

# TOWNSHIP RENEWAL INK CASE STUDY





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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# TOWNSHIP REPLANNING: THE CASE OF INK

## BACKGROUND

The townships of Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) are about 25km north of the Durban city centre. The area covers 9 340ha of land, and is home to about 580 000 people (18 per cent of Durban's population) in 115 136 households.

INK has one of the largest concentrations of low-income households in South Africa. Almost 77 per cent of households earn less than R1 600 per month, only 27 per cent of residents are employed and about 43 per cent of the people do not have formal houses. INK comprises 18 wards and is managed as a single entity by the eThekweni Municipality.

## ORIGINS OF THE TOWN CENTRE PROJECT

- Inanda was established in the 19th century as a 'reserve' for Africans. There was a substantial Indian population until 1936, when the area was designated for exclusive occupation by Africans. Inanda accounts for 50 per cent of INK's population.
- KwaMashu was an R293 township<sup>2</sup> of the former KwaZulu Bantustan. It was established in the period 1955–1966 to house Africans forcibly removed from Cato Manor (Umkhumbane). About a

Figure 1:



third of INK's population (32 per cent) lives in KwaMashu.

- Ntuzuma was built in the 1970s by the Durban local authority as a planned African township. It was developed incrementally, with different service levels and tenure arrangements in each section. Ntuzuma accounts for 18 per cent of INK's population. All

three of the constituent parts of INK experienced high levels of political violence during the 1980s.

The KwaMashu Town Centre (KMTC) project began in 1999.

## ORIGINS OF THE INK PROJECT

In the mid-1990s a number of smaller local councils in the greater Durban area were amalgamated into a single metropolitan municipality, and the city was expanded to incorporate a number of townships. Because the political violence of the 1980s had been more intense in INK than in townships to the south of the city, it was relatively less developed. The KwaMashu Town Centre (KMTC) project began in 1999 as a node for economic development in INK.

In 2001, national government launched the flagship Urban Renewal Programme (URP) to address infrastructure deficiencies and declining economies in areas characterised by widespread poverty and neglect. INK is one of eight targeted 'poverty nodes' in former townships of South Africa's six metropolitan

municipalities. The programme is scheduled to run for 10 years, after which support for township renewal is expected to have been fully integrated into government work.<sup>1</sup>

In 2003, the eThekweni Municipality launched the area-based management (ABM) development programme. Because municipalities tend to be organised along line functions, such as roads and electricity, departments are inclined to work in their own 'silos', disconnected from the work of other departments. The ABM programme is intended to test area-based integrated and coordinated approaches to municipal planning and delivery in five areas of the metro, one of which is INK.<sup>2</sup>

INK is therefore both a URP node and an ABM learning area. It falls under an area manager, who is accountable to the

municipal manager and the city's head of development planning and management. KMTC is one of five anchor projects within the INK urban renewal/ABM programme.

## CONTEXT

### Population

INK is an urban, predominantly residential area, with a population density of 6 325 people/km<sup>2</sup>. About 95 per cent of residents speak Zulu as a first language. An estimated 70 per cent of the population is under the age of 35 years.

### Employment and income

Only 27 per cent of residents are employed, with 40 per cent recorded as 'unemployed', and another 33 per cent as 'not economically active'. Only 8 per cent of people are self-employed. Nearly 77 per cent of residents earn less than R1 600 per month (compared to 56 per cent of people in eThekweni as a whole) and 75 per cent of area households have an income below R9 600 per year. Seventy percent of employed residents are employed outside INK. One third of INK's employed residents work in the Durban city centre.

<sup>1</sup> The key goals of the various URP nodes are to attract, prioritise and integrate investment/effort; mobilise local partnerships; deepen democratic participation in city life; and develop or test new approaches for subsequent broad-scale application.

<sup>2</sup> The other four are Cato Manor ABM, iTRUMP [Inner Thekweni Regeneration and Urban Management Programme], Rural ABM and South Durban Basin ABM.

## Housing

Overall, 60 per cent of INK's housing is formal, but this is unevenly spread – 90 per cent of KwaMashu's housing is formal and 60 per cent of Ntuzuma's housing is formal, but only half of Inanda's housing is formal. The terrain is hilly, and there are few tracts of open land.

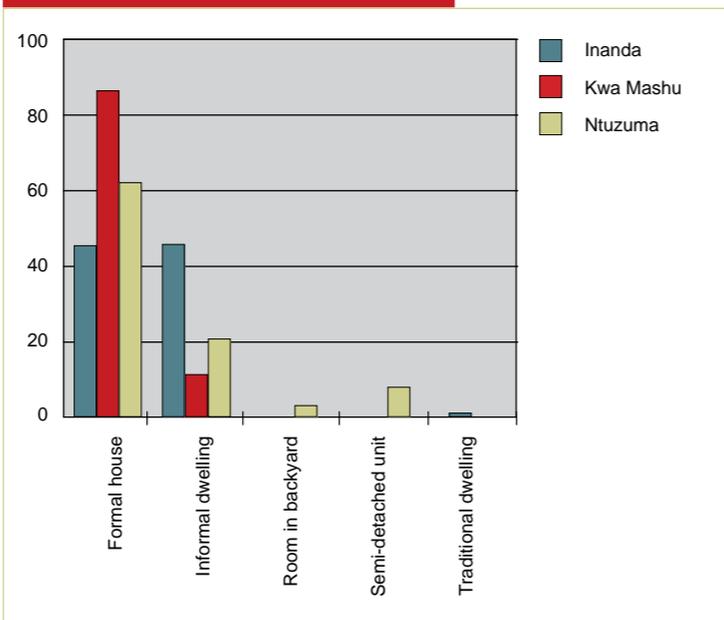
## Shopping patterns

Thirty-one per cent of INK's residents shop in the Durban city centre, 26 per cent in KwaMashu town centre, and 16 per cent in Dube Village mall. The entire INK area has access to KMTC by public transport, mainly minibus taxis.

## Transportation

The main transport hub is KwaMashu (bus, taxi and end-of-line rail). Road and rail links to the Durban city centre are good, but travel within INK is difficult and expensive, and it is difficult for residents to travel to the rapidly developing northern parts of the city such as Gateway and Riverhorse Valley. Seventy-seven per cent of INK's population use public transport. The breakdown by preferred mode of transport is: minibus taxis 58 per cent; buses 17 per cent; private

Figure 2: INK dwelling types



cars 13 per cent; walking 10 per cent; and train 2 per cent.

## Basic services

Some 67 per cent of households have no telephone lines, 26 per cent are without

electricity, 30 per cent are without piped water and 2 per cent have no waste removal services.

## Education

More than 12 per cent of INK's population has had no schooling, 7 per cent have completed primary school only, 26 per cent have matric and higher qualifications, and only about 4 per cent have a tertiary qualification. There were no tertiary education facilities in INK in 2005. The lack of tertiary-level English instruction limits employment opportunities in Durban's formal economy.

## Health

There are 26 clinics and one hospital in INK. Per capita health expenditure is R179 a year, the number of patients per nurse per day is 32.4, and HIV prevalence is 39 per cent.

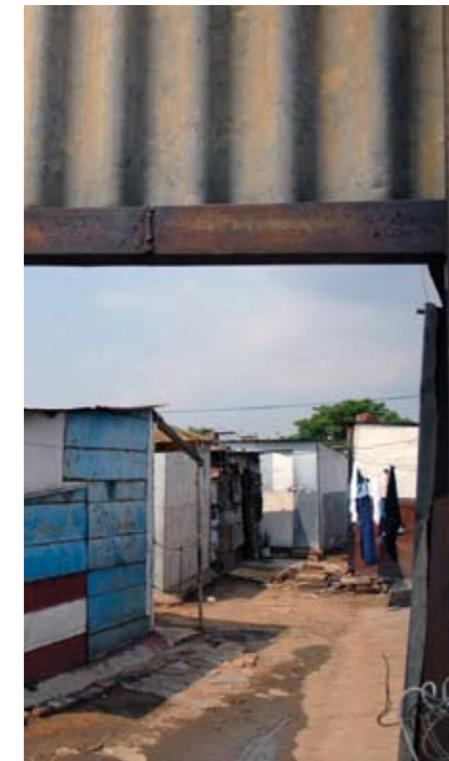
## PROBLEM STATEMENT

At the time of project inception, INK was characterised by very high rates of unemployment, poverty and crime; low levels of formal education; a lack of adequate housing and basic services;<sup>3</sup>

low levels of access to public services; a lack of public space and recreation opportunities; and high levels of environmental degradation and pollution.

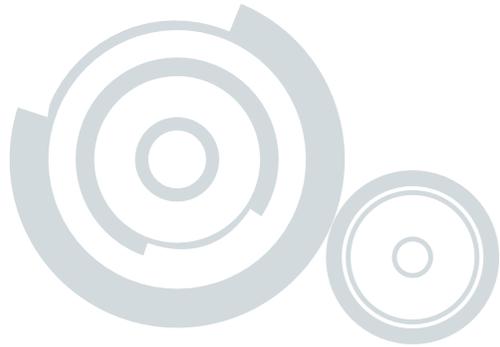
## Township-city scale problems

- In line with apartheid spatial planning, INK was placed at the periphery of the city.
- INK was fragmented and isolated. This was partly due to topographical factors – the Umgeni River Valley and hilly terrain exacerbated by an extensive 'buffer zone' of green space separating INK from other neighbourhoods and nodes.
- There were no high-order economic activities within or near INK.<sup>4</sup> The consequence was a focus on the Durban city centre.
- There was little development at transport interchanges.
- The public transport system was fragmented and uncoordinated.



<sup>3</sup> Factors complicating basic service provision are the hilly topography, which makes the provision of bulk infrastructure expensive and technically complicated, and the fact that some places are not densely settled, making the cost per household prohibitively expensive.

<sup>4</sup> KwaMashu town centre is the biggest node within INK.



- The flow of public transport was predominantly unidirectional – from INK to the Durban city centre and back.<sup>5</sup>
- There was a lack of public transport links to emerging nodes in the northern part of the city, i.e. Gateway shopping centre and Riverhorse Valley business park.
- The public transport capacity that did exist was underutilised: capacity is 30 000 commuters per day, but only 15 000 make use of the system.
- There were operational problems related to safety and cost.

#### Intra-township level problems

- Movement by public transport within INK was difficult and expensive – it was easier to get to the city centre than to many places within INK.
- There was a limited range of economic and employment opportunities within INK. Many convenience and neighbourhood stores were destroyed in the political violence of the 1980s.

<sup>5</sup> KwaMashu is an end-of the line station, and 2 per cent of commuters use rail.

<sup>6</sup> One reason for this pattern is space left over after planning, e.g. where space has been left at a school site for a playing field, but the playing field has never been established or has not been maintained. Many of the housing estates built under the post-1994 government's social housing programme suffer from the same problem.

- There was little clustering of facilities and public space.
- Public spaces tended to be unsafe.
- Much of INK's formal housing coupled a low-density build form with overcrowding<sup>6</sup>, although there were exceptions, such as the upgrading of hostels into family units in KwaMashu.
- There was little sense of neighbourhood pride and little 'sense of place'.
- Many residents moved to Durban as soon as they could afford to do so because it provided access to better housing, employment, recreation and education opportunities – and because it was safer to live in the suburbs.

#### INTERVENTION LOGIC

The INK ABM/URP programme aims to integrate, coordinate and align service delivery to improve the quality of life of residents, and to enhance residents' ability to take charge of their own lives. It specifies four impact areas aligned with the URP implementation framework: integrated governance, living environment improvements, income enhancement and infrastructure investment. The infrastructure investment aims to:

- improve the delivery of community facilities;
- maintain existing infrastructure; manage informal trade;
- enhance road and pedestrian safety through physical works and education;
- address service backlogs; support crime prevention through appropriate infrastructure design;
- implement the municipal land-use management programme;
- attract investment through integrated spatial planning supported by local area plans and precinct plans;
- and develop and implement an environmental land use and transport management system.

The key planned physical infrastructure interventions to deal with the township-city scale problems listed above were:

- to integrate INK into the mainstream of Durban's economic activity, notably by providing more direct links with new high-order nodes to the north of the city.
- to improve transport networks
- to reduce the isolating effect of green buffer zones and physical barriers around INK

- to highlight INK as a place of unique interest through the establishment of the Inanda Heritage Route.

The key interventions aimed at dealing with intra-township level problems were:

- to establish a hierarchy of nodes within INK, linked by corridors to one another and to higher-order nodes to the north of the city
- to retain a mix of income groups

- by providing a range of housing, recreational and employment opportunities, and by improving schools
  - to improve intra-INK mobility by upgrading the road network in the area
  - to make various improvements at neighbourhood/local centre level.
- Five anchor projects were planned: the KwaMashu Town Centre Redevelopment Project; the P577 transport route; the Inanda Heritage Trail; the Safer Cities programme; and the Bridge City node.

Figure 3: Spatial planning tools

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION	Long-term Development Framework	
	Integrated Development Plan	
	Spatial Development Framework	Corporate/Multi-sectoral strategic approach and intentions eThekweni municipal-wide
	Spatial Development Plan	Strategic/Multi-sectoral planning guidance for functional regions 10 - 20 year timeframe
	Local Area Plan	Development guidance for geographically specific districts or precincts 3 - 10 year timeframe
	Precinct/Special Area Plans	Development guidance for geographically specific districts or precincts 3 - 10 year timeframe
	Land Use Schemes	Environmental and built form guidance for geographic specific areas 1 - 5 year timeframe
		CORPORATE STRATEGY / POLICY - IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

## CITY-SCALE SPATIAL PLANNING CONTEXT

Plans to develop a system of nodes and corridors within INK, to eliminate buffer zones, to improve transport networks, to improve services, and to more fully integrate the area into the metro fall within a broader set of municipal spatial planning tools. A key focus area of the eThekweni municipality's integrated development plan is to implement a sustainable and integrated spatial planning system. This system targets the development of a compact city with an urban core, and the maintenance of an urban edge to curb urban sprawl, promote compaction and encourage public transport. City-wide spatial planning involves a hierarchy of plans (Figure 3).

INK falls within the urban edge as shown in Figure 4. The city has expressed a clear intention to prioritise the development of infrastructure within the urban edge, and has undertaken to maintain the edge in its current position for 5-10 years. The city has identified the R102 investment corridor on the north coast in response to private-sector development needs, with

Umhlanga as a major high-order node. It has undertaken to support a high-priority public transport network along this corridor, and to support densification to increase the viability of this network.

The eThekweni spatial development framework identifies KwaMashu Town Centre and Bridge City as secondary nodes that provide social support and opportunity for private investment. Given its status as one of five ABM areas in the city, and its proximity to Umhlanga and the northern development corridor, the further integration of INK into greater Durban is a feature of the metro's northern spatial plan. Figures 5 and 6 provide a notional idea of what future transport links through and near INK might look like.

## RESULTS

### Improving linkages and public transport

The P577 (a provincial road) is being extended to link INK to Pinetown and Germany in the west. In the long term, the P577 will link Pinetown with the new airport via INK. The completion of Nandi Drive means INK residents now have a more direct link with the N2, the northern part

Figure 5: Current situation - 2009



Figure 6: Possible regional links through INK



of the city centre and North Coast Road. There is no direct link with Gateway.

Internal roads have also been improved. Mandela Road, the main access road to KwaMashu, was upgraded. Ubhejane Road was extended to the Bridge City site and a bridge is being built to complete the link.

The railway is being extended to Bridge City, and a new multimodal transport interchange is being built on that site. A new taxi rank was built at Emtshebheni and a new rank is planned for Dube Village.

## Establishing a hierarchy of nodes

Urban nodes are discrete centres of compact, mixed-use (residential, commercial and institutional) development which serve the surrounding areas and which are accessible by public transport links and road networks. The notion of a hierarchy of nodes is based on the idea that public investment and policy can be used to support the emergence of a small number of high-order nodes, a larger number of mid-level nodes, and a large number of neighbourhood nodes, equitably spread throughout the city. The Durban city centre is the highest order node in the metropolitan area, and secondary emerging nodes include Bridge City and Umhlanga. When the KMTC project started, it was intended to be a mid-level node which would serve the entire INK area. However, the Bridge City development is on such a scale that it is likely to become the primary node for INK. Nodes like KwaNozaza are on the neighbourhood scale.

### KwaMashu Town Centre<sup>7</sup>

The project to develop KwaMashu Town Centre started in 1999. The location had

<sup>7</sup> The KMTC project is the subject of a separate case study in this volume.

Figure 7: 1957 KMTC plan

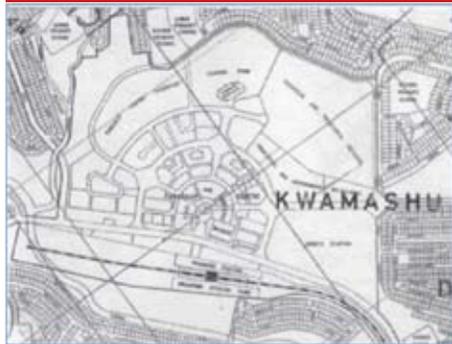


Figure 8: KMTC in 1999



two key advantages: it was already a busy transportation hub, and it had a large area of vacant undeveloped land under state ownership.

Although the KwaMashu Town Centre was included in the original 1957 plan, there was no town planning scheme in place to allow for private-sector development. Also, the land tenure system did not allow for private ownership of land.<sup>8</sup>

In 2003 an application was made under

<sup>8</sup> Some 25 per cent of land was held in terms of deeds of grant, which are the equivalent of long-term leases.

the Development Facilitation Act to put in place a town planning layout for the town centre, together with zoning and development regulations, as the basis of a new general plan and the sale of land with full freehold title. A parallel tenure upgrading process was undertaken to survey the land on the original town plan, consolidate certain parcels and subdivide others, and register the land in the deeds registry so that it could be bought and sold. Development guidelines and precinct plans were developed for four zones: mixed-use business; mixed-use residential; sport, recreation and leisure; and commercial and light industrial.

Positive results include the following:

- Infrastructure and engineering services have been upgraded (R58 million).
- A planning framework and zoning and regulatory frameworks have been put in place.
- A number of important road links to other economic centres and to railway stations have been upgraded. These include the upgrading of Mandela Rd – the main

Figure 9: KMTC development plan



- access road to KwaMashu; the extension of Bhejane Rd to link KwaMashu to the Bridge City site; the upgrading of Undlondlo Rd to provide access to Princess Magogo Stadium; and the building of internal service roads and pedestrian walkways.
- 6ha of prime housing land is ready to be sold and developed.
- A metro police station has been built and brought into operation (R13.5 million).
- A community court has been established at KwaMashu police station.

Figure 10: KMTC in 2007



- A provincial department of health 'mega-clinic' is under construction (R80 million).
- A high-grade shopping centre has been built and is trading successfully, and this has catalysed a host of economic development benefits (R75 million).
- Three municipality-led small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) projects have been planned and are under way.
- Major sport and recreation facilities have been planned and are under construction.
- A regional municipal service centre has been established.

- A solid waste recycling centre has been established.
- The National Treasury has allocated a Neighbourhood Partnership Development grant of R62 million to the project.

Areas of uncertainty are the following:

- The mixed-use development model remains untested in the local market.
- The long-term sustainability of municipal facilities is uncertain – maintenance, management and enforcement are problematic.
- Few local traders are on an upward entrepreneurial trajectory.
- Development processes are open to political manipulation, regardless of how good the technical work may be.

KMTC is INK's main economic hub and the key transport node for the area. Most formal retail activity inside INK happens here. Although 31 per cent of INK residents prefer to do their shopping in Durban city centre, KMTC follows closely behind at 26 per cent, with Dube Village attracting 16 per cent of shoppers.



Figure 11: Artist's impression of Bridge City



Figure 12: Bridge City precinct plan



**Bridge City**

Bridge City is a major public-private partnership between the eThekweni Municipality and Tongaat Hulett. It is sited on 60ha of land between Phoenix and Inanda. Bridge City is planned as a mixed-use regional centre that will, on completion, house a 40 000m<sup>2</sup> shopping centre (in the first phase); about 4 500 sectional title apartments; a 450 bed provincial hospital; a regional magistrates' court; a regional services hub; an end-of-the line railway station; a municipal intermodal transport facility (bus and

taxi); and 250 000m<sup>2</sup> of business space aimed at the commercial market as well as at SMMEs. It has been estimated that investment will total R5 billion when the project is complete in 10 years. The centre is expected to create 25 000 permanent jobs, 27 500 temporary construction jobs, and 10 400 secondary construction and services jobs.

The shopping centre and municipal bus and taxi rank are due to be opened in October 2009. Construction of the railway station is nearly complete and the railway service is expected to start in December 2011.

**OTHER NODES AND CORRIDORS WITHIN INK**

In addition to KwaMashu and Bridge City, a number of smaller nodes have been planned in line with the integrated INK development framework. These are: Emtshebheni; Dube Village; KwaNozaza; Lindelani; P577 and Ntuzuma Main Road; and Nandi Drive. The corridors identified for attention are Ubhejane Road (which was extended by 2km to link it to Bridge City) and the upgrading of Mandela Road (the main access road to KwaMashu).

The inception report, sector studies, development perspectives, assessment reports, development framework and urban design plans have been completed. Discussions are under way with the provincial authorities regarding the possible upgrading of the P138, and the improvement of the MR93 (KwaMashu Highway) link with the city centre.

An economic sector report by Urban-Econ suggests that a hierarchy of shopping centres will emerge (Figure 15).

Dube Village shopping centre was built as a private-sector initiative and succeeds in drawing the custom of 16 per cent of INK's residents. It is located along the KwaMashu Highway opposite the Gandhi settlement. A taxi rank is planned, and with it the possibility for increased informal trading.

**Emtshebheni**

Emtshebheni is located where the MR93 becomes the P138 on privately owned land. It serves as a transportation hub for areas such as Umzinyathi, Inanda Dam, and some parts of Ndwedwe. This node has the potential to develop into a town

Figure 13: INK development framework

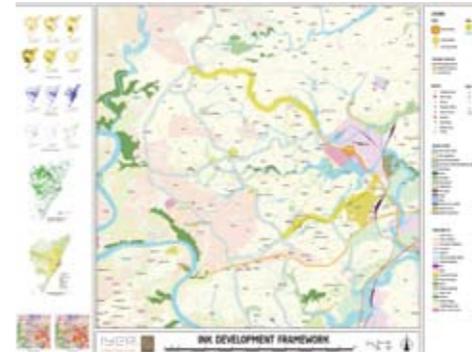
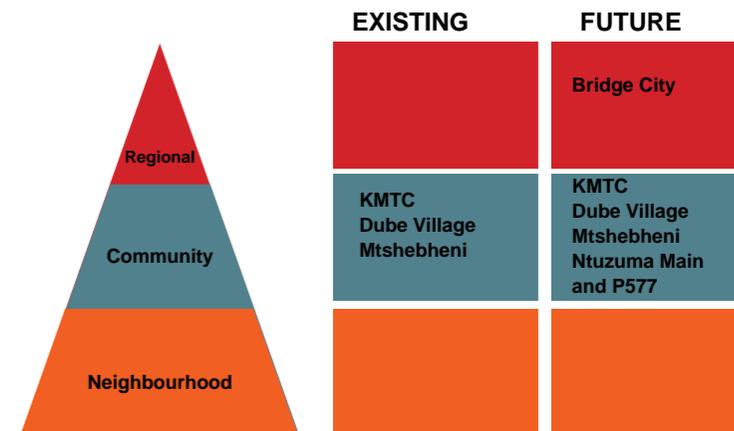


Figure 14: INK nodes and corridors



Figure 15: INK shopping centre hierarchy



## DUBE VILLAGE (BHAMBHAYI)

Figure 16: Dube Village



Figure 17: Dube Village form response



centre for Inanda. A R6 million taxi rank has been built on the site in conjunction with the national and provincial transport departments. The rank includes storage facilities for informal traders.

### KwaNozaza

This node is located in Ntuzuma at the centre of INK along Ithendele Road. The KwaNozaza nodal framework plan and urban design comprises four zones:

1. A commercial hub, which includes a taxi rank, a fuel service station, a works storage site, a teachers' centre and

vacant municipal land with potential for retail development.

2. An institutional hub, which includes a library, a community hall, a clinic and a church.
3. An educational hub, including schools and an FET college.
4. An office hub, which includes a school and the offices of the former township administrators, which could be used for another purpose.

### Lindelani

Major roads at this node are uXamu,



Dukuza and Ntuzuma Main. The main activities in the area include Lindelani Fire Station, Lindelani Taxi Association, The old Sunflower Projects facility, informal tuck shops and a taxi rank. The area is not intensely developed and there are opportunities for further development.

### P577 & Ntuzuma Main

This is an important link to Lindelani and to Durban through Newlands West. The P577 and Ntuzuma Main road intersection will come into its own once the proposed link road to Pinetown is constructed. Eventually this road is likely to run all the way from Pinetown through to the proposed Dube Trade Port and new airport.

### Nandi Drive

This node is at the intersection between Nandi Drive and the P577. Nandi Drive Arterial provides a better link with the northern part of the city centre, but there is a danger that as a node it may compete with the P577 & Ntuzuma Main node.

## EMTSHEBHENI

Figure 18: Emtshebheni node



Figure 19: Emtshebheni form response



## KWANOZAZA

Figure 20: KwaNozaza



Figure 21: KwaNozaza form response



## LINDELANI

Figure 22: Lindelani



Figure 23: Lindelani form response



### Ubhejane Corridor

This 1.8km stretch of road spans the Plesangs River and links KMTC to the Bridge City site and Phoenix Industrial Park. Its importance will grow when Bridge City opens.

### Malanda Corridor

Malanda Road provides access to KwaMashu town centre from Newlands via the new P577. Since its widening to facilitate the development of the shopping centre, there has been an increase in traffic along this route. There is likely to be a further increase in traffic once the P577 link to Pinetown and New Germany is completed.

### MR 93 and P138 corridor/ Inanda Heritage Route

This corridor runs around the outer periphery of INK, linking all the routes except KMTC and KwaNozaza. It is also a tourism route referred to as Inanda Heritage route, going through Gandhi settlement through to Ohlange Institute, Inanda Seminary School and the Shembe church.

## P577 & NTUZUMA MAIN

Figure 24: P577 & Ntuzuma Main



Figure 25: P577 & Ntuzuma Main form response



## NANDI DRIVE

Figure 26: Nandi Drive



Figure 27: Nandi Drive form response



## UBHEJANE CORRIDOR

Figure 28: Ubhejane Corridor



## NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRES

Neighbourhood centres are the most low-level nodes. Newtown A is one such node in Inanda. It has a small taxi rank and business area at neighbourhood scale. Many business facilities were burnt down during the violence of the 1980s. In addition, large rates arrears on many of these properties are a constraint to these businesses reopening. Work is being done to resolve the rates issue.

The following example highlights the type of challenges that may be confronted. In 2008, some youths approached the ABM office with a business idea: they wanted to start washing cars but there were no business premises available. So the INK office helped them to enter into six-year lease agreements with the owners of derelict buildings that could not be used for other purposes. Because building owners were in municipal arrears, their water supply had been cut off. Discussions with the water department are proceeding.

A number of infrastructural improvements have been introduced at local level. These include construction of sidewalks, pedestrian access projects, recreation facilities (including swimming pools) and the upgrading of existing passive green space. A rubbish removal service has been introduced for all households, with the exception of some informal settlements where the gaps between shacks are too narrow for a truck to pass through. In those cases, the municipality has provided a skip that is emptied regularly. Street lighting has been installed in many places. Poles

Figure 29: Ubhejane Corridor form response



have been installed for a closed-circuit television monitoring system linked to the South African Police Service. The next phase is to install fibre-optic cables to link the monitoring infrastructure. Public space improvements, such as landscaping, are continuing.

National government seconded an official from the Department of Water and Environmental Affairs to the INK office to work on environmental improvement projects. Some communities have organised themselves into teams to clean up public open spaces in exchange for a public works stipend.

The Department of Communications established an information and communications technology laboratory in Inanda. There are two radio stations in INK.

Steps have been taken to encourage events to be held in local facilities. The municipality has organised events such as the SMME Fair at the John Dube Stadium. To encourage the use

#### MALANDELA CORRIDOR

Figure 30: Mandela Road Phase 3



Figure 31: Mandela Road Phase 4



of community halls, the first three hours are free.

#### PROVIDING A RANGE OF HOUSING OPTIONS

Apart from hostel redevelopment in KwaMashu (turning men-only hostels into family units), much of the residential development of KwaMashu and Ntuzuma consists of two and four-roomed standard township houses. Residential infill development consists substantially of freestanding 30m<sup>2</sup> subsidised housing units or freestanding developer-built middle-income housing units. There is no higher-density or mixed-use residential development.

Some significant housing projects are, however, planned or underway in the INK area. Some 7 404 units will be built over the next five years. This does not include the 4 500 upmarket housing units that are planned as part of the Bridge City development.

Steps are being taken around the various nodes to increase housing density with the introduction of multi-storey buildings,

and mixed-use business and residential developments, such as 6ha of land that was packaged for development in KMTC. About 9ha of land has been identified in KwaNozaza for mixed commercial and social housing.

#### LESSONS LEARNT

A number of key lessons about mobilising and focusing capital investment can be drawn from the INK experience.

**Look for linkages:** While project planning is important, it is also important to look for the ways in which projects are linked and how they can reinforce one another.

**Deal with land issues:** Because the legal situation concerning land in INK is complicated, land issues need to be investigated and addressed early to avoid later delays.

**Take careful account of stakeholder interests:** The complex relationship between traditional leaders, elected councillors and the Ingonyama Trust must be carefully negotiated when managing projects in the INK area.<sup>9</sup> Ward committee



members and community development workers are the eyes and ears of the INK team in the community.

***Clarify institutional roles and responsibilities:***

Because INK is an ABM, it is accountable to the city manager, not line departments. However, nearly all of the work is done by line departments, which are responsible to line managers. 'Project sponsors' within the line departments have been found to ensure INK gets the support it needs. A joint government technical forum facilitates coordination between government agencies.

***Ensure plans take physical constraints into account:***

INK is a physically complex development environment because of the hilly topography, river catchments, floodplains and protected open space system. This puts limits on development and makes it necessary to consider alternatives to standard infrastructure approaches.

***Link capital expenditure to social goals:***

The potential for employment, skills transfer, economic growth and improvement of quality of life must be taken into account when planning capital projects.

***Link small business to large business.***

Small businesses may be more sustainable if they provide goods and services to larger businesses.

***Pay attention to good intergovernmental relations.***

The KwaMashu project was an eThekweni-led intervention that sought to mobilise investment at the local, provincial and national government levels. The municipality's ABMs have established the Enviro Forum, a meeting of operations-level managers in eThekweni who respond to INK's needs in an integrated way.

Competition, especially between larger nodes, may undermine the nodal hierarchy and threaten the establishment of a workable hierarchy of nodes in INK.

The size of Bridge City may mean that both public and private investment is drawn away from other possible locations.



<sup>9</sup> Communal land that fell under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu government was vested in the Ingonyama Trust three weeks before South Africa's first democratic elections.