SERVICE DELIVERY AND SOCIO-POLITICAL TRANSITION IN THE RURAL MUNICIPALITIES OF THE WESTERN HIGHVELD REGION OF MPUMALANGA PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BLA	Black Local Authorities Act
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs
GGP	Gross Geographic Product
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
LDO	Land Development Objective
LGNF	Local Government Negotiation Forum
LGTA	Local Government Transition Act
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PWV	Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging
RDC	Reconstruction and Development Committee
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Progamme
RSC	Regional Services Council
SACP	South African Communist Party
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SAMWU	South African Municipal Workers' Union
SANCO	South African National Civic Association
TBVC	Transkei-Bophuthatswana-Venda-Ciskei
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
TLC	Transitional Local Council
TMC	Transitional Metropolitan Council
TPA	Transvaal Provincial Administration
UDF	United Democratic Front

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ABSTRACT

The rural communities of the Western Highveld Region find themselves in a historically disadvantaged and neglected hinterland. This peripheral situation is marked by poverty, destitution and above all, lack of basic services. Water, roads, health services, electricity, proper sanitation, transport infrastructure and several other services are rare commodities. Service provision is the Constitutional responsibility of municipal structures. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was adopted by the democratically elected South African government in 1994 as the national development tool with the aim of redressing discrepancies and developmental inequalities created by the apartheid past. Local government structures known as the Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) were established across the country and are legally charged with the mandate to implement the RDP. This study empirically investigates the Western Highveld Region within the core-periphery development model. It claims that the spatial essence of the Region is a product of historical, social construction manifested through colonialism, apartheid rule and resistance against these historical realities. Community needs, expectations, availability of development projects, community satisfaction and community's levels of participation in development matters are investigated. The role of rural municipalities as legitimate local government structures is addressed against the background of a new discourse of developmental local government. The national development policy, the RDP, has been placed at the arm's length by local councils and communities. As a tool for socio-political and economic transformation the new government expects the RDP to create a climate responsive to change. The fundamental point of contention is whether the Region benefits from the new dispensation in terms of service provision. There are indications that lack of resources on the side of the municipalities, ineffective communication between municipalities and their communities, and to some extent, the snail's pace of delivery of services are hindrances towards acceptable delivery and community satisfaction.

Keywords: *core-periphery; development; local government; community participation; development projects; Transitional Local Councils; traditional leaders; community needs; poverty; post-apartheid.*

SAMEVATTING

Die plattelandse gemeenskap van die Westelike Hoëveldstreek bevind hulself in 'n histories minderbevoorregte en afgeskeepte hinterland. Hierdie periferale toestand word gekenmerk deur armoede, geisoleerdheid en belangrikste, 'n tekort aan basiese dienste. Verder is die dienstevoorsiening van water, paaie, gesondheid, kragvoorsiening, behoorlike sanitasie, vervoer en verskeie ander dienste nie voldoende nie. Die voorsiening van hierdie dienste is die konstitusionele verantwoordelikheid van munisipale strukture. Die Heropbou- en Ontwikkellngs-program (HOP) is die nasionale ontwikkelingsarm waardeur die Suid-Afrikaanse regering hul ten doel gestel het om die wanverhoudings en ongelykmatighede van die voormalige apartheidsbeleid aan te spreek. Plaaslike regeringstrukture, bekend as Plaaslike Oorgangsrade, is landwyd gestig en het regmatig die maandaat om die HOP uit te voer. Hierdie studie ondersoek empiries die Westelike Hoëveldstreek binne die kern-periferale ontwikkelingsmodel. As hipotese word gestel dat die ruimtelike bestaan van die streek 'n produk is van 'n histories-sosiale ontwikkeling wat gemanifesteer word deur kolonialisme, apartheid en gevolglik 'n weerstand teen hierdie historiese werklikhede. Vervolgens word daar ook gefokus op gemeenskapsbehoeftes en verwagtinge, die beskikbaarheid van ontwikkelingsprojekte, gemeenskapstevredenheid en die vlak van gemeenskapsdeelname in ontwikkelingsverband. Die nasionale ontwikkelingsbeleid en die Heropbou- en Ontwikkelingsprogram (HOP), is binne bereik van die plaaslike rade en gemeenskappe geplaas. Die fundamentele verwagting is of die streek wel baat vind by die nuwe bedeling in terme van dienslewering. Daar is egter aanduidings dat 'n tekort aan munisipale hulpbronne swak kommunikasie tussen munisipaliteite en gemeenskappe, en tot 'n sekere mate, die slakkegang waarteen dienste gelewer word, struikelblokke is tot doeltreffende dienslewering en kommunikasietevredenheid.

***Sleutelwoorde**: kern-periferie; ontwikkeling; plaaslike regering; gemeenskaps-deelname; ontwikkelingsprojekte; Plaaslike Oorgangsrade; tradisionele leiers; gemeenskapsbehoeftes; armoede; post-apartheid.*

PREFACE

The genesis of this study follows the spirit of my Honours research project that reflected on the plight of the craftswomen of Matjhirini, a village in the Western Region of Mpumalanga Province. These women spend their time creating a variety of bead artifacts. Somehow they manage to survive on the meager earnings they derive from their artwork. What one learnt from these women, was the dedication, energy and joy they displayed in their work. The rhythmic needle bead-picking, as they worked, seemed to symbolise an onward march that would some day afford them a sustainable livelihood in one of the harshest space – the rural villages of South Africa.

Having worked with these women, almost like a tiny spark that causes wild fire, a strong desire to continue exploring the human landscape of other rural communities was kindled. This was reinforced as I drove together with my study leader along the Marble Hall-Pretoria road. As we passed through the dingy tin villages along the road, we were both struck by the unfolding human drama that reflects both the past carvings of apartheid and the present birth pangs of a new world. Vendors with their sales, wheelbarrows and donkey-carts carrying water cannisters, women carrying firewood on their heads and children on their backs, a string of commuter buses carrying workers to and from work and many other sights, alluded to the human experience of the South African peripheral areas. We both agreed that should one embark on some further study, one could attempt to conduct a study that would reflect on the entire Western Highveld Region, which is a myriad of different economic and socio-cultural landscapes.

This study is therefore a product of a humanistic desire, a deliberate and conscious effort to understand the human landscape of the Western Highveld Region. The Region's diverse cultural wealth, the human suffering, the historical resilience of its people, stand as less audited and documented realities of the Region. As a resident of the Region, one cannot escape the emotional engagement that engendered this study and indeed as a human geographer, the human tragedy of this rural hinterland, remains a serious indictment. Poverty, lack of roads, inadequate schools, poor health facilities and lack of clean running water stand as an irresistable prosecution against all human geographers who solicit the science and practice of Human Geography. As

a social scientist, a human geographer should seek to research and pledge solidarity with the *human endeavour*.

The dawning of the South African democracy at the twilight of the second millennium, poses a greater challenge for researchers in general, and human geographers in particular as more information is required to carry South Africa into the third millennium. This view is supported by Rogerson (1992:92), who asserts that: "*considering the scope of their discipline, [human] geographers should engage themselves beyond their parochial research agendas and become involved in development and reach out programmes, they need to respond to the challenges of transformation if they are committed to a just South African society* ...". For those who dare to traverse the untamed terrain, time has come!

Steve Mzilozi Molala
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If there were water we should stop and drink
Amongst the rock one cannot stop or think
Sweat is dry and feet are in the sand
If there were only water amongst the rock
Dead mountain mouth of carious teeth that cannot spit
Here one can neither stand nor lie nor sit
There is not even silence in the mountains
But dry sterile thunder without rain
There is not even solitude in the mountains
But red sullen faces sneer and snarl
From doors of mudracked houses
If there were water
And rock
If there were rock
And also water
And water...

The Waste Land

T.S. Eliot (1981)

These were thy charms-but all these charms are fled
Sweet smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,
Thy sports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn;
Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,
And desolation saddens all thy green:
One only master grasps the whole domain,
And half a tillage stints thy smiling plain;
No more thy glassy brook reflects the day,
But choked with sedges, works its weedy way;
Along thy glades a solitary guest,
The hollow-sounding bittern guards its nest;
Amidst thy desert walks the lapwing flies,
And tires their echoes wit unvaried cries.

The Deserted Village

Oliver Goldsmith (1959)

1 Introduction and Orientation

I can sing a hymn to the glory of my land,
from the ashes something stirs,
new voices are being heard.

I can look with love
at the harsh landscape
pockmarked by [villages].
In the dust and dirt
new voices sing new songs.

(Achmat Dangor, 1982)

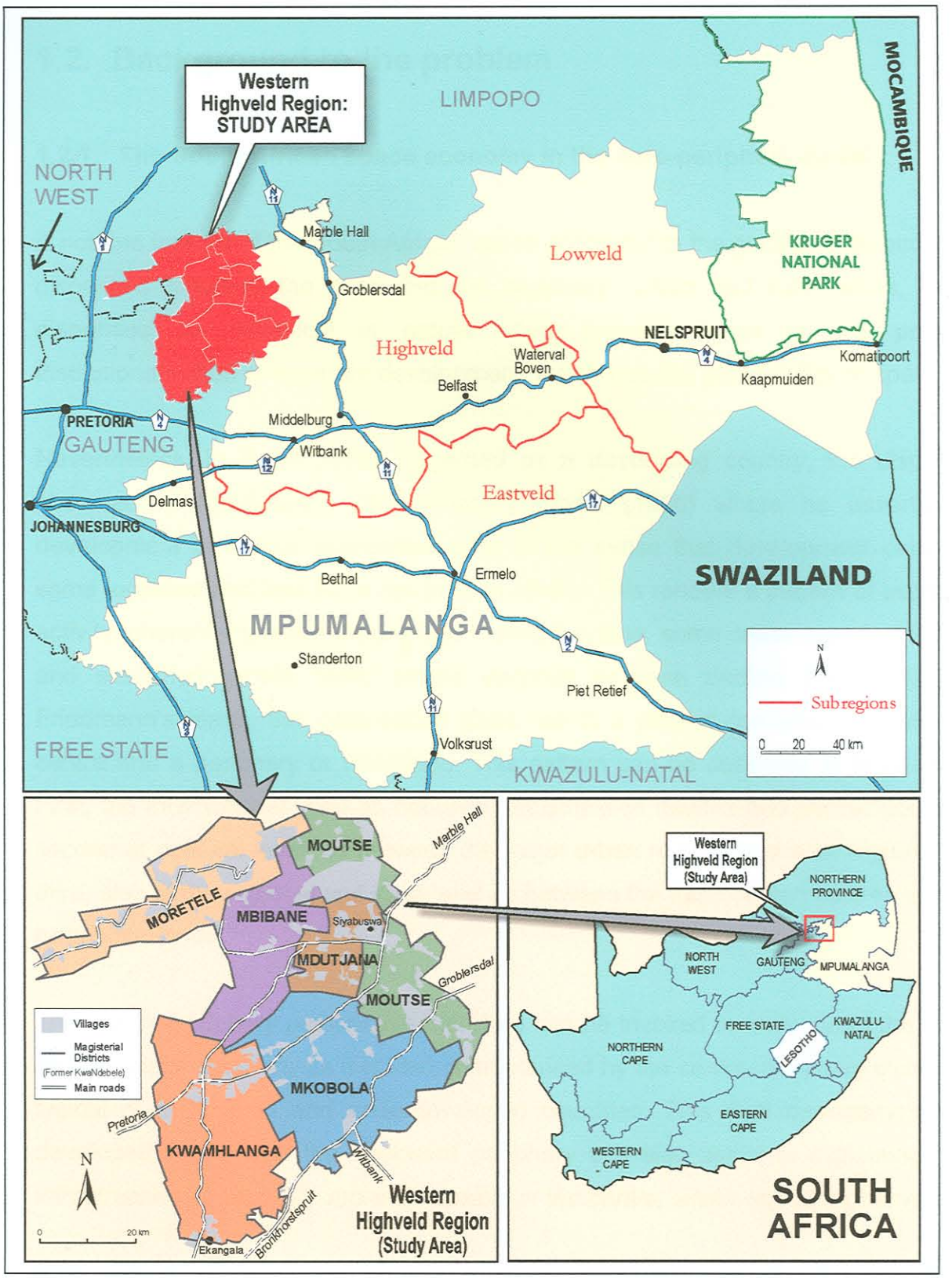
1.1. Introduction

This chapter serves as an orientation to the study, a guiding map that provides a panoramic view of the whole enquiry. It begins by providing a background within which the rural problem of South Africa is located. The rural problem, which entails the fact that the majority of rural people in South Africa were and, to some extent, are still the most neglected of all South Africans, is analysed in the context of Friedman's core-periphery model. This model is used to demonstrate that poverty is more prevalent in the rural areas (periphery) than in the urban areas (core). Consequently suggesting that development should happen in these disadvantaged areas. The South African legal framework that relates to development and local governance is also presented with the intention of demonstrating the relationship between poverty and state intervention in such a situation. The background in question does not claim to be a detailed analysis of all factors at stake, it is essentially, an eye-opener that enables a comprehension of the fundamentals of the study.

The chapter presents the problem statement, which is the main anchor of the study, the aim, which states the overall goal of the enquiry, specific objectives, which spell out the actual tasks to be performed, the scope and significance of the study are also stated. The temporal and spatial dimensions are the basis of the science of Geography. The study area, (Figure 1.1) which involves villages in the Western Highveld Region of Mpumalanga Province, subsequently referred to as the Region, forms the spatial basis of the inquiry. The human landscape, which includes the

various cultural groups and the Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) of the Region, is set within the historic perspective of the South African transitional period[1].

Figure 1.1: The Western Highveld Region in Mpumalanga, South Africa



[1] A post 1994 period marked by the incoming of the democratic government in South Africa.

This setting provides a temporal dimension of the study. Lastly an outline of the entire study, is presented with a general picture of issues discussed in each chapter. At the end of the chapter an evaluation of the issues discussed is accommodated.

1.2. Background to the problem

1.2.1. The South African space economy in the core-periphery model

A notable feature of the South African space economy[2] is the glaring socio-economic disparities between the core and the periphery, urban and rural areas. These disparities are historical in nature. They primarily hinge on the previous institutionalisation of separate development, which was the grand policy of apartheid.

Nevertheless, in South Africa, regarded as a developing country, the disparities observed fit Friedmann's core-periphery model (1966) where he asserts that development of spatial economies differ in the sense that development occurs in some localities and less so or not at all in others. This renders a pattern of economic activity inherently uneven. At any one moment in time, some areas experience rapid and sustained growth while others stagnate or even decline (Fair, 1982). In Friedmann's terms, this polarisation gives rise to a pattern comprising a core or a centre and a periphery or hinterland. This pattern can be observed at three levels. First, the international level as between industrialised nations and poorer countries; second at national level, as between the major urban regions and rural regions and, third, also at the regional and local level as between the metropolitan centres and the rural hinterlands.

This centre-periphery perspective therefore can be invoked to understand the South African space economy as it is also characterised by the centre–periphery dichotomy typical of developing and underdeveloped countries. This dual arrangement of a developed centre and the backward periphery can also assist in explaining "*why infrastructure is generally more accessible in the centre, which enjoys higher rates of*

[2] Geographic or spatial pattern of economic development or the manner in which the economy is manifested spatially (Fair, 1982:8).

economic growth, as well as greater decision–making power than the periphery" (Wanmali & Islam, 1997:260).

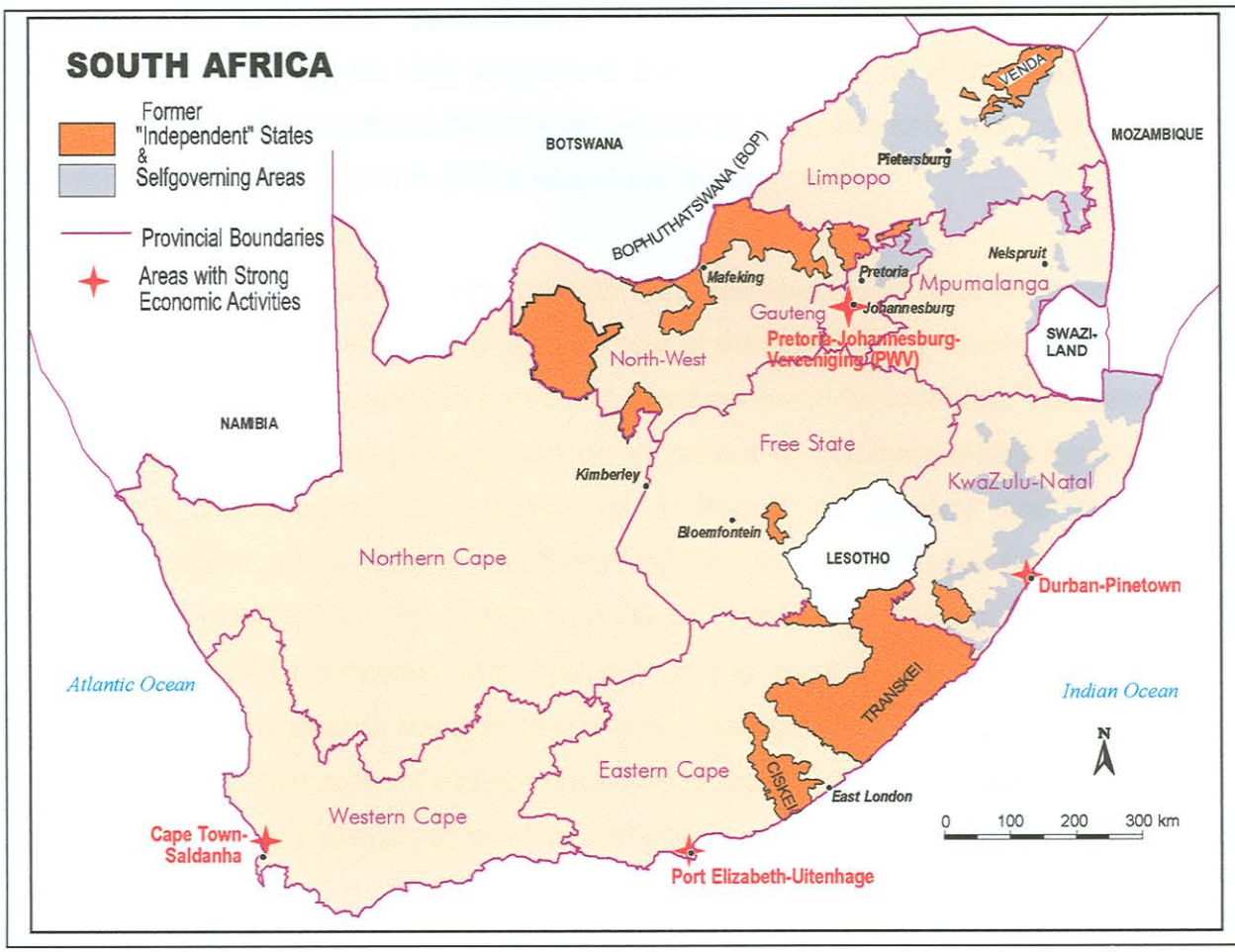
While it is appropriate to analyse the centre-periphery model in terms of simple rural-urban disparities, poor countries versus well-to-do countries and metropolitan centres in contrast to the hinterland, the South African economic scenario is rather complex. This is a result of a myriad of factors, particularly historical, that have shaped the character of the South African space economy. Unlike a dichotomy evident in most postcolonial economies (Wanmali & Islam, 1997), the South African spatial economy effectively renders a trichotomy of the well-to-do core, a better-off inner core and a backward outer periphery.

The core consisting of strong economic activity located in various parts of the country: Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV region of Gauteng), Durban-Pinetown region (KwaZulu-Natal), Cape Town-Saldanha region (Western Cape) and Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage region (Eastern Cape) (Coetzee *et al.,* 1985). These regions, (Figure 1.2) have historically and continue to be economic powerhouses of South Africa. Located closer to the core is the inner or mobilised periphery (Fair, 1982), which has strong links with the core. This is characterised by the urban hinterland in the form of African, Coloured and Indian townships. This better-off sector, constituted historically, a strategic urban appendage, that has continually provided the core with unmobilised labour and commodity buying power to the core. Situated in the backwaters of South Africa, is the outer or unmobilised periphery, which has weaker links with the core. Historically, the outer periphery of South Africa constituted the black homelands[3] the so-called self-governing territories and independent states. (Post apartheid South Africa authorities have since eradicated the system of homelands, the legacy, however remains). Binns (1998:5), reflects on this spatial trichotomy and its disparities, by asserting that: "*on the doorstep of the smart mainly White tree lined northern suburbs such* as Sandton [core], *is the impoverished black township of Alexandra, and only 30 minutes drive away along the motorway, past the gleaming towers of the Central Business District, lies the sprawling Black satellite of Soweto* [inner periphery]. *In rural areas too the contrast zones between impoverished former homeland such as Transkei and Ciskei* (*now*

[3] South African rural territories for the location of African people. Designed and implemented by successive apartheid regimes in accordance with apartheid policy.

incorporated in the Eastern Cape Province) [outer periphery] *and neighbouring White-owned farm areas display markedly contrasting levels of living*". It was observed by (Coetzee *et al.*, 1985:xi) that in 1980 the Gross Geographic Product (GGP) of the core areas was 64%, 31.8% for the inner periphery and 4% for the outer periphery. The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from this scenario is that in present day South Africa, there are disparities in the economic spatial arrangement that exist as a result of the legacy of the apartheid master plan.

Figure 1.2: Former Homelands and Space Economy, South Africa



Friedmann's model of development is part of a host of theories on development that captures to some extent the realities of the modern world particularly pertaining to development in less developed regions. Lobao (1996:83) observed that "*the centrality of peripheral areas... has been recognised in the political economy literature since the classical theories of underdevelopment and imperialism*". This suggests that the concern with the *status quo* of the periphery, has been and should be the task of every country, region and rural area that lies at the fringe of

development. Consequently, development of the periphery, which in most cases is a zone of poverty, is an urgent matter or a national priority in every developing society.

1.2.2. Poverty in the rural periphery

It is not easy to quantify the actual numbers of people living in poverty world-wide. However, in 1990 the World Bank estimated that over a billion people live in poverty throughout the world. Two thirds of these live in Asia and a quarter in Sub-Saharan Africa and the rest in Latin America and the Caribbean (World Bank, 1992:30). Poverty remains a pervasive problem in many developing countries. Although by no means exclusively so, this problem is predominantly a rural phenomenon (Riddell, 1995). It is characterised by lack of access to land, markets, education and health services, and an absence of infrastructural development.

As a nation in transition, and one with an underdeveloped rural component, poverty is as real in South Africa as it is in the rest of the developing countries. South African poverty, and rural poverty in particular, has been well documented. The famous 1984 Carnegie Inquiry into poverty and development in Southern Africa consists of 311 papers contained in 25 volumes of a Report on poverty and prospects for development. More recent documentation of this poverty work has been done by Flaherty (1995); Van Zyl (1995) and Binns (1995). Highlighting this rural problem, Streek (1984:5) indicates that: "*poverty in the rural areas of South Africa is not something the people living in these areas needed to be told about. For them, the daily struggle for survival did not need any research and whichever way one looks at it, there is such widespread poverty and deprivation that it can only be described as a crisis*".

In as much as there are indications that the national question in South Africa has not been properly addressed by the 1994 democratic elections, as there are still incidents of racism, there is evidence to prove that the rural question, a serious albatross that hangs on the incumbent government, is as rife as ever.

In its 1994 Election Manifesto, the African National Congress (ANC) stated that, "*most people in the rural areas – the majority of whom are women – live in poverty. Central in the development programme will be job creation, provision of water,*

clinics, toilet facilities, electricity, telephones and roads" (1994:8). What the Manifesto stated constitutes a fundamental recognition of the conditions in most rural areas of South Africa.

As a response to rural poverty, several pieces of legislation have been passed as an intervention to the situation: the Local government Act, Act No. 209 of 1993, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, Act No. 108 of 1996 and the Reconstruction and Development Programme Fund Act, Act No. 7 of 1994. Another dimension towards addressing the rural question is the engendering of the debate through the Rural Development strategy of the government of National Unity Discussion document, Notice 1153 of 1995 and the White paper on Local Government, Notice 423 of 1998.

1.2.3. South Africa's response to rural poverty

In analysing the provisions of recent legislation and discussion documents it can be observed that the rural question has received attention as evidenced by the provision of rural local authorities and an institutionalised framework represented by the rural development strategy, a significant breakthrough. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, provides that, local government "*must structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community*" (South Africa: 1996:82). In the same vein, the Constitution Act, Act 108 of 1996, spells out in Part B of Schedules 4 and 5 the powers and functions of the local government; these include *inter alia* the provision of water and sanitation services, electricity municipal roads, municipal health services, waste water and sewage disposal system and fire fighting services. Section 8(1)(a) of the Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993, provides for a transitional local council for a non-metropolitan area of local government, which may include the area of jurisdiction of the traditional leader. The interpretation of this section presupposes that rural areas and villages are legally provided with municipal councils. Indeed these TLC structures were established in villages following the 1995 Local government elections.

The general thrust of the 1995 Discussion Document on Rural Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity is the suggestion that rural development should be the responsibility of the local authorities. This suggestion is emphasised through the foreword provided by the former South African president, Nelson Mandela, who stated that: "*rural people, and rural women in particular, bear the burden of poverty in South Africa. If we can change the inequalities and inefficiencies of the past, rural areas can become productive and sustainable. Building local government in the rural areas is the first step in this direction*" (South Africa, 1995:5).

Once more the White Paper on local government contemplates a permanent local government that shall have development as its character and fundamental role. The Paper states that: " *local government must put forward a vision of a developmental local government which centres on working with local communities to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives*" (South Africa, 1998:16). What clearly emerges from this legal framework, is a recognition of the socio-political and economic material conditions inherited from the apartheid past. It is a response to the long marginalised inhabitants of the rural areas. The enactment of such legislation and the proposals in white papers and discussion documents do not necessarily constitute a solution to the rural problem. They create a policy framework, a theoretical platform that needs to be tested in practice.

1.2.3.1. The Reconstruction and Development Programme as an interventionist tool

The RDP is South Africa's blueprint on development and renewal of the South African society. The Programme was initiated as an African National Congress (ANC) policy position and vision for the development of a new South African society after years of apartheid rule and mismanagement. It is a culmination of a process "*involving workshops, consultation involvement of experts and the marrying of interests and sectors within the ANC camp*" (Liebenberg & Stewart, 1997:5). As an ANC, document it represents "*an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework*", to be developed into "*an effective programme of government*" (ANC, 1994:15).

The six principles on which the Programme is based are that:

- it should be an integrated and sustainable programme;

- it must be a people-driven process;
- there must be peace and security for all;
- there must be nation building in order to eliminate the historical division into first and third world;
- growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution should be linked to one another and
- the people affected by the programme and policies must participate in the decision-making process (ANC, 1994:4-7).

The proposals, strategies and policy programmes contained in the RDP fall into five major categories:

- meeting basic needs- jobs, land, housing, water, electricity, telecommunications, transport, a clean and healthy environment, nutrition, health care, and social welfare;
- developing human resources through an education and training programme from primary to tertiary level;
- building the economy and eradicating racial and gender inequalities in ownership, employment and skills;
- democratising the state and society to make the resources and potential of South Africa and its people available for a coherent programme of reconstruction and development and,
- implementing the RDP will require strong national, provincial and local government structures (ANC, 1994:7-13).

These reconstruction and development proposals presented in the ANC RDP 'base document' (De Wet, 1994; Van der Merwe, 1996; Liebenberg & Stewart, 1996), constitute a party vision. This was presented as a White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, after the ANC received a majority vote in the 1994 democratic elections. It should be noted that according to the 1994 Interim Constitution and 1996 Constitution of South Africa, the South African government is charged with the responsibility for the welfare of its people and the development of all parts of the nation (South Africa: 1996). This situation led to the adoption of the ANC's RDP as a national development framework, an official government programme, through the Reconstruction and Development Programme Act of 1994 and Reconstruction and Development Programme Fund Act of 1994.

The fundamental question, however, is: what then is the significance of the RDP in relation to the "*persistent poverty of the rural areas*" (Duncan, 1998:54). The RDP framework asserts that its programme of *meeting basic needs* constitutes the cornerstone of the resolution of the rural problem. Van Zyl (1995:10) agrees that "*meeting basic needs is not only the major heading of the chapter in the RDP, it is also a key initiative in attacking poverty*". The programme recognises "*that poverty affects millions of people the majority of whom live in rural areas and are women*". (ANC, 1994:14). It therefore sets out to "*improve the quality of life of all South Africans, and in particular the most poor and marginalised sections of* [the South African society]" (ANC, 1994:15). World Development Report (1994-96:14) admits that "*infrastructure represents, if not the engine, then the wheels of economic activity*" so that providing basic needs is actually providing the necessary infrastructure for the economic upliftment of the poor.

Acknowledging that the rural periphery and former homelands in particular, have become enclaves of despair and hopelessness, Nel (1997:58) encouragingly feels that, "*South Africa's new RDP, aims at improving the socio-economic conditions in the poorest areas*, [and] *reflects a commitment to grassroots, bottom-up development which is owned and driven by the communities*".

It is indeed quite comforting to note that the South African government has taken the question of basic needs seriously because these are the fundamental demands of rural populace. Binns, notes that scholars (e.g. Nel, 1994; Munslow and FitzGerald, 1995; Van Zyl, 1995; Esterhuyse, 1996) have made an analysis of the RDP since its inception and are unanimous in declaring that "*it is an impressive and ambitious programme, which generally accords well with current development thinking*" (Binns, 1998:11).

1.2.3.2. Who should deliver the Reconstruction and Development Programme?

The RDP base document and the RDP Act, have identified local government as the agency to implement the task of delivering basic services to the impoverished communities. This view has been crystallised in Sections 156 and 229 of the Constitution of South Africa and Schedule 2 of the Local Government Transition Act.

These provide that, land reform, housing and services, water and sanitation, energy and electrification, telecommunications, transport, environment, nutrition, health care, social security and social welfare are basic needs that are a responsibility of the local government. There is an insistence that, because the local government is the level of representative democracy closest to the people, it should be able to deliver essential services. Van der Merwe reiterates this position by asserting that with the RDP's focus on meeting basic needs, "*the local government is seen as a crucial role player, because it is the level closest to the people*" (1996:3). Munro (1996:17) also confirms that "*local government is regarded as the hands and feet of the RDP*", while De Beer and Swanepoel, (1994:630) emphasise that "*to be successful, implementation of the RDP, will have to take place at the local government level*". Siluma and Keeton's (1999:13) interview with President Mbeki records him saying that: "*we have to pay particular attention to local government, at what we can do to strengthen it, to ensure that it is able to do the things it is suppose to do. It is primarily a matter of focus. If you went to the people in Transkei and asked them what do you want, they would say roads. Roads in the rural areas are a priority. Housing is a priority. So are jobs, crime and corruption, water and education.*"

Given that the local government has been assigned this rather important task of delivering services, the next logical question is: what should be its character that will enable it to meet the challenges faced by the poor? The 1998 White Paper on Local Government suggests local government that should be developmental in nature. A developmental local government is defined as "*local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives*" (South Africa, 1998:37). The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) has been created as an enabling tool so that the implementing authorities, the municipal councils, will be able to rise to the challenges and expectations of their communities. This background therefore, constitutes a springboard, a rationale upon which this enquiry is based. Like all other rural local authorities in South Africa, the challenge that faces the Mpumalanga peripheral government structures, is their capacity to provide the essential services to their poor and rural populace.

1.3. Problem statement

The study investigates whether the Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) of the Western Highveld Region of Mpumalanga Province, while deriving their development mandate from the national legislation, are able to deliver basic needs and meet the expectations of the local people experiencing socio-political and economic transition. Associated with this, is a corollary: To what extent do rural local authorities enable the communities they serve, to come to terms with community development?

1.4. The aim of the study

is

- to establish the significance of the South African Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as a national tool for socio-economic development and to note its utilisation by the Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) to advance the basic needs of the communities in the Western Highveld Region of Mpumalanga Province. national

1.5. The specific objectives of the investigation

are

- to identify the socio-economic needs of the Region from a historic and present perspective;
- to identify existing, planned or absent development projects in the municipalities;
- to ascertain the level of community satisfaction with regard to the delivery of basic municipal services;
- to discover community participation in development projects; and
- to identify the role played by the TLCs in advancing their mandate.

1.6. Scope of the study

On analysing general literature available on the Western Highveld Region, one notices that there has not been a thorough ground breaking effort by researchers to attempt either a narrative or a documentary of ***real issues***. One naturally appreciates

efforts made by economists, sociologists, ethnologists, educationalists, photographers and journalists who have made some reflections on certain communities of the Region. It is, however, uncomfortable to realise that little has been contributed by geographers.

Note has been made of a variety of artists and writers (Courtney Clarke, 1989; Elliott, 1989; Fourie 1922) who have tended to depict the physical landscape that naturally links the Region with the majestic and spectacular scenery of the whole Mpumalanga Province which is an attractive tourist destination. These artists and writers present what Rogerson (1992) refers to as the literature of the imperial frontier – the explorer, settler and missionary – that depicts the landscapes of imagination, a geography that empties the landscape of its human inhabitants. While it is appreciated that this literature celebrates in a significant way, the beauty and the magnificence of the rural villages in a cultural sense, the human landscape that lies hidden behind the hills and valleys, seems to be yearning for all the services and conveniences which are absent here.

1.7. The structure of the study

While this study does not claim to represent an authoritative account of the Region, it will, however precipitate an empirical debate on issues that affect the people of the Region. Focus will be made on the needs and development conditions of the Region, in an attempt to highlight the plight of the inhabitants of the Region.

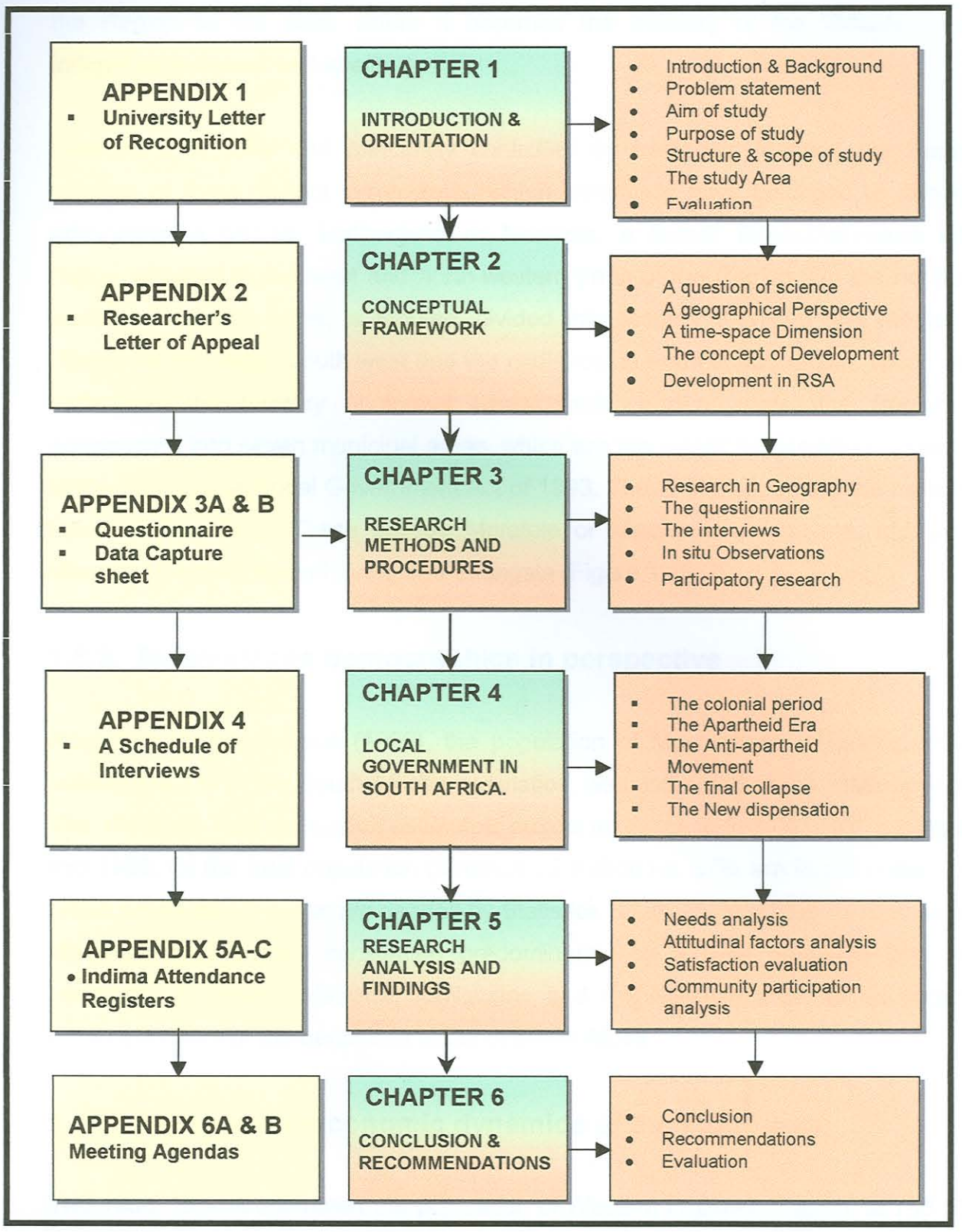
Figure 1.3 shows the layout of the study report. It is a general overview of how the study is arranged. The table of contents provides all headings and subheadings in detail.

1.8. The study area

1.8.1 Location

The Western Highveld Region of Mpumalanga is located on the western part of Mpumalanga Province. To the North, are the southern parts of the Northern Province

Figure 1.3: Schematic Representation of the Study Layout



In the west, it shares borders with eastern parts of the North West Province, while to the south and south-east, it shares the borders with Gauteng Province (Figure 1.1). The major towns of the Region are Marble Hall situated to the north of the Region and Groblersdal situated to the east. The Elands River known locally as

Moutse, flows from the Pienaars River (*Moretele*) drainage basin in the west, through the Region to the east, where it becomes the tributary of the Olifants River, indigenously known as *Lepelle*.

Predominantly rural and principally controlled by traditional leaders, the Region consists of three distinct sub-regions, which historically have belonged to different administrative bodies: Mathanjana or Moretele, a former Bophuthatswana sub-region, situated to the west and north-western parts of the Region. On the northern parts and eastern parts, is Moutse, divided into Moutse 1 (West) and Moutse 3 (East). To the south, south west and the midlands, is another sub-region, which was known as the territory of former KwaNdebele. Further more, the Region is demarcated into seven municipal areas, which are the recent demarcation according to the Transitional Local Government Act of 1993. These TLC areas are the main the focus of the study. These include Moretele or Mathanjana, Mbibana, Mdutjana, Moutse, Mkobola, Kwamhlanga and Ekangala (Figure 1.1).

1.8.2. Mpumalanga demographics in perspective

According to the Census (1996), the population of Mpumalanga Province, which contributes 7% of the South African population, was estimated at 2.8 million people. The 1999 Mid Year population estimates, project an increase to 3 003 327[4] people by mid 1999. Of the total population (3 million), 2 million i.e. 67% are found in the non-urban areas, which areas are defined by Statistics South Africa (1999) as *rural areas*. Mpumalanga Province constituted predominantly by a rural populace from the homeland of Bophuthatswana, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele and can be located within the realm of the peripheral areas of South Africa.

1.8.3. Some socio-economic dynamics of the study area

The 1996 Census estimated the population of Western Highveld Region, at 760 569 people and in 1998 at 964 401 people. (South Africa, 1997). Table 1.1 reflects the socio-economic conditions of Mpumalanga Province and how these relate to the study area. Unemployment and the level of education have been singled out as these are variables that normally indicate the level of poverty. The table indicates that out

[4] Statistics South Africa, Mid-Year estimates: Statistical Release P0302. 12 July 1999.

of the Provincial total of 1 148 148 unemployed, the Western Highveld Region has 405 048 unemployed people, which constitutes 35% of the provincial rate and 42% of the total population of the Region.

Table 1.1: Socio-economic conditions in the Study Area

Area	Population Size	Unemployed	Educ. Level Gr. 0 - Gr. 12
MPUMALANGA PROVINCE	**3 003 327**	**1 148 148**	**2 303 082**
Western Highveld Region	***964 401***	***405 048*** ***42.0%***	***684 724***
Moretele (Bophuthatswana)	156 710 **16.2%**	37 832 ***24.1%***	63 768
KwaMhlanga (KwaNdebele)	151 478 **15.7%**	62 936 ***41.5%***	125 144
Moutse (RSA)	140 888 **14.6%**	79 847 ***56.7%***	116 405
Mdutjana (KwaNdebele)	126 489 **13.1%**	63 111 ***49.9%***	105 820
Mkobola (KwaNdebele)	115 862 **12.1%**	55 890 ***48.2%***	98 841
Mbibana (KwaNdebele)	53 659 **5.6%**	24 571 ***45.8%***	44 283
Ekangala (KwaNdebele)	14 913 **1.5%**	4 027 ***27.0%***	6 710

1.5% = portion of Region's population

27.0% = % unemployed per TLC Area / Region

Source: Census 1996:SSM/2001

Mpumalanga has an even lower educationally qualified population; 76% of the people have no schooling or have not been schooled up to matriculation[5]. It is apparent that the level of education impacts on employment, as most of the people in the Western Highveld Region (71%), are illiterate or have a Grade 12 certificate without a job-oriented qualification. This leaves the Region, as happens with the rest of the Province, with a pool of unqualified and less qualified people that cannot find proper employment from which they could derive a sustainable livelihood.

1.8.4. Communities of the Western Highveld Region

The Region consists of a diversity of communities with different cultural and historical backgrounds. Found in the three sub-regions of Moutse, KwaNdebele (consisting of KwaMhlanga, Mdutjana, Mkobola, Mbibana and Ekangala) and Moretele (Figure 1.1), these communities, are directly or indirectly controlled by traditional leaders.

1.8.4.1. The territory of former KwaNdebele

From 1979 to1994, KwaNdebele was known as the homeland or self-governing territory (Figure 1.2) of the Ndebele-speaking people under the leadership of *Ingwenyama (*King) Makhosoke II and Mayisha II. These people are divided into the *Amanala* and *Amandzundza* clans respectively under the traditional authority. Most of the communities of this territory came to settle in the territory as a result of:

- KwaNdebele being historically the home of Ndebele-speaking people;
- urban unrest of the late seventies and early eighties, particularly in the East Rand townships (former Transvaal, now Gauteng);
- the independence of Bophuthatswana — numerous people fled Bophuthatswana to settle in KwaNdebele as a result of Mangope-(president of the former homeland of Bophuthatswana)-opting for the independence of Bophuthatswana;
- evictions from White-owned farms; and
- forced removals from the so-called White spots, a term used to denote areas in Black areas designated for White settlement or farming (Indima, 1998).

Displaying an accepted level of development in terms of clinics, schools, roads, bridges telecommunication and postal services, the territory is presently divided into

[5] A South African highest level of secondary education. A school leaving grade.

five distinct rural municipalities: Ekangala TLC, Kwamhlanga TLC, Mbibana TLC, Mdutjana TLC and Mkobola TLC (Figure 1.1). These municipalities are responsible for the provision of services.

Plate 1: Water Scarcity in former KwaNdebele

1.8.4.2. Moutse

The Bantwane people, the Bapedi and Amathombeni (Northern Ndebeles), inhabit Moutse. The Bantwane, found predominantly in the eastern parts of Moutse are under the traditional leadership of *Kgosi* (King) Ngwato III. The *Bapedi* of the *Matlala* are divided into three clans. Historically each clan had its own traditional leader and has since been named after the clan leader. These are Matlala *Ramoshebo*, Matlala *Mokgoma* and Matlala *Lehwelere.* The *Amathombeni* or Northern Ndebeles are of Nguni origin. This group occupies the northern parts of Moutse, largely in a village known as Sontonga or Rathoka. Historically, this community was ruled by *ikosi* Kekana. Recently there have been a number of intra-feuds over chieftaincy among the *Amathombeni* of Moutse to a point where the traditional leadership of these people is no longer well-defined.

The communities of Moutse are perhaps best known for their historic struggle against their incorporation into the homeland of KwaNdebele in 1985-1986. As a result of this resistance, the area was neglected by the previous South African Central administration under which it fell.

This neglect is currently evidenced by the underdeveloped status of the area. Inadequate water supply, insufficient communication services, poor postal, health facilities and transport networks add to an endless list of inadequacies of the area. The Moutse TLC serves the communities residing in Moutse. Like many other rural municipalities, the TLC has a task of addressing the inadequacies created from the past administration (Plate 2).

Plate 2: New school being erected at Ntwane (Moutse), 2000

1.8.4.1. Moretele

Moretele or Mathanjana (Figure 1.1) is a former Bophuthatswana area. It is principally inhabited by the *Bakgatla*, a Tswana-speaking people. The Bakgatla of Moretele are

not a homogenous group, they are divided into several clans: *Bakgatla ba Mocha*, *Bakgatla ba Lefifi*, *Bakgatla ba Chaane* and *Bakgatla ba Mokgoko*.[6] Also inhabiting the area, are two Ndebele communities, which were part of former KwaNdebele. These are the people of *KwaLitho* and *Pungutsha*, also known respectively as *Soputukwana* and *Katjibane*. These communities are also under the leadership of traditional leaders. Punctuated by an acute shortage of water, Moretele, also has Mathanjana TLC whose council is charged with the task of providing municipal services to the area.

This chapter presented as broadly as possible the tenets upon which this investigation is based. Rural poverty and neglect were situated in the context of the socio-political transition. The study area was defined and projected as a rural space that has been disadvantaged by apartheid spatial policies. This places the study area at the peripheral zone of development. Several legal provisions that provide for structural transformation of organs of local governance were highlighted as they represent a political response to the crisis that confronts the rural people. Socio-economic conditions that prevail in Mpumalanga, within which the study area is located, have been briefly analysed so as to comprehend how they impact on the study area. As an introductory chapter, details were cautiously avoided. However it was necessary to provide some insight into matters at stake on study area. Chapter 2 will provide a conceptual framework, an empirical niche of the study, by defining some concepts to be employed in this treatise.

[6] Interview with Kgosi A. M. Maloka. Chairperson of Moretele Traditional Leaders' Forum. 26 July 1999.

2 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

> *The continual exposure of unthought biases and assumptions is a way of producing a strong objectivity, which strengthens science as a progressive project.*
>
> *(Bassett, 1999)*

The intention of this chapter is twofold. First, it argues that this study falls within the ambit of Geography. To justify this stance, the tenets of Geography as a science are exposed. Theories that have been the mainstay of geographical thought are explicated. Environmental determinism, quantitative revolution, humanistic geography and post-modernism are mentioned as significant theories that stand among other geographical theories that have shaped geographical thinking. The time-space dimension, which is a property of geographical understanding, is reflected as a guiding beacon for conceptualising the topic under analysis. Second, the chapter also examines the question of ***development*** in the context of the core-periphery dichotomy. The core is defined as ***developed spaces*** while the periphery is defined as ***less-developed spaces***. It is also asserted that modernisation as a eurocentric development model, has created a dependency syndrome for less developed countries. Both modernisation and dependency theories are discussed so as to understand how these relate to South Africa's development discourse. If they do not, what then informs South Africa's development thought.

2.1. A geographical discourse

It is a principal understanding of practitioners of Geography that Geography is a science. A salient feature of science is an abundance of evidence that suggests that science is held in high regard in everyday life. It is true that every practitioner of science would like his/her field of study to be regarded as a terrain of science, as illustrated by scholars in Library Science, Administrative Science, Speech Science,

Forest Science, Dairy Science etc. As observed by Alvares (1992:16): science has become a universal commodity "*approved by many whose devotion to its tenets and its propagation is more often than not related to its ability to provide a high living wage and, often, in addition, power, prestige and a chauffeur-driven-car. Like the early morning toothbrush, science is considered a precondition for a freshly minted worldview uncontaminated by unlearned or unemancipated perceptions.*" Law (1989) quoted in Johnston (1991:284) adds that, for some, *"science is something you do in the laboratory, something you talk about, and something you get excited about. For others, science is what they write and what they read in the journals".*

It is a point of fact that Geography is also a science. Its scientism, like all sciences, derives from paradigms[7], and paradigms are accepted as foundations of scientific understanding as they provide the theoretical and methodological platforms for scientific comprehension. **Environmental determinism** became the first paradigm of modern geography after several years of a body of unconnected facts. Mackinder the "*chief advocate*" (Madidi, 1995:1) of the philosophy claimed that the physical environment was a determining factor on the physical makeup and cultural activities of human beings. Adherents of this philosophy, believed in a cause-and-effect relationship between humans and the environment, where the environment was *a priori* in determining the behaviour of all inhabitants of the earth.

From environmental determinism to postmodernism, geographical thought has evolved alongside other sciences in a symbiotic way that defines the scientific ontology of Geography. What also emerged over time is the contemporary understanding that Geography comprises of two discernible disciplinary facets: Human Geography and Physical Geography. A historical problem with this dichotomy is that there has been a tendency in the past to attempt defining both parts of Geography in a positivist manner. This positivism in Geography manifested itself in what was known as the **quantitative revolution**. The quantitative revolution began in the late 1940s and culminated in the late 1950s (Cloke *et al.*, 1991:8). It can be traced to William Garrison who offered the first seminar to graduates of Michigan University in 1955 on the use of mathematical statistics in Geography (Martin G. J. & James P.E., 1993:442). It was basically a response to a growing dissatisfaction with

[7] Kuhn's argument that "scientific activity is guided by a generally accepted philosophy, probability and methodology which determines the particular discipline's view of the world" (Forer, 1980:13).

environmental determinism. Quantitative theory maintained that there is one and one only science and only one methodology that extends from the natural to the human sciences. Physics became the paragon of all sciences, and so every science, including human sciences, should be modelled on Physics. "*Accordingly, any empirical science should be capable of being reduced to concepts, principles and language of Physics*" (Gould & Olsson, 1982:46). By placing more emphasis on Physics, quantitative geographers contended that geography was *idiographic*, merely concerned with description, and was lacking in theory. They sought to "*transform geography as it was intellectually and numerically weak, and held in low esteem by other disciplines*" (Unwin, 1992:119). With the quantitative revolution in Geography came a concerted effort to develop theories, test them and attempt to interpret phenomena through statistics and mathematics. In this way geographers would marvel at the complexities that would arise from mathematical and statistical numbers and figures.

Although quantification was advantageous to the development of Geography in that it "*widened the field of application and freed Geography from its isolation*" (Pred, 1981:18), it however, displayed shortcomings in the field of Human Geography. Unwin (1992:122) attests that quantification in Geography was "*concerned with modelling the spatial organisation of society and with the development of mathematical and geometrical description of social relationships*". The positivist approach lacked reference to *human agency* (Jackson and Smith, 1984). Its epistemological and theoretical base "*denies the individuality and humanity of people, it ignores emotions and meanings, and treats humans in the same way as machines*" (Johnston, 1985:16). "*It tends to reduce people to terms in equations, ignore their individuality and freedom of action*" Johnston, (1991:288). Ley (1996:204) provides a critique that argues that the lack of human agency is an epistemological and theoretical error that "*devalues the power of human consciousness and human action to redirect the course of events. It limits the creative power of human intentionality*". So although the fundamental problem with quantification in Human Geography is not the utilisation of statistical methods and mathematics, these have some advantages. The key factor is the lack of human agency that recognises that people cannot be seen and studied as objects. The question, "*what about people*" as was asked by Torsten Hägerstrand quoted in Pred (1981:20), is a recognition of the failure of the quantitative paradigm to create a humanistic niche. Advocating a

humanistic character of human Geography Vidal de la Blache quoted in (Pred 1981:20) talks of a "*milieu for every human individual and existence*" where people's meaningful knowledge and experience of human faculties, constraints, aspirations, creativity and human tragedy can be located. In this way, a new philosophy was born. Spearheaded by Yi Fu Tuan and Berkerly (Ley, 1981) a **humanistic geography** movement began in the 1970s as a reaction to the quantitative approach in Human Geography. This philosophy is underpinned by four fundamental matrices "sub-theories": Idealism, Phenomenology, Existentialism and Pragmatism. **Idealism** asserts that people as active beings develop theories to guide their actions. Such guidance includes the direction of future thinking, interpretation of perceptions, and the nature of decisions. To the realists, reality is in some way a mental construction where the world does not exist outside human observation. Associated with the German philosopher Edmund Husserl is **Phenomenology,** which argues that the real life-world of humans need not be interpreted through the usage of theories, but through the direct observation of reality or phenomena. Led by the popular Jeanne-Paul Satre, **Existentialism** maintains that humankind is the creator of reality. "*Reality is created by the free acts of human agents, for and by themselves*" (Johnston, 1986:71). Another matrix of humanistic philosophy is **Pragmatism**. This approach is principally associated with John Dewey. Sometimes referred to as realists, pragmatists assert that knowledge is developed via practical trial and error. The thought is therefore determined by the criteria of practical usefulness.

Humanistic geography may therefore be understood as a theoretical perspective and not a distinctive empirical subfield of Human Geography. It is not an "*alternative science*" (Johnston, 1986) of Geography. It is not a *revolution,* neither is it a diverging path, but a theoretical perspective, "*an antidote*" (Lammas, 1992) that endeavours "*to keep* [the] *discipline relevant and human*(e)" (Guelke, 1986:21). Its "*principal aim in geography is the reconciliation of social science and* hu[*man*]kind, *to accommodate understanding and wisdom, objectivity and subjectivity and materialism and idealism*"(Ley & Samuels, 1978:9).

The fundamental preoccupation of this study, located within the ethos of Human Geography precepts, is its exposure of the lived world of the people of the Western Highveld Region of Mpumalanga Province. A significant feature that denotes contemporary Human Geography is its insistence on the study of humankind as a

subject and not as an object. It focuses on the subjective elements, applying objective scientific procedures, to the identification and transmission of meanings (Johnston, 1985). A humanised Human Geography recognises that "*scientific practice is a social activity shaped by a multiplicity of social and psychological factors, biases and interests*" (Bassett, 1999:40). It recognises a tradition that treats human values and intentionality more seriously. It fortifies the human tradition with a critical, philosophically and theoretically informed orientation. It creates "*geographies of the mind*" or "*mental construction(s)*" (Campbell, 1994). The people of the study area have their own needs, interests and biases. They find themselves in a rural hinterland that is deprived of essential municipal services. Their lived geographies are villages that need water, electricity, roads and other essential municipal services. To understand these psychological factors, biases and interests, is critical for this study to adopt a philosophical framework that will practically unravel the lived world of the people of the study area.

2.2. A post modernist synthesis

A clear contribution derived from humanistic geography is its ability to have put at the centre stage the human aspect of geography. This has helped to shape geographical thought in the fields of social, cultural and aesthetic geography which geographies are contemporarily beginning to explore the lived world of people in all the regions of the world. Gandy (1996:23) asserts that "*the early 1990s have seen a growing awareness in geography of engagement between postmodernist ideas and modernism. An important theme in this emerging literature is the extent to which postmodernism embodies the emergence of a new social, cultural and political paradigm more conducive to creating people sensitive epistemologies*". **Postmodernism** is defined by Jones (1999:530) as "*a term for a broad sweep of theoretical approaches whose common denominator is that they are informed by post-philosophies dominated by work which has been described as post-structuralist.*" Fox andRowntree (2000:25), concur that "*postmodernism stands structuralism on its head by positing that we are not so much the passive recipients of our social structures as the inventors of our world* ". As a mode of academic enquiry postmodernism wishes to "*disentangle and deconstruct various texts to reveal the multiple discourses that inform human action and create human landscapes* (Fox & Rowntree, 2000:25). In essence, it intends to deepen human

understanding that was made difficult by "*modern theories of scientific revolution, empiricism and positivist scientific methodologies*" (Gandy, 1996:24). It arises as a response to "*the crisis of representation in human sciences*" (Berg, 1993:494). The crisis of representation refers to the fact that most modern discourses were not gender and race sensitive. Theories were virtually eurocentic and masculine. Discourses that were presented by females or people of colour were ignored or considered as inferior (Berg, 1993). As a result of all these discrepancies among other factors, postmodernism became a movement whose aim is to redress the deficiencies of modernism.

The study does not pretend to be postmodernist, it employs a critical theoretical approach which is a postmodernist tool. It also taps quite significantly from the humanistic orientation which could be classified as modern. It is a synthesis of the most suitable from modernism and the valuable from postmodernism. According to Berg (1993:501) "*certain postmodernisms are not so radically different from certain modernisms. This possibility in turn opens up space for a position between modernism and postmodernism; for if they are not radically opposed one might borrow freely from both perspectives without treading on epistemologically unsafe ground*". From its humanistic content, this study has borrowed the human agency, the ***verstehen*** – an emphatic understanding — of people and their lived world. It is people's lived world of hunger, deprivation, conflict, wars, disease destitution and ignorance that should pose a challenge to geographers. From its postmodernist outlook the quest for equity, the pursuit for justice and world peace are also *a priori* that indict the whole of the geographical academia.

2.3. A time-space perspective

Another dimension that distinguishes Geography from other social sciences in particular, is its temporal and spatial ontology. A brief explication of these two concepts will ensue in an effort to contextualise these in the framework of this study.

Kellerman (1989:7) relates that ***time*** may mean many things for individuals. It may be an experience or an ordering framework of events. Experiential time is lived time, it refers to individual images of time as short, long, fast and slow. Time is also an ordering framework of events in terms of "*before*" and "*after*". The conceptualisation

of time in this discourse should be understood in relation to societal change. The occurrences of the past, present and future are temporal dimensions that define events as they occur in time and space. The calendar and the clock determine human understanding of time, as they are tools that indicate, hours, days, weeks, months and years. In its nature, time is a human creation. It is a major dimension along which all events occur and around which human lifecycles evolve (Kellerman, 1989:8). Individual experiences in a particular space, transform the individual experience into a collective experience and thus societal time arises. It is this societal time that tends to be more significant because the collective experience tends to impact on other spaces. The communities of the study Region (space), exist in the contemporary (present) South African transitional phase (time). These communities have collectively experienced the deprivations created by *homelands* (spaces), which were apartheid era (time) inventions. The struggle of the South African society to change the apartheid order, constitutes a historical (past) dimension of time. The time perspective in this discourse is an essential geographical component that assists in the proper contextualisation of this study.

This discourse acknowledges that both human and physical geographers define the concept of space differently. This difference is a product of time. The logical positivist conceptualisation usually advocated by physical geographers, views space as "*three dimensional Euclidean in which action occurs by contact* [with the physical world]" (Sack, 1980:56). Space is seen as the physical environment of regions and their settlements. Led by Lefebvre (1991) and Giddens (1981, 1985) human geographers interpret space as a social construction. The central tenet of this thinking is that space "*is not given or outside of social practices and their performance, but is produced through social practice*" (Dodgshon, 1998:8).

An analysis of motives for the colonisation of African territories and other parts of the world by European powers in the 18th and 19th centuries, reveal that colonisation was essentially a scramble for spaces. Colonies became new spaces of raw materials, spaces of religious and cultural diffusion, new market spaces, surplus capital investment spaces and spaces of adventure. In this instance, the phenomenon of colonisation is a social construction. The same could be said about the machinations of the apartheid mode of creation of spaces. The homeland policy, which removed most of the African communities from their economic, cultural and political abodes,

and located them in apartheid space structures of Bantustans, where poverty and deprivation characterise these newly found spaces, is a social construction. The present transformation process in South Africa is about creating new spaces. The TLC areas of the Western Highveld Region, like all other municipal spaces in the country, are newly found socio-economic and cultural spaces that have been designed by the present dispensation so as to obliterate apartheid spaces.

Geographers recognise a symbiotic existence between time and space. All events are time-space specific. The rural TLCs in the Study Region, are a product of a negotiated political settlement that occurred in the mid-1990s. The settlement, which in itself is a product of mental spaces of divergent views, is a product of time and space. The thinking in current South African local political conjuncture is that, local government should adopt a developmental character. This character means that local politics should be politics of civil society, where all communities and local councils are involved in synergy to deliver essential services and engender development projects aimed at bettering the lives of local communities. In this regard the understanding of the concept of development becomes imperative.

2.4. A development discourse

The observation by the World Development Report of 1991 that "*development is the most important challenge facing human race;* [In that], *despite the vast opportunities created by technological revolutions of the twentieth century, more than 1 billion people, one fifth of the world's population, live on less than one dollar a day*", (World Development Report, 1991:1) may perhaps constitute a prelude to the understanding of the nature of development. The comprehension may nevertheless not be easily attained because according to Coetzee (1989:11) "*development as change taking place over an extended period cannot be easily defined. Not only is it immensely difficult to visualise the final effects of development, but the complex fusion of goods, services, information, symbols and meanings makes it impossible to predetermine its ultimate destination*".

Joseph Schumpeter in his classic, *Theory of Economic Development* first used the term '*development*' in 1911. Its usage gained popularity in the post World War II years when economic development became one of the central themes in the political

discourse of most nations (Friedmann, 1980). Its classical meaning entailed a "*creative destruction*" of capitalist development and a creation of innovations (technical and organisational) in the industrialisation of economies.

There are many definitions and much disagreement on the term ***development***. It depends on which side of the debate one is located. It is however possible to identify a series of phases in the evolution of development thought. The process and form of colonisation, and the resultant spatial patterns, have stimulated a great deal of interest on the part of geographers (Hoyle, 1978:7). This treatise will not attempt any theoretical rigour, nor will there be an attempt to discuss the various theories of development in detail. Instead, this study will limit itself to a few remarks in an effort to locate itself within development studies as an integral part of Geography, Hoyle (1978:7) affirms that "*from the classical period of Ptolemy to modern times geographers have always displayed a considerable interest in the less developed parts of the world*". Also it is hoped that more light will be shed on what constitutes South Africa's current development discourse. To be able to understand the contemporary development thought in South Africa, it is imperative to focus on two main theoretical positions that have shaped development thought over time.

A notable factor that has characterised development spaces over time is the contrast between less developed countries and developed countries. John Friedmann, as mentioned in Chapter 1, refers to this dichotomy as the core and periphery. The developed centre being the focus of economic growth, while the undeveloped hinterland being a downward area of decline and stagnation. Alongside this situation, the world has been historically divided into three different spheres. "*A threefold division on principally political and economic grounds; there was the First World of industrialised, market economy countries broadly capitalist or western world; the Second World of centrally planned economies, variously called the Communist Bloc or the socialist camp and the Third World of poorer countries, many of them recently independent from colonial rule*" (Dickenson *et al.*, 1996:4). The discrepancy of the centre and the periphery and the division into the First, Second and Third World, presupposes that whatever socio-economic and political thought that defined these world spaces was antagonistic or contradictory. So it was with development theories.

From the developed capitalist countries, there emerged a theoretical framework that centred around modern development. "*Modernisation theory, as it came to be called, took root in the academic citadels of the West and found expression across a broad spectrum of disciplinary domains*"(Johnston *et al.*, 1995:67). From the East, or socialist countries led by the USSR and China, Marxism emerged as a dominant and a "*critical doctrine*" (Wallerstein, 1979:1) in the development of development theory. Social revolutions were seen by Marxists as essences of development for "*no society is ever static and totally unchanging*" (Rouxborough, 1979:1). The Third World was fundamentally colonial space of the First World, and with the ardent of the Cold War, it became a theoretical terrain of contest between capitalism of the West and socialism from the communist East. To this effect, what later emerged from the Third World as a response to modernisation theory in particular, was dependency theory. Wallerstein (1979:66) asserts that "*the term dependence...emerged out of the 'structuralist'* [Marxist] *theories of Latin American scholars and was meant as a rebuttal to 'developmentalist' or modernisation theories and 'monetarist' views*".
What then are the tenets of these development thoughts and how did they shape the present conjuncture in South Africa?

2.4.1. Modernisation theory

The term 'modernisation' is derived from 'modern' which is the product of the Enlightenment discourse of the West. The West became the model, the prototype, and measure of social progress. It was the western civilisation, rationality and progress that was bestowed with relevance (Johnston, 1995:65). Modernisation as a development theory had its roots inW.W. Rostow's stages of economic growth theory. The Rostovian model prescribes that for a country to develop, it needs to undergo five stages: the traditional stage, the pre-conditions for take-off stage, take-off stage, drive to maturity stage and maturity stage (Fair, 1980:48). Wallerstein (1979:51) observes that Rostow describes the process of change that was undergone by Britain and "*felt that Britain was the crucial example since it was the first to embark on the evolutionary path to modern industrial world*". The inference in this instance is that, this path was a model to be copied by other states.

Modern economists "*considered an increase in per capita income to be a good proxy for attributes of development*" (World Development Report, 1991:31). "*Theorists were*

more precise about economic than social aspects" (Kotzé, 1983:1). Development was seen as a question of *"increasing gross levels of savings and investment until the economy reaches a take-off point*" (Burkey, 1993:27). The Gross National Product (GNP) was assumed to stand in a definite relation to social welfare (Friedmann, 1980). Modernists would argue that "*the central problem in the theory of development is to understand the process by which a community which was previously saving 4 or 5 percent of its income or less converts itself into an economy where voluntary saving is about to 12 to 15 percent of national income or more*" (World Development, 1991:33).

Coetzee (1989:120) identifies that modernisation theory:

- gives priority to encouraging international trade and foreign investment in the Third World and so gradually reduces aid programmes;
- encourages the development of 'modern' attitudes and entrepreneurial ambition to create an appropriate cultural medium in which modern economic institutions would thrive; and
- promotes development in the South since it is the a crucial long-term market for goods manufactured in the North.

Modernisation had far reaching implications for the colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In as far as Africa is concerned, Seidmann and Anang (1992:251) observe that "*modernisation became popular among the first generation of Africanists from the West. In its normative dimension that theory implied that to become modern, an African state should copy an admittedly modern state ... a Western capitalist nation*". The Euro-American model was transplanted to the Third World. It was hoped that with capital investment, technological innovations, *civilizing* the South, modern states, prototypes of the centre would emerge in the periphery. Thus suggesting that the "*non-West could only progress, become developed, throw off its backwardness and traditions, by embracing relations with the West*" (Johnston *et al.*, 1995:67).

A critical analysis of modernisation theories reveals that they are Western-ethnocentric, project Western values and equate development with modernity. Development and economic growth are synonyms of progress and high levels of civilisation. Coetzee (1989:36) critically argues that *"the broad linear conception of modernisation as the movement from a state of underdevelopment (as if it should be*

the universal way for all countries) cannot be accepted. Underdevelopment is not an original condition that can be eliminated stepwise in proportion to the components of modernity". The continued preoccupation of Western development theories with economic development and growth, as indicators of development necessitated an anti-thesis from the developing world, which criticised the Western modernisation model. As a result, dependency theory was formulated by a number of Latin American theorists using the Marxist perspective. However before this theory is hinted, a reflection on the basic assumptions of Marxism will be explicated.

2.4.2. Marxism

Marxism is a philosophy that originated from the teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The basic assumptions of the Marxist theory are that, the development of a society occurs in several phases. First is slavery, then feudalism, capitalism, socialism and lastly communism, which is the ideal social phase that will bring less conflict and contradictions in the society. The theory continues to argue that contradictions within each stage of development, engenders social revolutions that necessitates a movement from one stage to the other. Marxists (practitioners of Marxism) were strongly opposed to colonialism and in this way Marxism became attractive to many territories that were colonised by the West. It was seen as "a *vision, a prophecy of a better society*" (Bottomore & Nisbet, 1979:69). With its emphasis on change through the working class referred to as the proletariat in alliance with the ordinary farmers workers, referred to as the peasantry, Marxism, inspired a number of revolutions in Africa, Asia and Latin America. China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua are among a number of countries that attained their independence through the inspiration of Marxism. It is from Marxism that the theory of dependency which sought to stem the tide of modernisation that got its roots.

2.4.3. Dependency theory

The most fundamental challenge to the theoretical framework of modernisation lies with the emergence of dependency theory. Oxaal *et al*, (1975:10) observe that the theory of dependency was a response to "*the perceived failure of the national development through…industrialisation and a growing disillusionment with existing*

development theory of modernisation". Coetzee (1989:37) explains that "*the dependency theory has seriously challenged the theoretical adequacy of this approach on the basis of its inability to grasp the causality and features of underdevelopment in the Third World societies*". The theory maintained that dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion by others. To the effect that, any relationship of interdependence, is a relationship of dependence. No country can exist on its own (Oxaal, 1975).

The assumptions of the theory are therefore that, the urbanised centres were themselves developing at the expense of the rural peripheries. The unequal relationships between the centres and the peripheries led to the development of former the underdevelopment of the latter. Dependency theory rejected imposed development solutions from the Western counties. Its approach was Marxist and there was a belief that, once the scourge of capitalism was removed, developing countries would be able to develop rapidly, as their development was hampered by the exploitation of Western countries. While this theory managed to expose some of the shortcomings of modernisation theory, which was positivistic in nature (Burkey, 1993), it however, failed to create a tangible operational framework that would otherwise inform the discourses of developing nations. This was observed by Hettne (1982:58) who asserts that, "*so much stress was put on external obstacles to development that the problem of how to initiate a development process, once these obstacles were removed, was rather neglected*". A case of the Nicaraguan Revolution is a typical example. After years of political struggle the Sandinista government failed to secure electoral victory after barely ten years in power. Brown (1996: 277) observed that "*despite the emergence of a number of regimes committed to development of a non-capitalist path of development during the post-war era, discussions of the dynamics of the alternative have remained, to an alarming degree, absent from the theoretical corpus of development economics and studies*".

2.4.4. An alternative definition

So far, an attempt has been made to throw light on some classical and modern conceptualisation of development in a quest to understand the contemporary understanding of the term. Perhaps the World Development Report of 1991 does

throw light on the contemporary understanding when it asserts that "*development in the broadest sense* [seeks] *to improve the quality of life, especially in the world's poor countries. The overall goal of development is therefore to increase the economic, political, and civil rights of all people across gender, ethnic groups, religions, races regions and countries*" (World Development Report, 1991:31). Kotzé (1983:17) observes that development is an "*integrated change (political, social, economic, cultural) according to collective evaluative preferences which may be executed in an evolutionary or revolutionary manner through conscious human action*". Streeten quoted in Coetzee (1989:3), adds that, "*development is not about index numbers of national income, it is about people and for the people. Development must therefore begin by identifying basic needs. The objective is to raise the level of* [the] *living of the masses of the people* ...".

Recent assertions about development, indicate that there is recognition for the need for a paradigm shift from a modernist view. Alternative suggestions come from Coetzee (1989:108) who refers to a "*humanist view of development*"; what Friedmann, *et al.*,1980; Derman *et al.*, 1985, Burkey, 1993, Van Zyl, 1995) refer to as *'another development'*, *'human scale development'*, *'people-centred development'*, *'the new economics'* or *'humanistic economics'*.

It is evident that the Western-centred paradigm has not succeeded in addressing the fundamental needs of poor people found predominantly in the Third World. It is also very doubtful as to whether the modernisation theory had a human agency intention in its approach. The failure of two United *Nations 'Decades of Development'*, 1960 and 1970, to achieve development, testify to the bankruptcy of the models followed in pursuit of appropriate development. This therefore accounts for the new thinking that should attempt to narrow the disparities between the core and the periphery. A significant character of the periphery is that most of the nations in this zone are deprived of basic amenities. They lack, shelter, food, clothing that are primary survival requirements. They also need safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, health and educational facilities. For such basic needs to be met, it is vital that developing nations should have relevant political structures that will implement well-thought-out development programmes.

2.5. The South African development discourse

In line with the general attributes of developing nations, South Africa can be classified as a developing country. Historically, it has not escaped external colonialism neither has it escaped the influence of Marxism. As a British colony it has experienced the effects of the modernisation discourse. The development of industrial centres (Chapter 1), has created an economic space typical of the core-periphery model. As a country historically embattled along racial oligarchy, the forces opposed to racism had sharpened their ideological arsenal and sought refuge from a Marxist perspective. To this effect the contextualisation of the South African socio-economic relations as they manifest differently for different racial groups has been termed colonisation of a special type or internal colonialism. Wolpe in Oxaal (1975:231) notes that the South African Communist Party defined the colonial situation in South Africa by indicating that, "*South Africa is not a colony but an independent state yet the masses of our people enjoy neither independence nor freedom. The conceding of independence to South Africa by Britain was designed in the interests of imperialism. Power was transferred in the hands of the white minority alone. A new type of colonialism was developed, in which the oppressing white nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed themselves*".

It is not the aim of this study to trace the history of South Africa's development thought, however, it is to affirm or disaffirm whether the world's most influential discourses had an impact on South Africa. Indeed they have impacted tremendously; in fact they existed side by side as opposing political ideologies. A question which will not be answered in this treatise, is whether Marxism or capitalism is presently dominant in South Africa. As nation in transition it may be difficult to draw a line. However there is a thin line that suggests that South Africa is opting for mixture of the basic needs approach and an economic stabilisation approach. Himmelstrand *et al.* (1994:91) describe the human needs approach as the approach where irrespective of political ideology, one strategy which is "*agreeable to all political and social petit bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, workers the peasants and above all also foreign bodies and the different UN bodies*". So far there has not been any irredeemable 'crisis' in terms of the development path adopted by South Africa since 1994. Also, since 1994 it is observable in South Africa that emphasis is placed on stimulating growth and stabilising the economy so that more jobs can be created. In his 1999

presidential address to parliament President Mbeki resolved, "*we have to ensure we continue to develop a growing economy which is well-managed, to ensure increased national wealth and job creation*"[8]. With the stabilisation approach countries seek to "*reduce balance of payment problems, reduce inflation, stimulate economic efficiency and arrest economic decline*"(Himmelstrand *et al.*, 1994:93).

2.5.1. South Africa's development task

Whatever discourse has emerged or is emerging the development task in South Africa is a mammoth one. A critical point mentioned in Chapter 1 is the character of the rural spaces in South Africa. These are worst areas in terms of development. Found predominantly in the former homelands of South Africa (Figure 1.2) these areas were reincorporated into South Africa in 1994 as part of South Africa's Provinces, after a long history of 'separate development'. They are characterised by poor facilities, destitution, lack of infrastructure and a high incidence of poverty. Underdevelopment is therefore "*greater in, but not limited to, former homelands*" (Flaherty, 1995:14). Commenting on the conditions in the former homelands, Dexter (1993:37) noted: "*it is well-known that the essential services such as health and education are of a poor standard in the bantustans. Schools and hospitals or clinics are inaccessible to large numbers of people. In 1990 in the Cape Province, R99-00 per person was spent on health. In the Transkei, in the same year, R25-00 was spent per person*".

It is also noted by the White Paper on Rural Development that there are five critical areas that constitute the South African rural reality:

- high levels of poverty, especially among women-headed households,
- agricultural dualism, both in land use and support services,
- spatial chaos and stark contrasts between former homelands and the white rural farms around, in terms of settlement patterns, land ownership and use, transport and other infrastructure,
- historical restrictions on entrepreneurial development, and poor support and
- new local government structures set up in 1995, with no history or experience of plan, democracy or service (South Africa, 1995:9).

[8] Presidential Address to Parliament, 25 June1999.

This continued poverty and underdevelopment in the rural areas has, as a matter of fact, posed a great challenge to the incumbent government, where what was homeland underdevelopment has become present day provincial underdevelopment. The provinces have, in the process of transition, inherited the backwardness of these rural areas. There is, however, hope that the *status quo* will be remedied as the incumbent government has adopted a national renewal framework in the form of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Also, in recognition of the challenges confronting the rural periphery, a White Paper on Rural Development Strategy was a published in 1998 with the hope of engendering debate and concomitant action around rural development.

2.5.2. The state as the catalyst

It is evident that the development task that faces the peripheral regions needs sound political organisational structures that will be able to rise to the challenge of demands of development. It is not unreasonable to expect that the task of developing people should be borne by the government with the participation of its citizens. Derman *et al.* (1985:1) advise that "*despite many of the growing problems, people throughout the world continue to see the government as the mechanism for bringing about development*". Nelson-Richards (1982:32) also observes that "*because of the complex nature of development it is the state that should provide* [an initiative]. Glassman and Samatar (1997:167) state that "*the Third World state has taken a terrific beating in the last two decades. Nevertheless it remains a major player in the domestic affairs of those countries. Consequently the state plays multiple functions at any time, given the complexity of the development process*".

The truth is that citizens should not be spectator-beneficiaries — they need to be involved in the planning and implementation of development programmes. People, defined as *'civil society'*, are a "*potential location of power outside the state*" (McIlwaine, 1998: 415). Their involvement in matters of civil society should ensure participation; defined by Coetzee and Graaff, (1996:318) as "*achieving power in terms of access to, and control of, resources necessary to protect livelihood*", empowerment and democratisation. This situation will thus serve as a "*political legitimisation of institutional programmes without significant conflict*" (Hope & Edge, 1996:61). Nevertheless it is the articulation of the country's *'popular programme'*

(Brown, 1997) that ultimately will determine "*whether its citizens live better than they did before*" (World Development Report, 1996).

A significant point that this chapter raises is the position adopted by science in a world of poverty destitution and civil strife. Different periods in the history of humankind have presented challenges to scientists who sought to give meaning to the flux and dynamism of the ***natural*** (human and physical) phenomena. The chapter recognises that time can create different geographies, be they physical or mental. Social constructs are a product of the geographies of the mind. Sometimes these social constructs like the "*construction of ethnic consciousness*" (Vandenberg, 2000:218) by apartheid South Africa can be very detrimental to the creation of democratic spaces. The chapter raises a human question: what should be the role of geography science in the midst of all these?

The contribution of geography as a social science in advancing the realisation of a better quality of life in the World's communities could be espoused by practicable paradigms. Geography should generate theory and practice that affords a holistic approach to the understanding of *nature* (people and the environment) and its diversity. Daniels S and Lee R. (1996:9) observe that, "*both the discipline of geography and the practice of geography on the ground are socially constructed and so form an integral part of social practice. Human life is inherently social and so is shaped at particular* ***times*** *and particular* ***places*** *by the prevailing sets of social relations into which we are born*". In this sense, there can be no way in which researchers in geography can emphasise the positivist ontologies and methodologies at the peril of the social constructs. Evans in Smith and Eyles (1988:195) assert that "*by restricting the extent of social phenomena to that which is directly observable there is a tendency to extract the phenomena from the social context in which they are observed and measurable. This in turn leads to a tendency to omit consideration of the largely non-observable values, meanings and intentions*". To comprehend human meanings and intentions, researchers in human geography should employ research methodologies that are congruent to the understanding of social reality.

This discourse recognises that for an understanding of social reality like the poverty pertinent in the Western Highveld Region, the method of investigation into this social phenomenon should be able to capture human expectations, frustrations, motives

and meanings created by this rural space. The qualitative method, which employs individual interviews, focus group interviews, participation observation and questionnaires about feelings and intentions was preferred as the central method of enquiry. This method "*searches for and accepts the definitions and meanings of the social world as given, it reconstructs reality by revealing the taken-for granted assumptions of individuals and groups in space* (Eyles & Smith, 1988:2). Chapter 3 will focus on how the method was utilised in this investigation.

3 Research Methods and Procedures

> *In approaching the study of social and community life, of which we as researchers and individuals are part, we cannot ignore the competing tensions active in the array of social research methods.*
>
> *(Eyles and Smith, 1988:198)*

This chapter concentrates on the methods and procedures employed in conducting the research. A justification of why the chosen procedures were followed will be given. Limitations and problems to the study will also be highlighted.

Research in social science is defined by Eyles and Smith (1998:2) as a task "*to uncover the nature of the social world through an understanding of how people act in and give meaning to their own lives*". The definition by Eyles and Smith suggests that research in social sciences is about the lived world of people, to understand how people interact with their environment.

It was indicated in chapter 2, that the positivist view tended to elevate the physical scientific view, where issues of the natural world were preferred above human experience. It was also mentioned that it is a tendency of positivism to use quantitative methods in work with data related to human phenomena. Quantification led to a mechanical understanding of the Human Geography. Weber, quoted in (Bailey, 1994:9) remarks that "*the use of methods of natural science play a role in social research, but not an exclusive role, physical scientists stand in a different relationship to the phenomena they are studying from that of social scientists*". This assertion suggests that methods followed in the physical and natural sciences are legitimate but inadequate to the study of social phenomena. The next logical question is that, if then that is the situation, which method is appropriate to social investigation?

3.1. Qualitative research

Berg (1998) defines qualitative research as research that seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individual who inhabits these settings. Berg's view is supported by Kirk and Miller (1986:9), who assert that qualitative research is "*a particular tradition in social science that fundamentally depends on watching people in their own territory and interacting with them on their own terms*". This approach is interpretative in essence, it seeks to define, explain and give meaning to human phenomena. An analysis of literature on methodological questions in the Humanities and Social Sciences, reveals that social scientists tend to prefer the utilisation of the qualitative approach in their discourses. The reason for such a choice is that the qualitative method manages to deal with *intentionality*, which is key in a human investigation, in a way that ultimately renders a subjective investigation objective. At the same time Ley (1981:252) warns that during social investigation there should be no excessive celebration of humankind as this might be accompanied "*by an overly subjective methodology withdrawn from conventional empirical data collection*". However, Ley (1981) recognises that the research technique of participant observation, interviews and more structured survey methods (questionnaires) balance the philosophy and the methodology of Social Science. This approach then renders the qualitative method an appropriate method of inquiry in social research. The method does not denigrate the quantitative method of understanding social phenomena, but prefers to add human agency in understanding facts about the actual people researchers observe and to whom they talk. It avoids a warning by Berg (1998:7) who asserts that, "*if humans are studied in a symbolically reduced, statically aggregated fashion, there is danger that conclusions — although mathematically precise — may fail to fit reality*".

A factor that should be noted in Geography is that its Social Science-oriented facet, Human Geography, cannot be equated with other independent sciences like Anthropology and Sociology. As a science about the environment, where the environment includes both the physical and the human dimensions, Geography scholars should insist on the unity between the physical and the human. This renders a methodological approach that will conspicuously continue to display this empirical unity. While qualitative techniques can be employed to arrive at some reality, quantitative representation may still be necessary.

3.2. The research setting

The case of the Western Region of Mpumalanga Province that constitutes the subject of this study, is a lived world of rural people of South Africa. These people find themselves in a rural space that has been shaped by the historical events of apartheid rule that preferred a segregated socio-political scenario in South Africa. The Region is a rural setting where most participants are either semi-literate or are completely illiterate. They have never filled in a questionnaire nor have they been interviewed as was done in this study. Table 1.1 in chapter 1 has shown that of the 3 million people of the Province of Mpumalanga, 2.3 million, that is two thirds of population, have either not gone to school or have standard ten as the highest level of formal education. Table 3.1 indicates that the majority of the people in the Western

Table 3.1: Provincial and Regional Education Levels

	No schooling	*Matric only*
Provincial	**665 596**	**155 529**
Mbibana	9 936	2 795
Mkobola	31 350	7 147
Moutse	38 839	5 510
Moretele	14 446	5 554
Kwamhlanga	29 776	6 805
Mdutjana	29 010	7 547
Ekangala	4 890	1 820
Regional Total	**158 247**	**37 178**
Source: Statistics South Africa, 1996		

Highveld Region do not have formal schooling. In this setting, the cultural consideration regards a person with a Matric certificate as an educated individual. After Matric, most parents in the Region expect their sons and daughters to seek for employment as are regarded culturally marketable in the job market. The point of fact is that the Region has a very low level of education, this naturally impacts on the population's responsiveness to formal research methods in a form of answering a questionnaire.

An investigation in the experience of these people obviously demands that their feelings; their emotions; their ecstasies and agonies be understood in the context that will accurately reveals the truth about their experiences and what informs their thoughts. In turn, this demands from the researcher extra caution as a slight misconception can ruin the whole project. There are also cultural and religious considerations like how to greet the chief, how to address an elderly woman, what to wear when meeting with traditional elders; considerations which makes the research work not as easy as it may seem. In this work, several research strategies to afford a multidimensional effort in arriving at reliable and valid information were used. Reliability and validity defined by Kirk and Miller (1986:19) respectively as "*the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whatever it is carried out and the extent to which it gives the correct answer*". It is these elements that make a research objective. To enhance validity and reliability of the research process, the interview technique, the questionnaire and participant observation techniques were utilised.

3.3. Research techniques and data collection

The basic techniques of survey research, defined by Babbie (1998:256) as "*the best method available to the social scientist interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe*" was used. Babbie further identifies a questionnaire and interviewing as two basic techniques of a survey research. Another research technique employed, was the participant observation technique described by Goldberg (1992:324) as "*an excellent exploratory technique that is not very fully exploited.* [It is] *a complete and sufficient methodology…for the exploration of the actors' world'.*

3.3.1. The questionnaire

Robson notes that there is a self-completed or self-administered questionnaire, which he refers to as "*a questionnaire which respondents fill for themselves*" (1993:243). Flowerdew and Martin (1998:83) also note that there is an '*interviewer-administered questionnaire*'is a tool used by interviewers in their research work. Hult (1996:66) contends that the questionnaire is "*a kind of survey form that asks for responses to a set of questions*". Large numbers of people can be asked their opinions by means of

questionnaires over telephones, through the mail or in person. The questionnaire extends the investigation's powers and techniques of observation.

Self-administered questionnaires were used to access information about the TLCs of the Western Highveld Region, from the Reconstruction and Development Committees (RDCs). RDCs are structures that are found in most of the villages of the Region. They were formed after the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa as community-based development structures that would monitor and assist in the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. These institutions were targeted as they constitute a legitimate voice for the needs of the people in most villages.

Prior to implementation of the research programme, a letter (Appendix 1) was obtained from the University Geography Department to legitimise and authenticate the research work. It explained the purpose of the research. The questionnaire, Appendix 3A, was delivered to all the villages by hand through friends and acquaintances and were accompanied by Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, which is the letter from the researcher requesting assistance from the participants. A total of 109 questionnaires were delivered to the RDCs of the Region. This constituted a 100% of the RDCs that had been established throughout the Region. The questionnaires were sealed in A5 envelopes that contained all the letters and self addressed and stamped envelope for the return of questionnaires through the post office. The post office is the major centre of rural activity. It has facilities like telephones where people could contact whomever they wish. Also, most rural residents use the post office as a financial centre, this is where they deposit and withdraw their pensions or other earnings. The post office is generally used as a major rural communication facility.

A point worth mentioning is that the structuring of the questionnaire (Appendix 3A) was made possible by the pilot survey that was conducted before the questionnaire could be finalised and sent to the respondents. The survey in question was conducted at random. The researcher would attend meetings of RDCs, traditional Authorities, civic organisations and community those convened by councillors. During meetings and after meetings the researcher would pose unstructured questions to stakeholders and their responses would be noted. In this way, the pilot survey enabled the researcher to familiarise himself with the research setting, and to select

the major points of concern that were at the centre of the communities' needs. These were then crystallised in the questionnaire that was used in this study.

The best part of 1998 saw a trickle of returning questionnaires. Of the 109 dispatched questionnaires, there was an average of three returns per month which meant that, by the end of 1998 only about 30 questionnaires had been returned, a 27.5% return per annum. During the middle of 1999, a new strategy was adopted. The seven TLC offices of the Region were visited and residential addresses of the co-ordinators, and, in some instances, the executive committees of these RDCs were obtained. In the light of this, a village-to-village delivery of questionnaires was embarked upon. The respondents were expected to fill in the questionnaire and return them through the post. It was the intention of the researcher to use the questionnaires as some kind of interview, an interview-administered questionnaire, and fill in the questionnaire on the spot. However, it was discovered that there was so much cohesion in the RDCs that they could not agree to on-the-spot completion of the questionnaires. They preferred that they be filled after consultation with the communities. A truly democratic consideration.

This *modus operandi* strengthened the reliability and validity of the data collected in that it was not a product of a few individuals but a community effort conveyed through the RDCs. In this way response errors that often accompany interviewing biases were avoided as RDCs completed the questionnaires alone without any interviewer's influence. Flowerdew and Martin (1997:83) warn that during "*a questionnaire-led interview or otherwise... questions asked, may not be understood in the way intended, the respondent may feel pressured into agreeing with the researcher's own ideas, or other sort of biases may enter into responses given*".

The second attempt yielded positive results, because, by the end of 1999, almost all questionnaires had been returned. Of the 109 questionnaires served to the RDCs, a total of 96 questionnaires were received. Although a questionnaire is a valid survey technique in qualitative research, theoretically, caution is advised as a major disadvantage lies in the fact that "*the honesty*" and "*seriousness*" of the respondents cannot be assessed (Robson, 1993). In the case of data collection in the Western Highveld Region, the researcher through personal contact, enlisted the co-operation and confidence of the respondents. The fact that the researcher was perceived as a

member of the Region, the respondents became even more open as some thought somehow, their concerns would be addressed through the researcher who understands their circumstances. They became interested and appreciated academic concern. Interpretation and discussion concerning the new initiatives could improve their own capacity and knowledge to perform well in the interests of the community. The fact that the researcher could address them in their language, and sometimes attend their cultural festivities, an artificial barrier between 'researcher' and 'the researched' fell away in a way that strengthened the authenticity of the data.

3.3.2. Interviews

Berg (1998), identifies what he refers to as "*a family of qualitative interviews*" consisting of structured and unstructured interviews; formal and informal interviews; standardised and unstandardised interviews. A standardised, formal interview uses a structured schedule of interview questions while, an unstandardised, or informal interviews prefer open questions. As a research technique, the interview has some advantages in that it "*includes flexibility, the questioner can interact with the respondent, the questioner immediately knows the respondent's answer and the questioner can gather non-verbal and verbal clues*" (Hult, 1996:68). Robson (1993:299) also observes that, "*asking people directly about what is going on is an obvious short cut in seeking answers to our research questions".* Johnson also notes that an interview "*represents a direct attempt by the researcher to obtain reliable and valid information, in interviews you discover people's current thoughts, ideas and attitudes*" (1998:99).

With regard to this survey, the interview technique assisted in discovering facts from a host of stakeholders that constituted an important human infrastructure in the local government situation. An understanding of the Region was achieved from talking to people and conferring with Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), civic organisations, traditional authorities, youth clubs, government employees from the Health and Welfare Services, mayors and councillors. Consequently interviews were held with different role players and stakeholders. Appendix 4 is a schedule of all interviews that were conducted. A note should be made that some responses of these interviews will be reported on in

chapter 5. Although some interviews will not be directly quoted, they have provided an important background in comprehending matters at stake in this treatise.

3.3.2.1. *The interview questions*

Different questions were asked of different role players as they differed according to their interests in local government. In all cases a tape recorder was used so that the interview could be remembered as accurately as possible and in its proper context. While researchers are not in unison in as far as voice capture is concerned, Dannemiller quoted in Babbie (1998:272-273) notes that the voice capture technique, enables "*coders to play black the responses and code them – much as they would do with the interviewer's typescript of the responses. This offers an easier and more accurate way of accomplishing a conventional taste*". The researchers in most cases use open-ended questions. This technique allows probing to take place and as such more information can be derived from the respondents or the focus group.

Interviews conducted with the GaMatlala Traditional Authority, the Bantwane Traditional Authority and the KwaManala Traditional Authority illustrate the unintended effect of the recorder. In all these cases, the tape recorder was used. It would appear that the tribesmen of these authorities thought that through voice recording, their voices would be heard over the radio! This was evidenced by their active participation in answering questions. For example, the KwaManala Traditional authority was asked to describe their relationship with the local councillors, they almost answered in unison. So that, while the recorder captures response accuracy, it at the same time, as it happened in this case, manages to elicit response competition from the respondents. It is the willingness of the respondents to respond to questions that enables the researcher to acquire more information from the audience. From the open-ended question like the one that was asked the KwaManala Traditional Authority as mentioned earlier, the researcher may derive a number of responses if there is active participation from the respondents.

3.3.2.2. *Interviews with focus groups*

Stewart and Shamdasan (1990:10) define a focus group interview as an interview with a group of "*8 to 12 individuals who discuss a particular topic under the direction of a moderator who promotes interaction and assures that the discussion remains on the topic of interest*". Stewart and Shamdasan continue to assert that a typical focus

group session will last from one and a half to two and half hours. This technique, came into vogue after World War II and has been a part of the social scientist toolkit ever since. This technique, which is by its nature an interview, can also be a research method on its own, as Bailey suggests that's "*although focus groups are often designed to argument larger surveys they also seem to be enjoying increasing success as a stand alone method*" (1994:192).

During the research, this method was used to establish the views of the KwaManala traditional authority on their relationship with the Mbibana TLC. A group of about 15 tribesmen had gathered at the traditional authority's office and were asked questions as a group. Manyathi (1997:22) affirms that traditional leaders are responsible for a number of functions in communal areas. "*These range from governance, administration and community development*". As their role competes with that of the local councils this particular group was interviewed so as to understand their relationship with the Mbibane TLC. An interesting feature of this technique is that the richness of the diversity of views assists in the understanding of matters at stake. Bailey accepts that the advantages of focus groups is that "*they provide data quickly; their cost is relatively low; they provide qualitative data on beliefs, attitudes and behaviours and provide more depth of coverage and more detail than is usually possible in a large survey*" (1994:192). Indeed attitudes, perceptions and sometimes positions that were held by a number of stake holders and role players, particularly the KwaManala Traditional Authority members, whose views will be captured during the analysis of the research findings, were intriguing. This Traditional Authority, the eldest in KwaNdebele, was able to provide an interesting historical analysis of community development trends in KwaNdebele. Part of their responses showed that the new dispensation had left them out as an important traditional formation in the development of communities. This raises an important debate of the involvement of traditional leaders in local politics.

3.3.2.3. On-site impromptu interviews

A rare technique that is at the disposal of the social scientists is the on site impromptu interview. This interview takes place at the locality where project managers can be interviewed through unstructured interviews during construction or authorities interviewed in the field or setting where the situation can be observed. This technique is used to confirm, concretise and correlate information. Two such

interviews were conducted at GaMatlala Ramoshebo (Moutse) during the installation of electricity and at Vlaklaagte in Mkobola during the upgrading of the storm water channels

Plate 3: Construction site at Vlaklaagte: A scene for observation

Plate 3 is an example of on site observation. In this plate, an excavation machine can be seen during a storm water creation project at Vlaklaagte. In this situation, the interviewer was able to observe a project under construction and to ask questions about the work in progress. These interviews are helpful as they always give first hand information.

3.3.2.4. Participant observation

Observation is an important research tool that is generally used by the natural scientists. For example, in Geomorphology, the weathering of limestone into various landforms can be observed over a particular period, results can be obtained through mere observation and coding. By the same token, social scientists agree that a researcher may observe a community and its activities over a given period. This kind of observation, however, demands that the researcher be either an active participant

in the events of that community, in other words a civic leader may be part of the civic movement and report on the activities of his/her organisation. The researcher can also be passive a observer in that, he/she may be part of that community but not be involved in the observed or researched institution of the community. Flowerdew and Martin (1998:127) define participation observation as "*the method [involving] living and/or working within particular communities in order to understand how they work from inside*".

The participant observer in this regard, is deliberately immersed in the community's everyday rhythms and routines. S/he virtually observes the community by sitting back and watching activities that unfold in front of his/her eyes. The researcher – observer records his/her impressions in a form of photographs, notes, drawing, and other tangible ways. In most cases the observer will keep a diary and note all the events of the community. While there is a distinction between a non-participant observer and participant observer, Bailey (1994:247) warns that, "*in a natural setting, it is difficult for the researcher who wishes to be covert not to act as a participant. If the researcher does not participate, there is little to explain his or her presence, as he or she is very obvious to the actual participants*". This may affect their behaviour and can in effect, change a natural setting to an unnatural one.

During the research, the researcher's investigation coincided with that Indima Managerial Service, a company employed by the Highveld District Council, to conduct Land Development Objectives (LDOs) and Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) for the whole of the Western Highveld Region. Coincidentally the researcher was invited in his capacity as an educator to participate in the exercise in one locality of the Region. On realising some parallels between Indima's work and this research work, a special request was made for the researcher to be part of other workshops that were scheduled for other localities of the Region. In this way the researcher became part of the revolving Indima team and participated as both a researcher and a member of the broader community of the Region. In this case the researcher was a participant observer, in that, while he participated as a member of the community, his observations and experiences from being part of the contingencies as reported in this study, form part of his research work. Indeed in the process of participation, valuable information was gathered and is reported on in the observations of this study.

Appendices 5 to 7 are roll calls that indicate meetings and workshops in which the researcher participated.

Yin (1994:88) argues that "*participant-observation provides certain unusual opportunities for collecting data. The most distinctive opportunity is related to [one's] ability to perceive reality from the viewpoint of someone inside rather than external*". In earnest, during *Indima* workshops, opportunities were afforded as the researcher had access to the minutes of the meetings, documents of the meetings, maps, photographs and survey reports related to the infrastructural framework of the Western Region. In general, co-operation was received from all stakeholders and role players during the research exercise. Appointments with mayors, councillors, traditional authorities, CBOs, NGOs and civic organisations were honoured with great appreciation. Some local councillors assisted in making their council documents available. A notable factor is the amazing hospitality that was displayed by the traditional authorities.

What this chapter has done is to report on the real work that was done in the study area. It brought all the stakeholders, role-players and interested parties to the foreground and also revealed the methods used to gain information from these parties. The role of qualitative research, which interprets the lived world of people, was stressed. The chapter brings the researcher to the real world, the real space of meetings, workshops, visits to cultural places, contacts with traditional leaders and the real space of social construct; constructed by years (time) of neglect and destitution. Chapter 4 will provide a historical (time perspective) analysis of the local government phenomenon in South Africa as a prelude to the contextualisation of the current situation prevailing in the rural areas (spatial perspective) of South Africa. The account in chapter 4 will reveal how the different periods in South African history have shaped and created social geographies like the townships and homelands; geographies of real people who have experienced the hardships of living under colonial and apartheid rule. These geographies justify why social scientists need to employ interpretative geography if they are to understand human agency.

4 Local government in South Africa

> *Transformation of any society is judged by the extent to which it affects local government. Until and unless you bring fundamental change into the sphere of government closest to and directly involved in the affairs of communities, your social transformation is hollow and incomplete.*
> *(City Press, 2000)*

The conviction, by most South Africans and the rest of the world, that the April 1994 democratic elections in South Africa became a milestone in the history of South Africa, is overwhelming. Several scholars in all fields of study have sought to enquire about what came to be known as the '*South African miracle*', a phenomenon that involved a negotiated and relatively peaceful settlement of the South African national question. Lemon and Fox (2000:337) assert that "*the 1994 general elections was by common consent a defining moment in South African history, and one of global significance, marking the peaceful transfer of power by a racial oligarchy to the population as a whole*". Wakelin and Simelane (1995:40) also agree that 1994 was *"a year of fundamental change in South Africa*". As a result of this peaceful transition, there has been "*since 1994, a concerted effort ... to improve the living conditions of all South Africans"* (Møller & Jackson, 1997:169). While it is true and acceptable that the 1994 breakthrough became a catalyst in South African political discourse, it is, however, simplistic to pretend that a negotiated settlement is equal to the *total* solution to the South African problem. An emphasis on the events around negotiations and the 1994 elections tends to blur and obscure the ethos, the content, and the *realpolitik* inherent in the South African problem.

It is the improvement of the conditions of living, particularly of black South Africans, that has been at the centre of the liberation struggle in South Africa. McKinley (1997:98) recollects that the ANC's main objective was to "*address the political and economic situation of the black population*". This position is confirmed by a host of ANC policy documents, the African Claims, 1943; the Freedom Charter, 1955;

Morogoro Conference resolutions, 1969; Kabwe Conference resolutions, 1985 etc (Tambo, 1987). Tambo (1987:246), summarises even more emphatically: "*liberation must entail the transfer of power to the people of South Africa so that we can collectively determine and shape the society we desire, create the institutions and structures required and decide by whom and how they will be operated*". Mbeki (1992:98), in the same vein, accedes that "*the [ANC] is the spearhead of the National Democratic Revolution, which aims at destroying apartheid and correcting the historical injustices that have been perpetrated for so long against so many*". Tapping on the two assertions above, it would appear that the 1994 breakthrough presents opportunities to create democratic *institutions and structures* that must *correct historical injustices*. In essence, this breakthrough has over time become a new paradigm arousing a new philosophy and a new methodology in the analysis of the current South African human landscape. An SACP (1999:8-9) evaluation of the five year post-1994 General Election period reflects that " *... indeed one of the most important lessons of the past five years is that the enormous progress made in the social upliftment of our people, has been as a result of development and social delivery*". A comment such as this is most significant to this particular study as it is against this background of transition from the old order to the new order that the essence of this study is contextualised.

In the first instance, the chapter will attempt to locate local government within the present international governance paradigm and then situate that context within the current phase of transformation taking place in South Africa. A brief history of local government in South Africa will follow. Its history will be traced from the colonial era to present day South Africa in such a way that the historical dimension will provide an understanding of the present situation. The discussion will also attempt to argue the case of rural local government.

4.1. International trends

4.1.1. Local government in decline

A consistent international trend since the end of World War II, has been a notable drive for democratisation of nation states — be it through wars of liberation, political reform or armed insurrection. All nations that had been colonised or occupied,

demonstrated a strong desire for self-rule and independence. As a result, most countries in Africa, Latin America and South East Asia saw the granting of independence in the late 1950s and 1960s. The take-over of administration by indigenous leadership heralded a new era of governance of the newly found states characterised by centralised forms of government. Immediately after independence, there was a demise of local government as new leaders consolidated their power around the ruling party and the central-national administration. Urban Foundation (1993:4) observes that "*the immediate post-independence period in Africa* [particularly], *saw a remarkable strengthening of the central government at the expense of local government*". To the effect that in countries like Tanzania, Ghana, Senegal, Guinea and *Cote d'Ivoire* local government elections were abolished. The speed with which decentralised governments were dismantled is surprising (Mahood, 1993). However, their removal is universal and related to at least four reasons why the rulers of the newly found states opted for centralisation at the expense of decentralisation:

- Most ruling parties believed in a one party state where national cohesion was seen as reducing counter-revolutionary tendencies like tribalism and cessation. Though a socialist strategy of development might seem to require the initiatives of the working class and the peasantry, and thus provide reason for decentralisation, cases of socialism in the Third World and Africa, meant a centralised administration as the commanding height in nation-building for most ruling parties.
- Another factor was that of a development paradigm which equated development with growth in the per capita income of the country. This prompted development agencies and finance institutions to centralise decision-making, thus setting national goals with the hope of enhancing socio-economic change, the belief being that rational planning for rapid economic development required centralised government.
- In addition, the political culture bequeathed by colonial empires "*contained the notions that authoritarianism was an appropriate mode of rule and that political activity was merely a disguised form of self interest, subversive of the public welfare*".
- Colonial rule was styled on military administration, and most Third World nationals grew under this command system, so that a command administration was viewed as more effective (Mahood, 1993:33).

The dominance of a centralised government in most developing areas of the world in both the Second and the Third World, could no longer sustain the nation-state. With the passage of time, the commanding centres could no longer hold sway and things began to fall apart. The political discontent that rocked most parts of Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and the phenomena of *coups d'état* in Africa in the 1970s is evidence of the alienation of the people by the centralised government. Independence and freedom lost meaning, as the centres became corrupt, thus alienating themselves from the popular masses.

A notable factor is that centralisation has not been the phenomenon of developing countries only. Developed countries also experienced a move towards centralisation. The British local government is a typical example. Up to the mid-1970s there was little conflict between central and local government in Britain. However, after this, local government became the target of a series of reforms as the country experienced the decline of a welfare state. To deal with the economic problems, local government was targeted. Grants to local councils were reduced and the Thatcher government in the early 1980s hastened the centralisation process by introducing legal measures (Local Government and Planning Act, 1980) that further pruned the local councils of their autonomy. Endorsing this, Cochrane (1993:31) notes that, "*the overwhelming academic consensus, about local government in the early 1980s…was that the various reforms…were fundamentally undermining the position of local government within the British political system. It was a period of centralisation*".

4.1.2. The new beginning

The end of the Cold War[9] during the closing years of the previous millennium, defined the world order as an uni-polar world power situation. That single fact has reduced the ideological contestation in the world, and has hastened the tempo of acceptance of democratic ideals. Mabogunje (2000:182) notes that this situation "*is already forcing an end to autocratic rule* [particularly in Africa] *whether of the military or one-party state. Indeed, the current progress of the democratic movement around the world is bound to give greater fillip to the need for decentralisation*". A

[9] This was a 20th century ideological tension between the Capitalist bloc led by the USA and the Communist bloc led by the USSR. It was a tug-o-war for world domination.

decentralised local government is bound to enhance participatory democracy and promote greater transparency and accountability in government.

As a response to this changed world order, the 1990s saw central governments in many parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America beginning to examine ways of decentralising powers to the local government (McCarney, 2000:16). The World Bank, in its 1995 Report, indicates that, of the seventy-five developing countries with populations of over 5 million, all but twelve had initiated some form of transfer of power to local government (World Bank, 1995:vii). However, McCarney (2000:16) observes that although power was transferred to local government, real financial autonomy - the power to act on newly acquired local functions – was not effectively transferred in many countries and "*local government remains the weak partner in the governing relationship. Without this requisite power, [it] suffers a profound legitimacy crisis in its newly evolving relationship to civil society*". It is against this backdrop that changes at local government level in South Africa should be understood. The decline and demise of the highly-centralised apartheid nation-state, has brought a new paradigm in the South African local socio-economic and political milieu. Jones (1998:960) notes that there is an international "*shift from structured government to fluid governance. Because governance emphasises interorganisational and intersystematic steering, this discourse is deemed appropriate ... for strategic decision making and service delivery at localities*". The debates around a self-sustainable and developmental local government, strengthens the notion that "*what is currently occurring in South Africa must be seen as a mirror of international trends, particularly in Western Europe and North America where an increasing pro-active role is assumed by the local authorities*" (Rogerson, 1997:176-177).

4.2. The making of local government in South Africa

There are several discernible factors that have helped to shape the development of local government in South Africa. Outstanding of them all, are the colonial intervention that the country has had; the apartheid experience; and the impetus of the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid resistance movement in South Africa. It would appear that a combination of these factors has carved an historical antithetical path that has helped to deliver a product that epitomises present day local government in South Africa. A 'local' government has been described as "*a unique experience*"

(Curtis, 1998:85). Unique because the South African Constitution, "*entrusts local government with a daunting responsibility in the transformation and building of the new South Africa*" (Harris, 1999:184). It is within the context of transformation and the building of the new South Africa that this treatise has sought to establish itself.

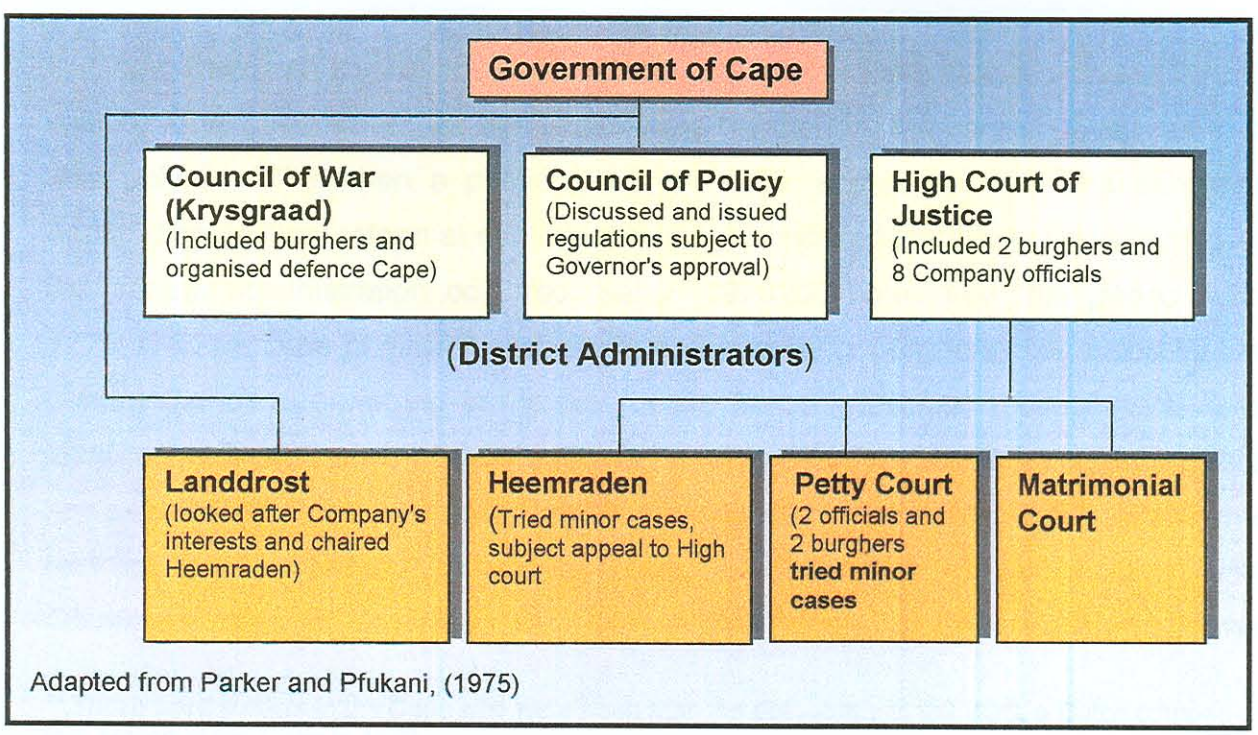
4.2.1. The colonial period

The influences of Holland and Britain laid the foundation of the present system of local government in South Africa. Although having occupied South Africa at different times, sometimes together, sometimes separately, the legacy of these two powers continues to influence South African life even to today. The application of Roman-Dutch law in South Africa's judicial system is a typical example. First was the Dutch rule (1652-1795 and 1803-1806) then came the British rule (1795-1803 and 1806-1910). Both Dutch and British practices have left deep impressions on the tradition and structure of local government (Vosloo, *et al.*, 1974:17).

4.2.1.1. The Dutch influence

Early local government in the Cape was organised around the system of the College of ***Landdrost*** (magistrate or sheriff) and ***Heemraden*** (local court council), which was

Figure 4.1: Landdrost and Heemraden System of Government



Adapted from Parker and Pfukani, (1975)

inherited from Holland. Figure 4.1 is a representation of how the Landdrost and Heemraden were arranged during the Dutch rule in the Cape. The first College of Landdrost and Heemraden, which was established at Stellenbosch consisted of a landdrost who was a paid chairperson and four *heemraden* who were free burghers[10]. The l*anddrost* acted as local representative of the central government in Cape Town and the Heemraden were councillors representing local interests (Vosloo, 1974:18). Figure 4.1 shows the structural arrangement of this system of landdrost and Heemraden. The College had multiple functions, including its role as a lower court of justice and providing municipal services to the settlers. As a local authority the College dealt with the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, water supply, public safety and fire protection. Decisions of the College were arrived at by a popular vote. This implied that, in some instances, the opinions of the landdrost were sometimes vetoed. This system later spread to Swellendam (1779) and in 1789 to Graaff-Reinet (Ismail *et al.*, 1998:41). Walker, (1934:65) in a lamentous tone against this system as a cause of the Great Trek[11], complains that, "*at each local centre there was a landdrost, a magistrate, armed with executive and judicial powers. The landdrost was checked by a board of local heemrade, the field-commandants and the field-cornets of the wards, ... the powers of these popular representatives, deacons, elders, heemraden, burgher councillors and the rest were greater in practice than on paper*".

In Cape Town, which was the seat of the VOC (Dutch East India Company), there was no local government, as all matters were handled by the central government. It was only in 1779 when a petition, and, in 1785, a delegation of free burghers demanding political reform at central level, were honoured that some restructuring of the central administration occurred. Selby (1973:32) notes that "*the period from 1778-1795 was one of turmoil and rebellion. A number of burghers, influenced by the democratic ideas emerging at the time of the French Revolution, used these as a justification for demands of freer treatment by the Company's officials and for direct representation in the Cape government*". Consequent to the demands for reform, the restructuring introduced in Cape Town, a committee called *Kollege van Commissarissen uit den Raad van Justisia* (the College of Commissioners to the

[10] These were settlers in the Cape who were freed from the obligations of the VOC, a Dutch company that settled at the Cape in 1652.

Council of Justice) (Vosloo *et al.*, 1974:19). This Committee which, in essence, was a municipal commission, consisted of three officials from the VOC and three free burghers.

4.2.1.2. The British influence

When Britain occupied the Cape for the first time in 1796, after the French defeat in India, the Burgher Senate replaced the Dutch-fashioned municipal committee in Cape Town. The Senate comprised six burghers appointed by the Governor for a five-year term. This structure performed all municipal functions. The Peace of Amiens between France and Britain compelled Britain to return the Cape to Holland under the Batavian Republic. From 1803-1086 the Cape was once again under the influence of Holland. The new Commissioner-General at the Cape, De Mist sought to undo the burgher Senate and replace it with an elected *raad der gemeenten* (Community Council). Governor Janssens, who preferred the system of appointment and co-option rather than elections, rejected this. However, the new name of Community Council replaced the Senate and more powers were given to the new-styled Community Council.

The reoccupation of the Cape by Britain in 1806 led to the changing of the local structures as Britain preferred the anglicisation of the Cape Colony. Commenting on the British reoccupation of the Cape particularly after the arrival of the 1820 settlers, Selby (1974:46-47) notes that "*the number of English-speakers was doubled, and British sports, pastimes and institutions were introduced. Houses, churches and halls were built in English style, and independent newspapers were started* [and] *there were renewed demands for wider representation on the governing councils*". After the re-occupation, the Burgher Senate was re-introduced in Cape Town and the Landdrost and Heemraden Colleges in the Cape rural areas were abolished. The British Administration introduced districts and divided the Colony into several administrative districts. A notable feature of the districts was the division of functions. While the Dutch structures amalgamated judicial and civil functions, the Districts distinguished between the two. While a magistrate headed the judicial side, a District civil commissioner headed the civil side. The Governor of the Cape appointed both officials.

[11] An 1836 exodus by the Cape Dutch farmers in protest against a range of issues at the Cape Colony.

It was the Cape Municipal Ordinance of 1836, that provided the basic framework for local government as it is known today. British local government terminology such as mayor, town clerk, councillors, by-law powers, the standing committee system and the concept of municipal corporation (Ismail, 1998:42) were introduced. This heralded to some South Africans, a long and a bitter history of local government in South Africa.

Speaking on behalf of the Afrikaners, Van Jaarsveld (1974:53), notes that, "*one must also take into account the influence exerted by shifting frontiers, local government bodies (such as the burgher and heem councils), which in addition to Calvinism and the patriotic movement, gave rise to democratic ideas, ideas such as the belief in rebellion against unsympathetic authorities which gave the Afrikaner an exceptional yearning for the republican form of government".* Reflecting an African perspective on the historical role of the oppressive local government in the African areas, Tambo (1983:214) agitates that, "*we have maintained an uninterrupted offensive against the puppet local government authorities in the black urban areas. In struggle, we must make it impossible for our enemy to govern us in the new way. We must confront and defeat its new organs of government in the townships*". So, for all population groups the colonial period had significant impact.

4.2.2. The apartheid era

The apartheid era is usually associated with the coming into power of the National Party in 1948. However, the idea of racial separation had been the practice of successive White governments since the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. After his election as a leader of the National Party in 1953, J.G. Strydom defined apartheid as follows: "*apartheid or separation, between black and White has been a traditional policy of both the Afrikaans and English speaking people for centuries. Its object is to regulate life between Whites and Blacks, to eliminate friction between the two groups, and to ensure the safety of the White minority*"[12]. The 1913 Land Act, which gave 13% of the land to African people, and 87% to the Whites, is a testimony to segregation long before the National Party (NP) took power in 1948. It is, however, not incorrect to associate apartheid with the National Party, because it is after its assumption of political power, that apartheid became law and state policy.

Commenting on the National Party's take-over Govan Mbeki recollects: "*we woke up one morning and are told that Malan has won the election, and that meant he shuts the door on our faces*"[13]. Commenting on the same event, Nelson Mandela also remembers "*Oliver* [Tambo] *said well, I like this, because it is going to put further momentum to the Resistance Movement. We now know that we have an enemy in power, and difficult days are coming for us, and I think we are going to have a better opportunity of mobilising our people*"[14]

From the quotations mentioned above, it is evident that the NP take-over was not welcomed by the African people, as it meant the beginning of a bitter struggle for them. Indeed apartheid proved in time, to be the most heinous policy ever. As a state policy it affected the lives of many South Africans and penetrated the social fabric across the board. Mbeki (1992:65) describes it as "*a plan that was painstakingly designed to wipe out millions of people subjecting them to a slow death by starvation, so that the Afrikaner could live out his life in a place without fear of the 'swart gevaar' - the Bantu*".

The introduction of apartheid removed the last vestige of African political representation in South Africa. The Bunga, which was a Council of Chiefs for the African reserves (Bantustans/Homelands), the Advisory Boards, which were local structures for the urban Africans, and the Natives Representative Council, the only African voice in Parliament, were abolished (Mbeki, 1992). These structures were the only available platforms prior to apartheid for airing African views.

4.2.2.1. Apartheid designs

Local government in South Africa, like many other institutions of human endeavour, could not escape the effects of apartheid. In 1950 the Group Areas Act and in 1951 the National Party government introduced the Bantu Authorities Act. On one hand the Group Areas Act defined land use zones of South Africa according to race. There came into being White areas, Coloured, Indian and African townships. On the other hand the Bantu Authorities Act, further defined African people as urban and rural residents. The zoning of African townships was according to ethnic orientation. In

[12]Interview with BBC 1953. From Ulibambe Lingashoni- Hold Up the Sun. Video Material Episode 1
[13]Interview on Ulibambe Lingashoni- Hold up the Sun. Video Material Episode 1.
[14] Interview on Ulibambe Lingashoni-Hold Up the Sun, Video Material Episode 1.

Soweto[15] for example, there is Tsakane, which is predominantly Tsonga speaking, Dube, predominantly Zulu and Jabavu, Xhosa oriented. This pattern is repeated throughout major cosmopolitan urban centres of the country.

The 1950s could not, nor did not, produce significant local government structures. The only legislative exercise was a battery of laws that aimed at introducing racial segregation and a reversal of gains achieved in this sphere. For instance, "*the Native Laws Act of 1952, 1956, and 1957, restricted blacks into the cities and the Reservation and Separate Amenities Act of 1953, enforced segregation in schools, hospitals, churches, public transport, hotels, toilets and* [many other services]" (Guise, 1993:14). As a matter of fact, there was no conspicuous form of local government in the urban and rural areas that could be associated with South Africa as a country.

On May 31, 1961, South Africa became a Whites-only Republic, excluding the majority of South Africans from any form of decision-making. The 'new' dispensation placed municipal affairs under the control of Provincial Councils. This meant that local government became the responsibility of the four Provinces (Natal, The Orange Free State, The Cape and The Transvaal) that constituted the 1961 Republic. Racially divided, municipalities became different for different race groups. The new order provided for Coloured and Indian Management Committees. These were mere advisory structures that had no effect in terms of real decision-making mechanisms.

It was the belief of the apartheid administration that the African people were not part of the new-found Republic; that their place was in the Bantu Reserves. Slovo (1995:74) defines these reserves as "*the African rural ghettos (now graced by the name of Bantustan) allocated in the final dispensation after the crushing of the long, drawn-out indigenous wars of resistance. They cover in total the land area of 13%; the balance of 87% was proclaimed as a permanent exclusive homeland of the English, Dutch, French, German colonisers and settlers and their descendants*". To effect this, in 1959 the Promotion of Black Self-Government Act was passed, providing for the self-governing of Africans in what came to be known as 'homelands'. Guise, (1993:16) agrees that "*this grand apartheid strategy was aimed to secure White South Africa, by carving off those areas where most blacks lived, as*

[15] South Western Townships, an African urban sprawl, west of Johannesburg.

viable independent homelands". To ensure that Africans become sojourners in the urban areas, their movement in and out of the so-called White areas was controlled through a barrage of influx control measures. Dr H.F. Verwoerd regarded this state policy, as "*providing justice to both black and White and creating a permanent (final) solution for White and black*".[16]

4.2.2.1.1. Local administration in the Non-White areas

In 1971 the Bantu Administration Act was passed. This Act provided for administration Boards that were responsible for African municipal services in the black townships. These Boards were instituted with the hope that they would perform better after the failure of the structures created in terms of the Urban Blacks Council Act of 1961. The same year, 1971, the Cape Provincial Council proclaimed that only voters who were registered to vote for members of Parliament could register for municipal elections. This move removed the Coloured people from representation in the Provincial Councils, which were responsible for Coloured municipal affairs. This implied that the Coloured people were effectively disenfranchised of the voting rights they had held until the proclamation. This then revoked the 1950 Group Areas Act and its amendments, which provided for Advisory Boards and committees for the local governance of the Coloured people.

Up until 1971, Indians in the Cape, with its more liberal tradition, had enjoyed municipal voting rights. Natal had removed these rights in 1924. In both Natal and the Cape, franchise qualification was linked to property qualification for both Indians and Coloureds. (South Africa, 1993:11). Contrary to the situation of the Coloured people, the South African Indian Council, was never empowered to control local government. Only Provinces were given powers over 'Indian affairs'. Noting this *status quo*, it is quite evident that local government was a question of political manipulation during the apartheid period. The Group Areas Act and its subsidiary racial amendments had shaped local government to come to mean nothing to the black people[17] of South Africa.

[16] Public Address. Ulibambe Lingashoni- Hold Up the Sun. Episode 3.
[17] Africans, Indians and Coloured people of South Africa.

4.2.2.1.2. Local administration in the White-only areas

From the inception of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the establishment of the Republic in 1961, up to 1994, White people of South Africa enjoyed exclusive rights in local government. This right existed with the exclusion of other fellow country people, especially African people. Noting this reality, Cloete (1995:1) asserts that "*it was at a local government level that the apartheid value system manifested itself most forcefully. This was where laws separated racial communities in every sphere of life and where Whites enjoyed privileges at the expense of other racial communities*".

The 1961 version of the South African constitution divided the country into four provinces. These provinces, headed each by an Administrator were responsible for provincial and local government. Subject to the approval of the Provincial administrator, of a particular province, local governments headed by mayors of different towns and cities were able to make by-laws in their municipal areas. Municipalities were also invested with executive powers of raising tax on fixed property. They then became responsible for providing to the White communities a wide range of services. These included *inter alia*, the building and maintenance of roads and streets, the provision of water and electricity, the provision of housing, traffic control, fire brigade services, granting of business and vehicle licenses and health services (South Africa, 1993). These services, which are rare commodities in the Black communities, were taken for granted by the White communities.

4.2.2.1.3. Local Administration in the Bantu homelands

The 'homelands', defined as '*African rural ghettos*' (Slovo, 1995:74), '*the dumping grounds*' (Cosatu, 1987:39), "*overcrowded, eroded, and fragmented rural and semi-urban slums*" (Saspu, 1990:22), were regarded by the apartheid regime as permanent residences of the African people in South Africa. These homelands were founded through the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act of 1959. Nel (1994:13) notes that, "*as part of the overall strategy of grand or homeland apartheid, the government created numerous ethnically distinguishable reserves or homelands for South Africa's major African tribal groupings...functioning as reservoirs of cheap labour*". Saspu (1990:22) supports this view, that, *bantustans* were "*economically designed to keep within their territories all those who are superfluous to the*

immediate labour of the White industries, allowing them only when their labour is required by this or that branch of production."

Table 4.1: Total numbers removed from 1960-1982

Eastern Cape	401 000
Western Cape	32 000 + 385 000 Group Areas Act removals, in 1980.
Northern Cape	150 000
Orange Free State	514 000
Natal	745 000
Transvaal	1 295 000
TOTAL	**3 522 900**
Source: Cosatu, 1987	

The creation of these homelands resulted in the removal of millions of people from the so-called White areas to the reserves. Table 4.1 shows the total number of black people force-fully removed from their settlements between 1960 and 1982. Nutall *et al.*, (1998:75) note that, "*after 1960, officials began forcing more and more Africans who lived in White areas to move to the bantustans. Many Africans who lived on White farms as labour tenants were made to move*".

The administration of the homelands centred on Tribal Authorities. These were tribal entities that were the building blocks of the homeland policy. They were in effect tribal councils, which belonged to paramount chiefs. A paramount chief would be responsible for a number of villages, each with a sub-chief or an *induna* (headman). Through village committees, headed by a sub-chief, tribal authorities would be co-ordinated from the villages to the region or sub-region. These structures became responsible for the administration of a particular region or sub-region. It is from these councils that the homeland administrations drew tribesmen who eventually served in their 'Parliaments'. It was the policy of apartheid that whenever homelands wanted 'independence', such would be given so that the homeland could run its own affairs. This distinguished the so-called TBVC states from the self-governing homelands. The TBVC states were Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, which opted for 'independence'. The self-governing homelands were those, which did not opt for independence, namely, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, Lebowa and Qwaqwa (Fig. 1.2). In both constellations, it was proclamation R293 that provided the

basis for the existence of town councils. These Councils were, however, limited to the 'capitals' of the homelands: Seshego later, Lebowakgomo in Lebowa, Siyabuswa later KwaMhlanga in KwaNdebele, Sibasa, later Thohoyandou in Venda, Mmabatho in Bophuthatswana, Umtata in the Transkei, Zwelitsha, later Bisho in the Ciskei, Ulundi in KwaZulu and KaNyamazane in KaNgwane. In Qwaqwa there was Phuthaditjhaba and Giyane in Gazankulu.

4.2.3. The role of the anti-apartheid Resistance Movement

The 1976 student uprisings in Soweto and other major townships in South Africa stand as a watershed in the history of South Africa. The events, which continued throughout 1977, marked a turning point, because, for the first time after the banning of black political organisations in 1960, a serious challenge mounted against apartheid rule. Tambo (1987: 114) describes the 1976 events as having initiated "*a popular protest that has kept the regime off balance ever since. What began as a student demonstration, became an uprising against the apartheid system*". The intensity of the 1976 student revolt shook apartheid to its foundation.

As a direct effect from the instability in the country, concern grew within the National Party that apartheid could not work and the repressive measures adopted to maintain its grip were no longer justifiable (Guise 1993:23). In 1978, The Hon. P.W. Botha became Prime Minister of South Africa. During his election campaign he promised to introduce sweeping reforms that would change the face of South Africa. In 1979 Black Trade Unions were legalised. So it appeared that there was a change of heart on the part of the apartheid regime.

4.2.3.1. Local government as a crucible of political struggle

If 1976 was a watershed in the history of South Africa, then, the 1980s were a catalyst, a milestone in the political strife that led to a new political discourse in South Africa. The interesting element is that, it was the struggle around local government, which assisted in shaping the new discourse. In 1982 the Black Local Authorities Act (BLA) came into effect. This Act provided for local government in African townships similar to those in White areas. At the same time, a Whites-only referendum was conducted in 1983 to determine whether the White community supported the idea of changing the Constitution so as to include Coloureds and Indians in what came to be

known as the 'Tricameral Parliament'. Meanwhile, in the townships, the BLA was put to test and local government elections were scheduled for 1983. As a response to these apartheid manoeuvres, 565 Black and White progressive organisations, representing women, youth, student, civic, worker, teacher, nurses' and church organisations representing 1,5 million supporters, (Mbeki, 1996:59) assembled at Mitchell's Plain on the Cape Flats on 20 August 1983 and launched the United Democratic Front (UDF). The aim of the UDF was to mobilise all and sundry against the Tricameral Parliament, the President's Council and BLA, Mbeki (1996:57) argues that the BLA "*gave the government a range of new powers and responsibilities, while the Coloureds and the Indians were given limited powers in the tricameral Parliament. Effectively they were being co-opted into the regime. In the guise of reform, the Nationalists were introducing legislation which aimed to plug the holes in apartheid*".

The 1983 local government elections in the African townships, met massive protest from the civic organisations, that had just come under the umbrella of the UDF. A call for a total boycott of the elections was instituted by the UDF. "*The effect of boycotting the elections was that in most cases, there were no candidates to be elected, in other cases, candidates had to nominate themselves to the councils. Even in places where there were candidates, the poll was very low - often below 20 percent*" (Mbeki, 1996:60).

In September 1984 a 'new' Constitution came into operation. It created three separate Parliaments at national government level for Whites, Coloureds and Indians. The Constitution provided for "general affairs', including foreign affairs, defence, state security, commerce and industry, law and order, Black affairs and "own affairs", including social welfare, education, housing hospital services and local government (Guise, 1993:24). The House of Representatives, which was a Coloured Parliament, became responsible for Coloured local government as an 'own affairs'. Subsequently the Development Act of 1987 and the Rural Areas Legislation of 1987, respectively provided for urban renewal and development in Coloured urban areas, and advisory boards in Coloured rural areas. The House of Delegates, an Indian Parliament of the tricameral system, was also responsible for its 'own affairs' local government. The House instituted new local authorities and management committees for Indians. Urnov, notes that, "*the idea of gradually admitting Coloureds*

and Asians to Parliament and government, was to bring them over to the White camp and thereby weaken or split the national liberation movement. Of course there was no question of these communities having real power … and in this sense they largely resembled the 'legislative assemblies' of the bantustans" (1988:220).

The impact of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa rendered most of the local government institutions in all areas moribund. In the African townships as soon as the councils took power they were confronted with a lack of cash and resources, they were then compelled to increase rents and rates. As Cosatu (1987:51) observes: "*The system of Black Local Authorities was introduced as an attempt to transfer power in the townships. But the uselessness and the greed of those willing to serve on these councils soon showed. They simply could not deal with the basic needs of the townships because of the totally inadequate resources and funds available to* them. *And when they tried to increase rentals, this resulted in a massive backlash against the payment of any rentals at all*".

Plate 4: A rent protest march typical of the 1980's mass protests

Source: New Era, 1990

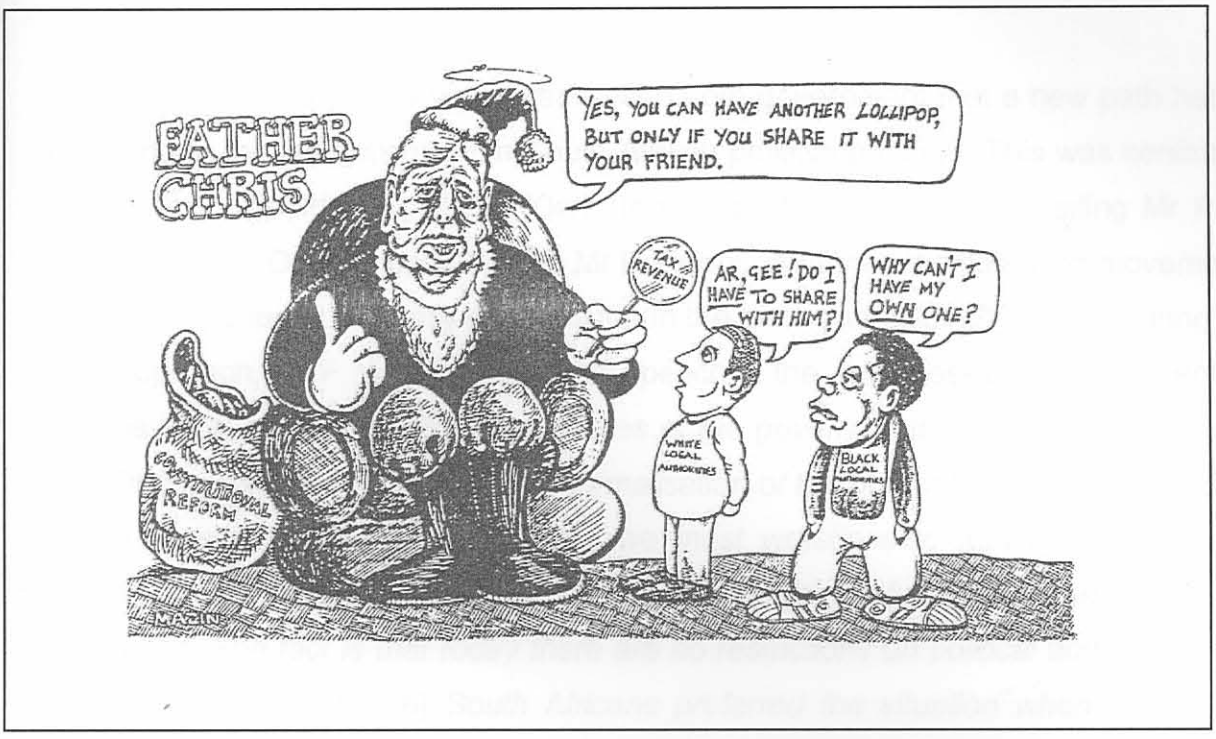
The total boycott of rent and rates resulted in the collapse of many councils throughout the country. The boycotts were often followed by street protests that were interpreted by the government as a defiance of its authority. Plate 4 shows a typical protest march in Cape Town. Such protest marches against high rent were phenomenal throughout South Africa during the 1980s.

The reaction of the regime would normally be a violent dispersal of protesters that led in many instances to massacres. The events of March 1984 in Sebokeng, in the Vaal, after rent protesters were killed as a result of atrocious behaviour on the part of the police, are a typical example. A vicious circle of deaths in every protest, and deaths at every funeral of a victim of police brutality, deepened the political crisis in South Africa. In 1985 the situation had reached an almost civil war level and the government declared a partial state of emergency in several hotspots of the country. Like wild fire, protests spread rampantly throughout the country. The country had become ungovernable!

4.2.3.2. The final collapse

To stem the tide of the deepening political crisis in South Africa, a nation-wide state of emergency was imposed by the apartheid administration on 12 June 1986. Under the cover of the state of emergency, the regime sought new strategies of regaining authority. To try and regain the initiative, Sarakinsky in (Benjamin and Gregory, 1992: 128) observes that the apartheid government set in motion a three-phase programme: *The first phase was the re-establishment of law and order, second was socio-economic upliftment, and third was political reform*". In the first phase, the security forces worked hard to muzzle, repress and curtail the protest actions of the anti-apartheid movement in an attempt to stabilise the townships. On one-hand, state institutions like the Department of Finance and the newly established Regional Services Councils (RSC) made resources available for improving the living conditions in the townships. The RSCs provided resources from rich local authorities, despite resistance from the White councils (The cartoon in Plate 5 illustrates white resistance against sharing of the municipal resources) to the inclusion of their poor black counterparts. With well-funded townships, the apartheid government hoped that township residents would accept the Councils, and thus diffuse the wave of protests.

Plate 5: White Councils were reluctant to share with Black Councils



The combined effects of international pressure and mounting internal mass protests, there was a realisation on the part of the regime that a new political dispensation that would include African people was required. At the same time, argues Sarakinsky, "it is of utmost importance to note that the government had also realised that the internal and exiled black opposition movements had established a presence that could no longer be ignored" (Benjamin and Gregory, 1996:129). This then motivated the regime to contemplate a reform programme that would isolate the liberatory forces and bring to the centre-stage moderate organisations to establish political presence. The African National Congress (ANC), in its policy document notes that, "*one of the chief elements in the regime's strategy has been to seek auxiliaries among the oppressed themselves. Through the tricameral Parliament and local government structures the regime has sought to expand the base of collaborators*" (ANC, 1991).

The acid test to this strategic agenda came in the form of the national African, Coloured, Indian and White municipal elections that were held on October 26 1988. With these elections, it was hoped that a large number of people would be drawn into the local government structures and thereby support the various councillors who had

opted to be candidates. The turnout at the polls was low, the elections were a failure, and it became clear that the government's strategy was unworkable.

By the end of 1988, there was a realisation from government that a new path had to be found in the resolution of the South African political problem. This was confirmed after former President F.W. De Klerk, took over the reins from the ailing Mr P.W. Botha in 1989. On February 2 1990, Mr De Klerk unbanned the liberation movements and thus opened up a totally new chapter in the history of South Africa. Declaring the new approach, Mr F. W. De Klerk in his speech to the Joint Session of Parliament on 7 June 1990 said: "*Among the objectives of the government in respect of which we obtained a mandate have been the normalisation of the political process inside South Africa ... whether we like it or not , we must wrestle also with the international realities of the present and secure for our country its rightful place in the community of nations. The fact is that today there are no restrictions on political activities in our country ... Many* [White] *South Africans preferred the situation when unpleasant political realities could be swept under the carpet. It was much less troubling to pretend that these realities did not exist and to continue to live in comfort and complacency*" (South African History Archive, 1990:22). This new approach set in motion a train of events that finally led to April 27, 1994 when a new Government of National Unity took over from the apartheid administration. The period between February 1990 and April 1994 can be described as the most difficult period in the history of South Africa. It was characterised by uncertainty, violence, assassinations and an increased level of mass protests as political parties wrestled for political space in a terrain that was to define once and for all the future of South Africa. It is this period that finally came with the new Constitution and eradicated apartheid from the face of the land.

4.2.4. The transitional period

The effect of mass mobilisation in the 1980s that led to the collapse of local government in the townships prevented the government from implementing its agenda. It did not, however, give the resistance movement the power to implement an alternative. There was also recognition by the resistance movement that the boycott tactic had, for understandable reasons, undermined the principle of service payment. There was a concern that, should this culture perpetuate, the survival of a

new local government would be in jeopardy. These and other considerations, particularly the government's acceptance of a non-racial local government, and a need to "*create a single tax base*" (Urban Foundation, 1993:20), led to the commencement of a negotiated local government process.

4.2.4.1. The negotiation process

The period following the 1990 political breakthrough witnessed an intensified process of political negotiations at both national and local level. The talks that started through CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa), culminated in a national settlement reached at Kempton Park, a settlement that produced a national consensus for a democratic South Africa.

While negotiations were underway at the national level, there was simultaneously an escalation of the political crisis at the local level. Rent boycotts continued, councillors resigned and most councils in black residential areas had collapsed. This compelled the national government, through its statutory status to engender a process that sought to normalise local politics. The end of 1991 saw the formation of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), an ANC aligned national residents' organisation. It immediately engaged with the Minister of Local Government and Constitutional Development to prepare a framework for a local government negotiation process.

On 22 March 1993, the Local Government Negotiation Forum (LGNF) was established (Cloete, 1995:4). This became a bilateral Forum consisting of representatives from central, provincial and local government – the statutory delegation and the non-statutory delegations represented by SANCO and SAMWU (South African Municipal Workers' Union) (Cameron, 1996:2). The principal task of the LGNF was to negotiate and agree on a process that would "*contribute to the bringing about of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and financially viable local government system*" (LGNF, 1993:4).

The process of negotiations was handled through various task teams:

- the legal and constitutional working group;
- the services and finance working group; and
- the management, administration and training working group.

These groups were responsible for most of the bargaining and negotiations; they constituted the fibre of the negotiation process. The Local Government Transition Act of 1993, which became the basis of an agreement on the transitional local government was derived through the assistance of these technical groups.

4.2.4.2 The local government accord

The significance of the negotiation process is that it produced for South Africa, the Local Government Transition Act. A crystallisation of an agreement reached by the Local Government Negotiation Forum and ratified by the MPNP at Kempton Park. The Act constitutes a framework that accepted the unitary nature of South Africa. It also laid a solid foundation for a non-racial local government, a significant departure from both colonial and apartheid models of local government.

It is not the aim of this chapter to detail the whole process of the LGNF, the intention is to point to those important highlights that enable a contextual comprehension of the evolution of local government in South Africa. The Act which constitutes the national consensus on local government, is divided into seven parts:

- *Part 1.* **The application of the Act**. This part, which is generally a section about definitions of the Act, contains agreement on the nature of an envisaged local government in South Africa. It defines and sets the agenda for the transformation process. It defines two important concepts of the agreement, the *pre-interim* phase and the *interim phase*. The pre-interim phase is a phase that began from February 2 1994 to the day of the first local government, which was November 1995. The agreement recognised local authorities within this period provided they were on a path to transforming themselves and/or were engaged in local negotiation process for transformation. Interim phase is a period from 1995 to the next local government election, which occurred in December 2000. The LGNF agreed on the local government transitional provisions, which will set a basis for a final dispensation to begin with the second local government elections.

- *Part 2.* **Provincial committee for local government**. This part reflects agreements on provincial structures set up by the TEC (Transitional Executive

Council)[18]. There was agreement that provincial structures of local government were to be set-up in all provinces so that they should monitor progress, liase with the stake-holders, identify problems and attempt to resolve such at a provincial level. These Provincial committees were also responsible for voter education and were enabled to make submissions on legislation for transition.

- *Part 3.* **Exemptions from certain provisions**. The LGNF agreed that those local government bodies that can prove that they are non-racial in that their administration and financial base is beneficial to all race groups can be exempted from the pre-interim phase.

- *Part 4.* **Pre-interim Phase. Negotiation Forums**. This part primarily deals with an agreement on the local negotiation forums. These are local formed negotiation forums for the purpose of agreeing on a transitional model to be applied in their locality, the number of seats of the local transitional authority, the nomination of councillors on the new system and all other relevant duties that relate to the transition.

- *Part 5.* **Interim Phase: Transitional Councils**. This is perhaps the most important part of the Act as it reflects agreement on the type of transitional local government that finally got rid of the most controversial model of local government in South Africa, the colonial and apartheid types of local government. The LGNF agreed on several types of transitional structures, the Transitional Local Council (TLC) for non-metropolitan areas, Transitional Metropolitan Council (TMC) for metropolitan areas and Rural Transitional councils for the rural areas. This part also deals with the delimitation of wards, representation in the Council and procedures for the conduction of elections.

- *Part 6.* **Transitional measures for the *pre-interim* phase and *interim phase***. In general this is an agreement on the mandate given to provincial administrators to be custodians of the transitional process, together with the

[18] A National executive structure created by the MPNP to monitor and drive the transition in South Africa.

provincial committees. These are to guide, monitor and regulate the transformation process.

- *Part 7.* **Local government Demarcation Boards**. There was agreement by the LGNF that each province should have a Demarcation Board for the purpose of rezoning the country in such a way that the past compartmentalisation according to race can be addressed. This part therefore provides for such Boards.

- *Part 8.* **General Provisions.** This part empowers the minister, in consultation with the administrator, to bring into effect legislation that strives to meet the aspirations and the spirit of the Act. This part also repeals a host of racial legislation that epitomises the history of local government in South Africa.

It was noted during the discussion in this chapter that local government in South Africa is a product of various historical realities. During colonial times, local government served the interests of the trading companies and also those of the colonialists. Apartheid local government sought to perpetuate the racial philosophy of the White minority government that defined South Africa as a country of different races, captured in Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's address to the session of the Transkeian General Council, the Bunga in 1951, when he said, "*I do not believe in the intermixing of races, White and Bantu, ... the differentiation of races has been ordained and we must base all our policies on that fundamental fact*" (South Africa,1951:1). This policy gave rise to a democratic movement that sought to undo apartheid policies. Tsenoli (in Reddy, 1995:33) asserts that "*one of the defining features of the liberation struggle is the way in which issues that rose at the local level were handled. One of the most important aspects of that struggle was the passion in which people resisted a series of illegitimate, toothless bodies to control and handle matters relating to African people, councillors, Bantu administration boards and black local authorities*". The fall of apartheid rule and, subsequently, the national consensus on a new local government dispensation, crafted through the Local Government Transition Act of 1993, is an important milestone in the history of South Africa.

Defined as a ***developmental*** local government by the South African Constitution, the new local government in South Africa, has been charged with three broad functions:

- to provide basic household infrastructure
- to plan for integrated cities towns, and rural areas and
- to promote local economic development.

Given the disparities that exist in South Africa between historically White and Black areas, the discrepancies between rural and urban areas, the developmental task faced by the new municipalities is a mammoth one indeed.

The South African local government history has shown that the phenomenon of local government has been at the centre of socio-political resistance in South Africa. The creation of local government structures at different times in history reveals that these structures were machinations of different political persuasions at different moments in history, whether it be the Burghers against British rule or the African people against apartheid formations. The resultant struggles have shaped a different local government landscape. The fact that there were no local government structures in the homeland-controlled rural areas, is an indication of the colonial and apartheid spatial policies. The Group Areas Act, Act No 41 of 1950, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1950, the Bantu Self-Government Bill of 1959 were legislation that defined South Africa as country of institutionalised racial spaces. It is these spaces like the Western Highveld Region that are a testimony to the spatial and structural history of South Africa. It is in these spaces that the present dispensation strives for redress and equity. Chapter 5 will report on whether the legacy of neglect and deprivation rife in the Western Highveld Region is addressed by the new structural changes that saw the introduction of local government structures in these rural geographies.

5 Western Highveld Regional Municipalities

> *Rural areas were ignored in the preparation for local government elections. The Local Government Transition Act failed to make provisions for rural areas. The structure that was finally specified was a mirror image of provisions for urban areas; it was implemented virtually overnight without taking into account the exceptional history of urban areas and their transitional structures.*
>
> *(Galvin, M. 1999)*

The South African historical milieu of local government reveals that this phenomenon has always been viewed as an appended structure belonging to the central government. Wessels (1994:16) views this model of governance as "*a Napoleonic model of integration, emphasises the roles of central and local government as parts of the single state*". In this model most functions are performed by the central government. The current dispensation in South Africa, prefers an "*autonomous model that regards the central and the local spheres of government as relatively separated*" (Wessels, 1994:16), with the local tier adopting a promotive or developmental role. Such a role includes the advancement of communities, creation of wealth and the provision of services.

Within in the framework of the principles of development, the functioning of municipalities in the Western Highveld Region of Mpumalanga Province, is described according to the findings of this investigation. The study area, a rural fringe, stands among South Africa's rural areas whose population was "*estimated in the year 2000 at 14,2 million people who are mostly African and overwhelmingly poor*" (Bekker & Mawhood, 1991:50). Fast (1998:307) has observed that "*one of the challenges in* [these] *rural areas is the establishment of viable municipalities*" to ensure that rural areas are also brought into the mainstream of development.

Following a brief overview of the survey, identified community needs and expectations, community participation in projects and their availability will be reported

on. The satisfaction level of the communities in the Region will be measured vis-à-vis the delivery by the municipalities of the Region. This penultimate chapter links to other chapters to endorse the assumption that peripheral spaces are in dire straits and need intervention.

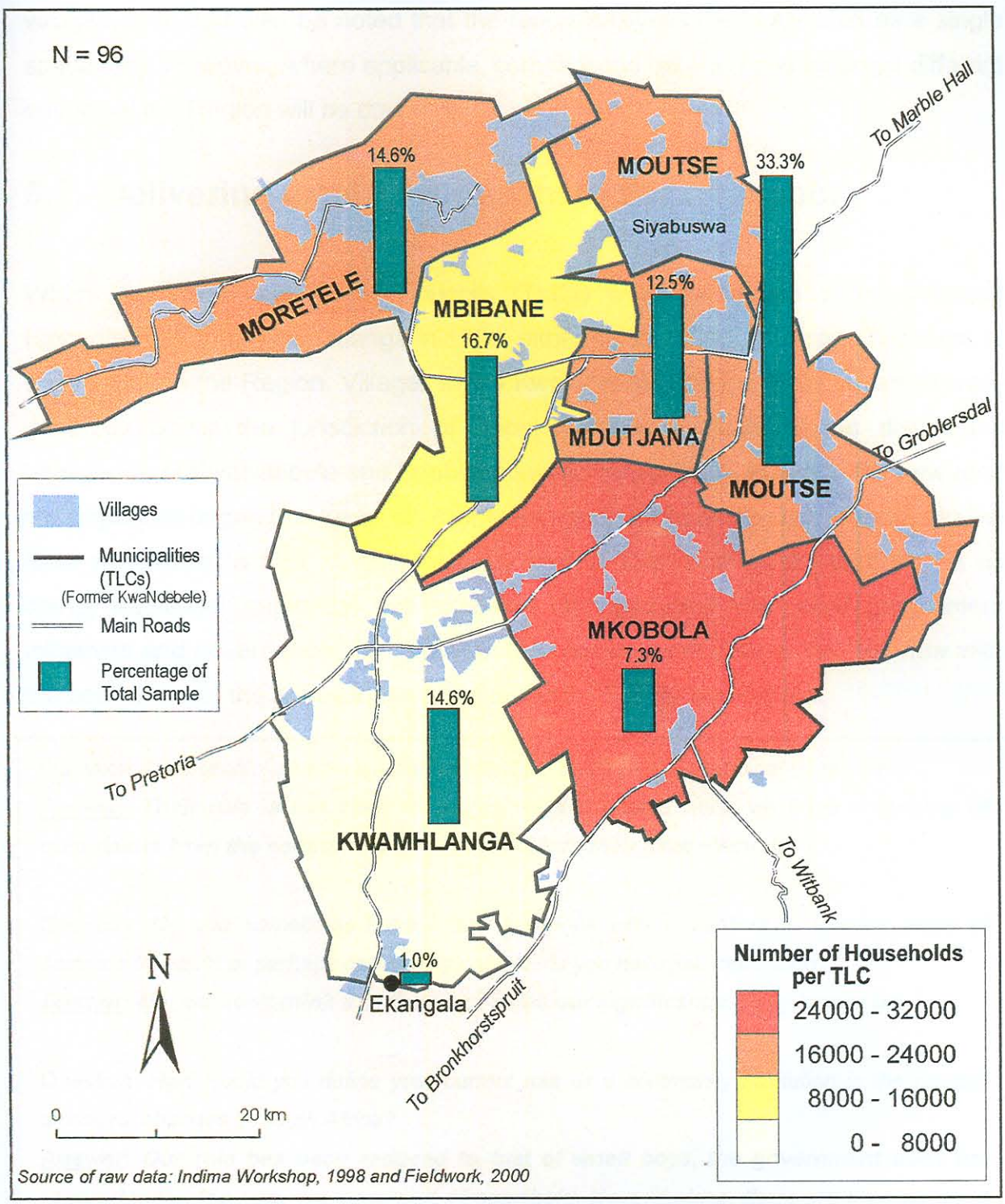
5.1. The respondents

The report is a product of interviews, on site observations, notes from meetings and workshops, minutes from different local authorities' meetings and, more especially from the questionnaires dispensed to a number of stakeholders and role players. It was indicated earlier (Chapter 3) that the questionnaire to the RDCs is regarded as the primary source of data for the study.

Respondents from all the municipalities of the Region participated in the survey (Figure 5.1). These are the RDCs that assist the local government structures in identifying the development needs of the communities. Note should be taken of Moutse which shows a high rate of participation in the survey, this is as a result of the enthusiasm shown by RDCs of the area in development issues as a result of the underdevelopment of their localities. Ekangala as it will be noted in the report, is a small TLC with only three villages. The low number of Ekangala is in relation to other TLCs not in relation to the Ekangala municipality. The respondents were asked in a questionnaire to indicate the level of their organisation, to define their role and to indicate how they got involved in the role they were playing (Appendix 3A, question 1.7, 1.8 &1.11 and 1.12). In as far as question 1.7 is concerned, 99% indicated that they were a local structure, with 1% indicating that they were a subregional structure, co-ordinating a number of local RDCs. All respondents, saw their primary role as attending to the development matters of their constituencies. Also, most of them, 78%, indicated that they were mandated by their communities to participate in development matters. The remaining 22% were either invited by the local authorities or volunteered. As mandated community based structures, these RDCs would consult their communities in all matters related to development. This is also true to this survey. The survey should be seen not as a product of few individuals but a culmination of inputs from the communities of the Region. The focus of this chapter is to record findings related to the important issue as to whether the mandate given to

the rural local authorities in the Western Highveld Region was effectively implemented and utilised to meet the expectations of the communities they serve. As

Figure 5.1: Percentage Respondents by Municipality, Western Highveld Region, Mpumalanga



already indicated, the report will cover findings from interviews conducted with several institutional organisations and individuals, results from observations

(meetings and workshops attended during the investigation) and those from questionnaires sent to the different TLCs in the study area. In general, five areas of interest will be reported: community needs of the Region; people's attitudes and satisfaction with the role of the TLCs; development interventions in relation to the needs of the Region; and, finally, community participation in the development of their villages. It should also be noted that the report analyses the study area as a single spatial unit. However, where applicable, comparisons between and amongst different entities of the Region will be drawn.

5.2. Delivering local government to the rural poor

When the Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) were introduced in the Western Highveld Region of Mpumalanga in 1994, either chiefs or indunas controlled most of the villages in the Region. Villages in the KwaNdebele and the Moretele areas were generally under the jurisdiction of Tribal Authorities, relics of the dismantled homelands of KwaNdebele and Bophuthatswana respectively. In effect, the new rural municipalities began to take on another role — a new role of providing services to the local population, a task never previously part of their local affairs portfolio. In so doing, traditional authorities felt sidelined and excluded from local government initiatives and governance. The situation referred to is reflected in the interview with the councillors of the KwaManala Tribal Authority[19]. They were asked:

Question: *Honourable members, what do you think is the role of municipal councillors?*
Answer: ***Their role is not clear to us, as we are seated here, we have a number of complaints from the community about councillors they have elected.***

Question*: Do you sometimes have formal meetings with councillors to discuss areas of common interests or perhaps community complaints you have just mentioned?*
Answer: *No, we don't think that they recognise our significance. They ignore us.*

Question: *How would you define your current role as a community institution in the present structural changes in South Africa?*
Answer: *Our role has been reduced to that of small boys, the government does not recognise us, they say we were part of apartheid. Nevertheless, there are thousands of people who still need our services.*

[19] Interview held on August 20, 1999 at the KwaManala Traditional Authority's Offices in Mbibana.

Question: *What are those services you render*?
Answer: ***We resolve family problems, people report crime to us, we assist people in acquiring property development sites, we recommend people for loans. Our task is great. We do these without any remuneration. The budget we used to get from the KwaNdebele government for the performance of these functions has been withdrawn by the present government. How do we sustain ourselves?***

This *status quo* where there is a *de jure* local government on one hand and a *de facto*, however popular, traditional leadership on the other, has impacted on the direct delivery of services. Besides this observation, there is a cultural dimension that also impacts on the working relations between different cultural groups. A typical example was discovered during field work, where a chief in Nokaneng, a village in Moretele municipal area, refused water pipe-laying simply because the councillor who was involved in the project was Ndebele and the chief could not afford to jeopardise his reputation by being addressed by a Ndebele (councillor) as he (chief) was Tswana. These were the typical perceptions and attitudes from the institutions of traditional leadership at the time of the coming into being of the new structures of local government.

5.3. Regional needs

The Western Highveld Region, encompassing the seven municipal areas, is located in the periphery of development (Chapter 1:25), a situation that places it as a historically disadvantaged area. It is also a stated goal of this study to understand the socio-economic needs of the Region from a historic and contemporary perspective. The needs analysis that follows presents the minimum requirements that the respondents viewed as essential.

These needs were established through a questionnaire (Appendix 3A) dispensed to all the RDCs, some civic organisations and CBOs in the Region. Twelve needs (Appendix 3A Question 2) were presented to the respondents who were requested to indicate those that they regarded as most essential in their locality. The list included schools, clinics, water, sanitation, houses, electricity, roads, storm water drainage, sewerage, emergency and rescue services, welfare centres and recreational facilities. On analysis, it was discovered that all TLCs (100%; N = 7) needed all these

commodities. In addition, land transport services and telecommunications were identified as other essential needs. The respondents were at the same time asked to rank their specific needs in order of priority. This was done so as to determine whether all TLCs had the same needs. Table 5.1 shows prioritisation made by the respondents from different municipalities.

From the distribution offered by the table, it is apparent that all TLCs ranked their needs in a regular pattern that indicates that municipalities have similar needs. This is not surprising as the Region belongs to the former homelands of Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele, the legacy of historical neglect is thus evidenced by this prioritisation. Water, roads, health services, sewerage and electricity stand as the top five priorities of the TLCs. There are, however, differences as can be observed from Moretele and Moutse on educational facilities. Respondents from Moretele and Moutse (Table 5.1) have included education facilities as top priorities for the two TLCs. This contrasts with other TLCs who are former KwaNdebele entities. While there was a general neglect of the Region, Moretele and Moutse are the most backward. Plate 2 in chapter 1, is evidence of a new development addressing educational needs in Moutse.

Another difference can be observed in Mdutjana. Respondents from Mdutjana (Table 5.1) indicate that roads are the first priority as compared to water. The reason for this situation is that Siyabuswa, which was a capital of former KwaNdebele, is situated in Mdutjana. Its historical presence in this area has made it possible for all the 21 villages in Mdutjana to benefit from water reticulation initiated by the homeland administration. Having observed the individual municipal picture, the data was condensed so as to acquire an overall regional picture (Table 5.2). Table 5.2 indicates that most respondents ranked water and roads are indeed major issues needing attention (67% and 61% respectively). Health services (37%) and electricity (29%) were also seen as regional priorities. Sewerage, education, emergencies and postal services were recognised as important whereas housing, safety and security, welfare, correctional services and land were deemed less critical issues.

A comparative analysis of the results obtained from the questionnaire and those obtained during workshops conducted by *Indima Managerial Services*[20] and which were attended by the researcher, reveals that municipal services, referred to in Table 5.1 rank high in the list of priorities of the Region. During the workshops that were convened by Indima, throughout the Region, delegates (Appendices 5A-6B) were requested to indicate the biggest problem that they encountered in their localities (Table 5.3). Problems were given to participants to respond to in order of priority. It was discovered that all delegates from all TLCs recorded municipal services as the prime problem meaning that they were in need of these services.

Table 5.2: Regional needs according to priority

Rank	Amenity	Sample size (N=96)	Value in %
1	Water	(n=68)	67
2	Roads	(n=83)	61
3	Health services	(n=79)	37
4	Electricity	(n=56)	29
5	Sewerage	(n=56)	19
6	Education	(n=70)	16
7	Emergencies	(n=67)	14
8	Postal services	(n=67)	12
9	Housing	(n=56)	8
10	Safety and security	(n=67)	7
11	Welfare services	(n=65)	6
12	Correctional service	(n=50)	2
Source: SMM/2001			

To illustrate how the workshops arrived at this conclusion, a case of Mdutjana can be used. The Mdutjana IDP/LDO workshop (Table 5.3) indicates that 79.7% of the delegates representing 22 486 households (not necessarily with their mandate) ranked municipal services as the prime problem. Eight percent (8.1%) of the same

[20] A company of consultants commissioned by Mpumalanga Provincial Government to conduct IDPs and LDOs in the Region.

Table 5.1: Priority needs according to different Municipalities in the Region

Mkobola			Mbibane			Moutse			Moretele			Mdutjana			Ekangala			Kwamhlanga		
Rank	Amenity	(n) Value	Rank	Amenity	(n) Value	Rank	Amenity	(n) Value	Rank	Amenity	(n) Value	Rank	Amenity	(n) Value	Rank	Amenity	(n) Value	Rank	Amenity	(n) Value
1	Water	8/9	1	Water	16/16	1	Water	32/35	1	Water	14/14	1	Roads	15/15	1	Wafer	1/1	1	Water	12/12
2	Roads	8/9	2	Roads	16/16	2	Roads	31/35	2	Roads	14/14	2	Water	15/15	2	Roads	1/1	2	Roads	12/12
3	Clinics	8/9	3	Clinics	16/16	3	Clinics	30/35	3	Clinics	14/14	3	Clinics	10/15	3	Clinics	1/1	3	Clinics	12/12
4	Electricity	7/9	4	Electricity	15/16	4	Electricity	27/35	4	Education	14/14	4	Electricity	9/15	4	Electricity	1/1	4	Electricity	10/12
5	Sewerage	6/9	5	Sewerage	15/16	5	Sewerage	26/35	5	Electricity	13/14	5	Sewerage	8/15	5	Sewerage	1/1	5	Sewerage	10/12
6	Education	6/9	6	Education	14/16	6	Education	21/35	6	Sewerage	13/14	6	Education	7/15	6	Education	1/1	6	Education	10/12
7	Emer-gencies	6/9	7	Emer-gencies	13/16	7	Emergencies	20/35	7	Emergencies	9/14	7	Emergencies	6/15	7	Emergencies	1/1	7	Emergencies	7/12
8	Postal service	6/9	8	Postal service	13/16	8	Postal Service	32/35	8	Postal service	8/14	8	Postal service	5/15	8	Postal Service	0/1	8	Postal service	8/12
9	Houses	5/9	9	Houses	13/16	9	Houses	14/35	9	Houses	6/14	9	Houses	4/15	9	Houses	0/1	9	Houses	7/12
10	Safety/ security	5/9	10	Safety/ security	10/16	10	Safety/ Security	15/35	10	Safety/ security	6/14	10	Safety/ security	4/15	10	Safety/secu rity	0/1	10	Safety/Security	6/12
11	Welfare	4/9	11	Welfare	6/16	11	Welfare	11/35	11	Welfare	6/14	11	Welfare	4/15	11	Welfare	0/1	11	Welfare	6/12
12	Prisons	3/9	12	Prisons	6/16	12	Prisons	10/35	12	Prisons	5/14	12	Prisons	4/15	12	Prisons	0/1	12	Prisons	6/12
13	Land	3/9	13	Land	4/16	13	Land	8/35	13	Land	5/14	13	Land	4/15		Land	0/1	13	Land	4/12

Source: SSM/2001

Table 5.3: Western Highveld Region: Biggest problem (Needs)

TLC	Mkobola	Mbibane	Moutse	Moretele	Kwa-mhlanga	Mdutjana	Ekangala	Total
Households	*26 623*	*12 122*	*23 547*	*16 662*	*8 257*	*22 486*	*39 902*	*149 599*
Problem in %	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Municipal Services[21]	72.9	67.5	86.8	74.3	62.5	79.8	67.8	74.4
Employment	77.9	77.0	81.0	74.3	69.3	87.2	67.5	76.2
Medical services	36.6	47.9	33.9	37.5	31.8	41.5	42.8	39.0
Education amenities	34.1	35.7	43.9	46.2	24.9	40.1	46.2	40.8
Proper housing	29.4	17.0	13.9	11.1	35.3	8.1	24.7	19.6
Shopping facilities	10.9	33.9	24.9	33.2	23.9	14.6	16.3	20.5
Security/crime	24.7	11.9	8.6	10.0	40.4	20.7	20.2	18.0
Transport	13.6	10.9	6.9	12.7	11.9	7.9	13.1	11.2
Source: Indima Workshop,1998								

delegates felt that housing was not a problem. Comparing the two variables it was concluded that municipal services were a great need as compared to housing which was regarded as not that essential. The workshops defined municipal services as given in Table 5.1. Realising that municipal services were the essential needs, participants were further requested to rank their needs in order of priority (Table 5.1).

The result was that, in all cases, water, roads and health services stood out as primary needs. The results in Table 5.1 only relate to Moretele, Mdutjana, Mbibana and KwaMhlanga. Details were avoided as the Indima data is used for comparative purposes only. The percentages in Table 5.3 as in Table 5.4 indicate the number of delegates who ranked the services in order of priority. This supports the empirical survey done for the study – the top five priorities correspond with the needs expressed by stakeholders in the questionnaire and interviews.

In interviews conducted with several role-players and stakeholders in the Region, there is an overwhelming corroboration with the results of the questionnaires where water, roads and health services are regarded as top priorities of the Region. Asked about the priorities in his municipality, the mayor[22] of Mdutjana responded:

[21] Defined in the workshops as roads and storm water drainage, water supply, sanitation, waste disposal and electricity.

[22] Interview with the mayor of Mdutjana, Councillor Alfred Malefo 12 August 1999.

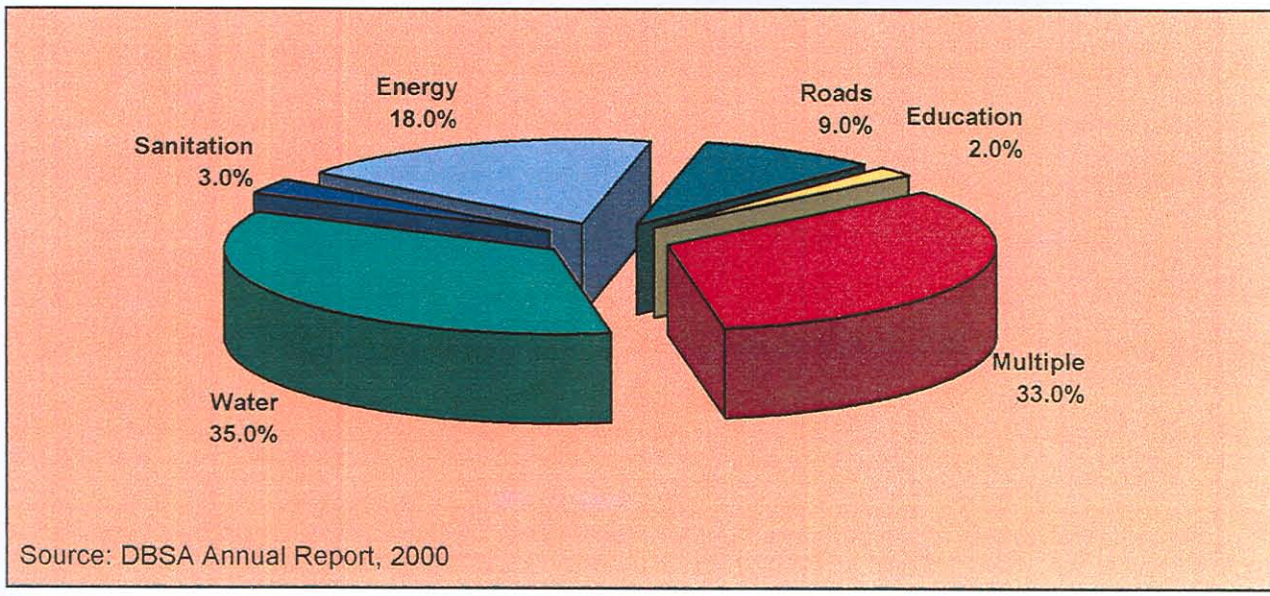
In 1996, March we had a meeting where priorities were made and then, water was the first priority, followed by sewerage reticulation, storm water drainage including roads and health facilities. We then started by implementing water projects, that was our first focus and as I am talking were are busy trying to meet RDP standard in all villages.

Table 5.4: Selected Indima delegates' infrastructure priority needs ranking

PRIORITIES		Mbibane	Mdutjana	Moretele	KwaMhlanga
		%	%	%	%
1	Roads and stormwater drainage	23.8	28.7	22.4	18.0
2	Water supply	37.0	18.0	12.2	16.0
3	Sanitation	19.3	23.0	25.1	15.5
4	Waste disposal	10.0	16.6	27.1	12.0
5	Electricity	9.4	13.1	11.4	7.0

Source:Indima Workshop & SMM/1998

Figure 5.2: National Loan Approvals by Development Bank of Southern Africa per sector, 1999/2000



Source: DBSA Annual Report, 2000

5.3.1. Water

Water provision is a national problem in South Africa due to its rainfall regime and general climatic conditions. Capital intensive schemes have to be instituted to address the problem. The Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) is an institution engaged in initiating, financing and managing a variety of development projects, providing loans for such projects, mainly in disadvantaged areas. The chairman of the DBSA, Mr Jay Naidoo articulates the institution's role by asserting

that the Bank's mission is "*to mobilise resources for development, to provide funding and to harness the DBSA's development expertise to maximise development impact*"[23]. It is interesting to note that in 2000, 38% of its approved loan allocations went to local government institutions: TLCs (18%), Transitional Metropolitan Councils (15%) and District Councils (5%) (DBSA Report, 2000:4). Worthy also of note (Figure 5.2) is that 35% of the loans were given for the provision of water in the country. This is an indication that the provision of water is still a priority in most areas of the country. Its provision in the Western Highveld Region is even more critical.

Potable water in KwaNdebele, the main source of water in the Region, is supplied from two main sources: In the North, from the *Mkhombo* dam and purified at the Weltevreden Purification Works. In the South, from the Bronkhortspruit Dam and purified at the Bronkhortspruit Purification Works. The Bronkhortspruit Dam supplies the southern parts of the Region. These include the municipalities of KwaMhlanga, Ekangala and some parts of Mkobola. Under the former homeland administration of KwaNdebele, the Weltevreden Purification Works used to supply Mdutjana, Mbibana and some parts of Mkobola. The inclusion of the former Bophuthatswana districts of Moutse and Moretele or Mathanjana, which were even then critically under-supplied, has put pressure on the Weltevreden Plant. At present it is supposed to supply more than 74 817 households representing 54% of the total households of the Region. Table 5.3 portrays regional household sizes. This situation entails that those villages that were formerly supplied by this plant no longer receive sufficient water. Without statistical information on dam volumes too, this is pure conjecture!

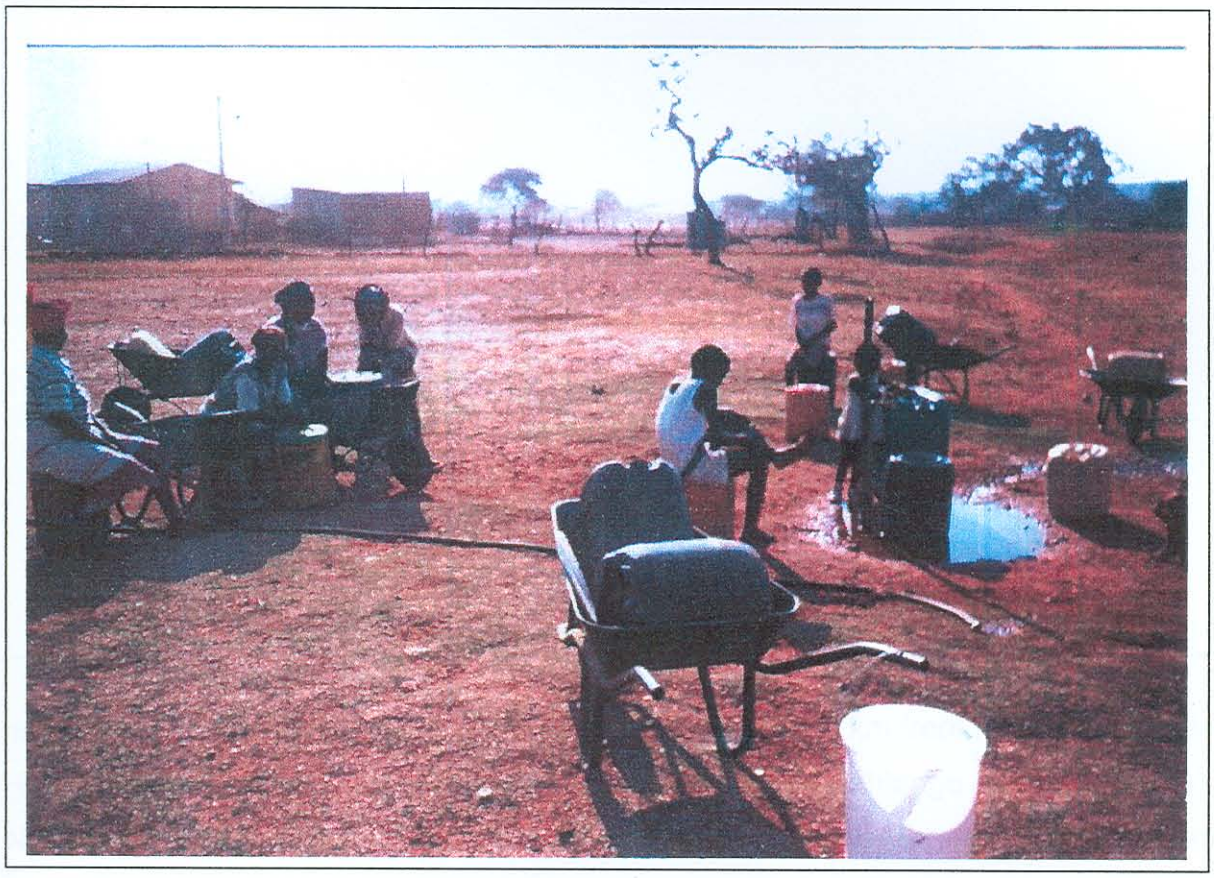
According to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) neither of these dams is able to supply enough water to meet the full demand of the Region. Prof. Kader Asmal, the then minister of DWAF, agreed in his address at the launch of KwaNdebele-Moutse-Moretele Augmentation Project (1998, January 16), that "*in recent years the Region has experienced critical water shortages in most villages, settlements and towns. Where the total reliable water supply available to the Region has not been sufficient to meet the water demands of the population. The water distribution system in the Region is not adequate to provide people with the minimum water supply as provided by the RDP and thus needs to be upgraded*". The

[23] Address at the Opening Session of the South African Local Government Association Annual General Meeting, April 5, 2001.

Department instituted a study on how to augment water supply to the Region. It was concluded that pumping water from the Usuthu-Vaal River Government Water Scheme to the Bronkhortspruit Dam would be the best option to augment the water supply.

The KwaNdebele-Moutse-Moretele Water Supply Augmentation Project amounting to R185 million and co-funded by the Japanese Overseas Economic Co-operation Funds was initiated in 1996. The initial phase of the Project was completed in 1998. It produced a 20 000 m^3 Reservoir at Ekangala and a 35 km steel pipe from Ekangala reservoir to a new 11 000 m^3 reservoir at Enkeldoornoog B. Despite this intervention, scenes as seen in Plate 6 bear testimony to a continued shortage of water in the Region.

Plate 6: Scenes of the water crisis in the Region



5.3.2. Roads

Second to or equal to water, roads are a scarce commodity in the Region (Tables 5.1 and 5.2). Road networks are an important infrastructural resource and are vital to the

movement of goods and people to and from any area. When Adolf Hitler rose to power in Germany in 1939, the first project that he embarked upon in advancing the development of the Bavarian State, was the building of roads, the so-called *autobahns*. This historical reality proved to be one of the strategic strengths of the German nation.

Roads in the Region are in bad shape (Plate 7). There are only few provincial roads that are tarred although efforts are being made to rectify this situation. The major

Plate 7: Road conditions in the Region

tarred roads in the Region are Moloto-Marble Hall road (77km from Moloto to Marble Hall), KwaMhlanga-Siyabuswa road (65km from KwaMhlanga to Siyabuswa), Ntwane-Moteti road (43km) from Moteti to Ntwane), Pankop-Marapyane road (78km from Pankop to Marapyane). Other roads are the Loding-Siyabuswa road (43km), Matjhirini-Thabana-Siyabuswa road (25km) and recently (2000), Matjhirini-Siyabuswa (11Km)[24]. Although it was not possible to acquire accurate data on untarred roads from the Mpumalanga Department of Public Works and Roads, it was established

[24] Data on road distances were acquired from Fieldwork measurements using the vehicle's odometer.

that 86% of roads and streets that are a responsibility of the municipalities in the Region, were untarred. In Mdutjana out of 21 villages that are part of this municipality, only Siyabuswa has its bus routes tarred. In the Mkobola municipality, out of 15 localities only Kwaggafontein, Tweefontein F, G, H and K have major bus routes tarred. In Moretele all roads are untarred except the Pankop-Marapyane provincial road that passes through a number of villages. In Mbibane, only Vaalbank, Almansdrift B and C are connected by one tarred bus route. In Moutse, as in Moretele, most of the roads are untarred except streets in Elandsdoorn, which was proclaimed as a township by the former Transvaal Administration. As a result of this status, it enjoyed some road development. Ekangala municipality, which has only three villages, is perhaps the most advanced municipality of the Region. Its superior status is influenced historically by the fact that the residents of Ekangala, most of whom originate from the East Rand and are 'refugees' of the mid-1970's education unrest, resisted incorporation into KwaNdebele. Although later, they became part of KwaNdebele. During their years of resistance against incorporation, the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) intervened and assisted in providing general infrastructure. Again, its proximity to Bronkhortspruit, a well-to-do town surrounded by a number of industries at Ekandustria contributed to this status. Ekangala Township has all its major bus routes and streets tarred, although there are some sections of the Township that are still untarred. In general, the Region's road conditions are unacceptable. In winter they are dusty, and become dongas of mud and storm water in summer!

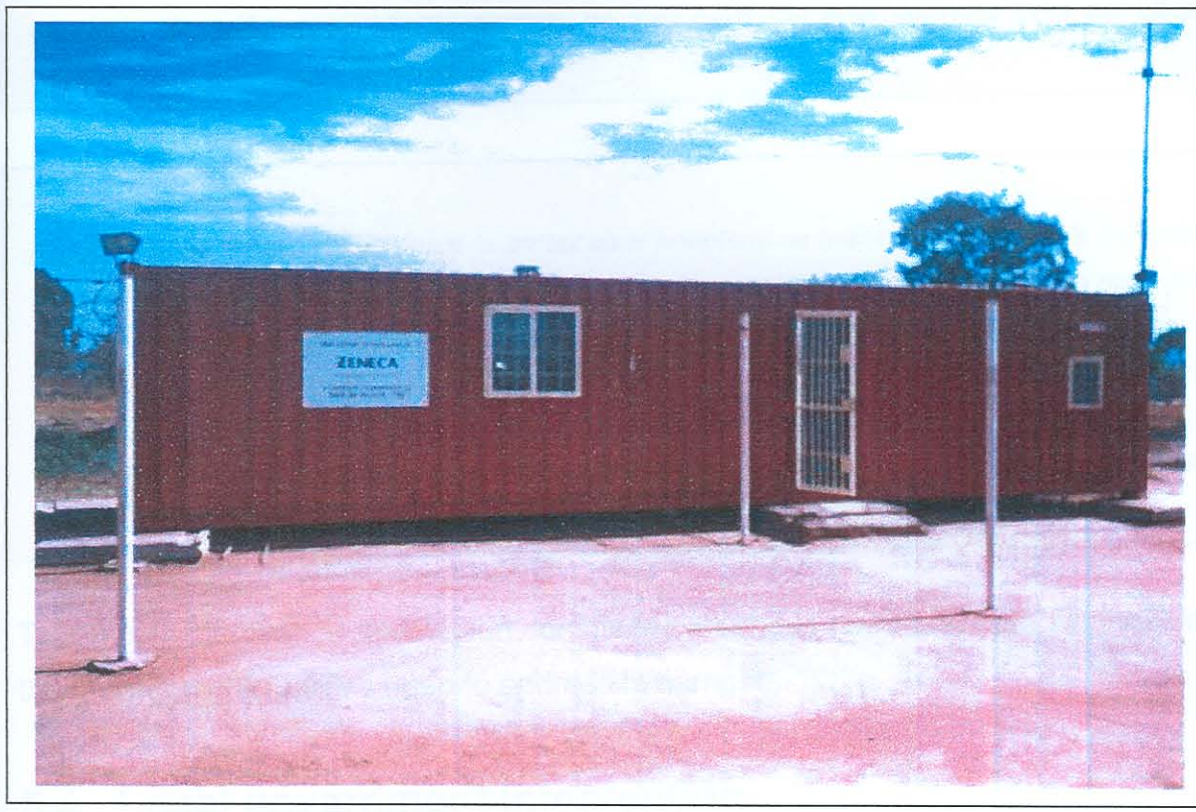
5.3.3. Health facilities

The Region's population of 3 003 327 is served by three hospitals. Mametlhake Hospital in Moretele, Philadelphia Hospital in Moutse and Kwamhlanga Hospital in Kwamhlanga. Village-based clinics are found predominantly in the KwaNdebele municipalities i.e. KwaMhlanga, Ekangala, Mkobola, Mbibane and Mdutjana. In Moutse and Moretele, which are historically the most disadvantaged areas in the Region, there is a virtual dependence on the two hospitals: Philadelphia Hospital in the case of Moutse and Mametlhake Hospital in the case of Moretele. Although the KwaNdebele municipalities appear to have these health facilities, most of the village-based clinics are only open for patients from 08h00 to 16h00. They also do not

attend to maternity cases — which are rife in these villages — and serious casualties.

A recent phenomenon is the availability of makeshift clinics in the newly established informal and formal settlements of the Region, as can be seen in Moloto on Plate 8.

Plate 8: Makeshift clinic in Moloto, the only source of primary health



The functionality of these clinics could not be well established. When the researcher visited about three of these in the KwaMhlanga and Mkobola TLCs, their staff could not be found. Impromptu discussions with the gardeners and gatekeepers at the centres, revealed that there no permanent staff are employed. Only volunteers attend to family planning matters, insect bites, minor burns and vomiting disorders. Most of these clinics are donations from foreign government embassies. This perhaps accounts for the lack of paid staff members as there is no government intervention. In a small way, they do address some health demands.

An interview with a social worker that works with most of the health centres in the Region is very revealing:

Question: *Mr. Phokoane, in your work as a social worker you sometimes take your clients, particularly the disabled and the aged, to the clinics and hospitals, how would you describe the conditions in these health centres?*

Answer: ***Generally very abhorrent. You experience a shortage of doctors; most of the clinics are manned by the nursing sisters who are overstretched, as they face hordes and hordes of patients each day. Doctors visit clinics once a week generally for teeth extraction, therefore clinics do not solve most of my problems. I usually take my clients to hospital. I only come to the clinic to check if my client does take his or her medical prescription regularly. Sometimes my clients regress, as they can't get their supplies from the clinic because of the shortage of drugs.***

Question: *Hospitals?*

Answer: ***They differ. Philadelphia is better as it hospitalises most of the Region's patients. Mamethlake and KwaMhlanga are generally referral hospitals although they keep maternal and patients with minor injuries, they generally refer in most instances their special cases to GaRankuwa and Kalafong hospitals in Gauteng, mind you Philadelphia also does that. So, in general, the Region has a serious shortage of medical institutions. For example, we have a problem with our psychiatric clients. It is either Weskoppies in Pretoria or Groothoek in the Northern Province. Very interesting isn't it?***

This health situation in the Region constitutes a serious need that both the local and the District municipalities need to address in earnest.

5.4. Local government intervention

As is the case in all parts of the country TLCs were established in the Western Highveld Region in 1995. As defined by the LGTA, their role was to provide municipal services listed in Schedule 2 of the Act. This was to be done in such a way that the needs of the communities they serve could be addressed.

Various TLC structures form the local government infrastructure of the Region (Table 5.5). Each TLC is divided into wards: a ward in most cases is a combination of several villages. A ward councillor, who is directly elected by the voters during an election, represents each ward on the Council. The Council also consists of party representatives who occupy their council seats according to their party's performance in an election. In the Region, most of the councillors are representatives of the African National Congress (ANC), which holds the majority of seats in both the

Mpumalanga Provincial Legislature and the national government. This implies that it is expected of these councillors to be advocates of radical change in the Region. It is also required of them to advance the transformation programme in a more vigorous way, at least, this is what their disadvantaged communities expect from them. As they are discharging their governance mandate, councillors are expected to involve communities in their work. This is in line with the RDP's principle that characterises transformation as *a people driven process*. The RDP document states that "*development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment*" (ANC, RDP, 1993:5).

Table 5.5: Local government in the Region

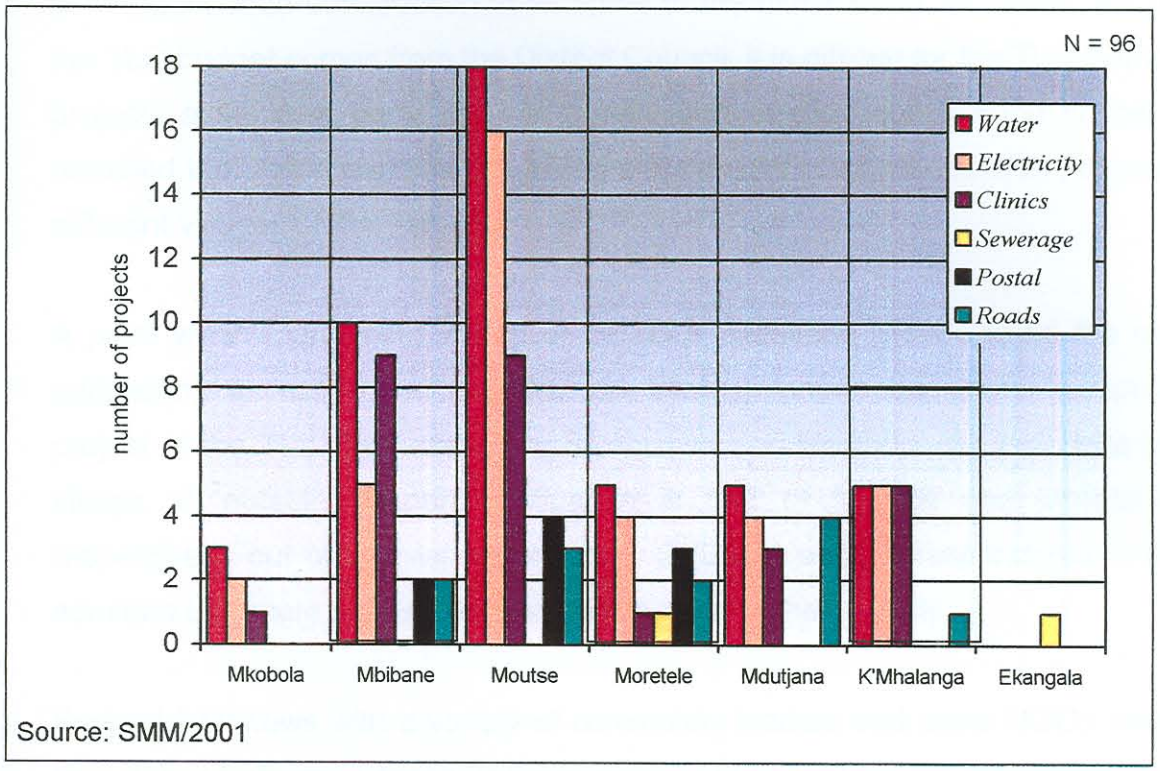
TLC	Offices	Wards	Total villages	Party Reps	Council
Mkobola	Kwaggafontein	5	25	ANC=30	30
Mdutjana	Siyabuswa	6	21	ANC=28	30
Moretele	Mametlhake	5	22	ANC=30	30
Moutse	Kgobokwane	7	42	ANC=30	30
Mbibana	Vaalbank	6	17	ANC=30	28
Kwamhlanga	Kwamhlanga	4	9	ANC=30	30
Ekangala	Ekangala	2	3	ANC=16	16
Region Total	7	35	138	192	194
Source: Adapted from the Highveld District Council Document on Statistics, SSM/2001					

5.4.1. Local government delivery efforts

An audit of development projects available in the Region was compiled for this study (Figure 5.3) and measured against the identified primary needs of the Region. If the principal needs of the Region are water, roads and health services as already identified, are development projects or plans in place that are addressing the identified needs? Respondents were requested to indicate if there were development projects in their locality (Appendix 3A, Section 4.1) and also to list those projects that were in operation (Figure 5.3). according to Appendix 3A, Section 4.2. Road construction, electrification, water pipe laying, telecommunication installations, sewer reticulation, clinic construction, post office, construction, vendor cubicle construction are projects that were identified. This became the criterion of the research together with some interviews to determine the provision of services, which in turn measures local government intervention.

As far as the question (Appendix 3A, Section 4.1) is concerned, with the exception of Ekangala, which is a TLC with only three villages and was formerly well looked after, all TLCs display a poor record of availability of development projects. In the Mkobola TLC, of the 9 respondents, 57.1% indicated that there were no development projects in their area. In Mbibane 53% of 16 respondents affirmed that there were development projects in their areas. 71.8% out of 35 respondents from Moutse indicated absence of projects. Moretele recorded 42% availability out of 14 respondents. KwaMhlanga recorded 50% each way while Mdutjana shows 78.6% lack of development out of 14 respondents.

Figure 5.3: Regional distribution of capital projects



Source: SMM/2001

Figure 5.3 is a substantiation of the availability of the projects. It can be observed that projects associated with to the primary needs (water pipe laying, road construction and clinic construction are not well distributed in the different TLCs. A detailed analysis of this picture follows.

5.4.1.1 Roads

In almost all the TLCs there is little in the way of road construction. The situation appears to confirm a correlation between roads as a priority need and their relative absence as specific capital projects (Figure 5.3). Ekangala, which is relatively

advanced when compared to the other TLCs, shows a nil return with regard to road construction since the area is well serviced with roads. However, in as far as other TLCs are concerned, the absence of road construction projects, indicate that there is a need for these. Comments from interviews with the mayor of Mdutjana (referred to in footnote 22) on roads, show that there is a relationship between the availability of roads and capital investment in the Mdutjana municipal area. "*Investors cannot bring their businesses to the TLCs because of the problem of roads. The roads are bad that is why we are starting with infrastructure and roads in particular, as the inaccessibility of our areas discourages investors from investing in our area.* (Malefo, 1999). Another interview with the Mayor of Mbibana[25], reveals that the TLC, had planned for road construction in all areas of the municipality. However, the fact that the TLC budget comes from the District Council, it is difficult for the TLC to implement projects at its own pace. On-site observation of road construction in the Region revealed that there were an insignificant number of road construction projects in the different villages of the Region.

A point worth mentioning is that of all TLCs, Mdutjana proved to be the only TLC addressing its road condition situation. Plate 9 shows an almost complete road project in the TLC. The road links Siyabuswa and Matjhirini, an important transport village. A notable desperate situation is that of Moutse and Moretele which respectively, out of 32 respondents only 3 (9.3%) and 14 respondents, 4 (28.5%), admitted that there was some road construction in their locality.

Several interviews with a variety of community leaders and some NGOs, reveal that this state of affairs in these TLCs is a result of lack of robust leadership. However, TLC officials indicate that there is a problem of ethnicity that impacts on the development of their municipal areas. There is an indication that the District Council, which is the main source of funding of projects in the Region, is dominated by the non–Sotho speaking individuals who disadvantage the predominantly Sotho-speaking TLCs. The state of roads in the whole Region is really serious despite the claims by some TLCs that the matter is receiving serious attention.

[25] Interview with the mayor of Mbibana TLC, Mr Speed Mashilo, 18 August 1999.

Plate 9: Road construction in Mdutjana TLC

5.4.1.2. Water

Water pipe lying, which represents the construction of water infrastructure, constitutes a relatively higher percentage of success when compared to other projects. Out of 96 respondents 46 recorded that water projects were underway in their localities. This may be an indication that TLCs have also identified water supply as the first priority and are addressing the water needs of their communities. This therefore suggests that the municipalities of the Region are in fact attending to water provision. It can also be observed that improvement in water provision comes as a result of the Presidential Projects, a national programme that seeks to alleviate the basic needs problem particularly in the rural areas. Most of the funds for improved water infrastructure came directly from the DWAF.

Nevertheless 48% is still a dismal record considering the need for such a fundamentally important resource. Figures for Moutse, historically the most deprived of all TLCs in the study area, indicate that 18 out of 32 respondents (56.3%), acknowledge attention is being given to water provision in their district. This proves that local government in the Region is earnestly addressing the water problem. The results of Mkobola, Mbibana, KwaMhlanga, Mdutjana and Ekangala which were

historically well-supplied could mean that, despite the presence of water infrastructure in these TLCs, the recent supply to Moutse and Moretele has posed a problem since these newly connected areas get their supply from KwaNdebele sources. In this way, some villages in the former KwaNdebele TLCs experience a drying-up of the taps. So that the water need in the KwaNdebele TLCs is not equal to a lack hydro-infrastructure, but a shortage as a result of connection to new settlements and to Moutse and Moretele. In general, there is an indication that efforts are being made to meet the demand. An added advantage is DWAF's plans include finding ways to augment the supply so as to meet water needs.

5.4.1.3. Health facilities

The Regional tally shows that 28 out of 96 respondents (29%), indicate that there was a clinic under construction in their locality. Most of these construction projects exist in the municipalities that belonged to the territory of former KwaNdebele. The reason for this occurrence is attributed to the plans and contracts entered into by the former KwaNdebele administration. These construction works were either a product of unfinished work by the former KwaNdebele administration or TLC implementation of plans from the defunct government. In Moutse and Moretele where there is a great need, only few health projects were observed. Interviews with a number officials from the TLCs have indicated that most municipalities are aware of the fact that health services are the responsibility of the TLCs, However, there appears to be an understanding in most of these municipalities that the Provincial Health Department should provide health facilities.

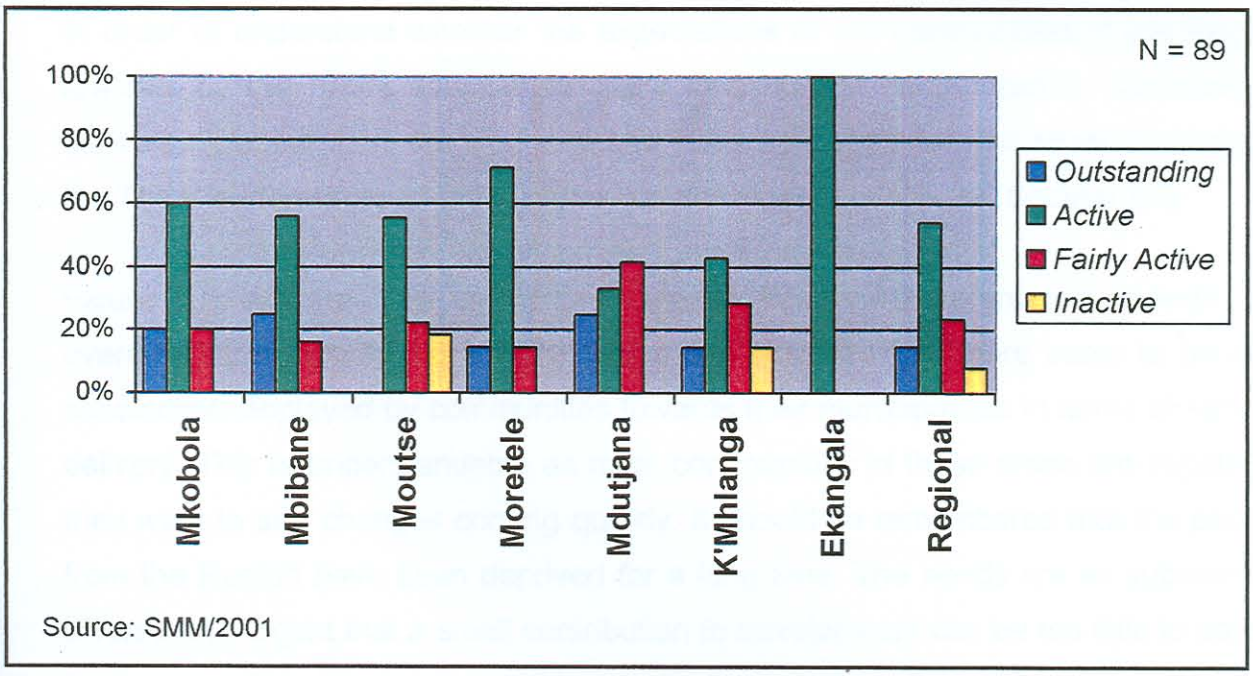
5.5. Community participation level

The RDP strategy encourages community participation in all projects. It advocates a people–driven change where communities take charge of their affairs. There is realisation by the communities of the Region that they need to be involved in the decision-making processes in community projects and that there needs to be a closer working relationship between the communities and the councillors because these communities have leaders and these leaders "*make things happen. They come from a variety of backgrounds each bringing unique resources*" (IRI, 1998:44). To ascertain whether local residents were involved in both needs identification and involvement in development projects respondents were asked pertinent questions

(Appendix 3A, Section 3). These issues test the effectiveness of synergy between decision makers in debate and policy matters.

In as far as physical involvement in projects is concerned, the majority of respondents (59%) indicated that local residents were involved in the local projects by way of providing labour for the projects. Mkobola claimed 50% involvement, Mbibane 53% Moutse 50%, Moretele 75%, Kwamhlanga 62% Mdutjana 70% and Ekangala 100%. Although there is evidence that reflects satisfactory community involvement in projects, particularly in Moretele, Mdutjana and Ekangala, there is also an indication that local contractors are not involved in the projects, most of the contract work is awarded to contractors from outside the villages. Asked to qualify their communities' participation in TLC matters particularly the identification of priority needs, respondents indicated (Figure 5.4) that, in general, they are active in local civic matters. There is a 54% indication in the Region as whole that communities participate in decision-making processes. Ekangala and Moretele show a high rate of incidence of active involvement.

Figure 5.4: Participation Level of Communities in TLC matters



5.6. Community expectations and satisfaction

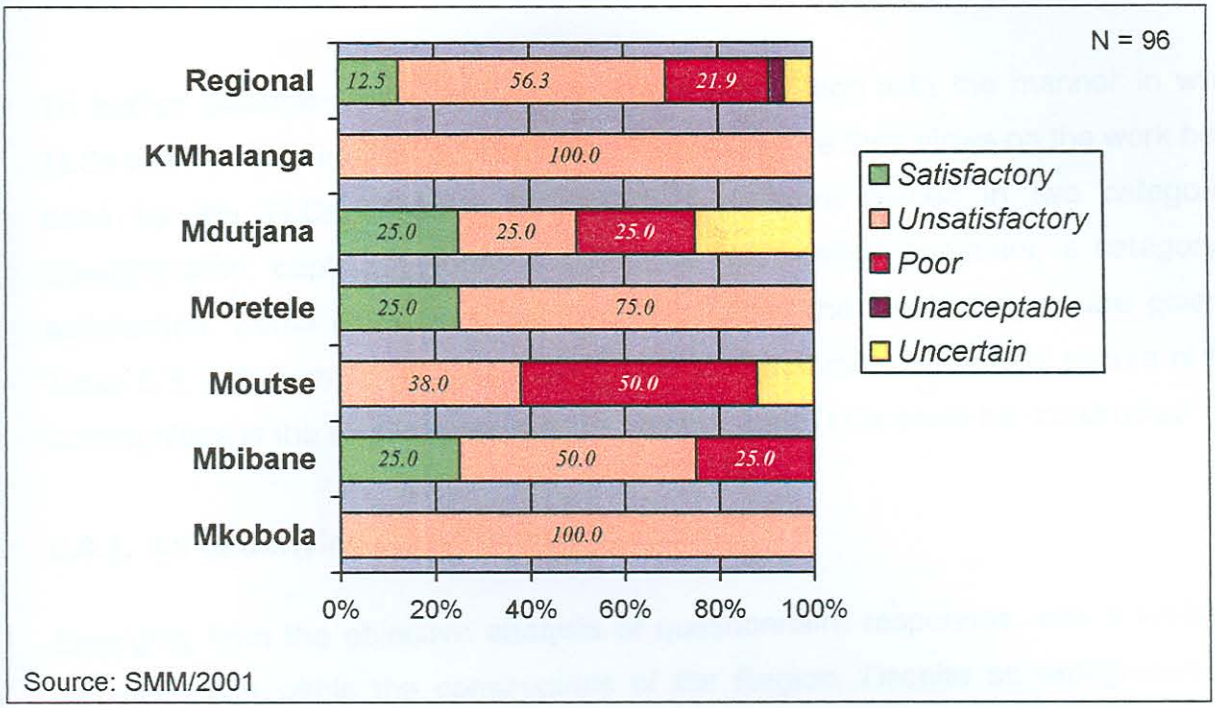
There is no doubt that the intentions of the new dispensation in South Africa are to achieve redress and equity in all fields of human endeavour. Equal to the task are the expectations of most South Africans who for the first time are called upon to shape their own destiny. These expectations are a legacy of a long and bitter history of deprivation and neglect. Communities across the lengths and breadths of South Africa expect municipalities to provide quality municipal services: commodities that were always privileges to them. In its mouthpiece, *Voice* (1999:4), SALGA (South African Local Government Association) observes that "... *some municipalities are unable to meet community expectations on service delivery. Provincial governments have intervened without much success to rescue* [some] *local councils. At the core is the continuing culture of non-payment of services by communities, absence of reliable revenue base for smaller municipalities, most of which are located in former homelands and failure by national government to determine the adequate share of national revenue due to local government*".

5.6.1. Community expectations with regard to service delivery

In order to understand whether the expectations of the communities of the Region are met by the newly established TLCs, and also to verify whether communities derive satisfaction from the work of these TLCs, respondents were asked to evaluate the TLCs' performance in terms of service delivery (Appendix 3A, Section 3.5).

Figure 5.5 indicates the different responses from the different respondents. An overall picture derived from these responses indicates that there seem to be less satisfaction displayed by communities towards their municipalities in terms of service delivery. This is understandable as most communities in these areas are impatient, they want to see changes coming quickly. It should be remembered that the people from the Region have been deprived for a long time. The needs are so substantial, diverse and urgent that a small contribution to development can be too little to satisfy the communities. However, a relative lack of satisfaction does not necessarily imply that the municipalities are not steadily delivering to meet the needs of the people.

Figure 5.5: Community satisfaction level with regard to service delivery



Source: SMM/2001

Data (Figure 5.5) proves that although there are few projects TLCs are attempting to do their bit. Unfortunately this is perceived by communities as too little. An interview with the Bantwane Traditional Authority on 25 August (referred below) indicates that, although there is little evidence in terms of service delivery, there is hope that more projects can be expected to be forthcoming.

Question: *Can you give a comment about how you understand service delivery in your jurisdiction.*

Answer: *Very little is happening, except the construction of the school you passed as you came here* (Plate 2). *This is an old village, we still use candles to light our houses and fire wood to cook our food. We are however happy because our local leaders brief us about everything. We hope more projects are coming. We must be patient things do not happen overnight.*

Several interviews with mayors in the Region give the impression that the local municipalities are not in control of the finances. This impacts negatively on the pace of service delivery.

5.6.2. Communities' views on TLC achievement

To further ascertain the level of community satisfaction with the manner in which TLCs were performing, respondents were asked to give their views on the work being done by the TLCs. Various comments given were placed in two categories: dissatisfaction, capturing negative comment and positive comment, a category of satisfaction. Some comments collected throughout the whole Region are given in Table 5.3. Although not all respondents provided comment, a general picture of how communities in the Region perceive the work of their TLCs could be constructed.

5.6.3. An underlying sense of dissatisfaction

Emerging from the objective analysis of questionnaire responses, was a feeling of dissatisfaction within the communities of the Region. Despite an antagonism that obviously results from a lack of provision of services to meet inhabitants' basic needs, the study uncovered concerns from communities that constitute another dimension of dissatisfaction with the TLCs. In an attempt to understand these problems, working relationships between TLCs and their constituencies were investigated.

Table 5.6: General comments about TLCs

Category 1 Comments	Category 2 Comments
1. Community does not benefit	1. Happy, something is happening
2. Projects are insufficient	2. Happy, we are involved
3. Projects are not according to priority	3. Happy our priorities are met
4. Delivery process too slow	4. Happy we are consulted
5. We are not involved	5. We need to be patient
6. Jobs are not created	
7. Nothing is happening	
8. No communication and consultation	
9. Promises not fulfilled	
10. National govt. should take-over	
11. There is corruption in the TLC	
Source: SMM/2001	

It was noted that, on one hand, TLCs were desperately attempting to address the needs of their communities, while on the other hand, there were communities who were aware of development plans and had participated in the prioritisation of needs.

When respondents were asked if they were aware of development plans for their areas, 64% of the 81 respondents indicated that they were. Also, asked if councillors are usually their line function of information, an interesting observation is that of the 96 (total sample of this study) respondents, only 37 responded to this question. 18 of the remaining 59 opted for other sources of information like the media and their organisational structures. This leaves 41 respondents who did not indicate their options. The significance of this observation is that the majority of the people (61.5%) do not have a communication relationship with their councillors. Many felt uninformed about municipal matters. Similarly just more than half (55%, n = 96) the respondents described their relationship with the TLCs as unsatisfactory or indifferent (Appendix 3A, Question 3.1). This is an alarming situation in the light of the ethos of the RDP that has as an ideal, an improved quality of life for everyone and that this be achieved through close co-operation and understanding between the authorities and the people. An interview with Mr Barney Mahlangu, chairperson of the Litho Traditional Authority on communication between communities and the TLC is revealing:

Question: *You have just indicated that the Witlaagte community which you serve has lodged a land claim on the Rust De Winter farm, were you assisted by the local council in your application?*
***Answer:* No!**

Question: *Why not, is it because you did not inform them?*
***Answer:* Our local TLC does not understand how to govern. They are not where the people are. We did the application ourselves as the Tribal office; as the leading institution of this community. Where can we find the councillors? You go to the TLC office they tell you they are in a meeting, you go back again they tell you they are gone to Nelspruit. Whom do they serve, ourselves or the office? You decide!**

Question: *Where do you think the problem lies?*
***Answer:* I do not know. I think they (councillors) should improve their communication behaviour, they must come to the people and tell us about their programme we will support them they are our people.**

From this interview it is evident that there are weak bonds between the TLCs and the communities they serve. This is perhaps the genesis of apathy displayed by the communities of the Region. It should be noted that this is just a general picture — there are exceptional cases where the TLCs do communicate regularly with their constituencies. An example is Moutse. A number of stakeholders indicated that although very little comes in the form of projects, however, there are good communication links between the TLCs and the communities.

The facts presented and learnt from this research reveal that information from the questionnaire, several interviews and observations have assisted in defining the socio-economic and political situation prevailing in the Region. Firstly, data confirm that the Region requires certain basic needs: water, roads and heath services. Second, there is confirmation from data that there are interventions that local government structures are initiating to meet the needs of their communities, despite handicaps. Third, evidence shows that the basic nature of the needs makes it difficult for communities to derive unqualified satisfaction from the efforts of the municipalities. Fourth, it emerges that communities are actively involved "*and they seem to be driving the process from the grassroots*" (Fairhurst *et al.*, 1999:124). Fifth, it is observed that weak communication links between councillors and their communities is a reason for the apathy displayed by most communities towards their TLCs. In the next and final chapter that follows, these observations will be collated and a conclusion will be drawn to establish whether there is sufficient evidence to support the central issue raised in the study.

6 Conclusion and Recommendations

but as we become free,
we cast off the chains of servitude.
So Faith, Love and Hope must abide:
But without freedom and dignity,
They remain hollow shadows.

Liberating Love
(Canaan Banana, 1980)

The theme of the study is the developmental role of the municipalities in the Western Highveld Region of Mpumalanga Province, *vis-a vis* the needs of the communities in the Region. The investigation, a geographical study, opted to view the Region as a historically disadvantaged peripheral space, and also assumed that the current transformation phase in South Africa beckons for the betterment of this space and its people. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to provide a summary of issues raised in the study and to draw conclusions pertinent to the findings.

There is no doubt that local government occupies centre stage in present-day geopolitics. The recognition by both developed and developing countries that local government is an important level of governance is applaudable. The new thesis of decentralisation is an attempt to reclaim the place of local politics in both the core regions (developed countries and peripheral regions (developing countries) on macro scale.

A geographical understanding of local government in developing nations in particular, is a recognition of a space-time relationship that defines developing countries as spaces or domains that have been on the fringes of development. The post-colonial regimes in Africa were characterised by a nationally preferred thesis of centralisation of power, in an effort to consolidate national unity, a post-colonial survival strategy. The centralisation of local politics has yielded an array of problems. Inherited Western sectors and administration continue a top-down process that discourages local empowerment, governance or initiative. Wunsch (2000:488) notes that, "*institutional forms and processes at the centre do not appear in any normative or organic way to reflect an African foundation or perspective*". This view is shared by

Olowu (1992) in Reddy (1995:1) who argues that, "*this local institution, often borrows heavily from the structure of the former colonial rather than from their own people's rich experiences*". In time, this situation has alienated governments from the popular masses. A new thesis evident in some countries, particularly South Africa, is a response to years of popular neglect and deprivation.

Local government in South Africa is inseparable from the historical events that have shaped the South African socio-economic and political landscape. It was in fact the most conspicuous terrain of both struggle and domination. From colonial occupation, which left the legacy of both British and Dutch influences, to apartheid social engineering, which institutionalised racism in South Africa, local government has always remained centre stage. While the 18th and 19th century colonisation in South Africa introduced the most dynamic system of local government, the wars of dispossession fought between the colonialists and the indigenous people have destroyed the native local structures that controlled South African rural life. With the advent of apartheid rule in the first half of the 20th century, local government was turned into an institution of racial control and an exclusive right of White South Africans. On the other hand, the struggle against racism and colonialism, managed to cement a popular force that defined the South African political scenario along non-racial and non-discriminatory terms. This struggle for a non-racial South Africa in the 1980s revolved around local government. The continued institutionalisation of apartheid through the Black Local Authorities, the Homelands and the Tricameral Parliament, received an unprecedented wave of violent mass protests that finally dislodged the apartheid rule from its grip at the close of the 1980s.

The dawn of the new era, characterised by a non-racial dispensation, saw changing spaces in all South African localities, rural and urban. The transformation of these spaces which were defined as White suburbs, coloured townships, Indian townships, African townships and African Homelands, is an effort to create new South African non-racial spaces or "*structured institutional environments*" (Barnes & Morris, 1997:185) capable of delivery. The RDP, a South African renewal and development tool, has been adopted so as to guide local authorities in their mandate for community development. The question of rural municipalities that are contesting the local political terrain with the traditional leaders is as fundamental as the success of the rural municipalities.

This geographical investigation sought to ascertain whether the rural municipalities of the Western Highveld Region, while deriving their mandate from the Constitution of South Africa and the RDP blueprint, are able to meet the basic needs of their constituencies. This Region, which is predominantly rural and comprises of districts that were formerly defined as homelands, is a present day space still characterised by neglect, deprivation and destitution.

A closer analysis reveals that, critical to the needs of the Region, are roads, water and health facilities. This is confirmed nationally by the chairman of the Development Bank of Southern Africa who asserts that "*we are painfully aware of the enormous scale of infrastructure backlogs and lack of access to basic* services *experienced by our people on a daily basis*"[26]. The study also established that there are efforts by the rural municipalities to try and address the needs of the Region. However, these efforts are not adequate enough to satisfy the communities' needs. It also noted that the impact of underdevelopment in the Region in areas like Moutse, which, although not part of the homeland administration, were the worst hit through official neglect. There is also a vast contrast between different former homeland territories. Moretele, a former territory of Bophuthatswana displays a relatively poor infrastructural development when compared to KwaNdebele, which has a better network of services.

There is sufficient evidence to prove that community involvement betters people's lives. The primary respondents in this study, the Reconstruction and Development Committees, testify to this involvement. It was learnt that these communities attempt in all ways to bring development to their areas. A notable factor, however, is seemingly the lack of well-defined working relationships between the communities and their municipalities. The weak links between communities and their municipalities necessitates a satisfaction profile, which suggests that communities are not happy about the intervention programme of their municipalities. An argument raised by municipalities is the fact that they lack both human and financial capacity to deliver the necessary commodities. The budget, which is apportioned by the Highveld District Council, is usually insufficient to advance priorities of the Region. The

[26] Address by Jay Naidoo at the Opening Ceremony of SALGA AGM, Bloemfontein, 5 April 2001.

persistent culture of non-payment of municipal services by communities is also a hindrance.

The study also discovered that there are weak links in some areas between traditional leaders and the municipalities. The two institutions seem to be contesting in a rather vigorous manner for domination of local politics, to an extent that suggests that chiefs feel isolated by the present dispensation, while municipalities attempt to claim their *de jure* responsibilities as legitimate third tier level of government. McIntosh (1995:419) observes that "*chiefs had previously acquired a certain influence at local level as a result of the important local co-ordination by local magistrates, who consulted them extensively in implementing government policy*". The dawn of the new dispensation has since stripped chiefs of these powers locally, forcing them to rely on central patronage to retain their authority and livelihoods. However, their attempts to regain control of local politics continues as they seek to define their search for a local niche, to fulfil their role in the present political conjuncture. Unfortunately the contest has to some extent denied some communities a chance to determine their destinies.

This study can therefore arrive at several critical conclusions, that:

- the needs of the communities in the Region are not adequately met;
- communities are not satisfied with this *status quo;*
- most Councils in the Region lack capacity;
- there is an ill-defined working relationship among stakeholders in the Region; and
- there is a need for national intervention.

Recommendations

This study suggests that there is a need to revisit the rural local government model. A revised model could:

- Acknowledge that the rural municipality should differ from its urban counterpart in form while content will retain a developmental role. A different form will mean that institutions of traditional leadership should be part of the rural municipalities not as observers as currently is the situation, but as members with voting rights. This will

assist in harnessing the principle of total inclusivity, which is very critical, given the South African background of imposition and intolerance.

- Traditional leaders in some areas are custodians of tribal land. It is difficult for municipalities to access such for development if there is a lack of co-operation between traditional leaders and the municipalities. Their entrenched participation in local institutions is vital for the appropriation of such land for development goals.
- There is a need to decentralise away from the District Council to the Local Council. The allocation of funds from the District to the locals is determined per capita. This is irrespective of the needs of various local communities. It would appear that, if local councils could be schooled in financial management skills, human resource management and capital project administration, they would be able to handle larger budgets and be able to account properly.
- The relationship between municipalities and role-players and stakeholders is critical to the success of any development programme. Meetings, workshops and seminars can be organised by related education structures, for example NGOs, as an effort to harmonise relationships. It is vital that communities are educated in the dynamics of service delivery process so that they can play a more meaningful role. The efforts of the Western Cape School of Local Government is a typical example of an intervention that could ensure that councillors and communities understand their roles at the local level.
- The Masakhane Campaign is a national campaign that seeks to undo the culture of non-payment of services. During this study, very few role-players and stakeholders seemed to grasp the strategic objective of the Campaign. Community participation in development is not only limited to their participation in LDOs and IDPs, it is also about paying for those services that they receive from their municipalities, otherwise there can be no development.
- Morris (1995:431) asks, "*how does one establish a viable local government system where there are such limited revenue-raising capacities, where most of the population relies on remittances and welfare disbursements*?" Municipalities should develop capacity to raise funds and revenue outside their territories. It is vital that relationships should be forged with other municipalities in developed countries, so that a *twinning* of the different municipalities could assist in raising funds from the twin municipality of the developed country.

- National government has been adamant that it will not take the responsibility for local government liabilities and that local government must make use of its taxation powers to meet expenditure needs. Local government's (less than 2%) share of nationally collected revenue (SALGA, 1999:10) is hoped to be adequate in subsidising access to municipal services. This fails in dealing with the problem of backlogs. It fundamentally defeats the assertion of the incumbent South African President[27] who advocates that "*no progress can be made towards dignity of our people unless we ensure the development of our rural areas*". A viable solution will be a once-off central government intervention that will write off municipal bills, some of which have been inherited from apartheid structures and unfairly retard the development of previously disadvantaged communities. This will be more of a social equity gesture than a question of efficiency. In this way municipalities will be able to be viable and sustained.

There is no doubt that the RDP presents a working platform for the resolution of development problems in the rural areas. Indeed without the local government structures there can be no contemplated vehicle capable of driving the change process at the grassroots level. Also, "*development cannot be achieved without the initiative of the masses to organise themselves through associations. For no people will ever release its creative capacity for productivity and development without real participation* ..." (Turok, 1993:100). This study teaches that an effective local government in the Region will seek to maintain constant contact with its constituency so as to ensure that communities are briefed on all matters of governance. Local government in the area will have to lobby for more funds from both the District Council and Provincial Administration for speedy delivery. However the current efforts are applaudable. The community needs to participate fully and be willing to learn and listen to its leaders. In this way local government will fulfil its mandate as a developmental tool. By the same token, communities will benefit from the current dispensation, and years of neglect and destitution will be but a past shadow.

[27] Presidential Address at the Opening Session the South African Parliament, Cape Town, 25 June 1999.

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APPENDIX 1: UNIVERSITY LETTER OF RECOGNITION

1999.03.24

University of Pretoria
Pretoria 0002 Republic of South Africa
Tel (SA): (012)-420-2489 (Int): +27-12-420-2489
Fax (SA): (012)-420-3284 (Int): +27-12-420-3284
E-mail: ggy@scientia.up.ac.za
Faculty of Science
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

TO WHO IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH PROJECT – MASTERS STUDENT: STEPHEN MZILOZI MOLALA

STUDENT NUMBER: 9615799

SUBJECT: Delivering Scarce Commodities: Municipal Service Delivery and the Communities in the Western Highveld Region of Mpumalanga Province.

The abovementioned student is presently busy with research for his Masters degree. Would you please be so kind as to assist him in obtaining any information that is relevent to his research. His dissertation will only be used for academic purposes and all information received will be treated confidentially.

If you have any enquiries please contact me.

Yours sincerely

Prof K.S.O. Beavon
HEAD: GEOGRAPHY

DEPARTEMENT GEOGRAFIE
1999 -03- 24
UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA

Research/(ADM(1)KSB/rvn

APPENDIX 2: RESEARCHER'S LETTER OF APPEAL

Enq: S.M. Molala
Tel: 013-973-2820 / 082-781-1354

S. M. MOLALA
P.O. BOX 569
MBIBANE
O449
15 May 1999

Dear Participant

1. It is a pleasure for me to be able to have you as a participant in this Development Survey.
2. May you please fill in the Questionnaire provided, and send it to the above-mentioned address. Should you not understand some questions, feel free to ask for clarification by using the telephone numbers provided above.
3. Hoping to receive your response soon.

Yours sincerely
S.M. Molala

Motšeakarolo

1. Ke thabela goba le wena bjale ka motšeakarolo go Kutullong ye e amago Hlabollo.
2. Ke kgopela gore o ntlaletše lenaneo-potšišo leo o lehweditšego gomme o le romele adreseng yeo e filwego ka godimo. Ge eba gonale sesengwe se o sa sekwišišigo, ke kgopela gore ontiletše dinomorong tšeo difilwego ka godimo.
3. Ke tshepa gore ke tlo kwa tša gago kgauswinyana.

Kenna
S.M. Molala

Mbambiqhaza othandekayo

1. Ngijabulela ukuba nawe njengo bamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo oluphathelene neze Ntuthuko.
2. Ngicela ungiphendulele imibuzo ebuzwe kulelohlu lemibuzo olifumene bese ulithumele ekhelini elingenhla, kuthi umangabe kukhona umbuzo othanda ukudida, ungishayele engcingweni ezinikezwe ngaphezulu.
3. Ngithemba ukuthi ngizozwa ngawe ngokushesha.

Yimi
U S.M. Molala

SURVEY ON THE DELIVERY OF MUNICIPAL SERVICES BY THE TLCs IN THE WESTERN HIGHVELD REGION OF MPUMALANGA PROVINCE.

QUESTIONNAIRE TO: ORGANISATIONS, INSTITUTIONS, STAKEHOLDERS, ROLE-PLAYERS AND INTERESTED PARTIES, 1998-1999.

NB. Please indicate your response by X to the appropriate blocks provided.

1. ORGANISATIONAL PROFILE:

1.1. Fill in the name of your organisation.....

1.2. In which locality/village are you?.....

1.3. In which TLC do you belong?.....

1.4. Your postal address is: .....

1.5. Tel & Fax nos if applicable:.....

1.6. Contact person:.....

1.7. Rank you organisation into one of the following levels:

Local	
Sub-regional	
Regional	
Provincial	
National	
Other	

If other, please specify.....

1.8. Classify your organisation or institution into one or more of the following:

Political	
Cultural	
Development	
Educational	
Social	
Commercial	
Other	

If other, please specify.....

1.9. How often does your organisation meet?

Once a week	
Monthly	
Every 2-3 weeks	
Annually	
Other	

If other, please specify.....

1.10. Other than meeting as an organisational committee, with which other interested parties or organisations do you meet?

The local community Your members	
Donors	
The TLC	
Other	

If other, please specify.....

1.11. What is you primary role in the community? You are concerned with:

development matters	
consulting communities	
governing the community	
advising the community	
Other	

If other, please specify:.....

1.12. How were you drawn into community development matters?

Invited by govt. to participate	
Made our way through community pressure	
Mandated by the community according to RDP	
It is our work	
It is our field of interest	
Other	

If other, please specify.....

2. COMMUNITY NEEDS

2.1. Which of the following needs are your community's needs?

- Schools ☐
- Clinics ☐
- Water ☐
- Sanitation ☐
- Houses ☐
- Electricity ☐
- Roads ☐
- Storm water drainage ☐
- Sewerage ☐
- Emergency &rescue services ☐
- Welfare centres ☐
- Recreational facilities ☐
- Other ☐

If other, please specify as many as possible.....

.....

.....

2.2. In order of priority, using 1,2,3...etc, rank the following needs:

- Water ☐
- Housing ☐
- Electricity ☐
- Sewerage ☐
- Roads ☐
- Post and telecommunication services ☐
- Emergency and rescue services ☐
- Health services ☐
- Educational amenities ☐
- Industrial sites ☐
- Welfare services ☐
- Correctional services ☐
- Safety and security ☐

2.3. In your opinion, who should provide the above-mentioned services?

- Transitional Local Council ☐
- Traditional authorities ☐
- National government ☐
- Provincial government ☐
- Other ☐

If other, please specify.....

2.4. How would you involve yourself in order to attain your needs? You may choose one or more options.

- By organising and mobilising the community against non-delivery of services ☐
- By engaging the TLC through meetings and representations ☐
- By writing to the TLC detailing the community's problems ☐
- By approaching your councilour for explanation ☐
- Other ☐

If Other, please specify.....

.....

2.5. With regard to your above response, do you normally receive a fair hearing?

- YES ☐
- NO ☐

2.6. Do you freely meet with the TLC on a regular basis?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If Yes, how often?

Weekly ☐
Monthly ☐
Between 2-3 months ☐
Annually ☐

If not , mention the reasons for the failure to do so.....
.....
.....
.....

3. ATTITUDINAL FACTORS AND COMMUNITY SATISFACTION.

3.1. How would you describe your constituency's relationship with the TLC?

Good ☐
Unsatisfactory ☐
Indifferent ☐

3.2. Do you make a conscious effort to influence your constituency to foster confidence in the TLC?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If Yes, please elaborate.....
.....
.....

3.3. Do concillours visit your organisation's offices?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If Yes, indicate the frequency:

Often ☐
Seldom ☐
Sometimes ☐

3.4. What do these visits indicate to you:

Courtesy ☐
Good relationship ☐
Spying on your work ☐
Uncertain ☐

3.5. How would you evaluate the performance of the TLC in terms of service delivery?

Satisfactory ☐
Unsatisfactory ☐
Poor ☐
Unacceptable ☐
Uncertain ☐

3.6. Besides depending on the TLC for service delivery, what have you done? You have:

asked for foreign funding ☐
approached government parastatals with development plans ☐
fundraised in the community for purposes of development ☐
Other ☐

If other, please specify:.....

4. DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

4.1. Are capital Projects underway in your area?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If Yes, please mention those.....
.....
.....
.....

4.2. Of the following projects, which exist in your area?

Road construction ☐
Electricity installation ☐
Water pipe laying ☐
Telecommunication installation ☐
Sewerage construction ☐
Post office construction Clinic construction ☐
Vendor cubicles' construction ☐
Other ☐

If other, please specify:.....
.....
.....

4.3. Are the projects according to your needs and expectations?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If NO, give comments.....
.....
.....
.....

4.4. Do(es) the project/s provide employment opportunities for your community?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If NO, state possible reasons.....
.....
.....

4.5. Who is involved in the project/s?

Local contractors ☐
Contractors from elsewhere ☐
Both local and outside contractors ☐
Other ☐

If Other, please specify.....

4.6. Under whose authority is /are the Project/s carried out?

Local Council ☐
District Council ☐
Provincial Council ☐
National government ☐
CBO ☐
NGO ☐
Other ☐

If other, please specify.....

4.7. How would you qualify your participation in the identification and carrying out of development Projects?

Outstandingly active ☐
Active ☐
Fairly active ☐
None ☐

4.8. If there are no projects in your area, are you aware of proposed development plans?

YES ☐
NO ☐

If yes, who informs you about these plans.....

Local councillors ☐
Your organisation's higher structures ☐
The media ☐
Fellow community members ☐
Other ☐

If other, please specify.....
.....

4.9. Also, If yes, is your organisation happy about the project(s)? Give comment:
.....
.....
.....

4.10. In case there are no development projects or plans thereof, how would you comment about this state of affairs:.....
.....
.....

4.11. Any other comment?.....
.....
.....

Thank you for all your effort and worthy contribution.

Masters Research Project
Department of Geography
University of Pretoria
Pretoria
0002

APPENDIX 3B: DATA CAPTURE SHEET

Mr SM Molala - Data Capture Sheet - GRF9011 - WJ382050

A. Respondent number			V1:1-3
1.1 Organisation			V2:4-5
1.2 Locality			V3:6-7
1.3 TLC			V4:8
1.7 Rank			V5:9
1.8 Political			V6:10
1.8 Cultural			V7:11
1.8 Development			V8:12
1.8 Educational			V9:13
1.8 Social			V10:14
1.8 Commercial			V11:15
1.8 Other			V12:16-17
1.9 Meet			V13:18
1.10 Local comm			V14:19
1.10 Donors			V15:20
1.10 TLC			V16:21
1.10 Other			V17:22
1.11 Primary role			V18:23
1.12 Drawn in			V19:24
2.1 Schools			V20:25
2.1 Clinics			V21:26
2.1 Water			V22:27
2.1 Sanitation			V23:28
2.1 Houses			V24:29
2.1 Electricity			V25:30
2.1 Roads			V26:31
2.1 Drainage			V27:32
2.1 Sewerage			V28:33
2.1 Emergency			V29:34
2.1 Welfare			V30:35
2.1 Recreation			V31:36
2.1 Other 1			V32:37-38
2.1 Other 2			V33:39-40
2.1 Other 3			V34:41-42
2.1 Other 4			V35:43-44
2.1 Other 5			V36:45-46
2.2 P.Water			V37:47
2.2 P.Housing			V38:48
2.2 P.Electricity			V39:49
2.2 P.Sewerage			V40:50
2.2 P.Roads			V41:51
2.2 P.Post			V42:52
2.2 P.Emergency			V43:53
2.2 P.Health			V44:54
2.2 P.Education			V45:55
2.2 P.Industry			V46:56
2.2 P.Welfare			V47:57
2.2 P.Correction			V48:58
2.2 P.Safety			V549:59
2.3 T.TLC			V50:60
2.3 T.Authority			V51:61
2.3 N.Gov			V52:62
2.3 Prov Gov			V53:63
2.3 Other			V54:64
2.4 Mobilising			V55:65
2.4 Engage TLC			V56:66
2.4 Write TLC			V57:67
2.4 Approach			V58:68
2.4 Other			V59:69
2.5 Hearing			V60:70
2.6 Regular			V61:71
2.7 How often			V62:72
2.8 Reason 1			V63:73
2.8 Reason 2			V64:74
3.1 Relationship			V65:75
3.2 Effort			V66:76
3.2 Elaborate 1			V67:77
3.2 Elaborate 2			V68:78
3.3 Councillors			V69:79
3.3 Frequency			V70:80
3.4 Visits			V71:81
3.5 Performance			V72:82
3.6 Funding			V73:83
3.6 Parastatals			V74:84
3.6 Community FR			V75:85
3.6 Other			V76:86
4.1 Projects			V77:87
4.1 Project 1			V78:88-89
4.1 Project 2			V79:90-91
4.1 Project 3			V80:92-93

APPENDIX 3B: DATA CAPTURE SHEET (continued)

4.1 Project 5	☐☐	V82:96-97
4.2 Roads	☐	V83:98
4.2 Electricity	☐	V84:99
4.2 Water pipes	☐	V85:100
4.2 Telkom	☐	V86:101
4.2 Sewerage	☐	V87:102
4.2 Post office	☐	V88:103
4.2 Vendor	☐	V89:104
4.2 Other 1	☐☐	V90:105-106
4.2 Other 2	☐☐	V91:107-108
4.2 Other 3	☐☐	V92:109-110
4.2 Other 4	☐☐	V93:111-112
4.3 Project needs	☐	V94:113
4.3 Comment 1	☐☐	V95:114-115
4.3 Comment 2	☐☐	V96:116-117
4.3 Comment 3	☐☐	V97:118-119
4.4 Opportunity	☐	V98:120
4.4 Reason 1	☐☐	V99:121-122
4.4 Reason 2	☐☐	V100:123-124
4.4 Reason 3	☐☐	V101:125-126
4.5 Local	☐	V102:127
4.5 Elsewhere	☐	V103:128
4.5 Both	☐	V104:129
4.5 Other	☐	V105:130
4.6 A.Local C	☐	V106:131
4.6 A.D Council	☐	V107:132
4.6 A.P Council	☐	V108:133
4.6 A. N Gov	☐	V109:134
4.6 CBO	☐	V110:135
4.6 NGO	☐	V111:136
4.6 Other 1	☐☐	V112:137-138
4.6 Other 2	☐☐	V113:139-140
4.7 Qualify	☐	V114:141
4.8 Aware	☐	V115:142
4.8 I. Local C	☐	V116:143
4.8 I.High S	☐	V117:144
4.8 I.Media	☐	V118:145
4.8 Fellows	☐	V119:146
4.8 Other	☐	V120:147
4.9 Happy 2	☐☐	V122:150-151
4.9 Happy 3	☐☐	V123:152-153
4.10 Comment 1	☐☐	V124:154-155
4.10 Comment 2	☐☐	V125:156-157
4.10 Comment 3	☐☐	V126:158-159

APPENDIX 4: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEWEE	ORGANISATION	DESIGNATION	DATE
1. Ntuli Sop	SANCO	Regional Chairperson	17-08-1999
2. Mnguni Solly	Mkobola TLC	Mayor	18-08-1999
3. Malefo Alfred	Mdutjana TLC	Mayor	12-08-1999
4. Mashilo Speed	Mbibana TLC	Mayor	28-08- 1999
5. Chief Maloka, A.M.	Moretele Traditional Leaders' Forum	Chairperson	15-08-1999
6. Chief Makerana	Makerana Tribal Council	Traditional Leader	27-09-1999
7. Ntwane Tribal Committee	Ntwane Tribal Council	Traditional Executives	25-08-1999
8. Mahlangu Barney	Pungutjha Tribal Council	Chairperson	08-09-1999
9. Sister Germina	Mkobola Health District	Co-ordinator	23-08-1999
10. GaRamoshebo Tribal councilors	GaRamoshebo Tribal Authority	Tribal Councilors	30-08-1999
11. Phokoane Ronald	Dept of Social Services	Social worker	23-08-1999
12.KwaManala Councilors	KwaManala Tribal Authority	Tribal Councilors	02-09-1999
13. Dimpe Selina	The King's Basket	Administrator	26-08-1999
14. Monama Sophy	KwaLitho Tribal Authority	Administrator	08-08-1999
15. Mtshweni Sarel	Mdutjana TLC	Council Chairperson	13-08-1999
16. Matseke N.S.	Moutse TLC	Town Manger	17-09-1999

APPENDIX 5A: INDIMA'S MDUTJANA WORKSHOP REGISTER

INDIMA
MANAGERIAL SERVICES (PTY) LTD
REG NO 97/16622/07

TASK TEAM MEETING HELD AT MDUTJANA ON THE 20TH OF NOVEMBER 1998.

NAME	COMPANY/ ORGANISATION	SIGNATURE	CONTACT NUMBER
Velie Mahlangu	Indima		0827747154
Elsie Mtsweni	C.R.D.C	L.M. Mtsweni	—
Pinkie Mmelong	CRDC	Mmelong	—
Meshack Mtsweni	C.R.D.C		083 1095000
Dan Mahlangu	CRDC 0827033288		0828270881
Abram S. Masilela	RDC		0829509332
M.M. Hlabatla	C.R.D.C	M.M. Hlabatla	013 [illegible]
Kbelina Sindane	Sanga		—
Masemola Linah	T.H.O.	L.Masemola	013 9732022
Skosana Anneh Nomo	CRDC	Skosana	083 ~~1093016~~
Simon Masombuka	Councillor		0831093014
[illegible]	CRDC		—
Msiza Michael	CRDC	Msiza	N/A
David Thugwana	Community (Makola)	Thugwana	N/A
Maryjane Thobejane	CRDC	Thobejane	N/A
Charles [illegible]	CRDC		
Patrick Malefo	CRDC		N/A
Meriam Matau	CRDC	M. Matau	N/A
Aphories Mokoena	Community		Box 5623 Siyabuswa 0472
Daniel Khahamohlaka	CRDC		N/A
Ben Nelson Ntuli	Community		013 9731481

APPENDIX 5A: INDIMA'S MDUTJANA WORKSHOP REGISTER (continued)

INDIMA
MANAGERIAL SERVICES (PTY) LTD
REG NO 97/06622/07

TASK TEAM MEETING HELD AT MDUTJANA ON THE 20TH OF NOVEMBER 1998.

NAME	COMPANY/ ORGANISATION	SIGNATURE	CONTACT NUMBER
Mandla S. Mahlangu	Traditional Healers Org.	[illegible]	~~013 973 3402~~
Mahimunye Sibusiswe Fred	Sanco Secretariat	[illegible]	013 973 3402
Aphane Jan	CRDC	[illegible]	—
Jan B Skhosana	CRDC	[illegible]	—
Mr G.M. Monareng	Community Rep.	[illegible]	0831812611/504
Sert D Ntjane	C.R.D.C	[illegible]	—
EL [illegible]	RDC	[illegible]	—
C. K. Bosoko	Mdutjana councillor	Bosako	013-9731101
[illegible]	Health Department	[illegible]	013-9731108
Molala S.M	EDUCATION	[illegible]	0827811354
S.P. Skosana	HEALTH DEPARTMENT	[illegible]	013-9731108

APPENDIX 5B: INDIMA'S MBIBANA WORKSHOP REGISTER

INDIMA MANAGERIAL SERVICES (Pty) Ltd
Registration No: 97/16622/07
P.O Box 1758
KWAMHLANGA
1022
e-Mail: tap@laduma.co.za

ATTENDANCE REGISTER

DATE: 13-10-98

NAME	COMPANY	TEL NUMBER	FAX NUMBER	CAPACITY	SIGNATURE
OUPA	IWUPA	083 7418545			[illegible]
[illegible]	SANCO				[illegible]
J. MASANGO	STAND FOR CHIEF	—	—		Annah
B. MOKOMANE	SANCO	013-9472935			Jacques
T.S. SIBANYONI	Youth Organisation/Boss	013-9733462			[illegible]
N.B. SIBIYA	CRDC Secretary	0131 095000		CHAIRPERSON	[illegible]
E. Masilela	Women's League	—	—	Steering Committee	[illegible]
C.S. Marabele	CRDC	0139734016			Masilela
B. NTULI	CRDC	— — N/A			Marabele
W.N. THAGA	CRDC	— — N/A		Steering Committee	Ntuli
M.S. Masilela		N/A		Steering Committee	W.N. Thaga
Bafana Skosana	PAC	013-2611113 / 013-9732283	0132611149	ANC youth league	[illegible]
P.M. Malefo	CRDC			Treasurer	[illegible]
M.J. Thabejane	CRDC	—	—	—	[illegible]
D.S. Phungwana	CRDC	—	—	—	Thabejane
M. Msiza	CRDC	0139732388	—	Secretary	Phungwana
S. Rotau	CRDC	013-9732727		Secretary	Msiza
				Secretary	[illegible]

APPENDIX 5B: INDIMA'S MBIBANA WORKSHOP REGISTER (continued)

20-11-1998

INDIMA
MANAGERIAL SERVICES (PTY) LTD
REG NO 97/16022/07

TASK TEAM MEETING HELD AT MDUTJANA ON THE 20TH OF NOVEMBER 1998.

NAME	COMPANY/ ORGANISATION	SIGNATURE	CONTACT NUMBER
Mandla S. Mhlanga	Traditional Healers Org.	[signature]	~~013 973 3402~~
Mthimunye Sibusiswe Fred	Sanco Secretariat	[signature]	013 973 3402
Aphane Jan	CRDC	[signature]	—
Jan B. Skhosana	CRDC	[signature]	—
Mr G.M. Motsakeng	Community Rep.	[signature]	0831812611/504
Sgt D. Ntjane	C.R.D.C	[signature]	—
[illegible]	RDC	[signature]	—
C. K. Bosoko	Mdutjana council	[signature]	013-973101
[illegible]	Health Department	[signature]	013-9731108
Molala S.M	EDUCATION	[signature]	0827811354
S.P. Skosana	HEALTH DEPARTMENT	[signature]	013-9731108

APPENDIX 5B: INDIMA'S MBIBANA WORKSHOP REGISTER (continued)

INDIMA MANAGERIAL SERVICES (Pty) Ltd
Registration No: 97/16622/07
P.O Box 1750
KWAMHLANGA
1022
e-Mail: tap@laduma.co.za

ATTENDANCE REGISTER

DATE: 13-10-98

NAME	COMPANY	TEL NUMBER	FAX NUMBER	CAPACITY	SIGNATURE
V. MAHLANGU	Indima	0827747154	—	Assist Proj	[illegible]
E. MUNYAI	Indima	0827747152	—	Asst proj. Manager	[illegible]
E. MATHEZ	TAPP	011 7870308	—	Town Planner	[illegible]
L vd MERWE	TAPP	011 7870308	—	TOWN PLANNER	[illegible]
Ian Mahlangu	RDC	082270338			Mahlangu
ABRAM M[illegible]	CRDC	0829569332	0135-995-029	Chairperson	[illegible]
E MTSWENI	RDC	0139731452	—		[illegible]
M. MTSWENI	C.R.D.C		—		Mtsweni
M.M. TLHOMBATLA	C.R.D.C	0139440145			[illegible]
[illegible]	C.R.[illegible]	—			[illegible]
[illegible]	SANCO	—	—		[illegible]
MOLALA, S.M.	EDUCATION	082-7811354	013-9731239	ON BEHALF OF CIRCUIT MANAGER	[illegible]
L MAKOMOLA	THO	013-9732038	—	~~[illegible]~~	L Makomola
SKOSANA S.P.	DEPART. OF HEALTH	013-9731108	013 9831016	E.H.O	[illegible]
[illegible]	HEALTH	013-9731181	—	EHO	[illegible]
[illegible]	SANCO	N/A	N/A		[illegible]
GODRICH MASANGO	NDZUNDZA	0139731840/30	0139731830	—	[illegible]
R.M. MAULI	PHANDA Community	0139731481			[illegible]
D. PHAHLA	C.R.D.C	—	—	—	[illegible]
A. [illegible]	COMMUNITY	N/A	N/A		[illegible]

DIRECTORS: TAP DE BEER (MANAGING) MJ EDWARDS KP HUBKE PJ STRYDOM WR VAN AS
IN ASSOCIATION WITH LADUMA PROJECTS MANAGEMENT (PTY) LTD
TAP de Beer (managing) V Mahlangu J Mhlongo[illegible]

APPENDIX 5C: INDIMA'S MORETELE WORKSHOP REGISTER

17-11-98.

ATTENDANCE LIST - MATHANTANA

NAME	COMPANY / ORGANISATION	SIGNATURE	CONTACT NUMBER
1 M. Tsoane.	Seabe Tribal office	M Tsoane.	
2 ENOS Ramollo	Lefiso R.D.C	E Ramollo.	N/A TLC
3 Alpheus	MAKGSONTEIN	Alpheus Hlongwane	
4 John NNENE	Marapyane	J. NNENE	
5 Johannes [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6 Moiepe Sebotsane	Mametlhake	[illegible]	(012)7232709
7 Shepherd Shikuri	Robone	S M Shikuri	
8 S.N. Mahlangu	Witlaagte	[illegible]	(012) 723 0178
9 N.M Matlala	(Dierechfonteine) Witlaagte No 2	N.M Matlala	(014) 7300100
10 M.S. Mphela	Seabe.	M S Mphela.	
11 RB Setuu	Seabe	RB Setuu	N/A
12 MC Sebola	Lefiswane	M Sebola	N/A
13 P.K. Ramoncha	Lefiso RDC.	P Ramoncha	N/A.
14 FLORAH mogodi	Lefiswane R.D.C.	F mogodi	N/A
15 Lucia Sepato	Seabe	Sepato M.	N/A
16 Betty Setalakela	Rankaila	B Setalakela	N/A
17 Samuel Magwai	Rankaila	S Magwai	N/A
18 Vincent Mahlobo	Mametlhake	Mahlobo	N/A
19 Mashishi A.L.	Pankop A.N.C	Mashishi	N/A
20 EDWARD CHOCHI	NOKANENG	Eeh	N/A
21 MACHAEL Maela	Lefiso RDC	Maela.	TLC
22 Anna Kgafela	Mmametlhake	Mkgafela	N/A
23 TSHEKO MPHAKE	NOKANENG	Phake.	N/A
24 Philemon Mpala	Mmametlhake TLC	P. Mpala	[illegible]
25 V. J. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
26			

APPENDIX 5C: INDIMA'S MORETELE WORKSHOP REGISTER (continued)

14-11-98.

ATTENDANCE LIST - MATHANJANA

NAME	COMPANY / ORGANISATION	SIGNATURE	CONTACT NUMBER
1. Simon Mojela	PHAKE I RDP SEC	[signature]	
2. [illegible] Sesoko	PHAKE I " "	[signature]	
3. [illegible] Marema	Phake RDP [illegible]	[signature]	
4. [illegible] Mocaphi	Phake II - - -	[signature]	
5. Rebecca Letlhong	Pholopark	[signature]	
6. Wilhemina Mmabane	PHAKE II " "	[signature]	
7. [illegible] Hlongwane	PHOLO PARK	[signature]	
8. Solly Mahlangu	WITRHAGTE	[signature]	
9. Steve Molala	RESEARCHER.	[signature]	082-7811354
10. Ellen Manyaka	Witlaagte	E. Manyaka	
11. Rebecca Rangwaga	(Di ereyeng) Witlaagte No2	R Rangwaga	
12. Frank Motlana	MARAPYANE TRIBAL	[signature]	
13. Chief JM	Chauke, Sedile	[signature]	
14. [illegible]	Chauke	[signature]	
15. Chief SM	[illegible]	[signature]	
16. Julia Sello	RDC SECRETORY	J.g. Sello	7243105
17. Joel Kqwetlha		Joel Kqwetlha	7243042
18. Sello Bokaba	Lefiso A.W.C	[signature]	
19. Elias Rametsi	" "	[signature]	
20. S.C. Ralekoa	MATHANJANA TLC.	[signature]	7232335
21. [illegible]	[illegible]	[signature]	
22. L [illegible] Mowe	TAPP	[signature]	(011) 787 0308
23. Pomani Makuwa	Maharing	[signature]	
24.			
25.			
26.			

MKOBOLA LOCAL COUNCIL
LDO'S/IDP STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING 1 : 3 NOVEMBER 1998 HELD AT LOCAL COUNCIL OFFICES KWAGGAFONTEIN "C"
AGENDA

1. INTRODUCTION

   1.1 Welcome
   1.2 Opening

2. ATTENDANCE

   2.1 Present
   2.2 Apologies

3. STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

   3.1 Recap on the process
   3.2 Vision
      3.2.1 What is a vision?
      3.2.2 Visions of different geographic areas and sectoral task teams
      3.2.3 Collective vision.
   3.3 Status Quo
      3.3.1 Current reality of your Government Institution
      3.3.2 Current reality of your area
      3.3.3 Current reality of external environment - Influences

   3.4 SWOT - analysis
   Purpose: determination of SWOT (Strenghts, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analyses is to define your internal strengths and weaknesses and your external opportunities and threats.

   * **Determine strengths**
      - What are the advantages of our area?
      - What do we do well in our area?

   * **Determine weaknesses**
      - What in our area can be improved?
      - What are the things that we experience negatively?
      - What are the things we should avoid?

   * **Determine opportunities**
      - What are good opportunities facing us?
      - What trends can we take advantage of?

   * **Determine threats**
      - What obstacles do we face in our area?
      - What is threatening the quality of life in our area?

   3.5 **Revised Vision**

   3.6 **Development Standards**
      - Institutional
      - Physical
      - Social
      - Demographic

   3.7 **Delegate tasks to chairpersons of sectoral task teams and geographic area committees for their meetings with regard to :**

      - Development needs and priorities

   3.3 **Indicate time and venue of next LDO/IDP Steering Committee meeting.**

   2 December 1998, at 9h00 at the Local Council Offices Mkobola, Kwaggafontein "C".

4. GENERAL

5. CLOSURE

APPENDIX 6B: INDIMA'S KWAMHLANGA WORKSHOP AGENDA

KWAMHLANGA LOCAL COUNCIL
LDO'S/IDP STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING 2
24 NOVEMBER 1998

AGENDA

1. **Introduction**

   1.1 Welcome
   1.2 Opening

2. **Attendance**
   2.1 Present

3. **Recap on SWOT Analyses**

4. **Vision Statement**

5. **Needs Analyses**

   5.1 Inputs from Sectoral Committees Workshop: 17 November 1998
   5.2 Other Needs

6. **Towards a Development Framework for Greater Kwamhlanga**

   6.1 The Future of the Greater Kwamhlanga

      6.1.1 Institutional
      - Boundaries
      - Amalgamation

      6.1.2 Economic
      - Positive or Negative Growth ?
      - Employment and expenditure

   6.2. Possible Urban Forms

      6.2.1 Radial Growth
      6.2.2 Linear Growth

   6.3 Brainstorm towards physical urban framework

      6.3.1 Densification
      6.3.2 Poor stand occupation in certain areas
      6.3.3 Town form
      6.3.4 Transportation
      6.3.5 Agriculture
      6.3.6 Employment Generators
      6.3.7 Graveyards
      6.3.8 Refuse Dumps

7. General

8. Closure