (2002) noted that local organizations like the Soweto Civic Forum and South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), which had significant impact at the local level, had limited reach at the national policy making level, and were thus unable to exert influence at that level. This could have slowed the pace of transformation at the local administrative level. The outcome of this was sluggish local government restructuring and reconstruction, and ultimately, planning and spatial transformation (see also (Jurgens & Donaldson, 2012)).

As such, the critical role played by Soweto's community and political representatives in linking immediate demands for services and upgrading into a longer-term framework for restructuring urban administration, and then in mobilizing, sustaining, and driving this agenda over nearly two

decades must be appreciated. An issue raised by Turok (1994b) however was that while the broader metropolitan urban agenda was being developed, the local specificity that had been established in Soweto's informal negotiation forums was being lost. In the first decade post-Apartheid, greater attention was paid to creating a unified metropolitan administration, the establishment of a sustainable tax base, the financing of service provision among others. In the 1990s, however, discussions on the economic role of townships continued, in particular on the development of retail amenities and malls in these areas (Financial Mail, 1995).

Soweto was however strongly represented within Johannesburg's transitional and post-Apartheid political structures, and this influence ensured that the region's issues retained primacy in the new metropolitan urban agenda. The area transitioned through Johannesburg's shifting administrative structures – first through the transitional administration, and later, as part of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality's Region D. The Greater Soweto region continued to receive political and administrative attention in the post-Apartheid era, with more visible changes in the area's space economy emerging post-2000 (Harrison & Harrison, 2014). The transformation of the region in this period can be attributed to multiple plans, projects and investments implemented from a range of state and non-state actors. The various projects are outlined in Figure 7.4 below, and range from infrastructure and upgrading initiatives, nodal planning and redevelopment efforts, economic plans, private sector investment in malls, to mention a few.

Figure 7.4: Developments in Soweto



Source: Author, 2018

Although these plans, projects and investments appeared disjointed and disconnected at times, or even contradictory at others, they represent, in hindsight, an incremental process through which visions and aspiration for Soweto's spatial and economic development were manifested. The following are some of the plans, projects and investment initiatives implemented in Soweto from 1990.

As the administrative and governance systems in Johannesburg and South Africa transformed in the 1990s, new opportunities were identified in townships with the lifting of restrictions on trading in the area. Most notable was the 'untapped economic potential' in townships, and the opportunities for development of retail facilities. In 1994, Sanlam opened the 17000 sqm Dobsonville mall and community centre. At the same time, however, analysts were reflecting on the need to develop retail facilities in the area, bearing in mind that at the time, the CBD was still a preferred shopping destination for township residents (Financial Mail, 1995).

Over the years, more projects and initiatives would be launched in Soweto by various local, provincial and national government agencies. These varied from area-specific projects to broader regional plans and initiatives. Cumulatively, these have led to the incremental achievement of government aspirations for the area.

The Baralink Regeneration Project initiated in 1993 by the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber aimed for urban reconstruction, spatial integration and the establishment of a regional-hub in the Greater Baralink Area. Under this project, a number of sub-projects were implemented including: Orlando Ekhaya; the Soweto Empowerment Zone; Bara Central multi-modal transport facility; a trader's market, among others. This 'ambitious and complex' project covered an area covering 15 land parcels owned by different agencies, and was implemented slowly, with visible development in 2005 (Harrison & Harrison, 2014, p. 300).

In 1996, the Greater Kliptown Development Framework was prepared for the Southern Metropolitan Local Council (SMLC) of the Greater

Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC). The plan aimed to upgrade and improve Soweto's oldest urban settlement through a 10-year implementation framework which would: improve and upgrade the residential areas; de-densify informal settlements and provide housing; improve community facilities; create a nodal economy in the area leveraging on Kliptown's tourism and heritage potential; expand economic opportunities and improve existing trading facilities. This project was taken up by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and Blue-IQ in their 2002 Greater Kliptown Redevelopment Project.

JDA's focus was on the redevelopment of Kliptown Square – the site for the 1955 Congress of the People - in preparation for the 50th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter. Projects identified under this were a monument to Congress of the People (the Walter Sisulu Square for Dedication); physical upgrading and improvement; and investment in local economic and tourism facilities, including the development of an international hotel and a visitor's centre. This gave way to the Kliptown Rehabilitation Programme which envisioned the node as a key node in Soweto serving memorial and heritage purposes. Additional investments in Kliptown included the planning and packaging of housing and infrastructure developments by the City's Housing and Planning departments.

The shift towards consideration of Soweto's economy occurred gradually, taking on varied entry points and evolving via multiple networks and departments. The network of organizations and agencies interested in understanding and developing township residential markets included: National Treasury, South African Cities Network, Finmark Trust, through the Urban Landmark advisory committee, and the National Department of Housing (ibid). Within the City of Johannesburg, the Economic Development Unit under the Department of Economic Development was also deliberating on how to enhance Soweto's economy, as part of Johannesburg's broader strategic plan dubbed Vision 2030.

In 2002, City of Johannesburg's Economic Development Department (DED) commissioned a study to formulate a comprehensive analysis of Soweto's space economy. The investigation highlighted the lack of a coherent vision for Soweto's economic development as a key challenge in the area (City of Johannesburg, 2003). In their comprehensive analysis of the region, analysts articulated Soweto's multi-nodal and diverse economic landscape. The region featured diverse economic nodes of different sizes, as well as a significant informal sector. From this, a Soweto Investment Framework was developed, seeking to forge a strategic vision for coordinating public and private investment for the area (City of Johannesburg, 2005). The SIF's vision was for Soweto to develop through 'high integration and medium decentralization'. Through this, the region would have a hierarchy of vibrant nodes that are linked to each other but also connected to the metropolitan and regional space economy (see also City of Johannesburg, 2008).

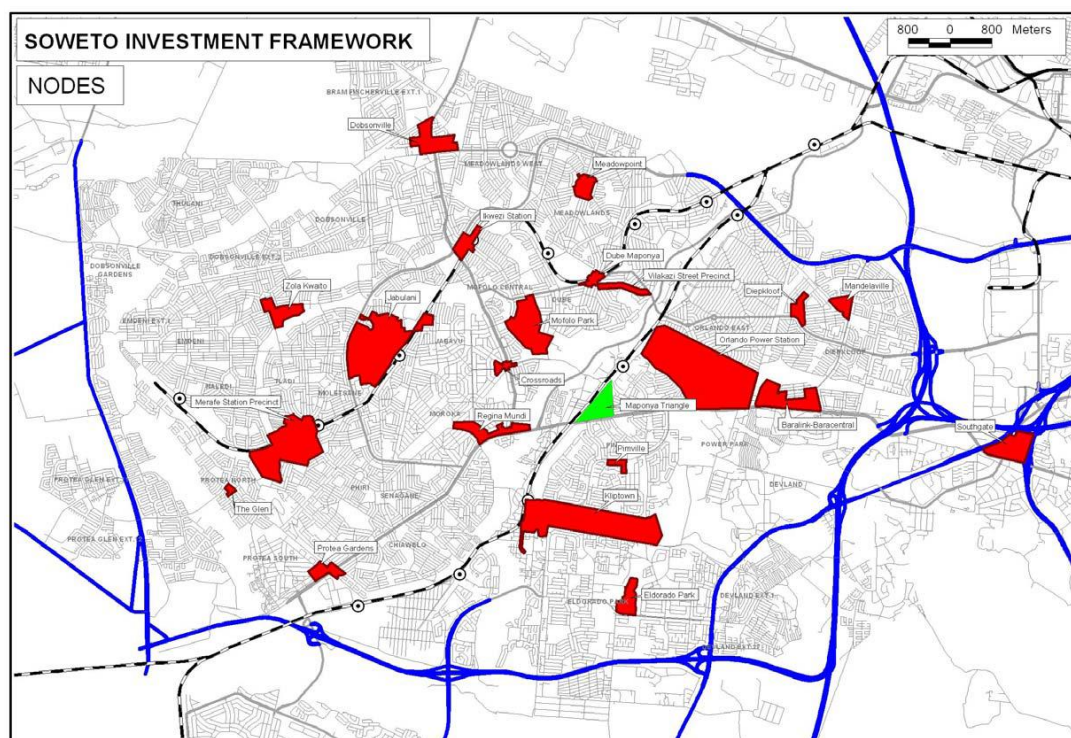
The report generated out of this initiative was the Soweto Economic Area Analysis (EAA), which outlined proposals for transforming Soweto's still dormitory status, reducing the high leakage of disposable income from the region, and creating an integrated and vibrant economy in the area (City of Johannesburg, 2003, p. 12). The report identified the lack of a coherent vision for the area as a key hindrance:

Although there seems to be general consensus that Soweto needs an economy of its own, there is no common vision on the possible future economic role of Soweto in the Johannesburg Metropole (City of Johannesburg, 2003, p. 63).

Soweto's economy was distributed across multiple nodes, as was identified in studies in the 1980s and 1990s. The DED's Economic Area Analysis appreciated this form, proposing strategies for the development of more than one node. The report recommended the development of a broader guiding strategy to articulate which nodes would be more appropriate for development, and how each node would be developed.

In addition to the EAA, the DED also explored in depth the potential for developing Soweto's retail potential, publishing the Soweto Retail Study. While the study sensitized public and private investors about Soweto's investment potential, it has also been faulted for focusing attention too much on retail (malls) and for failing to integrate to a broader spatial vision. In this decade – and following the launch of the Soweto's retail strategy – a number of malls were developed in the region. Observers interpreted the mall development in various ways. While some saw this as proof of Soweto's redevelopment and proof of its potential and relevance as an investment destination (Khuzwayo, 2005; Jackson, 2005), others observed the hazardous effect of large-scale mall development on the already-existing small-scale economies (Larsen, 2004). In 2005, analysts were already calling for constraints to be put on the rapid pace at which retail developments were occurring in Soweto (City of Johannesburg, 2005).

Figure 7.5: Identified Nodes in Soweto



Source: Soweto Investment Framework (City of Johannesburg, 2005)

In 2004/5, the Soweto Development Initiative was established for purposes of formalizing the planning and prioritization of Soweto's projects, and which reported to a Section 79 Council Committee, the Greater Soweto Development Committee (GSDC). These marked a critical shift in the City's approach to Soweto's development. The SDI required inter-departmental coordination and cooperation for the management of projects in Soweto, and for prioritizing projects with administrative officials reporting to the Development Committee on a regular basis (Sibiya, 2012, p. 93).

Under the GSDC, the Soweto Development Initiative developed a vision for the region, aspiring to establish 'a well-functioning residential area with business nodes attracting private investment' into the Greater Soweto area (City of Johannesburg, 2005c, p. 11). The strategy outlined strategic development goals for the region along 6 key themes⁷³ that would be implemented through a multi-agency implementation framework. Overall development coordination and implementation was by the Economic Development Unit (EDU) and the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), with additional support from other public sector agencies including Department of Development Planning and Facilitation, Department of Social Development, Department of Transport and Environment, and City Owned Enterprises such as Johannesburg Property Company, Metropolitan Trading Company; and provincial government.

The SDI can be appreciated for stitching together a spatial development vision for Soweto under a systematic framework and under this, many intervention projects were implemented in Soweto. This was enabled by continued political focus on Soweto which sustained institutional attention, inter-departmental coordination, and accelerated project implementation. A key example of this is the then Executive Mayor Masondo's flagship project in 2003, under which, in 2 years, all of Soweto's gravel roads were tarred (Johannesburg Roads Agency, 2005).

⁷³ These themes were: Economic sector support and business node development, infrastructure and services, planning, land use management and land release, social development and education and healthcare, safety and security, and natural environment.

The Soweto Development Initiative coordinated the development of the Soweto Investment Framework (SIF). The Soweto Investment Framework aspired to guide public and private investment towards the achievement of the strategic and spatial vision for the area (City of Johannesburg, 2005). Spatially, the intention was to create a region that featured 'high integration and medium decentralization' with a space economy based on a hierarchy of nodes that were linked internally, but that also connected Soweto to the broader metropolitan and regional space economy (see also (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

In addition to these municipal efforts, there were significant projects and initiatives from the provincial and national government geared towards Township transformation within this period. Of particular interest to Soweto was National Treasury's Neighbourhood Development Partnership Programme and Grant (NDPG) which was introduced in 2006 as part of the Neighborhoods Development Programme (NDP). The aim of this program is to 'leverage private fixed investment to improve the quality of life of [residents of] marginalised communities via the delivery of economic and social facilities and infrastructure'⁷⁴ (National Treasury, 2014).

The aim of the NDPG is to enhance economic growth and development in these marginalized areas. Soweto's 5-year economic development plan was launched in 2008, presenting the status quo and key challenges facing the development of Soweto's internal economy. Key challenges raised in the report were the fact that Soweto's regional economy was still underdeveloped, with the region, which had nearly half of Johannesburg's population, contributing only 4% to Johannesburg's economy. Soweto's spatial form still featured residential monotony (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

⁷⁴ The NDPG funds both capital and technical projects, targeting the delivery of a wide range of socio-economic infrastructure, including roads, bridges, street lights, multi-purpose centres, public spaces and parks, sports precincts, informal trading stalls, transport inter-changes, non-motorised transport routes, pedestrian walkways and other community facilities.

Some identified reasons for the limited scale of the economy were limited diversification, a small demand for office space, and an underutilized and underdeveloped industrial sector. Paradoxically, even where facilities and amenities were present for the establishment of specific economic activity, these opportunities remained under-utilized. As an example, Soweto's industrial areas in Emdeni, Midway, Chiawelo Ext. 6, Dlamini Ext. 3, Nancefield and Dobsonville were reported to be underdeveloped, despite having similar levels of infrastructure and cheaper land than other industrial areas in Johannesburg.

The economic plan laid out a vision for Soweto's development, proposing an expansion and diversification of the region's economy. It also suggested skills expansion to develop the local workforce, and a shift in the institutional environment for economic development. Other suggestions outlined in the plan included: land regularization, the establishment of the Greater Soweto Business Forum, and the establishment of a dedicated economic development support program for the region.

Analysts have documented the shift in Municipal spatial planning systems between 2000 and 2010, including the synchronization of spatial plans and aspirations, and public-sector investments. Spatial plans formulated for the region's development synchronized visions outlined for the area's development with actual public sector spending. In line with the 2006 Growth and Development Strategy, the Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) developed for Soweto formulated detailed development frameworks and precinct plans for areas identified as high priority, with the goal of driving diversification and intensified land uses in the area (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

Other investments in Soweto were linked to mega-events hosted in Johannesburg. In 2000, in preparation for Johannesburg hosting the 2002 World Summit for Sustainable Development, Johannesburg's administration under Mayor Amos Maseko accelerated investment and developments in Soweto, rehabilitating and upgrading green spaces like

Moroka Dam and Thokoza Park. These investments were part of more comprehensive upgrading initiatives undertaken in Soweto under the then Mayor Amos Masondo. Other projects included the 2003 roads tarring project, where the City's Roads department upgraded all gravel roads in the area. This project was completed in 2 years at the cost of over R500m. In preparation for the 2010 Soccer World Cup, Soweto once more received investment in the form of upgrading of the Soccer City (NASREC), Orlando and Dobsonville Stadiums and surrounding areas; and the Public Transport investments (Rea Vaya) Phase 1A and 1B connecting Soweto to inner city Johannesburg.

Through investments in Tourism, Heritage and Culture, many nodes in Soweto have been upgraded, including the Vlakazi Street Precinct⁷⁵, the Hector Pietersen Memorial and Museum, Kliptown, and Credo Mutwa Cultural Village have also received significant investments over the years from a number of local and regional state agencies.

More recently, through the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) and the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), the redevelopment of the Jabulani Node is once more underway. This process began in 2006, and involves coordinated investments from a wide range of actors, with the intention of creating a mixed-use node in the area. As will be unpacked in the following section, plans for Jabulani echo aspirations laid out as far back as 1964 but were never achieved.

The above initiatives appear multiple and disjointed, though it was evident from documentation that they were not developed in the absence of spatial planning departments. In many cases, Municipal planning agencies were involved in the development and implementation of projects in collaboration with other Municipal agencies and entities. The relational (and cumulative) role of planning played towards the strategic and incremental transformation

⁷⁵ Named after Dr. Benedict Vlakazi (a distinguished writer and educator who wrote the first poetry book published in Zulu), Vlakazi Street is famed for having the homes of two Nobel Laureates: the late Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu. The street has since evolved into a heritage, tourism and vibrant entertainment node, with the former Mandela home being converted into a museum.

of the area was however missing, as many of the early projects and initiatives are documented (or even implemented) individually, and in isolation from a longer-term transformation perspective.

It is also worth noting that Soweto's improvements were occurring within a much broader policy regime that seeks to transform formerly marginalized areas. These policies are being developed at the national, provincial, and metropolitan level, and range from economic transformation and development to socio-spatial transformation. At the national level, macro-spatial policies and plans from the turn of Apartheid to date⁷⁶ continue to acknowledge the country's persistent economic inequality which is manifested in a dual space economy featuring pockets of prosperity alongside marginalized urban and rural [predominantly black] townships.

Plans and aspirations projected from this level aimed to renew and improve townships and integrate them into the broader space economies, while also improving residents' lives through economic growth. National plans however acknowledged that spatial economic transformation would only be achieved by local governments, and developed direct programmes and financing instruments to target public resources towards this goal. The Presidential Urban Renewal Programme in 2001⁷⁷; and the National Development Partnership Grant (NDPG) developed in 2006 by National Treasury to support the establishment of urban hubs⁷⁸ are examples of such initiatives.

Gauteng Province's regional plans and projects also echoed these visions, applying regional strategic spatial planning and investment interventions for township challenges. From their spatial development plans, provincial

⁷⁶ As examples, the Reconstruction and Development programme (Republic of South Africa, 1994), the National Spatial Development Plan (Republic of South Africa, 2006), and the 2012 National Development Plan (Republic of South Africa, 2006)

⁷⁷ It's lead project in Johannesburg was the Alexandra Renewal Project.

⁷⁸ Urban hubs are expected to function as 'town centers' for township areas, and anticipated to offer key services as well as access to the wider urban area. These hubs were to be developed as high density, mixed-use precincts containing a wide range of land uses, services and activities. Additionally, they were to offer intermodal public transport facilities as well as public spaces (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2016, p. 87).

authorities have sought to address challenges of sprawl and fragmentation; a fragmented public transport system; as well as spatial dislocation; while also extending national government initiatives to integrate townships; connect them to the regional space economy; and develop economic hubs (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2016). Through its investment arm Blue IQ, Gauteng province also channelled resources and investments to these areas to drive the provincial economic vision (Rogerson, 2004).

At the metropolitan level, various plans and projects have also been introduced and implemented over the years, aiming for economic improvement, equitable and shared economic growth management; spatial transformation, to integrate the broader metropolitan urban space economy and connect townships and other marginalized areas with the rest of the city (City of Johannesburg, 2006; City of Johannesburg, 2009; City of Johannesburg, 2011).

Spatial plans and strategies leading up to 2010 sought to coordinate and channel public and private investment to identified priority zones and areas and compact urban growth and development; and through integrated public transport systems to connect people to jobs (City of Johannesburg, 2010). In the following decade, this spatial vision has evolved towards enhancing the functionality of Johannesburg's polycentric urban form. In the 2016 Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2040, authorities intend to enhance existing nodes and sub-centers in the metropolis, and connect jobs to people through transportation (City of Johannesburg, 2016). In this light, Soweto's nodes are expected to develop and function, alongside Johannesburg's older nodes such as the CBD, Sandton, Rosebank, Randburg and Midrand as points in a polycentric space economy.

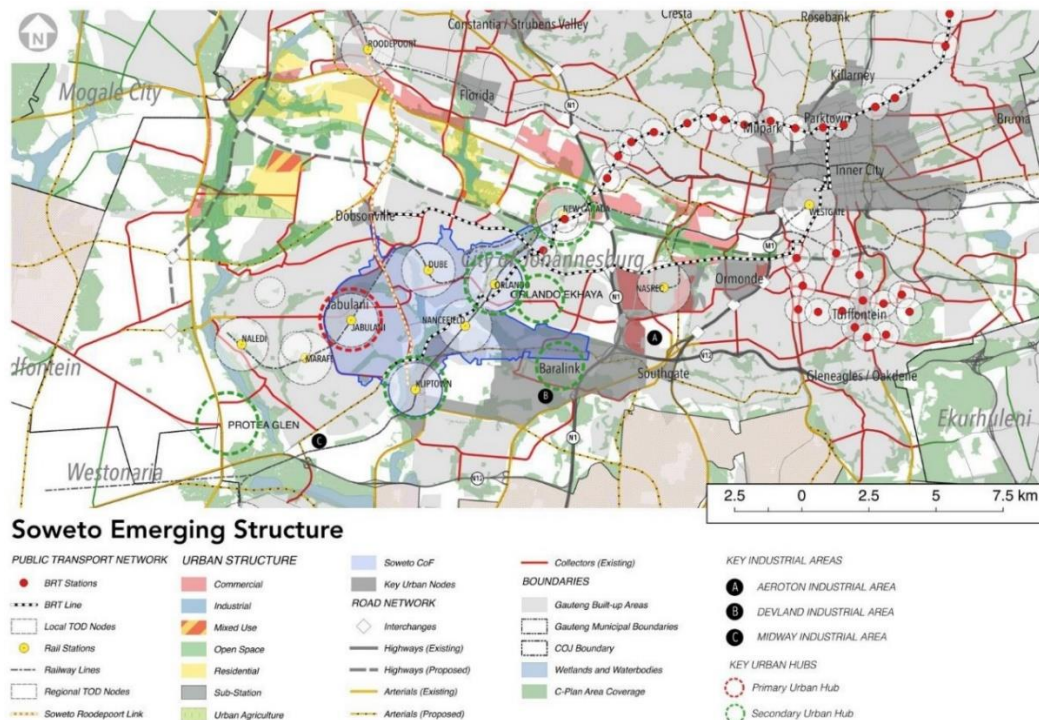
To facilitate the achievement of this goal, a stronger connection has been made between spatial plans and public sector investment through the introduction of Built Environment Performance Plans (BEPPs). BEPPs are fiscal compliance tools created out of a need to streamline metropolitan planning and investment in the face of changing macroeconomic

environments. They require municipalities to set out an outcomes-based plan for achieving built environment objectives, directing investment to priority areas through spatial targeting, and coordinating capital investment and project implementation in order to access public infrastructure grants.⁷⁹ The Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP) focus is on spatial transformation, and municipalities are required to identify, plan, and package the accelerated implementation of catalytic, integrated urban development projects in pursuit of this goal. Priority areas include urban networks, integration zones, and marginalized informal settlements (City of Johannesburg, 2017).

The spatial vision outlined by the 2016/7 BEPP was that of ‘a compact polycentric city with a dense urban core linked by efficient public transport networks to complimentary sub-centres’ (Johannesburg, 2016, p. 16). In the 2017/8 BEPP, the City extends this vision, aspiring to transform Soweto into a ‘true City District’ which is connected internally and externally. internally, the region’s nodes would be connected via public transport networks, as illustrated in Figure 7.6 below.

⁷⁹ Most built environment grants are now linked to BEPPs, including the: Integrated City Development Grant (ICDG), the Urban Settlements Development Grant (USDG); the Human Settlements Development Grant (HSDG); the Public Transport Infrastructure Grant (PTIG); Neighborhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG) and the Integrated National Electrification Grant (INEP)

Figure 7.6: Soweto's Anticipated Spatial Structure



Source: 2017/8 Built Environment Performance Plan (City of Johannesburg, 2017).

7.3 Conclusion

Soweto is a symbol of the New South Africa, caught between old squatter misery and new prosperity, squalor and an upbeat lifestyle, it's a vibrant city which still openly bears the scars of the Apartheid past and yet shows what's possible in the New South Africa. (City of Johannesburg, 2011, p. 9)

The above chapter provides a broad evolution of Soweto's urban space economy over the years as presented through literature. Over nearly a century, Soweto developed alongside Johannesburg and South Africa's shifting social, economic, and political landscape, becoming Johannesburg's largest black African township.

Over the decades, the region's urban space economy transformed, first within an environment marked by repression and control under Apartheid, then through a period of limited reform, and then a period of intensive though

disjointed upgrading and improvement in the immediate post-Apartheid period, and lastly in the past decade, a phase marked by integrated, focused development. Soweto's revitalization and upgrading in the post-Apartheid era has led to a significant improvement in the area's general physical form and fabric, internal and external connectivity, as well as growth in the internal urban space economy. Through investments in infrastructure, the region is now well linked to the broader metropolitan and regional urban space economy. Despite these and other developments, analysts still note that much still remains to be done for the area's transformation and integration (Harrison & Harrison, 2014).

From this it is evident that over its history, Soweto's development has mainly been driven by the State – or what is traditionally understood as public sector - in various forms and over different political regimes. The organic development of Soweto as an urban or economic region was constrained through interlinked social, spatial and economic laws and policies that functioned at a national and regional level, as well as in structuring the internal form and functioning of the region. In the post-Apartheid regime, a wide range of intervention efforts have been implemented in the region, and from the above summary, it is evident that the spatial and economic transformation of Soweto and other former black African townships remains high on the agenda, with multiple departments across the municipal, provincial and national government level involved in implementation.

Private sector investment has also been present in the region through both the Apartheid and post-Apartheid era. In the late-Apartheid years, research highlighted that commercial and economic activity was present in Soweto, though limited (Morris, 1980; DeMontille, 1990). In the post-Apartheid era, there has been increased investment in the region from private sector investment, mainly through shopping malls, shopping centres, and the real-estate market. Industrial activity is present in the area, though this has also been limited (Harrison & Harrison, 2014).

From maps outlined in Figure 7.7 and 7.8 below, it is apparent that economic activity in the region has moderately increased, with some clustering appearing in selected nodes and areas, including the Jabulani CBD. Although commercial activity as provided in the maps covers both formal and informal activity, there has been limited exploration of the growth of small-scale local businesses, home based enterprises and other informal economic activity within this period.

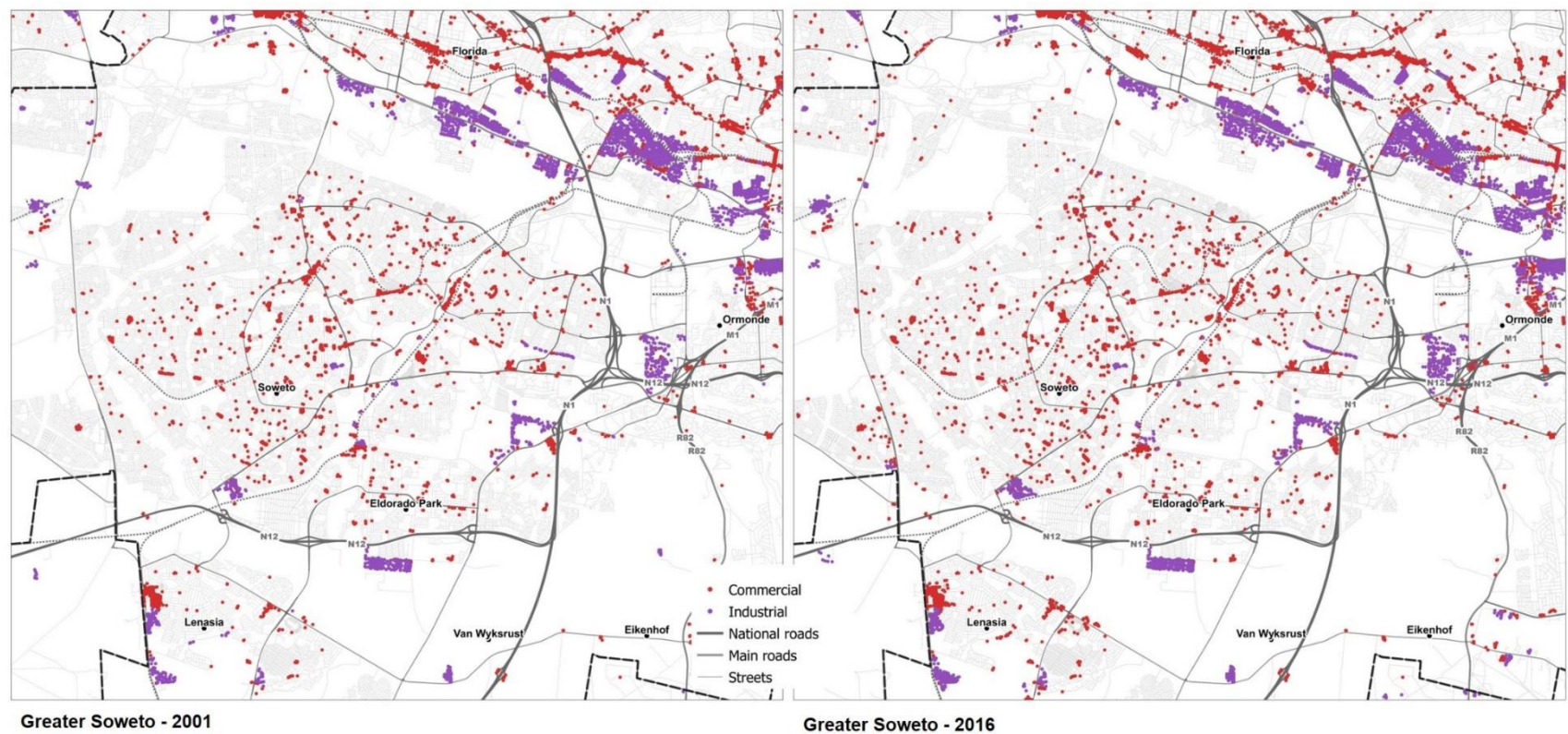
Soweto's evolution, both under and after Apartheid demonstrates the diffuse and varied actions that comprise spatial governance as, over the decades, different spatial outcomes were created through the decisions and actions of multiple though inter-related agencies within shifting administrative regimes. The diverse and multiple intervention efforts undertaken in Soweto as presented above tend to obscure the specific and direct role of spatial planning, both because of the multi-actor nature of implementation occurring in many projects, but also since many of the initial projects were not implemented as part of a synchronized regional renewal strategy.

In the post-Apartheid era, the State has had to reverse decades of previous administrations, and ongoing initiatives are evidence of this, despite the varied results. If one observes the present form and functioning of the region, it is evident that a more dominant role has been played by public sector-led planning and investment in steering the region's transformation. Private sector actors appear more present as passive investors and in selected sectors.

Public sector activity is however scattered across multiple spheres and sectors and on closer analysis, it becomes apparent that a more cohesive and coordinated approach to spatial and economic transformation is still lacking. As a result, the goals of local integration, increased investment, economic revitalization and upgrading *at the nodal level* are slower to materialize. The argument presented in this thesis – and explored with the Jabulani CBD in the following chapter – is the absence of a clear coordinating vision for individual nodes' development trajectories and by

extension, the region's emergent urban space economy. Whereas the various plans and policies articulate specific aspirations for what individual nodes (and the greater region's urban space economy should look like, the coordinated operationalization of various actors and investments is still lacking.

FIGURE 7.7: COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL LAND USE IN GREATER SOWETO: 2001-2016



Source: Author, 2019 with Data from GeoTerra Image

Jabulani CBD - 2001

Jabulani CBD - 2016

Legend:

- Commercial
- Industrial
- BRT Trunk routes
- BRT Complementary routes
- BRT Feeder routes
- National roads
- Main roads
- Streets

Scale: 0 1 2 km

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8 CREATING AN ECONOMIC NODE AT JABULANI CBD

8.1 Overview

The previous chapter outlined the evolution of Soweto's urban space economy within broader social, political and economic transformations in Johannesburg and South Africa. It highlighted the key drivers of the area's transformation over the period, emphasizing the dominant role played by the State over the decades in shaping this development. It also illustrated that actions of the State were less coherent than may be envisaged, particularly in the post-Apartheid era.

In this chapter, I focus on Jabulani CBD. Despite having been designed in the 1960s to be Soweto's CBD, Jabulani remained underdeveloped for decades, serving mainly administrative and limited commercial roles. It was not until the post-Apartheid period (2006) that more concerted planning and investment has occurred in the node, creating the mixed-use, cultural node that is present today.

As with Soweto in the context of Johannesburg, the evolution of Jabulani 'CBD' cannot be discussed in isolation from its broader (Soweto) region. The node was established and developed by the City of Johannesburg in the 1960s, and would evolve gradually over the following decades, mainly under the direction and control of the State.

The first phase of Jabulani node's development starts when the area was created under Apartheid between the 1950s and the 1980s. Under this regime, Soweto's economy was heavily repressed and controlled, though not non-existent. The region's main function was as a residential area. It was in this environment that Jabulani's CBD was created to serve civic and commercial functions, with activities such as a technical college, police station, fire station, courts, social clubs, post office, library, beer hall, banks, gardens, nursery schools and shops (Mayekiso, 1964). While these early plans for Jabulani CBD could be interpreted as proactive initiatives to create

an economic core in the township, it is also apparent from the literature that the node served little more than civic and minor commercial functions in the following decades (Morris, 1980).

In the late 1970s, as the Apartheid era began to unravel under increasing local and international pressure, a series of initiatives were undertaken to stabilize internal social and political tensions. In Soweto, these included the formulation of a guide plan and strategies aimed at upgrading, and investment in the region's internal urban space economy in order to make Soweto a 'real city' (Race Relation News, 1977). The Guide Plan proposed investment in Jabulani as the lead node in Soweto, aimed at establishing it as a fully-fledged 'city centre' and the key political, administrative and economic centre of the region (Smith, 1979a). Once more, the achievement of this vision for Jabulani would be hampered by a variety of issues, leaving the node underdeveloped.

Jabulani's second phase of development was in the 1990s, with the advent of South Africa's post-Apartheid regime. As with the rest of the metropolitan region, Soweto's first decade after Apartheid was marked by a shift in focus from local contestations over the area's development and upgrading, into broader deliberations on metropolitan administration (Turok, 1994b). The Jabulani node did not register any notable changes in this period. Indeed, this period was marked by an overall lag in service delivery across the metropolitan area, as focus and attention shifted to issues of administrative reorganization (Teboho, 2000).

Once Johannesburg's metropolitan administration stabilized, Soweto received increased investment and attention, with priority shifting from Jabulani to higher potential nodes such as Baralink-NASREC area and the Greater Kliptown area. Although it was not considered priority, Jabulani experienced some level of improvement and upgrading with the rest of Soweto – for instance through roads improvement and integrated public transport planning.

Jabulani's third phase of development picks up from 2006 onwards, with renewed planning and investment in the node from the public sector but now also with private sector involvement through the development of malls. Within this phase, post-apartheid urban visions for Soweto and its nodes materialized. Ongoing and cumulative investments in diverse nodes in the area established the beginnings of a 'multinodal' space economy in the region, representing a shift in the region's development trajectory.⁸⁰ The impact of upgrading and improvement on Soweto's economy is made more significant if one considers additional changes in the less documented small-scale trading and services sectors, the informal economy, and the expansion of real-estate markets in the area⁸¹.

A critique of the accelerated and multi-actor approach to Soweto's transformation is that investments and project plans have occurred outside a strategic, coordinated vision. As outlined in Chapter 7, there have been multiple spatial and economic planning initiatives and investment frameworks, but these have not always been synchronized. The result, in some instances, has been contradictory, overlapping, and potentially unsustainable spatial outcomes.

In the following sections, I explore this proposition using Jabulani CBD as an example, using three 'critical' phases in the node's development. The sections discuss the node's development from the 1960s to date, investigating how the vision for the CBD has evolved over the decades into the post-Apartheid era. The node's formative period is discussed using secondary material and sources, with more primary sources being used to discuss the post-Apartheid decades.

8.2 Exploring the Influence of Planning: Critical Junctures

Three critical junctures have been selected to discuss the varied influence(s) of spatial planning and other actors on the development of

⁸⁰ Although Soweto's nodes are still small and relatively mono-functional, especially when compared to the larger and more dominant nodes in the rest of Johannesburg.

⁸¹ For instance, economies emerging in the real estate, and rental sector with development of rental accommodation in the area.

Jabulani CBD, though these are embedded within longer periods. In a more accurate sense, the periods below unpack a longer period than is considered under critical junctures. Within each period, I highlight seminal moments or decisions that have shifted Jabulani's development trajectory. These periods are as follows:

1. Demarcating and developing 'Soweto's CBD' (1960s-1980)
2. Jabulani in Soweto's post-Apartheid economic structure (2000-2010)
3. Co-Creating a mixed-use, cultural node (Post-2010)

The moments are framed within Soweto's economic evolution, and represent a broader range of 'spatial' actions than what is traditionally understood as spatial planning. In this way, I use Jabulani to consider the various forms in which traditional forms and systems of planning relate to (and steer the actions of) other agencies operating on space.

For each period, I provide a broad overview to how Jabulani was developing and transforming, and some of the key factors that hindered or enhanced the node's development, and actors who were involved in the process. This is followed by a reflection on the spaces, roles, and actions of spatial planning, and outcomes of these actions.

8.2.1 A 'fully fledged city centre' at Jabulani (1960s-1980)

The first critical juncture identified in Jabulani CBD was its creation. In 1964, it was announced that a civic and commercial node was to be developed in Soweto, which would consolidate social, economic, and entertainment facilities in Soweto. Amenities to be developed at the node included a technical college, police station, fire station, courts, social clubs, post office, library, beer hall, banks, gardens, nursery schools and shops (Mayekiso, 1964).

At the time, the establishment of a civic and commercial node in Soweto could be seen as a continuation of the modernist-inspired approaches to planning where embedded town centres were planned within neighborhoods, offering selected facilities to communities. In the case of

Jabulani, however, facilities provided in the node were still structured under Apartheid, and therefore limited.

Within this and the following decade, the envisioned CBD was not developed though a number of public and community facilities were constructed by the City over the years (Non-European Affairs Department, 1968). The Jabulani amphitheatre was built in 1952 by the West Rand Administration Board, with the node already hosting local cultural and sporting events, mainly boxing tournaments. The amphitheatre also hosted local jazz festivals⁸² as well as Maskandi and Isicathamiya traditional music festivals and, in later years, political meetings.

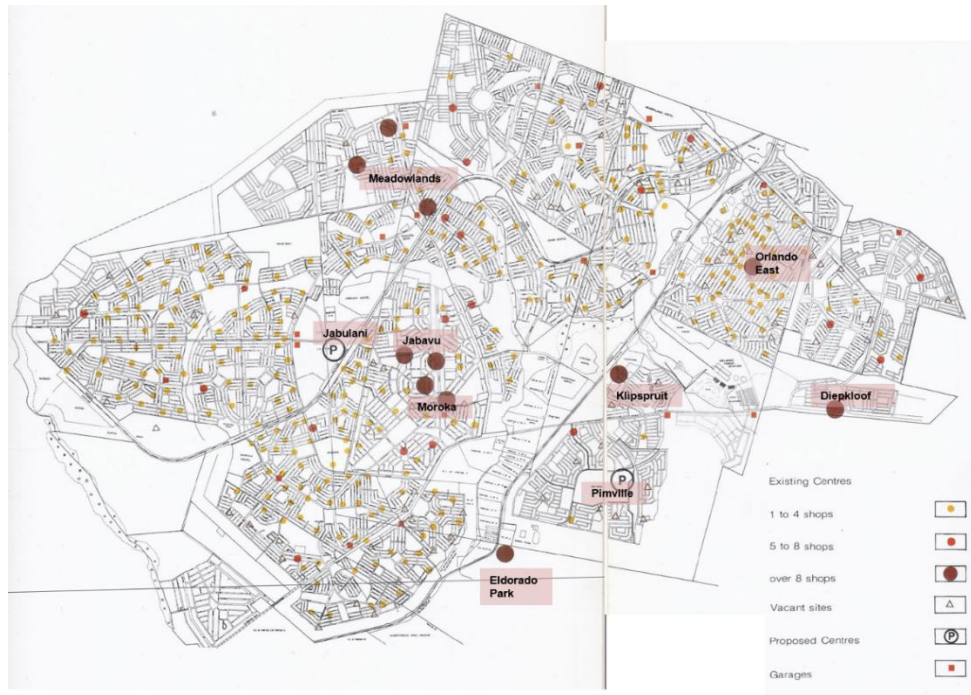
Within this initial phase, therefore, plans and aspirations for Jabulani were therefore present, though not fully operationalized. The limited growth and development in the area can be explained by the broader dampened economic environment in townships – itself the result of other forms of planning and spatial governance at the national government level.

Another possible challenge for limited growth and development in the area was the site's location, and relative connectivity, particularly in light of Apartheid era settlement design for township areas. Available literature does not explore why Jabulani was selected as the site for Soweto's CBD. As Figure 8.1 below indicates, however, Jabulani's location is not ideal, as the area sits to the West of the region, separated from the bulk of the Soweto by the Railway line buffer zone. This disconnection would have been worsened by limited internal road connectivity in the Apartheid era. By the late 1980s therefore, economic activity in the Jabulani was still limited, even in comparison to other areas in Soweto.

Actions undertaken by Johannesburg's administration at the time to demarcate considerable land for the creation of a CBD at the site are nonetheless significant within this time, as were these aspirations to create a civic centre at the node.

⁸² These became the Soweto National Jazz Festival in the 1970s

Figure 8.1: Jabulani in Context



Source: Morris (1980)

When the state attempted to implement policy and legislative reforms in the 1980s, the Jabulani area once more received attention. In this time, administration of the area had shifted from the Johannesburg Municipality to the Soweto Community Council under the oversight of the West Rand Administration Board. These reforms came following the implementation of recommendations from the Reikert committee, including the need to loosen restrictions on black African investors to access investment, funding, and to develop in Township areas.

The Guide plan developed for the greater Soweto area could be interpreted as an attempt to implement these reforms, though it was also geared towards transitioning the region into a self-sufficient economic and administrative region. As articulated in Chapter 7, the aspirations were to transform and upgrade the region's nodes into serviced, urbo-activity areas which would then be connected to a 'fully-fledged city-centre' at Jabulani (Smith, 1979a; Smith, 1979b; Smith, 1979c). At Jabulani, these plans anticipated the expansion of the then administrative, commercial and social

node into one that offered corporate, trading, entertainment, and multi-modal transport facilities (Financial Mail, 1979).

This period also saw renewed interest from 'private sector' investors seeking to invest in the area. It was reported that an application had been made by Blackchain Ltd. - a wholesale company owned by local entrepreneur Mr. Solomon Lesolang - to the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) for development approval in Jabulani CBD. Blackchain's development was supported with financial backing from NAFCOC and the African Bank (Bekker, 1978). These plans were however delayed sluggish response from the West Rand Administration Board. Investment planned in Jabulani was further threatened by plans from the Johannesburg Municipality to create a node in the Klipspruit area (outside Soweto boundaries) therefore posing a challenge to Jabulani's development prospects. Prospective developers in Jabulani protested against these plans:

We are powerless. For over a year we have been negotiating with WRAB just to be allocated a site. Now, despite our objections, Johannesburg rushes through their consent for a development that can only hurt us and with which by law we can never compete (The Post, 1978).

The development of Jabulani CBD between 1960 and 1990 represented shifting visions and aspirations, marked by two key events that illuminate the diverse roles played by planning in different forms.

First was the creation of the node, whereby the then Johannesburg municipality demarcated land to develop a civic and commercial node, though this node did not grow and develop over time. The action of identifying and demarcating the site for a CBD represented planning intention, though this was not backed by adequate investment, and was compromised by contradictory spatial imperatives within the Apartheid regime. The conflicting aspirations of national-level planning and policy in pursuit of Apartheid goals and local level settlement planning and design of

black African township areas hampered local administrative aspirations for area development.

Later, in the 1980s, the loosening of restrictions on trading and investment in townships represented spatial and economic reform, and had the potential to release private sector investment in Jabulani. The plans for Soweto in this period, articulated in the Guide Plan for greater Soweto, were representative of the aspirations from authorities represented in the greater Soweto Councils and the West Rand Administration Board. At the same time, black African investors, no longer restricted from investing in the node, attempted to acquire sites for development in the area, representing private-sector interest in investing in the node.

The aspirations for the node by the Soweto Councils – to create a ‘fully-fledged’ city centre at Jabulani – and area investors seeking to invest in the node represented an extension of the original vision for Jabulani as articulated by the Johannesburg municipality. This development was however stalled, highlighting a greater complexity in achieving spatial outcomes. Development applications in Jabulani was stalled by protracted negotiations between local entrepreneurial interests represented by the Soweto Chamber for Commerce and Industry (SCCI) and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), and state representatives including Soweto’s Community Council and the West Rand Administration Board on the other (Financial Mail, 1978; The Star, 1978).

Alternative and ‘competing’ visions for the greater Soweto were also present from multiple perspectives. Aspirations by the Soweto Councils – represented in the Guide plan – were contradicted by delayed approval by the WRAB which then stalled investment action in the Jabulani node. The presence of private-sector investment interests in the area is also worth noting, though this investment was hampered by sluggish approval processes.

Secondly, plans by Johannesburg municipality to facilitate the creation of another node in the Klipspruit area was interpreted as representing conflict

and competition for Jabulani investors. Similarly, the (unintended) effects of loosening restrictions on investment in townships for both white and black investors created opportunities for white capital to access township markets, and were also considered as unfair competition for local investors.

By the end of the Apartheid period, the Jabulani node therefore still hosted civic and administrative facilities. The envisioned 'city centre' at the node was not developed in this period.

8.2.2 The evolution of Jabulani 'node' and Soweto: 2000-2010

***'Soweto is no longer Johannesburg's unwanted stepchild'*⁸³**

After the period of negotiation and transition into a unified, metropolitan administration, Soweto experienced a period of deliberate and targeted investment, with visible development in the region emerging in the decade between 2000 and 2010 (Harrison & Harrison, 2014). The second juncture identified for the Jabulani node is in this window, whereby a vision for Soweto emerged through the diverse (and seemingly disconnected) interventions, investments, plans and initiatives, the result of which was the creation of a relatively improved and interconnected multinodal economy.

This section proposes that though these plans, projects and investments appeared disjointed and disconnected at times, or even contradictory at others, they represent, in hindsight, an incremental process through which visions and aspiration for Soweto's spatial and economic development were being manifested. In similar light, even though the Jabulani CBD was often considered to be of 'minor' importance in relation to other nodes, its development was also under deliberation as part of the region's space economy.

Due to its extensive size, Soweto's economy was always multinodal, with diffuse and small-scale economic activity located in nodes and high-activity areas (Morris, 1980). The 1979 guide plan for the greater Soweto region

⁸³ This quote is from an online feature on Soweto's rejuvenation titled 'Finding a New Beat' in the South Africa Magazine (Armitage, 2011, p. 2)

acknowledged this, proposing to develop the nodes into upgraded urbo-activity centres existing in hierarchy, with Jabulani as the 'lead city centre'. These plans were not implemented, and considerations of the spatial form of Soweto's economy diminished importance in the first decade of the post-Apartheid era. Here, attention shifted to negotiation and deliberations on developing systems of governance, administration and municipal financing for service delivery.

It was not until the 2000s when Soweto's broader economic form and functioning was once more deliberated. This issue was taken up by various actors in different departments within the City of Johannesburg, research sectors, and in national government. An interviewed respondent – then based at the National Treasury – reflected on this period:

At [National] Treasury, we co-funded a research piece... for a township property market strategy [in] 2003-2004. It started off with a big focus on the residential property market.... Why are township property markets seen as social assets rather than economic assets? Why is trade so low, and what can we do to get more trade and get more property churn going so that people can realize the economic value of having housing assets? That was the initial focus. And then it went into more diversification [and] land use so you have economic nodes...

And at the same time that that was happening, might even have been in a little bit earlier than that, the city of Joburg Economic Development Department did that Soweto retail study (Interview with Sharon Lewis, Government Technical Advisory Centre (GTAC), 2018).

The network of organizations and agencies interested in understanding and developing township residential markets included: National Treasury, South African Cities Network, Finmark Trust, through the Urban Landmark advisory committee, and the National Department of Housing (ibid). Within the City of Johannesburg, the Economic Development Unit under the

Department of Economic Development was also deliberating on how to enhance Soweto's economy, as part of Johannesburg's broader strategic plan dubbed Vision 2030:

I was [at DED] between 2002 and 2006, and my job was to try and give a kind of a spatial flavour to how Joburg 2030 was going to be implemented. But the first thing I could see was that Joburg 2030 really had very little to say about spatial development. And it had even less to talk about poverty and what was happening with the Black areas in the city were very disadvantaged.

So... we would try and develop a program of areas that are at risk or in decline or not fulfilling the economic potential and try and knit that into whatever was happening in the rest of the city... and drive a program that was dealing with social inclusion. But this is now in the time before there was a... growth of development strategy and before even the spatial development frameworks were very strong (Interview with Li Pernegger, Former official at Department of Economic Development's Economic Development Unit, 2018).

As one of Johannesburg's marginalized areas, Soweto was considered within the DED strategy, with focus being not just on the economic improvement of the area, but also on the socio-spatial development:

[We were] trying to understand how to implement Joburg 2030 in an environment that was really calling for something that was not a liberal capitalist thing [that is] focusing on first world economy... towards something more focused. And to look at an area not necessarily from a planning perspective but from an economic development perspective, but with a spatial bend, a spatial angle (Interview with Li Pernegger, Former official at Department of Economic Development's Economic Development Unit, 2018).

Johannesburg's Department of Economic Development (DED) then published the Soweto Economic Area Analysis (EAA) report. This report outlined proposals to transform Soweto's residential dormitory status, to

reduce the leakage of disposable income from the region, and to create an integrated and vibrant economy. It also highlighted the lack of a coherent vision for Soweto's economic role (internal and within Johannesburg) as a key hindrance for the region's development (City of Johannesburg, 2003, p. 63).

The DED also explored in depth the potential for developing Soweto's retail potential, publishing the Soweto Retail Study. This report signalled to investors that the Soweto region had significant potential for [retail] investment. In reflection, Pernegger (2018) observed that this information should have been released more strategically, as it may have led to unchecked mall development outside a coherent regional spatial strategy:

I think the City, the wisdom of hindsight, if we'd understood what that report could have done...we might have managed the release of that information a bit differently...

I think maybe I personally have some regrets about it because Soweto is a very large area and all of the retail amount was soaked up within one mall. And I think what might have been of more benefit to Soweto was to say, how could we take this and spread it around a bit so that it would make for kind of better designs, maybe more precinct-based developments, have maybe three small malls, let's say? And design transport systems and public pedestrianized ways so that people would be able to walk better?

But I think that if we had been able to say well, how do we then try and... introduce something that marries the popularity of malls with the ability to support small businesses better, we might have been actually had more influence. But we didn't.

I think we could have been cleverer about trying to orientate where it would be, so that we could have created a more viable, kind of, town centre arrangement rather than what materialized today, which I don't think works terribly well, but I guess development takes many *many*... years so that might change (Interview with Li Pernegger, Formal

official at Department of Economic Development's Economic Development Unit, 2018)..

A number of malls were developed in Soweto in this period, and this development has attracted both criticism and support from analysts. While some saw this as proof of Soweto's redevelopment and proof of its potential and relevance as an investment destination (Khuzwayo, 2005; Jackson, 2005), others observed the hazardous effect of large-scale mall development on the already-existing small-scale economies (Larsen, 2004). In 2005, analysts were already calling for constraints to be put on the rapid pace at which retail developments were occurring in Soweto (City of Johannesburg, 2005).

Still, regional planning and development coordination was ongoing in Soweto. In 2004/5, the Soweto Development Initiative was created to formalize planning and prioritization of projects in Soweto, reporting to a Section 79 Council Committee dubbed the Greater Soweto Development Committee (GSDC). The SDI was a first of its kind, and represented focused political and administrative attention on Soweto's redevelopment (Sibiya, 2012). The SDI can be appreciated for consolidating the multiple activities and investments in Soweto into a shared vision. Under this structure, many intervention projects were implemented in the region, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Plans developed under the SDI were used to develop the Soweto Investment Framework (SIF) whose intent was to guide public and private investment towards the achievement of the strategic and spatial vision for the area (City of Johannesburg, 2005). The SIF investigated Soweto's multiple nodes⁸⁴ in detail, with the aim of facilitating the development of a

⁸⁴ The nodes investigated in the SIF included: The Glen, Jabulani, Credo Mutwa, Crossroads, Mofolo Park, Vilakazi Street Precinct, Mandelaville, Kliptown, Ikhwezi Station, Meadow Point, Merafe Station Precinct, Protea Gardens, Zola Kwaito, Dobsonville, Orlando Power Station, Dube Maponya, Diepkloof, Regina Mundi, Pimville, and Baralink-Baracentral.

multinodal economy in Soweto. In the SIF, concerns over the impact of Soweto's multi-nodal space economy were once more raised:

What is required in Soweto is a strategy that seeks to ensure that economic activities are concentrated to such an extent that this critical mass is reached and maintained. This is best achieved by identifying a single node from among the current District node[s] and developing it into the primary node by aggressively promoting both public and private investment within the node, ultimately elevating it to the status of Regional node (City of Johannesburg, 2005, p. 71).

The SIF identified three key nodes for development: the Broader Baralink area, Kliptown, and Jabulani. It also proposed and anticipated that more detailed spatial strategies would be developed for each node through policy development:

The planning regime needs to give effect to an appropriate land-use management, zoning and planning approval framework. In other words, land use management and zoning need to be regularized across the City to ensure that current mechanisms deployed elsewhere are applicable in Soweto (City of Johannesburg, 2005, p. ix).

There is no evidence that the SIF was developed into a policy document (and later, a planning framework for the Soweto region). What is evident, however, was continued investment in nodes (including those that had been identified under the SIF) in the following years, and through various public sector agencies. An analysis of city planning and strategic documents in this period highlights a continuing focus on developing the area. And although some of the plans and policies have been critiqued for pushing and proposing market-led approaches for Soweto's development at the expense of existing local economies (see, for example (Ntombela, 2016)) they nonetheless contributed towards the incremental improvement of the region's nodes, and the overall evolution of Soweto's space economy.

In similar light, investments channelled into Soweto as part of the mega-events were critical for Jabulani's development. As part of the preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, for example, Soweto's main stadiums and related facilities were upgraded, and Johannesburg accessed resources to invest in its integrated public transport infrastructure plan. Two key issues raised by one of the interviewees was that Johannesburg already had a transportation plan in place when resources related to the 2010 FIFA World Cup were availed. This allowed them to quickly capitalize on this investment:

This was linked to this new grant...[which] was also linked to the World Cup. The Minister of Finance suddenly realized, we've made commitments around transit, around getting people to the games. How the hell are the cities going to deliver on this?

So, it got to his attention because was like a fiscal risk... It was this unfunded commitment that we'd made to the international community...

So, there was this new grant⁸⁵ that was been like bubbling under.... It wasn't proposed for the World Cup, but he said, "What if we targeted to the World Cup Host cities first? [as] part of achieving the World Cup targets?"

So, it was that, killing many birds with one stone. So... he launched it...He announced a new grand as being initially for the World Cup host cities. So, and then later for everyone else.

And Joburg was first off, the mark. They had their Integrated Public Transport Network (IPTN). Their IPTN showed two corridors which were relevant to the World Cup...And so they said, "We will do corridor one, which is Rea Vaya Phase 1A, which has got a leg connecting to the stadium... It serves the commuters as well coming

⁸⁵ This is the Public Transport Infrastructure and Systems Grant (PTIS).

into the Inner City, and it connects to Ellis Park. So, two stadiums end to end. World Cup solution.”

Joburg moved fast. They got the biggest portion of the first few years of the PTIS. They quickly rolled out phase 1A. They hit the World Cup targets (Interview with Sharon Lewis, GTAC, 2018).

While there was little visible development in the Jabulani node prior to 2006, it is evident that the node benefited from this sustained political and administrative focus on the greater Soweto region which manifested in continuous planning for (and investment in) the region.

This second critical ‘juncture’ then represents the seemingly disconnected yet related incremental process through which multiple actors, agencies and systems translated aspirations for Soweto into plans, and these plans into visible outcomes. Some notable actors involved in gradually shaping this vision include: The Department of Economic development, to the Development, the Department of Transport and Infrastructure, Johannesburg Property Company, the Department of Development Planning and, in later years, the Johannesburg Development Agency. Gauteng Province’s investment agency, Blue IQ and National Treasury represent some of the provincial and national departments worth mentioning. The input of private sector developers in establishing malls of varying sizes in the region and of small-scale economic investors has also been critical.

8.2.3 Co-Creating a mixed-use, cultural node at Jabulani (2010 to date)

Over the following decades, Jabulani’s importance and perceived potential grew and dimmed depending on various factors. Intended to be Soweto’s CBD under Apartheid, Jabulani grew slowly over the period, serving mainly civic and limited commercial functions. In the declining years of Apartheid, initiatives to attract private sector investment in the node were stalled by internal bureaucratic issues and ‘external’ competition from other Soweto nodes, leaving the node underdeveloped. In the first decade of the post-

Apartheid period, Jabulani still developed slowly compared to other nodes in Soweto, as planning and investment pursued the development of a multinodal economy in the region, or invested in other nodes and areas.

The Jabulani node was still underdeveloped as of 2006, with the land now under the custodianship of the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) (Johannesburg Property Company, 2018). Following 2006, however, developments in the node began to materialize, and these have been attributed to a number of factors:

I think focus was on the whole of Soweto. The major roads project had just been completed. And remember the JPC was formed in 2000 with the mandate of developing city land. And there was this vacant land in Jabulani. So, it was the combination of all these factors that made Jabulani opportune for development (Interview with Alan Dinnie, 23 August, 2019).

The series of seemingly disconnected events, plans and investments in the greater Soweto region over the decades therefore had the cumulative effect of preparing Jabulani CBD for development. These include: the decision made by Johannesburg Council to create a node in Jabulani in the 1960s and their allocation of land for these purposes, delayed development in the node during and within the late Apartheid period, focused upgrading and improvement in Soweto under Mayor Masondo's term, and subsequent spatial, economic, and transport planning initiatives for Soweto and the greater Johannesburg, as well as investment in public transport and related infrastructure. These all meant that when the Jabulani development came to fruition, JPC were able to package nearly 35ha of prime and well-located land for development of the node.

Aspirations for the node have varied. In the Soweto 5-year development plan, it was proposed that a CBD precinct and an 'afro-fashion zone' be developed on the site:

The development will include a mixture of high-density retail, office and residential development, which displays a strong sense of public

awareness. *Melrose Arch in Johannesburg's northern suburbs is a good example of the type of development envisaged....*The new development will also have a "cultural heart" which will include the development of Soweto's first theatre complex...The complex, which is a Mayoral project, and will include refurbishment of the existing open-air venue located on site, and will be managed by the City of Johannesburg....The components of this development will comprise performing arts venue development, public square, public park and public artwork.

In addition to the already existing proposals, some consideration should also be given towards the development of an Afro Fashion Zone within the Jabulani Precinct. The justification for this proposal is that there are a number of clothing manufacturers, designers, small home-based retailers and customers scattered all over the region who possess significant potential to develop into sustainable enterprises given a right and conducive environment. The Afro Fashion Zone is thus intended to provide a locational and business outlet for agglomeration economies that would develop as a result of support towards organic development of the clothing industry in Soweto. Worthy of note however is the need to ensure that the Afro Fashion Zone is complementary to the Joburg's Fashion District – with the latter playing the role of being a City - wide marketing outlet and facility whilst the former playing a more supportive role to the Fashion District. (City of Johannesburg, 2008, pp. 79-81).

These developments in Jabulani were to be developed through a Public-Private Partnership.

In 2007, the Johannesburg Property Company put out a bid request for developers to construct the Soweto Theatre in Jabulani, following which they would receive additional rights for other developments (Brodie, 2013). The new Theatre was to be built close to the Jabulani Amphitheatre – which

had remained derelict in the post-Apartheid years – as the heart of the new CBD:

The Soweto Theatre... is the anchor project at the heart of what is intended to be Soweto's first planned or official CBD – a scheme that will eventually include between 3 500 and 4 000 mixed-income residential units, 15 000 square-metres of retail space and 20 000 square-metres of office space, all on an... untouched 43 hectares of land between the Jabulani Station and the Jabulani Mall (Brodie, 2013).

The key 'new' developments in Jabulani that were undertaken in addition to public spaces and infrastructure were: the Soweto Theatre and a revamped Amphitheatre, a new provincial hospital, a retail and office development, and a number of mixed-income housing developments. A critical difference between original plans for Jabulani CBD under Apartheid and in the post-Apartheid years is the addition of residential units into the precinct.

The resurgence of development in Jabulani since 2006 can be tracked through two complementary processes. First was the packaging and release of the land by the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) in accordance with a specific vision for the area, and the fact that these sites were then taken up for investment by a range of private developers, resulting in the development of a mixed-use precinct at the node. Notable actors on this trajectory are the JPC, the large-scale development companies which have invested in the node, and the market players who have then purchased housing and retail facilities in the precinct.

Within the same period, a process of planning and strategy formation has also been underway, focusing on the Jabulani precinct though also as part of stabilizing planning systems for the broader metropolitan region. Here, through regional and nodal plans prepared for Soweto, with Urban Development Frameworks for individual nodes under the City's Department of Development Planning all outlining visions and aspirations for the region. These can also be framed within supportive initiatives, most notably the

Township regeneration initiative from National Treasury's Neighbourhood Partnership Development Programme, within which precinct planning and development of Jabulani was also undertaken, with the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) playing a lead role.

These processes (the planning and visioning, and the land release and construction) were not always coordinated or undertaken through a sequential, inter-departmental coordinated framework. This points to the complex and multi-actor framework through which urban development occurs, but also to the need for a more coordinated precinct planning and development coordination framework than was present at the time.

A scan of different planning documents at the time highlights different though related 'aspirations' for Jabulani. In the 2009-10 Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF), Jabulani was ranked as a district node⁸⁶ since, while it had 'great existing momentum for growth', there was little investment in the area at the time (City of Johannesburg, 2009, p. 111). Nodes like Baralink and Kliptown were considered to be of a higher order than Jabulani in this report, as they had received more investment and therefore had potential to become a metropolitan node. Unlike metropolitan and CBD nodes, district nodes were expected to serve a smaller neighbourhood cluster, offering predominantly local services to meet residents' daily needs and social services.

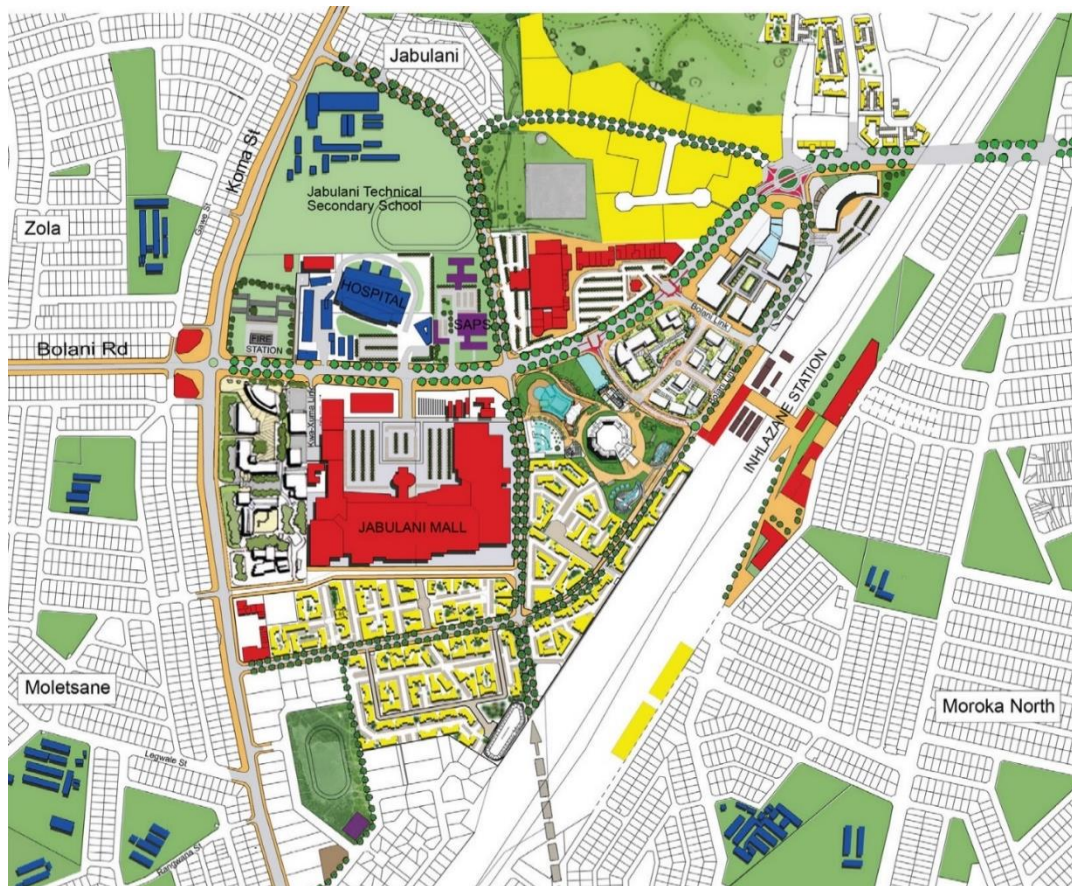
For Jabulani, the RSDF suggested the need to fast-track land release, to accelerate implementation of planned investments, and to upgrade the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa's (PRASA) Inhlazane station. It also proposed the creation of a node around the Bolani-Koma intersection, and better linkage of the node to the regional open space system. The plan also proposed intensification of land uses in the area, vertical and horizontal densification, and enhanced internal and regional connectivity whereby Jabulani needed to be connected to neighbouring districts (for example

⁸⁶ Alongside Kliptown. Baralink Precinct would be the only higher-order Node, identified as having potential for becoming a metropolitan node.

Jabavu which lay across the railway line) by upgrading public transport infrastructure (City of Johannesburg, 2009).

The 2013 precinct plan for Jabulani reiterated these goals, presenting designs through which the node could be created. The Precinct plan illustrated in Figure 8.2 below discussed the broader spatial vision for investments that were already underway, embedding them within a broader nodal and regional spatial strategy. The precinct plan articulates the consolidated ‘vision’ of what the Jabulani CBD is to become – a mixed-use, culturally-themed CBD with additional commercial, public transport, and community functions. The node is also to be connected to neighbouring areas, functioning as part of a broader strategy.

Figure 8.2: Jabulani Land Use Plan



Source: Jabulani Cultural Precinct Plan (City of Johannesburg, 2013)

Though this research was not able to track in detail the implementation process, it nonetheless highlighted key emerging issues that point to a less

coordinated implementation strategy. These issues are unpacked in more detail below.

As the key custodian of the city's land, the Johannesburg Property Company has central custody over the development process. The PPP instrument created for the development of the node is called the Jabulani Development Company, with the Inkanyeli Group⁸⁷ acting as the lead developer in the area. Additional development firms in the consortium included: Group 5, Calgro M3, International Housing Solutions among others. Residential stock was then taken up by various social housing companies, introducing more actors into the node:

This [CBD] was originally a tender awarded to Inkanyeli, because they've got residential and commercial experience. They approached us and International Housing Solutions, so we partnered with them. Subsequently, all that being built was split between us and Inkanyeli. The rental stock was subsequently sold to AFHCO⁸⁸, IHS⁸⁹, Madulamoho Social Housing, and to the open market (Interview with Wikus Lategaan & Inneke Richter, Calgro M3, 21 August, 2018).

A key challenge highlighted by interviewed developers relating to this model of land release for development was the limited coordination across various city functions. Therefore, while the spatial development vision for Jabulani was commonly understood and communicated via local plans, the actual processes of packaging the land use development rights and improving area infrastructure were not undertaken:

When we initially started developing here, we didn't know what [the issues] were in Jabulani. Only when we started and dealt with the Municipal entities, that we realized that there was a massive storm-water issue. We could have never thought that. But they [Council]

⁸⁷ The Inkanyeli Group is a built environment group of companies which undertakes large-scale project management and development projects in South Africa and regionally. The Jabulani CBD development is one of their lead projects (The Inkanyeli Group, 2018).

⁸⁸ The Africa Housing Company, a developer and investor in affordable housing.

⁸⁹ International Housing Solutions, also a real estate developer and investor in the affordable housing sector.

also didn't know that. The residents knew it obviously, but the Council didn't. There's also a massive power issue. So, we're currently investing 150million in a new power station for the area with Council...We as the developer contributed to the storm water management issue. They (the City) have assisted with that - installing pipelines underneath the railway lines... but it was quite a mission (Interview with Wikus Lategaan & Inneke Richter, Calgro M3, 21 August, 2018).

The above comment from developers at Calgro M3, who are doing many of the residential developments in the node – highlights a critical gap between visioning planning for the precinct, and the strategic inter-departmental coordination of actions that are required to enable development to occur in the node. This is particularly pertinent for township areas which, under Apartheid, were not adequately serviced for intensive economic development.

The aspirations outlined in post-Apartheid plans for Soweto, in statements by JPC, and later in the 2013 Jabulani Precinct plan were that the city would 'undertake processes of land packaging and preparation', and that the City would upgrade infrastructure in the precinct, ultimately allocating 'shovel-ready' to developers in order to expedite development (Interview with Alan Dinnie, 15th August, 2018).

Interviewed developers pointed out that this was not done in Jabulani. It was hard to trace (as part of this research) the institutional and administrative project implementation and investment pipeline for Jabulani's development, or the series of steps undertaken to achieve the node's creation. This gap between plans and coordination of service upgrading in townships was however pointed out.

Another unresolved issue in Jabulani was the area's town planning and development rights. This further inconvenienced and delayed investment:

when we got to the town planning department, that [high-density development] was not supported. The existing scheme, unfortunately

[was] the Black Communities Development Act, That's the Act which governed this area, back then, before SPLUMA came into effect (Interview with Wikus Lategaan & Inneke Richter, Calgro M3, 21 August, 2018).

These point to a disjuncture (at the time) between the vision and intent to develop a high-density, mixed-use, integrated cultural node at Jabulani and the full range of 'preparatory' work that was required prior to land release. They however also highlight the disconnected and fragmented nature (at the time) of the whole administrative infrastructure in charge of land and infrastructure management within the Municipality and in particular, the lack of a co-ordinating agency or function that could have guided a more streamlined implementation pipeline.

More recently, this coordinating role has been undertaken by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) in their precinct and area-based management functions, as planning and management of the node shifts from development and construction towards situating the node for sustainability. This is discussed in more detail in the following section.

At the time of this research, construction and development in Jabulani CBD has been underway for nearly a decade, and the precinct functions as a multifunctional, mixed-use node. Developments that have been completed include civic, retail and commercial facilities. The Soweto Theatre and cultural facility has been completed, as has the Bheki Mhlangeni district hospital. A range of high-density residential developments are also completed and occupied. These, in addition to the existing Police and Fire Station, and Civic facilities developed in the previous regime, consolidated the functions of the node as a civic, commercial, and mixed-use node. Through investments in public transport, the node now also functions as a relatively well-connected node which is linked to the rest of Soweto, as well as the rest of the metropolitan grid via the Rea Vaya BRT system.

With planned upgrades to the Inhlazane Train Station (PRASA) and further extensions to the BRT route into the node, it is expected that the Jabulani

CBD's TOD functions will consolidate further. Proposals have also been developed to fine-tune the node's functionality, with attention to the development of medium-and small-scale economic activity, whereby wider streets will be designed in the high-activity areas to provide facilities for formal and informal street trading, with the Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC) anticipated to this (City of Johannesburg, 2013, p. 65).

Figure 8.3: Concept: Linear Markets along Bolani Road



Source: Jabulani Precinct UDF (City of Johannesburg, 2013, p. 65)

Figure 8.4: Aerial View of Jabulani CBD and Surrounds



Source: Google Earth, 2019

TOWARDS SUSTAINABILITY

Though it's not considered as 'Soweto's CBD', the Jabulani node is of critical importance for achieving Johannesburg's metropolitan spatial integration outcomes. Focus on the consolidation of the precinct as a node has emerged more recently, with the Johannesburg Development Agency taking on a lead role and with funding support from the National Treasury's Townships Revitalization Strategy under the NDPG, and later, through the City of Johannesburg's Spatial Development framework where more considerable capital investment is to be channelled into the node.

The National Treasury's Neighborhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG) was launched in 2006, as a spatial targeting fund aimed at 'stimulating and accelerating investment in poor, underserved residential neighborhoods (National Treasury, 2007, p. 3). The grant functions as part of the broader Urban Networks Strategy hosted under the Cities Support Programme at the National Treasury.

The grant provides technical and capital resources for municipalities to invest in catalytic projects in selected areas and nodes, with the aim of creating 'vibrant urban hubs' around which diversified township economic activity can develop.

The NDPG can be interpreted as a response to the disparate and 'ad-hoc' approach to township investment that had occurred in previous years. The project and grant sought instead to support integrated and coordinated public sector investment, which is then expected to attract private sector action.

The Jabulani node is one of the key nodes supported under this program, and, with funding from the NDPG, significant capital and technical investment is being channelled into the node.

From the City of Johannesburg's strategic and built-environment performance plans, it is also evident that the Jabulani node is now a priority investment area. The 2016 Spatial Development Framework (SDF), and in 2018-9 Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP) both speak to the

node's importance, and it is anticipated that nearly 11% of Johannesburg's capital budget in the coming year will be spent on Jabulani, second only to the Ivory Park region (City of Johannesburg, 2017, p. 81).

Planned capital and technical projects for the node are summarized in Table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1: Planned Public Sector Investments in Jabulani: 2018-20

PROJECT	AGENCY	AMOUNT
Infrastructure projects	Johannesburg Development Agency	R76.5m
Jabulani Station Renewal Nodal Transportation Facilities	Johannesburg Development Agency	R 30m R 500 000 R 20m
Jabulani Electrification plan	City Power	R 46,9 R 51.4m R 53.9m
Jabulani Precinct Upgrades	Department of Development Planning	R 79.5m in 2017/8 R 46.8m in 2018/9 R 46.8m in 2019/20
Jabulani Cultural Precinct	Department of Development Planning	R20 m in 2019/20
Soweto Theatre renovations & upgrades	Johannesburg Theatre Management Company	R 154k in 2017/8 R 660k in 2018/9 R 1.1m in 2019/20.
Jabulani CBD Precinct development	Johannesburg Property Company	R 3m in 2017/8 R 20m in 2018/9

Source: Johannesburg Built Environment Performance Plan (City of Johannesburg, 2017)

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) has taken a lead role in coordinating investment and strategic planning for the Jabulani node. The JDA plays a development facilitation role, with the aim of 'gaining credibility in the eyes of private partners and community stakeholders, and to coordinate alignment across city departments. In Jabulani, the JDA has undertaken both capital investment works, as well as technical support:

the Jabulani node was fast becoming a symbol of how catalytic intervention and strategic capital investments can unlock development potential, stimulate local economies and boost job creation and entrepreneurial development, especially in areas that have been previously marginalised or that have failed to attract private investment (Engineering News, 2019)

More recently, attention has shifted towards creating management structures for the Jabulani node that would ensure sustainability even after developments and construction activity is complete. Here, the JDA has been facilitating stakeholder forums with area developers and property owners on the establishment of a precinct management framework for Jabulani. Funding for this exercise is being provided by the NDPG:

NDPG funds technical assistance as well as capital works. I'm not sure they funded the Precinct planning as part of the technical, but what they've subsequently funded is the Precinct Management Framework for the Jabulani node... NDPG has provided some money for funding a business plan for a Precinct management entity (Interview with Lwazi Sikiti, JDA, 8 October, 2018).

The intention to create a City Improvement District (CID) at Jabulani – the first in a former township area - comes at a time when City or Business Improvement Districts have been legally invalidated, and supporting legislation undergoing revision.⁹⁰ Older CIDs in Johannesburg continued on

⁹⁰ BIDs were determined to be legally invalid in a Supreme court judgment between Randburg Management District and Dune Properties, under which the legality of levies imposed under the CID act were considered illegal, as levies could only be imposed under

a voluntary basis, but if a CID were to be created for the Jabulani node, it would have to be negotiated within this new legislative regime.

So now with Jabulani, the thinking was how [do] we develop a business plan? Because if you're [going to] just continue funding it as a state, then it becomes a state program, and then once whoever it is from the state pulls out, then everything falls apart...

So, the thinking now with Jabulani is to explore the future by-law at the City is developing with National Treasury called the SRA – Special Ratings Areas. So, [it is] a similar process as a CID, but done through what is called an SRA, the same process, 51% consensus from property owners, and then what happens is that instead of paying levies, the levies form part of your rates.

The idea is that you ringfence it, and you have this special management vehicle whose sole mandate is to manage those funds, and it would have the functions for contracting for all the functions that are required for the precinct (Interview with Lwazi Sikiti, JDA, 2 October, 2018).

Concerns have been raised regarding the feasibility of establishing a CID at Jabulani. An emerging concern within this stage is the fact that the precinct at Jabulani has a large share of sites occupied by low- and middle-income residential housing, public-sector amenities, and very few commercial sites. This, it is argued, could hamper the node's transition into a self-sustaining precinct (or BID), implying a continued need for permanent public sector support, or risk the node's deterioration once this was no longer guaranteed.

Although literature on CIDs highlights some concerns in their potential to splinter urban spatial formations and deepen spatial disparities by establishing driving exclusivity and private managed of spaces (Peyroux, 2006), they are also acknowledged as being necessary for nodal

National legislation, and not Provincial legislation (Randburg Management District v West Dunes Properties, 2013).

maintenance and management, particularly in a context of limited public resources.

A concern in the case of urban South Africa, articulated in this research, is the already existing disparities between older, more established, and wealthier nodes which already have well-resourced CIDs, and the less capable and emerging nodes in township areas which need CIDs to drive and maintain growth, and yet lack said private resources and therefore have to rely on limited public funding.

The feasibility of establishing a sustainable node in Jabulani is a current concern, particularly within current developments where CIDs are no longer legislated bodies, but voluntary establishments, with property owners not obliged to pay for extra services. Considerations in Jabulani – mainly through the Johannesburg Development Agency (and not property owners) reflect this.

Although CIDs have been in existence for decades, their application in driving sustainable Township nodes is new. The critical role played by these spaces in establishing nodal sustainability also implies the need for more strategic thinking in the case of townships where property values are lower, land-uses predominantly residential and public sector, and there are fewer commercial and corporate developments:

Even the NDPG which is responsible for funding most of these projects... have their own reservations about the plan. They feel that it could have been more than it is.... that it could have been more commercial zoning. When it first started, the theme was for a Cultural Hub because of the Theatre. But subsequently, it's changed into a CBD Hub. But you see some of the zoning scheme also still resembles a Cultural Hub. Now we're trying to do both (Interview with Lwazi Sikiti, Johannesburg Development Agency, 8 October, 2018).

In continued deliberations facilitated by the JDA, Jabulani stakeholders have proposed an incremental transition approach to the BID process:

Stakeholders felt that there can't be a formalized entity straight up. It has to be a progressive thing. Coz you can understand there are stakeholders that are not as mature in their area management functions as maybe your Sandtons or the older nodes. There's a chunk of commercial use, but largely it's still predominantly government use. Different public entities, different body corporates... so they felt that if you were to put a formalized entity straight upfront, there would be so many politics, and it would be challenged on every corner, so this is what they suggested (Interview with Lwazi Sikiti, JDA, 2018).

8.3 Spatial Planning as an Evolving Multi-Actor Vision

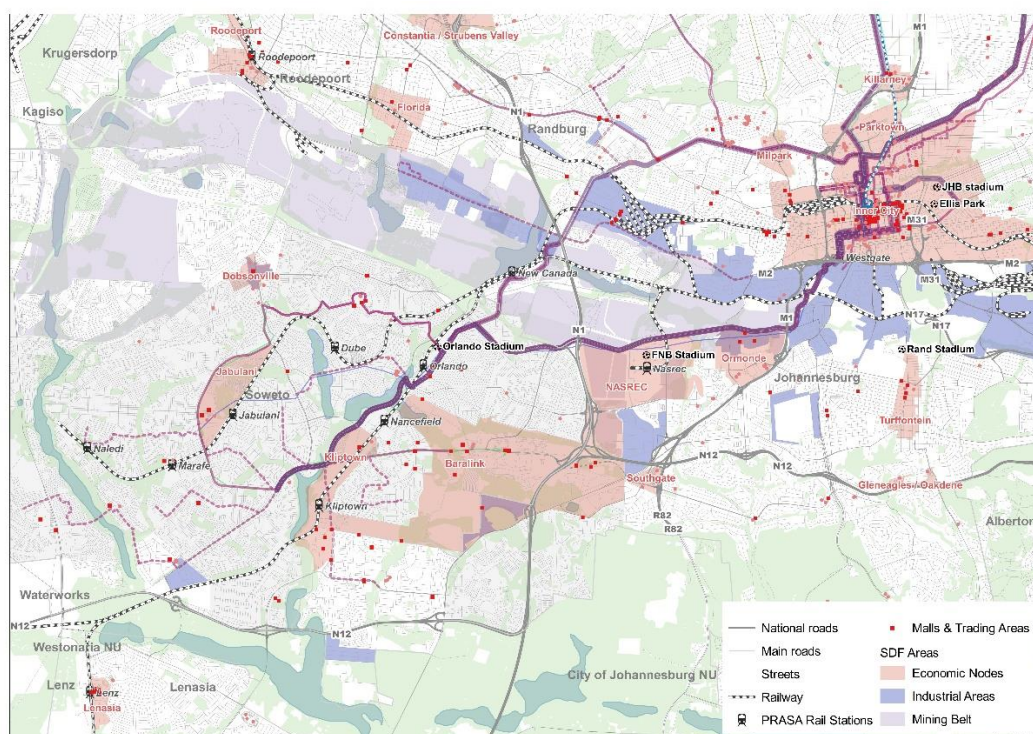
[t]he beauty of Jabulani is that it follows the polycentric node. Where everything is happening around here, and you can clearly link the Civic, to the Residential, to the Train station, to the BRT line, to the mini-taxis. So, the location of it has worked amazingly for them. And it's a greenfield that achieved exactly what it was supposed to achieve. And Soweto is a district that the City is looking towards creating a true City district, for it to function outside the main city cores. So, the main investments also pushed Jabulani. Coz we're trying to get Soweto to be functional as its own space. (Interview with Officials from CoJ's Spatial Planning and Transformation Department, 22 February 2018).

Soweto's broader economy in general, and Jabulani specifically, have come a long way from their Apartheid beginnings. As a result, Soweto remains a critical region for observing the achievement of Johannesburg and South Africa's post-Apartheid transformation agenda.

Analysts are however divided on the scale of success in the area's transformation in nearly two decades. On one hand, achievements in Soweto are lauded as 'pioneering interventions in redesigning the City' (City of Johannesburg, 2016, p. 5). In the case of Jabulani, considerable investment has been channelled into the node, with more investment

On the other hand, it is also evident that the area's economic nodes still lag behind, particularly when ranked within the Johannesburg metropolitan context. Similarly, no clear determination can be made on whether or not Jabulani node will be successful in future, as many of these developments are still underway.

Figure 8.5: Jabulani Within Greater Soweto And Surrounds



⁹¹ Indeed, township economic nodes are yet to be considered or gauged on par with older, more established in the North.

The Jabulani node offered a critical opportunity to exploring shifting aspirations and outcomes for township spatial-economic development at a more granular level, particularly since the 'CBD' has been under development for decades. This chapter attempted to trace the shifting roles of spatial planning in shaping and managing township urban space, and the developing vision for the region's urban space economy.

The Jabulani node has received considerable investment in the post-Apartheid era, building what is anticipated to be a cultural, commercial, retail, and transit node. The node is also better linked and spatially integrated with the rest of the region and to its immediate surrounds. The cumulative emergence of the node over decades highlights more granularly the incremental role of planning, and its operation through diverse agencies. Under apartheid, key roles included general layout and planning of residential and other land uses in townships, demarcating land for purposes of establishing a CBD, and planning initiatives to create a multinodal space economy as the Apartheid regime came to a close. Within this period, the Jabulani node experienced limited development.

A more diverse range of actions, investments and efforts were undertaken in the immediate post-Apartheid period, playing a key role in transforming the greater Soweto region and by extension, the Jabulani node. In the immediate post-Apartheid years, these initiatives were disconnected and contradictory, but in the past decade, Johannesburg's metropolitan and nodal strategic planning frameworks stabilized enabling a more coordinated approach to the node's development. The result has been an increasingly coherent approach to precinct-planning and development as well as more visible transformation and coordinated investment at the node.

The evolving and shifting roles of spatial planning over the decades in Jabulani are useful for elaborating the diffuse and obscure role of planning over time. The design and achievement of the 'vision' for the node has been spread out over decades, with the central role of implementation moving through a broad range of actors and agencies straddling both the public and

private sectors, and involving the actions of seemingly disconnected actions and decisions reaching as far back as 1964, when the Johannesburg municipality planned (and failed) to develop a CBD for Soweto.

These actions include: planning for the CBD under Apartheid in the 1960s, and demarcation of sufficient land to achieve this goal, even though little more than a civic node was created at this time; deliberation over function of the node in the regional economy; starting from the late-Apartheid period, progressing into the post-Apartheid era, with finally, the Jabulani Mall being developed, adding retail to the civic node; Johannesburg Property Company's release of land to private sector developers (aligned to a specified intention/plan to create a Cultural node); and starting with the development of the award-winning Soweto Theatre and the Bheki Mhlangeni District Hospital; and through large-scale private-sector investments; planning and creation of a mixed-use node incorporating high-density, mixed-use residential; retail and office development.

Additionally, through seemingly unrelated public-sector investments, projects like the BRT have brought public transport linkages to Jabulani and introduced better connections to the regional and metropolitan space economy, extending the node's function as a public-transport interchange. Through the upgrading of public space amenities under the Corridors of Freedom project, and investments in roads infrastructure, Jabulani is now connected to Jabavu and the rest of the region through open spaces, public transport and related amenities.

These have significantly enhanced the node's permeability and internal connectivity. The JDA has also lobbied for public sector agencies (PRASA in this case) to further integrate the district by upgrading the Inhlazane rail station and to *link* the townships of Jabulani and Jabavu via the Inhlazane station (Interview with Lwazi Sikiti, JDA, 2018).

Through World Cup preparations and related legacy investments, existing sports infrastructure such as Jabavu Stadium was upgraded, and additional

community sports amenities are to be developed in collaboration with the South African Football Association (SAFA) (Engineering News, 2019).

Though there was no direct leadership 'role' in the coordination of Jabulani's current development, significant action has been undertaken by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and the City of Johannesburg's Planning Department to direct precinct planning and investment coordination, and to create an integrated, mixed-use, pedestrian-friendly CBD in the node.

More recently, with technical support funding from the NDPG, visioning efforts and deliberations steered by the JDA towards planning for the precinct's sustainability once public and private-sector investments are completed. These involve designing a potential BID in the precinct.

Jabulani's development has also highlighted gaps and inefficiencies, particularly emerging as a result of the disjointed nature of distributed spatial management functions. Post-apartheid plans and policy documents aspired to transform Soweto into a vibrant district with intensified, mixed-use nodes, but planning and land-use schemes were not updated in time to anticipate this, neither was critical infrastructure upgraded to anticipate these changes. Without consolidation and updating of the land use scheme in the area, development would be hindered by existing Apartheid era planning rights. This once more points to the broader and more complex structure of planning functions distributed within the Municipality, and the separate processes through which various functions are undertaken. More recently, the Johannesburg Land use scheme has been revised.

New concerns about the sustainability of the Jabulani node have arisen, with the choice to develop a cultural node with more residential than commercial sites potentially hindering Jabulani's long-term financial sustainability. While the outlined vision for the area has been present and evolving over the years, it is also apparent that a long-term vision for the area's *sustainability* is yet to be developed.

These however also point to a form and system of planning or spatial governance that was, in the immediate post-apartheid years, more diffuse (or emergent) and that has been coalescing and stabilizing in more recent years. Where then in the first two decades, both Soweto and Jabulani appeared to emerge out of a disconnected and loosely-connected process, in the past few years, these processes have coalesced into a more strategic and coordinated structure. Evidence for this is seen in the more synchronized public and private-sector led creation of Jabulani more recently, including in the metropolitan spatial and built environment performance plans.

More recently, Johannesburg's Land use scheme has been amended to consolidate all formerly separate land use schemes and addressing some of the incongruent land-use and development challenges that were encountered in Jabulani (City of Johannesburg, 2018). This can be seen as part of a broader strategic shift in the metro to proactively ease development and investment in identified priority areas, especially the public-transport corridors and nodes outlined in its strategic spatial development framework. According to interviewed planners, this process is being undertaken through the collaboration of various city departments:

Planner 1 - That's where the integration starts to happen. Because they [JPC] manage the properties, and we are then guiding them on how we are going to package this land.

Miriam— Is this the first time this is happening? Has it happened before in other places?

Planner 2 – I don't think it's happened *to this magnitude*.... what the City's done is to do a rezoning of the entire area. When we do a Rezoning, we have to do a Traffic Impact Study, Geotech, Heritage Studies, Studies on Capacity...The city essentially did all those studies for these areas, the Orange Grove area and the Empire Perth area.

So that ideally, once approved ... if you have a property here, and you want to do a land use that's according to what we've proposed for this plan, then all you have to do is to send us an SDP [Site Development Plan] and that process is 3-6 months [shorter].

It's still time... but it's how these things are.... In these areas, we were trying to ...fast-track this process and make sure that the applications in there are prioritized and try and speed up the process. So, we can incentivize people to develop in these well-located areas.

Miriam – Have the (Special Development) zones been declared?

Planner 3 – It's in process. It went through public participation, so it's waiting now to go through the internal cycles and try to address some of the objections. But that one stems from the Corridors approach, but it's a project that's run by the Land Use department, coz they will be the ones dealing with the applications, making sure that the systems are in place to be able to prioritize these areas.

Planner 2 - On the bulk contributions, what the City is trying to do, on the (priority) corridors [is] doing the Town Planning processes and paying the bulk contributions on behalf of the developers.

So now, what we did, *on our Council owned land*, we submitted applications with densities and development potential that will yield the maximum densities for affordable housing. We're going through all the processes of rezoning, removal of restrictions, consolidating the land, and then promulgating and paying bulk contributions on the land, and then bidding or leasing that land on a tender basis to just come and submit a Site Development Plan. So, they win in that they don't have to go through all that overwhelming process and finances (Interview/Discussion with CoJ Strategic Planning Team, 2018)

As part of both the priority transit corridors and a district node, the Jabulani CBD node is clearly a focal area under Johannesburg's current spatial development strategy. The node's future development could therefore be

different from the experiences outlined by interviewed developers in this chapter, opening up opportunities for further growth.

9 THE INFLUENCE OF SPATIAL PLANNING: FINDINGS FROM JOHANNESBURG

9.1 Overview

This chapter brings together key findings from the research, drawing emerging issues from the case study areas with key concepts and theories presented on spatial planning, and the transformation of urban space economies.

The discussion follows the structure of the research design, with each research question serving as a discussion point. It begins with a brief summary of the evolution of Johannesburg's urban space economy, focusing on the different development trajectories of the two nodes of Sandton central and Jabulani CBD. It then reflects on the evolving context of spatial planning as framed by South Africa's transforming socio-political context and by shifting global perspectives outlined in the literature. Lastly, it explored the spaces, roles and influence of planning as manifested in the two nodes and in relation to other actors in the node. These are used to draw key reflections for theory.

The case studies are presented only partly in a comparative structure, with the complementary narratives providing an opportunity to discuss the different contexts through which Johannesburg's various nodes have emerged and transformed over time, the different actors and interests that have shaped the two nodes' evolution, and the actions and influences of spatial planning within these relatively distinct precincts.

These sections are then followed by brief reflections on the gaps for further research.

9.2 Key Findings

Literature on urban space economies underscored the transitory and ever transforming nature of urban phenomena in general, the continually evolving urban space economy, and the shifting influences, actors and

agencies that contribute to this transformation. At the same time, literature on planning also indicated an evolving understanding of spatial planning towards a growing appreciation of the increasingly complex systems that constitute 'space', and the fluidity of the context and environment within which planning operates (Healey, 2007).

Over time, the two disciplines have drawn together through the evolution of cross-disciplinary approaches that try to engage with the complexity and contingency of urban spatial and economic development issues from multiple perspectives (Madanipour, 2013; Terryn, Boelens, & Pisman, 2016). My work seeks to further support the emerging engagement across these literatures.

9.2.1 The Evolution of the Urban Space Economy

A definition for 'urban space economy' adopted for this research focused on the distribution of economic activity in space, taking into consideration how the spatial form of cities is structured by dynamic changes in economic activity' [as well as] how economic opportunities and constraints are [in turn] structured by spatial form, fabric, function (Gotz, 2016). The research drew from developments in the broader body of work on urban space economies which reaches from economic geography to spatial economics.

From these fields, there was an acknowledgement that traditional concepts of urban economic performance, activity, and transformation are continually developing, influenced by continued engagement with changing economic and spatial forms, and the underlying processes that contribute to this (Shearmur, 2016)

The main focus of the research was on how the spatial form of the two case study areas (and by extension, Johannesburg) has been structured and shaped by changes in economic activity, decisions of spatial planning, and other influences, and how economic opportunities in these areas have in turn been structured by the spatial form and functioning of these areas. Drawing from developments in theory which assert that urban areas are shaped by a broader range of forces beyond the 'economic', the research

appreciated the cumulative influence of social, political, spatial, and other environmental drivers.

Johannesburg's urban space economy developed and transformed in a variety of ways in the last century, illustrating both the spatial impacts of the region's changing economy, as well as the effects of changes within the socio-political environment within the country. At the metropolitan level, the region's economy transformed from a small town reliant mainly on mining and manufacturing activity; to a larger, polycentric metropolitan area driven largely by the services and tertiary economic sector. Through this economic transition, the town ascended into South Africa's leading economic engine, and a critical node in the global economic system.

The town's spatial development in this period was shaped by this transforming economy, and by other social, political, and spatial influences. Under a mining-led economy, Johannesburg's spatial form featured mining and related activities clustered around the town's original CBD, with mining activity extending along the reef to create a string of towns in the East and West of this node. Initial manufacturing activity also emerged around the mining areas, but would expand outwards as the town grew, and the region's economic base shifted towards manufacturing (Beavon, 2005).

Johannesburg's spatial growth was shaped by this changing economy, but was also influenced by an urban structure that emerged through residential development structured by colonial, apartheid, and more recently, post-apartheid planning, land use and spatial governance policies. The spatial trends established in the town's embryonic years have continued to structure the metropolitan region's development to date, and progressed through two key processes.

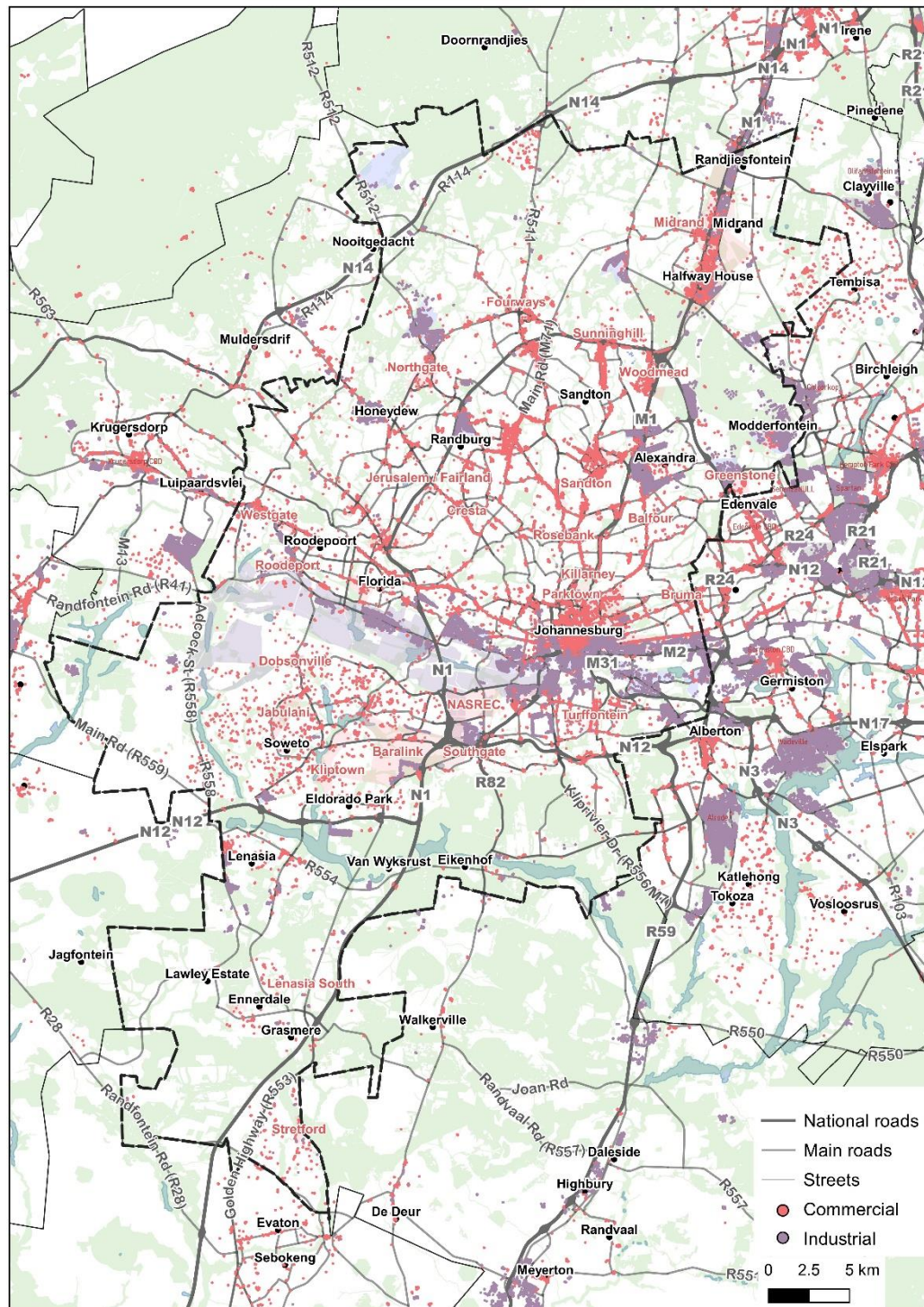
Areas to the North of Johannesburg initially formed as residential areas for the growing town's population, with northward decentralization emerging as early as the 1930s. Over time and with continued urbanization, commercial nodes formed in these areas, expanding and growing over time. In the 1980s, these nodes would transform and densify as corporate centers

attracting users relocating from Johannesburg's traditional CBD and through internal growth, thus creating, in the post-Apartheid era, a multinodal space economy for the metropolitan region.

Township areas were created to function as residential areas for Johannesburg's black African residents, with the most dominant cluster being located in what would later be dubbed 'Soweto', to the south of the city. The economic development of these spaces was, in contrast highly limited, as a result of restrictive Apartheid policies. As a result, these areas failed to develop any notable economic cores under Apartheid besides limited commercial and administrative activity and the informal sector.

Following the dismantling and collapse of the Apartheid era, commercial, corporate and other economic activity expanded gradually in these former township areas, though this activity is not yet comparable to the older and more established nodes in the North of Johannesburg. These two spatial trends have continued to structure the evolution of Johannesburg's multi-nodal urban space economy which, though markedly more diverse and complex, features a larger concentration of vibrant economic nodes and activity in the North, and in township areas, fewer nodes with lesser intensity of economic activity (Harrison, et al., 2014). This is illustrated in Figure 9.1 below.

Figure 9.1: Economic Activity in Johannesburg



Source: Author, 2019

The historical trajectory of the two case study areas was shaped by the broader social, spatial, historical, and administrative contexts within which they were established and developed.

Sandton's space economy developed in strong relation and linkage to Johannesburg, with the area initially serving predominantly residential functions. Once a separate municipality was created in the area in 1969, authorities formulated and implemented strategies for the town's spatial and economic trajectory, beginning with the creation of the new town's CBD.

The ability to deliberately determine the trajectory that Sandton would take – create the town from the ground up – was opportune in the case of Sandton, and allowed planners and administrators to design and communicate a vision for the area, and then pursue this vision. Sandton central started off as a civic and retail/commercial node and the new town's CBD in the 1970s-1980s, expanding mainly through increased development of commercial and corporate offices in the node. Over the following decades, the node would grow and transform in response to changing spatial demands influenced by broader transformations in the local, regional, national and global economies (Larsen, 2005; Beavon & Larsen, 2014).

Sandton central today is the second largest node in Johannesburg's polycentric metropolis, and is often touted as Johannesburg's 'new' CBD due to the agglomeration of commercial, corporate, financial, and retail firms in the area. The precinct forms a critical node in the metropolitan and regional space economy, with functional and transportation linkages to other nodes, locally and globally.

Present concerns regarding to planning for the node vary, ranging from high-level spatial development planning to enhance the form and functionality of the area as part of the broader metropolis (City of Johannesburg, 2016; City of Johannesburg, 2018); precinct planning to improve the node's form and functioning as a TOD (City of Johannesburg, 2007); and transport development planning for effective nodal functionality,

permeability, movement and efficiency (Johannesburg Roads Agency, 2015).

Nodes in townships and other marginalized areas developed along a different trajectory. The creation of townships was based on urban social and spatial policies based on colonial and later, apartheid approaches of racial segregation, and these spaces were then created to provide separate residential spaces for black African urban residents.

Present day Soweto started with the removal of black African residents from Brickfields (present day Newtown) following an outbreak of the Bubonic plague, and the relocation of these residents to Kliptown which was then outside the town's boundaries. Over the following decades, the region would grow mainly through the forceful removal and relocation of black African residents from areas legislated as 'white' into these township areas.

Soweto's form and functioning in the following decades was structured by a broad range of social, spatial and economic policies which sought to dictate and control the lives of black African residents in urban areas while also constraining any form of 'organic evolution' in the region (Venter, 1977). As a result, despite having been in existence for close to a century, Soweto had no dominant economic core or CBD by the close of Apartheid. Similarly, the region's urban space economy was restrained and limited – though not non-existent. Analyses of the space economy in the greater Soweto region in the late 1980s and 1990s highlighted the presence of economic activity in the area, mainly in the form of small-scale trading activity clustered around key nodes and activity-rich areas (Morris, 1980; DeMontille, 1990).

Johannesburg municipal authorities had demarcated a site in Jabulani in the 1960s on which they intended to establish a formal CBD, but the node had remained small, serving civic, administrative, and limited commercial functions during the Apartheid period.

As the Apartheid regime began to collapse as a result of internal civic-led resistance and external political and economic pressure, authorities at the national, regional, and local level formulated policies and programs to

integrate, transform, and revitalize townships. In Soweto, these processes sought to drive social, political and spatial transformation within the region, and revitalize the area's suppressed economies (Turok, 1994a).

At a national and metropolitan level, the periods of reform – progressing over nearly two decades – would include the systematic dismantling of Apartheid policies and systems of social, political and economic administration and transitioning into a post-Apartheid democratic dispensation. At the (Soweto) regional and nodal level, these reforms included the lifting of Apartheid restrictions on trading, investment and economic activity, physical upgrading and infrastructure investment, as well as stimulation of economies through local economic development policies (Rogerson, 2004).

A scan of investments in Soweto in the first two decades following the transition to a post-Apartheid democratic regime outlines considerable spatial transformation in the region (Harrison & Harrison, 2014). This transformation has occurred through public sector-led investment and upgrading, creation and development of nodes, large scale private sector investment in shopping centres and retail malls, and through growth of trading, services, and other formal and (less documented) informal activity.

Johannesburg's urban space economy today manifests in a polycentric form, with multiple nodes which present distinct characteristics, serving different functions. As Figure 9.1 above illustrates, Sandton central and Jabulani CBD represent two of these nodes, and are both considered 'principal metropolitan subcentres' in this polycentric space economy (City of Johannesburg, 2016). From a post-Apartheid perspective, the two nodes share certain similarities, but are also still markedly different.

Sandton central and Jabulani CBD are both nodes are connected to the City's core through roads and rail infrastructure, with integrated transportation networks linking the nodes to other nodes via rail and bus

infrastructure⁹². Both nodes are expected to serve commercial/corporate functions at different intensities, and operate as key transit-oriented precincts. As principal metropolitan sub-centres' both Sandton and Jabulani are recognized for having the potential to be secondary, mixed-use nodes, with high intensity and mix of land uses and diversified activity at the street-level. Spatial development aspirations therefore seek to enhance this functioning, promoting the highest mixes of land uses, and the development of commercial, residential, office, retail, and small scale uses (City of Johannesburg, 2016).

Both nodes however also have notable challenges in their adaptation and transformation. While, for example, the Sandton central node functions as an intensive commercial, corporate and retail district, it still faces traffic congestion as a result of the grid's original structure being unable to cater for the current intensity of use. Additionally, the node's 'mixed-use' functions have not fully materialized, which means, for example, that the node's usage is limited to daytime and working hours.

Similarly, the Jabulani node is yet to function fully as a commercial district, although considerable retail, shopping and community facilities have been installed in the precinct. The node also presents a greater mix of land-uses, though the presence of commercial facilities is still limited. Additionally, the node's location could hinder it from performing as a central, commercial node, even with increased levels of permeability and connectivity to the rest of the region.

These 'challenges' highlight the pressure created by path-dependent trajectories for both nodes, with historical decisions and actions continuing to structure possibilities for the nodes' development and performance. Plans and strategies for nodes' future development must acknowledge the bearing that their historical emergence and development has on their present state and on future possibilities. Soweto's 2008 Economic Development plan, for

⁹² Jabulani through Metrorail and the Inhlazane Train Station and Sandton through the Gautrain, which as a station in Sandton Central.

example, recognized the potential lingering impact of nearly a century of systematic underdevelopment in the region, proposing that dedicated capacity for reversing this trend was required:

[f]or about 100 years, there was just a systematic denial and no rigorous economic development interventions, it thus warrants serious consideration...that a dedicated economic development capacity in Soweto is established (City of Johannesburg, 2008, p. 66).

Actors and Agencies Shaping Transformation

Spatial development literature acknowledges the effect of past developments (and systems) on present and future trajectories (Assche, et al., n.d.; Vigar, 2008). This research confirmed these trends, highlighting different 'trajectories' in Johannesburg's varied sub-regions which experienced significantly varied spatial and economic histories.

The historical spatial and economic development paths for Sandton central and Jabulani CBD continue to shape their development today, creating both opportunities and challenges to their present and potential futures. The evolution of the two nodes explored in this research articulated the various influences that have affected development over the decades. Actors and agencies ranged from investment action from public and private sector developers, locational decisions of firms and individuals, and regional and local spatial, transportation, economic and other forms of planning and development aspirations.

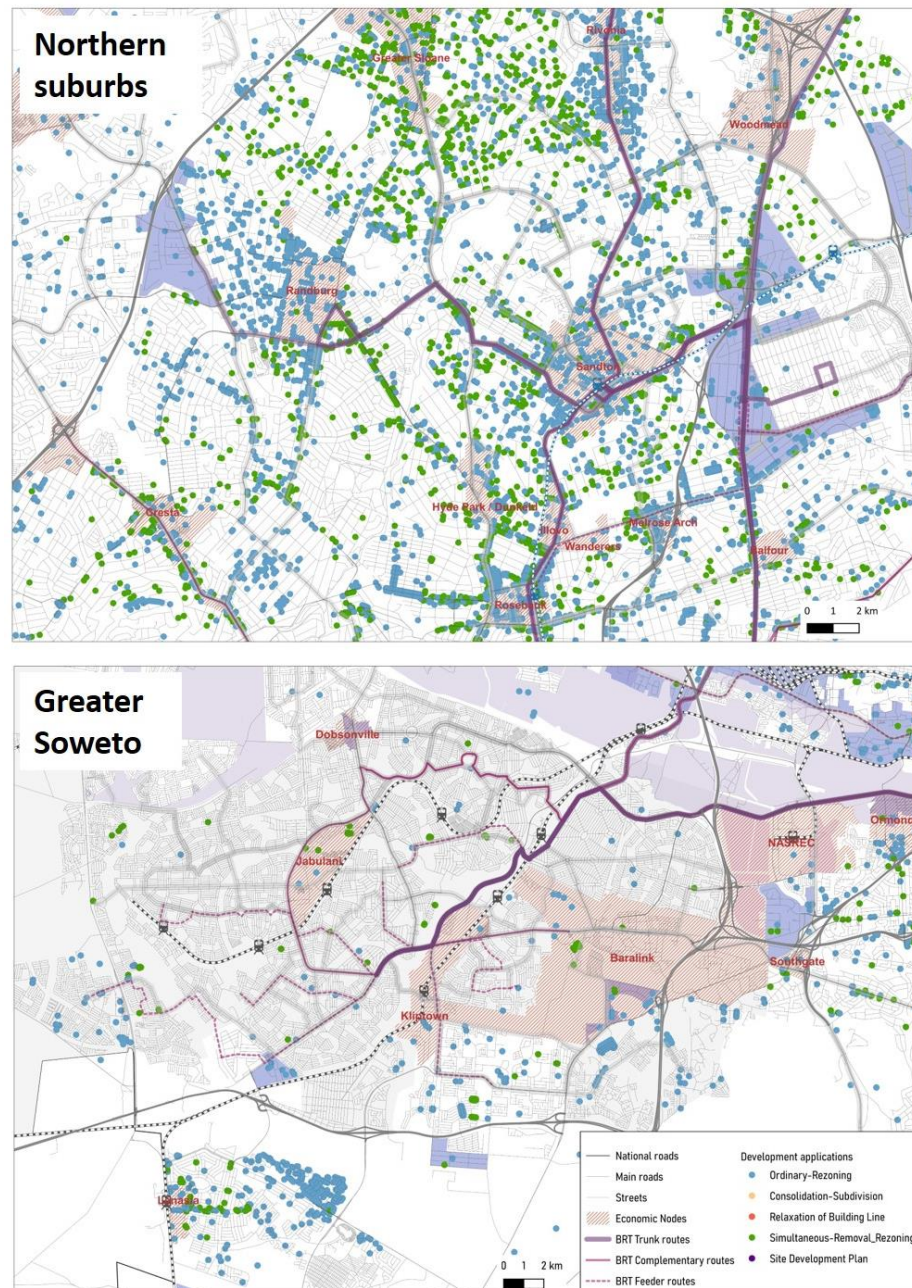
At a macro and metropolitan level, socio-spatial changes in Sandton central and Jabulani, and in the broader Johannesburg space economy, are reflective of shifts occurring globally, including the shift towards an increasingly globalized and interconnected economy driven by the tertiary services sectors. Spatially, this manifested most notably in Sandton central with continued demand for corporate office space in the node, and the rise of the district as Johannesburg's leading corporate and services sector node.

More locally, both Sandton central and Jabulani were affected by internal social, political, economic developments occurring within Johannesburg and South Africa. In Jabulani, development was more directly shaped by internal spatial and economic development policies and land use controls under Apartheid, which stunted the organic growth and development of the area for decades prior to the post-Apartheid transition in the 1990s. Jabulani's development has occurred more significantly in the post-Apartheid era, after 2006, following Johannesburg's transition into a metropolitan administrative, planning, and development coordination systems.

The Sandton node also continued to attract growth following this period, with the node's performance declining slightly in the immediate transitional period before improving post-2004. Development in the two nodes is however still markedly different, with Sandton and related northern Suburbs of Johannesburg experiencing more intensified development activity in comparison to Jabulani and the greater Soweto region, thus perpetuating existing spatial development trends.

The maps below present development intensity in the two case study areas as reflected by development applications received by the City of Johannesburg's land use planning department between 2000 and 2017. Each point represents a single application, and developments are not categorized in terms of land use, but in terms of the type of development being applied for. While this dataset doesn't capture the rate and pace of development occurring within the City, it nonetheless indicates a greater intensity development activity in the northern suburbs than in former Township areas. Figure 9.3

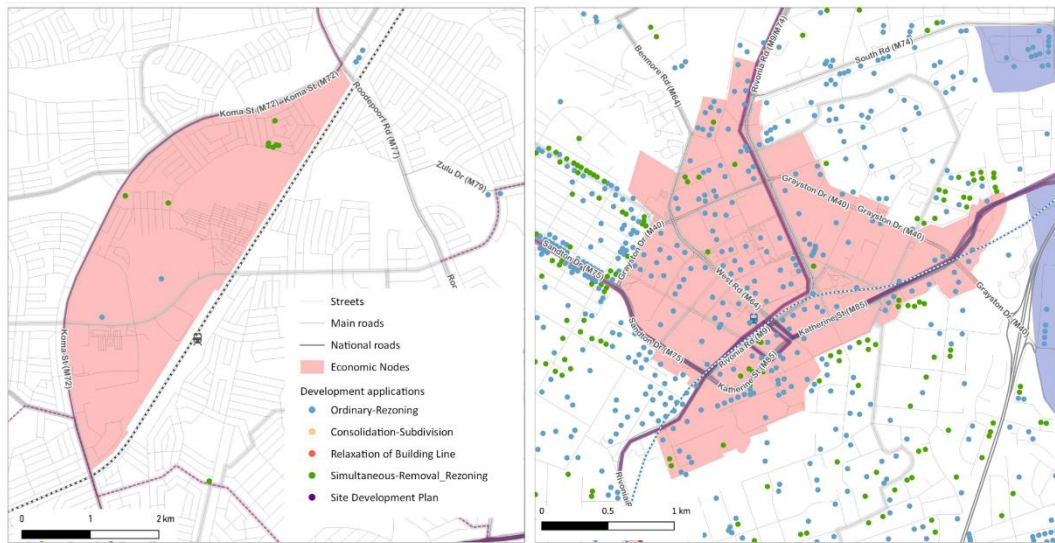
Figure 9.2: Development Applications in Johannesburg North vs. Greater Soweto: 2000-2017



Source: Author, 2019 with data from City of Johannesburg LIS⁹³

⁹³ Data on Township Application Systems was acquired from the City of Johannesburg's Land Use Information System (LIS) as of November 2017.

Figure 9.3: Development Applications in Jabulani and Sandton Central



Source: Author, 2019 with data from City of Johannesburg LIS

Despite considerable investment and transformation, the potential success of Jabulani as an economic node is therefore yet to be established. The node's location could prove to be disadvantageous, it neither functions as a central point, or as a linkage node within the region or metropolitan area. These factors, as the study uncovered, were critical influences for the location of Sandton CBD and initial investment in the Sandton City mall in the 1970s:

Because the shopping centre was located where it was, it would intercept cars... if you wanted to go to Rosebank, you'd first have to go to Sandton City. If you wanted to go to Joburg, downtown, you'd go past Sandton City. Because most of the population of Johannesburg Municipality was going Northwards, this was the interceptor position for the key alternatives (Interview with Keith Beavon, 05 April, 2017).

The location of Jabulani was within the Apartheid period, which explains why the node was placed at the 'centre' of Soweto which was then separated from Johannesburg. In the post-Apartheid era, a more logical node consolidated around Baralink, which served both as a transport hub, and also a linkage point between the greater Soweto region and

Johannesburg CBD. This has led authorities to propose that Jabulani's functions instead as a regional node, or a primary hub for the immediate surrounding region, as opposed to a critical metropolitan node (City of Johannesburg, 2016).

The development of the two nodes over time highlighted different 'actors' and 'agencies' over the node's various stages of growth. Critical roles played by Liberty Life and Rapp & Maister in kickstarting the growth of Sandton CBD in the 1970s were observed, as were the lobbying activities and aspirations of Black Business representatives and investors in Soweto and Jabulani in the 1980s. The outcomes of 'investment interest' in Soweto and Jabulani in the 1980s was however hampered by the delayed release of sites for development, and by the contested visions of overlapping administrations, which hampered the area's growth at the time.

While there was limited data to verify these claims, newspaper coverage of the issue pointed to limited capacity of local government, contradictory interests relating to development aspiration for the area in the declining years of apartheid. The fact, for example, that Soweto Councils were formulating plans for Jabulani at the same time as Johannesburg authorities were also attempting to create a node in Baralink caused contestation and conflict, though overall developments in the greater Soweto region would be stalled by continued socio-political tension in this period.

In the post-Apartheid period, new spaces created by 'private' sector actors are continuing to shape the two nodes' trajectories. Of note are the City Improvement Districts (CIDs) which comprise of legislated organizations formed voluntarily by property owners of an area, and mandated with the management and maintenance of said area. In Sandton, a collective CID (the Sandton Central Management District) formed in 2000, and presently brings together three CIDs. In Jabulani, there is no CID established as yet, although negotiations were underway to create a CID.

The prospects of creating a CID at Jabulani could be hampered by the fact that CIDs are no longer legislated entities but voluntary institutions. As a

result, property owners are not compelled to pay for extra services. Furthermore, CIDs are not popular in township areas. The establishment of a CID in Jabulani therefore needs a strategic and incremental approach. The process is currently underway, with technical guidance being provided by the Johannesburg Development Agency.

9.2.2 Spatial Planning as an Actor in the Urban Space Economy

This research viewed planning as the collective range of functions, decisions and systems that influence the spatial distribution of activities with the aim of balancing demands for present development with the need to protect the environment, and to achieve social and economic objectives (UNECE, 2008). It also drew from Healey's (2004) definition of strategic spatial planning, as

self-conscious collective efforts to re-imagine a city, urban region or wider territory and to translate the result into priorities for area investment, conservation measures, strategic infrastructure investments and principles of land use regulation (Healey, 2004, p. 46).

From these perspectives, it spread out the scope of planning and spatial governance beyond land use planning and management to incorporate strategic planning and visioning; economic planning and strategy making; as well as the coordination of public-sector investment in roads, infrastructure, sewerage, power, and other services to shape and create urban spaces.

From the literature, it is acknowledged that spatial planning represents just one of many domains of actors and agencies affecting urban space economies, and that the term 'spatial planning' itself encompassed a great diversity of actors and agencies undertaking many activities. Over time, however, even with shifting definitions and perceptions of planning, a normative expectation has remained on planning to shape, mediate, or regulate spatial outcomes (Sandercock, 2004). Where initially the planning role would have been seen as one of proactively guiding land use activities

through regulation or the application of technical methods and rationales to achieve predetermined goals, in more recent views, planning is expected to mediate diverse actors and interests (Masser, 1980) or play a facilitative role among actors (Faludi, 2000) in pursuit of strategic, negotiated, and evolving outcomes.

Increasingly, spatial planning is understood to exist within a contested reality. This stems from an awareness that spatial formation occurs within an environment rife with uncertainties that are beyond the control of planning, but that there is still need to make decisions for this uncertain future. Once more, planning is expected to play a proactive role in shaping these decisions (Terry, Boelens, & Pisman, 2016; Madanipour, 2013; Terry, Boelens, & Pisman, 2016).

In South Africa, spatial planning has, over the years, evolved as a result of shifting socio-political and administrative environments and, in line with global shifts, in an effort to better respond to changing spatial realities (Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2008). At the same time, post-Apartheid planning has been tasked with considerable responsibility to reverse the social, spatial, and economic environments that were created under Apartheid:

There can be little dispute about the damaging legacy of urban planning under apartheid in South Africa. Planning was an instrument of crude social engineering, causing great hardship and imposing an unnecessary burden on the economy. The imposition of racial segregation dislocated communities and entrenched inequality in the built environment, marginalizing much of the population. The state's hostility to black urbanization deprived the townships of essential services, housing and economic opportunities, and the fragmented, racially-based local government system proved flawed and unable to cope with the wide-ranging crisis that developed in the last decade (Turok, 1994a, p. 243).

In the past two decades, planning in South Africa has continued to transform and evolve in an attempt to better address the specific spatial realities in the country and in adherence to global best practices (Todes, 2014). From the literature and empirical work, it was evident that the systems of spatial planning and administration in Johannesburg have been changing and evolving, more notably in the post-Apartheid era with the creation of a unified metropolitan administration and continued streamlining of budgeting, spatial strategies and capital investment (City of Johannesburg, 2009; Ahmad & Pienaar, 2014).

Critique however continues to be levelled at planning, inquiring about its ability to effectively achieve goals of spatial (and economic) transformation in the country (National Planning Commission, 2012; Moodley, 2018). Planning in South Africa has also been critiqued for failing to drive a paradigm shift in the post-Apartheid dispensation. Post-Apartheid planning, as Shilongonyane (2014, p. 55) argues, remains rooted in instrumental and technical models, focused on western centric discourses, and is therefore unable to break past the coloniality of power, or cater for the different context and realities in the country. On the other hand, these perceived shortcomings have been attributed to unrealistic responsibilities and expectations placed on planning without consideration for the complex institutional, political, and operational frameworks that it operates in (Moodley, 2018).

The relationship between spatial planning and economic development functions in the country is complex. At an administrative level, spatial planning functions have developed separately from those concerned with economic development, with the space economy often not being an immediate concern for planning. The disconnect between spatial planning and economics, space economies or economic development has been highlighted in local and global literature although, as the SACN below observes, the gap is not caused by lack of knowledge between one field and the other, but a limited contemplation of the deeper implications and causalities emerging as a result:

It might be a truism to say that economic decisions at all scales have a spatial impact and that spatial location and spatial physical interventions have an economic impact but the implications and causalities of this statement have rarely been unpacked by and for planners, economists and state policy-makers (South African Cities Network, 2013, p. 5).

In exploring the influence of spatial planning on urban space economies, the research investigated the aspirations and actions of planning in shaping and communicating the vision for – and later, for facilitating the creation and development of urban space economies. It also inquired how these planning ‘decisions and actions’ had structured space in Johannesburg to either constrain, facilitate, or enhance economic opportunities in the case study areas. These activities were observed both for the case study areas, as well as within the framework of the metropolitan urban space economy.

Intents and aspirations of planning

One of the key goals of the research was to trace and investigate the intents and aspirations of planning, and observe how these were then translated into action. Two key issues emerged in attempting to track this. Firstly, spatial planning activities were spread across multiple actors and agencies, often with the spaces of public or private sector being difficult to isolate or distinguish. Additionally, the nodes developed over time in an adaptive format, with visions and aspirations expressed in one period shifting over time. While therefore plans (or proposals) were developed to express the ‘vision’ or aspiration for these nodes’ development, these intentions were more clearly observed retrospectively, as the nodes developed and matured.

For both Sandton and Jabulani, the intentions and aspirations discussed below have emerged incrementally, and through the actions of multiple and seemingly disconnected initiatives and projects. This is not however to say that disjunctures are still not present in the areas as these are still apparent.

While they currently bear a number of similarities as 'district nodes' in Johannesburg's metropolitan space economy, Sandton central and Jabulani have evolved along markedly different trajectories, with the intentions and aspirations for planning varying at different periods of the nodes' development.

Although it appears as having developed in a more linear trajectory, particularly if compared to nodes in township areas, Sandton central's development path was not always smooth. As articulated in earlier chapters, the nodes' resilience over the decades has been as a result of adaptive decisions undertaken by multiple actors in pursuit of different yet related interest over nearly five decades.

When the town was first established, aspirations of area planners and administrators were to establish and create a CBD for the new town. In this period, planning actions included articulating, holding, and sharing the vision for the node's development with local communities and other stakeholders. These processes relied strongly on 'soft' negotiating skills, strategic communication, and formal and informal processes being undertaken by a broad range of actors.

When the node formed and began to grow, planning actions included the more traditional tasks of development control and growth management, as well as land-use based incentives (parking and zoning) to attract development to the area. Planning and infrastructure development were also necessary to cater for the growing node, and if need be, relocation of excess growth to other nodes.

From the 2000s onwards, Sandton central had matured as a node, and here, additional roles emerged with property owners contributing towards maintaining and sustaining the node:

So, the property owners, in order to protect their very assets, which is the properties, said, "Look. Let's form this body where we look after our own, where we take responsibility and provide complementary and supplementary services."

So, we don't replace what the city does, we'll be doing top-up services (Interview with Elaine Jack, Area Manager, Sandton Central Management District, 2017).

In this phase, conventional planning functions have also continued to shape the node's development, through precinct planning, rezoning, densification plans, development planning as well as through transport planning and investment.

Within this phase of Sandton's development, a stronger collaboration is evident between the actions of all these actors, with planning and investment projects being undertaken in unison. Through the development of the Sandton Integrated Transport Master plan, for example, funding was provided by the SCMD, and the planning process involved the participation of city planning and transport agencies, area developers and property owners, as well as the node's users (Johannesburg Roads Agency, 2015).

Having been established in 'Apartheid controlled' Soweto – Jabulani CBD's first 40 years were marked by relatively sluggish growth, with the node mainly functioning as a civic node. Despite sharing intentions to create a 'CBD for Soweto', authorities in this period were unable to drive meaningful development in the node. Indeed, it was not until the late 2000s, nearly half a decade later, that a more comprehensive vision for the node began to emerge with investments in cultural, retail, commercial, and transit facilities.

The varied planning roles and actions that have created the node have been distributed across multiple agencies and departments, and also developed over time, building on upgrading efforts targeting the broader Soweto region. These actions included constructing and development of the various sites and facilities within the node, communicating the vision, development control and management, and the mobilization of actors to consider the sustainable development of the node in future. These roles, performed simultaneously, require a more coordinative and collaborative approach, though opposition to the node's emergence is less apparent.

Although Johannesburg's more recent metropolitan, regional, and nodal spatial plans articulate the diversity of nodes and the need to enhance their economic functioning and role in the metropolitan space economy, in the 2000s, there was a less direct link between spatial and economic strategies, particularly in the case of regenerating Soweto.

Soweto's development in the post-Apartheid era progressed through two processes. On one hand, there was economic planning and strategy making that can be traced from the Department of Economic Developments' initiatives at Economic Area Analysis, the development of the Soweto Investment Framework and Retail Strategies, culminating in the 2008 5-year economic plan for Soweto (City of Johannesburg, 2008). On the other hand, were processes of spatial upgrading, revitalization and land-use planning, best exemplified by the 2008 Integrated Strategic Framework and the Regional Spatial Development Frameworks which, as part of Johannesburg's broader spatial development framework, outline spatial and land-use development aspirations for the region.

These spatial planning aspirations and those of economic strategy making were not necessarily discordant. Rather, they lacked strong links and coherence, implying that proposals and synergies proposed in one space would not be reflected in other sectoral plans or strategies.

As an example, the 2008 economic plan produced for Soweto identified the need for targeted capacity to reverse the region's underdevelopment created through decades of Apartheid and colonial policies. The plan proposed the creation of 'an *Economic Development Support Programme*' to provide this capacity (City of Johannesburg, 2008, p. 66). The proposed Economic Development Support Programme was expected to undertake a mix of economic, facilitation, capacity building, and area marketing functions including: managing township local economic development, coordinating funding and financing, marketing and attraction, establishing and developing small businesses, capacity building and workforce development.

To date, this regional program has not been established, though various initiatives have been put in place to improve small business, attract tourism and investment, as well as develop local entrepreneurial capacity in the greater Soweto region.

The redevelopment of Jabulani in the past decade has therefore occurred mainly through physical spatial investments, and there was no evidence that the transformation of the Jabulani CBD is occurring within an economic development framework that was proposed in the 2008 economic plan for Soweto (City of Johannesburg, 2008).

The research was not able to meticulously connect the ‘coarse-grain’ proposals for economic development outlined in the 2008 economic development strategy with the ‘fine-grain’ spatial interventions that would then be undertaken in the node in the following years⁹⁴. This could signify a missing implementation link between high-level spatial and economic visions for the node and ground-level investment, development and mobilization efforts.

Through continued development and investments in the past decade, Jabulani is shaping to become a mixed-use, transit-oriented, cultural precinct. This represents a consolidation of multiple visions and aspirations for the region over the decades through plans, public and private sector developments and investments.

More recently, there is an initiative from the Johannesburg Development Agency to mobilize property owners and stakeholders to develop a Business Improvement District (BID) in the node. However, unlike Sandton central’s development trajectory which was spread out over nearly half a century, with ideas about the area evolving, being negotiated and adjusted gradually as the node grew, in Jabulani, these actions appear to be occurring within a more contracted period of time.

⁹⁴ Due to time and resource limitations, I was not able to conduct interviews with Economic Development Planners for the greater Soweto Region to trace implementation of the 2008 Economic Plan for Soweto.

This has been beneficial, for instance, by allowing the co-creation of strategic solutions for the node's future development trajectory and sustainability, through the BID process. At the same time, however, the fact that the CID/BID formed in Jabulani is being implemented from the top-down, and as part of the precinct plan process and not emerging voluntarily or organically, could be of concern.

The synchronization of public sector investments in Jabulani through the City of Johannesburg's Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP) process represents a critical shift in planning intent and visioning for the node. These are channelling investments closer to precinct plan aspirations, though much of this development is still underway. A more difficult 'link' to establish at this time is the implementation of economic development aspirations for the area and region to ensure that once the node is constructed and completed, it can serve some of these envisioned functions.

In both Sandton central and Jabulani therefore, visions for the areas' developments are cohering, with envisioned aspirations for the nodes consolidating over time. There are however many disjunctures still apparent in the nodes' development. In both nodes, these reflect disconnection and delayed action between metropolitan planning and visioning – for instance, to achieve higher densities, intensified and mixed-use developments or public transport integration – and the on-the-ground realization of these intentions. This is evident in both Sandton central and Jabulani, although the two issues have manifested differently.

In the case of Sandton central, while goals to achieve densification and public transport integration in the node have and are being achieved, those of transforming the area into a mixed-use, mixed-income node have been harder to achieve. Corporate, shopping and commercial activity is still dominant in the area, with fewer mixed-income residential developments. Additionally, ideas about sustainability, functionality, resilience,

permeability, and integrated mobility throughout the node are also concerns for users and municipal planners.

In the case of Jabulani, municipal aspirations to prepare and package sites for development in the 1980s stalled for various reasons, and developers were unable to invest in the node. In the post-Apartheid era, these developments were made possible when the Johannesburg Property Company released land for development. Area developers however still noted that additional functions required to prepare the sites for development – for instance, changing the zoning and development permissions to allow for mixed-use and high-density developments, were yet to be undertaken.

In 2018, the process of consolidating Johannesburg's land use scheme has been concluded, inefficiencies identified by developers in Jabulani as a result of outdated township planning legislation have been changed. The scheme also makes provision for Special Development Zones (SDZ) which, as articulated earlier, would create spaces for proactively preparing and fast-track development in identified strategic and priority areas (City of Johannesburg, 2018).

Spaces, Roles, and Actions of Planning

In tracking the growth and development of SCMD and Jabulani, the research identified a continued presence of spatial planning, though this manifested in different forms, occupying multiple spaces and undertaking diverse roles.

The most dominant planning agency in both nodes was observed at the local government level, though this function transitioned and evolved with changing socio-political contexts. For Jabulani CBD, local administration was first under the Johannesburg Municipality under Apartheid and then this role shifted to Soweto Municipality under the supervision of the West Rand Administration Board. Later, the area was managed under Johannesburg's transitional metropolitan structures, prior to being incorporated into Johannesburg's Region D, as part of Johannesburg's metropolitan municipal structures.

Sandton CBD was established to function as the commercial district of the newly established Sandton Town Council in the 1970s. The Sandton Town Council had a planning department which functioned with oversight from Transvaal Provincial Administration's planning systems. When Johannesburg and South Africa transitioned into a post-Apartheid regime, Sandton and other towns around Johannesburg were absorbed into Johannesburg's transitional metropolitan structures, and then as part of Region B.

By tracing the shifting roles of planning as the two nodes developed, the research also highlighted the multiple and interlinked roles that constituted 'spatial planning' and the multiple actors that then undertake these functions. At one level, these could be distinguished as public sector planning, which including activities of municipal, metropolitan, provincial, and national government and related agencies; and private sector led investment and planning action, represented mainly through the investment choices of individuals, firms, and developers.

Planning actions identified included metropolitan strategic planning, region-level planning and land use management, land-use and development control, among others. Additional spaces and functions were identified in departments and agencies including: the Johannesburg Property Company, the Johannesburg Development Agency, transportation planning, and economic development planning. Through Gauteng Province, regional spatial and strategic planning, and transportation and regional infrastructure planning and investment have also been instrumental. Similarly, in the post-Apartheid regime, the involvement of National Treasury through the Neighborhood Development Partnership Program and related urban and infrastructure development grants was observed.

At the granular level, however, these roles and functions were not easily distinguishable over a node's development trajectory as often, the actions of what is traditionally understood as 'public-sector' and 'private-sector' were intertwined. A focus on the cumulative role of all these actions

underscored the fact that spatial planning has played an integral role in shaping areas' development.

In both Sandton central and Jabulani in Soweto, the actions of planning included acquisition of land and preparation for the creation of a commercial node, though in the case of Jabulani, these plans had to be implemented amid broader land use systems and policies controlling township development under Apartheid.

Spaces within which this planning manifested included regional planning and administration – through local municipal authorities with supervision from Transvaal Provincial Administration in the case of Sandton, and in the case of Soweto, with a heavier presence of national government through the National Departments of Administration, Community Development to mention but a few. Provincial transportation planning for the development of highways enhanced linkage at a regional level, and was also credited for (later) restructuring the regional urban space by recentering nodes such as Sandton CBD.

When the nodes were established, planning actions included identifying and demarcating land for the nodes' development, articulating the development trajectory of the nodes and in the case of Sandton, 'communicating' this vision to residents and area stakeholders, and collaborating with private sector developers to consolidate investments around which the node would grow. In the case of Jabulani, initial investment in the node was mainly in public sector facilities, with the development of the Civic Centre, the Fire Station, and the Police Station.

In Sandton, the task of 'communicating the vision' and cumulatively guiding investment actions to achieve it could be considered an action of planning and was undertaken collectively by area planners, administrators, and politicians. At the beginning, however, this vision was not collectively shared by all stakeholders. The conflict that arose in Sandton was mediated through the Transvaal Province Townships Planning Board, which then

constituted another space through which the area's development trajectory was determined.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Sandton CBD continued to grow, with planning functions ranging from management of the node's growth and development through the provision of incentives to developers and investors, to continued proactive marketing of the node by the Council and through the action of agencies like the Sandton Management Committee and the Sandton Promotion and Development Association (PROD). Over the years, however, the Sandton CBD outgrew initial plans, and this then required new planning functions, including the formulation of plans to redirect excessive growth to alternative nodes.

As South Africa's apartheid administration headed towards collapse in the late 1980s and early 1990s, developments in Sandton and Jabulani progressed along different trajectories. In Sandton central, this period is marked as one of growth, as corporate and commercial users vacated the CBD in favour of nodes in the North.

In black African townships like Soweto, this period was recorded as one of considerable flux, as communities increased their opposition against the Apartheid regime. In an attempt to introduce reforms and loosen restrictions, local administrations were established for Soweto under the oversight of the West Rand Administration Board, and national government authorities. Efforts by these local administrations to formulate strategies for township spatial and economic development through the development of the Greater Soweto Guide plan represented continued conceptualization and visioning for the region's spatial development and internal economic nodes. These aspirations were however stalled by persistent local opposition, by insufficient resources to achieve development goals, and by the broader processes of socio-economic and political change.

Following this guide plan process, area investors, no longer hampered by Apartheid legislation from investing in Soweto, also attempted to acquire

sites in Jabulani for development. Plans and investment efforts by developers in this node were not successful at the time.

In the 1990s, Johannesburg's metropolitan administration was consolidated into a single unified system, with key actions including the mediation of emerging challenges and conflicts as actors and stakeholders charted the node's future trajectory. In the 2000s, planning functions ranged from regional planning and investment towards upgrading and nodal revitalization, plans and initiatives and investments for the revitalization of nodes from a variety of sectors and agencies, and economic planning and strategy making for the broader regional space economy. Public transport planning and investment was also critical, alongside the planning and development of malls and retail facilities by private investors.

In the post-2010 era, both Sandton central and Jabulani CBD are still growing, with varying levels of investment and development occurring. In both nodes, concerns have shifted towards multi-actor urban management and coordination for the creation of vibrant, densified, mixed-use, integrated precincts. Considerable investment has also been put in both nodes, aiming to transition the precincts into TOD nodes as part of the City of Johannesburg's integrated public transport network.

Here, varying roles have been played by different agencies, depending on node, and depending on the key task being undertaken. While in Sandton, a more established SCMD appears to be playing a stronger leadership role in steering precinct development, in Jabulani, varying public sector agencies have played different roles at different times, including the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC), the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), City of Johannesburg's Planning Departments, and the consortium of area developers and investors represented in the Jabulani Development Company.

9.3 Reflections on Planning Theory

The study's intent was to explore the influence of spatial planning on urban space economies using selected case study nodes in Johannesburg. While

discourse on urban spatial and economic development appreciates the role of cities as 'drivers of economic development, and of wealth and employment creation', seeking to increase their capacity to create 'decent jobs' and livelihoods (UN-HABITAT, 2012), the disconnect between economic aspirations and spatial planning and development aspirations remains. This has been attributed to weak linkages between economic development plan(ning) and spatial plan(ing) as relates to stimulating growth at the local level (Nahavandi, 2013).

In South Africa there exists continued engagement on the power and efficacy of spatial planning to deliver post-Apartheid spatial transformation goals, including the revitalization of township economies. Often, arguments are presented that spatial planning is failing to deliver on this mandate, though Moodley (2018) has argued that this view also fails to acknowledge the broader contextual environment within which planning operates.

The research illustrated continued efforts at national, regional, metropolitan and precinct-level spatial planning and development with the aim of creating vibrant and effective nodes functioning as part of a broader integrated metropolitan and regional space economy. These efforts have also been faced with considerable challenge, as was presented in previous chapters. The research highlighted a number of insights which could be used to inform theory, as discussed below.

In the original hypothesis, I had proposed that spatial planning was playing a significant role in shaping urban space economies, and that this role was diverse, complex, and varied depending on context. In cases like Sandton central in the north of Johannesburg, where market forces were playing a more dominant role in shaping the urban space economy and therefore planning appeared passive or subservient to these forces, I proposed instead that planning had played a facilitative role, exhibiting strategic understanding of ongoing market dynamics. On the other hand, the hand of spatial planning and related public sector action might appear obvious and direct in the case of township nodes like Jabulani in Soweto, but in essence,

this role was subdued, with planning playing a lesser role to other actors and agencies. The conclusion to this hypothesis was that it was this complex and varying role of spatial planning that made it elusive, necessitating a flexible evaluation strategy.

A granular look at development and investment in the two nodes however presented a difficulty of attributing specific outcomes to specific 'actors'; and the complexity of neatly separating private sector action from public sector action. By extension, the isolation of the specific role and influence of planning turned out to be a more complex and ambiguous task than originally anticipated, as public and private sector plans, intentions and actions are deeply intertwined, and this makes it impossible to make a distinctive argument about the respective role of public or private sector actors.

Nevertheless, the research showed some notable roles that were played by these actors. In Sandton central, investment actions by private sector played a key role, but the node's emergence and development trajectory were made possible through preparatory action from area planners and administrators, strategic coordination between public and private sector, and through negotiation and mediation amongst competing visions for the area. Additionally, the present success of the Sandton central node was not linear, as the node went through ebbs and dips, with action from various actors required to stem the node's decline, and to channel required investment into the precinct.

In Jabulani CBD (and Soweto) more concerted public sector action was presented, starting with initial aspirations by the Johannesburg municipality to create a CBD in the Soweto region under Apartheid, and in following decades, efforts by various administrations to stimulate the development of the CBD at the node. In the post-Apartheid era, a more active role emerged from multiple state agencies investing in the upgrading, improvement and economic revitalization of Soweto. Although these actions were disjointed and uncoordinated, over time, they have manifested in a more coherent

manner, with multiple plans, processes and investments adapting and accommodating each other and cumulatively driving the spatial and economic revitalization of the node.

Additional spaces and roles emerged from the collective actions and investments in transport, infrastructure, and private sector development, leading to the gradual transformation of both nodes into what they are today. The two nodes' current development is therefore the result of the cumulative and combined outcomes of multiple plans, investments, and processes undertaken by diverse actors and agencies spanning what is traditionally considered 'public' and 'private' sectors.

Presently, the two nodes are seen as 'district nodes' in Johannesburg's multinodal urban space economy. In reality Sandton central and Jabulani CBD could not be more different. Although both nodes have been in existence for nearly half a century, Sandton central and Jabulani developed along different historical realities, and their present manifestation (and development trajectories) are still strongly structured by these histories.

Plans for the areas' development have attempted to cater to this difference, linking precinct-level developments to a broader spatial vision, pointing to an appreciation of the atypical nature of spaces that planning seeks to transform, and the need for adaptive plan-making and implementation depending on local context. As the two precincts developed over time, planning action took different forms, and was driven by diverse agencies, applying a 'range of tools, techniques and instruments' as articulated in literature (UNECE, 2008).

In theory and analysis, this link between the coarse grain and fine grain approaches of planning is necessary, observing the intersection between the two. Additionally, a multi-scalar perspective is required, and one that appreciates both vertical and horizontal integration of actions, but also the adaptive synchronization of various initiatives and processes over time.

The research therefore offers a critique of the original intent of the research but also a methodological reflection on the difficulty of isolating factors,

roles, intentions and influences on the transforming urban space economy, and on the role of spatial planning as a specific actor within this space.

From one perspective, this points to the complex and diverse nature of urban development that is already acknowledged in literature, and of the diverse and intertwined, range of functions that comprise 'planning action' (Healey, 2007). This study presented some of this complexity and diversity using the historical exploration of the case study areas' evolution, outlining the multiple actors, interests, aspirations and actions that shape an area's development, and the frequently uncoordinated nature of these aspirations.

Planning literature and theory also acknowledges uncertainty as a permanent feature of any society's development, articulating the need for resilience and sustainability thinking. The research identified and depicted this, highlighting the multi-faceted nature and presentation of uncertainty along the historical trajectory of a node. While uncertainty is often presented (and discussed) as a potential detriment to aspirations of planning, in the Sandton case study, this presented differently:

What nobody took into account was that the Johannesburg C.B.D. would decline the way that it did. Our idea was that our centre would become a healthy satellite to Johannesburg C.B.D., not that it should undermine it. We wanted to limit its size and we wanted to retain within it a strong residential component (Bristow, 2000).

The research affirmed these perspectives, using the case studies' historical evolution, and their present development trajectories to highlight the lingering complexity and uncertainty.

Even if the focus is narrowed to understanding practice, planning practice itself evades a coherent theoretical framework. The boundary between planners and related professionals...is not sharp: planners do not just plan, and non-planners also plan. Is planning theory about what planning professionals do or how places develop, regardless of who is doing the planning? (Fainstein & DeFilippis, 2016, p. 13).

9.4 Gaps in the Research

The research presented, through two case studies, the complex and multiple spaces represented by 'spatial planning' and on the cumulative influence of these actions, decisions and processes on the transforming urban space economies. In undertaking the research in two case studies, however, it was difficult to present the historical, administrative and evolution of systems of spatial governance and planning in sufficient detail.

One of the opportunities for further research is an even more granular tracing of the transitioning functions of planning and spatial governance within the State to articulate in more detail how spatial outcomes are negotiated and transformed from vision to ground manifestation. This could offer empirical evidence for a richer discussion on the efficacy of planning and for applying grounded case study data in theory formation. This would also contribute to the ongoing discussion on the position, influence and efficacy of spatial planning to current needs, both within South Africa's post-Apartheid regime, and at a more general global scale.

The research also highlighted a disconnect between (regional) economic strategy making and spatial and precinct plans and developments. This was more visible in the case of Jabulani and the broader Soweto region in this research, but could be true of other marginalized urban spaces.

A deeper engagement with this proposition, focusing on the internal, institutional and department coordination as relates to spatial governance, or through longitudinal observation of specific regeneration efforts could contribute to this issue, and validate these claims. This is particularly necessary in continued discourse on the potential of spatial planning to achieve spatial transformation in South Africa and other emerging economies.

The alleged connection between physical and spatial upgrading and transformation – for instance in the scale achieved in Soweto – and the 'revitalization' of local economies could not be measured in this study. While a number of case studies exist on post-Apartheid investment in the region,

it is still unclear whether this spatial and socio-economic transformation has stimulated increased economic activity, an expansion of small and informal economies, or even increased private-sector investment (with the exception of large-scale retail malls). This empirical research could enable stronger discourse on township economies.

A next stage for this research would be to unpack the development of a node at a more intricate, granular level. This would allow the application of ethnographic methods to investigate the activities of planners and other critical spatial actors in coordinating investment and development in the node, an exploration of their activities, how various actors relate with each other through the node's evolution and development.

9.5 Conclusion

The research began with an exploratory attempt to trace the influence of planning, focusing on the development of urban space economies. The case studies portrayed a more entangled, interlinked, relational reality in transforming urban space economies, with the function of 'spatial planning' appearing more diverse and fluid than was initially anticipated. The study however demonstrated multiple roles and spaces of planning in the development of the nodes, with more strategic coordination and coherence emerging over time as diverse plans, processes and actions accommodated each other.

The research therefore proposed a shift in focus, from one that privileges individual roles and actors, including planning. Instead, it recommends an approach that pays closer attention to the processes of development and the relational and adaptive approaches undertaken by multiple actors as they adapt to new realities.

This shift in focus would allow a more nuanced appreciation of the complexity of urban evolution, the various assemblages of actors, agencies and processes involved in area development, their respective and entangled aspirations, roles, and actions; as well as a closer observation of

the spaces through which competing visions are mediated, and disjunctures identified and resolved.

This would illuminate spaces for action and intervention for spatial planning which presently seeks to coordinate aspirations, actions, decisions, and investments; mediate among competing and contradictory visions, or facilitate the process of collaborative co-production among multiple actors.

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11 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of Interviewees and Discussants

NAME	POSITION	AGENCY
Ayanda Ngcobo	Senior Specialist: City Transformation and Spatial Planning	City of Johannesburg Department of Development Planning
Mbalenhle Chemane	Senior Specialist: City Transformation and Spatial Planning	City of Johannesburg Department of Development Planning
Thabang Sithole	Senior Specialist: City Transformation and Spatial Planning	City of Johannesburg Department of Development Planning
Inneke de Villiers - Engelbrecht	Deputy Director - Area Based Management Region E	City of Johannesburg Department of Development Planning
Lisa Seftel	Executive Director	City of Johannesburg Department of Transport
Philisiwe Mambo	Deputy Director: Transport Planning and Policy	City of Johannesburg Department of Transport
Lwazi Sikiti	Project Manager, Region D	Johannesburg Development Agency
Sharon Lewis	Former Technical Advisor	Government Technical Advisory Centre (GTAC)
Jacob Rambuda	Senior Manager: Spatial Development and Planning	Gautrain Management Agency
Whisky Mavoni	Senior Manager: Spatial Development and Planning	Gautrain Management Agency
Elaine Jack	CID Manager for Sandton Central	Urban Genesis
Brian Unsted	Asset Management Executive	Liberty Life/Two Degrees Properties
Pierre Swanepoel	Director	StudioMAS architects & Urban designers
Wikus Lategaan	Group Managing Director	Calgro M3 Holdings Ltd
Ineke Richter	Senior Town Planner	Calgro M3 Holdings Ltd

Urvash Kisoorn-Singh	Property Development: Commercial and Financial Director	Calgro M3 Holdings Ltd
Keith Sidney Beavon, PhD	Author, Historian on Johannesburg and Sandton	
Prof. Alan Mabin	Emeritus Professor at University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg	University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Deon Viljoen	Fmr. CEO - Johannesburg Tourism Company, Sandton Convention Centre	
Tori Anderson	Director at ToriTait Limited NZ	
Li Pernegger	Former Programme Manager, City of Johannesburg Department of Economic Development; Former Chief Director: NDP Unit, National Treasury	
John Spiropoulos	John Spiropoulos and Associates	
Roland Hunter	Fmr. Executive Director: Finance and Economic Development, City of Johannesburg	
Alan Dinnie	Fmr. Senior Manager Property Development, City of Johannesburg Property Company	
Glynn Davies	Fmr. Senior Policy Analyst, Development Bank of Southern Africa	

Appendix 2: Discussion Guides

Researcher: Miriam M. Maina

Research Title: Influence of Spatial Planning on Urban Space Economies: Two Case Studies from Johannesburg, South Africa

DISCUSSION GUIDES

- A. Officials of the City of Johannesburg (Spatial Planners, Strategic Planners, Transport Planners)**
- B. Property Development Actors**
- C. Architects, Urban Designers, Professional Town Planners**
- D. Urban Historians and other Expert Respondents**
- E. Area Based Management Firms (Sandton Central Management District)**
- F. Users/Tenants in the Node(s)**

A - INTERVIEW/DISCUSSION GUIDE CITY OFFICIALS

Spatial & Economic development of the node.

In the first section, we will be discussing the node's development in the past few decades, and some of the key turning points or critical moments in this spatial development.

How has the node developed in the Post-Apartheid era?

What are some of the critical moments you can identify as turning points in the area? Why?

- Key property development and investments
- Key infrastructure developments and investments
- Other spatial developments and changes.

Actors and influences in the node's development

A second aim of this research is to identify the various actors and agencies that have been seminal or influential in shaping the development of the node's urban space economy, and how these actors and agencies relate

with each other, with various forms of state-led planning initiatives, and with the area's development.

Who were the main actors driving this evolution in the past two decades?

How, in your opinion, did they contribute, or drive this development? (give as much detail as necessary).

Actions and Roles of spatial planning in shaping the node

Last but not least, the study attempts to track, alongside the development of the area, the context and spaces within which spatial planning was operating, and how it might have played a (passive or an active) role in shaping this development.

What, in your opinion, has been the involvement of spatial planning – from the City, Province, National Government, or Private sector – in shaping the node?

How has the City's strategic planning department interacted with (or actively shaped) the Node's development?

How has the City's planning/transport department interacted with other actors and drivers during the node's growth and development?

B - INTERVIEW/DISCUSSION GUIDE PROPERTY DEVELOPERS

Background to your organization, and an overview of projects/spatial investments in the Area

Could you provide a brief background to your organization?

What has been your history and engagement in development in Johannesburg, and in the Case Study Area?

Spatial & Economic development of the node.

In this section, we shall be discussing how the node has been developing over time.

How, in your perspective, has the node been developing in the last few decades?

What are some of the critical moments you can identify as turning points in the area? Why?

- Key property development and investments
- Key infrastructure developments and investments
- Other spatial developments and changes.

Actors and influences in the node's development

Last but not least, the study attempts to track, alongside the development of the area, the context and spaces within which spatial planning was operating, and how it might have played a (passive or an active) role in shaping this development.

Who were the main actors driving this evolution in the past two decades?

Which actors in particular stand out in this process?

How did they contribute, in your opinion? (give as much detail as necessary).

Role of spatial planning in shaping the node

What, in your opinion, has been the involvement of spatial planning – from the City, Province, National Government, or Private sector – in shaping the node?

C - INTERVIEW/DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR ARCHITECTS/URBAN DESIGNERS/ PLANNERS

Brief background on spatial development of the node, and some of the key critical moments in the growth of the node.

How has the node developed in the Post-Apartheid era?

What are some of the critical moments you can identify as turning points in the area? Why?

- Key property development and investments
- Key infrastructure developments and investments
- Other spatial developments and changes.

Actors and influences in the node's development

Who have been the main actors driving this evolution in the past two decades?

How, in your opinion, did they contribute, or drive this development? (give as much detail as necessary).

Planning and design projects in and around the Node

What has been the history of your firm within this Node, and what is your experience in the planning and development of the node?

In planning, what have been some of the changes in planning for the node that you have witnessed, experienced, or championed? Why?

Engagement with spatial planning actors and institutions i.e. from the City, Province, National Government, or Private sector – in shaping the node?

How has the City's strategic planning department interacted with (or actively shaped) the Node's development?

How has the City's planning department interacted with other actors and drivers during the node's growth and development?

D - INTERVIEW/DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR HISTORIANS AND OTHER EXPERTS

Tracking the evolution of the case study node.

In the first section, we will be discussing the node's development in the past few decades, and some of the key turning points or critical moments in this spatial development.

- *How, in your opinion, has the node developed in the last two or three decades?*
- *What have been the critical moments or turning points in the node's evolution over the years?*
- *What were/are the key developments in the critical moments?*

Actors and Agencies driving the node's development

A second aim of this research is to identify the various actors and agencies that have been seminal or influential in shaping the development of the node's urban space economy, and how these actors and agencies relate with each other, with various forms of state-led planning initiatives, and with the historical evolution of the area.

- *What, in your opinion, have been the various actors, agencies or institutions that have been notable in driving patterns of transformation in Sandton Central over time?*
- *Elaborate on specific cases or scenarios where necessary.*

Influence of spatial planning on the Node

Last but not least, the study attempts to track, alongside the development of the area, the context and spaces within which spatial planning was operating, and how it might have played a (passive or an active) role in shaping this development.

- *How would you characterize or identify 'spatial planning' as regards the development of urban space economies?*
- *What, in your opinion, are the spaces and roles within which spatial planning on any level (or planning in any form) operated over the node's evolution?*
- *Has this (or any other) role been changing over time?*
- *What, in your opinion, were some of the notable shifts in the spaces and context of spatial planning over the node's evolution? Give examples.*
- *How would you characterize the relationship(s) between 'spatial planning' and other actors in the development of the node?*

E - INTERVIEW/DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR AREA BASED MANAGEMENT FIRMS

Spatial & Economic development of the node.

How has the node developed in the Post-Apartheid era?

What are some of the critical moments you can identify as turning points in the area? Why?

- Key property development and investments
- Key infrastructure developments and investments
- Other spatial developments and changes.

Actors and influences in the node's development

Who were the main actors driving this evolution in the past two decades?

Which actors in particular stand out in this process?

How did they contribute, in your opinion? (give as much detail as necessary).

Role of spatial planning in shaping the node

What, in your opinion, has been the involvement of spatial planning – from the City, Province, National Government, or Private sector – in shaping the node?

F - INTERVIEW/DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR TENANTS AND USERS OF THE NODE

Background to your organization, and how long you have been a user/tenant in the node.

Could you provide a brief background to your organization?

What has been your history and engagement in the node?

Spatial & Economic development of the node.

How, in your perspective, has the node been changing last few decades?

What are some of the critical moments you can identify as turning points in the area? Why?

- Key property development and investments
- Key infrastructure developments and investments
- Other spatial developments and changes.

How has this affected your experience as a user, or the experience of your users?

Actors and influences in the node's development

Who, in your opinion, have been the actors driving the changes in the node?

Which actors in particular stand out in this process, and how did they contribute, in your opinion? (give as much detail as necessary).

Role of spatial planning in shaping the node

What, in your opinion, has been the involvement of spatial planning – from the City, Province, National Government, or Private sector – in shaping the node?

Appendix 2: Ethics Clearance



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Maina

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: H17/07/12

PROJECT TITLE

Influence of spatial planning on urban space economies: Two case studies of Johannesburg, South Africa

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Miss M Maina

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

School of Architecture and Planning/

DATE CONSIDERED

21 July 2017

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved

EXPIRY DATE

06 December 2020

DATE

07 December 2017

CHAIRPERSON


(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Professors' P Harrison and A Todes

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature _____

Date _____

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix 3: City of Johannesburg research authorization



a world class African city

City of Johannesburg
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Group Strategy, Policy Coordination and Relations
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University of Witwatersrand
Email: binti.m@gmail.com
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11 October 2017

Subject: PhD Research on the Influence of Spatial Planning on Urban Space Economies

Dear Ms Maina,

Thank you for approaching City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, Gauteng, with regard to your request to undertake a PhD research on *the Influence of Spatial Planning on Urban Space Economies: Two Case Studies from Johannesburg*.

We are pleased to know that City of Johannesburg has been selected as one of the focus research areas (specifically Sandton Central in Region E and Soweto in Region D). As stated by you, your research is aimed to gain a better understanding of the forces and actors that shape urban spatial development.

We are very hopeful that the research would equally provide useful findings and insights for the City of Johannesburg as your focus is aligned to the city's 2040 Growth and Development long-term Strategy as well as the city's 2016 – 2021 Integrated Development Programme Priorities.

The City of Johannesburg does not have any objection and hereby gives consent to do your research work with focus on relevant departments / divisions of City of Johannesburg providing service delivery to citizens/ business / other entities. The COJ will provide necessary support in terms of facilitating any relevant information with regard to conduct of interviews and questionnaire survey at the identified department/ divisions/ directorates in consultation with COJ as useful to your research work.

We wish you best of luck in your PhD completion and looking forward to receiving copy of the report.

Thank you

Pakiso Harvey Phalatse, APR
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Group Strategy, Policy Coordination & Relations Department
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