TOWNSHIP RENEWAL

KWAMASHU CASE STUDY

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MOBILISING AND FOCUSING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CAPITAL EXPENDITURE IN THE KWAMASHU TOWN CENTRE

BACKGROUND

KwaMashu is a township situated 25km north of the Durban city centre. It was established in the period 1955–1966 to house black people forcibly removed from Cato Manor. Housing consists of either standard township-style housing or informal dwellings. The present population is about 180 000. KwaMashu was located on state land that was subsequently devolved to the eThekwini municipality. It is part of the area known as INK (Inanda-Ntuzuma-KwaMashu).

ORIGINS OF THE TOWN CENTRE PROJECT

The restructuring of local government in South Africa began in the mid-1990s. A number of smaller local councils in the greater Durban area were amalgamated into a single metropolitan municipality, and the boundaries of the city were expanded to incorporate a number of new areas. The department responsible for economic development at the time started to look for a suitable location for a focused, municipality-led intervention in the newly incorporated areas. The political violence of the 1980s had been particularly intense in the northern areas. As a result, development in those areas had been impeded, and there was a greater level of need.

Figure 1:

In 1998, a pre-planning assessment concluded that the greatest positive economic impact could be achieved by focusing on the development of one centre in the newly incorporated northern areas – namely the KwaMashu Town Centre. Key reasons included:

- It was already a busy transportation hub for train, bus and taxi commuters. This meant there were already large numbers of people in a highly accessible location.
- It had a large area of well-located, undeveloped land owned by the state that had been set aside for a town centre. This land had potential for future development at a time when there was strong private-sector interest in township investment opportunities.
- There were already a number of spontaneous trading activities clustered in the area, some of them formal. This meant that attempts to support and stimulate business stood a good chance of success.
- The community living around the town centre had relatively high income levels and there were many home-based businesses, from professional services to backyard trades. This suggested there would be a good foundation for commercial success.

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

Figure 2: The 1957 plan for KwaMashu town centre

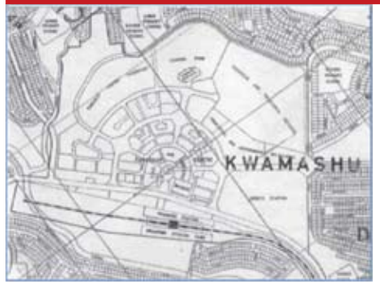

Figure 3: KMTC in 1999

[1] *R293 townships were proclaimed in the former homelands under Regulation 293 of 1962. They were characterised by a general plan and surveyed stands, but with lower levels of infrastructure and services than in other proclaimed towns, and with less stringently applied zoning restrictions. Residents in such townships held land in the form of deeds of grant, or leased properties from grant holders.*

[2] *The land was deemed to be owned by the eThekwini Municipality in terms of an agreement with the Department of Provincial and Local Government.*

CONTEXT AT PROJECT COMMENCEMENT

Institutional context

The township administration had virtually collapsed. KwaMashu was an R293 township[1] of the former 'homeland' of KwaZulu that had been incorporated into Durban after the advent of democracy in 1994.

Planning context

Newly incorporated areas like KwaMashu fell outside city policy and strategic planning frameworks, and the administration was not functional. The eThekwini integrated development plan provided some guidance, but only at a strategic policy level. There was a lack of good information on population, property, income and socioeconomic trends.

Land context

There were some 10ha of vacant land in the town centre owned by the state and devolved to the municipality.[2] There was no private ownership of land – some 25 per cent of the land was held in terms of

deeds of grant, which in effect are long-term leases. The lack of private ownership provided a strong disincentive for property improvement of any kind.

Political context

There was a high level of civic organisation and participation, with a strong political component. Most ward councillors belonged to the African National Congress, making the area more politically homogenous than some other parts of KwaZulu-Natal.

Social context

The area was characterised by high unemployment and a low skills base. The longer-term consequences of the political violence of the 1980s included high levels of crime and insecurity, and the absence of any tertiary education institutions.

Business and investment context

Most of the shops in KwaMashu were destroyed in the political turbulence of the 1980s. There had been a prohibition on white capital investment in townships during the apartheid era. Apart from the Ithala Shopping Centre, there were simply no business premises available. People engaged in economic activity on pavements, or illegally in back yards, in road reserves or on unused land. The lack of secure title to land was a disincentive to business investment – the land could not be used as collateral for a loan, and any improvements would be forfeited to the landowner at the end of the lease. Apart from some local traders' associations, there were no structures representing formal or informal business across KwaMashu, making it difficult to engage with businesspeople on proposed economic plans and development opportunities.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

KwaMashu faced a number of problems, some of them interrelated:

- The town centre planned for KwaMashu from the mid-1950s had never developed.
- There was a lack of investment, both public and private.
- Residents had to travel long distances to access facilities, goods and services.
- Public transport infrastructure was poorly developed.
- There was a lack of security, social infrastructure and recreation facilities.

- There was a high level of economic leakage – very little of the money earned by residents was spent or circulated within KwaMashu.
- The lack of businesses and support meant existing enterprises struggled to grow.
- There was no security of tenure.
- There was a lack of pride among residents in their neighbourhood.

PLANNING

A multidisciplinary consultant team was appointed to:

- Scan KwaMashu to identify economic and development opportunities.
- Research best-practice models and intervention strategies to establish whether concentrating the facilities in one node was the best strategy.
- Consult with political structures and community forums, trader associations, local businesspeople and outside investors.
- Develop plans for three areas of intervention (upgrading infrastructure; improving safety, security and social infrastructure; and supporting the growth of existing businesses and the establishment of new ones).
- Recommend whether the project should be implemented by an agency or the municipality.

The eThekwini municipality opted to drive the project, focused on a single node implemented by a project manager and supported by line departments. The KMTC project began in 1999. Subsequent developments were the identification of INK as a Presidential Lead Project of the Urban Renewal Programme, and the establishment of the eThekwini INK Area-based Management Unit.

TARGETED OUTCOMES

There were four targeted outcomes:

- To create an enabling environment for local businesses to grow, for the resident community to prosper, and to attract outside investors.
- To transform KwaMashu into a thriving centre with its own economic drive and social vitality.
- To offer residents a quality urban living, working and recreational environment.
- To link this envisaged urban centre back to the city.

Key project objectives to achieve the targeted outcomes were: to achieve economic regeneration by creating

an environment conducive to business growth; and the provision of *security and social infrastructure* to create a safe and secure environment for residents to live, work and play in.

INTERVENTION LOGIC

Mobilising and focusing public and private-sector investment was pivotal to establish a properly functioning property market. Changing the land tenure to freehold would not have been enough to achieve this goal, but was a necessary precondition.

A nodal focus

Activities had a nodal focus – that is, they would be clustered around the point of highest accessibility to achieve maximum impact. The purpose was to bring residential, business, work, goods and services, transport, recreation and entertainment opportunities together in one place.

Obtaining and sustaining buy-in and support

Steps were taken to ensure sustained buy-in from politicians and community stakeholders. The project steering committee is chaired by senior local councillors. At the beginning of the project, public meetings, workshops and briefing sessions were held to discuss various options. The choices made at these events were crystallised into a commonly held vision for KwaMashu. These interactions were guided by a problem-solving approach, and were intended to achieve clarity on roles, responsibilities and the process to be followed. Sustaining buy-in is dependent on visible delivery, and being willing to accommodate the interests and concerns of stakeholders, even if they go beyond the strict boundaries of what municipalities usually do.

The KMTC project team has 'gone the extra mile' to ensure good community relations, as the following example shows. The Shembe church had established an open-air temple on land in the town centre that was subsequently earmarked for a new clinic. There was no physical structure on the site – the temple was simply marked out by white stones on the ground – but the ground was sacred nonetheless. When the church elders found out about the plans for the clinic, they asked to buy the land. The KMTC project team could simply have told the church to leave because it was occupying the land illegally and had no tenure. But in the spirit of maintaining good relations with the community, the team followed a consultative approach. The project manager requested an audience with the prophet of the Shembe, with all the appropriate ritual observances, to request him to deconsecrate the land and move the temple. The prophet agreed to move the temple if the project team helped the church to find and buy an alternative piece of land. A horticulturalist was hired to transplant sacred trees to the new site. This was the first time that the Shembe had agreed to move one of their temples. The KMTC project team was willing to accommodate the needs of this community stakeholder, and had the authority to make an undertaking that would make agreement possible. The KMTC project has been able to maintain sustained buy-in and support as a result of the high level of civic organisation participation, with strong ward councillor involvement, and the fact that most ward councillors belong to a single political party. A Community Policing Forum is in operation and a Lot Owners' Association has been proposed.

A facilitative, open approach

The KMTC project has been guided by several underlying principles:

- An open-ended approach, guided by the question: What will have the greatest economic impact in this region?
- Planning from 'first principles' – taking the broadest possible view to contextualise the project and guide local planning.
- Being flexible with regard to layout (so that it could easily be changed to suit new demands) and zoning (to permit multiple land-uses).
- Adopting a facilitative role to take resident and investor concerns into account.

SPECIFIC INTERVENTIONS

Tenure upgrade

The old land tenure system was upgraded to make it possible to own land in KMTC. A new subdivisional layout was introduced, combining a number of larger plots to offer a broader range of more suitably sized sites, ranging from 450m^2 to 1 000m^2. A land sales register was established to make it possible to sell and transfer ownership of land.

Figure 4: KMTC precinct plan

Creating a suitable planning framework

An application was made under the Development Facilitation Act to create a town planning layout for the town centre, zoning and development regulations, and the basis for a new general plan and the sale of land with full freehold title.[3]

[3] *The first application was granted in 2003, and two amendments were granted in 2005.*

Development guidelines and precinct plans were developed for mixed-use business; mixed-use residential; sport, recreation and leisure; commercial and light industrial zones.

Infrastructure upgrade

Improved access: Malandela Road – the main access road to KwaMashu – was upgraded. Ubhejane Road was extended to link KwaMashu with Bridge City, the new regional centre 2km from KMTC. Undlondlo Road was improved to provide access to the Princess Magogo Stadium. In addition, internal service roads and pedestrian walkways were built.

Serviced land for development: Water-borne sewerage, water, electricity and road access have been provided to develop land packages for private-sector development.

Sport, recreation and leisure: The Princess Magogo Stadium is being upgraded to become one of three 2010 soccer World Cup training venues in Durban. A sport and recreation precinct plan is in place for further development of an active recreation area in this vicinity. Park and leisure facilities have been provided.

Improved safety and security

The new Metro Police station has established a police presence.
The fact that it is a three-storey building in a prominent location has created the perception of a safer environment.
Security by design principles are being used to avoid dark spots, cul de sacs and other danger spots. The buy-in of the Community Policing Forum was secured for the KMTC redevelopment, a process which assisted in reactivating the forum. The proposed Lot Owners' Association is likely to become part of the institutional arrangements for precinct management.

Social services

The provincial Department of Health is building a large new clinic in the town centre. The provincial Department of Social Welfare is considering building a new regional office and pension payout point. There is also a possibility that the national departments of Home Affairs and Labour may build new offices in KwaMashu, reducing the need to travel long distances to access government services.

Support for business

The KMTC initiative sought to support the growth of existing businesses and to foster the establishment of new ones through targeted interventions.

Small business: Support at the small end of the business spectrum took the form of providing a range of subsidised municipal facilities, including upgrading the Station Traders' Market; redeveloping the old Mahawini Small and Medium Enterprise (SME) Hive to become a retail incubator facility; and improving and regulating street trading facilities. Steps were taken to ensure that municipal contracts allocate 20 per cent of labour and subcontracting components during construction phases to local businesses.

Medium-sized business/ mixed-use residential: Support at the medium enterprise level took the form of preparing a 6ha parcel of land for sale and subsequent development for mixed business and residential use. Opportunities included rental business space of varying size and standard; sale of sectional title business premises; sale of complete business buildings; and share equity options. The part zoned for mixed-use business allows for buildings of up to six floors; the part zoned 'mixed-use residential' allows for up to three storeys, with business/office use on the ground floor and residential units on the upper floors.

Commercial business: The project team took steps to facilitate the establishment of a larger commercial development. The KwaMashu Shopping Centre was an early private-sector investment worth R75 million, which provided a high-quality shopping environment featuring a range of major chain stores and banks. This was a catalytic development that shifted perceptions of the area among locals and outsiders. It attracted people to the town centre, which improved the market for local small and medium-sized businesses, stimulated investment interest and created new business and job opportunities.

Small-scale manufacturing: A constraint on business development in KwaMashu

is over-reliance on retail and services in a limited market. There is also a lack of land and premises for manufacturing and skills development. The project has responded to this by planning a municipal mini-factory complex to foster small-scale manufacturing, with a focus on furniture and allied manufacturing trades (wood and steel). The Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) entrepreneurial support centre in KwaMashu provides specialised skills and business development training as well as linkages with markets.

LESSONS ABOUT PUBLIC-SECTOR INVESTMENT

Metro Police station

The eThekwini Metro Police were looking for a site for the new northern region command centre. The project team grasped this opportunity to improve safety and security by persuading the Metro Police to site the station in the KwaMashu town centre. Maximising this opportunity required locating the station on a site that would be visible from some distance, and the project team identified a strategic site owned by the municipality. Ithala donated an even better site for the police station on the corner of two of the busiest streets because its own work in KwaMashu would benefit from better security. Although attempts were made to encourage the Metro Police and the South African Police Service to share one facility, these were not successful.

In this case, the project team was successful because they were opportunistic and persuasive. The improvement of safety and security was an important catalytic investment that stimulated the interest of other public and private investors.

Provincial 'mega-clinic'

There were three existing provincial Department of Health facilities in KwaMashu – a polyclinic and two smaller clinics. However, these were inadequate for the needs of the area, and badly in need of upgrading. When departmental officials found out that work on the town centre had commenced, they approached the KMTC project team to make available a site for a new community health centre. This is referred to as a 'mega-clinic' because it provides the services of a Level 1 hospital, excluding overnight hospital beds. The municipal site that the department wanted was zoned for a different use.

The provincial Department of Health secured national government budget approval for three new health facilities in INK as part of the Urban Renewal Programme, one of which was the proposed mega-clinic in KwaMashu. Once approval was received, the KMTC team rezoned the land for a health facility and facilitated its sale to the provincial government. The provincial Department of Health appointed Ithala to manage the implementation of the project, which is currently under construction.

The KMTC project team decided to start implementation on the roads component of the project – to 'start putting spades in the ground' on an aspect of the plan that was unlikely to change. This stimulated the interest of the Provincial Department of Health, as well as other public and private investors. The investment was secured by an opportunistic decision to rezone the land, but only once national government approval for the construction of the mega-clinic was in place.

Other government offices

The provincial Department of Social Welfare approached the KMTC project team for land to build a new regional office and pension payout point. The team offered to sell a site to the department for this purpose, but progress has been

stalled by staff resignations and delays in the provincial land acquisition process. The time limit on mandate to sell has expired more than once. A key problem is the lack of a champion within the Social Welfare Department. There is a possibility that the national departments of Home Affairs and Labour may build new offices in KwaMashu, but neither department has made a clear decision.

The development of Bridge City as a new regional node for the whole INK area, 2km from KMTC, may reduce the ability of the KMTC project to attract government departments to the town centre. The danger is that there may be too many nodes, or that the lack of shared objectives in respect of the delivery of government services may mean that nodes compete with, instead of complementing, one another. The Bridge City project has proposed the establishment of a government services mall.

KwaMashu Shopping Centre

A scout working for a private-sector development company was looking for opportunities to establish a presence in

the former townships. The project team convinced the developer to investigate the KMTC opportunity, supported by a clear picture brochure and data about disposable income, thresholds and economic viability. The team and company representatives explored a number of parcels of land owned by the municipality. However the developers were interested in a different area that included some land parcels not owned by the municipality. The team decided to support this initiative because they saw it as a catalytic development.

A key challenge was related to land assembly – acquiring the parcels of land necessary to make up the site that the developer wanted. The developers approached the holders of the relevant deeds of grant and negotiated to 'purchase' the lease. There were difficulties with locating owners and establishing a price, including establishing the quantum of rates arrears on the property. But the leases were duly purchased. The municipality sold a piece of land required to complete the parcel by private treaty to support the development. [4]

At the time the land assembly process started, there was no town planning scheme to make developments of this kind possible, and no private ownership of land was possible. In 2003, the KMTC project team launched an application under the Development Facilitation Act to put in place a town planning layout for the town centre, together with zoning and development regulations, and the basis of a new general plan and the sale of land with full freehold title. In 2005, the team launched an application for an amendment to the zoning scheme that would allow the land assembled for the KwaMashu Shopping Centre to be used for that purpose.

[4] *The Municipal Finance Management Act requires that municipal land be sold by tender, unless there are good reasons to deviate from this principle. In this case, the land could be sold by private agreement because it is expensive to develop – it contains a stream and the underlying rocks are shale – and because it was in the public interest to facilitate the development of a major shopping centre.*

A tenure upgrading process was taking place at the same time to survey the land on the original town plan, consolidate certain parcels and subdivide others, and register the land in the deeds registry. This was essentially catching up on what government failed to do when it established the township in the 1950s. Once the land was properly registered in the deeds office, it was possible to have freehold ownership. Without tenure security, there would have been limited private-sector investor interest.

A key determinant of investment was safety and security. The fact that the Metro Police station was being built close to the shopping centre site was a key factor in the developer's decision to proceed. Because shopping centres generate large amounts of traffic, municipal approval partly depends on sufficient developer investment in road improvements and road safety. The planned entrance to the shopping centre was at a dip in the road. This is a road safety hazard that would, under other circumstances, have to be corrected at the developer's expense before planning approval could be obtained to proceed. In the KwaMashu Town Centre case, this additional expense would have caused the developer to withdraw. The KMTC plan had always been to upgrade the road at a later stage at municipal expense. In view of the catalytic importance of this proposed development, the project team switched infrastructure funding allocation priorities to fill in the dip immediately as part of the upgrading of this section of Malandela Road. This secured the investment.

Property investment decisions are based on market cycles. There are good and bad times to invest. The shopping centre developer's message to the project team was that it would invest if the centre could be opened by December 2005. If that were not possible, the planned investment would be withdrawn. On the basis of firm commitments from the project team, the developer started work on the shopping centre.

The project team's attitude in this case was that it would work with the developer to ensure everything would be done to secure the complex. In parts of the city

where the land market works properly this would not have been necessary. But a key part of establishing a functioning property market is mobilising investment, and this particular investment was significant – a R75 million 11 000m² shopping centre, with substantial anticipated catalytic effects. The key points relevant to private-sector investment from this experience are:

- Being able to quickly and clearly communicate the situation to an investor.
- The importance of a flexible response to land assembly constraints.
- The importance of a predictable land legal framework.
- Flexible, adaptive and responsive planning.
- Understanding the long-term property investment cycle and responding appropriately.
- Ensuring investment in safety and security.
- Being willing to undertake road and public environment improvements at municipal expense, and providing a safe environment at the same time.

Mixed-use residential investment

The mixed-use residential investment component was intended to provide private-sector opportunities in the 'gap' housing market. This market segment is composed of people who earn more than the income ceiling for a subsidised government house, but too little to buy into the formal housing market – defined as people earning a combined income of between R7 000 and R15 000 a month. The KMTC project team had prepared plots for freehold title, zoned the land for mixed use, provided bulk services, and handed it over to the municipality to sell by public tender. The team recommended splitting the land into smaller parcels and awarding these to a range of bidders. This would have resulted in more than one kind of housing option, and would have spread the risk. But the council decided to award the entire parcel to a single bidder. Had the land been packaged in smaller parcels, these could have been released one at a time, increasing the chances that more than one developer would be active in the market. This would also have made it possible to test market interest without risking the entire parcel.

While there was a strong interest among bidders in the housing component of the

mixed-use plan, there was little interest in the business component. The lack of interest in business property may be related to the economic downturn. If the housing and business components of the package had been packaged separately, it would have been possible to hold back the business component until the market improved. Market analysis would have been useful to guide the packaging and release of land.

A key part of mobilising private-sector investment is trust among bidders that they stand a fair chance of being selected. A more strategic approach to packaging the land parcels would have increased the number of opportunities for developers.

Light manufacturing

It is relatively easy to achieve the economic objectives of plugging economic leakage, and creating local jobs and investment opportunities, through retail investment. However, the benefits are limited, especially considering that most of the stores in shopping centres are national chains whose head offices are located elsewhere. There is also competition among the INK nodes to tap the retail market and a saturation point will rapidly be reached.

Manufacturing is a more effective job creator than retail, and it is more effective at countering economic leakage. Areas like KwaMashu are in essence residential, so it is unrealistic to expect significant industrial investment. But there are already a range of activities, mostly informal, in the small-scale manufacturing and service industries.

There is a strong pavement industry in, for example, manufacturing steel gates and burglar bars, and repairing exhausts, tyres, fridges, upholstery and awnings. There are many traditional healers, some who dispense their own medicines and others who give prescriptions to be filled by herbalists. A constraint on the growth of this sector is the lack of suitable business premises. One response to this has been illegally parking shipping containers on the verge for storage. Three-phase electricity is required for certain industries that currently draw electricity from local houses, with all the accompanying hazards.

The station traders' market offers a range of other activities, e.g. fruit and vegetables, live poultry, and fresh or cooked bovine heads. The market has concrete tables and a metal roof, and shipping containers are used as storage, even for live chickens. There is a lack of cold storage, electricity, drainage and washing facilities. The sewers easily become blocked because there are no grease traps.

A major upgrade of the traders' market is being done with lockup stalls that are supplied with electricity and water. There will be a secluded place for chopping up bovine heads, linked to shops that sell the fresh and cooked meat. Electricity will make it possible to store meat in deep freezers. Conditions will be more hygienic and secure. The KMTC team planned to increase the size of the market by adding 25m^2 shops to cater for service industries such as hair salons, real estate agents, photographers and traditional healers. After further consultation, the team agreed to reduce the size of these shops to 15m^2, a size which attracts a rental of about R160 per month.

There is little private-sector interest in this sector, but it is important nonetheless, so government support is necessary. The KMTC project aims to facilitate the development of these activities by identifying light manufacturing opportunities, making municipal land and facilities available, and supporting skills development.

A rezoning and environmental impact assessment is being done on a piece of land just outside the town centre, but still in the main thoroughfare, for the

establishment of an SME business park and skills development incubator in the wood and furniture sector. A portion of that site will be released to the private developers' market. This business park will be a cluster of mini-factories with rentable premises ranging in size from 25m² to 100m². Enterprise support is available from the SEDA business support centre.
The KMTC team is in negotiations about the proposed incubator with FurnTech, a Section 21 company established by major furniture industry players to support emerging businesses in the sector.
This part of the KMTC project is at an early stage. The proposed incubator shows that there is some potential for matching corporate social investment needs with small business development.

RESULTS

Positive:

- 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 the important road links to other economic centres, and links to existing railway stations, have been upgraded.
- 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 provincial Department of Health 'mega-clinic' is under construction (R80 million).
- A high-grade shopping centre has been built and is trading successfully (R75 million).
- Three municipality-led small, medium and micro-enterprise projects have been planned and are under way.
- Major sport and recreation facilities have been planned and are under construction.
- The National Treasury has allocated a Neighbourhood Partnership Development Grant to the project (R62 million).
- A community court has been established at KwaMashu police station.
- A solid waste recycling centre has been established.

Figure 5: KMTC in 1999

Figure 6: KMTC in 2007

Uncertain:

- The mixed-use development model is still 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.

LESSONS LEARNT

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

Select a good location: The KwaMashu town centre was a large, well-located tract of undeveloped land that already had large number of people passing through, and was highly accessible to train, bus and taxi commuters.

Make sure the land is owned and controlled by the implementing authority: The KwaMashu Town Centre site was owned by the state, and devolved to the eThekwini municipality.

Deal with land issues early on: The tenure arrangements in respect of vacant land the municipality intended to bring to the market were insecure (deeds of grant). These had to be upgraded to freehold to allow the land to be sold and transferred to private owners. This upgrade had the effect of stimulating investor interest and contributing to the development of a functioning property market.

Use a flexible and adaptable framework. The KMTC project team opted to use a very generic type of zoning that would allow a broad range of different activities. Although the team knew which elements

they wanted in the town centre, they avoided zoning specific parcels of land for specific purposes. Where the zoning did not permit a desirable land use, the zoning was changed.

Employ a holistic and facilitative approach: Project managers should take a wide view of their responsibility, and be willing to deal with anything and everything that they have an influence over, even those things they did not plan to do. They must be willing to go the extra mile to deal with the concerns of residents and investors, including historical grievances.

Ensure and sustain political community buy-in and support: This implies having done vision-building and planning with stakeholders; securing political support; working to accommodate the needs and concerns of stakeholders; and having the willingness and authority to engage with stakeholders.

Pay attention to good intergovernmental relations: The KMTC project was a municipality-led intervention that sought to mobilise investment within the municipality (e.g. the Metro Police station), at the provincial level (e.g. the provincial Department of Health mega-clinic), and at the national level (e.g. the National Treasury Neighbourhood Partnership Development Grant).

Devise strategic ways to package land: Technical proposals should be backed by strategic packaging of land parcels, and market analysis to guide the packaging and release of land.

Respond to private-sector investment requirements: This includes a flexible and responsive approach to land assembly constraints; establishing a predictable land legal framework; responding to the property investment cycle; investing in safety and security; and providing road and public environment improvements.

Make a start, knowing that some mistakes will be made: The KMTC team kick-started the project by upgrading roads because they knew those components of the plan would not change. Once people saw that the work on the ground had started, they knew the project was real, not simply plans on paper. This, and the fact that they could see the momentum being maintained by a dedicated project team, triggered the interest of the shopping mall developer and the provincial Department of Health.