

**A MODEL OF COMMUNITIES' PERCEPTION OF MUNICIPAL  
SERVICE DELIVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA WITH PARTICULAR  
REFERENCE TO PIETERMARITZBURG**

**by**

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*Dedicated to and in memory of*

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## ABSTRACT

Since the advent of a democratic South Africa the development of a civic culture, particularly within newly-incorporated communities of the post-apartheid city, has failed. The continued non-payment for municipal services by these communities, is creating a problem for local authorities to fulfill their constitutional obligations, in the delivery of municipal services. A model of communities' perceptions of municipal service delivery is developed and applied to investigate how a local authority may engender a civic culture within communities.

Analysis from a behavioural geographical perspective, revealed that there are not only physical spatial divisions in the city relating to socio-economic characteristics, but the concept of a divided city is still also ingrained as mental images in the minds of sectors of the population. Attitudinal perception studies revealed that the level of comprehension by citizens on the supply of, and payment for, municipal services to be strongly associated with their apartheid experience. Non-payment for municipal services is a common occurrence, particularly within newly-incorporated areas, where politically-motivated promises have created unrealistic expectations in the minds of consumers. Attempts by local authorities to inculcate a civic culture within these communities as part of the government's Masakhane nation-building programme, initiated during the late 1990s, has largely met with failure as non-payment levels spiral nationally. The thesis investigates successful programmes where local authorities have positively influenced the payment for municipal services in their areas.

A model of communities' perceptions of municipal service delivery has been developed from the results of field research and relevant literature. The model proposes how a local authority may develop a civic culture towards whole-city development particularly within its newly-incorporated communities by introducing community structures. These structures, formulated on the concepts of development fora, community service centres, and community participation in the development of local areas, are seen as necessary to fill the void left in these communities following the collapse of apartheid structures. Their successful introduction is dependent on small, cohesive well-led communities, managed by community leaders in co-operation with municipal officials. These ingredients have been found to be a successful antidote to a culture of non-payment encouraged by an entitlement syndrome. This study has further identified the need for current and future citizens to be educated in civic responsibility relating to the supply of, and payment for, municipal services, which should include training at school level. This is necessary in order that more realistic mental images of the delivery of affordable municipal services are engendered.

## PREFACE

The researcher, with fifteen years experience as a geography subject inspector, has noted with concern that since the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa, a civic culture has largely not been engendered in particularly newly-incorporated parts of the post-apartheid city. The non-payment for municipal services has been noted in the news media and municipal reports. These circumstances are frustrating efforts by local authorities to unify South African cities. These issues and a means of developing a civic culture, particularly within newly-incorporated areas of the post-apartheid city by a local authority, prompted the research.

The research identified specific issues related to the reconstruction, development and transformation of the South African city. The aims and objectives of the study focused specifically on the following issues:

- The non-payment of rates and municipal services in South Africa and the government-initiated Masakhane Campaign to overcome that problem.
- The reconstruction, development and transformation of the local authority system in Pietermaritzburg as a case study.
- A local authority's financial imperative of income and expenditure within the framework of current government legislation.
- The development of a model of communities' perceptions of municipal service delivery. This includes a concept of whole-city development with specific reference to the role of development fora and community service centres in the development of civic responsibility within communities.
- An application and interpretation of the model to reach conclusions and provide recommendations for the regional and national context of urban management and development in South Africa.

An aspect required by the research was the need to determine communities' perceptions on the supply of, and payment for, municipal services. A literature review revealed the existence of current secondary sources on adult-based perception studies. School-based surveys of scholars perceptions were investigated specifically as service-users of the future to add to the results of the

adult surveys. Interviews were also conducted with civic leaders, municipal officials and related experts. The information obtained was used to inform the research process, particularly in the development of the model.

The research method required the structuring, presentation and interpretation of the research data in eight chapters, as follows:

1. The aims, scope and relevance of the study formulated in Chapter One are developed primarily on the literature search and review, the outcome of interviews with local authority officials, academics and development agents.
2. The contents of Chapter Two is formulated on perception surveys. The chapter investigates communities' perceptions on the supply of, and payment for, municipal services. A literature review revealed the existence of various adult-based perception studies. The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) conducted a nation-wide study called Attitudes to national issues (Human Science Research Council 1997) which included an investigation into citizen's attitudes towards the payment of municipal rates and services. Another national survey which investigated similar issues was carried out on behalf of the Helen Suzman Foundation by Johnson (1999), entitled Not so close to their hearts: an investigation into the non-payment of rent, rates and service charges in the towns and cities of South Africa. City-based perception studies conducted in Pietermaritzburg include the following surveys by Ubuntu Development Consultants (1998; 1999): Masakhane attitudinal survey, and Sewerage/water and sanitation ward 31 and 32 pilot project results. These two surveys together with one conducted by Universal Security Services (1998), entitled Anti-crime awareness programme perception survey, were contracted by the Pietermaritzburg municipality. The results of the aforementioned studies were used in the development of Chapter Two. Trends evident in the perceptions consumers' have of municipal services are analysed and discussed. A young adult school-based questionnaire survey added a range of perceptions to include those of the future generations of municipal service-users.

A school-based survey was therefore conducted by the researcher to dove-tail with the existing adult surveys. The importance of including the views of young adults (grade 12, standard 10 students), is to give an indication of the level of their thinking *vis-a-vis* local development issues including the provision of municipal services, as they will be

breadwinners and responsible for the utilisation of municipal resources in their homes in the future. The survey included similar issues to those surveyed in the adult studies so that any common trends could be identified and discussed. The outcome of the school-based survey is used in later chapters, where this information has relevance in the construction of the model of communities' perception of municipal delivery formulated on the concept of whole-city development.

Chapters Three, Four and Five depict the reality of municipal service delivery from the point of view of the service-provider, specifically relating to a city divided by apartheid, city transformation, and financial imperatives of city income and expenditure.

3. Chapter Three has been developed to provide the reader with an understanding of the issues surrounding the non-payment of rates and municipal services in South Africa. With the aid of a sectoral model of the apartheid city, the chapter sketches the general historical context of urban management and development practice in South Africa up to the 1994 democratic elections. A literature review, supplemented with information gathered through interviews with municipal officials, informs the chapter, which seeks to clarify the issues currently surrounding the non-payment phenomenon still evident in towns and cities in South Africa.
4. In Chapter Four the research takes the form of a case study of Pietermaritzburg, specifically providing a background to the reconstruction, development and transformation of the local authority system. Details for the case study were obtained by way of a literature review and interviews conducted with local authority officials and academics. This aspect of the research included investigation into the transformation of apartheid to democratic local government, with specific reference to the Constitution and the White Paper on Local Government as its legislative framework. Within this context the success of the Masakhane Campaign is discussed.
5. The focus of Chapter Five is an investigation of the reality of the financial imperative of city income and expenditure. A theoretical model is developed, formulated on relevant literature, to demonstrate the local authority economic system as being one of an input-output interactive nature. Moreover, a model of city income and expenditure is formulated from the consultation of relevant technical reports and data obtained from the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council (TLC) and from interviews with

the city treasurer of Pietermaritzburg, and a former city councillor and current member of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The model illustrates the fundamental principles concerning the local authority financial imperative of income and expenditure. This provides a context from which the behavioural aspects which have an influence on the city income and expenditure, may be discussed.

6. The outcome of the research presented in the preceding chapters provide a context for the development of a model of communities' perceptions of municipal delivery in South Africa. The theoretical components of the model are introduced in Chapter Six. This is followed by the application of the model, to Pietermaritzburg as a case study, in Chapter Seven.

In Chapter Six the model is developed based on a review of literature and interviews with academics, development agents, local authority officials and related experts. The model has been formulated on the principles successfully used by local authorities in achieving a single-city concept. This component of the research included interviews with Inner West City Council of Pinetown municipal officials, including the chief executive officer and deputy city administrator and their Pietermaritzburg counterparts. The outcome of this research revealed the Inner West Council's initiative in the implementation of development fora and community service centres as an important aspect of city development. Investigation of the community service centre concept included participatory survey interviews with the relevant municipal officials and community leaders. The Inner West City Council provided a budget report and analysis on the Archie Gumede community service centre pilot study and showed a keen interest for the inclusion of their project in academic research and invited further participation.

The application and interpretation of the model is explained through identifying three main phases in the development of the South African city, namely: the apartheid era, the current post-apartheid transformation period, and the future.

7. In Chapter Seven, the model is applied to Pietermaritzburg for interpretation and to provide recommendations on city management and development issues specifically related to communities' perceptions of municipal service delivery. A comparative study of Pietermaritzburg's pilot community service centre in Sobantu township is investigated. The method included participatory interviews with city officials, and an analysis of

municipal debt reports on Sobantu. The efficacy of community service centres as an aspect of whole-city development, compared to the Masakhane Campaign which is essentially a stand-alone education awareness programme only, is investigated utilising municipal technical and debt reports.

8. Chapter Eight, draws conclusions, makes recommendations for policy change in the management and development of urban areas, and recommendations for further research.

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This study represents original work by the author and has not been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any other university. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.



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D R Dalton

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## CHAPTER ONE

### AIMS, SCOPE AND RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

#### 1.1 DEFINING AND FORMULATING THE RESEARCH ISSUES

##### 1.1.1 Apartheid<sup>1</sup> and the Divided South African City

Local government comprises local community management and administration of urban systems (Cloete 1995) and, according to Lockard (1968), it encompasses the political and bureaucratic structures and the processes which regulate and promote community activity. It was at the local government level that the South African apartheid administrative system manifested itself most forcefully (Cloete 1995). At this level laws separated communities on a racial basis affecting every sphere of life (Christopher 1994). Apartheid planning determined not only where within or without the city people lived, but also to a large degree how they lived, in terms of housing, commuter transport, and access to services and recreational facilities, whether so locally, provincially or nationally (Lemon 1995).

A unique historical perspective on the development and management of urban systems and the provision of municipal services<sup>2</sup> unfolded in South Africa. Whole cities were divided into separate financial, social, economic and ethnic entities as a result of politically inspired decisions (Kruger 1992), creating that which has been described as shared space and divided space by Chisholm and Smith (1990). After nearly half a century of this deliberate artificial division of cities, the country is faced with the daunting task of amalgamating what logically should be a single socio-economic, urban entity following the collapse of apartheid. South African cities clearly display disparities on all levels such as economic activity, social facilities, financial resources, institutional capacity and levels of municipal services (Kruger 1992). Thus, an unavoidable process of inefficiency, deteriorating municipal services and quality of life was experienced in some city quarters, while other areas enjoyed the benefits of a substantial economic base with financial resources sufficient

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<sup>1</sup> For the benefit of the reader unaccustomed to such terms which have assumed common currency in South Africa with the passage of years, a glossary of South African apartheid terms is provided in Annexure A, to enable an easier understanding of what unfolded during the apartheid and subsequent era.

<sup>2</sup> In the context of the research the conventional provision of municipal services in South Africa refers to: roads, stormwater, water, electricity, sanitation, waste removal and rail.

to sustain infrastructure, the adequate delivery of municipal services and an improved quality of life. South Africa's divided city, is therefore, very tangible in a physical form. The research for this thesis focused not only on racially-based development and management systems of municipal service delivery but on communities' perceptions of the provision of those services. Pietermaritzburg in Kwazulu-Natal is used as a case study to contextualise the South African situation at local level.

### 1.1.2 Political Change and the Transformation of Local Government in South Africa

South Africa underwent its first post-apartheid democratic elections on 27 April 1994 following the struggle against apartheid and white domination. In the wake of increasing demands, a new national constitutional dispensation was introduced and with consequent changing local circumstances, local government came under pressure to think anew its role and approach to governance (Koster 1996). Constitutional changes<sup>3</sup> have been introduced to assist a local authority reshape the structure and composition of its organization in order to align itself with its new environment<sup>4</sup>.

Current legislation identifies a local authority as a development agent as well as service provider. Such a mandate has not necessarily been followed by any concomitant increase in finances, resulting in the inability of most local authorities to fulfil their developmental responsibilities (Friedman 1998a; 1998b). Such a development has raised the issue whether local authorities have the capacity to fulfil such a mandate (Heese 1998; Zziwa 1998) or whether it is a matter of such authorities transforming their constitutional arrangements (Solomon 1998).

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<sup>3</sup> For details on: local government transformation in South Africa including that of the Local Government Transition Act, 1993 and the Interim Constitution see Cloete (1995); the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 see the Constitutional Assembly (1996; 1997), and the White Paper on Local Government see the Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development (1997a; 1997b; 1998).

<sup>4</sup> Research and reports relating to challenges facing local authorities to which the reader may refer include *inter alia*: African National Congress (1994); Bekker (1991); Bernstein (1991); Cameron (1991); Cloete (1991; 1995); Croeser (1991a; 1991b); Dewar (1986); Grest (1988); Heymans and White (1991); Mandy (1991); Meiklejohn (1992); Persad (1996); Regional Development Advisory Council Region E (1993); Rogerson (1989); Schlemmer (1991); Seekings (1988; 1991); Shubane (1991); Swilling (1991); Swilling, Cobbett and Hunter (1991); Swilling, Humphries and Shubane (1991); Urban Foundation (1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1990d; 1990e; 1990f; 1990g; 1993a; 1993b); Wills (1988; 1991a; 1991b); Wolfson (1991).

### 1.1.3 Bond, Rent<sup>5</sup> and Municipal Services Payment Boycotts

Chapter Three will relate in greater detail how bond, rent and service payment boycotts were used as a weapon against the apartheid government, primarily in township areas<sup>6</sup>. Despite the constitutional changes that have been made in South Africa, events and reports suggest many urban inhabitants' attitudes and comprehension of urban management, development and the provision of municipal services remain locked in the past (Natal Witness 7/3/98). For example, reports of bond, rent and municipal services payment boycotts and illegal tampering of water and electricity connections are regularly noted in media reports and municipality reports (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1999f). Notwithstanding negotiated arrears write-offs (Cloete 1995), the problem continues to bedevil local authorities in South Africa (Johnson 1999). According to the Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, the level of municipal payments was only 68% by 1997, which meant that 1,4 million households in the country were not paying for rates and municipal services received (Segar 1997). According to Jackie Manche, chief director of local government finance at the Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Department, as of mid-1999:

*"Almost half of the country's 843 municipalities are facing financial problems and 151 of them - about one in six - are in a full-blown financial crisis"* (Natal Witness 19/7/99: 2).

Furthermore, there have been media reports that some city councillors, purportedly leaders in the community, had outstanding rates themselves or are allegedly involved in illegal re-connection of water and electricity supplies for residents. To circumvent the councillors' non-compliance, the Local Government Municipal Structures Bill introduced in Parliament, included a code of conduct for councillors. According to Manche, as reported by the press (Natal Witness 19/7/99) municipalities currently jointly owe creditors about R12,4-billion, including R800-million to the South African Revenue Services. According to Peter Miller, Finance and Local Government

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<sup>5</sup> The term rent in South Africa does not have the normally understood conventional meaning, particularly as applies to township areas. As described by Abbott (1996), it has two components: a rental component made up of site and house rent for state housing tenants; and a service charge covering the cost of township capital development and the provision and maintenance of services. In practice, these components are indistinguishable to township residents as they are billed and paid together. Thus a rent boycott constitutes a refusal to pay both rent and service charges. The cost of housing historically has been low, so that service charges actually constitute most of the rent, as such, in many townships (refer to footnote below for a description of township in the South African context).

<sup>6</sup> In the South African context, township refers to a planned urban settlement for black South Africans (see Annexure A), in accordance with segregation and apartheid ideology.

Minister for the Province of Kwazulu-Natal, local government's debt is growing at an alarming R500-million to R1-billion per month (Natal Witness 15/4/97). The cumulative result of this is budget deficits and dissatisfaction within established sectors of the municipal service-paying communities due to: rates hikes and a deterioration of municipal service provision. There are areas in the country where the provision of municipal services has collapsed completely, resulting in chaos. On the other hand, rates resistance by traditional white group area ratepayers is gaining ground, in response to rate increases and a degenerating service. In some instances media reports suggest that these communities too have demanded a flat rate charge for municipal services as has been applied in certain other areas. The substance of these reports have subsequently gained credence via research such as that conducted by the Human Science Research Council (1997) and the Helen Suzman Foundation (Johnson 1999). According to reports many local authority structures are currently facing financial crises of such proportions that may take decades to resolve. Should this trend continue, not only is the successful implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (see Annexure A and section 4.1.2) at risk, but also the sustainability of the existing developed urban economy itself. The ripple effects would have negative effects on economic activity immediately associated with the local authority concerned. Fundamental to the sustainability of the urban economy is the satisfactory management, financing, maintenance and servicing of that system and the image thereof both within and without that system. As there is a crucial interrelationship between the economic, financial and institutional components of local government, financial viability is critical to its institutional stability (Integrated Planning Services 1995b). The National Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development has predicted that unless the non-payment issue is satisfactorily addressed, local government as an institution in South Africa, is virtually doomed - the Ministry has consequently developed a blueprint for the business of running efficient municipalities (Moosa 1998).

It is understood that the non-payment for municipal services is only one of the problems which currently bedevil local authorities but from a behavioural perspective it is a key issue investigated by the research. Payment for, and the proper and responsible use of municipal services, is regarded as pivotal to the establishment of civic partnerships or social contracts<sup>7</sup> between

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<sup>7</sup> A civic partnership or social contract is the interactive relationship which exists between municipal service-user and provider. From a behavioural perspective it is a significant component of the local economic fabric as it will have an influence on perceptions, spatial mental image formation and consumer behaviour - a main theme to be discussed during the course of the thesis. The level of civic engagement has a role to play in developing perceptions concerning civic responsibility.

municipal service-user and provider which is regarded as a basic tenet of sustainable urban economic development, a point noted by a Natal Witness newspaper editorial Municipalities in crisis (Natal Witness 20/7/99). Moreover, the White Paper on Local Government (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998) espoused the principle of a user-pays principle agreed upon by the stakeholders involved in formulating the drafting of the Interim Constitution in 1993 (Cloete 1995), duly confirmed by the Constitution itself (Constitutional Assembly 1996).

In spite of political and constitutional changes, the above scenario alludes to variations concerning individual and collective comprehension on the supply of and payment for municipal services, held by different urban communities including that of their leaders. Reconstructing and developing the post-apartheid city has definite physical as well as a human behavioural component. Consequently consideration of perceptions and human behaviour is regarded as integral to the transformation process. Transformation of the South African city therefore leads to consideration of strategies of how a person's perceptions and behaviour towards a city's development and management system may be influenced.

#### **1.1.4 The Conversion of a Rent Boycotter**

A survey of literature (Nel 1996) related an unanticipated occurrence concerning African National Congress (ANC) councillor Norah Juries, who had been an anti-apartheid activist. Following the 1994 elections Juries continued actively participating in rent and municipal services boycotts as the government was perceived not to have fulfilled election promises to improve the delivery of municipal services. However, following a visit to Germany, Juries witnessed what can be achieved by a country when all people pay taxes and amounts due for municipal services. According to her, she had not realized that the government needs money to fulfil its undertakings!

The Norah Juries' experience indicates that, not only did apartheid create physical disparities within its cities, but may also have influenced on peoples' perceptions and comprehension of rights and responsibilities in terms of civic partnerships and thus comprehension of how the city works in relation to the delivery of municipal services. Arising out of the above experience of conversion to civic compliance, consideration of the behavioural dynamic is significant to the research. With respect to her background environment, Juries' experience of conversion has fundamental implications of the behavioural processes concerning perception and mental image formation in



the South African urban context. Juries' enlightening learning experience<sup>8</sup> has significant implications for communication, information and education strategies on how the city works for the enhancement of transformation in South Africa in general. The ideal would be to emulate the Juries conversion experience more broadly. However, current research has revealed non-compliance to be rife (Johnson 1999). This is supported by research which has indicated that there are instances that non-payment in some cases might be due to evasion promoted by lax collection and enforcement on the part of a local authority (Taylor and Mattes 1998). Consequently if consumers do not comply with their civic responsibilities other methods of control have to be employed. Chapter Two will provide examples of the various approaches used by municipalities in dealing with the issue and consumers response to these. Methods used have varied from educational programmes to coercive methods of credit control. The actions of municipalities and the response of consumers of municipal services therefore have significance to this research.

Spatial behavioural dynamics is regarded as a significant aspect included in the research. Attention now of necessity must turn to consideration of the fundamentals of perception and mental image formation, a pivotal aspect of spatial behavioural processes and the realm of behavioural geography.

## 1.2 PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION OF THEIR ENVIRONMENT

An overview of some of the basic principles of behavioural theory are discussed in this section. In essence behavioural geography is a branch of human geography which emphasized the role of cognitive and decision-making variables as mediating the relationship between environment and spatial behaviour (Johnston, Gregory and Smith 1994). As such, perception has traditionally been the domain of the psychologist with numerous theories and explanations emanating from different schools of thought within the discipline (Webb 1980). These perceptual aspects have filtered through to the social sciences, including geography, where they have strongly influenced both fields and methods of inquiry. A generally accepted concern to geographers is life space which refers to the incorporation of both physical and psychological factors in influencing behaviour.

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<sup>8</sup> In a similar vein a previous mayor of Pietermaritzburg, Ornar Latiff, the first non-white person to hold that office and once at the vanguard of the anti-apartheid and boycott struggle, had a different perspective once in elected office, as reported in Budget was an eye-opener (Latiff 1996).

The psychological environment is considered as both the interface between humans and the physical environment as well as the major interpreter of the environment to humans.

As a result, perception studies form an important part of behavioural geographic analysis (Carter 1981). A literature search (Golledge and Stimson 1987; Johnston, Gregory and Smith 1994; Webb 1980) provided an insight into the behavioural approach to geographical analysis. Golledge and Stimson (1987) suggest a process-oriented analytical behavioural approach when investigating the complexities of spatial behaviour. They further propose a paradigm for the understanding of human-environment relationships. In order to understand the dynamic processes of perception formation a discussion of the paradigm is necessary.

#### 1.2.1 The Dynamics of Perception Formation

The paradigm for enhancing behavioural human-spatial settings encompasses a complex set of variables and their functional relationships. It includes the physical and the cultural aspects of environment; it allows for roles of culture and its related social and political systems and institutions; it identifies the evolution of culture over time through technology and it recognizes intervening psychological processes such as filtering mechanisms in how people perceive the environment and act within it. The complexity of the inter-relationships between these variables within the operational milieu of modern western society is demonstrated in Figure 1.

However, it is the psychological variables intervening between humans and their environment that are all important in expanding the behavioural outcomes of this interaction. They provide an approach for investigating the behavioural bases *per se* of the relationships which manifest themselves as spatial movements and location decisions. Thus a human-environment behavioural interface model is proposed by Golledge and Stimson (1987) (Figure 2) which indicates the behavioural interface as the black box within which humans form the mental image of their world. The schemata, or the basic framework, within which past and present environmental experiences are organized and given environmental meaning, is the cognitive mapping. The key psychological variables intervening between environment and human behaviour within it, are a mixture of cognitive and affective attitudes, emotions or affective responses, such as perception and cognition, and learning. Figure 2 demonstrates the linkage between these. It is with the understanding of such relationships that the process-oriented approach is concerned, according to Golledge and Stimson (1987).

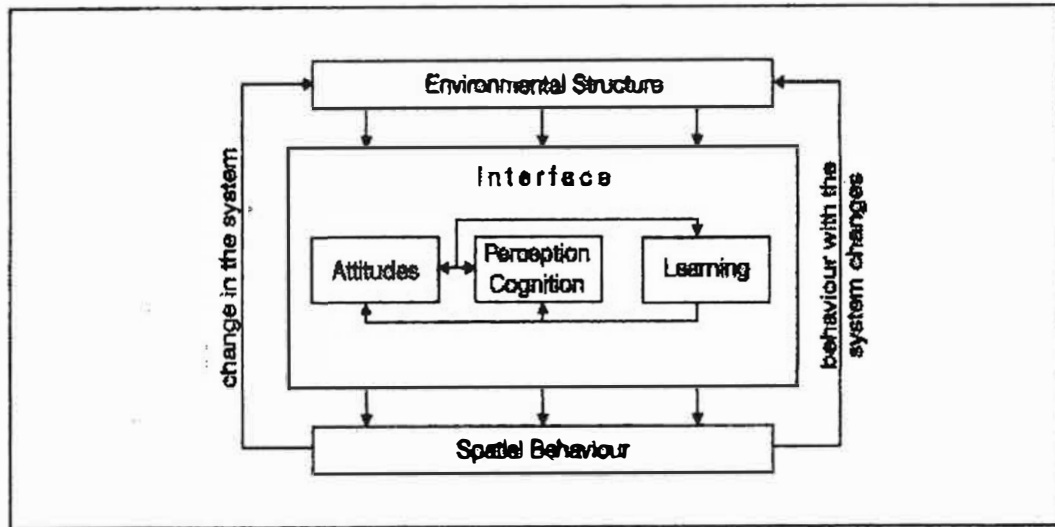


Figure 1 The human-environment behaviour interface

Source: Golledge and Stimson 1987: 11

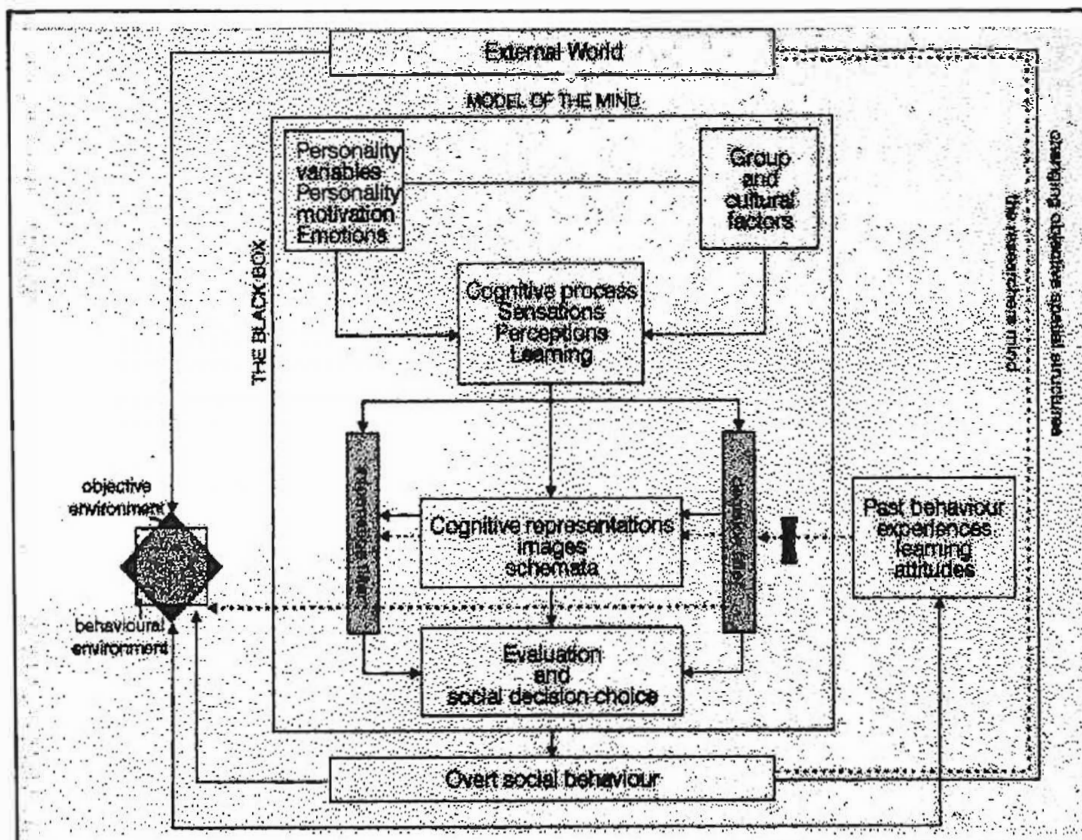


Figure 2 A paradigm of individual behaviour, spatial cognition and overt spatial behaviour

Source: Golledge and Stimson 1987: 13

The paradigm is applicable to the analysis of everyday behaviour of humans in their environment, based on what Burnett (cited in Golledge and Stimson 1987) lists as nine beliefs about the mind as a mediator between the environment and behaviour in it (Table 1). Golledge and Stimson's (1987) paradigm postulates both causal and non-causal connections between the overt behavioural process and the external world of changing objective spatial structures. The individual is simultaneously part of both the objective and the behavioural (or subjective) environments, receiving locational and attributive information from the latter.

A further consideration, and significant to the research, is that of experience and the conceptualisation of space via perception. Within the general objective geographical environment is a subset known as the operational environment consisting of the world which impinges on any given human as such. It influences behaviour either directly or indirectly. That part of the operational environment of which a person is aware is called the perceptual environment. Awareness of it may be derived from: learning and experience of a segment of the operational environment; sensitivity to messages from environmental stimuli and secondary information sources not necessarily related to direct experience.

Table 1

Beliefs inherent in the proposition of the mind as mediator between environment and behaviour

BELIEF	ELABORATION
Minds exist and constitute valued objects of scientific enquiry.	We are more concerned with the description of preferences and perceptions than the description of conditions of neurons and nerve fibres.
Minds are described in psychological and not neuro-physiological language.	Minds do not have peculiarly mental, non-material, or ghostly properties which would place them outside the realm of acceptable scientific discourse.
This is an external world of spatial stimuli with objective places outside the mind.	These include things such as industrial agglomerations, central places, residential sites, etc.
Minds observe, select, and structure information about the real world.	Minds have processes corresponding to spatial learning and remembering and have streets somewhat corresponding to mental maps, perceived distances, awareness spaces, environmental cues, multi-dimensional image of shopping, residential and other locations, and more or less imperfect spatial knowledge.
Mental events or processes occur that correspond to thinking about or evaluating spatial information.	Minds have states describing action spaces and space preferences and utility functions.
Minds are the seat of emotions and sensations, and are the seat of attitudes, needs, desires and motives.	Minds thus are the producers of satisfactions and dissatisfactions, environmental stress, and aspirations to optimise or satisfy in making location decisions.
Spatial choices are made by thinking according to decision rules which are made in the mind and result from prior mental states, events and processes.	Choices are made among perceived alternatives. The decision rules may be viewed as methods of relating collated and evaluated information about alternatives on the one hand to motives on the other.
Spatial choice decisions are the cause of an overt act, and over time sequences of spatial choices by individuals and groups cause overt behavioural processes, which in turn cause changes in spatial structures in the external world. Thus, ultimately location processes are explained (caused) by mental states, events and processes.	An overt act is such as a search for a new residence, purchase of a new industrial site, of a shopping trip. Sequences of choice over time are such as intra- and inter-urban migrations. Changes in spatial structures are like transitions in urban land use.

Source: Golledge and Stimson 1987: 12

A literature search (Golledge and Stimson 1987; Johnston, Gregory and Smith 1994; Webb 1980) revealed that a definition of terms is required concerning perception and cognition. Golledge and Stimson's (1987) Analytical behavioural geography provides clarity of the meaning for these

terms. According to Golledge and Stimson (1987) geographers have tended to use the term perception in the sense of how things are seen by people - especially with respect to perception of resources or hazards, whilst designers have used the term to describe the mutuality of interests among various groups of actors in the design process. However, psychologists have tended to treat perception as a sub-set of, or function of, cognition. For example, Werner and Kaplan (cited in Golledge and Stimson 1987) see perception as an inferential process in which a person plays a maximal and idiosyncratic role in interpreting, categorising and transforming the stimulus input, and is of paramount significance in this dissertation. Furthermore, Littleton (cited in Golledge and Stimson 1987) has emphasized the central role in perception of a person's assumption about the stimulus situation. As the real world is complex and is sending out millions of information signals about all aspects of life, we can only be aware of a small portion of this information. An individual receives these signals through senses - by sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch or a combination of these.

These senses do not, however, play an equal part in spatial perception, with only sight, hearing and smell being able to receive stimuli from parts of the environment beyond the so-called tactile zone. However, much of our environmental information is secondary or indirect, in that it is culled from the media and through hearsay via communication with fellow human beings. This, according to Golledge and Stimson (1987), is perception. It concerns the immediate apprehension of the environment (stimuli) by one or more of the senses. It occurs because of the presence of an object. It is further closely connected with events in the immediate surroundings and is, in general, linked with immediate behaviour. Moreover, the perception of two individuals varies as a function of the difference in the content of the information presented and differences in the ability and experience of the individuals to pick up the information messages.

Cognition, according to Golledge and Stimson (1987), refers to the way information, once received, is stored and organized in the brain so that it fits in with such hitherto accumulated knowledge which a person has, and with his or her values. Cognition is therefore developmental and as this proceeds, perception becomes subordinate to higher mental processes. Further, an organism's available cognition structures influence perceptual selectivity, which leads to a reconstruction of the world through selected fields of attention. Thus according to psychologists, perception is linked to immediacy and is stimulus driven, while cognition concerns how we link the present with the past, and how we may project into the future. The end product of perception and cognition is a mental image (Golledge and Stimson 1987) or world view (Tuan 1974) of the

object environment. Thus, information signals are filtered through perception, then further filtered through the cognitive representation given to these in relation to previous cognitive structures in the brain, in the manner suggested in Figure 3. Arising from such a process, people respond not directly to their real environment, but to their mental image or world view of it (Golledge and Stimson 1987).

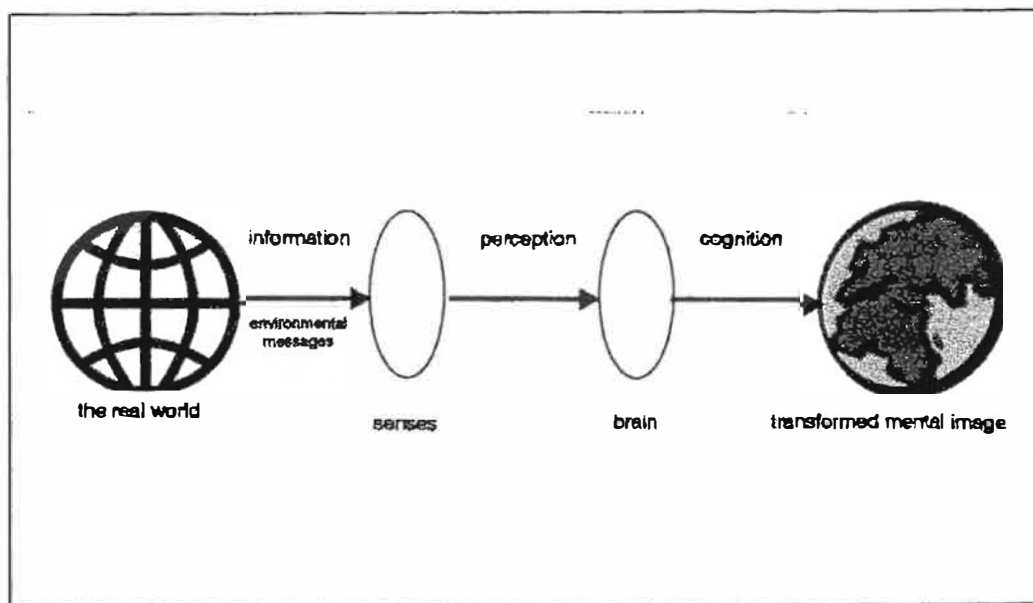


Figure 3 The formation of mental images by an individual

Source: Golledge and Stimson 1987: 37

### 1.2.2 Perception and Behaviour

As perception is an important factor likely to influence behaviour, the environmental circumstances in which a city inhabitant is raised, will impact on this likely perception and resultant comprehension of, and behaviour within, that urban environment. Empirically, in a cognitive map study conducted of Jerusalem, Romann (1989) discovered that an 'ethnic boundary' continues to affect the everyday lives of Jews and Arabs alike - which bears spatial testimony to the nature of the social, political, and economic relationships which have emerged between the two communities. Other internationally conducted studies (cited in Carter 1981), such as that conducted by Lynch (Boston), Franscscato and Mebane (Milan and Rome), and the Advance Planning Section of Los Angeles City Planning Committee (Los Angeles), have found that the dimension of ecological

studies imply that the mental image of the city will vary according to socio-economic status, life cycle stage, ethnic origin, notions of ethnically based territoriality and ethnic group interaction. Such evidence is of particular significance in the case of South Africa's historically racially-divided cities, whose inhabitants have had varying environmental backgrounds and origins. South African perception research, referred to in more detail in Chapter Two, has found that variations in perceptions held by urban inhabitants in a divided South African city with different environmental backgrounds do exist. This according to Golledge and Stimson (1987: 39) will be because:

*"Different people may give different interpretations to the same spatial structures and phenomena, which take on individual meanings", and furthermore, "that individuals impose a mental ordering on environmental information to provide identification, location and orientation for the elements perceived in the objective model, but it is the variations in the accuracy of these cognitive orderings that will furnish some explanation of the variations evident in the behaviour of different people in the same environment." Johnston (1989: 249) referred to this as "we live in a world comprising spatially segmented images."*

In the South African context spatially segmented mental images held by citizens is consistent with their apartheid experience as perception research in Chapter Two will illustrate. Residents from the well developed and serviced sectors of the city have a basic comprehension of how the city works in terms of their background and experience. On the other hand residents from newly-incorporated sectors, owing to a history of segregation and apartheid, have little or no comprehension of how the city works or the basic economic principles upon which it is built. Chapter Two and Three will further investigate this issue in more detail.

### **1.2.3 The Significance of Perceptions in the South African Context**

Of significance to this research thesis is not only the urban inhabitants' comprehension of current urban management and development issues in South Africa, but also the awareness they have, or lack thereof, of the consequences of their actions based on their behaviour in terms of these issues. Such is the case since it is believed that behaviour is a function of the formed mental image of the real world and that this image differs from reality (Brookfield 1969; Downs 1970). Hagerstrand (cited in Carter 1981) sees city-image as being constrained by a time-space envelope. The rent and municipal services payment boycott and the consequences thereof, discussed in 1.1.3 above, is such an example. An understanding of spatial behaviour, particularly the dynamic process of



perception and related city-image formation, including the behaviour of residents who use municipal services, may well constitute the key to the transformation of South African society towards sustainable reconstruction and development of the city. All role-players and participants in urban management and development, such as urban inhabitants, decision-makers, labour unions and planners should, of necessity, have an elementary comprehension of how their city works and the principles of municipal service delivery.

Consequently, information flows and learning about how the city works are important to an urban inhabitant's perception and comprehension in this regard. This is because:

*"Learning affects the completeness with which some things will be perceived and understood by individuals, and their attitude towards them helps determine their clarity and relevance to a person"* (Golledge and Stimson 1987: 38).

An assumption is that such learning is retained as experience, and applied in future situations, when so required. A significant example of the above is the rent boycotter Norah Juries having witnessed the benefits of payment for municipal services by all citizens whilst on a visit to Germany, resulted in the transformation of her perception of the delivery of municipal services. However, the results of current perception research to be discussed in Chapter Two, provide an indication of the general comprehension held by citizens in South Africa of how the city works. The actions and behaviour of consumers of municipal services, particularly from newly-incorporated areas of the city, do not engender confidence in the development of responsible civic partnerships, in contrast to the disciplined environment which exists in more established areas. Evidence provided by municipal debt reports and reports in the media tend to verify such a scenario.

Consequently, this research focuses on investigating the relationship between a municipal service-provider and consumer from a behavioural perspective. A process-oriented behavioural approach, in this case, provides a framework for the investigation of not only perception formation by municipal service-users, but also that of the actions and behaviour of the provider of municipal services and the consumers thereof. This analytical approach further provides a scope to investigate possible solutions to the problems faced by city managers formulated on the outcome of such an analysis.

#### 1.2.4 Channels of Communication in the South African Context

Consideration of the dynamics of perception formation, as noted in 1.2.1 and represented in Figures 1 and 2 and Table 1 above, is an important facet of the research. However, notwithstanding the importance of the recognition of perception formation as described above, research by Ong (1982), Rogers and Schoemaker (1971), Van Niekerk (1990) and Webb (1980) noted that the characteristics of particularly diverse societies also need to be considered in the diffusion of innovations within a society. Rogers and Schoemaker (1971) identified the differences which exist between traditional and modern societies, whilst Ong (1982) noted the differences between oral and literate traditions. Van Niekerk (1990) and Webb (1980) found that due to the diverse nature of South Africa's society, communication with citizens is not as simplistic as is the case in an industrialised western society. History has left South Africa with a legacy consisting of a society which incorporates many different groups and cultures. The four main race groups of black, white, Indian and coloured have further divisions. White society is made up of primarily English and Afrikaans. Ten different ethnic groups exist amongst blacks. Indians consist of Hindus and Moslems and coloureds are either English or Afrikaans-oriented. The dualistic nature of South Africa's economy is described as:

*"The First World sector is a sophisticated money economy, aimed at marketing and money making. The Third World sector is mostly a rural subsistence economy, aimed at self-sufficiency in supporting life" (Zaaiman (1985) as quoted in Van Niekerk (1990: 36)).*

The dynamics of perception formation and the realities of South African society indicate that perceptual filters are a significant facet of perception formation to be considered by the research. Such considerations are deemed as being significant in order that a local authority may establish effective communication channels with its citizens who come from such diverse backgrounds. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) recognised a simple S-M-C-R model of the communication process in Communication of innovations: a cross-cultural approach. The model, in the form of a source (S) which sends a message (M) via a channel (C) to the receiving individual (R), has particular significance for communication in South Africa's culturally diverse society. The model forms a basis for an analysis of perception formation of municipal service delivery by consumers and the development of interactive linkages between municipal service-provider and user.

### **1.2.5 The Importance of Perception Formation to the Research**

A body of appropriate knowledge was found to exist. Fieldwork research was used to further add to this information. Nationally-based and city-based adult perception studies provide data for the analysis of the level of thinking and behaviour of municipal service-users. Specifically incorporated in the research will be an investigation of the Masakhane Campaign initiated to improve payment levels for municipal services, and the subsequent reactions of municipalities to consumer non-compliance. Moreover, behavioural analysis provides a context for the investigation of strategies of achieving a single-city concept towards whole-city development, specifically in the South African context.

The principles of a behavioural approach to geographical analysis in research such as this is imperative, as all knowledge is channeled through the complex human, cultural and personal filters causing certain things to be perceived in certain ways (Webb 1980). Furthermore, the rationale underlying a behavioural approach is that an understanding of the spatial distribution and pattern of cultural phenomena on the earth's surface, rests upon knowledge of the decisions and behaviours which influence the arrangement of the phenomena, rather than merely the knowledge of the positional relations of phenomena. Moreover it is the complex of human activities which gives meaning to our world (Lloyd and Dicken 1989). The nature of the issues being investigated determined the purpose of the research.

## **1.3 PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH**

In essence the purpose of this research is:

*To study the reconstruction, development and transformation of the post-apartheid South African city, with specific reference to Pietermaritzburg, in order to examine municipal service-users' perceptions, and comprehension of municipal service delivery, and to investigate spatial behavioural dynamics which may have an influence on such perceptions. The research is undertaken with a view to developing an analytical tool to assist the comprehension and application of the viable management, sustainable development and delivery of municipal services.*

Owing to the complex nature of city management and development, the research will focus on specific issues related to the reconstruction, development and transformation of the South African city and will therefore focus specifically on the following issues:

1. The non-payment of rates and municipal services in South Africa and the government-initiated Masakhane Campaign to overcome that problem.
2. The reconstruction, development and transformation of the local authority system in Pietermaritzburg as a case study.
3. A local authority's financial imperative of income and expenditure within the framework of current government legislation.
4. The development of a model of communities' perceptions of municipal service delivery. This will include a concept of whole-city development with specific reference to the role of development forums and community service centres in the development of civic responsibility within communities.
5. An application and interpretation of the model to reach conclusions and provide recommendations for the regional and national context of urban management and development in South Africa.

By following this approach, and with reference to Figure 3, the research endeavors to create a picture of communities' perceptions of, and attitudes towards municipal service delivery, *vis-a-vis* the reality of the city's management and development. Details concerning the methodology used in investigating these issues are discussed below.

#### 1.4 METHODOLOGY

The investigation involved the use of both primary and secondary sources of information and the collection of data through fieldwork. The principles of the city building approach of Dewar and Uytendogaardt (cited in *Integrated Planning Services* 1995b), upon which the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) has been formulated and the ontology of behavioural geography informs and places the research in appropriate context<sup>9</sup>. The behavioural geographical approach

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<sup>9</sup> For further detail concerning behavioural geography the reader may refer to *inter alia*: Amadeo and Golledge (1975); Anderson (1989); Boal and Livingstone (1989); Brookfield (1989); Brown (1981); Carter (1981); Cloke, Philo and Sandler (1991); Cox and Golledge (1981); Gold (1980); Golledge and Rushton (1972); Golledge and Stimson (1987); Johnston (1989); Johnston, Gregory and Smith (1994); Lee (1978); Porteous (1977); Romann (1989); Spate (1989); Taylor and McDermott (1980); Torquist

looks to the subjective world of perceptions, attitudes and beliefs for its contribution to the central aim of the explanation of spatial behaviour (Anderson 1989). The fundamental philosophical basis of behavioural research, according to Brookfield (1969) and Downs (1970), is that behaviour is a function of the perception of the real world and that this perception differs from reality. Such an approach is non-normative and the focus falls upon the information-processing and acted-out behaviour of the individual decision-maker and decision-making activities involved in creating a given pattern (Johnston 1979; Walmsley and Lewis 1984). Furthermore, the basic principles of urban geography (Carter 1981), economic geography and an economic system (Lloyd and Dicken 1989) are implicit in the fundamentals of the ontology. Added to these would be principles that encompass humanistic considerations regarding the quality of urban life, all of which involve spatial considerations (King and Golledge 1978).

A literature review and fieldwork research has provided appropriate data for the type of analysis proposed by the research. The research methods used in structuring, presentation and interpretation of the data in seven chapters is explained below in more detail.

1. The aims, scope and relevance of the study formulated in Chapter One are developed primarily on the literature search and review, the outcome of interviews with local authority officials, academics and development agents. Persons interviewed or consulted during the research are included in Annexure B.
2. The contents of Chapter Two is formulated on perception surveys. The chapter investigates communities' perceptions on the supply of and payment for municipal services. A literature review revealed the existence of various adult-based perception studies. The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) conducted a nation-wide study called Attitudes to national issues (Human Science Research Council 1997) which included an investigation into citizen's attitudes towards the payment of municipal rates and services. Another national survey which investigated similar issues was carried out on behalf of the Helen Suzman Foundation by Johnson (1999) entitled Not so close to their hearts: an investigation into the non-payment of rent, rates and service charges in the towns and cities of South Africa. City-based perception studies conducted in Pietermaritzburg include the following surveys conducted by Ubuntu Development

Consultants (1998; 1999): Masakhane attitudinal survey, and Sewerage/water and sanitation ward 31 and 32 pilot project results. These two surveys together with one conducted by Universal Security Services (1998) entitled Anti-crime awareness programme perception survey, were contracted by the Pietermaritzburg municipality. The results of the aforementioned studies were used in the development of Chapter Two. Trends evident in the perceptions consumers' have of municipal services are analysed and discussed. The inclusion of a young adult school-based questionnaire survey, conducted by the researcher, added a range of perceptions including that of future service-users.

A Pietermaritzburg school-based survey was therefore conducted to dovetail with the existing adult surveys. The importance of including the views of young adults, is that it would give an indication of the level of their thinking *vis-à-vis* local development issues including the provision of municipal services. These young adults would be breadwinners and responsible for the utilisation of municipal resources in their homes in the future. The survey included similar issues to those surveyed in the adult studies so that any common trends could be identified and discussed. The outcome of the school-based survey is used in later chapters, where this information has relevance in the construction of the model of communities' perception of municipal delivery formulated on the concept of whole-city development.

Chapters Three, Four and Five will depict the reality of municipal service delivery from the point of view of the service-provider, specifically relating to a city divided by apartheid, city transformation, and financial imperatives of city income and expenditure.

3. Chapter Three has been developed to provide the reader with an understanding of the issues surrounding the non-payment of rates and municipal services in South Africa. With the aid of a sectoral model of the apartheid city the chapter sketches the general historical context of urban management and development practice in South Africa during the period up to the 1994 democratic elections, including the resistance to it, particularly of that in the townships during the 1980s. Added to this, and based on a literature review of current secondary sources, supplemented with information gathered through interviews with municipal officials, the chapter seeks to clarify the issues currently surrounding the non-payment phenomenon still evident in towns and cities.

4. In Chapter Four the research takes the form of a case study of Pietermaritzburg, specifically providing a background to the reconstruction, development and transformation of the local authority system. Details for the case study were obtained by way of a literature review, and interviews conducted with local authority officials and academics. This aspect of the research included investigation into the transformation of apartheid to democratic local government, with specific reference to the Constitution and the White Paper on Local Government as its legislative framework. Within this context the role of the Mashkane Campaign will be discussed.
  
5. The focus of Chapter Five is an investigation into the reality of the financial imperative of city income and expenditure. A theoretical model is developed, formulated on relevant literature, to demonstrate the local authority economic system as being one of an input-output interactive nature. Moreover, a model of city income and expenditure is formulated from the consultation of relevant technical reports and data obtained from the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council (TLC) and from interviews with the city treasurer of Pietermaritzburg, and a former city councillor and from current member of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kennedy 18/2/99; Le Roux 23/3/99). The model illustrates the fundamental principles concerning the local authority financial imperative of income and expenditure. This provides a context from which the behavioural aspects which have an influence on the city income and expenditure, may be discussed.
  
6. The outcome of the research presented in the preceding chapters provide a context for the development of a model of communities' perceptions of municipal delivery in South Africa. The model was further refined based on a review of literature and interviews with academics, development agents, local authority officials and related experts (Hagg 3/5/99; Harvey-Williams 24/3/99; Jackson 13/5/99; Keane-Murphy 15/4/99; Kennedy 11/2/99; Viljoen 5/10/99; Wallace 8/9/99). The model has been formulated on the principles of the concept of whole-city development and incorporates the principles utilized by the Inner West City Council's approach to Masakhane and their single-city concept. This component of the research included interviews with Inner West municipal officials including the chief executive officer and deputy city administrator and their Pietermaritzburg counterparts (Haswell 29/5/98; Hatting 5/7/99; Nene 10/9/99; Van Niekerk 5/10/99). The outcome of this component of the research revealed an Inner West

initiative in the implementation of development forums and community service centres as an aspect of city development and transformation. In practice this took the form of the Archie Gumede community service centre which is a pilot project centred in an Inner West township ward. Further investigation of this community service project included participatory survey interviews with the relevant councillor, municipal officials and community leaders. Inner West provided a budget report and analysis on the pilot study and showed a keen interest for the inclusion of their project in academic research and invited further participation in their project (Kruger 3/7/00).

The application and interpretation of the model is explained through identifying three main phases in the development of the South African city, namely: the apartheid era, the current post-apartheid transformation period and the future. The model is applied to Pietermaritzburg for interpretation and to provide recommendations on city management and development issues specifically related to communities' perceptions of municipal service delivery. A comparative study of Pietermaritzburg's pilot community service centre in Sobantu township is investigated. The Sobantu pilot is based on the principles of the Inner West concept of community development. The method included participatory interviews with city officials, and an analysis of municipal debt reports on Sobantu (Luyt 22/6/00).

8. The efficacy of community service centres as an aspect of whole-city development, compared to the Masakhane Campaign which is essentially a stand-alone education awareness programme only, is investigated utilising municipal technical and debt reports as discussed above. Conclusions are reached and recommendations made for the regional and national context of urban management in South Africa.
9. The research process described above is represented diagrammatically in Figure 4.



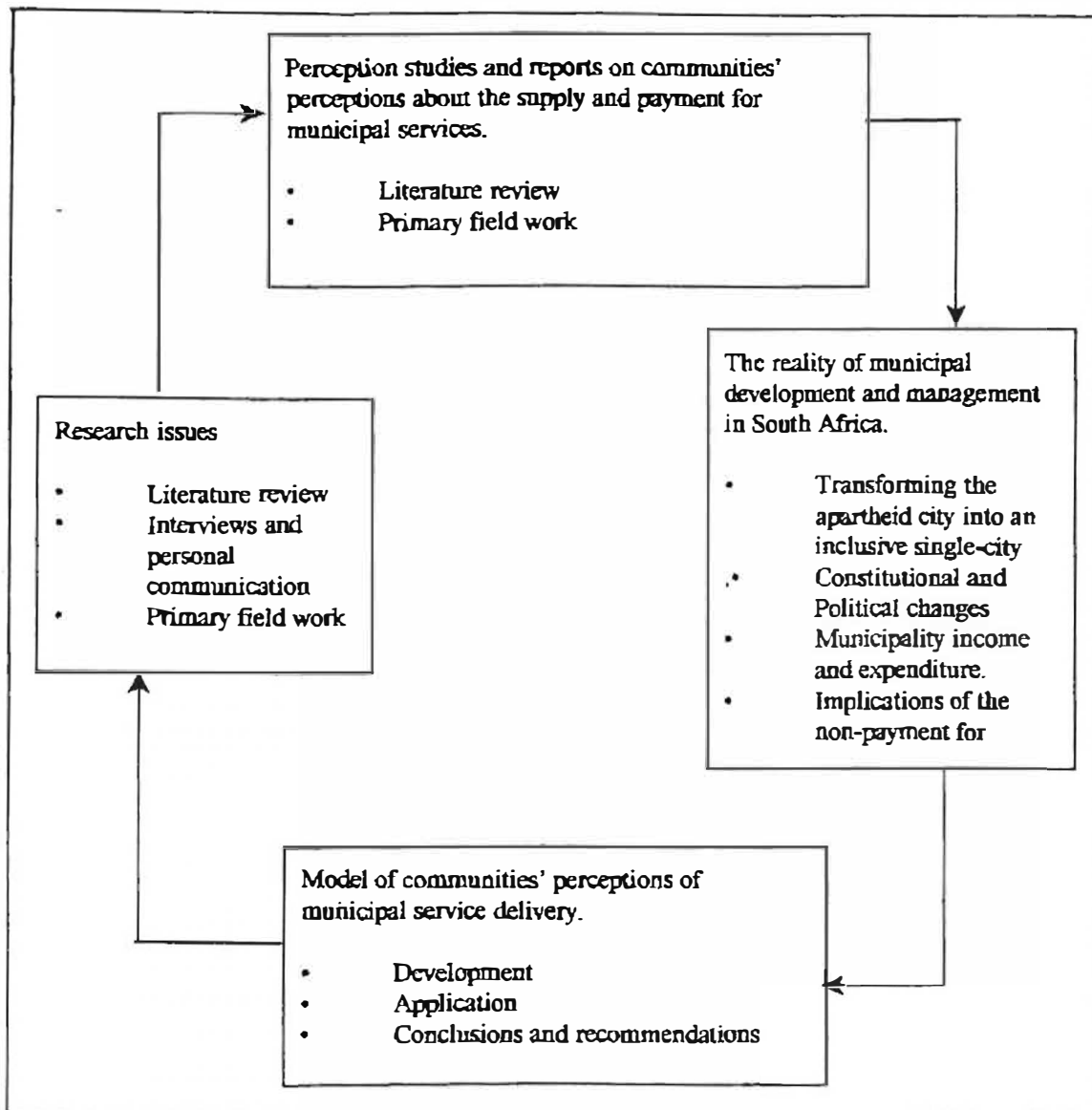


Figure 4 A diagrammatic representation of the research process

This research noted that attitudinal and perception studies, in themselves, only partially reveal the reality of the non-payment issue and may therefore be misleading. Consequently, concerning the issue of non-payment it is recommended that survey results are viewed in conjunction with information from media reports and municipal debt reports. It was therefore deemed necessary to provide other data sources in order to include a more holistic assessment of the actions and behaviour of the consumers of municipal services. The outcome of the research has relevance to an understanding of spatial behavioural dynamics specifically related to the South African context.

## 1.5 RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH

A process-oriented behavioural approach provides a philosophical basis for the development and application of a model of communities' perceptions about the supply and payment for municipal services, with a view to the possible establishment of effective interactive linkages between a local authority and communities in South Africa. In terms of behavioural theory represented in Figure 3, effective linkages hinge on the narrowing of the gap between the consumers' perceptions about municipal services and the reality of their provision. The development and application of the model provides benefits for an understanding of sustainable provision of municipal services in South Africa. The model proposes comprehensive strategic planning towards the development of a single-city.

The research places a perspective on spatial behaviour by introducing the individual as a decision-maker, within and without the city system. According to Golledge and Stimson (1987) access to individual based behavioural data is important to a research undertaking - it is perception, preference, and attitude towards an event or a phenomenon, or a probed analysis of how a decision is made that is of dominant importance. Perception studies together with municipal debt analysis is used by this research to focus attention on the issues being investigation. Moreover, government agencies, local authorities and independent organisations make use of attitudinal, perception and opinion surveys which provide statistical data on behavioural spatial dynamics. Research of a behavioural nature currently enjoys international academic interest (see: Bailey 1994; Chakravorty 1994; Jackson 1994; Jackson and Taylor 1996; Page, Shaw and Shilburn 1994; Simonsen 1996).

Academic debate in the South African context relates to whether the lack of funds is due to a local authority's inability in transforming its constitutional arrangements (Solomon 1998), as opposed to resource and capacity constraints (Friedmann 1998a; 1998b; Heese 1998; Zziwa 1998). This thesis, however, adds the significance of the spatial behavioural dynamic of perception formation for due consideration. Specifically this relates to the provision and use of municipal services. The model provides a perspective on spatial behavioural processes concerning the local authority within a broader context. As such, it identifies the significance of relationships between the local authority and its partners such as, *inter alia*: individual shoppers, ratepayers, municipal service-users, urban inhabitants, business and potential shoppers, visitors, investors and residents. All these role-players themselves develop perceptions about a city. Moreover, international trends such as globalisation, national trends, and competition between cities which have an influence on

city development (Centre for Development Enterprise 1996; LeGates and Stout 1996; Saasen 1996), are placed within a behavioural context of a local authority system. Reminders of these trends are reflected by weekly and even daily occurrences in international affairs which impact on economic activity in the South African city, for example, political events which may influence investor confidence. Consequently, decision-makers, planners and politicians need to be mindful of the behavioural considerations of this research in the transformation of the South African city.

The practical application of the research gives a broader behavioural context through the development and application of a model of perceptions providing insight of spatial behavioural dynamics on city development and management. This further provides a perspective on communication, communication channels, messages, information flows and education strategies about the supply and payment for services, particularly within a diverse society. At this stage in the reconstruction, development and transformation of South Africa's cities, communication, information flows and education and training are critical components to fast-track previously marginalised and disadvantaged individuals and communities in a democratic urban development and management process. Recommendations concerning the fundamental principles about the supply and payment for municipal services and on messages and possible strategies that could be implemented by the local authority, will be made. Conclusions are drawn and recommendations made for the regional and national context in South Africa so that decision-makers and urban planners might make appropriate decisions.

The issue of non-payment for municipal services and rates has relevance in government, academic, legal, judicial and business circles. Court challenges regarding perceived unfair discrimination concerning the variation in municipal service charges has current relevance for the relationship and behaviour between municipal service-user and service-provider and the sustainability of local government (Butterworths Law Reports 1998a; 1998b; 1998c). The training of future local government officials is also enjoying considerable attention at tertiary institutions and by non-government organisations. The Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council (TLC), the Inner West City Council of Pinetown, the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (PCCI), and a consortium of Business Partners for Development (Vivendi Water for Africa and PSU International) have shown an interest in the research. A particular interest lies in how interactive links between the local authority and its citizens might be enhanced. Since 1995, Inner West formerly known as Pinetown, has been incorporated into the structure of the Durban Metropolitan region.

According to Gould (1985), one of the outstanding characteristics of the explosive and exciting developments of the past thirty years is the way geographic expertise - that spatial perspective - is informing and illuminating problem after problem over a wide spectrum of concern. Geographical analysis enables one to investigate the critical causal relationship between spatial structure and spatial process. For Abler, Adams and Gould (1971) the approach to the analysis of human activities in terrestrial space is based on the view that human geography is a social and behavioural science. Accordingly, people generate spatial processes in order to satisfy their needs and desires, and these processes create spatial structures which in turn influence and modify geographical processes. By focusing on the process of peoples' acquisition, storage and recall of spatial knowledge, the geographer is able to apply cartographic and graphic modes and analytical methods in the investigation of human spatial behaviour (Golledge and Stimson 1987). As Abler, Adams and Gould (1971: xiii) point out:

*"Understanding the structural and processal consequences of human spatial behaviour has now become an absolute necessary condition of mankind's future welfare. No serious problem exists the solution of which does not require a comprehensive knowledge of the way man perceives, values, and uses space and places. The ability to explain and predict human spatial behaviour and to modify human spatial organization is now quite literally vital. We shall not survive as a species if we cannot predict and modify the world in this fashion."*

The dynamic nature of geographic research has been recognised by Harvey (1967a; 1967b; 1969), in his conclusion that geographers were concerned with spatial processes in the form of spatial manifestations of temporal phenomena. Moreover, at this juncture in South Africa's transformation, a view that geography and a comprehension of its concepts can make a contribution to citizens' understanding of their environment as well as its role and function as a tool for development, empowerment and reconstruction, is put forward in A case for geography in the new South Africa (Hurry 1994). It is considered that research for this thesis contributes to a more integrated understanding of how interactive links between a local authority and its citizens may be enhanced in the South African context. A necessary component of this is consideration of the dynamics of perception formation. In essence the research regards this as an aspect of the reconstruction, development and transformation of the South African city.

## CHAPTER TWO

### COMMUNITIES' PERCEPTIONS ON THE SUPPLY OF, AND PAYMENT FOR, MUNICIPAL SERVICES IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES

#### 2.1 PERCEPTION STUDIES

Chapter One discussed the use of perception studies by researchers when attempting to determine human attitudes to, and perceptions of, aspects related to their environment. Reference was made to some international examples of perception studies and related literature. In this chapter, perception studies conducted in South Africa are the focus of attention. National-based perception research conducted on the issue of payment and supply of municipal services is consolidated and compared with city-based perception studies conducted in Pietermaritzburg. This is followed by an analysis of the results of a school-based perception study conducted by the researcher in Pietermaritzburg.

#### 2.2 ADULT-BASED PERCEPTION SURVEYS

A literature search and review revealed pertinent adult-based perception studies conducted at South African national and individual city level, including those conducted by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), the Helen Suzman Foundation, Ubuntu Development Consultants and Universal Security Services.

##### 2.2.1 Human Science Research Council National Survey of Public Attitudes

###### 2.2.1.1 Background to the study

A survey on public attitudes to national issues in South Africa entitled Attitudes to national issues in South Africa: 1997 was conducted by the HSRC. The research consisted of a countrywide study of public perceptions of national issues that the HSRC conducted among 2 197 respondents of 18 years and older, during February 1997. The aim of the project was to provide reliable scientific data and subsequent analysis on various national social priority issues. The project utilised questionnaire surveys to determine public attitudes to key issues in South African society. For the purposes of this research thesis, particular attention was given to the section dealing with respondents' willingness to participate in local development by paying for services and respondents' attitudes to utilisation of local resources. Respondent attitudes to

the payment for services were explored through responses to the following four statements in the HSRC survey:

1. Everyone should have to pay for their services provided by government.
2. People who fail to pay rent and service charges should be evicted from their homes and deprived of services.
3. Taxes paid by the wealthy communities should be spent to upgrade the poorer communities.
4. Everyone should pay the same amount of rates and taxes, irrespective of where they live.

#### 2.2.1.2 Survey results

The results of the survey are reflected in Tables 2 and 3. Table 2 indicates that 82% of respondents in 1997 felt that everyone should pay for services provided at the local level. This commitment to payment was, however, somewhat qualified by:

*"The fairly equal division between those respondents willing to pay the same amount of rates and taxes only (effectively a flat rate) (48%), and those who disagree with this view (46%). The majority (67%) felt that the taxes of wealthier communities should subsidise the upgrading of poorer communities" (Human Science Research Council 1997: 70).*

In Table 2 respondents' views on these issues are compared over the period October 1995 to February 1997. When viewed over time it emerged that respondent attitudes remained largely consistent toward these issues. The same is generally true when the attitudes of respondents are analyzed over time by race (Table 3). It is evident that the most fundamental differences between races emerged on two of the statements. Most black respondents (71%) felt that taxes paid by the wealthier communities should be spent to upgrade the poorer communities, while most white respondents (78%) felt that people who failed to pay for services should be evicted.

Table 2

South African citizens' perceptions of payment for services: 1995 to 1997

Responses	Oct '95 %		Feb '96 %		Feb '97 %	
	Agrec	Disagrec	Agrec	Disagree	Agrec	Disagrec
People who fail to pay rent and services should be evicted	40	49	44	50	41	53
Everyone should pay	77	14	86	10	82	14
Taxes paid by richer people should be spent on poorer	66	27	65	28	67	28
Everyone should pay the same rates and taxes	47	45	48	47	48	46

Source: Human Science research Council (1997: 70)

Table 3

Response to statements analyzed by race: 1995 to 1997

Responses	Black			Coloured			Indian			White		
	Oct 95	Feb 96	Feb 97	Oct 95	Feb 96	Feb 97	Oct 95	Feb 96	Feb 97	Oct 95	Feb 96	Feb 97
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
People who fail to pay rent should be evicted	32	36	35	37	39	42	38	30	25	78	75	76
Everyone should pay for services	72	79	80	84	86	89	90	88	82	95	95	96
Taxes paid by wealthy communities should be spent on poorer	71	74	71	64	70	75	77	76	78	35	38	40
Everyone should pay the same amount	59	54	47	35	21	44	52	38	50	48	43	52

Source: Human Science Research Council (1997: 70)

### 2.2.1.3 Conclusions from the Human Science Research Council study

Whilst a large percentage of respondents (82%) stated that everyone should pay for their services provided by government and local authorities, it is obvious from the high levels of non-payment mentioned in Chapter One, that patterns of consumer behaviour do not necessarily match the sentiments expressed in the survey. Support for a flat rate on service charges is particularly popular with residents who live in areas previously not included in the municipal area of jurisdiction under apartheid rule. There appears to be general support for the use of taxes from wealthier communities being used to help upgrade poorer areas. The paying public, particularly traditional ratepayers, are more likely to support strict credit control policies instituted by a local authority. This particular aspect is supported by other surveys which are discussed below.

### 2.2.2 Helen Suzman Foundation Investigation into Non-payment of Rents, Rates and Service Charges in South African Towns and Cities

#### 2.2.2.1 Background to the study

In 1997, the Helen Suzman Foundation began an investigation into the whole phenomenon of rates boycotts and non-payment for essential services. Their survey carried out during 1998, took the form of a survey of 1 754 adult residents of black townships and informal settlements, together with the findings of literature search and interviews. The sample included respondents in Gauteng (795) with a further 326 in other cities and 633 in smaller towns. The research results are contained in a report titled Not so close to their hearts: an investigation into non-payment of rents, rates and service charges in South African towns and cities by R.W. Johnson (1999).

#### 2.2.2.2 Survey results

The main findings are summarised as follows:

1. Although over half of all respondents believe poverty to be the main reason why people do not pay, affluent and poor households are equally likely to say they cannot pay. Indications are that other factors beside poverty affect non-payment as the research found that:

*"The conditions for higher payment levels of rents and rates are not just determined by the relative affluence of communities," (Johnson 1999: 7) and that*



*"... it shows that the problem of non-payment is neither inaccessible nor completely intractable even in extremely poor areas with high levels of unemployment" (Johnson 1999: 13).*

2. There were examples of communities which had become 100% payers who were actually in poor areas. Similarly the Masakhane Campaign had sometimes had a dramatic effect on exceptionally poor areas where one might have expected low levels of payment. Keimos and Kunuman in the Northern Cape, Ivory Park in Gauteng Province and Durban's Inner West City Council in KwaZulu-Natal, were cited as successful examples. The research noted that:

*"Wherever the Masakhane Campaign did succeed it seemed to be because the notions of delivery, development and payment were all strongly and clearly linked so that residents were made to realise that improvements in their immediate living environment were directly related to the payments they made for rates and other services. This is clearly a key to achieving better payment levels, though, of course, it cannot always be the case that such an immediate and direct link between payment, development and delivery can be made at the level of each precinct" (Johnson 1999: 90).*

3. Smaller communities were likely to be better payers than large and amorphous townships or informal settlement areas. Another factor was whether local community leaders, elected councillors and full-time municipal officials worked together as a team or not. Newcastle in KwaZulu-Natal and Heidelberg in Gauteng were cited as examples. The research there found that:

*"..... it seemed clear that all problems relating to non-payment were somewhat easier to solve in more settled, cohesive and smaller communities - but it was also quickly clear that other factors were important too and that while small might be beautiful it was not enough. In particular, the quality of administration both of local government officials and local councillors counted for a great deal. Where there was continuity, energy and commitment on the part of both these groups, the chances of achieving solutions, particularly within smaller communities, were very much better" (Johnson 1999: 89).*

4. South Africa has a weak civic culture and the survey found that the tradition of democratic local government was also weak. More than half the respondents said they had less contact with councillors than they had before the introduction of local democracy. In view of this, not surprisingly, the research noted that large numbers (41% in Gauteng and 35% in other cities) felt

it would be more appropriate to contact a civic association or their political party or trade union than their local council representative. Moreover, the research found that this weak civic culture, was matched by high levels of distrust within many communities. According to the research, the combination of community feeling allied to high levels of distrust of their neighbours was a reflection of the realities of township life in the 1980s and 1990s. Community consciousness and community cohesiveness were clearly important factors in determining levels of payment and non-payment of service charges. In Gauteng, where payment levels were worse than elsewhere, there emerged higher levels of distrust. The research found that:

*"..... on the ground, investigations of the non-payment problem in various communities around the country suggested that community cohesion and strong community spirit were a major influence on payment levels" (Johnson 1999: 41).*

5. The research also investigated the aspect of community leaders and payment. There has been recurrent publicity in the press about municipal councillors, including members of municipal executives, who are themselves in default on payment of rates, rents and service charges. Since such cases convey a powerful message to their constituents that non-payment is a legitimate course of action, the research investigated respondents views of the issue. Less than half of Gauteng respondents believed their politicians cared whether they paid or not, whilst 90% indicated that at least some of these politicians were actually unlikely to pay and 66% believed that this was true of a substantial number. On the other hand a considerable number were inclined to believe that their political leaders actually sympathised with those who do not pay. The research found one in six believed this in cities outside Gauteng, as did one in eight in the smaller towns. The research in fact stated that:

*"It is difficult to believe that roughly one third of respondents in other cities and smaller towns and over half in Gauteng who believed either that their leaders didn't care or actually sympathised with non-payers were themselves likely to be payers," (Johnson 1999:51), thus adding support to the view of the existence of a weak civic culture.*

6. A culture of entitlement appeared to be much stronger in Gauteng where services were seen as a human right for which no one should pay. It also emerged that if people had more money they would be more likely to spend it on private consumption, not on paying for municipal or public services. The report found that:

*"Right across the board under half a percent of our respondents mentioned a TV licence as something they regarded as important to spend money on - even if they had more*

*money. This was despite the fact that no less than 78% lived in a household where they had access to television. This suggests a virtually universal non-payment of the TV licence fee. Given the massive and continuous propaganda for such payment to be made - and the continuous threat of sanctions if they are not - this a depressing example for public utilities to ponder" (Johnson 1999: 32).*

The culture of entitlement in South Africa was described shortly after the 1994 election by Johnson and Schlemmer (as cited in Johnson 1999) as:

*"..... a situation where most voters felt themselves to be disempowered vis-a'-vis what they regarded as an all powerful government on whose shoulders they are happy to pile virtually every responsibility and demand. In theory at least the electorate felt it was the job of the government to provide everything (jobs, housing, water, education, higher wages, electrification) and that this was matched on the side by the feeling that people are entitled to all these services. The net result of this was the perspective in which the government was seen as virtually omnipotent - a Leviathan, omnipotent, all-powerful, and distant from the voter, with very little sense of the significance or empowered civil society working at an intermediate level below that. At the time we noted that this led to very low levels of public self-efficacy and that in practice it meant that respondents were likely to heap virtually every priority onto the shoulders of national government and would attempt to avoid charges upon them levied by lower levels of government. The net result would be that all expenditure would have to be funded out of centrally derived taxation, presumably sales tax. This situation has occurred in a number of African countries but it is hardly a happy one" (Johnson 1999: 69).*

7. A sense of community pressure was found to play a role in payment levels. Approximately 66% of the respondents said that if everyone else started paying, this would have an effect on encouraging payment. On the other hand one fifth said electricity cut-offs and water reductions do not make people pay as illegal re-connections were occurring on a massive scale, an aspect which has had recurrent publicity in the news media. In terms of examples where the Masakhane Campaign (see Annexure A) has been successful the research found that:

*"The campaign has been successful largely because it was generated and built upon a strong sense of community and has relied less on the big stick in the form of enforcement against non-payers than the generation of community pressure and the carrot of development. These have been made more effective by breaking down the area*

*into smaller zonal communities, and even within them into communities of a few streets”*  
(Johnson 1999:11).

8. There was very little support for coercive measures being used, however essential these may be to attack the problem of ‘free-riders’ and intransigent non-payers who are well able to pay. But while this was so, it was also clear that nothing would have as much effect as punitive cut-offs on the one hand and community pressure on the other. However, a draconian approach has proved to be effective. During 1998 many of the Greater Johannesburg municipalities were taking tough action against non-paying residents in East Rand townships. This included disconnections as well as tearing electric cables out of the ground to prevent illegal re-connections and seizing property and buildings of non-payers in an attempt to recover some of the payment arrears. Positive results occurred in that:

*“..... by May 1998 R117m had been recovered though it was claimed that of this only R25m had been recovered as a result of disconnections and the other R92m had been recovered as a result of reminders, phone calls and pressure from officials of a personal nature, including visits to non-payers by senior council officials”* (Johnson 199:14).

#### 2.2.2.3 Conclusions from the Helen Suzman Foundation study

Evidence and basic principles identified by Johnson’s (1999) research concerning the supply of and payment for municipal services has significance for this thesis. The question of non-payment was found to be complex by Johnson (1999). Certain important principles noted by that research that proved to be successful, derive from aspects of local authority management, leadership and from the communities themselves. Moreover, poverty need not necessarily be the deciding factor in determining non-payment. Small, cohesive, well-led and managed communities have shown a positive response to payment for services. The caliber of leadership in the municipality and in the community has also had an influence on the development of democracy within a community. A culture of entitlement, where evident, tended to undermine the development of civic culture within that particular area. Whilst not popular among most residents according Johnson (1999), strong credit control policies have proved to be successful where these have been implemented by municipalities (Hagg 1998; Johnson 1999; Taylor and Mattes 1998; Van Eck 1998).

## **2.2.3 Ubuntu Development Consultants Attitudinal Survey in Pietermaritzburg**

### **2.2.3.1 Background to the study**

Ubuntu Development Consultants was appointed by the Pietermaritzburg municipality to conduct a Masakhane Awareness Campaign and part of the process was to develop educational material which would be used by trainers to educate target communities. The survey was conducted in order to establish the public's perceptions of: the municipality as a service provider; the services provided by the municipality; the communities' awareness level of Masakhane; the payment for rendered services, and the role that can be played by the community in making the city sustainable (Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998). Furthermore, according to Ubuntu Development Consultants (1998), the purpose of the survey was to determine the mind-set of the community about municipality services, so that the trainers involved in the project would be adequately prepared to educate their audience.

The groups interviewed during the research included individuals in the business sector and private individuals in households. Areas of the city covered by the survey were categorised as: adequately serviced areas; areas inadequately serviced; and areas where none or very poor services were provided. These categories represented communities in the city. These communities, shown in Figure 5, are as follows:

1. Community A (adequately serviced areas) comprised the established parts of the city inclusive suburbs such as Montrose, Prestbury, Pelham, Cleland, Hayfields and the Central Business District (CBD).
2. Community B (inadequately serviced areas) comprised newly-incorporated areas of the city including Sobantu, Greater Edendale, Imbali and Ashdown.
3. Community C (none or very poor services), also regarded as part of the newly-incorporated parts of the city, included Slangspruit and Copesville Informal Settlement.

A total of 300 surveys consisted of the following: business sector: adequately serviced (50); inadequately serviced (50) and poorly serviced (25), and households: adequately serviced (60); inadequately serviced (90) and poorly serviced (25). The questionnaires survey was conducted between February and April 1998 by trained field-workers. The information was submitted to the municipality in a report entitled Masakhane attitudinal survey (Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998).

### 2.2.3.2 Survey results

A summary of the main points in the report include the following:

1. **The adequately serviced business sector** showed an apparent awareness of the economic fundamentals of service delivery. They ranked the message of Masakhane as: the delivery of basic services and infrastructure ranked equally with stimulating economic development. The report noted that:

*"They all receive services from the TLC and are willing to pay for such services..... They understand the benefits from rates and services such as road repairs, refuse removal and sewerage. They feel they do contribute to the local government through payment for rates and services" (Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998: 4).*

2. **The adequately serviced household sector** showed a similar understanding of the economic principles of service delivery by ranking the message of Masakhane as: service delivery, economic development and payment for services and sustainable local government. This sector understood that cross-subsidization was needed to develop newly-incorporated areas of the city, while also supporting a user-pays principle. The report noted that:

*"Most thought the culture of non-payment is still in effect..... They understand why they should pay for services..... They acknowledged receiving all services from the TLC They felt that affordability should be taken into account when setting tariffs and that council should set these tariffs. The majority also agreed that cross-subsidisation is inevitable but should occur within reason. In terms of how to speed up delivery, the majority felt that everyone must pay - the more money the TLC has, the more services and new projects can be embarked upon" (Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998: 5).*

3. **The inadequately serviced business sector** ranked the message of Masakhane as: provision of basic services and payment for part thereof, housing delivery and economic development. In contrast to the previous two groups this sector, the report found that:

*"The majority of businesses within these areas are not registered for VAT. The majority understand the benefits from payments for rates and services such as having the roads fixed, providing street lights, cutting the grass and paying councillors allowances..... The majority have never used banking facilities such as debit orders or stop orders to pay for services rendered by the TLC. They however viewed this as something that can*

*be introduced to pay for fixed charges such as rates, refuse removals and sewerage” (Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998: 6).*

4. **The inadequately serviced household sector** ranked the message of Masakhane as: basic services and housing and land reform. In contrast to the municipal debt reports to be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, the majority expressed the view that the culture of non-payment was something of the past. Forty percent believed that more money from central government would help the delivery of services. The report noted:

*“In terms of affordability, they all agree with tariffs set by council which take into consideration the level of unemployment. Most do not understand the concept of life-line tariff. The majority felt that the cross-subsidisation would help in accelerating service delivery but those who have been subsidised should commit themselves in paying for what has been provided to them. In terms of speeding up the process of delivery the majority felt that supporting Masakhane and paying for services would speed up the process. About 40% felt that getting money from central government would help speed up the process ....Asked as what should be done to those who do not pay, the majority says the TLC should investigate the reasons and when certain that the defaulters can afford to pay, cut-off the services” (Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998:7).*

5. **The poorly serviced business sector** felt suspicious about the survey and refused to take part, an aspect of evasion and suspicion also noted by the Johnson (1999) report discussed above.
6. **The poorly serviced household sector** ranked the message of Masakhane as: delivery of services, housing provision and land reform. The report found that:

*“The majority did not know about Masakhane. ....the culture of non-payment exists and should be viewed in the context of poor services and lack of jobs. ....They accept the concept of affordability which means that those who can afford to pay and are receiving services should be made to pay. They do not understand what is meant by life-line tariffs. They feel the concept of cross-subsidization is acceptable within the context of speeding up the process of service delivery as well as opening up for job creation projects. They do not think that services should be free but those who are not working should not be discriminated against. ....With regard to what should be done to those who do not pay, the majority feels that it should be investigated why they do not or can*

*not pay.....before action is instituted against defaulters” (Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998: 8).*

7. The report also included a summary of perceptions noted during the course of participatory meetings conducted with communities, which substantiated the existence of diverse perceptions held by these different communities. According to the researchers the meetings were attended by residents’ associations in Community A (adequately serviced areas), and in Community B (inadequately serviced areas) by development committees, politicians, school governing bodies and the public. Perceptions expressed by members of Community A (adequately serviced areas) were that:

*“Their fears are that the standards of services that are provided by the council are deteriorating and they made an example of refuse removal, and the issue of informal traders within the city centre affecting the city adversely. Their main worry is crime. They do not understand why there were boycotts in the first place and therefore expects the council to apply the same laws that applied to them when people from the new city default. They also felt that services that are provided by the TLC to the new city are subsidized by them and if the TLC was not making any efforts of recovering the costs from such areas (inadequately and none or poor services) there was no need for them to continue paying..... Community A (adequately serviced areas) perceives Communities B (inadequately serviced areas) and C (none or very poor services) as people who have a free ride in terms of payment for services. They are also seen as people who abuse services examples of the the public toilets were made as well as the cleanliness within the city centre. They also feel the culture of non-payment should be addressed within these communities” (Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998: 9).*

Perceptions expressed by members of Communities B (inadequately serviced areas) and C (none or very poor services) were that:

*“They have faith in the council more especially now that they have their own representatives within the council. They however have concerns about the attitudes of officials more especially when it comes to the officials reactions with regard to broken services. Their feeling is that there is a need for transformation at officials level so to ensure that the traditional way of doing things is addressed and officials adapt to new ways of doing things. Their feelings also are that a policy should be developed at*



*council level to address the issue of affordability and how to assist those who can really not afford to pay” (Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998a: 10).*

### 2.2.3.3 Conclusions from the Ubuntu Development Consultants study

A draw back of this research report is that it is descriptive only and lacks the necessary supporting data. Nevertheless one is able to discern certain trends which are common to other perception surveys. From the above research an obvious disparity in perceptions is evident between communities from old (traditional white-controlled municipal areas) and newly-incorporated parts of the city. An understanding of basic economic fundamental aspects of municipal service delivery from newly-incorporated sectors was found to be lacking. Residents and business persons from newly-incorporated areas seem to have the notion of fixed rates for services to be paid by them, regardless of the fundamental cost of that service. Similarly the understanding of affordability appears to mean that one receives the service but pays for the service only if you can, once again regardless of the cost of that service. A further suspicion of this emerged in that persons living in newly-incorporated sectors seem to think that transformation of local government simply means placing black persons in the municipality (“..... transformation at officials level ....”), who will then purportedly be more responsive to their problems. Presumably the message brought by these officials will be less harsh regardless of the economic realities (“.... to ensure that the traditional way of doing things is addressed and officials adapt to new ways of doing things”). Moreover with the communities elected leaders in council the view is that the communities’ interpretation of these issues could then be addressed according to their liking (“*Their feelings are that a policy should be developed at council level to address the issue of affordability and how to assist those who can really not afford to pay*”), in other words, the message from the municipality will be different. Such thinking appears to be at odds with the economic and financial imperative of the service-provider, ratepayers and other service-users. This paying-sector of the community is further subjected to other forms of direct and indirect taxation. Moreover, the Pietermaritzburg municipality does in fact have a life-line policy in place to assist the indigent. On the other hand, the paying public gave an indication during the course of the survey that, whilst they accept that transformation is necessary, they support not only cross-subsidization but also properly instituted credit control policies.

## 2.2.4 Ubuntu Development Consultants Sewerage/Water and Sanitation Perception Study in Wards 31 (Imbali 1) and 32 (Imbali 2) in Pietermaritzburg

### 2.2.4.1 Background to the study

Ubuntu Development Consultants (1999) were contracted by the municipal sanitation department to conduct a perception study entitled Sewerage/water and sanitation in Ward 31 and 32 pilot project results. In this case fifty selected households were used in a perception survey conducted at ward level in Imbali township (Figure 5). An adult in each household was interviewed and questionnaire surveys were completed during the course of two weekends (specific dates not specified). The objective of the study, according to Ubuntu Development Consultants (1999), was to determine community perceptions relating to the supply of water/sewerage services by the local authority and the financial implications thereof.

### 2.2.4.2 Survey results

The main research findings were:

1. Options chosen by respondents to the question where does water come from? were as follows: rain (33%), river (22%), Umgeni Water Board (22%), municipality (6%), soil (6%), God (10%) and a reservoir (1%).
2. Forty percent expressed the view that government should pay for water, whilst 46% suggested there was no need to pay, only 4% pay, 9% felt water was expensive and 1% were not billed.
3. According to respondents, people in the area leave water to run unattended: because they do not pay for it (31%), they do not know the cost of it (44%), or both of the previous two reasons (21%). Only 4% said that they do not leave water running unattended.
4. With regard to the financial implications broken facilities have for the municipality: the majority (81%) stated that they did not know because the municipality has lots of money, 6% stated that there would be no financial problems because the municipality gets money from the government, with 13% admitting to having no idea about municipal finances.

5. Fifty-four percent felt that the government should pay for repairs to service-users' broken facilities, 34% felt it the responsibility of the owner and 12% thought it to be that of the tenant/occupier.

#### 2.2.4.3 Conclusions from the Imbali Ward 1 and 2 study

The culture of entitlement and the belief of a 'Leviathan' government, identified by the Johnson (1999) report, is evident from this survey. Residents living in this area have a perception that the government is responsible, and has the necessary funds, to supply and maintain municipal services. There is an apparent lack of appreciation of the basic economic fundamentals, and the concomitant underlying civic responsibility, required for the delivery of municipal services. Johnson (1999) suggests that there are many more such communities country-wide which share the same views on the issue of municipal service delivery as the one revealed by the two Ubuntu Development Consultants' reports.

#### 2.2.5 Anti-Crime Awareness Programme Perception Survey

##### 2.2.5.1 Background to the study

The Pietermaritzburg municipality commissioned perception research by Universal Security Services (1998) who compiled a report entitled Anti-crime awareness programme perception survey. The purpose was to determine current community perceptions towards crime, local government delivery and Reconstruction and Development Project (RDP) programmes. A qualitative, interpretive technique was employed, based on focus group discussions (FGDs), interviews with municipal employees who had been victims of crime and an anti-crime workshop attended by anti-crime stakeholders in Pietermaritzburg. The approach included twenty focus group sessions, consisting of twenty-five participants per session, conducted within the targeted communities. Focus group discussions were conducted with the communities of Ashdown, Azalea, Caluza, Dambuza, Georgetown and Imbali (Figure 5). The research was commissioned in July 1998 and completed by the end of August 1998.

### 2.2.5.2 Survey results

The main results of the research pertaining to the delivery of municipal services included the following:

1. The targeted communities perceive the municipality as being bureaucratic and delivery is not up to people's expectations.
2. Lack of communication between the targeted communities, councillors and municipal officials is seen as a problem, resulting in high levels of mistrust among these role-players. According to the research:  
*"Lack of communication was raised by participants at almost every FDXG as well as the Anti-crime Workshop participants." (Universal Security Services 1998: 7).*
3. The general perception regarding service delivery is that the municipality falls short in delivery against pre-election promises. Complaints were received regarding electricity supply, water supply and waterborne sewerage.
4. Council inefficiency and crime were seen as the major contributors to poor service delivery.
5. The targeted communities felt that there is not sufficient consultation between them and the municipality regarding development projects. The report found that development committees should play a role in facilitating development but that this was not taking place. The report noted that:  
*"Development Committees have a significant role to play in facilitating development in their areas, yet they were found to be either non-existent or not functional in many instances. ....they lacked the capacity to perform their functions" (Universal Security Services 1998: 8).*
6. The lack of leadership was noted as an obstacle to effective delivery of services and development within communities.

### 2.2.5.3 Conclusions from the Anti-crime Awareness Programme

The survey revealed how a community's perceptions may have been influenced by pre-election promises about municipal service delivery. The participants in the research particularly voiced their disappointment regarding electricity supply, water supply and waterborne sewerage. A well-functioning development committee with strong leadership, according to the report, could play a positive role in the development of an area. Furthermore, such a structure was seen as a means of establishing better communication with the council and promoting community participation. The findings add credence to that which was revealed by the Johnson (1999) report discussed above. This survey has also produced information and principles of urban management which are of significance to the thesis.

### 2.2.6 Summary of the Findings from the Five Independent Surveys

National and local surveys indicate that most people support the principle of user-pays for municipal services. However, communities in newly-incorporated sectors of the city qualify this by adding support for payment in the form of a flat rate, be they business or private. Affordability for the same communities seems to mean that services are provided even if the person cannot afford them regardless of the cost of these to the service-provider. These interpretations tend to conform with the existence of a culture of entitlement or the government being viewed as a 'Leviathan'. Moreover, sectors of the same communities have shown a measure of ignorance about fundamental principles and the financial imperatives concerning the provision of municipal services. Perceptions held by persons from newly-incorporated areas, of the persons living within established areas, as being 'rich', may not be realistic. Perhaps these perceptions arise from a mis-comprehension of the economic principles upon which modern First world cities have been built. Such economies are founded on thinking patterns and consumer behaviour which are conducive to the development of sustainable economies. It is these sustainable local economies which are able to produce a level and range of service which distinguishes them as First world. It needs to be noted that these cities have taken centuries to have reached this level of service delivery.

Communities from established parts of the city accept that transformation to post-apartheid democracy is necessary. They therefore accept that a measure of cross-subsidisation is necessary. However, in view of the high levels of non-payment and abuse of resources, strict credit control policy has equal support. Although poverty is often put forward as a reason for non-payment, two aspects need to be noted. Current research has shown that poverty need not be the only factor which determines non-payment. Small

cohesive and well-led communities, effective municipal management and leadership have all proved to have an influence on payment levels. Stringent credit control policy was also found to be effective.

A civic culture and the tradition of democratic local government was found to be weak, particularly within newly-incorporated areas. High levels of non-payment and the abuse of local resources reflects low levels of participation with the local authority in developing those areas. Many of these communities suffer from weak local leadership and poor municipal management and may have even fallen prey to false expectations created by election promises. Stark reminders of the effect political leaders may have on an electorate is evident in Zimbabwe, where for apparent political expediency, disregard for the rule of law and the economic ramifications, President Mugabe has encouraged a land grab of commercial farms by his supporters. A poor understanding of democracy is further displayed by communities who seem to believe that transformation is interpreted to mean that white municipal leadership and staff are replaced by blacks. With the change, it is believed that, the message about payment for rates and services charges, and the response to the demand for services will be different. This seems to tie in with 'Leviathan' thinking.

Development Committees with strong local and municipal leadership are thought to be structures within communities which could enhance communication and participation between the community and the municipality. At this point in time in the reconstruction and development process this appears to be particularly true for communities in newly-incorporated areas of the city. These issues are further explored through the school-based perception case study undertaken for this thesis research during May 2000.

## **2.3 A SCHOOL-BASED PERCEPTION STUDY**

### **2.3.1 The Purpose and Method of the Study**

The perception studies discussed above, revealed disparities in the way residents from various parts of the post-apartheid city perceive the supply of and payment for municipal services. Moreover the same studies also gave an indication of the level of consumer non-compliance by many communities that demand municipal services as being problematic for unifying the city. As the premise of the thesis is that the process of developing a single-city, has physical as well as socio-psychological dimensions, the researcher decided the value of the research would be enhanced by extending the investigation to find out the perceptions held by citizens of the future. In view of what the adult perception studies revealed, the researcher wanted to test the hypothesis that school-going adolescents in established parts of the city have a better understanding about the delivery of municipal services than do their counterparts in newly-

incorporated parts of the city. As a future generation of municipal service-users, it is important to determine if similar trends exist within this group as with the adults concerning the issues of non-payment. Decision-makers and planners would find this information useful when developing strategies dealing with these issues.

The researcher is employed by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture as a geography subject advisor based in Pietermaritzburg. Consequently as the researcher had access to secondary schools it was decided to conduct a survey of grade 12 learners (age 16 to 19) in schools situated within the Pietermaritzburg municipal area. Nineteen schools were identified in terms of their location within the municipal area are shown in Figure 5. A survey questionnaire was designed (Annexure C) to investigate the views of a cross-section of respondents' understanding of aspects of the provision of municipal services and Masakhane. Class teachers were trained to facilitate the completion of the questionnaires in the classroom. In total 1 095 scholars took part in the survey which was conducted during the course of May 2000. The questionnaires were subsequently sorted into categories in accordance with set criteria, such as the respondents' location within the city and the level of municipal services received by that household. The categories were as follows:

1. Community A: well-serviced areas (485).
2. Community B: adequately-serviced areas (270)
3. Community C: poorly-serviced areas (340).

The research was designed to capture responses from scholars in these three categories. The nineteen schools (Figure 5) were used to capture responses of scholars in selected grade 12 groups within each school. Due to the diversity of the population included in the research, a 40% sample of each category was deemed to be sufficiently representative of each group. Therefore, the lowest common denominator of 108 questionnaires, were randomly drawn as a 40% sample of each category. A total of 327 responses from persons who reside outside of the municipal wards were excluded from the study.

### 2.3.2 Survey Results

From the data supplied in the questionnaires, the researcher categorise the respondents were categorised in terms of location within the city and according to the level of municipal services received (Table 4) . Information obtained from the survey enabled the researcher to develop a profile of the household and develop and interpret graphs on the respondents understanding of the supply of and payment of municipal

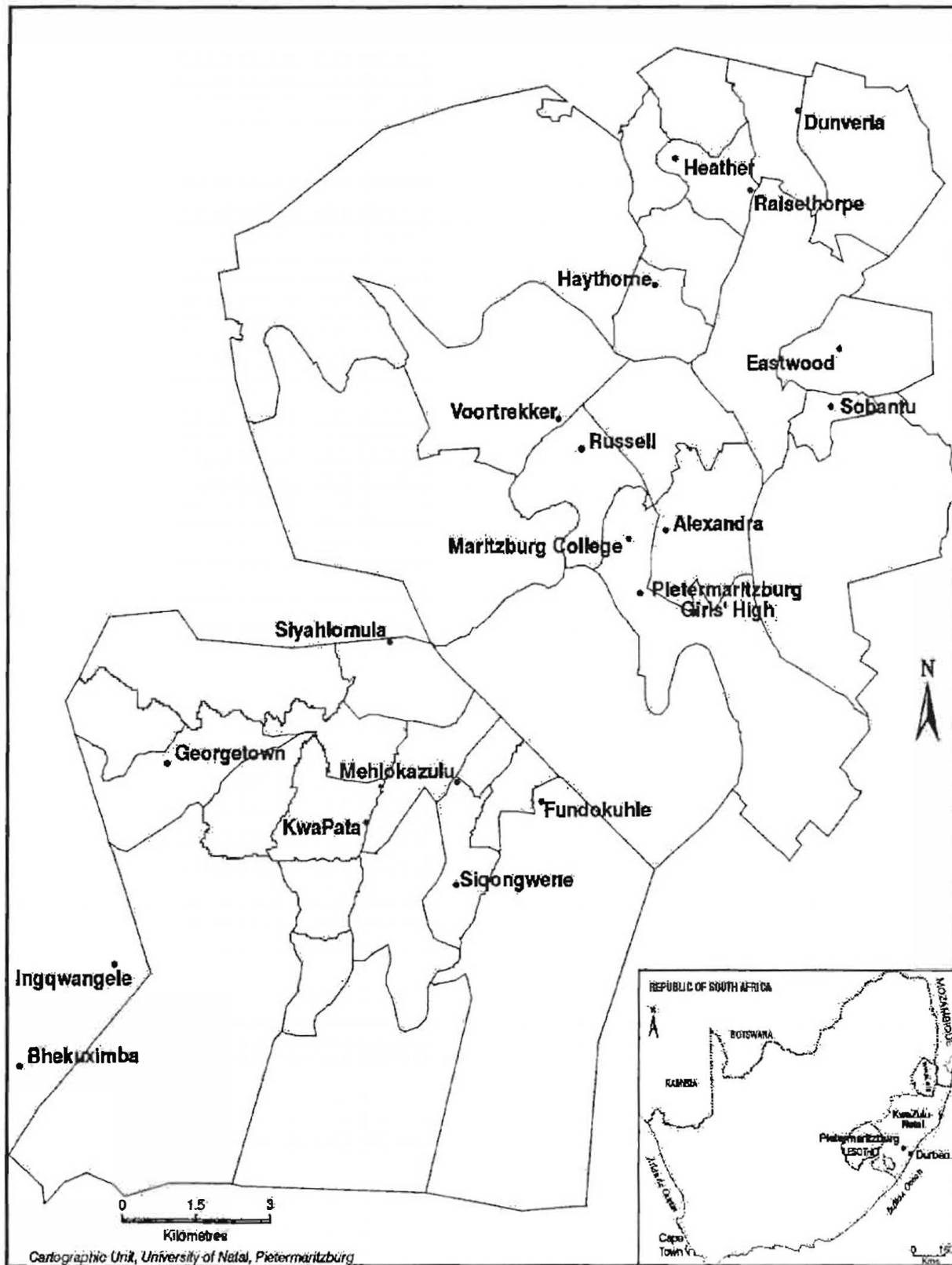


Figure 5: The location of selected schools and the thirty-six Wards within the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council



services, the use of local resources, as well as sources of knowledge about municipal services. By creating three discernable categories it was possible to test the hypothesis by making comparisons and developing conclusions. Moreover, interpretation and conclusions of the survey, together with the results of the adult surveys, inform the research process and are developed further in later chapters.

### 2.3.2.1 Household profiles

#### (i) Community A (well-serviced areas)

The survey questionnaire provided information on the individual's home environment. The survey revealed that 88% of the respondents in Community A live with their mothers, 67% with the father and/or mother and 14% stay with relatives and 2% reside with friends. During the week between 4 to 5 persons on average stay in the house, with the number being 5 over weekends. In Community A on average each household has 1.5 persons who are employed full time and 0,37 part time. These households indicated that 22% of them receive money from pensions. Each household has at least two persons under the age of 18. Eighty-two percent of the respondents stated that their families own the house, 14% rent, with 4% not knowing.

#### (ii) Community B (adequately-serviced areas)

In Community B, 83% live with their mothers, 51% with the father and/or mother, 23% stay with relatives and 1% with friends. On average 5 persons live in the house during the week with the figure increasing to 6 over weekends. In terms of employment, on average each household has 1,46 persons employed on a full time basis and 0,34 part time. In these areas 26% of the households receive an income from pensions. On average 2,6 persons living in the household are under eighteen. Houses are owned by 83%, rented by 15%, with 7% uncertain about ownership.

#### (iii) Community C (poorly-serviced areas)

In Community C, the poorly-serviced sectors, 74% of the respondents indicated that they live with their mothers, 35% with the father and/or mother, 21% stay with relatives and 1% with friends. There was not much difference in the number of people living in the house during the week compared to that over the weekends. On average the number of persons in the house varies from 5,4 during the week, to 5,7 over weekends. In terms of income, on average each household has at least one person in full time employment

and 0,5 part time. Thirty-six percent of the households in this category receive an income from pensions. On average each household has two persons living in them who are under eighteen. In terms of home ownership, 73% of the houses are owned, 19% are rented and 8% do not know.

This aspect of the results revealed that all respondents stay in a home, the majority of which are owned, with parents, relatives or friends. Although specific details were not required, all homes appear to receive some source of income.

Table 4

Question 8: What services do you have at the house where you stay and are they free or paid for each month?

Community	Taps in house %					Taps outside house %					Standpipe in community					Electricity %			
	Yes	No	Free	Paid for	No response	Yes	No	Free	Paid for	No response	Yes	No	Free	Paid for	No response	Yes	No	Free	Paid for
A	100	0	1	99	0	100	0	1	99	0	0	100	0	0	0	100	0	0	100
B	100	0	12	69	19	81	19	12	69	19	0	100	0	0	0	100	0	2	82
C	0	100	0	0	0	72	18	11	29	60	58	42	30	0	70	92	8	3	69
Community	Street lights %					Telephone %					Television %					Flush toilet %			
	Yes	No	Free	Paid for	No response	Yes	No	Free	Paid for	No response	Yes	No	Free	Paid for	No response	Yes	No	Free	Paid for
A	100	0	0	100	0	91	9	0	91	9	98	2	0	100	0	100	0	2	96
B	94	6	44	21	35	77	23	1	77	22	94	6	3	67	30	100	0	52	59
C	56	44	32	0	68	27	73	0	19	81	65	35	4	28	68	0	100	0	0
Community	Pit latrine %					Refuse %					Post %								
	Yes	No	Free	Paid for	No response	Yes	No	Free	Paid for	No response	Yes	No	Free	Paid for	No response				
A	0	100	0	0	0	100	0	4	96	0	90	10	37	54	9				
B	0	100	0	0	0	69	31	15	37	48	44	56	14	23	63				
C	100	0	0	0	0	13	87	3	3	94	0	100	0	0	0				

### 2.3.2.2 Types of services received by the community

With the aid of a current municipal ward boundary map one is able to distinguish between communities who reside within established parts of the city, and those who live in townships which fell outside of municipal jurisdiction under apartheid. With reference to Figure 5, apart from the township of Sobantu, all the township areas to the south west of the city centre fell outside of the municipal area of jurisdiction. By using the map and information from Table 4, questionnaires were sorted into their distinctive categories.

Table 4 shows that there is a distinction in the receipt of services such as water taps in the house, water taps outside and standpipe communal taps, street lights and refuse removal from the house. A clear distinction between areas was that poorly-serviced areas do not have flush toilets but all have pit latrines. Consequently three categories could be discerned. Well-serviced areas within the established parts of the city and two township categories, one adequately-serviced and the other poorly-serviced. The poorly serviced areas comprise primarily squatter areas on the outskirts of the city or interspersed within township areas.

### 2.3.2.3 Communities' perceptions on the supply of, and payment for, municipal services

A trend emerged in response to the question of knowledge about municipal services received, their supply and payment thereof, when the three categories were compared. Respondents were asked about the services they receive at the house where they stay and if these were free or paid for (Table 4). In Table 4 the respondents' knowledge of the payment for services, such as electricity, street lights, telephones, television, refuse removal and post, was highest in Community A, decreasing in Community B and showing the lowest in Community C. Inversely, the highest levels of no response to the question of payment for services was registered by Community C, showing an increase in Community B to the highest in Community A. This pattern was confirmed in respondents' response to the question about if anyone staying in the house pays for some of the services (Table 5). Table 5 showed that the yes responses were highest in Community A (88%), decreasing in Community B (67%) and Community C (57%). On the other hand, the responses of no and do not know, reflected an inverse relationship to this. The responses were lowest in Community A (1% and 11% respectively), increasing to 8% and 25% in Community B, and being highest in Community C (13% and 30%). An extenuating circumstance that needs to be considered though is the fact that the majority of respondents from Community A have English as their first language. Respondents from Community B and C have Zulu as their mother-tongue. However, all respondents have English as the medium of instruction at school, except for the one Afrikaans-medium school.

Table 5

Question 5: Does anyone staying in the household pay for some of the services?

Community	Yes	No	Do not know
A	88	1	11
B	67	8	25
C	57	13	30

Respondents were asked to rank nine listed factors in order of importance of what they thought should be paid for out of the household budget each month (Table 6). It should be noted that these rankings are reflected numerically and not in the form of percentages. All three groups thought that food was the most important. Hereafter the respondents' personal circumstances seemed to have a role in their thinking. Community A ranked household rental as next important, followed by water and electricity (equal at 3), next came education (4), health (5), transport (6) and clothing and entertainment (both at 7). Community B found electricity the second most important, followed by education (3), water (4), health (5), household rental (6) and transport (7). For this group clothing and entertainment followed at 8 and 9 respectively. Community C indicated education as the second most important factor for them. This was followed by water (3), health (4), electricity (5), clothing (6) and household rental (7). Lastly came transport and entertainment at 8 and 9 respectively. The positive aspect revealed by this aspect of the survey was that payment for municipal services featured high to fairly high within the minds of all three groups. However, as already pointed out in the adult-based perception studies, respondents' responses to survey questions is not necessarily reflected by the behaviour of the consumers, particularly those from Communities B and C with regard to payment and use of local resources. This aspect will be dealt with in more detail in following chapters.

Table 6

Question 10: Rank in order of importance from 1 to 9 what you think should be paid for out of the household budget each month.

Community	Entertain	Food	Transport	Electricity	Education	Clothing	House rental	Health	Water
A	7	1	6	3	4	7	2	5	3
B	9	1	7	2	3	8	6	5	4
C	9	1	8	5	2	6	7	4	3

(Question 11). Sixty-nine percent of Community A replied in the affirmative, decreasing to 46% and 31% of Community B and C respectively. Inversely a no response increased from 31% (Community A), to 54% (Community B) and 69% (Community C). The same pattern emerged in response to Questions 12, 13 and 14 ( Table 7). These questions were set to test respondents' understanding of simple economic principles underlying the provision of municipal services and city development. It can be surmised from Table 7 that Community A had a better level of understanding of the provision of municipal services and city development than does the other two. On the other hand Community B had a better understanding than that of Community C. However, this information in itself becomes most useful when viewed in a behavioural context. Figure 3 in Chapter One depicted how an individual obtains messages from the environment and then articulates these in order to make meaning of reality. Moreover, Chapter One noted that a person's perception of reality is determined by factors which occur in that environment and the individual's ability to articulate these messages. Consequently in terms of the behavioural precepts of the thesis, the survey included details concerning the respondents' thinking, their environmental context and their sources of information concerning the supply and payment of municipal services.

Table 7  
Questions 11 to 14 on rates

Community	Question 11: Do you understand the concept of the property rules that are payable to the municipality by people who own land houses and businesses in the local authority area?		Question 12: Money from rates is used to help develop the whole town's infrastructure such as the building of roads, laying of water pipes and electric cables, provide street light and refuse removal in all areas.			Question 13: the level of the municipal services that a municipality can provide depends on the amount of money it has (ie the level of productivity of the town).			Question 14: The provision of municipal services develops over a period of time as a town grows and its economy develops.		
	%		%			%			%		
	Yes	No	True	False	Don't know	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain
A	69	31	61	19	20	63	11	26	79	2	19
B	46	54	55	17	28	34	19	47	35	18	47
C	31	69	28	7	65	19	10	71	24	10	66

Municipalities are currently having great difficulties caused by non-payment for services as described in Chapter One. Question 15 (Table 8) asked respondents why they thought people do not pay for services. All three groups rated unemployment as the main reason for this, followed by poverty or an inability to afford these services (Table 8). The adult-based surveys generally noted that adults feel the same way on the issue. However, the Johnson (1999) report provided evidence that poverty need not necessarily be the deciding factor concerning non-payment as described in section 2.2.2 above. Factors such as community cohesion, community leadership, municipal leadership, a lack of understanding civic culture and that of democracy were noted. Communities that could comprehend the link between payment and service-provision and development were found to be better payers for services. These are important principles and values which adults of the future need to comprehend, the foundation upon which democratic society may be built.

Table 8

Question 14: Why do you think people do not pay for these services?

Response	A	B	C
	%	%	%
Unemployed	37	58	67
Poverty/cannot afford	58	54	44
Free	16	8	2
Not important	7	19	0
Financial problems	18	6	1
Unhappy with service	11	15	7
Others will pay	5	4	1
From rates	1	0	0
Don't care	6	4	1
Not forced	2	7	2
High cost for service	4	6	2
Ignorant	8	13	3
Others don't	5	0	1

Question 16 (Table 9), with the aid of a diagram depicting municipal service delivery as an economic cycle, tested respondents' understanding of the consequences of people not paying for municipal services (Annexure C). Table 9 shows once again similar trends to that shown by Tables 6 and 7. The majority of Community A recognised that there would be one or other consequence, with only 11% being uncertain. Communities B and C showed lower levels of understanding, with Community C having the highest level of uncertainty (45%). In view of the disparity between the three groups shown with regard to an understanding of municipal service delivery, the survey investigated respondents' knowledge and understanding of Masakhane and their sources of knowledge concerning municipal services.

Table 9

Question 16: The consequences of people not paying for municipal services will be:

Community	Decline in service	Those that pay get angry	Disadvantaged areas suffer	All of these	None of these	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
A	24	14	13	56	0	11
B	16	10	25	28	6	27
C	11	6	17	24	6	45

Question 17 (Table 10) had a statement about Masakhane: the Masakhane Campaign is an attempt to unify the racially divided South African city into a single economic unit. In response to the question that by paying for rates and for municipal services people will help achieve this effort, over 50% of all three communities agreed with the statement as reflected in Table 10. The highest level of uncertainty was registered by Community C (36%). However, municipal and central government reports on payment levels from within particularly Communities B and C, do not match the sentiments expressed above by members of the same households. The above information appears to indicate that at least school-going adolescents', in Pietermaritzburg from the three groups are aware about the message of Masakhane, but there are high levels of uncertainty reflected in each group..

Table 10

Question 17: The Masakhane Campaign is an attempt to unify the racially divided South African city into a single economic unit. By paying rates and for services people will help achieve this effort:

Community	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain
	%	%	%
A	59	17	23
B	57	17	27
C	54	8	36

#### 2.3.2.4 Communities' sources of knowledge on the supply of, and payment for, municipal services

The sources from which respondents have gained knowledge about the supply of and payment for municipal services once more revealed interesting disparities between the three communities (Question 18, Table 11). Responses to this line of inquiry shown in Table 11 supports the view expressed by this thesis in Chapter One. South African society is a complex one, made of diverse population groups, which display elements of traditional and modern society. Therefore, Ong (1982), Rogers and Schoemaker (1971), Van Niekerk (1990) and Webb (1980), pointed out in their research that the characteristics of such societies need to be considered when diffusing innovations within a society. Table 11 shows that, parents, teachers,



relatives and friends, persons closest to the respondents, are important sources of knowledge within Community A. These sources become less significant as one moves from Community B to that of C. The lack of information within these communities may be explained by the fact that these parents are perpetrators of non-compliance themselves. This is supported by the fact that in Table 5 respondents seemed to have considerable knowledge about monthly payments for telephones. For example, all 77% that have a telephone in Community B acknowledge payment for it. This is explained simply that if payment is not made when due, the telephone is cut-off. Furthermore, community leaders tend to play more of a role in Community B and C. Interestingly the Masakhane Campaign itself was not viewed as a significant source of knowledge by any of the three groups, but radio, television and newspapers were noted as important sources by all groups. The above information suggests, particularly in consideration of the household profiles in each group, that closer attention to the dynamics within South African society, and the different communities that make up that society, need to be carefully considered in the diffusion of innovations. Both the adult and school-based surveys raise questions about the Masakhane Campaign, all of which help to explain reasons for its reported failure. From the above, it appears that communities need to be organised into smaller units with appropriate community and municipal support structures. Moreover, if municipalities and the government wish to develop civic and democratic values, consideration will have to be made of the realities of perception formation within the South Africa's diverse context, as highlighted in this thesis.

Table 11

Question 18: From which of the following sources have you gained knowledge about the supply and payment for municipal services?

Community	Parents	Relatives	Councillor	Teacher	Dev. Com.	Masakhane	Friends	Church	Raido/TV	Newspaper
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A	84	34	8	49	9	8	25	7	73	59
B	49	17	18	31	16	14	17	6	63	46
C	10	4	21	9	17	13	7	6	51	23

## 2.4 INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

Three distinct categories of community which reside within the municipal area of jurisdiction based on distinctions between the level of municipal services received by each of these groups was identified. Established parts of the city were found to be well-serviced. The newly-incorporated parts of the city were categorised into two, adequately-serviced and poorly-serviced areas. The main distinction between the two was in the supply of water in the home, flush toilets, street lights and refuse removal. However, besides these physical disparities, in accordance with behavioural geographical theory, disparate thinking and behaviour patterns were noticeable between the three groups. This particularly related to the respondents' understanding on the supply of and payment for municipal services.

Adolescents in the well-established areas of the city had a clearer understanding about the supply of and payment for municipal services. Their sources of knowledge are from media sources but more importantly from the adults who are closest to them. The parents, relatives and teachers all play an important part in the formation of mental images in the minds of this group. There appears to be correlation between payment levels in these areas, and the role played by those that pay for services, as a source of information about the city for their children. This raises some important principles. The fact that these are compliant consumers and there is no evasiveness of payment, could mean they are prepared to share life's experiences and learning with their children. In contrast, adult-based perception research revealed a serious lack of understanding about the supply of, and payment for, municipal services by communities in newly-incorporated areas of the city. The high level of non-compliance and distrust evident within these communities perhaps explains why the adults in this group feature so weakly as a source of knowledge for the children living in these areas. These revelations have significance for the practical implications of a single-city concept and will be incorporated in later chapters as the thesis is developed.

The adult and school-based perception studies revealed a disparity in comprehension, between South African communities, about the supply of and payment for municipal services. 'Leviathan' thinking among newly-incorporated sectors of the city appears to distort their perceptions. Such thinking appears to engender a culture of entitlement. The concept of affordability is thereby affected, as is the view that the government creates jobs and has finances to supply all manner of services. Such thinking also appears to have influenced the interpretation of transformation itself. Transformation for these communities seems to mean replacing white municipal officials with blacks, in the belief that, with their own kind in office, the demands from the municipality will be less. An understanding the principle of supply and demand appears to be sorely lacking.

Johnson (1999) study, however, revealed that, notwithstanding poverty levels, a response to Masakhane can be positive depending on certain conditions. Small, cohesive, well-led communities, effective municipal management and leadership, were evident in communities that had shown improved levels of payment. Furthermore, where municipalities had effective credit control policies, compliance levels had also improved. Communities within established areas agree with the principle of cross-subsidisation to upgrade disadvantaged areas if done in a controlled and transparent manner.

The perception studies further noted, that community cohesiveness was best established where municipalities had structures in place within which the communities could participate with the local authority. Structures such as development committees, particularly within newly-incorporated sectors, had a positive impact in creating democratic structures on the ground. These community structures are important as the school-based study found parents and relatives to be weak sources of information within township communities. Community leaders appear to be a better source of information for these scholars at this juncture.

It seems therefore, that the basic principles required to attain a single-city concept, have a physical as well as a behavioural dimension. Community and municipal structures are important aspects which need to be considered. But, in terms of behavioural geographical theory discussed in Chapter One, community and municipal leadership and municipal service consumer behaviour are just as important. Perceptions of the users of municipal services within newly-incorporated sectors need to be brought closer to reality. Therefore, suitable structures to develop meaningful community partnerships becomes critical to the attainment of single-city concept. Consideration of the behavioural dimension is considered by this thesis as an integral part of the transformation process. Before this is pursued further, a historical context of the apartheid city will be sketched in the following chapter to provide the reader with further background to the issues being investigated.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### **SOUTH AFRICA'S DIVIDED CITY - PHYSICAL DISPARITIES AND SPATIALLY SEGMENTED MENTAL IMAGES**

It is evident from the preliminary chapters that there is more than one important dimension to the reconstruction, development and transformation of the post-apartheid city. Obvious physical disparities evident between different parts of the post-apartheid city need to be overcome. Many of the current core problems of South African cities are derived from a historic legacy of primarily central government policy and planning which has had consequences for urban development and management for post-apartheid local authorities (McCarthy 1990). Local government structures have always been designed to reproduce the urban system in accordance with the policy objectives of the state (Swilling 1991). In South Africa, cities have come to reflect the racially divisive nature of, in particular, that of the apartheid era (Bassett 1993).

However, aside from physical disparities there are mental barriers which have resulted from apartheid. Chapter One revealed that the environmental circumstances in which an urban inhabitant lives, will influence that person's likely perceptions, spatial mental images, and probable behaviour within that environment. Thus such perceptions would have been significant in the case of a person who has been brought up in South Africa's divided city because apartheid planning determined not only where within or without the city people of differing race groups were to live, but also to a large degree how they were to live (Christopher 1994; Leron 1995). The apartheid city had various urban forms of management and development practices in different parts of the divided city. Perception research discussed in Chapter Two confirmed the existence of disparate perceptions between the different communities. Johnston (1989) referred to this as spatially segmented images. This variation of development and management further determined the degree and level of participation the individual could and would play in the development and management of the city.

Research and recent events as reported in Chapters One and Two, would indicate that people's perceptions about the supply and payment for municipal services remain unchanged. The issue of non-payment and the abuse of municipal services attracts recurrent attention by the news media (Dladla 1997; Mazwai 1998; Mlisana 1998; Natal Witness 15/10/94; 18/2/95; 7/3/98; 4/6/98; Sunday Times 3/11/96). Non-payment for municipal services still persists causing municipal debt

to rise to alarmingly high levels for many local authorities. Recent attitudinal and perception surveys conducted in South Africa, suggest that municipal service-users do not appear to grasp, *inter alia*: the economic principles of municipal service delivery and the ultimate reality of the consequences of non-payment or protracted payment. The issues under investigation by the thesis are complex. In order to unravel this complexity, this chapter sketches the historical context which provides a background from which these issues may be investigated in a systematic fashion. Aspects to be discussed include: the racially based physical division of the South African city, different development and management practices resulting in differing degrees and levels of municipal service delivery, apartheid in practice created economic anomalies and financial constraints in terms of municipal service delivery, and the resistance to apartheid rule. The urban environments so created were to influence perceptions and comprehension about the supply and payment for municipal services, which appear to be dependent on the citizens apartheid experience. A glossary of South African apartheid terms is provided in Annexure A.

### **3.1 THE APARTHEID CITY: RACIALLY BASED PHYSICAL DIVISION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CITY**

From 1948, the Nationalist Party apartheid regime created separate racially based local authorities for each of the four main racial groups in the country (Cloete 1995). It was at this political level that the initial conscious nationwide pursuit of urban segregation and the later policy of urban apartheid was to be implemented and hardest felt. An overview of the evolution of the apartheid city will show how the South African urban environment came to be divided on a racial basis. Indeed, ideological division was to determine where, within or without the city, people of the different race groups were to live and even to a large extent how they were to live. This section will provide the reader with an overview of: the origins of racial segregation in South African cities, the basic essentials of apartheid, the application of apartheid laws, a model of an apartheid city, and reform initiatives of the 1980's. Later changes leading up to, and following, the country's first ever democratic elections are dealt with in Chapter Four.

#### **3.1.1 An Overview of the Origins of Racial Segregation in South African Cities**

The existing spatial forms of South African cities have been shaped by many forces, of which state intervention to ensure strict urban racial segregation has been an especially significant factor (McCarthy 1991a; 1991b). Prior to the introduction of the Group Areas Act of 1950, the

Stallardist principle<sup>1</sup> that blacks were regarded as temporary sojourners in the white cities had been an integral part of urban planning. The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 effectively kept black residential areas on the fringes of the cities. The Group Areas Act of 1950 aimed, not at segregating the other race groups, because this was largely the *de facto* case in any event, but at separating race groups as defined by the Population Registration Act of 1950, namely, white, black, Indian and coloured. To avoid confusion this same racial terminology for the purpose of the research will be used throughout the thesis (see Annexure A). The removal of any unnecessary points of contact (as viewed by the then government) was to be achieved by dividing the cities up into ethnically exclusive areas. It is therefore useful to regard 1950 with the introduction of the Group Areas Act underpinned by the Population Registration Act, both of that year, as the watershed between racial segregation in South Africa and elsewhere and the imposition of apartheid, a policy which was to be unique to South Africa.

### 3.1.2 The Basic Essentials of Apartheid

The debate on the origins of apartheid<sup>2</sup> in South Africa notwithstanding, it is clear that by the 1950's, those in control of central government had modified and adapted a variety of local systems of segregation, and codified them into a singular national policy framework. It was Prime Minister Verwoerd (1958-1966), who was to lend a grand geopolitical vision to this policy framework (McCarthy 1992), which is succinctly captured by the following:

*"The decolonisation of Africa in the early 1960's led apartheid theoreticians to seek a way to harness the cry for independence to the preservation of white power in southern Africa. The result was a plan to transform the country's existing African areas into*

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<sup>1</sup> The Stallard (Transvaal Local Government) Commission of 1922 propagated the idea to place a restriction on the number of urban blacks in the white man's domain so as to minimize expenditure on the development of black residential locations. This doctrine has had far-reaching implications for the provision of services, property ownership, participation in administration, and the morphology of black townships (Lemon 1991). The 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act embodied Stallardist principles according to Lemon (1991). According to the Act, it empowered, but did not compel, local authorities to set aside land for black occupation in segregated locations. The Act was important, not only in its pioneering nature, but in the framework it established for future legislation.

<sup>2</sup> For further reading on the origins of apartheid see *inter alia*: Beavon (1982); Christopher (1983; 1987a; 1987b; 1992; 1994); Cook (1986); Davies (1971; 1972; 1976; 1981); Fair and Browett (1976); Harcourt (1976); Hattingh (1976); Krige (1988); Kuper, Watts and Davies (1958); Lemon (1982; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992); Maasdorp (1976); Mabin (1986; 1991); Maylam (1986); McCarthy (1991a; 1991b; 1992); McCarthy and Smit (1984); Meer (1976); Pirie (1984); Pirie and Hart (1985); Reader's Digest (1994); Saunders (1983; 1994); Simon (1984); Smith (1982); Swilling, Humphries and Shubane (1991); Torr (1987); Western (1981; 1985).

*states in which Africans would exercise full political rights. All it needed was the will to put the plan into operation - a massive example of social engineering that seemed to bring the ultimate dream of apartheid within reach at last: an Afrikaner-run republic with, in the words of one-time Cabinet Minister Connie Mulder, 'no more black (African) South Africans' (Reader's Digest 1994: 424).*

According to McCarthy (1992), this framework for the implementation of apartheid was to be founded upon two major politico-geographic concepts: a group areas concept applicable to trading, residential and related local political rights in what was to be regarded as white South Africa, and a homelands concept applicable to the separate political and economic development of black people outside of white South Africa. Superimposed upon these systems of segregation were the local and regional political structures of the apartheid state. White South Africa had effectively been defined in terms of the provisions of the 1910 Constitution, together with the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts.

Figure 6 depicts the political geography, as defined by the 1910 Constitution and the Acts, which was to form the basis of the Nationalist Government's ethnically-based homeland ideology. Until the 1950's, informal discrimination, assisted by the Land Acts (1913 and 1936) and local governmental by-laws, had created a considerable degree of urban and rural segregation within white designated South Africa (McCarthy 1992). Consequently white South Africa was effectively defined in terms of the 1910 Constitution and the two Land Acts which were to form the spatial political framework of future ethnic-based legislation (Figure 6). Most notable would be that designed at the exclusion of blacks from white society. Ownership of land by blacks was restricted to 13% of South Africa in accordance with the Land Acts (Figure 6).

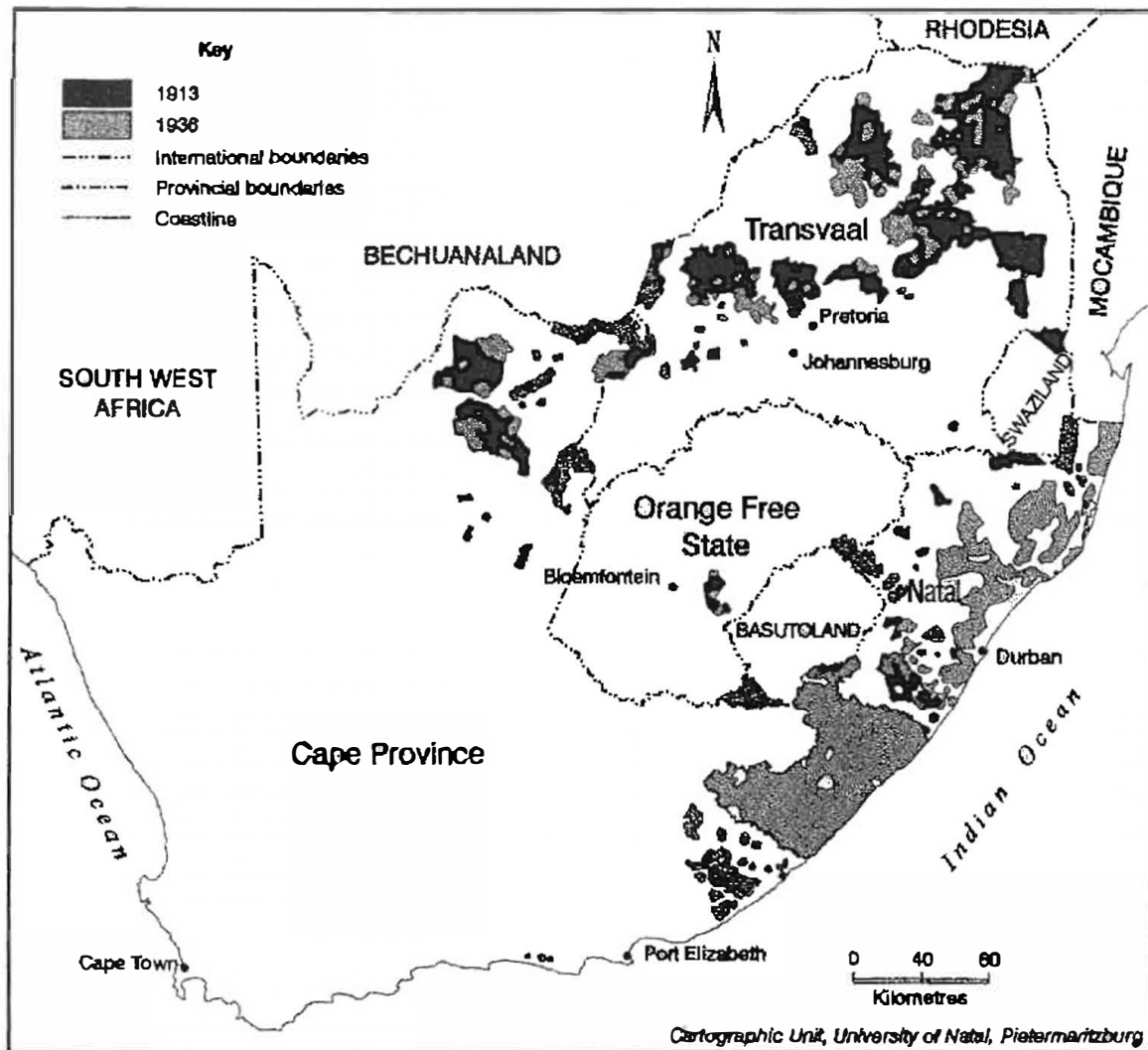


Figure 6 South African political geography as defined by 1910 Constitution and the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts

Source: Christopher 1994: 33



### 3.1.3 The Application of Apartheid Laws

The implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 required strict apartheid, within designated areas, of the four groups recognised by the Population Registration Act of 1950. These two forms of legislation were to determine the basis of spatial structuring of South African cities over the next forty years of Nationalist Government rule. Consequently, within urban settlements, separate residential and commercial districts were demarcated, and ownership and occupation of property was restricted to members of the race group to which a district had been designated. As Cloete (1991: 91) put it:

*"A strict geographical separation between races was in this way introduced by statute."*

Black South Africans were denied property ownership in white South Africa, and were required to live in township areas which were owned and administered by local bodies of central government. The administration of the townships was closely associated with the application of pass laws, primarily to regulate the passage of black people (Davenport 1991; Muller 1987; Posel 1991). It was mandatory for black persons to carry a reference book on their person at all times. In terms of the pass law application, labour bureaux in urban areas allocated permits to black persons seeking permanent residence in urban areas (Mabin 1991; McCarthy 1992; Posel 1991). The quantity of permits issued was effectively determined by employers' demands for labour in different places, and at different periods. These same labour bureaux co-ordinated their planning with township administrators, who in turn allocated housing and collected rent (Hindson 1987; Mabin and Pamell 1983).

In urban areas outside the townships, whites, coloureds and Indians residents' needs were administered by white-elected city councils. These councils, in turn, were advised by local affairs committees drawn from the coloured and Indian group areas. Blacks had no representation on the city council, as their political rights pertaining to local government were restricted to advisory roles in respect of township administration. Blacks were to seek political expression via their particular homeland administration. Figure 7 depicts the political geography whereby the country was divided up into white South Africa and ten ethnic homelands in accordance to apartheid policy.

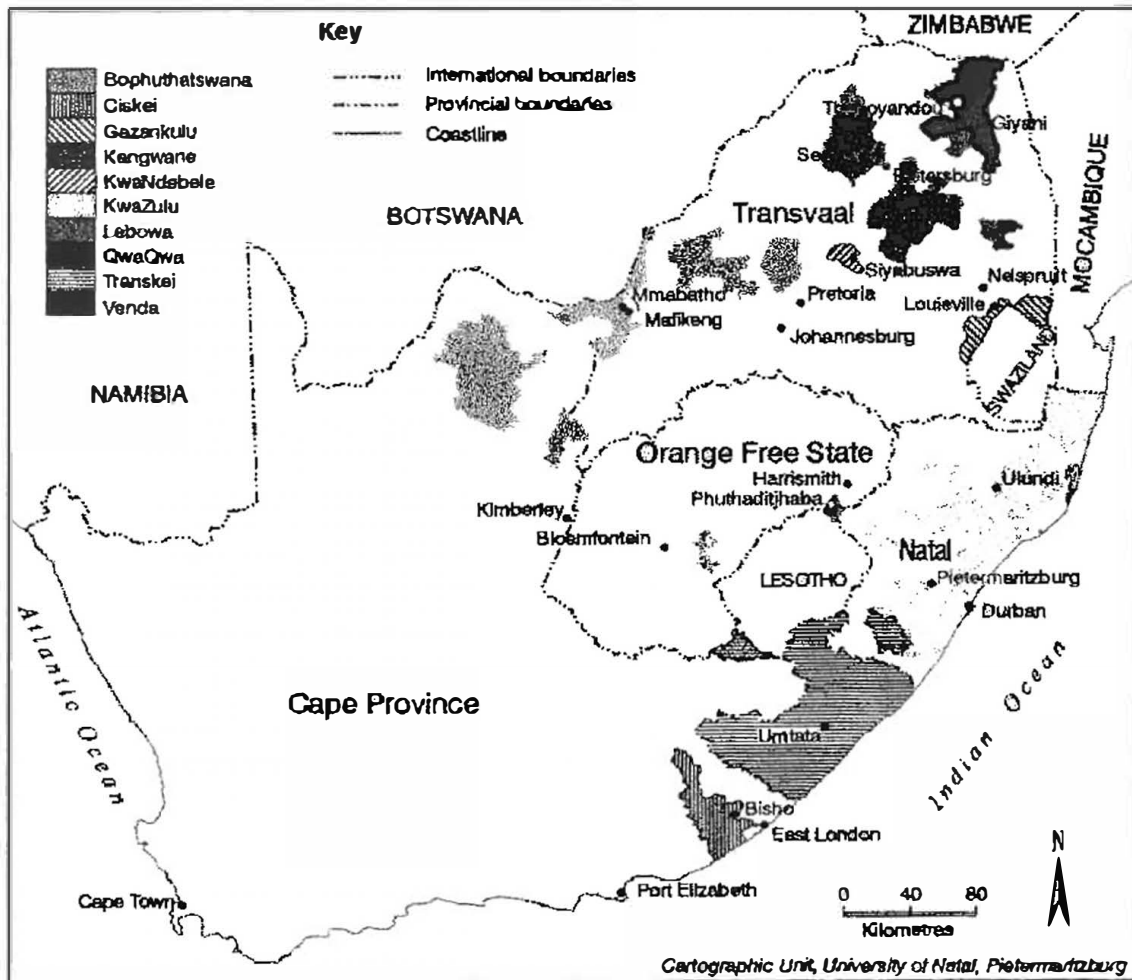


Figure 7 The ethnically-based homeland (and self-governing state) system up until 1994 in South Africa

Source: Christopher 1994: 86

The urban black councils established for the townships at that time, however, had little *de facto* or *de jure* control over planning, services or rental levels within townships, such functions being determined by the white dominated administrative state agencies (Christopher 1994; McCarthy 1992).

### 3.1.4 A Model of an Apartheid City

The earlier segregated South African city was characterised by a pragmatic approach to the spatial structuring for the different population groups. Segregation, which had forced as well as voluntary aspects to it, was considerably developed by 1950. The application of apartheid laws, such as the

Group Areas Act of 1950, however, resulted in structural transformation in South African cities after 1950 (McCarthy 1990). The Minister of the Interior declared that the Group Areas Act had been:

*"... designed to eliminate friction between the races in the Union because we believe, and believe strongly, that points of contact - all unnecessary points of contact - between races must be avoided. Contact brings about heat, and may cause conflagration" (Wills 1988: 41).*

The removal of 'unnecessary points of contact' was achieved by dividing the cities up into racially exclusive zones, where only one so designated group would be allowed to live and carry on business (Wills 1988). The Group Areas Act of 1950 has been amended a number of times, such as the Group Areas Act, 36 of 1966. The government officially acknowledged the failure of its Group Areas policy by introducing the concept of Free Settlement Areas in 1988, and by finally repealing the Group Areas Act in 1991.

The model of the apartheid city (Figure 8) had defined sectors different from conventional sector theory in that they were determined in terms of group areas. In the space formed shown in Figure 8, an exclusively white Central Business District was surrounded by an extensive white residential core with the freedom to expand outwards into accessible and environmentally desirable sectors in suburban localities. Socio-economic patterns within white residential areas surrounding the core, remained relatively undisturbed. Coloured and Indian group areas, and especially black townships, were located peripherally within designated sectors; hostels for migrant workers no longer adjoined the workplace but were relocated within these townships. The poor were pushed to the periphery and had as a result, significantly increased journeys to work, especially where black townships were constructed across homeland borders (Haswell 1988b). The sectoral nature of the city determined that the city was never treated as a single economic entity. Different management and development practices were applied in accordance within the different ethnic sectors of the city.

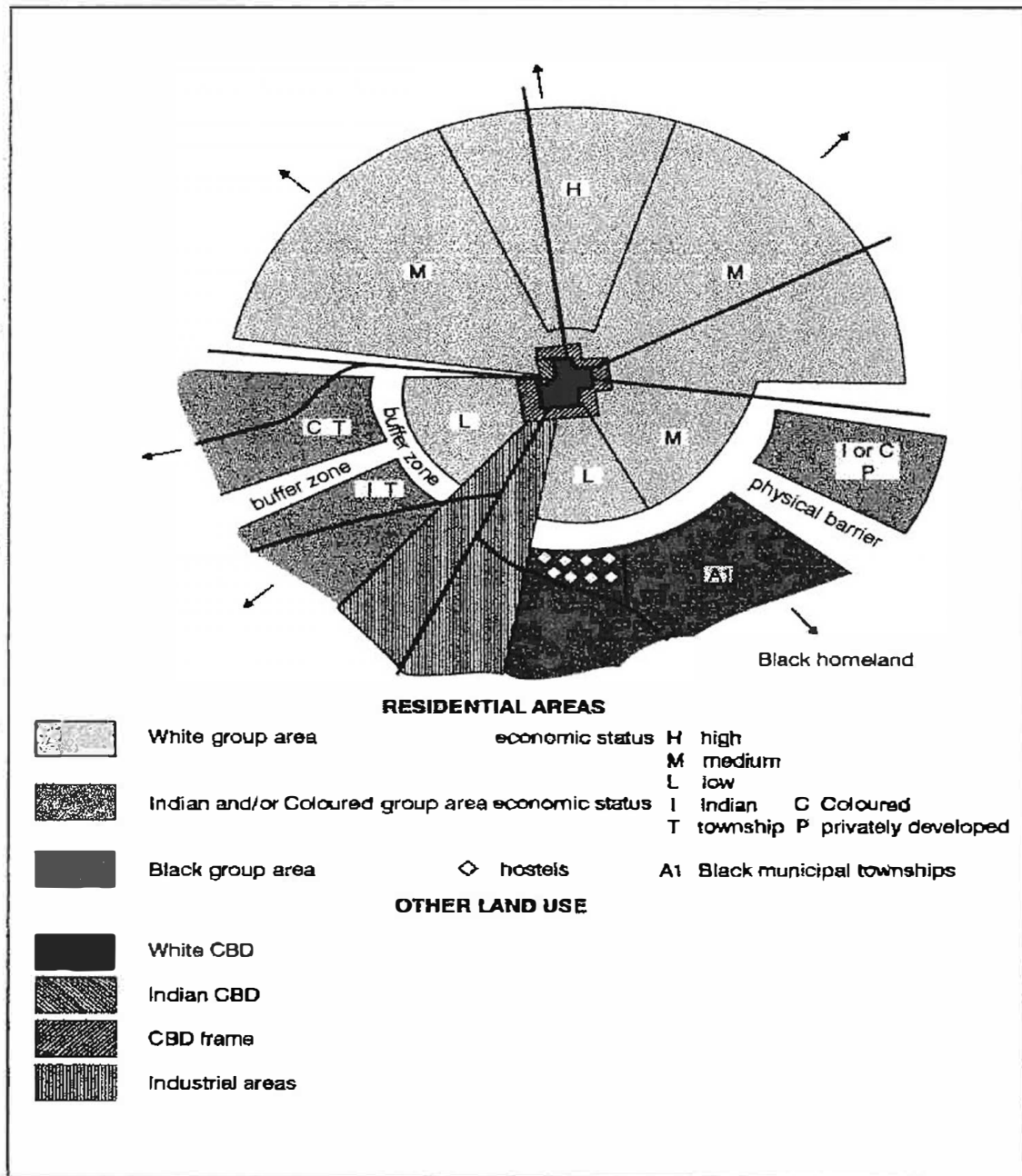


Figure 8 The apartheid sectoral city model

Source: Lemon 1987: 221

While the planning (Group Areas) model was not consistent with the actual patterns of settlement that existed in the cities at the inauguration of the Group Areas Act in 1950, the spatial restructuring had taken effect by the end of 1987, by which time more than 1 300 Group Areas had been proclaimed (Lemon 1991). As a not isolated consequence of this legislation, research has shown that a significant number of persons had to be moved, the greater majority of whom were black (Christopher 1994). Despite a chorus of international outrage and internal strife, the policy remained in place for more than 25 years, during which time at least 3,5 million people were the victims of forced removal. Recent experiential accounts by Pietermaritzburg residents relived those days were reported by Frost (1998); Kindra (1998); Moberly and Ward (1999); Wright (1998; 1999).

### 3.1.5 Reform Initiatives of the 1980's

Reform initiatives of the 1980's, included: the granting of free trade and settlement areas and the modification to the influx control legislation governing rural-urban migration and urban residential rights (Christopher 1994). As a result of these incremental changes, the spatial manifestations of urban apartheid described above (Figure 8), could be detected to be undergoing modification. Section 19 of the Group Areas Act was amended in mid-1984 permitting deproclamation of Central Business Districts and other trading areas for commercial and professional occupation and ownership by all races. The Bantu (Urban Areas) Act which governed pass laws was repealed in 1986 and free settlement areas were allowed in accordance with the Free Settlement Areas Act of 1988.

Further changes related to that of squatting rights. During the early years of Nationalist Party rule, strenuous efforts were made under the 1951 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act to remove all slum and squatter areas, relocating their inhabitants to formal townships or the homelands. Although for a time apparently successful, shortages of township housing, coupled with the denial of the right of family life under the migrant labour system and deteriorating conditions in the homelands, had led to the re-emergence of significant squatting. Only at the close of the 1980's did the authorities afford any official recognition of squatting communities (Rogerson 1989). This relaxation in the implementation of the law led to the adoption of site and service schemes and the increase of informal settlements being recognised establishments, in and around South African cities. The reform process and the concomitant changes have been described by Simon (1992) as the modernization of the apartheid city, and is represented in Figure 9.

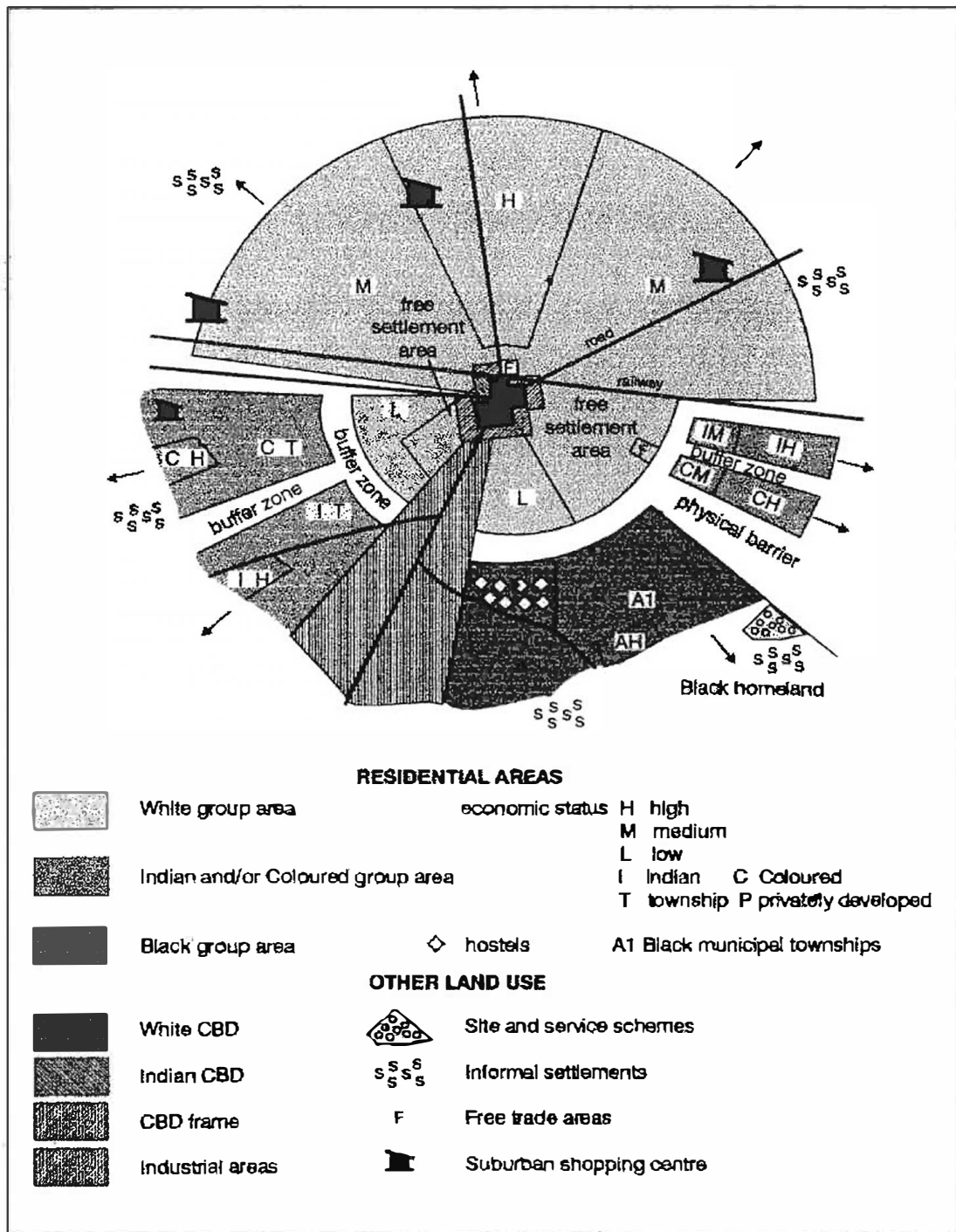


Figure 9 The modernized apartheid city model

Source: Simon 1992: 43

This later model is useful, as it brings into perspective the added dimension of informal settlements and is thus a more realistic expression of the urban space which has to be managed and developed by a post-apartheid democratic South Africa. The results of attitudinal and perception surveys discussed in Chapter Two, are consistent with the variation in perceptions urban inhabitants have towards the development and management of the city, being related to the different urban environments created by apartheid as described in the sectoral model above.

The model of the apartheid city offers a tangible representation of an ethnically divided entity and as such provides a significant basis for further study relating to differing development and management practices within and without the South African city.

### **3.2 DIFFERING DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT PRACTICES WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE CITY RESULT IN DIFFERENTIATED LEVELS OF MUNICIPAL SERVICE DELIVERY**

The development and management of the South African city had not been undertaken as a single political or economic entity. Instead, the components of the apartheid city were developed and managed independently based on the delineations of the aforementioned model, in accordance with the dictates of apartheid ideology specifically. The striking feature of this was the bewildering proliferation and duplication of local authority structures in both horizontal and vertical displacement which enforced, primarily, a racially based government system at local level (Swilling 1991). The consequence of this, according to Harrison (1993), was that differing policies, administrative procedures, legislation, tenurial systems, land use controls and service provision applied in and around the city, each with a separate planning and administrative authority had different priorities and approaches to development. Therefore, the level and provision of municipal services and the concomitant participation of the affected recipient within this system was largely determined by the part of the city in which the person lived. Much of the above was in turn based purely on the race group to which that person had been ascribed by the apartheid government. Aspects to be discussed include: white local authority, black local authority outside the homelands, and black local authority within the homelands.

#### **3.2.1 White Local Authority**

Historically, local government in South Africa has been the responsibility of white city and town councils, taking guardianship of the urban areas as demarcated for other population groups under

their jurisdiction (Bekker 1991; Mandy 1991). Like the apartheid city, local government was structured along racial lines. White municipalities had essentially followed the British model and enjoyed considerable autonomy within the limits of the powers accorded them, but subject to the control of the provincial authority and central government (Bekker 1991). However, coloured and Indian management committees and local affairs committees, to all intents and purposes, served in an advisory capacity to the white municipality, and as such had no decision-making powers. The promotion of the Local Government Affairs Act of 1983 enabled these committees to assume full autonomy, but this generally was rejected by these sectors of the community on the grounds that it implied tacit acceptance of racially separated local government (Cameron 1991; Lemon 1992; Morris and Padayachee 1988).

Nevertheless, areas under the jurisdiction of the white municipal authority were well served by that municipality. Generally, urban inhabitants living within these areas were given the opportunity to participate within an established industrial, commercial and residential market economy served by that local authority. Urban inhabitants living in municipal areas established businesses, owned homes, paid rates and taxes and obtained and paid for municipal services within a controlled and disciplined environment. All of which contributed to the development of the local economy, both public and private, based on a degree of citizen participation leading to their general understanding about the supply and payment for municipal services. A form of discipline was instilled in the minds of municipal service-users by credit control policy founded on a user-pays principle.

### **3.2.2 Black Local Authority Outside the Homelands**

Black local government is best understood by reference to developments that had taken place both within and outside the homelands. Outside the homelands (refer to Figure 7), autonomous black local government was a recent innovation. Prior to the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982, such institutions as had existed provided essentially an advisory capacity to superior institutions - initially this had been to white municipalities, and thereafter to state controlled administration boards (Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1971), which were renamed development boards in 1986 (Bekker 1991; Mandy 1991).

Due the fact that blacks were regarded as predominantly non-permanent residents, all fixed property in black townships was owned either by central government or by the white local authority. House rents were low, as were standards of housing, infrastructure and municipal



service provision. Commercial and industrial activity had been discouraged in this regimented environment. Consequently there was no base on which assessment based rates could be levied. Revenue for the administration of the townships had largely been dependent on a municipal monopoly of liquor sales (Mandy 1991). For the most part official government policy had been based on the following premises, namely that: the process of black urbanisation would be halted by influx control, and new economic opportunities would be created in the black homelands by way of diffusionist (growth pole) strategy, thereby slowing the flow of blacks wishing to live and work in the cities on a permanent basis.

Consequently it had been the perception that there was little need to upgrade the conditions in which blacks lived in the urban areas (Mandy 1991). Huge backlogs in infrastructural development were the result. The situation was further exacerbated by the failure of influx control (Urban Foundation 1990a; 1990b). The economic and political structure which had evolved in the white municipal areas therefore did not take place in the townships. By the time the Nationalist Party government was to change their policy on government of the townships, it was too late. Black local authorities, with the introduction of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982, had suddenly been thrust into autonomy, having had little or no experience and supported by inadequate financial resources. Contributing to the subsequent fiscal crisis in the townships was the lack of a tax base, owing to the small number of businesses within them, and the state's suppression of private property rights for black residents (Grest 1988). Theoretically, they had been granted powers equivalent to those of white municipalities, including the primary responsibility of township development. Accordingly they were supposed to have played an important role in meeting the challenge of urbanisation. However, according to Bekker (1991), their essentially politically contested existence by the 1990's added to their failure in meeting this challenge. This aspect will be developed further in section 3.4 which deals with resistance to apartheid rule.

### **3.2.3 Black Local Authority Within the Homelands**

In South Africa's independent homelands and self-governing territories shown in Figure 5, the development of local authorities followed a different path from that devised for white administered South Africa. Urban local authorities within homelands and self-governing areas had been established in terms of Proclamation R293 of 1962, which provided for the establishment of township councils. The development and administration of most of the Proclamation R293 towns

became the responsibility of the various homeland governments. However, homeland and self-governing authorities did not enjoy full autonomy over township councils within their areas. This was due to the fact that the South African central government's Department of Development Aid shared responsibility in the provision of most services in these towns, and had wide-ranging control over finance, often with predetermined uniform tariffs for municipal services in terms of Proclamation R293 towns. Even the independence of the homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei, for the most part, heralded little change in the status quo. The majority of homeland township councils were thus severely constrained regarding the necessary functions, powers and financial freedom (Bekker 1991). Outside the proclaimed urban areas of the homelands were the tribal authorities. These reflected traditional forms of government as performed in the particular area, sometimes in the modified form of a community authority which might have comprised tribal chiefs, elders, and elected councillors. In all cases, these tribal authorities had limited say over local affairs and were scarcely more than agents for their respective homeland governments (Bekker 1991).

From the above it is obvious that the development and management of the city was skewed in accordance with the dictates of apartheid. The consequences were that municipal service provision urban inhabitants enjoyed was largely determined by their designated group area. The different development and management practices have resulted in variations in perceptions about the supply and payment for municipal services. This is evident from the reports and events about non-payment discussed in Chapter One, and the results of attitudinal and perception research described in Chapter Two.

### **3.3 APARTHEID PRACTICE CREATES ECONOMIC ANOMALIES AND FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS**

Generally, white local authorities were able to establish formal management structures providing a high level of municipal services in their areas of jurisdiction. Furthermore, major commercial and industrial areas were incorporated in this economic subdivision which allowed for concomitant participation in the affairs of management. In contrast to this, black local authorities in townships experienced a legitimacy crisis and financial problems from lacking an adequate economic base, resulting in poor standards of municipal service delivery (and a mounting pressure of perceived expectation on all fronts). Comparatively, local authority expenditure per capita between white local authorities and their black counterparts in 1991 was found to be R871.00 (Rand) and

R215.00 (Rand) respectively (Urban Foundation 1993b). Research further indicated that the disparities by the 1990's were so pronounced that they would not be rectified by simply transferring revenues from white local authority areas (Urban Foundation 1993b). The problems faced by black local authorities were exacerbated by massive boycotts of payment for municipal services and other strategies aimed at destabilising township government. The point will be discussed further in section 3.4 on resistance to apartheid rule. Aspects to be discussed in this section include the institution of the South African Constitution of 1983 and regional services councils.

### **3.3.1 The South African Constitution Act of 1983 (the Tricameral Parliament)**

In white-designated South Africa, the historical evolution of the local authority system along racially separate lines was to be further entrenched by the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, Act 110 of 1983 in which a tricameral parliament was established. The overall structure of government in accordance with the Act at first, second and third-tier levels is represented in Figure 10. The implementation of the Act was to establish the principle of own affairs and general affairs. It identified local government as an own affair, but for whites, coloureds and Indians only. Black local authorities were still to be the domain of central state and provincial government agencies. The continued fractured nature of local authority structure, despite the Act, is reflected in Figure 11.

Coloured, Indian and white local government was deemed to be an own affair in terms of the 1983 Constitution and, therefore, was the responsibility of the local government departments in the tricameral parliament (Figure 10). As there was no distinction between own and general affairs for blacks, affairs concerning blacks fell within the jurisdiction of the black local authorities, in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982, which was the responsibility of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning (DCDP) (Figure 10).

Accordingly, the South African government was to persist with a policy of centralised service provision to black township areas, contrary to the internationally held view, where local government was seen as a means towards effectiveness in development, urban management and municipal service delivery (Devas and Rakodi 1993a; Urban Foundation 1993b). The consequence of this practice was inadequate municipal service provision and minimal participation in, and therefore comprehension of, the urban development process by township residents.

Furthermore, the state's racially-based tricameral reform initiatives at the political centre and ineffective structures at the local level resulted in considerable community-based anti-apartheid mobilization, predominantly in the townships (Chetty 1991; McCarthy 1992), which will be further discussed in section 3.4 which deals with the resistance to apartheid rule.

### **3.3.2 Regional Services Councils/Joint Services Boards**

A further innovation in the structure of the local authority system was the introduction of regional service councils in terms of the Regional Services Council Act of 1985. The Act, at first rejected by the KwaZulu homeland administration (Lemon 1992), was later replaced by the KwaZulu and Natal Joint Services Act (84/1990). Consequently, regional services councils were set up in the pre-1994 democratic election provinces of the Cape, Transvaal, and Orange Free State, whilst joint services boards were established in the case of KwaZulu and Natal. These bodies were intended to act as an extension of existing third-tier institutions and were responsible for general affairs (Figure 10). Such general affairs involved the provision of a bulk supply of services such as water, electricity, sewerage, transport, and planning, as well as the provision and maintenance of infrastructure in areas of need.

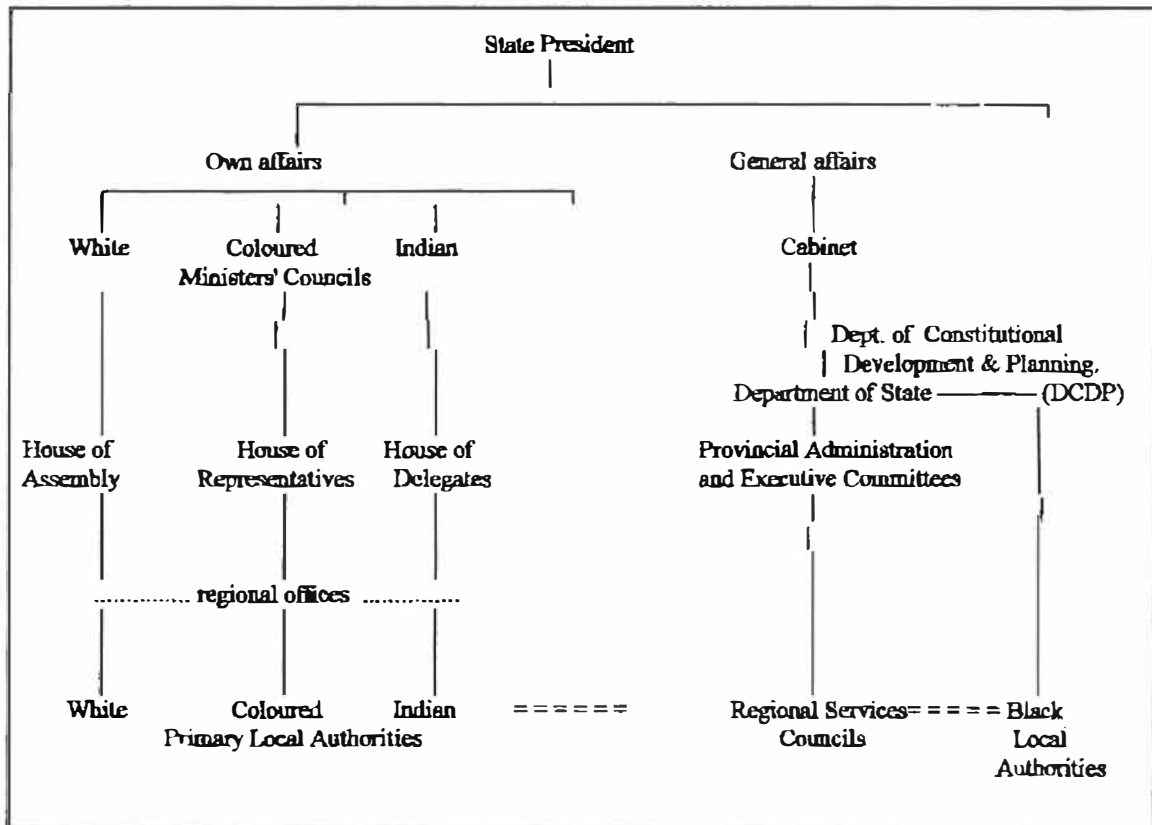


Figure 10 The 1983 constitutional structure of own and general affairs in South Africa

Source: Lemon 1992: 9

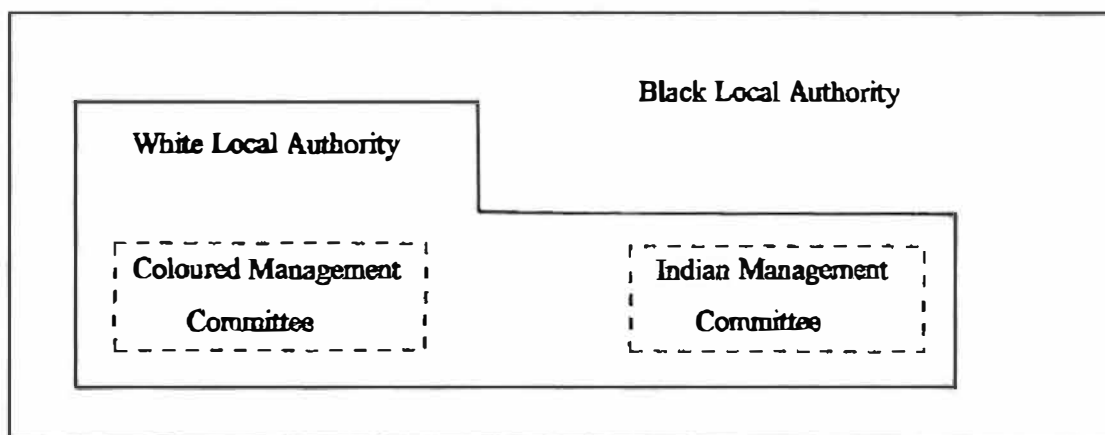


Figure 11 Structure of the local authority as at the time of transition in South Africa in 1993

Source: Cloete 1995: 2

The primary local authorities that constituted a regional services council remained responsible for own affairs, especially with regards reticulation to the household level. Regional services councils were intended to fulfil a three-fold function. According to the then Department of Constitutional

Development and Planning, the councils were to promote efficiency and cost-effectiveness through the rationalisation of service provision, provide a forum for multiracial decision-making, and generate substantial revenue (from levies on business) for the development of infrastructure in areas of need, such as in black, coloured and Indian townships.

According to the then Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, a number of other reasons underlaid the introduction of the councils as noted by Bekker (1991). Firstly, they were to provide a mechanism for the transfer of payments to black, coloured, and Indian local authorities, as had been recommended by the Browne and Croeser Inquiries (cited in Bekker 1991) into local government finance. Secondly, they were intended to extend the principle of own and general affairs from the national and provincial levels, to that of third-tier level, otherwise known as local government. Thirdly, they were to provide broad institutions at the local level intended to strengthen legitimacy and viability, and thus enhance the capacity of local authority in order to meet the challenges of rapid urban growth.

By the late 1980's events and research had revealed the separate local governments for urban black communities to be administratively ineffective, financially unviable, and politically of dubious legitimacy (Drakakis-Smith 1992; Frankel, Pines and Swilling 1988; Lemon 1991; Mandy 1991; Smith 1992; Swilling, Humphries and Shubane 1991; Urban Foundation 1991; 1993b). The government's new constitution was greeted by violent response by blacks, sparking off rent and service payment boycotts in the Vaal Triangle which then spread throughout the rest of the country. Of particular significance to the research, uneconomic flat rates for rent and municipal services were applied in township areas (Bassett 1993). In order to remedy inevitable arising shortfalls, vast amounts of bridging finance were transferred from the provincial administrations (Mandy 1991). Consequently the concept of affordable municipal services was never engendered in the minds of township residents. This is evident from the results of attitudinal and perception studies conducted in South Africa (see Chapter Two).

Developments such as those describe above were to play a significant role in the life-world experiences of township inhabitants and in their experience of the urban development process. This in turn would have had a concomitant influence on their perceptions about the supply and payment for municipal services.

### 3.4 RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID RULE

As it had been at the local government level that the apartheid administrative system manifested itself most forcefully, it is no surprise that the first signs of apartheid being untenable emerged at this level, where laws had separated ethnic communities in every sphere of life, with privilege for some at the expense of the others (Christopher 1994; Cloete 1995; Seekings 1991). By the early 1980's, social and economic pressure had resulted in the breakdown of the spatial ordering of the different racial groups and it became clear that the apartheid objectives of racially pure families and racially segregated communities were no longer attainable (Cloete 1991), or in fact acceptable (Shubane 1991). Anti-apartheid activity, particularly in the townships, was to have a significant influence on urban inhabitants view of, and behaviour towards, urban management (and the system) - as manifested by the rent boycott. Aspects to be discussed include strategies to make the townships ungovernable and the results and consequences of the ungovernability of townships.

#### 3.4.1 Strategies to Make Townships Ungovernable

From 1985 onwards, anti-apartheid resistance at the local community level in South Africa led to an escalation of conflict such that the government of the day was obliged to declare a state of emergency in order to restore law and order (Evans and Phillips 1988; Seekings 1988; Shubane 1991). The goal of resistance as part of the liberation struggle's strategy of making apartheid unworkable (Shubane 1991), emerged under the rallying cry of making the townships ungovernable. The overall strategy is succinctly encapsulated by the following ANC National Executive Council statement:

*"We call on all sections of our people to make the apartheid system more and more unworkable and the city less and less governable. At the same time we must work endlessly to strengthen all levels of mass and underground organisations and to create the beginnings of popular power" (Mckinley 1997: 63).*

Community opposition to black local authorities was expressed primarily in three ways: low levels of participation in elections, rent and service charge boycotts, and open political protests which often saw the townships erupting into violent battle zones. The recently released Truth and Reconciliation Report provides testimony to the above (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1998).

By the early 1990's, anti-apartheid opposition had reached a peak and was aimed at the whole racially-based local government system as an expression of the wider apartheid system. Like the

black local authorities, the coloured and Indian local authorities had never attained much legitimacy and they too became the focus of much of the resistance against apartheid (Cameron 1991). Added pressure was created by the mobilisation of civic and labour union organisations (McCarthy 1992; Seekings 1988; 1991; Webster 1988). As a consequence of the lack of legitimacy of racially-based local government, added to the resistance brought to bear by the communities, the state found it increasingly difficult to govern black areas. Such events, too, would have compounded the part played in influencing peoples' perceptions of the system.

### 3.4.2 The Results and Consequences of the Ungovernability of Townships

It was the intensity of the conflict at local government level and the virtual deadlock arising which contributed substantially to the demise of apartheid (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1989; Lee and Schlemmer 1991). The government was under increasing pressure to provide a solution for the local government crisis in primarily black communities. The collapse of administration resulted, due ultimately to the strategy of boycotts on the payment of rent and municipal service levies, the burden of cross-subsidization and the continual resignation of remaining local councillors under the initiative of mainly ANC-orientated civic leadership (Cloete 1995; Mandy 1991; Solomon 1990). Huge backlogs in the development of infrastructure and the provision of services in townships resulted from neglect under apartheid rule (Beukes 1997; Jeffrey 1996; Natal Witness 4/4/96; Naude' 1998). However, even after peaceful negotiations had been successfully achieved, followed by the writing-off of arrears (Mandy 1991; Natal Witness 3/4/96; 4/4/96a; 18/5/96), non-payment for municipal services continue during the 1990's, as reported in Chapter One. As Mandy (1991: 137) put it:

*"Clearly it was easier to start a boycott than to end one."*

It would appear that local authorities have subsequently been caught up in an untenable situation where people were urged to pay so that services could be provided, while consumers in turn were expecting an improved service before paying (South African Government 1996b). From the above, it is evident that a township inhabitant most certainly lived in a different South Africa to that enjoyed by an inhabitant in a white municipal area. Such markedly differing environmental backgrounds and experiences would have added to those person's perceptions about the supply and payment for municipal services.

However current research produced by the Helen Suzman Foundation (Johnson 1999), noted that to view the non-payment issue as one related only to a political history of rates and rent boycotts as resistance to apartheid is a partial and misleading approach. The research has identified non-



payment as a characteristic of a broader urban crisis and noted some of the key processes through which the country is passing. Such changes are creating enormous demand on urban infrastructure and the services for which delivery is required and at the same time the ability to pay is diminishing. First the population growth augmented by inflows of migrant workers from abroad. Secondly, the abolition of the pass laws is still having an impact. The research further noted that South Africa has been undergoing several other social changes since 1994. First, there has been a haemorrhage of skilled and professional labour due to a brain drain abroad - representing an enormous loss for the community, not only of skills but of social capital in a more diverse sense and of real capital as well. Secondly, it has been going through the same process of de-industrialisation witnessed in many other countries, with a run down in manufacturing employment as also in the mining and agricultural sectors, and growth limited to the service sector. This has had an effect on the formal sector job market resulting in a continuous rise in unemployment. Thirdly, a rapid process of social differentiation has created very much greater inequality within both the black and white populations. Finally, this process is being accompanied by sharply falling per capita income overall. This information, together with the results of this thesis, have implications for urban management and policy development issues in the South African context.

### 3.5 INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION

It is evident from this chapter that, with the application of apartheid, the South African city was physically divided according to race. Furthermore, local government development and management policies and practices governing the different parts of the city were conducted in terms of apartheid ideology. Moreover, in terms of behavioural theory discussed in Chapter One, these occurrences in turn would have had an influence on environmental circumstances and experiences depending where in the city a person was to live. These experiences would have influenced a person's perception about the supply and payment for municipal services, which in turn would have had an influence on that person's behaviour in response to that environment (or system).

These factors have therefore had an impact on the perceptions and mental images formed by urban inhabitants living within a divided city. Attitudinal and perception surveys referred to in Chapter Two, show that variations in perceptions held by urban inhabitants associates strongly with the different environmental backgrounds created by apartheid in the city. The evidence further suggests that the lack of understanding appears to be more pronounced in the newly incorporated

townships, areas hitherto unserved or underserved. In these areas participation levels with the local authority were minimal, not well developed or not politically acceptable at that time.

Inhabitants brought up in white controlled municipal areas would have had an opportunity to gain insight and an understanding of how the city works. A person living in these areas would have had the opportunity to participate in local economic and political activity. The provision of municipal services to business, commercial and residents, is provided on a supply and demand basis. Generally, persons were able to take part in an unfettered economic system based on market principles. Through this form of participation an inhabitant would have developed an understanding and appreciation of the supply and payment for municipal services. It must be recognised though that discipline and coercion did come in the form of the threat of municipal services being terminated due to non-payment, in other words, a user-pays principle had been instilled by strict credit control policy.

On the other hand, the research has revealed that, throughout the evolution of the South African city, non-whites, particularly blacks, were purposefully and deliberately by design, marginalised and excluded from the world described above. Township inhabitants therefore, would have had a different experience, only entering the world described above to work, if at all. For the most part, no market economy as described above existed and to all intents and purposes, was controlled by the state or agents on behalf of the state. For example, for the sake of political expediency, residents for many years may have only paid uneconomic flat rates for rent and municipal service charges. Furthermore, in response to the struggle, boycotts of rent and municipal service payments became the order of the day. The system was not accepted and any innovations were viewed with great suspicion. Therefore basic economic principles such as the provision of affordable municipal services were never engendered. Consequently an artificially fragmented apartheid system relayed mixed messages of local management and development issues to various inhabitants of the city. Moreover adult and school-based perception studies, indicate the need for the development of municipal community structures which will enhance participation and communication within particularly newly-incorporated communities.

The preliminary chapters noted the fact that a great deal of research refers to the reconstruction and development of physical disparities of the South African city as a result of apartheid. It is evident from this study that the behavioural dimension must not be overlooked. This is because spatially segmented mental images too are the result of an artificially divided city. Centuries of segregationist and more latterly apartheid, have created obtuse views of the world - spatially

segmented images of geographic space. The attitude of entitlement and the behaviour of non-payment for municipal services could well derail the reconstruction and development process in South Africa, unless addressed by considerations voiced within this thesis. Significantly the comprehension of the concept of affordable provision of municipal services by previously disadvantaged communities and their leaders is imperative. Local authorities will have to develop effective measures in order that these issues may be addressed as a matter of urgency.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE RECONSTRUCTION, DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY SYSTEM IN THE PIETERMARITZBURG REGION

Pietermaritzburg, currently a dual capital of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, is located in the Natal Midlands some 80 kilometers inland from the coastal city of Durban, as shown in Figure 12. According to census data people living within the city total approximately 380 000 (Department of Population and Development 1998). Pietermaritzburg has been recognized as a third-tier city in the South African urban hierarchy (Urban Foundation 1990a). From its origins as a colonial, fortified town and a rural service centre, Pietermaritzburg has developed into an educational and regional centre, and industrial city. The city has achieved regional, national and international acclaim as host to events such as the Comrades Marathon, Duzi Canoe Marathon and the Royal Show (Coghlan 1988a; 1988b; Gordon 1981; 1984).

Pietermaritzburg has had similar origins, growth, development, and resultant spatio-ethnic form as other South African cities described in Chapter Three. Details concerning the growth and development of Pietermaritzburg and its surrounding region are included in, *inter alia*: Ellis (1988), Haswell (1979; 1988a; 1988b; 1990), Laband and Haswell (1988), Meiklejohn (1992), and Wills (1988; 1991a; 1991b). The following eras in its development have been recognised: the colonial town (1845-1910), the segregated city (1910-1950), the apartheid city (1950-1994) and latterly, the post-apartheid city from 1994 onwards. A significant consequence of Pietermaritzburg's spatio-political form is that the administration of the metropolitan region was fragmented and that the majority of the residents in the area were denied meaningful representation at the local government level until the political changes initiated in 1994. Chapter Three showed how the application of apartheid, with the implementation of the Group Areas Act in particular, determined where in the city people of different ethnic origin had to live, which in turn determined the extent to which the development and management of municipal services took place in those areas. By the 1990's there were no fewer than nine agencies, besides the Pietermaritzburg municipality, all attempting to plan and manage the particular areas which fell under their jurisdiction, are shown in Figure 13.

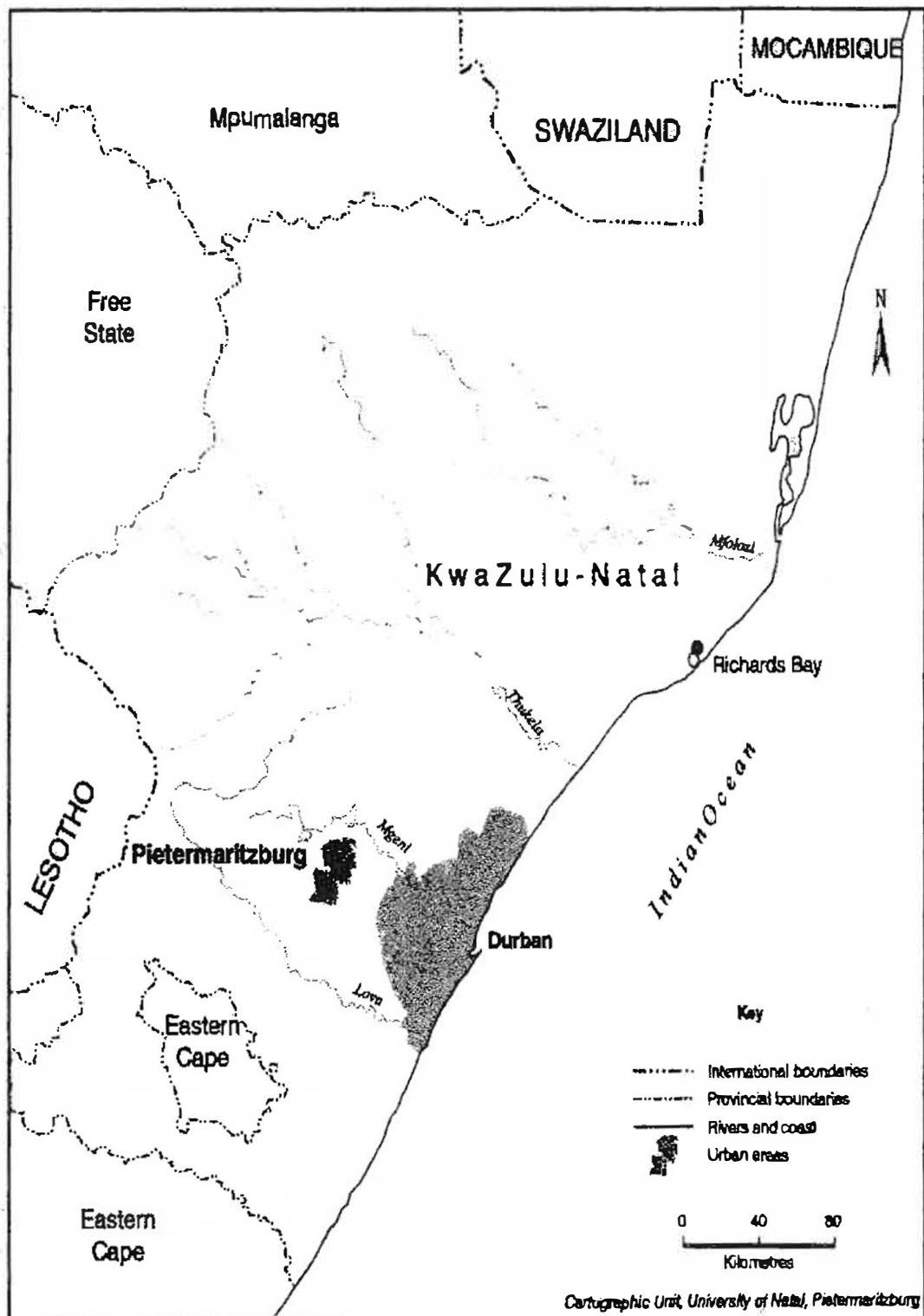


Figure 12 The location of Pietermaritzburg within the Province of KwaZulu-Natal

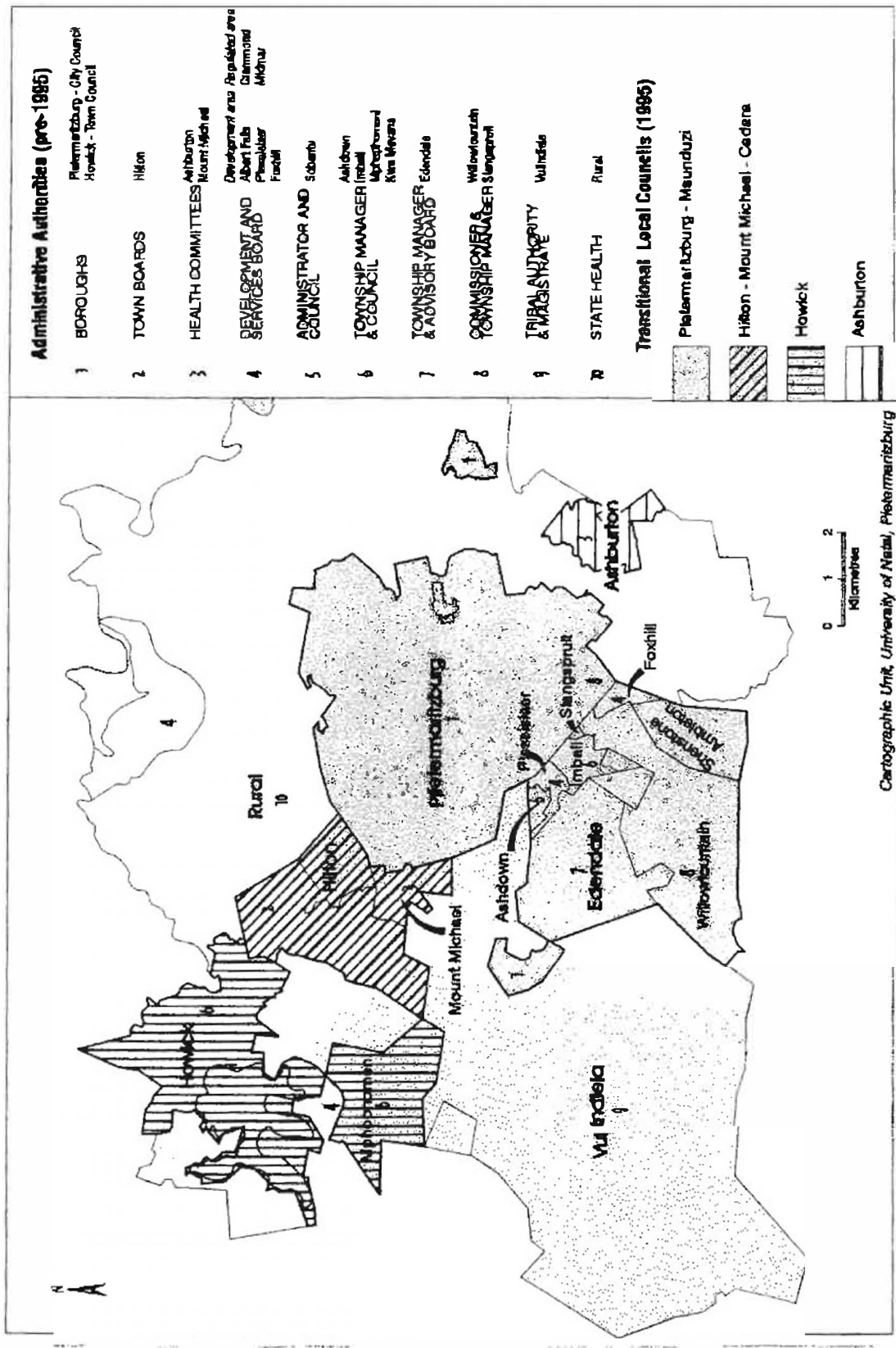


Figure 13 The Pietermaritzburg Region: local authority administration (pre-1995) and transitional local councils (post-1995)

Chapter Three sketched a background to the evolution of apartheid and resistance to it. The emphasis in this chapter will focus on the transition to democracy and the transformation process at the local government level in general, with specific reference to Pietermaritzburg where applicable. The discussion will provide a background for an analysis of the government-initiated Masakhane Campaign aimed at reversing the continued non-payment for municipal services.

#### **4.1 THE POST-APARTHEID ERA PROMOTES OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL DEMOCRACY**

The discussion in this section includes: the transition to post-apartheid democracy and the transformation of local government, the Reconstruction and Development Programme, the development and implementation of an Integrated Development Plan, a Local Development Plan, the Resource Cities Programme, and the Masakhane Campaign.

##### **4.1.1 The Transition to Democracy and Peaceful Negotiations for the Transition of Local Government**

By the end of 1991 the ANC-orientated civic groups formed the South African National Civic Organization (Sanco). Towards the end of 1992, the two major conflicting parties in South African politics, namely the National Party government and the ANC, decided to settle matters by way of peaceful negotiation (Cloete 1995; Friedmann and Atkinson 1994). During 1992 discussions with the Minister of Local Government regarding the restructuring of the local government arena were conducted. Early in 1993 the Minister was persuaded to establish a formal national Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF). This body served as the main negotiating forum on local government until agreement was reached between the negotiating parties in November 1993. The outcome of the agreement was the ratification of the three documents mentioned in this section. Over a ten-month period, from April 1993 to January 1994, a bilateral settlement on the future of local government was forged (Local Government Negotiating Forum 1993a; 1993b; 1993c). The principles which underlaid the negotiated agreement were contained in: the Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993 as amended, and the 1994 World Trade Centre Agreement, dealt with the provision and financing of local services; and the 1993 Interim Constitution Act, Act 209 of 1993. The negotiations and subsequent constitutional developments paved the way for the first ever democratic local government elections to be conducted in South

Africa, resulting in the formation of transitional local structures in towns and cities as part of an interim process towards the transformation of local government in South Africa.

#### 4.1.1.1 Transitional arrangements for local government transformation

On 22 March 1993 the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) was established as a bilateral forum between a statutory delegation consisting of representatives of the central, provincial and organised local government on the one hand and the South African Civic Organisation (the non-statutory delegation) on the other (Cloete 1995). Table 12 provides the composition of the all-inclusive LGNF. In order to unravel the existing apartheid local government structures, a model for local government reform was declared and ratified by the Multi-party Negotiating Process at the World Trade Centre Agreement at Kempton Park in 1994, inclusive of previously excluded areas (Cloete 1995).

Table 12

South Africa: Composition of the Local Government Negotiating Forum, 1993

<p><b>Statutory members (50%)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Department of Local Government)</li> <li>• Four provinces (Local Government)</li> <li>• United Municipal Executive</li> <li>• Transvaal Municipal Association</li> <li>• Major Cities Association</li> <li>• Association of Management committees</li> </ul> <p><b>Non-Statutory members (50%)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South African National Civics Organization (SANCO)</li> <li>• African National Congress, Nationalist Party and Democratic Party</li> </ul> <p><b>Absent:</b> PanAfrican Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party, Afrikaner Vryheids Front, Transkei/Bophuthatswana/Venda/Ciskei (TBVC) States</p> <p><b>Management Committee</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Considered new members</li> </ul>
--



Together with Chapter 10 of the 1993 Interim Constitution, the Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993, provided the overall framework for an elaborate process of local government transformation in South Africa. The framework for transition set out a three-phase process where appointed transitional local government structures would run the affairs of communities until they could be replaced by elected structures. These phases formed a legal process that had to be followed by local government in all parts of the country. The local government remodeling three-phase process followed a similar one to that of the national transformation process depicted in Table 13.

Table 13

South Africa: The parallel transformation process at national and local levels between the periods 1993-1999

<b>NATIONAL LEVEL</b>	<b>LOCAL LEVEL</b>
<b>Transit appointed period</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multi-party negotiations</li> <li>• Commission for Democratic SA</li> <li>• Transitional Executive Council</li> </ul>	<b>Pre-interim period</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multi-party negotiations</li> <li>• Local forums</li> <li>• Transitional Local Councils</li> </ul>
<b>Interim elected period</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National elections (April 1994)</li> <li>• Elected Interim Parliament</li> <li>• Government of National Unity (5 years)</li> </ul>	<b>Interim period</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local elections (October 1995 – April 1996)</li> <li>• Elected Interim Local Authorities</li> <li>• Government of Local Unity (3 - 5 years)</li> </ul>
<b>Final democratic phase</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Final Constitution</li> <li>• Final Government Model</li> </ul>	<b>Final phase</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Final Local Government Constitution</li> <li>• Final Local Government Model</li> </ul>

Source: Cloete 1995: 6

The first phase was the period from the introduction of the Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993, which was implemented on the 2 February 1994, to the commencement of the interim phase, which began on the first day after elections had been held for transitional councils. The

first ever democratic local government elections were conducted in all newly formed provinces on 1 November 1995, except for KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape Provinces, where owing to demarcation disagreements, elections in those two provinces were eventually held in July 1996. Apart from the agreements on the transformation of local government contained in the Local Government Transition Act and the 1993 Interim Constitution Act, the negotiating parties in the Local Government Negotiating Forum and many other stakeholders agreed to a statement of intent in regard to future financing and supply of services at local government level, called the Agreement on Local Government Finances and Services. The agreement provided for the joint undertaking by all signatories to implement the following: provision of services; finances; tariffs and payments for services, and the promotion of the agreement (Cloete 1995). Payment for services should have been resumed, in accordance with the agreement signed on 20 January 1994, which stipulated that:

*"Payment for services should be resumed on or before the date upon which arrears are written off and TLCs should develop a fair default procedure to deal with defaulters. ....All signatories undertook to promote all aspects of this agreement from the date of promulgation of the Local Government Transition Act 1993 (on 2 February, 1994)"* (Cloete 1995: 27).

The second phase commenced on the day after the elections for transitional councils, and ended with the implementation of final arrangements enacted by a competent legislative authority. Accordingly the introduction of the final model of local government was to take place sometime by 1999 in accordance with the Municipal Structures Act of 1998.

#### 4.1.1.2 Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council

The country held its first fully enfranchised poll in April 1994. The elections established democratic governments at national and provincial levels. The elections also ushered in the new Interim Constitution which provided for a local government tier, and placed the country on a path to reconstruction and development (South African Government 1996a). Democracy at the local level was ushered in with local government elections being conducted throughout South Africa, as indicated in 4.1.1.1 above. The Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993, made provision for the demarcation and establishment of Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) and Transitional Metropolitan Councils (TMCs). Taking the Pietermaritzburg Region as an example, thirty-six ward councillors were elected, with a further twenty-four being co-opted as a proportional representation, being part of the interim transitional arrangements. According to this system, political parties may nominate extra party representatives, on a pro rata basis, in relation

to the percentage votes achieved during an election. These developments resulted in the ushering in of an inclusive TLC, called the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC, which replaced the previously white-dominated City Council and is represented in Figure 14. The inclusiveness of the post-apartheid transitional arrangements compared with that reflected by the pre-1995 arrangements under apartheid, should be noted (Figure 13). The Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC area of jurisdiction has been demarcated according to 36 wards as shown in Figure 14.

#### 4.1.1.3 Phase three of local government transformation

The third phase was the final stage of local government transformation and was ultimately governed by the final Constitution (Constitutional Assembly 1996). South Africa's local government system underwent transformation during this phase. The new Constitution of South Africa and the principles, values and developmental goals contained therein, required a new policy to be formulated for local government for the next century (Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1997a). The White Paper Political Committee, appointed by the Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, developed a three-stage process which ensured that all organisations with an interest in local government had an opportunity to collaborate in developing the new policy. The phases included: the production of a Discussion Document (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1997a), formulation of a Green Paper (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1997b), and the submission of a White Paper (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998) for Cabinet approval. For the purposes of the study it is useful at this point to introduce aspects of legislation which inform the local government on the provision of, and payment for, municipal services.

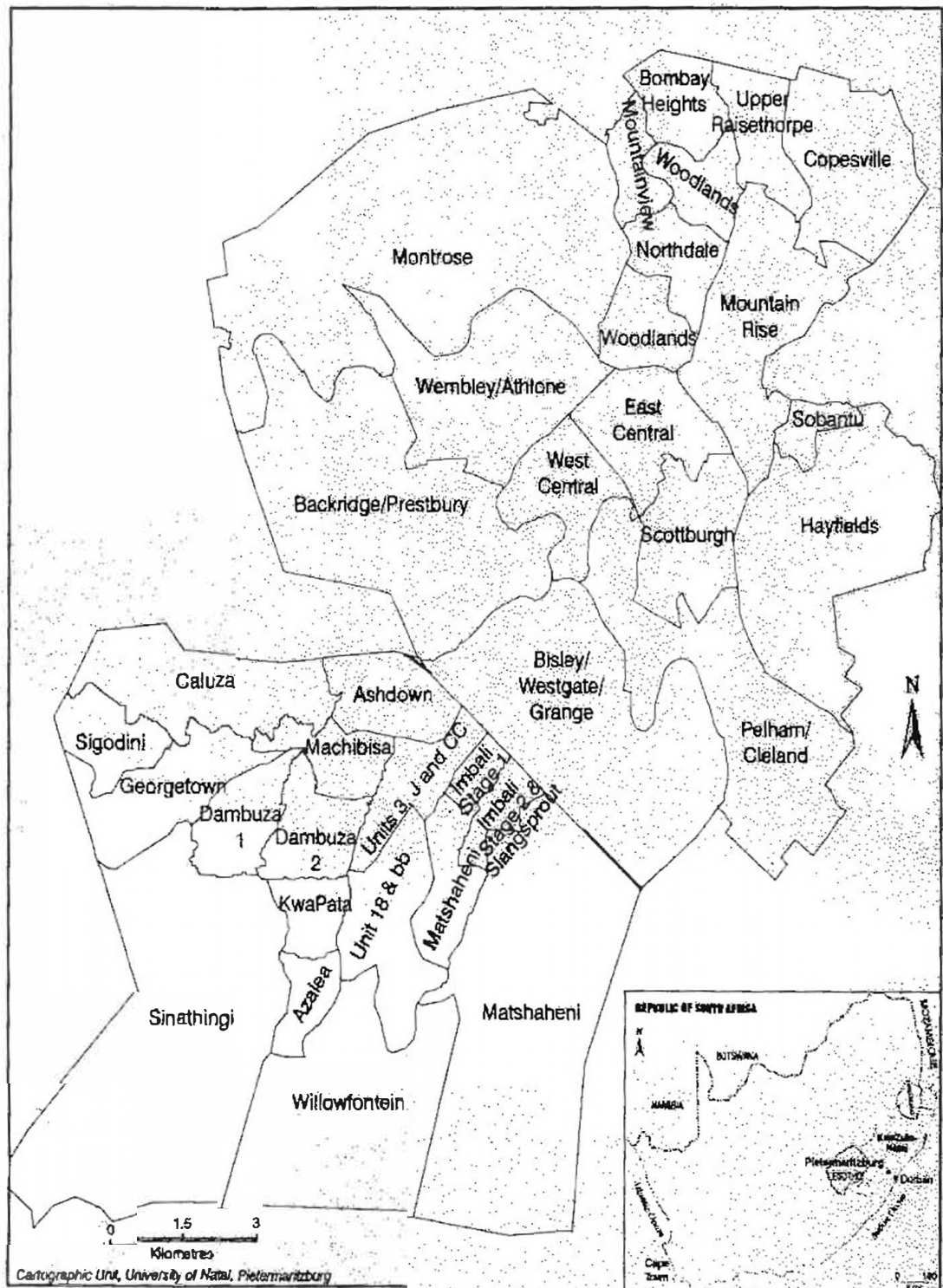


Figure 14: Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council Wards following political changes after the 1994 democratic elections

## (i) Extracts from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Act 108 of 1996

Relevant extracts from the Constitution on local government include, *inter alia*:

***“Chapter 7: Local Government***

***Status of municipalities***

- 151 (1) *The local sphere of government consists of municipalities, which must be established for the whole of the territory of the Republic.*
- (2) *The executive and legislative authority of a municipality is vested in its Municipal Council.*
- (3) *A municipality has the right to govern, on its own initiative, the local government affairs of its community, subject to national and provincial legislation, as provided by the Constitution.*
- (4) *The national or a provincial government may not compromise or impede a municipality's ability or right to exercise its powers or perform its duties.*

***Objectives of local government***

- 152 (1) *The objectives of local government are -*
- (a) *to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;*
- (b) *to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;*
- (c) *to promote social and economic development;*
- (d) *to promote a safe and healthy environment; and*
- (e) *to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.*
- (2) *A municipality must strive, within its financial and administrative capacity, to achieve the objectives set out in the subsection (1).*

***Development duties of municipalities***

- 153 *A municipality must -*
- (a) *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; and*

*(b) participate in national and provincial development programmes” (Constitutional Assembly 1996: 81-82).*

The constitution provides some important principles governing the provision of municipal services at the local level. Of particular relevance to this research is that municipalities need to redress imbalances of the past, as well as develop and provide municipal services which are sustainable and encourage community participation. Local authorities must provide accountable democratic government, and although in respects autonomous, are governed by national and provincial legislation.

(ii) Extracts from the White Paper on Local Government, March 1998

Extracts from the White Paper on Local Government specifically on user-charges include:

#### *“2.1.4 User charges*

*An important source of local own revenue are charges which are directly related to the provision of public services. The majority of these are public utility charges - such as electricity and water - which have contributed significantly to the growth of revenue of municipalities.*

*Cost recovery is an essential part of sustainable service delivery. However, municipalities will not be able to meet the costs associated with addressing backlogs. National government has therefore provided a capital grant package, the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP) to assist municipalities in meeting the capital costs of bulk and connector infrastructure. The system of Inter Government Transfers (IGTs) - is aimed at subsidising the operating costs of basic services to indigent and low-income households.*

*Government and stakeholders have agreed on a set of principles to guide tariff policy:*

- Payment in proportion to the amount consumed: As far as is practically possible, consumers should pay the full cost in proportion to the amount of service consumed.*
- Full payment of service costs: All households, with the exception of the indigent, should pay the full costs of the services consumed.*

- *Ability to pay: Municipalities should develop a system of targeted subsidies to ensure that poor households have access to at least a minimum level of basic services.*
- *Fairness: Tariff policies should be fair in that all people should be treated equitably.*
- *Transparency: Tariff policy should be transparent to all consumers and any subsidies which exist must be visible and understood by all consumers.*
- *Local determination of tariff levels: Municipalities should have the flexibility to develop their own tariffs in keeping with the above principles.*
- *Consistent tariff enforcement: A consistent policy for dealing with non-payment of tariffs needs to be developed. This must be targeted and enforced with sensitivity to local conditions.*
- *Ensure local economies are competitive: Local tariffs must not unduly burden local business through higher tariffs, as these costs affect the sustainability and competitiveness of such business and firms.*

*Municipalities need to develop a clear tariff policy, including a policy to ensure that indigent households have access to basic needs. Tariff enforcement needs to be linked to improved credit control mechanisms” (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998: 116-117).*

Cost recovery in terms of the White Paper refers to the recovery of the costs of providing services from the relevant users of such service. Furthermore credit control entails the collection and control over money which is owed to a council, for example, by ratepayers or consumers of municipal services. In terms of this and the above extract, local government must be conscience of humanitarian principles in the provision of basic needs to the indigent. However basic economic imperatives towards sustainable development is acknowledge and mechanism are needed to be put instituted for equitable but prudent credit control. In fact the White Paper specifically states that:

*“It is vital to the long-term financial viability of any municipality that it collects the revenues due to it for services rendered. This means that appropriate credit control mechanism must be established” (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998: 117).*

### (iii) The Municipal Structures Act of 1998

The Municipal Structures Act of 1998 recognises wider powers and functions for local government beyond those prior to 1994. In particular, as stated in the Preamble to the Act, there is:

*"...agreement on the fundamental importance of local government to democracy, development and nation building..."* (Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry 1999a: 1).

The Act is a legislative framework within which municipalities fulfil their constitutional obligation to: ensure sustainable, effective and efficient municipal services; promote social and economic development; and encourage a safe and healthy environment for all citizens. The Act enumerates various types of municipality in terms of so-called categories A, B and C which are laid down in the Constitution, but allows the provincial legislature to determine the system of executive for each category to be established in the province (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998).

The introduction and application of new constitutional forms such as the 1993 Interim Constitution Act, Act 209 of 1993, the Local Government Transition Act, Act 209 of 1993 (as amended), the Constitution of 1996, Act 108 of 1996, the White Paper on Local Government of 1998, and the Municipal Structures Act of 1998, have provided a legal post-apartheid framework within which local authorities are required to reconstitute their structure and composition. Such constitutional developments resulted in a process to unite South African society at the third-tier level, inclusive of those hitherto denied under apartheid rule. Accordingly, for the first time in history, all South African citizens resident in urban areas had the opportunity to participate in a legitimate post-apartheid democratic and fully enfranchised local government process.

#### 4.1.2 The Reconstruction and Development Programme

The transition from a racially-divided and internationally isolated society due to sanctions, to a new, non-racial democracy, has been formulated on the ANC's vision to transform South African society, improve the basic standards of all its people, eliminate inequities, and re-enter the world economy as a competitive partner. The vision is articulated in the form of South Africa's RDP (African National Congress 1994). In essence the RDP is:

*"An integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework. It seeks to mobilise all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the*



*building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future" (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1998d: 3).*

Essentially, the core goals of the RDP focus on key issues: skills and education, health care for all, housing to meet the estimated 2,5 million backlog (in 1996), access to clean water supplies and affordable sanitation facilities, a mass electrification programme, and better infrastructure and transport, all based on the principle of sustainability, developing skills, and open democracy (African National Congress 1994).

In the section of the RDP devoted to local government the development role of municipalities is emphasised and aims at: incorporating areas which were previously divided under apartheid; providing and maintaining affordable infrastructural services; strengthening the capacity of municipalities to provide services; ensuring a more equitable role for women; and encouraging meaningful participation by residents and stakeholders in local government affairs (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1998d). The RDP provides and articulates a vision for the integration of divided cities and transformation to democracy in South Africa. Moreover, for the first time in history, the development and management of local areas would be cognisant of the needs and aspirations of the citizens concerned.

#### 4.1.3 The Development and Implementation of an Integrated Development Plan

The Local Government Transition Second Amendment Act of 1996, Act 97 of 1996 defines an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) as follows:

*"'Integrated Development Plan' means a plan aimed at the integrated development and management of the area of jurisdiction of the municipality concerned in terms of its powers and duties, and which has been compiled having regard to the general principles contained in Chapter 1 of the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 (Act No. 67 of 1995), and where applicable, having regard to the subject matter of a land development objective<sup>1</sup> contemplated in Chapter 4 of that Act."* (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1998d: 2). The revised Draft IDP guidelines defines an IDP as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> The current government policy strongly emphasizes the need for municipalities to do long-term development planning in order to ensure co-ordinated delivery within their geographic spheres of operation. The Development Facilitation Act of 1995, Act 67 of 1995, requires local authorities to set up Land Development Objectives (LDOs), which will guide those in authority on the use of local land for business, agriculture, education, services, etc. (Monana 1998).

*"Integrated Development Plan (IDP): 'Integrated' means planning for a range of issues and sectors, with a range of role-players, including the community and other tiers of government rather than with only yourselves as the local authority. Integrated is a principle from which this form of planning emanates. Hence Integrated Development Plans as required by the Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Act of 1996, Act 97 of 1996 will seek to assess current realities, community needs, priorities and devise strategies for the short, medium to long terms; with targets for measuring performance, monitoring and evaluation. Therefore the LDO's can be included in the IDP's"* (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1998d: 2).

The Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC IDP<sup>2</sup> incorporates: developing the local economy, sound financial management, providing basic services, meeting community needs (including housing, a role in education, safety and security, health care, community capacity building, sport and recreation and family and community welfare), spatially restructuring the city, creating a high performance organisation and maintaining sustainable quality environments. Input from the Hampton Delegation, from Virginia in the United States of America as part of the Resource Cities Programme, provided insights which have informed the IDP process. The Resource Cities Programme matches cities in the United States with those in developing and transitional countries to provide technical support in terms of management, municipal service delivery, and other local government areas. Section 4.1.5 provides more detail concerning the Resource Cities Programme. In particular, it has been the development focus and the institutional arrangements which have directed the IDP process. IDPs, as mooted for the first time in South African history, provide the opportunity for integrated planning and land development objectives for the development and management of urban space, now inclusive of hitherto excluded areas.

#### **4.1.4 The Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Local Development Plan**

In terms of national policy and legislation, South African is entering a phase known as the transformation or development phase. A key element of the transformation process entails a change of emphasis for local government from being primarily service delivery orientated, to one

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<sup>2</sup> For more details on research and reports used to inform this process the reader may refer to *inter alia*: Hickson (1995); Integrated Planning Services (1991; 1995a; 1995b; 1995c); Irvine (1995); Mander (1995); Oldham (1995); Pietermaritzburg City Council (1990; 1992a; 1992b; 1992c; 1996); Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council (1996a; 1996b; 1998e).

which has a greater development focus. Local authorities therefore need coherent development and expenditure frameworks to guide decision-making at local government level. Accordingly, integrated or holistic development planning is viewed as a tool for achieving this (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1999a). From a legal perspective, for example in KwaZulu-Natal, the Ministry of Local Government and Planning has promulgated the Provincial Planning and Development Act, Act 5 of 1998, which requires local authorities to develop and institute Local Development Plans (LDPs) (KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government 1998). LDPs comprise a co-ordinated policy framework, an implementation framework and a monitoring, evaluation, amendment and review framework.

According to the chief city planner, Brian Bassett (1999), the LDP gives effect to spatial, transportation and services elements of development planning in the TLC, as well as dealing with matters such as the provision of community facilities, housing, economic and industrial development and the identification of prime investment areas, both for the TLC and for investment from within the local commercial and industrial base. Furthermore, the above LDP must of necessity take place within a framework of environmental, financial and economic sustainability. According to the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC's LDP three basic elements produced thus far include: a co-ordinated policy framework which is essentially a guide to land use development for the TLC as a whole; a Central Area Plan which deals with land use management, development, economic and administrative issues in the Greater Central Area; and a land use management programme for the TLC, which deals with the revision and updating of the Town Planning Scheme with the accent on the creation of a user-friendly simplified planning approval process (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1999a).

LDPs, as legislated articulations of IDPs, for the first time in South African history, provide the opportunity for integrated local development planning for the development and management of urban space, now inclusive of areas previously excluded by apartheid legislation. Moreover, development planning of this form is based on the principle of public participation.

#### **4.1.5 The Resource Cities Programme**

The post-apartheid era saw the ending of the international isolation of South Africa, allowing for the formulation of legitimate ties with international communities. Within such a climate of mutual acceptance, Pietermaritzburg and the United States City of Hampton in Virginia, were selected as

Resource Cities by the International Resource Cities Programme. The programme matches cities in the United States with those in developing and transitional countries to provide technical support in terms of management, service delivery, and other local government areas. Such a partnership for the above two cities officially began in July 1997, with a visit to Pietermaritzburg by Sheryl Bailey, Director of Financial Planning for Hampton. A reciprocal visit by Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi local government and business leaders was made in September 1997, to acquaint themselves with the organizational strategies, financial management techniques, local economic development and community involvement approaches which make Hampton's economic development efforts evidently successful (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1998f). A literature review revealed that the City of Hampton's involvement in Pietermaritzburg's transformation had relevance for the research being undertaken. More detailed information was obtained via municipal reports, meetings with officials from both cities, personal attendance at public meetings and via media reports (Haswell 5/7/98; Meyer 17/5/98; Wallace 8/11/99). The fundamental principles of Hampton's input have been included in Chapter Six.

As a component of the Resource Cities Programme a five member delegation from Hampton visited Pietermaritzburg during June 1998 and again in November 1999. Hampton's critique of the IDP noted that the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC should be customer and business-driven if it wants to be an effective tier of government that can deliver to its constituency (Meyer 17/6/98; Natal Witness 16/6/98). The need for a mission statement to sell the city and give pride to both council's employees and the community was also stressed.

In the Hampton Delegation's address to Pietermaritzburg's Economic Development Indaba, an editorial report, Hampton Gives Economic Tips (Natal Witness 18/6/98), noted that a partnership between council, the business sector and the community is the most important element of the strategic economic development of the Pietermaritzburg. Outlining dilemmas which had been faced by them, Hampton's city manager, George Wallace, stated that his city had one of the highest real estate tax rates, a high annual debt payment and stagnant population growth. As a result the City of Hampton was losing business to neighbouring cities. As a remedy, Wallace emphasised that the city encouraged broad-based community involvement in economic development.

An editorial report, Sage Advice (Natal Witness 19/6/98), placed the advice given by the Hampton delegation into the following perspective. The Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC should be customer and business-driven, a smoothly running concern creating a productive, welcoming and

user-friendly city. The delegation suggested that to encourage productivity, the TLC should follow Hampton's example by employing officials on a contract basis, with agreed goals to be achieved within the contract period. Also, political bias too easily affects efficiency, and for this reason political appointments should be phased out. However, as Wallace was quick to admit, achieving efficiency takes time. The editorial pointed out that in the case of South Africa, such an approach may be especially fraught, given the country's recent history. However, the straight-forward commonsense of the Hampton suggestions for a lively and productive Pietermaritzburg based on basic urban management principles: give the city clean and accountable management, run the place openly on strict business lines, and everyone benefits. The editorial expressed the hope that the TLC will take Hampton's suggestions seriously and start the process of implementing them in appropriate ways. It's to be hoped, too, that Pietermaritzburg's association with that pragmatic, prosperous and helpful city will remain and flourish. The thesis has taken note of the basic management principles suggested by Hampton for incorporation in the development of the model in Chapter Six.

Pietermaritzburg's association with Hampton in the Resource Cities Programme provides an opportunity for its leaders and citizens, to engage in discussion with and possibly learn from the experience of that city, in assisting in the transformation to sustainable local government. The post-apartheid democratic era has made it possible for South Africans to engage in positive discussions, with the assistance of experienced outside bodies, in the reconstruction, development and transformation of local authorities for the benefit of all urban inhabitants.

#### **4.1.6 The Masakhane Campaign**

In 1994 the South African government, the major political parties and local government stakeholders consisting of mainly civic organisations and organised local government, held a Local Government Summit at the World Trade Centre, in Kempton Park, Johannesburg, to address problems related to the rendering of municipal services and finance thereof, in accordance with an agreement signed by the then President F W De Klerk and Nelson Mandela (Cloete 1995). The Masakhane Campaign was thus born as part of a drive to normalise local government and the provision of municipal services (Government Communication and Information Systems 1999; South African Government 1996a; 1996b). It aims to persuade people across South Africa that they should contribute toward this process through participation and by paying for housing and services. It is widely accepted that government in general and the RDP in particular would be severely prejudiced in meeting objectives were the situation not improved at the local level, and payment levels to increase above current levels.

On 25 February 1995, President Nelson Mandela launched the Masakhane Campaign at Marconi Beam, Koeberg, which provided a practical example of the RDP on the ground. In his speech the President identified, in theory, the responsible partnership which should exist between service-user and provider:

*"Here at Marconi Beam we see the Reconstruction and Development Programme at work. What is happening here is the product of the kind of partnership which is needed to transform our country. It is a partnership between a community determined to take responsibility for its own upliftment; and a government which has assumed the responsibility of planning for the most efficient use of the country's resources in order to address the legacy of the past. The Masakhane campaign will build partnership, so that we can build one another....."*

*With freedom comes responsibility of participation. Each brick that is used to build a wall, every drop of water from a tap, is the result of many people's work and uses our country's resources. Government is putting massive investment into programmes for housing and services. We all have the responsibility to pay for what we use, or else the investment will dry up and the projects come to an end. We must ensure that we can, as a nation, provide for the millions still without basic needs.*

*The laying of this brick symbolises the building of our nation, by all of us, working together in partnership to bring a better life for all South Africans. Let us build together and let us build each other"* (South African Government 1996a: 3).

The Masakhane Campaign was instituted by municipalities following their pledge to implement the central government initiative (South African Government 1996b). In the case of Pietermaritzburg, a Masakhane Co-ordinating Committee was instituted under the chairmanship of deputy city administrator K.C. Barichievy, to oversee the campaign. ASBF Marketing and Ubuntu Development Consultants were appointed to implement the campaign on behalf of the municipality. The campaign included consultation with councillors, community structures and development committees, the collection of data from communities in newly-incorporated areas using field workers, community education and awareness regarding various issues relating to service delivery, expectations and sources of revenue. The education campaign included surveys (discussed in Chapter Two), 58 workshops in 33 wards with the assistance of development committees and councillors, workshops with business and labour, and awareness posters distributed to 24 schools. The campaign was further widely advertised in the local media. However, following the work completed by consultants, the municipality has been at pains to

address problems which are still being raised by communities, according to Barichievy (2000). The municipality via communication in the media (Barichievy 2000), pointed out that the payment of rates and the provision of services should be treated as separate issues and not be confused by communities. The charges levied for use of services such as lights, water and refuse removal pay for the operation of those services. Rates, which are required by law, are necessary for the operation of the entire city, including the maintenance of roads, clinics, recreational facilities, traffic and security and fire services. These issues have received wide attention via the media, generally, but specifically as a component of the local Masakhane Campaign, during the course of 1998, culminating in a Masakhane week during October 1998. Specifically one of the key messages of the campaign was to prepare citizens for a broad-based equitable billing of rates on all properties rates throughout the municipal area. According to Barichievy, the Masakhane Co-ordinating Committee has acknowledged the need to continue to inform, educate and develop effective communication with communities, including due participation of all councillors, all of which is critical to the success of the campaign (Barichievy 2000).

Notwithstanding the human and financial resources utilised to institute the Masakhane Campaign, non-payment levels for municipal services in Pietermaritzburg, and elsewhere, remain high. The following section will investigate the success of the local Masakhane initiative by evaluating trends in payment levels for municipal services.

## **4.2 MEASURING THE SUCCESS OF THE MASAKHANE CAMPAIGN**

In view of reports of continued non-payment it is hypothesized that Masakhane, as a campaign to improve the levels of payment in newly-incorporated parts of Pietermaritzburg, has been a failure. In this section debt reports obtained from the Pietermaritzburg City Treasurer's Department are analysed to assist the investigation.

### **4.2.1 Debt Trend for the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council**

Table 14 contains details concerning the debt trend for municipal services from January 1994 to October 1999. The table reflects the number of municipal service-users and the non-payment levels during this period.

TABLE 14

Municipal service debt in Rands for Pietermaritzburg: January 1994 to October 1999

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEPT	OCT	NOV	DEC
No Consum:1994	4163	4785	3743	4286	4146	4099	4481	4335	4615	5031	5623	5754
60 DAYS & OVER	2 453 259	2 816 011	2 477 141	2 819 196	2 450 692	2 487 016	3 987 489	3 102 303	3 434 678	3 673 028	4 849 921	4 539 188
No Consum:1995	5961	6371	6373	8053	8486	8293	8910	9183	9951	10103	10435	10408
60 DAYS & OVER	5 027 113	5 267 293	5 208 553	5 914 862	6 429 345	6 827 227	7 562 996	8 118 721	8 924 525	9 078 843	10 659 255	10 818 684
No Consum:1996	10984	10945	11710	12375	12192	12407	11664	11629	12241	11990	11805	11295
60 DAYS & OVER	11 295 563	11 541 034	11 912 044	12 605 354	13 190 895	15 515 060	16 145 639	16 583 229	17 479 649	17 141 920	17 750 091	19 345 626
No Consum:1997	13911	14883	14428	14561	14902	14571	14794	14794	14884	14030	14158	14989
60 DAYS & OVER	21 070 432	22 736 164	23 259 682	24 826 210	25 445 440	26 494 193	27 486 131	26 900 368	27 845 682	27 255 725	26 442 771	27 323 681
No Consum:1998	15853	15595	15690	16226	16771	15945	16248	16940	17580	16887	17263	17040
60 DAYS & OVER	31 231 065	31 779 022	30 802 062	31 311 203	33 061 047	36 069 794	34 998 866	37 123 731	39 259 935	38 780 381	39 359 333	38 484 633
No Consum:1999	18181	19202	16860	17286	22527	23936	23636	21980	23119	23674		
60 DAYS & OVER	41 624 998	43 840 502	44 473 176	48 957 509	49 003 995	52 324 209	54 430 814	54 506 957	54 136 682	56 170 226		
Source: Pietermaritzburg-Maunduzi Transitional Local Council 2000: no page reference												



Table 15

Edendale domestic municipal service-users for specific Wards: 1999/2000 financial year\*

Ward	Services provided and paid	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June
19	Serviced	1481	1496	1496	1720	1720	1741	1741	1743	1744	1745	1745	
	No. Receiv	98	112	78	89	50	42	29	29	56	44	54	
	% paid	7	7	5	5	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	
29	Serviced	776	806	826	828	828	1182	1182	1188	1191	1191	1191	
	No. Receiv	104	402	77	78	48	39	22	23	83	65	70	
	% paid	13	13	9	9	6	3	2	2	7	5	6	
30	Serviced	1046	1093	1094	1380	1380	1483	1483	1495	1501	1501	1501	
	No. Receiv	170	187	185	156	134	105	81	84	145	98	103	
	% paid	16	17	17	11	10	7	5	6	10	6	7	
31	Serviced	1303	1314	1314	1315	1515	1527	1527	1528	1529	1530	1530	
	No. Receiv	87	143	99	91	75	41	37	47	57	58	79	
	% paid	7	10	8	7	5	3	2	3	4	4	5	
32	Serviced	967	983	983	983	983	1420	1420	1506	1508	1508	1508	
	No. Receiv	22	26	21	27	14	13	20	22	33	26	25	
	% paid	2	3	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	
33	Serviced	1359	1421	1421	1426	1426	1426	1426	1826	1827	1827	1827	
	No. Receiv	175	126	110	109	97	82	54	63	92	68	120	
	% paid	13	9	8	8	7	6	4	3	5	4	7	
35	Serviced	106	111	111	111	111	223	223	224	224	224	224	
	No. Receiv	12	8	5	6	10	6	4	5	9	8	10	
	% paid	11	7	4	5	9	3	2	2	4	4	4	

Source: Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 2000: no page reference

Table 16

Edendale commercial municipal service-users for specific Wards: 1999/2000 financial year\*

Services provided and paid	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June
Service	237	237	237	237	237	237	237	237	238	238	238	
No. Rec	21	17	17	14	20	6	22	2	23	35	18	
% paid	9	7	7	6	8	3	9	1	2	15	8	

Source: Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 2000: no page reference

\* These tables show the number of service-users who received services, and the number that paid for these services.

Table 14 showed that with the advent of democracy since 1994, a trend has emerged between the number of consumers of municipal services and the general level of non-payment in the city. During this period the number of consumers had grown by 19 511, from 4 163 to 23 674, an increase of 568%. During the course of the same period the overall debt had risen by R53 716 967, from R2 453 259 to R56 170 226, an increase of 2289%. During the course of this period the government-initiated Masakhane Campaign was introduced at the local level. The campaign culminated in Masakhane week during October 1998. Therefore, for the purposes of analysis October 1998 is taken as a point from which to compare levels of payment. Since October 1998 the number of consumers had grown by 6 787, increasing from 16 887 to 23 674, which showed an increase of 140%. The debt had grown concomitantly by 145%, increasing by R17 389 845 from R38 780 381 to R56 170 226.

#### **4.2.2 Municipal Service Consumers in Edendale Wards 19, 29 to 33 and 35 (Ashdown, Unit 18 BB; Imbali Unit 3, Imbali 1, Imbali 2, Unit 13, Mantshasheni)**

Information from Pietermaritzburg municipal debt reports for wards within newly-incorporated areas of the city show poor levels of participation with regard to municipal consumer contracts. To assist the investigation data on specifically seven wards within this sector were used. It was necessary to narrow the field of investigation as the supply of services to newly-incorporated areas is complex and offered by other bulk-suppliers. Residents in the above-mentioned wards specifically receive water, sewerage and refuse removal services, excluding electricity, from the municipality. Table 15 and 16 showed the number of domestic and commercial municipal service-users for these wards, respectively. The tables showed the number of consumers that received services and the number and percentage of receipts received by the municipality for the 1999/2000 financial year. According to Geoff Luyt of the municipal consolidated billing department, comparative figures such as the ones referred to above were not available for periods prior to these dates.

Table 15 showed that during the course of that financial year the number of users of domestic municipal services reflected a general increase in all the wards. However, the number of users that paid were very low (13% and less) and in all cases showed a decrease, with the percentage receipts of payment levels rarely reaching double figures (ranging from 1% to 13%). These figures consequently showed that within these communities there has been a weak response to the Masakhane initiative. The commercial sector within these communities showed similar trends. Table 16 showed that the percentage of those consumers who paid for their services also rarely reached double figures, ranging from 1 % to 15%. The municipality is committed to supply

services in view of its legislative and developmental obligations. The services supplied are costly, and non-payment by these communities has contributed to the current municipal service debt of some R56-million (Table 14).

#### 4.2.3 The Sobantu Pilot Project

The Pietermaritzburg municipality has engaged in a pilot project in the township of Sobantu (Figure 14). The project entails the implementation of community structures to assist local development. Table 17 below showed domestic household use of municipal services similar to that of Table 15 and for the same period. Sobantu residents have shown a better response to payment for services. The trend showed an increase in receipts received by the municipality from service-users in October and November 1999, 27% and 25% respectively. Following a decrease for December (18%) and January (15%) the numbers increased again from February (29%) onwards. The positive trend according to municipal officials was the result of two forms of intervention. The first was the introduction in Sobantu of a development committee and community service centre as components of a pilot project during October 1999. The second intervention was the introduction of a credit control policy by the municipality in Sobantu during February 2000. Hence the increase in the number of receipts from February onwards. Whilst payment levels in this township are low, comparatively they are better than the areas referred to in Tables 15 and 16.

Table 17  
Sobantu domestic municipal service-users: 1999/2000 financial year

Ward		July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June
Sobantu	Serviced	2605	2672	2448	2659	2659	2678	2678	2678	2678	2678	2678	
	No. Receipts	372	372	414	715	653	486	392	770	771	534	587	
	% Paid	14	14	17	27	25	18	15	29	29	20	22	

Source: Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 2000: no page reference

In terms of improving payment levels in newly-incorporated areas of Pietermaritzburg the Masakhane Campaign as an education awareness programme must be considered to be a failure. More disconcerting, is that perception studies revealed continued levels of ignorance about local development issues, by the same communities, notwithstanding the Masakhane intervention. However, certain aspects of the Sobantu study which showed promise and could be linked to other research were identified. Firstly, investigations revealed that development fora and community

service centres have been introduced as municipal community structures by the Inner West City Council of Pinetown, a substructure of Durban Metropolitan. That council with the assistance of its community structures conducted a rates education programme in 1997. Payment statistics were monitored and there was a corresponding improvement in payment for services, which added value to the rates education programme and investment made by the Inner West City Council. Evidence of this is illustrated below in Figure 15, which graphically showed the progression of the percentage paid of the amounts raised. The success of this education programme, as opposed to Masakhane Campaigns elsewhere, is explained by the fact that the message did not occur in a void. The community structures created a channel, in terms of the Rogers and Shoemaker S-M-C-R model mentioned in Chapter One, through which the message was sent from source to the receiving individual. The gaps which were found to exist in townships following the collapse of apartheid structures like the development boards, were thus filled. In the new political dispensation no local municipal structure replaced that which had earlier existed.

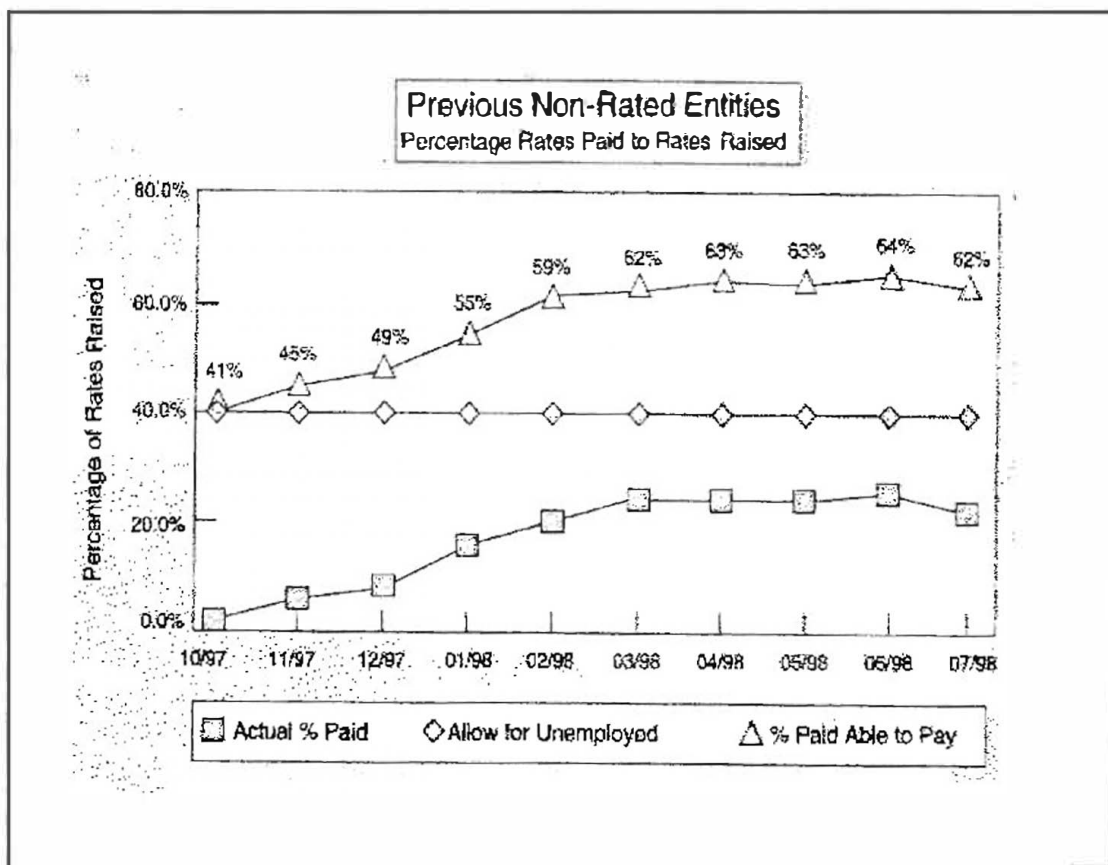


Figure 15: Percentage rates raised, against rates paid for, for the Inner West City Council from October 1997 to July 1998

Source: Inner West City Council 1998: 14

The Pietermaritzburg Sobantu project is based on the same idea of developing community structures within an area to assist with local development. This concept will be the subject of more detailed discussion in Chapter Six. Secondly, research by Hagg (1998), Johnson (1999), Taylor and Mattes (1998) and Van Eck (1998), noted the impact credit control policy on the improvement in payment levels for services in township areas. It should be noted that in established areas of the city high levels of payment were maintained by stringent credit control mechanisms, as discussed in Chapter Three. Deposits had to be lodged before services were supplied. Thereafter a user-pays policy was strictly enforced. Thirdly, Sobantu township is a small enclave within the established part of the city. The Johnson (1999) report noted that small cohesive units tended to have responded more positively to the message of Masakhane. The principles mentioned above will receive further attention in Chapter Six where a model of communities' perceptions on the supply of and payment for municipal services is developed.

#### 4.3 INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION

Since the introduction of peaceful political negotiations and the advent of post-apartheid democratic South Africa, evidence and events suggest that new constitutional legislation has provided the legal framework to foster the process for the transition and transformation of local government in South African cities. Legislation has allowed the demarcation of local authority boundaries to be geographically reshaped in order to include previously excluded sectors of the apartheid city. Concomitantly, the local authority system has been restructured, in order that newly franchised citizens from previously excluded race groups are henceforth able to vote for, and have council representation via a ward system. Moreover, post-apartheid legislation has created a legal framework so that previously divided South African cities may be integrated in terms of, *inter alia*: planning, development and the provision of municipal services. Part of the process is to engender civic partnerships in sustainable local government and development by all urban inhabitants, via communication, education and social partnership programmes founded on a single-city concept.

Masakhane as a stand-alone educational awareness programme has however proved to be a failure. Non-payment for municipal services has continued unabated creating huge problems for municipalities. The school-based perception study discussed in Chapter Two, also revealed weaknesses in the programme, as young adults in households are largely ignorant about urban development issues. Moreover, within households in newly-incorporated areas, the survey revealed that, parents, relatives and teachers, the persons closest to these young adults, proved to be weak sources of knowledge about municipal services. Clearly the message of Masakhane of building

together has not taken effect in many quarters of the post-apartheid city. The chairperson of the Pietermaritzburg Masakhane co-ordinating committee, deputy city administrator, K. C. Barichievy, in this regard noted:

*"Despite an extensive campaign conducted by Ubuntu Development Consultants on behalf of the Transitional Local Council, there is a sector of the wider community which is unaware of the campaign"* (Barichievy 2000: 6).

Many citizens still hold outmoded views about the supply and payment for municipal services, as the attitudinal and perception surveys discussed in Chapter Two confirm. It was in a similar context that the incumbent director of the PCCI, Andrew Layman (1999a: 2) observed that:

*"The reality is that our country is not ready for Utopia, as defined in the bill of rights, or government policies .... that if our striving for principled perfection is not tempered by pragmatism, the value of the principles will be obscured or even lost in economic stagnation, increased unemployment and rampant crime."*

This shows an appreciation for a pragmatic approach to urban economic development which is sustainable. The concept of the provision of affordable municipal services needs to be understood and communicated by local authorities to municipal service-users and stakeholders. Indications are that appropriate community structures and municipal policies were not in place to carry the Masakhane message through to communities more clearly and strongly. The Masakhane concept, according to the Inner West City Council, needs to be understood as a comprehensive nation-building ethic on a co-operative partnership basis operating within a disciplined stable environment. Therefore a municipality needs to develop appropriate policies and structures in order that this may be achieved. Community structures are seen as a means to fill the gap created by the collapse of previous apartheid structures. The absence of such community structures appears to explain the general failure of Masakhane. These aspects have been incorporated in the development of the model and therefore will receive attention in Chapter Six. However, it is necessary to focus attention on the financial imperative of a local authority system as a city cannot maintain and sustain itself if it does not have properly managed finances. Chapter Five will thus investigate the importance of city finances and use Pietermaritzburg as a case study. In keeping with the behavioural perspective of the thesis, the next chapter will focus attention on the reality of city finances, against the background of currently held perceptions of the supply of municipal services by service-users from newly-incorporated areas, as was revealed in Chapter Two.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE FINANCIAL IMPERATIVE OF THE PIETERMARITZBURG-MSUNDUZI LOCAL AUTHORITY SYSTEM

Chapter Four investigated constitutional and institutional change in the reconstruction, development and transformation of the post-apartheid city. However, it was apparent that the mind-set of particularly sectors of the municipal service-users living in previously excluded areas of the city have not kept pace with the constitutional and institutional transformation currently taking place in the country. Divided cities persist as do peoples' perceptions of reality as manifested as spatially segmented mental images, as discussed in Chapter Two and Three. In this chapter, retaining a behavioural perspective, the focus is altered in order to investigate the implications the current local government financial crisis, as raised in previous chapters, might have on the reconstruction, development and transformation process. In particular the discussion will focus on the role the individual municipal service-user plays in contributing to local development.

#### 5.1 THE PIETERMARITZBURG-MSUNDUZI TRANSITIONAL LOCAL COUNCIL FINANCES OF CITY ADMINISTRATION

##### 5.1.1 The City Operating Costs

###### 5.1.1.1. Theoretical considerations of an economic system

Economic activities and the connections or relationships between them constitute an economic system (Lloyd and Dicken 1989). The working of a local authority may be regarded as an economic system, such as the one depicted by Figure 16. From a geographical viewpoint the elements of the system have physical expression in space based on spatial behavioural dynamics of human behaviour. A local authority economic system is based on interactions with its environment. The system may have inputs (for example: financial, managerial, technical and engineering skills, labour, capital and equipment, payment for municipal services, etc), which may be transformed into an output and sold to the general public as a service (for example: municipal services such as roads, water, electricity, street lights, sanitation, waste removal, etc) (Figure 16). The sale of these outputs, and payment thereof, in effect enables the continued and therefore

circular nature and existence of the economic system (Figure 16). Consequently, a local authority economic system may continue to exist where it raises sufficient revenue, generally from rates, the sale of municipal services, and from loans or grants. It must do this in order to maintain itself, develop and grow in a sustainable manner. An important fundamental operating principle of an economic system such as the above, is its wholeness, interdependence, and dynamic interactive relationships both within the system and between the system and its environment (Lloyd and Dicken 1989). Inputs from one system are outputs of another system thus demonstrating the interactive nature of the economic system (Figure 16). Furthermore, according to Lloyd and Dicken (1989), systems that survive within a changing environment are those able to keep a dynamic balance between inputs and outputs. Adaptation often means that there is, of necessity, a change within the structure of the system as defined by the goals of the system.



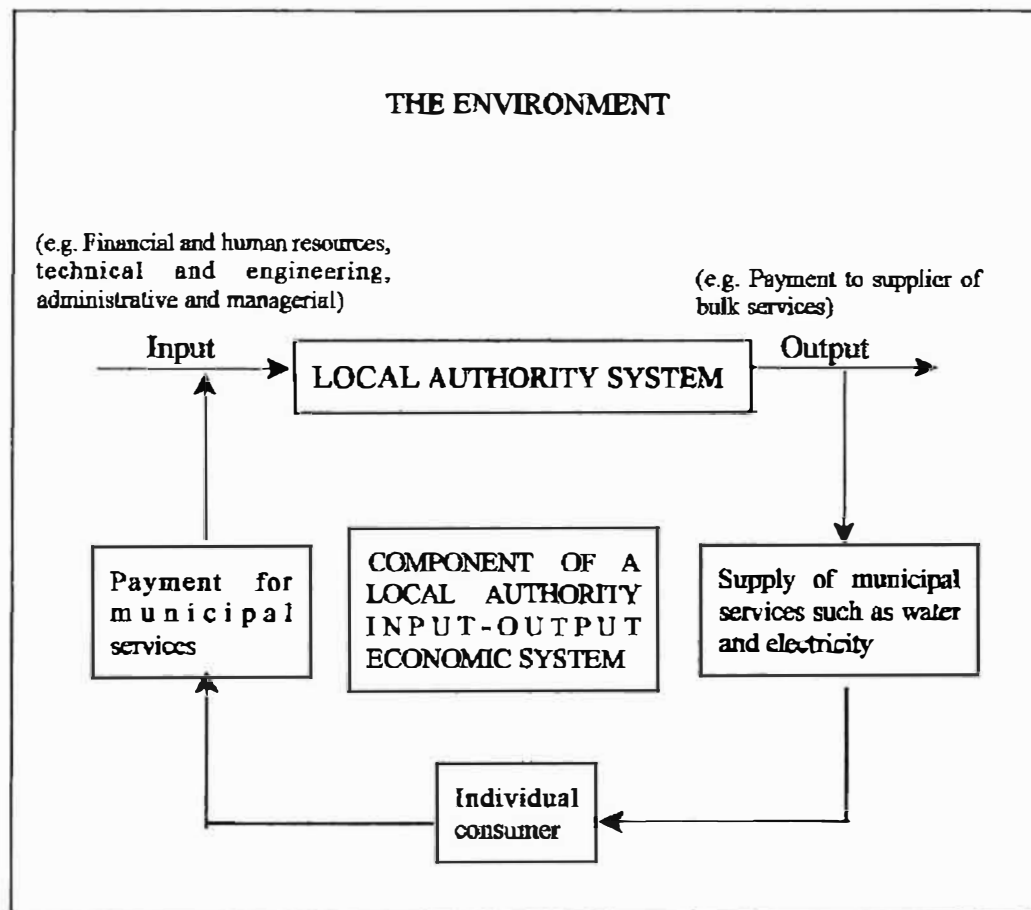


Figure 16 A simple input-output interactive model of a local authority economic system

The era in which the traditional South African municipality developed over many years, as Chapter Three noted, did not embody the whole society of that system's environment. South African municipalities currently have to adapt their structure and operation to meet the demands of their changed political environment, as described in Chapter Four. However, evidence suggests that many local authorities in South Africa are currently not viable as economic entities, due to, *inter alia*, the financial implications of the culture of non-payment. Oldham (1995: 53) noted the problem of providing municipal services especially to the townships as:

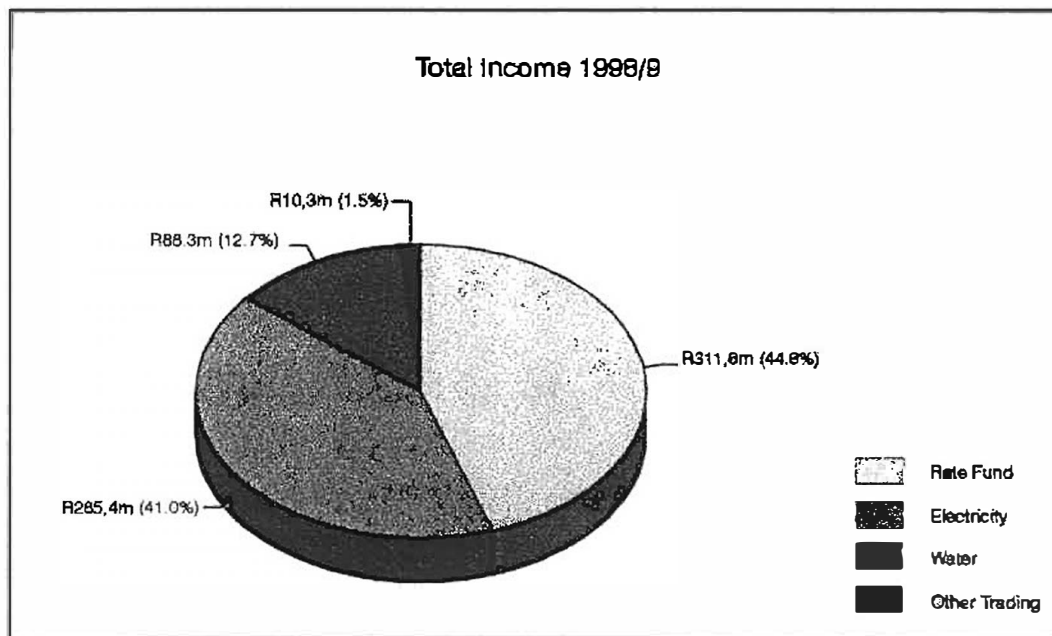
*"... the non-payment mentality that reduces the long term viability of providing services or causes cost recovery to be spread over a longer period of time".*

Oldham (1995), observed that many households are simply accustomed to receiving free water and municipal services many simply ignoring monthly accounts received. A Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis has been carried out by Oldham (1995) on

Pietermaritzburg's local authority financial component. Tariffs set below bulk delivery costs and non-payment of tariffs by residents resulting in extremely low revenue from user charges was identified as a weakness in the system. The failure to reach agreement on rent and service charges seriously threaten the financial viability and stability of the system. Therefore, as the model above demonstrates (Figure 16), the circular and interactive nature of the financial imperative of an economic system is more than pursuant to the sustainable reconstruction, development and transformation of South Africa's local authorities. Moreover, since the demise of the apartheid system, South African cities have had to adapt in order to become competitive within a regional and global environment and continue as sustainable economic entities (Centre for Development Enterprise 1996).

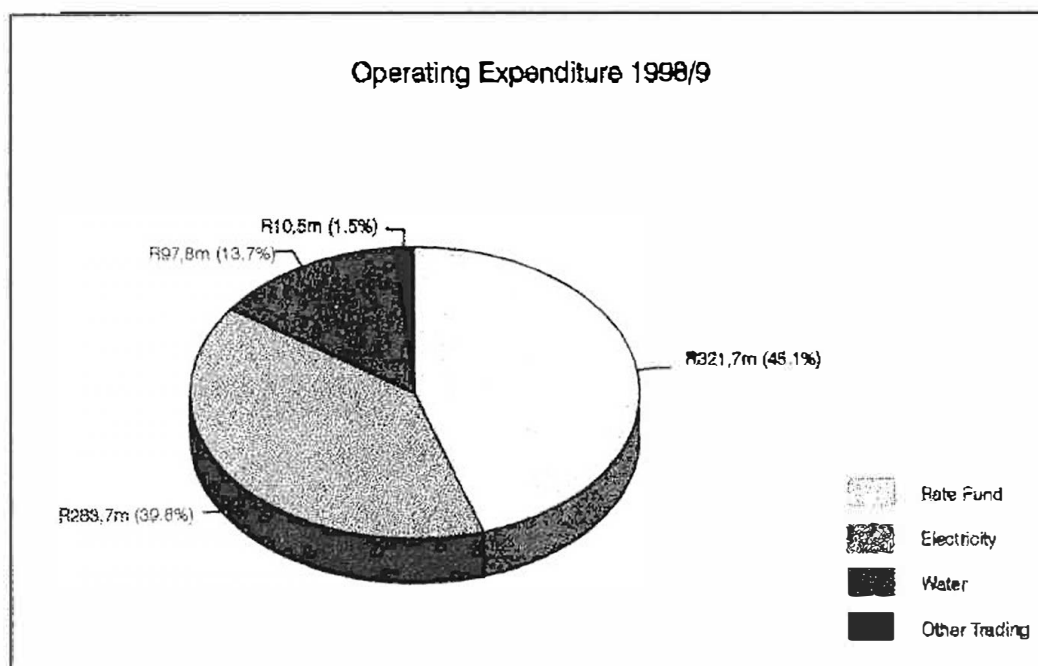
#### 5.1.1.2 The Pietermaritzburg local authority: income and expenditure

In view of the economic model described above, an investigation of operating estimates of local authority income and expenditure was deemed necessary. The information was based on the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC, but the general operating economic principles have broader application. The significance of prudent financial and resource management is evident from an analysis of local authority income and expenditure. Moreover responsible interaction between municipal service-users and the local authority is further required to satisfy the principle of supply and demand. The above forms the basis for the development of sustainable economic systems. From information provided by the Pietermaritzburg City Treasury (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1998a; 1998b; 1998c; 1998e), graphs were produced to show total income and operating expenditure for the 1998/99 financial year (Figures 17 and 18 respectively). The total income was made up as follows: rate fund (45%), electricity (41%), water (13%) and other trading (1,5%). Operating expenditure for the same period was as follows: rate fund (45%), electricity (39,8%), water (14%) and other trading (1,5%). The graphs of total income for, and operation of, the local authority system showed the significance of the rate fund and trading of electricity and water to the income structure, the reasons for which have been set out below.



**Figure 17 Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council: total income for 1998/99**

Source: Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1998b: 9



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**Figure 18 Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council: operating expenditure for 1998/99**

Source: Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1998b: 10

Firstly, at a corporate level, the current structure of local authority income in South Africa is one which is based on various sources which are presently prescribed by acts of parliament or provincial ordinances. The major source of tax revenue for municipalities is property rates paid by property owners and local business, which generates approximately 20% of total municipal revenue. Regional Service Council and Joint Service Board levies by District and Metropolitan Councils bring in an additional 5% indirectly in the form of projects. Most local government revenue, however, is generated by trading services with concomitant payment therefore, such as electricity, water, sanitation and waste removal. On aggregate, revenue from trading services accounts for over 60% of local government revenue. Municipalities also receive revenue from intergovernmental transfers. The total amount for intergovernmental transfers from the central government fiscus to municipalities in 1996-97 equaled more than R5,2-billion during the transition period. TLCs have been able to submit business plans in order to make use of RDP funds. A further source may be obtained by borrowing, however, which is limited by a capital cost of 12,5%. Accordingly, ratepayers and municipal service-users, private or business, form the basis of important civic partnerships with the local authority. Consequently, the payment of rates, payment for municipal services, coupled with responsible consumer behaviour, forms a critical component in the economic cycle of the local authority. According to Oldham (1995: 14)

*"The issue of additional sources of revenue for local authorities is of a long standing and intractable nature. There are many potential tax bases but those available to local authorities are severely limited by government fiscal policy", a subject of current debate in South Africa (Centre for Development Enterprise 1996; Heese 1998; Solomon 1998; Zziwa 1998).*

As the matter stands, the local authority's current source of income is imperative. Moreover, as noted by Kennedy (1999), in accordance with current National Department of Finance regulations, local authority operating and capital budgets may not increase by more than 8% and 10% per annum, respectively.

Secondly, the local authority forms integral linkages within the local economy of an input-output supply and demand nature (Berry, Conkling and Michael Kay 1976; Lloyd and Dicken 1989). Theoretically, economic development in space may be understood by the formation of an initial trigger or nucleus and the subsequent growth and development of that structure (Lloyd and Dicken 1989), the local authority being integral to that structure, politically and economically. Were the income component of the local authority to shrink or collapse, economic systems being the dynamic entities that they are, the ripple effects of this occurrence would manifest itself throughout

the system and in the environment of that system. Therefore, if the provision of municipal services is to be sustainable at the local government level, such provision would have to be of necessity based on the principle of supply and demand principles, owing to the wholeness and interconnectedness of the economic structure. Central and provincial government is cognisant of such circumstances and as such has noted that:

*"These problems have put pressure on municipal cash flows and financial management. Many municipalities have responded by spending accumulated reserves, reducing capital expenditure, deferring payments to vendors, utilising bridging finance, and refinancing or extending their long-term debt. The results of national government's monitoring exercise, Project Viability, have confirmed a generally deteriorating aggregate financial position within the local sphere" (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998: 8).*

Thirdly, if the current income structure of local authorities is not sustained, the intention of developing sustainable modern local economies based on local government democracy will regress. As such the prognosis for the sustainable reconstruction, development and transformation of South African cities appears to be pessimistic, as reports quoted in the research indicate. Government itself is fully aware that financial sustainability requires that municipalities ensure that their budgets are balanced and that income should cover expenditure (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Affairs 1998).

Fourthly, research in developing countries<sup>1</sup> supports the views expressed above. Devas and Rakodi (1993a: 12) in their research noted that:

*"The situation is particularly bad in Africa, where serious economic problems have reduced the capacity of governments to finance even basic urban services."*

Effective urban management, Mattingly (1993: 102) reports:

*"..... is critical to achieving the proper functioning of urban areas in the developing world so that these areas can play their role in the social and economic development of their people."*

Furthermore, Urban Foundation research found that:

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<sup>1</sup> See *inter alia*: Amos (1993); Bailey (1993); Davey (1993); Devas (1993); Devas and Rakodi (1993a, 1993b, 1993c); Gould (1986); Gould and Lawton (1986); Lawton (1986); Rakodi (1993); Rakodi and Devas (1993); Smoke (1994).

*"The economic future of developing countries lies in the productivity of its cities"* (1993a: 11), and that local authorities need to be *"encouraged to compete with one another for investment, and thus compelled to offer the best possible conditions, in water and electricity prices, local taxes and infrastructure, to commerce and industry"* (1993b: 2).

In view of the above mentioned research, incumbent City Treasurer Trevor Le Roux (1999), notes that South Africa is in reality not a First World country. Moreover, Brian Bassett, Pietermaritzburg's chief city planner, in introducing the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC's LDP (1999a: 1) provided a reminder that:

*"Sound and creative development planning is the foundation upon which successful cities are built. It is true to say that those cities which consistently implement and revise their development plans attract more international attention and investment than those which do not".*

Fifthly, the participation of the individual, as a decision-maker of a household or business in the local authority economic system must of necessity also be considered. Central to the theme of the research is the individual, who as an urban inhabitant within a community, ratepayer, service-user or investor, develop perceptions. The basis of the local authority economic structure described above, has financial inputs much of which are determined by payment by individual consumers and property owners, individual or business. Individuals' perceptions are important as these have been found to have a role in decision-making and behaviour as was reported by Chapter One. There are two very important perspectives of significance to the successful development of a civic participation. On the one hand, as Jackson (1999) has noted, if paying consumers of municipal services are overtaxed or are dissatisfied with service conditions, they migrate elsewhere. Oldham (1995) refers to such a manifestation as the Tiebout hypothesis. Decline in economic activity may further tarnish a city's image and investment potential. On the other hand, Jackson (1999) further pointed out that there is a belief currently held by many urban inhabitants in South Africa of a 'Pretoria will provide syndrome' referred to in Chapters One and Two as the culture of entitlement (Johnson 1999). Notwithstanding high unemployment and poverty levels currently prevailing in most South African cities, the provision of municipal services is an economic activity and needs to be understood as such. Persons who do not honour civic contracts, through the non-payment for municipal services, illegal usage or pirate services, wastage or who have no understanding of the fundamentals upon which such contracts are based, severely compromise local economic activity, the local economic system and the image thereof. Indeed, the prospect of the successful

reconstruction, development and transformation of post-apartheid cities being continually circumvented, is clearly evident. It would be incumbent on a local authority to ensure that civic partnerships are honoured. Local authorities will have to communicate to their consumers the basic economic fabric of its structure. Included in this communication must be the concept of affordable municipal service provision.

#### 5.1.1.3 The burden of developing and supplying municipal services to an expanded area of jurisdiction

Chapter Four revealed that constitutional changes in the country has meant that the political boundaries of South African cities have been changed, primarily to include previously excluded black township areas. TLCs have reportedly experienced difficulty with the responsibility of developing and servicing their expanded areas of jurisdiction whilst maintaining the old part of the city, as is the case with the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC. Government is aware of problems faced by municipalities to the extent that:

*"The amalgamation of previously divided jurisdiction has massively increased the population which municipalities must serve, without a corresponding increase in the tax base. Combined with service backlogs, collapsed or deteriorating infrastructure, and deteriorating creditworthiness and borrowing capacity, municipalities are experiencing financial stress, and in some instances crisis. Municipalities are also experiencing upward pressure on salaries and the loss of experienced finance personnel. Although payment for services is improving, problems related to non-payment for services remain. Extending effective property taxation to the former township areas has also proved difficult"* (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development 1998: 8).

Some of the more prominent reasons for the situation arising in Pietermaritzburg are investigated in due course.

Demographically, the expanded area of local authority places approximately 383 000 people within the TLC's jurisdiction (Department of Population and Development 1998). The majority of up to 67% of this population reside in black township areas, areas hitherto excluded from the traditional white municipal area which in turn had a population estimated to be 182 700. The Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC is currently responsible for newly-incorporated areas, which formerly fell under the control of provincial state agencies. As was revealed in Chapter Three, black township areas have never been properly developed to their fullest extent. Additional funds

from the national fiscus have been made available to the TLC to assist in the added responsibility, but according to Layman (1998), a relatively static income since 1996 has had to be distributed for the benefit of a very much larger number of citizens. The situation is further complicated by the following factors: approximately 40% of those capable of working are unemployed (Layman 1998), a municipal debt of R56-million due to historic and current non-payment for municipal rates and services, generally low income levels within households with gross monthly incomes less than R1 400 per month (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1998d), and illegal immigrants and those engaging in circular migration<sup>2</sup> taking advantage of perceived municipal infrastructure. Further consideration of these aspects are the subject of discussion which follows. Figure 19 shows the distribution of income levels in the Pietermaritzburg local authority area of jurisdiction. The figure shows the distribution of upper, middle and lower income areas. Of particular significance is the fact that lower income areas consist primarily of newly-incorporated areas. Further analysis of socio-economic profiles in Pietermaritzburg were considered. Table 18 includes aspects of education levels attained by members of the various income categories, A (upper income areas), B (middle income areas) and C (lower income areas). The majority of persons without any education (89%) occur within the lower income areas of the city. These areas comprise primarily newly-incorporated parts of the city shown in Figure 19. The socio-economic profiles have significance for the provision of affordable municipal services by the municipality. The profiles also have significance in the establishment of effective communication channels between the local authority and the various communities within its jurisdiction, a matter for further debate in Chapter Six.

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<sup>2</sup> Which according to Van Amersfoort (1987) constitutes a temporary change of residence in traditional society.



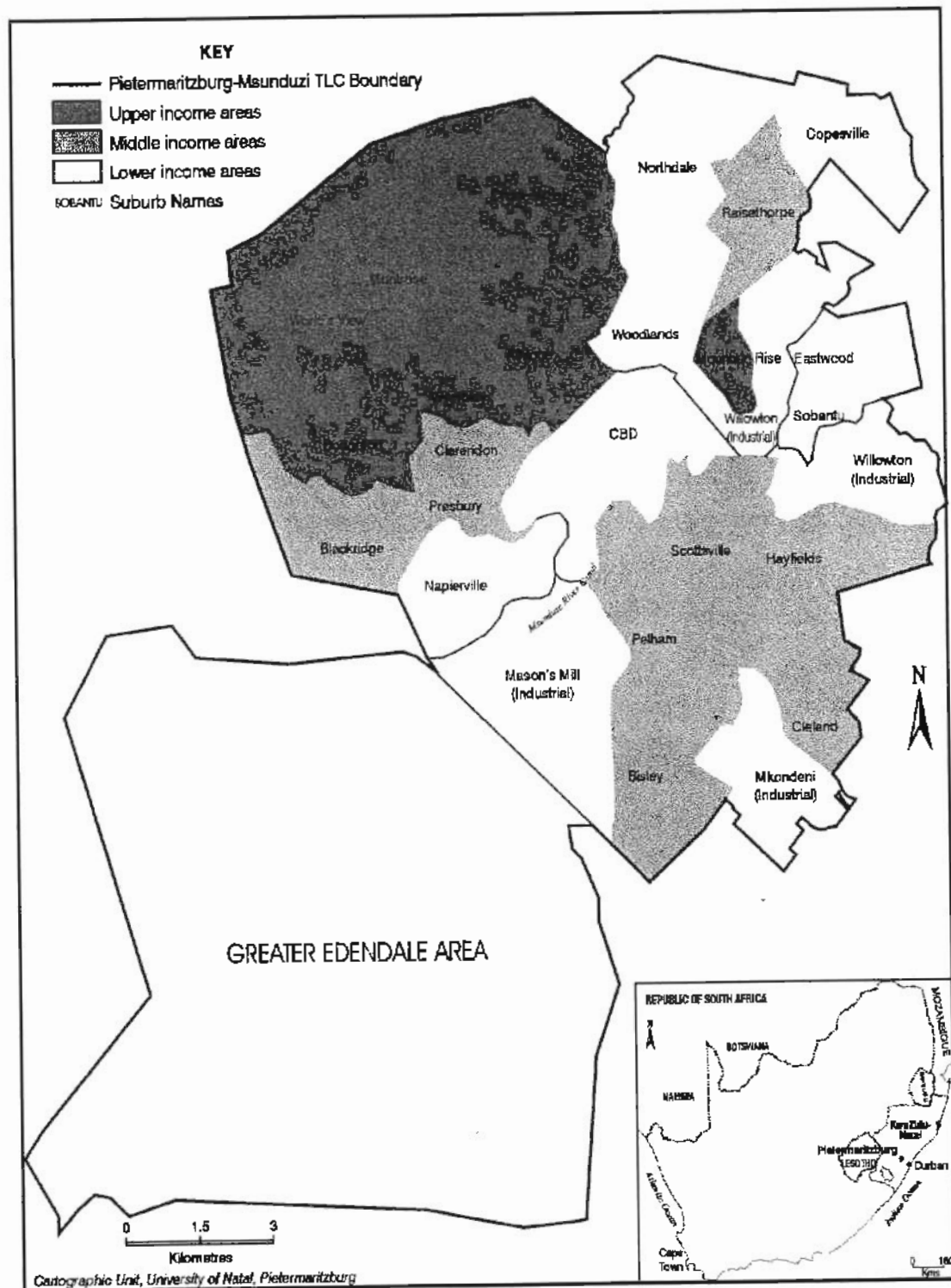


Figure 19 Pietermaritzburg: socio-economic distribution of upper, middle and lower income areas within the transitional local council area of jurisdiction in 1998

Source: Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional local council 1998d: no page reference

Table 18

Pietermaritzburg: education levels of upper, middle and lower income groups as per 1996 Census

Income Categories	% of total population	Levels of Education as %		
		No education	Matric*	Matric* plus further education
A upper income areas (R3501 - R 16000 pm)	4.1	3.7	7.3	17
B Middle income areas (R 1501 - R 3500 pm)	14	7.5	27	41
C Lower income areas ( R 0 - R 1500 pm)	81.9	88.8	65.7	42

\* Matric is a standard ten school leaving certificate

Source: Adapted from Department of Population Development 1998: no page reference

The municipality currently has approximately 36 000 established ratepayers who contribute R162-million to an operating budget of R176-million for rates. The rates account is augmented by cross-subsidisation of R250-million from the electricity budget. A revaluation of properties within the city is being undertaken, which includes valuation of properties within newly incorporated areas. However, the 63 000 property-owners in these areas are expected to generate only R14-million towards the total rates fund, owing to low property values (Figure 19). Furthermore, of this total R7,8-million is expected to be paid by state institutions.

Municipal service-users within the jurisdiction of the local authority number approximately 60 000 who contribute the balance of an operating budget of R600-million. Problems have emerged with regards municipal service-users in some quarters of the city. Firstly, debt as a result of non-payment for services currently amounts to R56-million. Chapter Four showed trends which indicated that this figure is rising monthly. The average payment level for the city currently stands at 78 % with payment levels in newly-incorporated areas ranging from two percent to 17%. The problem with the writing-off of debts is that the service has already been rendered at a cost, the local authority must then itself cover the cost for the service which in the case of bulk purchases could lead to bad debts with the supplier of electricity or water. Secondly, the wastage

factor according to Layman (1998) is considerable, particularly in regard to electricity piracy and the stealing of electric cables, water wastage and the theft of taps (some 60 taps per month in the Edendale township area alone), all of which implies loss of much needed revenue for the local authority, thereby disrupting economic activity. The current replacement costs for taps are R48 and R90 for non-brass and brass respectively (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1999c). This would mean replacement costs for Edendale alone of R34 560 and R64 800 *per annum* respectively. The Auditor-General's report for the 1997/98 as reported by the media noted that the TLC Water Services Department registered a loss of more than R7,5-million in the previous two years. The loss has been attributed to usage of water through communal stand pipes in informal settlements, unmetered water consumption in the Edendale area and leaking pipes. Current loss has been estimated at R2-million per month by the City Engineer. The TLC has resolved to cover the loss by Water Services with a surplus of R4,25-million from the Electricity Service. The remaining R3,3-million is to be covered in the 1999 financial year.

As has been demonstrated in Chapter Four local authorities are required by law to develop IDPs (and LDPs) to ensure not only the servicing of the existing part of the city, but the development of the newly-incorporated areas. The situation is sufficiently serious for the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC to have invested in a Development Bank of Southern Africa Services Model in order to ascertain the financial implications of the various policies and programmes prepared for the IDP. With the input of existing data of the city, the model will be utilized to develop scenarios in order to assist local authority planning (Le Roux 1999). At the time of writing the model had as yet not been utilized.

The Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC received a grant of R40-million for the 1998/99 financial year made by central government. This in recognition of its constitutional obligation to give direct support to local government, which in turn has concomitant constitutional mandates for the provision of services and the development of newly incorporated areas. The problem is that despite the R40-million grant, 90-95% of local authority funds have to be generated from the immediate local area environs. The local authority is finding it increasingly difficult to develop and service its expanded area of jurisdiction for the reasons mentioned above. Stronger interactive linkages between the local authority and its constituents need to be formulated in order to overcome the issue of entitlement and non-payment. Non-payment for, and abuse of municipal services, demonstrates the lack of comprehension of a nation-building ethic. As the Masakhane Campaign has failed to remedy the situation other means will have to be sought.

### 5.1.2 Behavioural Factors Which May Lead to Tensions Within the Local Authority's Financial, Management and Administrative System

A literature review, as reported in Chapters One, Two and Four, indicated that behavioural factors may create financial, social, economic and political stresses and strains that create tensions within the local authority's financial, management and administrative system. The following aspects will be discussed: actions of political leaders, actions and behaviour of municipal service-users, and tensions between communities and between communities and the local authority.

#### 5.1.2.1 Actions of political leaders

The actions, words and messages of politicians and councillors may engender incorrect perceptions of local authority economic imperatives. Various examples illustrate this point, the behavioural principles of which apply to the City of Pietermaritzburg, more detail of which will be discussed in section 7.1.2. Johnson (1999) noted the existence of a culture of entitlement in South African townships. Such an attitude seemed to manifest itself in an irresponsible, liberal interpretation of the constitution, placing an overemphasis on rights without the attendant responsibilities as required in a democracy and civil society. This has led to a culture of entitlement partnered by a culture of non-payment, with disastrous consequences for local authorities. Furthermore, promises of a better life for all (South African Government 1997; 1998; 1999), perhaps made for political expediency, without due consideration of the economic imperative thereof, widens the gap between the recipients perception and comprehension of reality. Councillors themselves not paying for municipal services and rates merely reinforces such inaccurate mental images of reality. There have been reports of undue interference by councillors in town treasury affairs. Media reports, for example, point to the actions and behaviour of labour unions and councillor ignorance and interference which have purportedly resulted in closure of industry, thereby creating the financial instability of the Mooi River TLC (see *inter alia*: Bishop 1999; Govender 1999; Mithethwa 1999; Natal Witness 1/5/99a; Soobramoney 1999; Van Duffelen 1999). The situation is adequately demonstrated by a statement made by a Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC councillor as reported by the media (Zondi 1999: 3):

*"We as councillors are here to take decisions ... Officials must go and implement the decisions. We are ruling the country and we are ruling the council".*

Furthermore, reports exist of councillors who have little or no comprehension of a municipal budget, make promises of flat rates for municipal services to constituents, all of which are

detrimental to the financial stability of a local authority (De Bromhead 1999). Labour unions, too, have reportedly interfered in council affairs from time to time, to the point where government has reacted to such negative behaviour (Natal Witness 11/9/98). Such behaviour results in financial, social, economic and political stresses and strains, producing in turn tensions within the local authority system. Media reports of the actions and behaviour of President Mugabe (of Zimbabwe) adds further credence to the principles described above. His actions and behaviour so enraged donor organisations and investors resulting in the suspension of any further financial aid or investment. He has further orchestrated land invasion of commercial farms raising expectations of the landless of a better life. In reality the Zimbabwean economy may well have been irretrievably damaged. There is a lesson to be learnt from this behavioural imperative. The actions and behaviour of persons in leadership positions have notable behavioural consideration and should not be ignored. An opinion survey conducted by Taylor and Mattes (1998) supports this view.

Research by Taylor and Mattes (1998) included a survey of citizens' perception of forms of government responsiveness to their needs in South Africa. Peoples' perception of local government responsiveness declined from 58% in 1995 to 43% in 1997. Currently 39% of citizens' surveyed feel their provincial government was responsive, 46% felt likewise about the national parliament, 48% about the national government and 63% about Nelson Mandela. The survey results reflect the apparent influence political parties, political leaders and political promises have in perception formation by citizens. This creates a problem for local government which is charged with the actual delivery of municipal services. Conversely, Johnson (1999) noted that smaller cohesive well-managed communities had responded positively to the Masakhane initiative, irrespective of poverty levels.

#### 5.1.2.2 Actions and behaviour of municipal service-users

The culture of non-payment for rates and municipal services has assumed crisis proportions for many of South Africa's municipalities and has in addition led to strains between municipalities and ratepayers who do pay for services. The problem also exists for the City of Pietermaritzburg. Two well documented cases were obliged to obtain a Constitutional Court ruling (Butterworths Law Reports 1998a; 1998b; 1998c) and have implications for all municipalities in South Africa. In the Pretoria Municipality versus Johan Walker case, Walker had demanded to pay a flat rate

in keeping with his township neighbours and accordingly withheld his due payment, and the ruling has been that:

*"The culture of non-payment has no place in a state which protects the rights of citizens"*  
(Rickard 1998: 21).

It was a historic decision which enable local authorities to ensure that people pay for the services they use (Rickard 1998). In his judgement, Justice Langa, ruled that while the existence of different methods to assess services bills in black and white areas was discriminatory, it did not amount to unfair discrimination, neither did the policy of cross-subsidisation. It was further ruled that it was unfair discrimination for a council to follow a policy of selective enforcement, treating defaulters in some areas more leniently than in others. In the Johannesburg Metro Council versus Sandton ratepayers, according to the Constitutional Court a Johannesburg's substructure's decision to increase rates in wealthier areas (such as Sandton) in order to subsidise poorer areas (such as Alexandra) was ruled to be legal. The two court cases have had the effect of clarifying the interpretation of the law in the context of the rates and non-payment issue. However, a view expressed by a Natal Witness editorial (19/10/98: 6), noted that:

*"If it is correct for the wealthy to accept increased tariffs and lesser services so that the wrongs of the past might be righted, so is it also incumbent on the poor to pay for services they receive in the spirit of Masakhane. If not, a local authority becomes a robber rather than a redistributor."*

In addition there is the issue of whether all township inhabitants are in fact poor. For those who have jobs, proper credit control measures will have to be devised by local authorities to ensure equity. According to Taylor and Mattes (1998: 15):

*"Local governments need to eliminate opportunities to evade through better collection, monitoring and enforcement."*

Non-payment for municipal services has certainly resulted in financial constraints for local authorities as well as creating tensions in the relationship between ratepayers and the council. Such developments are contributing factors to the failure to unite the city.

#### 5.1.2.3 Perceptions about South African cities and the country

Reports and evidence of unacceptable levels of crime, corruption in government and local authorities has resulted in creating negative perceptions in the minds of existing and potential local and foreign investors in South African cities, including that of Pietermaritzburg. Examples serve

to illustrate the point. Lack of political leadership, escalating crime, corruption and a poor economic environment have been cited as reasons for a decline in foreign business confidence in South Africa (Crotty 1998). Corruption has the effect of undermining economic growth, discourages foreign private investment programmes and reduces the resources available for infrastructure, public services and poverty reduction programmes (Canning 1999). Klein (1999) noted that an inability to grow the economy, the slow rate of privatisation and labour inflexibility remain among some of the reasons for South Africa's international low investment grade rating near the bottom by, *inter alia*, the World Competitiveness report. South Africa persists in providing mixed messages about its attractiveness for investment (Klein 1999). The South African economy has lost 500 000 jobs since 1994 - a value which is ever increasing (Johnson 1999; Nelan 1999).

At the local urban level, there is a trend of entrepreneur migration, and investment capital disinvestment, from the Central Business District to suburban locations perceived to have better economic conditions and therefore offering a safer investment option (Natal Witness 25/8/99). For every entrepreneur, business person or ratepayer who leaves a city because of duress, perceived or otherwise, there are financial implications for that local authority. Politicians and labour organisations need to be aware that government policies and the image a city has, play an important role in the investment decision-making process. Free market entrepreneurs and investors are interested in operating in environments which are conducive to productivity and investment returns (Nene 1999). If cities do not attract entrepreneurs and adequate financial investment or people who are willing to pay for services and rates, they will not be able to increase their tax and economic base, and undermines its ability to adequately service the city. The loss of existing entrepreneurs, business or paying customers has the effect of shrinking the existing local economic base.

In the case of Pietermaritzburg an analysis of sales of properties by JHI (1999a; 1999b; 1999c) noted that current commercial and industrial property sales are at 34,4% and 44,9% respectively below the municipal valuation. The figures are indicative of the depreciation of the local market through investor and shopper migration to suburban areas. Consequential economic decline results in financial, human and political stresses and strains that manifest in tensions within the local authority. According to Du Bois (1999), there is no place to hide from the realities of free trade and globalization (a view shared by Mulholland 1998). Gardner (1998: 8) noted that:

*"The world is a tough and unsentimental place. One is perhaps all the more aware of this now that there is so much stress on the global competitive market-place".*

The power of financial institutions has long been recognised (Bateman 1985). Since the late 1960's investment in property has become an international activity involving flows of capital on a large scale as institutions seek to maximise returns. However, according to Bateman (1985), there needs to be an awareness of the operation of the development process by policy-makers, politicians and planners. This could constitute a case in point with respect to the current South African situation. Image is an important aspect of spatial behavioural dynamics of a city. An understanding of these basic economic concepts should form a basis of Pietermaritzburg's city-building programme.

#### 5.1.2.4 Tensions between communities and between communities and their local authority

Conflict and tension between different socio-economic sectors of South African communities and between communities and their local authority appears to be caused by ignorance. An example serves to illustrate this point. In the first instance, ignorance on the part of municipal service-users can be the cause of a misunderstanding leading to tension. There have been reports where previously excluded communities appear to hold the common perception that charges for municipal services are exceedingly high, further believing that the reason for this excess is due to municipalities still being run by whites (Natal Witness 16/11/98; Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998). Such misconceptions fuel tensions between the communities and the local authority. The reality of the situation is that many of these service-users either never paid for services or have got used to paying uneconomic flat rates. Non-payment for services, property rates and uneconomic flat rates has been shown to create financial, administrative and managerial constraints within the local authority system. Ignorance by communities of how the local authority system functions, the non-payment for services, the practice of charging flat rates, rates rebates and lax collection for service payment in certain communities, creates tensions between urban communities as well as between ratepayers and the local authority and enhances spatially segmented mental images in the minds of the public. The implementation and communication of equitable systems of collection, monitoring and enforcement of municipal service payments are a prerequisite for the establishment of a disciplined stable environment within which a local authority may operate.



### 5.1.3 Successful Partnership Between the Public and the Local Authority in the Development Process

Generally a local authority as public authority, in accordance with government legislation, has to develop urban areas and provide essential goods and services for the people under its jurisdiction. However, the nature and quality of governance, level of development and the degree and standard of municipal service delivery varies between cities and between countries. The functions, according to Cloete (1993), of local authorities are best performed where the inhabitants of urban areas are well-informed. It stands to reason that urban inhabitants should know how their city operates and is administered. Such an understanding ensures that citizens are given the opportunity to enter into informed responsible civic partnerships with the local authority and, if elected, act as responsible councillors and office-bearers of municipal councils. Similarly the local authority must cater for the needs of its citizens in a responsible and accountable manner. Recommendations made by the Final Masakhane Campaign report for the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1999b) concur with the view expressed above.

The successes achieved by two local authorities has been noted. Research referred to in the thesis has found support for the basic principles upon which these cities have achieved success. The nature of governance of the City of Hampton in Virginia, USA, is indicative of a local authority, together with the business sector and the community it serves, which has shown a level of comprehension of development matters so as to successfully enter into a partnership in order to engage in the economic development of that city. The City of Hampton has shown that local authority initiatives can be successful where: there is responsible local government, the local authority and the community jointly share an understanding of basic economic development principles, the public is kept well informed, and where the public is in partnership by means of responsible civic partnership with the local authority. From a behavioural geographical perspective, Hampton's success in governance provides an example of a local authority, together with its citizens, being able to transcend the effects of spatially segmented mental images. Another example of a success story is that achieved by the Inner West City Council formerly known as Pinetown, in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. Inner West recorded a 580% increase in payment for municipal services during the 1997/98 financial year following the implementation of a comprehensive council programme formulated a Masakhane-type nation-

building ethos despite high poverty levels within townships (Inner West City Council 1998). Pinetown's success story has significant implications for the development of policy for the management of cities in the South African context. That council identified the need for the development of appropriate community structures in order that interactive linkages may be formulated between the municipality and its communities. More detailed on these developments will be discussed in Chapter Six.

The results of a survey conducted by Johnson (1999) on non-payment for municipal services confirms the success that may be achieved by the adoption of the Pinetown approach. The survey noted that whilst poverty is an issue, it is not the only reason for non-compliance. The research found that a Masakhane-ethic had been successfully engendered in some poor communities in South Africa. Another important aspect noted by the research was that smaller communities were more likely to be better payers than large amorphous townships or informal settlements. The successful dynamics within the community also counted for a great deal whether local community leaders, elected councillors and full-time officials co-operated as a team or not. Furthermore community consciousness and community cohesiveness were found to be important factors in determining levels of payment and non-payment rates and service charges. The research also noted that South Africa has a weak civic culture and the tradition of democratic local government is also weak and therefore needs to be developed. Perception studies discussed in Chapter Two revealed high levels of ignorance about municipal services amongst adults that live in newly-incorporated sectors of the city. A school-based study further revealed that these adults are a weak source of information about municipal services for young adults in the same communities. Consideration of the principles and values noted above will be the subject of further debate in Chapter Six.

## 5.2 INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION

The investigation revealed the financial imperative of a local authority system as it related to the delivery of municipal services on the principle of supply and demand. The importance of the responsible use and payment for municipal services by consumers was found to be significant to the sustainability of the system. The consequences that irresponsible consumer behaviour and low payment levels in newly-incorporated sectors have on the local authority system was evident. Political interference in the running of the city by elected officials can be problematic. It can be concluded that communities and their leaders from newly-incorporated sectors in particular, need to be educated about the principle of affordable municipal service delivery. They further need to

comprehend the consequences irresponsible consumer behaviour has on the management and development of their city. More broadly the city operates within a competitive market and the image it creates is significant for the marketing and sustainable development of the city.

The local authority suspended its previous method of direct communication with ratepayers in favour of a government-initiated Masakhane Campaign. The business sector in particular has been critical of the lack of direct communication ratepayers currently enjoy from the municipality. The Masakhane Campaign, when measured against continued high levels of non-payment and abuse of municipal resources, particularly by residents living in newly-incorporated areas, has failed. Consequently local authorities will have to establish a more effective system of credit control and communicating with existing communities, and educating those of the future, about the supply of and payment for municipal services, if a single-city concept is to be achieved.

Attitudinal and perception studies and other related research in South Africa have revealed the nature of the problem currently faced by local authorities in South Africa. Uniting the city has physical elements to it but behavioural principles noted by this thesis must also be considered. National and city-based attitudinal and perception studies revealed the general lack of understanding by citizens about the supply and payment for services. This was found to be more pronounced in newly-incorporated sectors. An opinion survey noted the considerable influence political-motivated promises has had on perception formation (Taylor and Mattes 1998). This has resulted in many citizens believing national government and national leaders as being more responsive to their needs. This has created a problem for the local authority mandated to manage and develop newly-incorporated areas within its jurisdiction. The same research noted that the potential for non-compliance by municipal consumers is significant. A more effective credit control policy has been recommended by that research and is supported by evidence from local authorities which have successfully instituted such measures. Research on non-payment for municipal services in South Africa noted that poverty was found to be one of a number of reasons for this phenomenon (Johnson 1999). However, a Masakhane-ethos had been successfully engendered in some poor but small cohesive communities under astute leadership. The same research recognised the need to develop a culture of civic responsibility and democracy in the country in general. Municipal management and development programmes formulated on appropriate municipal structures within newly-incorporated communities have shown promise in establishing interactive linkages between the municipality and communities.

Based on evidence as revealed by the research thus far, Chapter Six will focus on the development of a model of communities' perceptions on the supply of and payment for municipal services. The underlying principle of the model is behavioural, in other words: a holistic perspective which includes a significant socio-psychological dimension concerning perceptions and spatial mental images. The chapter will focus on how a local authority may enhance stronger interactive linkages with communities by creating municipal structures within these communities.

## CHAPTER SIX

### A MODEL OF COMMUNITIES' PERCEPTIONS ON THE SUPPLY OF, AND PAYMENT FOR, MUNICIPAL SERVICES

#### 6.1 BACKGROUND TO THE MODEL

The underlying philosophy to the research is one which has been based on a behavioural approach to geographical analysis. The research has been concerned with systems of urban management and the reconstruction, development and transformation of the post-apartheid city, with particular reference to Pietermaritzburg. Specific consideration has been given to issues of spatial equity, perceptions and participation for sustainable development and the delivery of municipal services. As a point of departure the investigation considered the dynamics of human spatial behaviour regarding comprehension about the supply of and payment for municipal services.

Chapter One revealed that studies concerning the reconstruction, development and transformation of the divided South African city have tended to focus primarily on physical disparities, owing to considerable backlogs in the development of infrastructure and of municipal service provision to township areas. Such disparities have raised academic and policy debate in South Africa on where to concentrate development, in the city or in the townships? (Centre for Development Enterprise 1996). More recent debate has tended to focus attention on physical circumstances related to local authority constitutional arrangements, resource or institutional capacity (Heese 1998; Solomon 1998; Zziwa 1998). However, it ought to be remembered that it is people who inhabit the cities which they develop, maintain and manage. As Lloyd and Dicken (1989: 12) point out, without the human component one would simply have *ghost towns* as:

*"It is 'life' which is brought by human behaviour that gives these physical structures meaning as parts of the economic system. Without it they are mere shells, inert bricks and mortar."*

An important behavioural consideration that must be added to the view of Lloyd and Dicken (1989) is that the innovation and form that city development takes is determined by the spatial mental images and behaviour of entrepreneurs, planners, developers and inhabitants of those particular urban areas. This view is supported by a process-oriented behavioural approach to geographical analysis, where:

*"The search for geographic understanding and explanation is via an examination of the processes that produce them and not the spatial phenomena themselves" (Golledge and Stimson 1987: 6).*

Consequently, spatial mental images and related human spatial behaviour are significant components of the city development and management process. In other words people's thinking and their behaviour have an influence on city development. The research regards such behavioural considerations as pivotal to the successful reconstruction, development and transformation of the post-apartheid South African city. Research by Johnson (1999), found the central problem to the non-payment issue, lies in the complex issues surrounding the culture of entitlement and even the culture of non-payment. That research further noted the strength of the Masakhane Campaign has been that it has attempted to tackle these phenomena head on and install a strong sense of community in its place. The research concluded that:

*"Undoubtedly a strong, confident and solidaristic sense of community consciousness is the best antidote to these dependent and self-defeating attitudes - and our study suggests at many points that this is also the key to the achievement of higher payment levels" (Johnson 1999: 101).*

The purpose of the chapter is to develop a model towards a communities' perceptions about the supply of and payment for municipal services to assist municipalities and communities overcome the problems described above. Using behavioural geography theory and the results of this thesis the model proposes how a local authority can establish strong interactive linkages with communities defined in smaller geographic units. At this juncture this means the establishment of municipal community structures within newly-incorporated areas of the city. The model is developed and explained in more detail below, including its relevance, application and interpretation.

## 6.2 THE RELEVANCE OF A MODEL OF COMMUNITIES' PERCEPTIONS

Apartheid created racially-divided urban environments as demonstrated in Chapter Three. This legacy together with the collapse of apartheid local government structures have made it difficult for post-apartheid local authorities to develop interactive partnerships with citizens, particularly in newly-incorporated sectors of the city. Chapters One, Two, Four and Five noted that citizens have not responded to the Masakhane Campaign. Such circumstances are having an influence on a local authority's ability to unite the divided city. The research results were used as a basis for

the development of the model. The model incorporates the principle of a single-city concept. A summary of research results is included below.

### 6.2.1 Summary of Research Results

The following interrelated factors have been found to impede a local authority's ability to unite the city.

1. Apartheid succeeded in dividing South Africa's cities both physically and in the minds of citizens. Two significant outcomes from the racially-based system of city management and development resulted. Firstly there is a lack of understanding by previously disadvantaged and excluded communities and their leaders about the supply of and payment for municipal services. Secondly a local authority's lack of institutional arrangement and capacity has resulted in a communication vacuum existing between the local authority and these communities in particular. Local authorities have therefore been unable to establish effective interactive lines of communication with these communities. Local authorities will have to re-think their information and educational strategies and their institutional capacity and concomitant infrastructure to achieve these goals.
2. People develop perceptions about their city. The development of these mental images are influenced by environmental stimuli. The knowledge base and literacy level of the recipient also has an influence on a person's ability to interpret messages and information from the environment. Such aspects need to be considered when developing the form, content and method of local authority strategies to communicate with citizens. Masakhane as a stand-alone education awareness campaign has failed.
3. South African realities need to be carefully considered when developing communication strategies to South Africa's diverse population. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) identified a continuum on which actual social system norms may range from traditional and modern ideal types. Norms are the established behaviour patterns for the members of a given social system (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971). A social system with modern norms is more change oriented, technologically developed, scientific, rational, cosmopolitan, and empathetic. A traditional system embodies the opposite characteristics with members displaying a relatively low level of literacy, education, and understanding of the scientific

method. Research by Van Niekerk (1990) in South Africa noted that the orality or literacy base of a culture (Ong 1982) must be considered in order to establish effective communication channels with communities (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971). Such considerations would therefore have to be taken into account by local authorities in South Africa in order to effect change within communities.

4. The actions and behaviour of persons in positions of authority are significant in the development of perceptions. This will be particularly evident in an individual and community whose level of comprehension about the supply of and payment for affordable municipal services is dubious. A culture of entitlement and a belief by a significant number of citizens that national government will cater for all their needs are also inhibiting factors. Individuals and communities living in previously excluded parts of the city are particularly vulnerable. The point is further developed below.
5. Adult-based attitudinal and perception studies conducted in South Africa discovered that a significant number of citizens' are ignorant about the principles concerning the supply and payment for municipal services. Specifically the studies noted that this was particularly evident in the previously disadvantaged areas of the city. The failure of Masakhane in its current form means that local authorities will have to re-think their interpretation and approach to the establishment of a Masakhane ethos within communities. Furthermore, a school-based perception study showed that sources of information about municipal services within households in newly-incorporated sectors of the city are weak.
6. Where a Masakhane Campaign has been implemented using conventional methods of communication and as a stand-alone project it has proved to be ineffective when measured against the continued high levels of non-payment for municipal services. The national government's Operation Viability has reported the poor state of local government finance as a result of *inter alia* non-payment for municipal services. Pietermaritzburg municipal debt reports indicate the levels of non-payment remain high in particularly newly-incorporated areas of the city. Masakhane interpreted as a stand-alone education awareness project, according to deputy city administrator for the Inner West City Council Bheki Nene (1999), is erroneous. Masakhane should be interpreted as a philosophy of the building of a nation together between a local authority and communities on a participatory



and co-operative basis. A local authority may therefore have to change its thinking *vis-a-vis* Masakhane. This means the necessity for re-evaluating strategic planning to incorporate a comprehensive planning approach. A Pietermaritzburg municipal intervention within a township as a pilot project based on the principles suggested has shown promise.

7. Research by Taylor and Mattes (1998) noted that in South Africa a significant number of citizens presently feel that national government is more responsive to their needs than is local government. Similarly the research noted that political figures such as Nelson Mandela are believed to be responsive to people's needs. This research found further evidence which supports views expressed about the government viewed as a 'Leviathan'. This is a serious problem for local government which is charged with the responsibility of maintaining and developing the city at the local level. Local government will have to re-strategise its interactive links with citizens in view of its changed circumstances and the results of the perception studies discussed in this thesis. In their research, Taylor and Mattes (1998), found that a significant number of citizens when surveyed indicated, that given the opportunity, they would not pay for municipal services. This attitude was further confirmed by similar research conducted by Johnson (1999). Such thinking on the part of citizens is problematic for local authorities attempting to reconstruct and develop a divided city on a participatory and democratic basis. Such thinking is contrary to Masakhane ethos and would have to be addressed if a sense of civic responsibility is to be developed.
8. Local authorities have to operate according to fiscal and economic dictates if they are to develop sustainable local economies within a competitive market. An important fundamental principle, according to a Development Bank of Southern Africa policy analyst, Barry Jackson (1999), is that the level of economic activity in a city determines the level of the provision of municipal services in that city. It is therefore imperative that a local authority, stakeholders and communities understand the principle of affordable municipal service delivery and resource usage. The abuse of municipal resources and the maintenance and repair costs thereof are a drain on municipal human and financial resources. An understanding of civic responsibilities is critical to the development of interactive relationships between the local authority and its communities.

9. Ratepayers and citizens who do pay for services are being alienated by local authorities who do not have effective and equitable systems of collection, monitoring and enforcement of payment for municipal services. The thesis has referred to research which noted that while many citizens from advantaged communities agree in principle to a system of cross-subsidisation for developing townships, there is a reluctance to see these finances being used for the paying-off of bad debts caused by non-payment or repair of municipal facilities which are constantly being abused. Consequently it is imperative that local authorities have effective and equitable systems of credit control. The City of Hampton has advised Pietermaritzburg to develop an efficient customer and business-oriented local authority. An integral component of such an approach would include proper credit control policy.
10. Poverty is an issue which may have an effect on payment levels for municipal services and is often cited as a primary cause for non-payment. However, research by Johnson (1999) noted that where a Masakhane ethos had been embraced by communities marked improvement in payment levels resulted, even in poor communities. Other factors noted in these areas was the existence of a sense of community cohesion, usually in small, well-managed communities. The development of a culture of civic responsibility is a behavioural principle which has been identified by this research.

#### **6.2.2 The Significance of the Development and Application of a Model of Communities' Perceptions**

A model of communities' perceptions is proposed for the implementation by local authorities to help overcome some of the current problems of urban management. An application and interpretation of the model has several benefits for policy-makers and urban managers.

1. The establishment of strong interactive linkages between a local authority and a community founded on a single-city concept may be created. The model demonstrates practically how a local authority is able to fill a communication vacuum which currently prevents the development of interactive links between itself and previously disadvantaged communities in particular.

2. To be successful Masakhane requires comprehensive development planning and implementation. The model demonstrates gaps in Masakhane as a stand-alone education awareness project. Masakhane ethos is concerned with developing an understanding about how the city works in the minds of all citizens and stakeholders. It is about developing a moral base to society, improving the material conditions of that society through interactive participation with that society. Stand-alone education awareness and development projects have not achieved this and have proved to be a failure in post-apartheid South Africa. The institution of appropriate community structures, as a component of comprehensive strategic planning, have shown promise in developing interactive linkages particularly within newly-incorporated parts of the city.
  
3. The model provides a context where a local authority may formulate a comprehensive policy founded on a single-city concept. An understanding of a single-city concept allows for the development of policy guidelines, the arrangement of a local authority's institutional capacity and infrastructure to achieve interactive linkages with communities. The implementation of whole-city development by a local authority aims to transform the environment where people live with their participation. Stronger interactive linkages will have a positive influence on the formation of perceptions about the supply of and payment for municipal services by that community.
  
4. The model takes cognisance of the dynamics and current urban realities found to exist in South African cities. South African society is one which is made up of diverse cultures and language groups. The model therefore provides a context upon which a local authority may establish realistic strategic goals concerning the delivery of affordable municipal services. Political promises made to a largely ignorant electorate have proved to be idealistic and disastrous for local authorities and their communities. The provision of affordable municipal services is concomitant to the level of productivity and economic activity is a reality and needs to be understood as such by all stakeholders in the city development process.
  
5. It is imperative that a city has a goal which is aimed at achieving a single-city concept built on the principle of mutual and corporate comprehension and participation by all role-players. The model illustrates why and how the local authority's communication,

operational, strategic and educational components should work in a compatible manner as part of a single strategy.

### **6.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL OF COMMUNITIES' PERCEPTIONS ON THE SUPPLY OF, AND PAYMENT FOR, MUNICIPAL SERVICES**

Spatial behavioural dynamic processes seem to have been overlooked in deliberations and planning concerning the transformation of local government in South Africa. The research has shown that such considerations at this stage of the transformation process are critical for the sustainable reconstruction and development of South Africa's cities. Consequently, the model is designed as a tool which enables decision-makers and planners to include a spatial behavioural dynamic perspective to their thinking. The model takes cognisance of South Africa's diverse population groups. The model is represented by Figures 20, 21, 22 and 23 which have been included at the end of Chapter Seven, and may be found on pages 174, 175, 176 and 177, respectively.

#### **6.3.1 Underlying Principles and Parameters of the Model**

Previous chapters have noted essential principles which have been used to formulate the basis of the model, including:

1. Behavioural geographical theory.
2. A process-oriented behavioural approach to geographical analysis with a focus on the individual within a community. People are thus at the heart of the situation.
3. The lines in the model represent interactive links in the system along which information flows and messages from the environment - information, messages and signals from the environment have an influence on the formation of mental images. Flows may be strong or weak depending on the level of thickness of the line shown in the model.

Parameters of the model have been formulated in accordance with the reality of the South African situation that has become apparent during the research process, as described in previous chapters including:

1. A local authority has a financial imperative and must have prudent financial management. It must therefore operate in a business and customer-friendly and equitable manner.

2. A relationship exists between the level of economic activity, productivity and the level of municipal service delivery.
3. A local authority exists within an environment as an economic system and it must adapt to changed circumstances in order to survive.
4. Stresses and strains in the system lead to social, financial and managerial constraints within the local authority system.
5. A local authority must have innovative and strong impartial leadership which has vision and the ability to develop and implement policy with intent.
6. Popular dissatisfaction with a system results in people voting with their feet.
7. A communities' comprehension about the supply of and payment for municipal services forms the basis for the development of informed partnerships between municipal service-user and provider. Messages and information are likely to be better understood by persons who have an informed level of comprehension.
8. Partnership between the local authority and communities promotes participatory democracy, an important ingredient for sustainable development at the local level.
9. Communication and interaction between the municipality and its clients does not occur in a vacuum. Local authority institutional arrangements, infrastructural resources and policy guidelines provide a framework within which effective interaction may occur. Such institutional arrangements provide the opportunity for participatory democracy to take place.
10. Characteristics of traditional and modern social system norms are evident within South Africa's diverse society and need to be considered when local authorities develop strategic plans and communication strategies with the various communities.

### **6.3.2 Components of the Model**

Starting with the base model represented in Figure 20, the various components which make up the model are introduced independently for the sake of convenience. However, it is important to note that these form part of a whole, an aspect which is central to the philosophical and operational basis of the model (Figure 20). Figure 20 represents a base model on the formation of mental images. The basic components and functioning of the model are explained below.

### 6.3.2.1 An individual's perceptions

Central to an understanding of the model is the individual who forms part of a community. According to behavioural theory, as revealed in Chapter One, city people develop perceptions and spatial mental images about their world and urban environment. Prospective shoppers, residents and investors develop perceptions about a particular city. Perceptions play a role in the actions and behaviour of the perceiver. The actions and behaviour of people and institutions are important for the management and sustainable development of a city.

It is important to understand that a range of persons are involved in and with a city in some way. All these people will develop mental images about that city. The images formed will vary from person to person depending on the information, messages and their ability to articulate these. Consideration of such spatial behavioral dynamics is significant in view of the events in the country's past history which have resulted in a divided city, both physically and mentally. The following categories of persons or groups have been identified by the research and are incorporated in the model. Firstly, business persons, formal and informal, including labour unions and its leadership. Secondly, local authority personnel, city leaders, councillors and community leaders. Thirdly, the urban inhabitants at large. Fourthly, current ratepayers and municipal service-users. Fifthly, would-be shoppers, visitors, residents and investors. Lastly, future generations of urban inhabitants, ratepayers and municipal service-users. It should be noted that the leaders of the future will come from this group. In accordance with behavioural geography theory, all of the above persons form mental images about the city via perceptual filters.

### 6.3.2.2 Perceptual filters

Pivotal to an understanding of the mental image formation process is an individual's perceptual filter, which has therefore been included in the model. Chapter One noted that the formation of mental images occurs during the course of a process. Information signals are filtered through perception then filtered through the cognitive representation given to these in relation to previous cognitive structures in the brain. Factors which play a role in the formation of mental images about the supply of and payment for municipal services include: the perceptual environment; learning and experience; sensitivity to messages from environmental stimuli; secondary sources not necessarily related to direct experience; and the actions and behaviour of role-players in the system. Information, messages and signals stem from the environment from various sources such

as: the global economy; national, provincial and local government; political parties and extra-parliamentary groups; the news media; and by word of mouth. Moreover, institutions, organisations, and role-players play a role in the formation of mental images by their actions and behaviour or as reported by the news media or by word of mouth. Examples have been described in Chapters One to Four. The environment therefore forms an important facet of the model. The realities of South African urban society and its diverse composition mean that the diffusion of information within that society requires consideration in terms of its form, content and method. Thus local authorities need to carefully consider their communication strategies and the establishment of appropriate communication channels particularly to township communities. The model therefore recognises that in South Africa's cities, social systems exist along a continuum, from those which have a more traditional orientation to those which are more modern (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971) (Figure 20).

In view of the above the model focuses on a communities' perception about the supply of and payment for municipal services and related communication strategies, education and information flows. The research in Chapter Two revealed the existence of spatially segmented images currently held by urban inhabitants. As a result of the findings of this research consideration of the urban behavioural dynamics of South African realities are significant at this juncture in the transformation process. Consequently, as an individual's environment plays a role in the formation of mental images, consideration of the South African urban context has also been noted in the formulation of the model.

#### 6.3.2.3 The South African city

In an overview of the apartheid city, the research described the processes which led to the physical division of the South African city. Important considerations were as follows:

1. Chapter Three described how the South African city came to be divided by apartheid and the physical disparities which resulted, represented in Figure 21 as the physically divided city. This is a well documented area of study and of consideration by the research.
2. A further consequence of apartheid practice, and the protest and struggle against it, has been the resultant formation of citizens' spatially segmented mental images about the supply of municipal services, as revealed by Chapter Two. Mental images about the city were found to have a strong association with an individual's apartheid experience. This

is a neglected area of study which is a central consideration of the research. This is represented in Figure 22 as spatially segmented images.

3. The South African city consists of diverse population groups which display social forms that range from traditional to modern. The cultural base of these social forms range from that which has an oral tradition to that which is literate (Figure 20).

An appreciation of the existence of mental images and the dynamics concerning their formation, are believed to be lynchpins in the transformation process in South Africa. Consideration of spatial behavioural dynamics provides a philosophical point of view which enables a holistic perspective to goal-directed planning and decision-making in whole-city development. The model incorporates strategic planning policy and infrastructural considerations which make it institutionally possible and practicable for a local authority to introduce a whole-city development concept within communities.

#### 6.3.2.4 Local authority strategic goals

Strategic planning essentially is a matter of bridge building or mapping the route between the perceived present situation and the desired future situation. Strategic planning is a continuous process in administration and management which links goal-setting, policy-making, short-term and long-term planning, budgeting and evaluation in a manner which spans all levels of the organisation, secures appropriate involvement of people with an interest or stake in the outcomes of these plans, and provides a framework for the annual planning, budgeting and evaluation cycle (Caldwell and Spinks 1992). The City of Hampton experience has revealed the benefit of a local authority implementing strategic goals with economic targets. Furthermore in a South African context, the experience of the Inner West City Council together with its partners has successfully integrated a nation-building ethos into a comprehensive developmental programme, rather than as a stand-alone and unsustainable project. Their policy is described as:

*"The Inner West partners put Masakhane into the context of "three M's", namely:*

*MORALS: Masakhane is about creating a sound and sustainable moral base of our society.*

*MATERIAL CONDITIONS: Masakhane is addressing the society constituted by the haves and the have nots, ensuring integrated and comprehensive development. It is not mere delivery to a passive citizenry but communities have to take ownership and use the available resources and opportunities to determine their own destiny. Material*



*redistribution, infrastructural development, service upgrading and redistribution of opportunities to improve material conditions.*

*MASS ACTION: Masakhane is about mass action on the ground. It is about making sure that, together, we build the nation. Indeed, as we mobilise community-based structures inculcating Masakhane into the social fabric and value system of our society, mutual trust, shared understanding, peace, flourishing economy and team spirit will emerge as pillars of such a noble achievement" (Inner West City Council 1998: 3).*

Jackson (1999) noted that the trend in developing countries is to develop community participation in city development. The concept of a local authority's strategic goals founded on a nation-building ethos has therefore been included in the model.

#### 6.3.2.5 Municipal communication strategies

Local authorities use various communication strategies to inform persons who have an interest in the city. Circumstances for local authorities in South Africa have changed due to political and constitutional changes. This research has revealed the current general lack in comprehension by urban inhabitants of how their city works. The model provides an opportunity to investigate and recommend appropriate communication strategies cognisant of current urban behavioural dynamics in South Africa. In accordance with the model strategic goals and communication strategies need to be integral to nation-building philosophy.

Traditional methods of local authority communication in the current South African urban context have been found to be ineffective in largely unresponsive communities. Furthermore the national government-initiated Masakhane Campaign, when measured against continued levels of non-payment for municipal services, has proved to be a failure. However, research in South Africa has found that smaller community units have been found to be more responsive to the development of a Masakhane ethic (Johnson 1999). The model therefore includes a means of developing effective interactive linkages within particularly previously excluded communities. South African urban realities together with a comprehension of nation-building philosophy provides insight into the formulation of a policy which allows for the institution of infrastructural resources such as community-based development fora and community service centres.

#### 6.3.2.6 Community-based development fora and community service centres

In terms of current South African urban dynamics, community-based fora and community service centres provide the political and institutional operational mechanisms so that a nation-building philosophy may be fulfilled within communities. In view of the disparities created by apartheid such structures are of particular significance in township areas at this juncture. Following the demise of apartheid a gap in municipal infrastructure currently occurs in newly-incorporated areas of the city.

Development forums are formalised structures that are focussed on development issues within a discernible geographic community. The development forums are inclusive, non-partisan, representative, democratic and transparent community-based structures accountable to the respective geographic/interest communities. In accordance with Section 152 (1) (e) of the Constitution, 1996; the Development Facilitation Act, 1995; the Local government Transition Amendment Act, 1996; the Reconstruction and Development Programme National Policy and White Paper (process) in Local Government, the Inner West City Council, in its end of March 1997 meeting, unanimously adopted clear policy guidelines regarding the establishment of all inclusive development forums (Inner West City Council 1998; Nene 1997). The concept of a community-service centre is that of a one-stop shop customer-friendly centre. It is a nodal point established within a community so that local government may be brought to the people in a central co-ordinated fashion. The centre provides a physical base from where development forums and councillors will operate from within their communities at accessible nodal points to the community (Figure 24). In its completed form the centre has the following features: councillors and development forum offices; municipal administration, co-ordination and information centre; technical advice centre; library; secure banking, municipal paypoint and paypoint for pensioners; post office; public telephones; taxi rank and transport node; clinic; local economic development centre and a multi-purpose sports centre. The centre provides an opportunity for real and meaningful transformation. At this juncture, following the void left by the collapse of apartheid, these centres fill the role of a suburban civic complex within newly-incorporated communities. From a psychological and customer-friendly perspective, the centres provide the municipality with an administrative, technical and physical presence in the community. This will enable the municipality to achieve visible service delivery, an important aspect regarding the payment for services by these communities, identified by Johnson (1999).

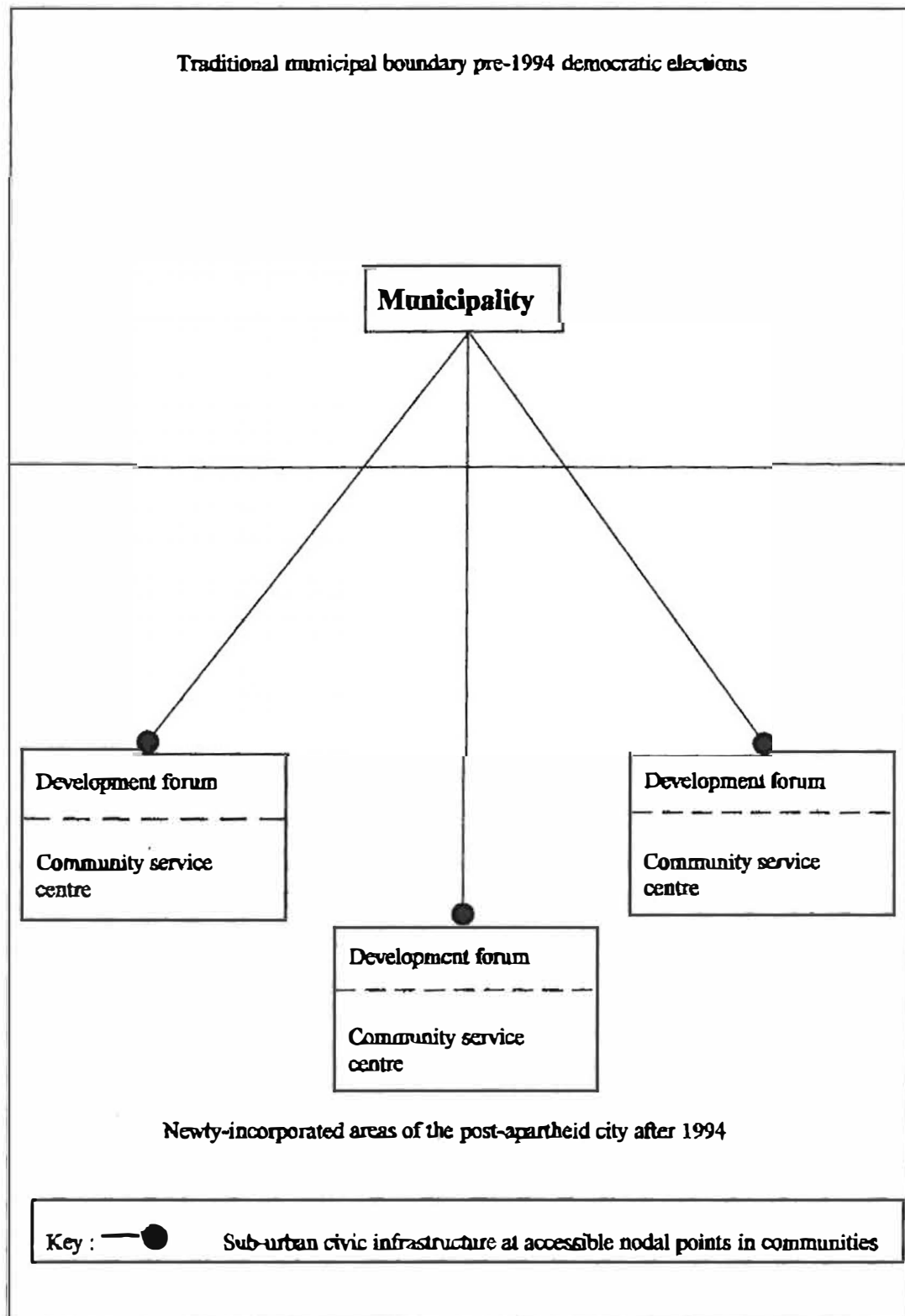


Figure 24: A theoretical model of community service centres as sub-urban civic nodal points in newly-incorporated areas of the post-apartheid city

A development forum is a community-based structure through which a community may participate with a local authority in needs analysis and budget prioritisation, integrated and development planning. In the current South African urban context, according to Nene (1997), a critical constraint impeding the planning and development process is the lack of organised capacities for community participation. A community service centre is an operational local authority centre based in an urban community. The centre forms a structure within the community from which the development forum would operate. The centre also forms an operational and communication conduit for local authority service delivery in a geographically defined area. Although a new concept, literature search recognised such centres to be an important facet of community development, communication and education (Nene 1999). These new developments have considerable implications from a spatial behavioural point of view and therefore form an important dimension to the model. Research conducted by Johnson (1999) in South Africa tends to support this view. This research thesis also noted that community leaders, elected officials and full-time municipal officials, by working together, were found to have a positive influence on the development process. The same research also noted that smaller communities have responded to Masakhane more positively than have large townships or informal settlements. Development fora provide a structure of achieving smaller units for development within a city. They also provide structures which enhance interactive linkages between the municipality and the community in that the development forum draws up business plans for the development of their community for approval by the municipality. In this way the community will become more aware of the origin, availability and use of local finances.

An aspect of the implementation of local authority community structures, as mentioned above, would be the use of opinion leaders and change agents to facilitate change in society (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971). Opinion leadership is the degree to which an individual is able to informally influence other individuals' attitudes or overt behaviour in a desired way with regular frequency. A change agent is a professional who attempts to influence thinking of a community in a direction that is deemed to be desirable. Operating within the local authority structures mentioned above community leaders could serve as opinion leaders whilst councillors or development agents could act as change agents on behalf of the local authority.

#### 6.3.2.7 Education system and school curriculum

Adult and school-based perception studies have shown that the many citizens' current level of comprehension about the supply of and payment for municipal services remains poor. Learning has been acknowledged as an important behavioural consideration. The formation of mental images is therefore an important dynamic in developing a comprehension about these issues. A component consisting of the education system and curriculum has therefore been included in the model. Firstly, the type of education system, and secondly, an investigation of the curriculum particularly as it relates to the inclusion of the concept of how the city works. Attention now turns to the application and interpretation of the model.

### 6.4 THE APPLICATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE MODEL

The model is applied to a local authority system, the goal of which is to strengthen the interactive linkages, information flows and messages between the local authority and the individual its communities. A particular procedure of applying the model will follow. The components of the local authority and its environment, as described in 6.3.2 above, are identified and defined. Figures 21, 22 and 23 depict the formation of mental images during three periods: the apartheid era; the current post-apartheid transformation period and recommendations for the future. The recommendations for the future have been formulated on contributions made by the results of this research thesis.

#### 6.4.1 The Formation of Mental Images During the Apartheid Era

The formation of mental images during this period is represented in Figure 21. To investigate the formation of mental images during the apartheid era one needs to be reminded of the divided South African city as described in Chapter Three, represented in Figure 21 as a physically divided city. The implementation of apartheid ideology resulted in racially-based divided cities. The ideology further resulted in the creation of different environments for different people based on race groups. As a consequence of these circumstances information and messages from the environment would have meant different things to different people. The resultant central government control is therefore represented by a line which represents strong interaction between national and the other forms of government. Messages and information, including that of propaganda, were strictly controlled by central government. The strong link is therefore represented by a heavy line of

interaction between the government and the individual during this period indicative of strong central government control. A feature of the period was one of international sanctions against the country, restrictions on press freedom and individual liberties. Links with the outside world and media were controlled and therefore distorted or inhibited and are thus represented by thin interaction lines.

#### 6.4.1.1 Local authority communication strategies

In accordance with the dictates of apartheid practice, the city became fragmented and controlled by different authorities at the local level. As a result, municipal communication strategies and interactive links with urban inhabitants, varied between the developed white municipalities to that of agents of the state which controlled the townships. Local authority on behalf of the state was rejected. Consequently, interactive linkages therefore were weakly formed.

#### 6.4.1.2 Municipal service delivery

Apartheid practice also resulted in a fragmented racially-based municipal service delivery system. The levels of service delivery and the degree of interaction in terms of civic partnerships was determined on an ethnic group areas basis. The development of civic partnerships were therefore not possible on a democratic and equitable basis resulting in poor interactive links being developed, particularly in township areas.

#### 6.4.1.3 Local authority strategic goals

Strategic goals were disparate as the city as an economic unit was divided on an artificial racial basis. White municipalities were able to develop strategic goals for their areas of jurisdiction only. Other areas came under the auspices of centralised planning by the state. Consequently opportunities to participate in the development of partnerships with the local authority were limited or rejected by the community at large as part of the anti-apartheid struggle. Interactive links between the local authority and township communities therefore would have been weak or non-existent.

#### 6.4.1.4 Education system and school curriculum

Education was a racially-based, centrally controlled system. Interpretation on how a city works was not included in the school curriculum. In terms of the environmental conditions created by apartheid, such a module would have had no practical value for the black majority of the population during that period.

#### 6.4.1.5 Interpretation and summary

The apartheid system resulted in much dissatisfaction and was ultimately rejected by the majority of South Africans and the international community. Much of the resistance to apartheid was initiated by extra-parliamentary bodies such as non-government organisations and banned political parties such as the ANC. Chapter Three revealed that part of the strategy against apartheid rule was to make the townships ungovernable. Information and messages from these groups were ones of civil disobedience as the groundswell of resistance to apartheid government grew. Linkages between extra-parliamentary groups and the individual are therefore represented as a thick interactive line in the model during this period.

As a result of apartheid practice, conditions in the environment had a major impact on the formation of mental images during that era. Civic authority meant different things to different people living in the different parts of the divided city. These circumstances had an influence on an individual's understanding on the supply of and payment for municipal services. The development of a single-city was therefore not possible.

### 6.4.2 The Formation of Mental Images During the Current Post-apartheid Period

Figure 22 represents the formation of mental images during this period. The demise of apartheid and the introduction of democratic government in the country resulted in constitutional changes which have brought about a change in circumstances for city management and development as described in Chapter Four. In terms of these constitutional changes, previously excluded township areas are now included within a municipality's jurisdiction and local authorities have also been mandated by law to develop these areas. The changes provide opportunities for the development of the city as a single economic entity for the first time. Links in the system have evolved since the previous era. The model represents links which exist between national, provincial and local

governments as being guided by a new constitutional and democratically elected government. The opportunity for improved links with the outside world has also been made possible with international recognition of democratic government in South Africa. The interactive linkage in the model therefore represents the possibility of stronger links between the individual and the outside world including that via the media. However, this research thesis has noted the existence of a gap in the system between the local authority and its communities. No municipal infrastructure currently exists within communities in newly-incorporated areas to enhance any linkage. Consequently the institution of appropriate civic infrastructure within townships is imperative.

#### 6.4.2.1 Local authority communication strategies

The research has revealed that communication strategies remain mostly disparate. Cities continue to market themselves for economic investment, whilst conventional methods to communicate with ratepayers and the community at large, have been replaced by a Masakhane Campaign. Nevertheless, the central government's Masakhane initiative has proved a failure when measured against the continued levels of non-payment for municipal services and other forms of non-compliance as noted in this thesis in Chapters One and Five. Chapter Two revealed the disparity which exists between different communities. These disparities are consistent with a persons apartheid experience within the South African city. This aspect is represented in Figure 22 as spatially segmented images. The resultant link between the local authority and the individual is not as strong as it should be. The interactive linkage line in the model is therefore not thick. Chapter Five noted factors which inhibit the further enhancement of this link. Survey evidence indicates that a significant number of citizens perceive that national government is more responsive to their needs than local authorities. Consequently many individuals are currently influenced by their political party or its leaders and may be non-responsive to the local authority. Therefore a strong link still exists between these individuals and political parties as shown by the model.

#### 6.4.2.2 Municipal service delivery

Constitutional changes have resulted in a change in municipal areas of jurisdiction, with a mandate to develop these areas without necessarily an increase in its rates base. Chapter Five revealed that many municipalities do not have the financial resources to carry-out that mandate. Unrealistic expectations created by political promises have resulted in unrealistic demands for municipal services by particularly previously disadvantaged communities. Furthermore many municipalities



continue to suffer the effects of non-payment for the services which they render. Evidence provided by the research points to a continued culture of entitlement. Such developments continue to weaken the enhancement of interactive links between municipal service-provider and user, particularly as relates to the provision of affordable municipal services.

#### 6.4.2.3 Local authority strategic goals

Cities are now able to develop strategic goals for the development of the local economy as a single entity. However the research has shown that where there is undue political interference, a lack of corporate understanding and institutional capacity, this leads to frustration and dissatisfaction for many local authorities and communities. Strategic goals need to be implemented with intent otherwise the goals set will not have the desired effect. Interactive links in the system between the local authority and the individual will continue to remain underdeveloped.

#### 6.4.2.4 Education system and school curriculum

The post-apartheid era has seen the introduction of a single but centrally controlled education system. A new education curriculum based on outcomes is being implemented to replace a traditional content based one. A module on the supply of and payment for municipal services is not evident in the new curriculum. As a result, future generations of municipal service-users and leaders will not be educated in the basic principles of how a city works in any informed and structured manner. There is a real danger that problems which presently exist will simply be perpetuated in the future unless the proposals put forward by this thesis are noted.

#### 6.4.2.5 Interpretation and summary

Notwithstanding constitutional and political changes which have taken place during this period, evidence indicates that spatially segmented mental images held by citizens are still very evident. Links between the local authority and the individual remain underdeveloped. Adult and school-based perception studies have shown that the level of individuals' comprehension on how the city works remains low. As a consequence exogenous factors, such as unrealistic political promises to the electorate will continue to impede citizens' realistic appreciation of the provision of affordable municipal services. The two links, between the individual and central government, and between the individual and a political party or other interest groups, are therefore represented in

the model by interactive lines of equal thickness. The interactive links between a local authority and an individual and communities therefore remain inhibited and underdeveloped.

Impediments in the system which result in mixed messages from the environment to the individual about the city include: the local authority's inability to communicate effectively with a community and an individual's sensitivity to environmental stimuli. Nene (1997; 1999) considers that in order to achieve effective links between the municipality and the individual, cognisance of existing South African urban realities must be considered. Furthermore as already mentioned research by Van Niekerk (1990) noted that the composition of South African urban society should also be considered. Consequently appropriate institutional arrangements, infrastructural resources and local authority policy guidelines can achieve stronger interactive linkages between the local authority and its communities. This relates specifically to the development of civic community structures in newly-incorporated parts of the city at this juncture.

#### **6.4.3 The Formation of Mental Images: Recommendations for the Future Functioning of a Democratic City**

Refer to Figure 23. The centre of the model includes both physical and mental aspects, a physically divided city and spatially segmented mental images. The arrows point towards the centre, the institutional goal being to achieve a single-city concept, both physically and mentally. It is as important to develop the city physically as it is to improve citizens' understanding about the supply of and payment for municipal services. In terms of the model this would be to make the interactive link between the local authority and the individual as strong as possible. An aspect of this would be developing a better understanding of reality by stakeholders in city development. The understanding should be based on a concept of affordable municipal delivery founded on participation and co-operation between the local authority and a community. A well-informed and educated public contribute to the development of strong interactive linkages within the system. The existence of strong links is less likely to be impeded by unrealistic political promises which have tended to create distortions in perceptions. Other important links in the system are the increase in interaction between the individual and the outside world and between cities and the global economy. Information is obtained and exchanged via the print media, telecommunications and the more sophisticated forms of electronic media.

#### 6.4.3.1 Behavioural principles

Behavioural principles resulting from this research thesis provide a basis for the provision of recommendations. These include the following:

1. A holistic approach founded on a philosophy of nation-building which informs and guides local authority thinking and behaviour.
2. A customer-friendly and business-oriented local authority with minimal political interference in the business of running the city.
3. Local authority strategic goals founded on nation-building philosophy and a corporate comprehension and effective implementation of strategic goals towards the development of a single-city.
4. An institutional capacity, infrastructural resources and operational ability, to implement local authority strategies. This would be specific for the development and management of smaller cohesive geographic units appropriate in current South African urban society.
5. Successful marketing of a city is determined largely by the product and the institutional capacity to satisfy interested clients.

#### 6.4.3.2 Recommendations for the future

Recommendations need to be interpreted as part of a comprehensive nation-building programme. All the components in the boxes at the base of the model combine in an interrelated comprehensive developmental process (Figure 23). The lines dividing the boxes in the model have been removed in order to represent an holistic approach to whole-city development. All the components combine to establish strong interactive links between the local authority and the individual and communities. The following recommendations form part of a comprehensive development approach:

1. *Local authority strategic goals based on nation-building philosophy.* Both Hampton and the Inner West City Council have been successful in developing and implementing strategic goals. Of particular significance to the South African context, Inner West developed goals incorporating the principles of nation-building philosophy which then provided policy guidelines for implementation of various local authority operations. The philosophy, policy, institutional capacity and operational implementation occurred

concomitantly. The philosophical foundation was of paramount importance to Inner West as it provided a framework for the thinking and the behaviour of role-players and stakeholders in a system geared towards whole-city development. It is important to note that these policy guidelines have helped political interference in the system. With regard to the institutional capacity to implement local authority strategic goals, Hampton and Pinetown demonstrated by their success that an important aspect of strategic planning is to have the institutional capacity to achieve set goals. This may necessitate a local authority making appropriate institutional arrangements. Development fora and community service centres are examples of such infrastructure and will be discussed in more detail below.

2. *Development fora.* The success of Masakhane achieved within small cohesive units noted by Johnson (1999), indicate that the creation of smaller geographic units should be pursued by local authorities. The example of the approach adopted by the Inner West City Council is discussed. Infrastructural resources which the Inner West City Council has developed are community-based development fora (the principles of which may also be achieved by development or ward committees). That council's area of jurisdiction has been divided into fifteen development forum areas. The creation of development forums within a local authorities jurisdiction has proved to be an important catalyst for: "*Promoting participatory democracy*" (Inner West City Council 1998a: 4). A development forum is an important consideration concerning the building of a nation as it provides opportunities for community participation in a structured environment. Local councillors are ex officio members in their respective development forums. Councillors give reports-back and ensure transparency and accountability on an on-going basis. The development forum is an ideal structure through which a local authority may employ opinion leaders and change agents in the diffusion of ideas to change attitudes and thinking in communities in a manner suggested by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971).
3. *Community service centres.* A further component of an infrastructural resource was found to be the community service centre. Community service centres have proved to be an important operational conduit in the township for the Inner West City Council. Both development fora and community service centres have significant behavioural implications for the reconstruction, development and transformation particularly of township areas. The use of these structures has enabled the achievement of community level participation

in the development process and improved payment levels reversing national trends (Inner West City Council 1998a). They also have the potential to help solve a communication and education problem which has plagued local authorities in post-apartheid South Africa. Figure 25 illustrates the point. This research thesis noted that traditional methods of communication between the local authority and the individual have largely failed particularly in newly-incorporated areas. These therefore are represented in the diagram by a broken line as poor lines of interaction between a local authority and a community. On the other hand, the principle of development fora and community service centres become infrastructural resources which provide a direct operational conduit for visible municipal service delivery and community participation and education and training. Development fora and community service centres provide local authority structures within communities from where the diffusion of ideas and changing of attitudes may take place. Furthermore opinion leaders and change agents may operate on behalf of the local authority within a structured environment. The lines of communication and interaction between the service-provider and the community are thereby enhanced and are represented as strong (Figure 25). The media remains an important form of information provision from the environment. As the research has demonstrated the media provides an important information channel for, and about, the local authority. Lines of communication between the media, and between the media and the individual, are therefore represented in the diagram with a solid line, indicating their importance in the process of mental image formation. Links between an individual or community and a political party or interest group are ever present. Nonetheless, as a sense of civic responsibility becomes inculcated in a local authority and its citizens, the influence that party-political messages have on the general public should decline *vis-a-vis* the management and development of the city. In other words as the general public become *au fait* with how the city works, and are in full partnership with their local authority via the community structures described above, the influence false expectations raised by irresponsible and unrealistic political promises have on mental images should diminish. Interactive links between the local authority and its citizens are thereby strengthened as shown in Figure 25.

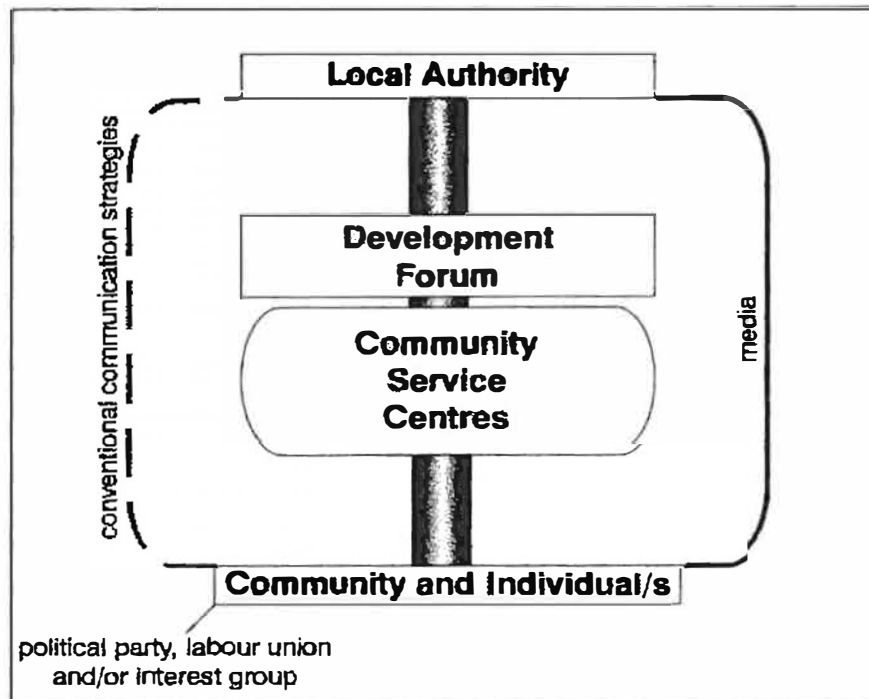


Figure 25 Local authority communication channels within township communities

Van Niekerk (1999) noted that community service centres may prove to be too expensive for some local authorities to implement and sustain. However, the underlying principle is one of one-stop service at a nodal point particularly within a township community at this juncture of development. A further benefit of community service centres is that the security of municipal facilities is simplified and less susceptible to the possibility of vandalism suffered by spread out stand-alone projects. The alternative is continued non-payment and the abuse of local resources which in itself is very costly.

4. *Opinion leaders and change agents.* Opinion leaders and change agents form a pivotal component of the implementation of local authority strategic goals in the development of Masakhane within a community. Their operation is particularly necessary to assist a local authority in the management and development of newly-incorporated areas of the local authority. Their function is to develop Masakhane thinking within communities as a form of innovation diffusion described by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971). Research has noted the positive role played by good local municipal and community leadership in the development process (Johnson 1999; Taylor and Mattes 1998). Owing to the fact that many communities in newly-incorporated areas may be suspicious of outsiders,

community leaders and municipal officials initially will have to fill this role in the development process at this juncture.

5. *A customer-friendly and business-driven local authority.* A local authority must act in a customer-and business-driven manner if it wishes to be an effective deliverer of services. Aspects of comprehensive planning is the marketing the city and credit control policy the subject of discussion below.
6. *Marketing the city.* A nation-building philosophy has behavioural considerations, such as the city's image, for a marketing strategy. Two aspects of city marketing are of importance. Firstly, marketing the city is to attract potential investors to the city. As investors are interested in investing only in stable environments, the creating of a stable environment therefore is paramount to the successful promotion of a city according to Nene (1999). Secondly, it is important to have the appropriate institutional capacity to cater for the needs of that particular investor.
7. *Municipal service provision and visible delivery.* Current research in South Africa indicates that there is a need for equitable systems of collecting, monitoring and enforcement of municipal service payment. Cross-subsidisation is a means of developing needy areas of the city. Attitudinal and perception studies have noted that people living in developed parts of the city agree in principle to the concept of cross-subsidisation. However from a behavioural perspective, it would be imperative for a local authority to establish equitable systems of collection, monitoring and enforcement of payment for the municipal services it provides. Lack of payment for services, corruption, ineffective and indifferent local authority management will create dissatisfaction resulting in people voting with their feet.
8. *Limited political interference.* This research has noted examples of undue political interference in city management and development in post-apartheid South Africa. This aspect should be duly noted and phased out by local authorities if they wish to be business-oriented institutions. According to Nene (1999), political interference in the affairs of the Inner West City Council is controlled and guided by agreed upon strategic goals. Johnson (1999) noted that the successful implementation of Masakhane in South African townships was evident where local community leaders, elected councillors and

full-time municipal officials worked together as a team. The research noted examples of where undue political interference in economic activity can cause a system to flounder.

9. *A code of conduct for local authority personnel.* A code of conduct for committing local authority personnel, councillors and community leaders to the implementation of strategic goals would enhance the management and development process. The Inner West City Council has successfully prevented interference in the implementation of strategic goals as these had been adopted as policy guidelines. The research proposes that a code of conduct be established to ensure that the implementation of strategic goals be adhered to. A local authority vision and mission statement would help guide the process, according to Hampton city manager, George Wallace (1999). The research recommends that a system of monitoring takes place in order to eliminate factors, such as *inter alia* political interference, which impede the implementation of strategic goals. Evidence found by the research points to the need for such a system in the transformation of the South African city.
  
10. *Communication strategies based on nation-building philosophy.* Part of Hampton's success has been their communication strategies including a feed-back system. The Inner West City Council utilize communication strategies as a facet of their nation-building philosophy. Communication accordingly has become an integral component of that local authority's strategic goals. An important point to note about the Inner West's belief is that communication cannot take place within a vacuum. According to Inner West, a line of communication requires: appropriate institutional arrangements; infrastructure; policy guidelines and communities themselves. This view is supported by research in the diffusion of ideas by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) and Ong (1982). In view of current urban behavioural dynamics in South Africa local authorities have to ensure that their message is the same for everyone and articulated as such. A point of departure is to take the theme how the city works and to simplify it in terms of concepts and language. A message must have the same meaning for all residents. This research thesis has noted an example where infrastructure in the community, such as development fora and community service centres, have been developed as a conduit through which effective communication may take place. Development fora enabled the division of that city into smaller development entities. Moreover that local authority's policy guidelines informed and helped guide the process for officials and stakeholders operating within the system. Other



research conducted in South Africa has confirmed the benefit for developing smaller geographical units (Johnson 1999).

11. *Equitable systems of cross-subsidisation.* Attitudinal and perception surveys have noted that rates and service-charge increases as a result of non-payment for services is not acceptable. Innovative and creative methods of cross-subsidisation need to be used by local authorities as a solution to the problem, for example, pricing structures on water and electricity have successfully been used by local authorities in South Africa to assist the needy without estranging paying customers. A civic culture and the concept of affordable service delivery must be engendered in communities as poverty has been found not to be the only factor affecting the non-payment of municipal services.
  
12. *An educational module on the supply of and payment for municipal services.* Attitudinal and perception studies have revealed a poor lack of comprehension by citizens of how the city works. The research recommends the development of a module on how the city works. A local authority has no jurisdiction over the education system or curriculum which is controlled by central government. Regardless, a local authority should petition national government concerning the seriousness of the problem it is being confronted with. In the interim a local authority may utilise its own structures as a means to educate persons within its own jurisdiction. A similar recommendation has been made by a Masakhane report compiled for Pietermaritzburg (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1999d). In accordance with an IDP an education forum should be utilised to highlight problems in the system. The module on how the city works could be introduced into schools as part of Masakhane. Furthermore a range of educational material on the subject could be made available for use - from a simple booklet to a sophisticated interactive computer programme. The community service centre as described above should be used as an education and training venue from within the community particularly in township areas. Owing to the seriousness of the situation, a local authority should advise national education about its concerns and the points raised by the research. It is critical that the present day youth, and those of the future, are educated about civics and a nation building ethos.

#### 6.4.3.3 Interpretation and summary

Current urban spatial dynamics found to exist in South African cities require consideration by local authorities if they wish to strengthen interactive linkages with communities in townships, in particular. As conventional methods of communication have proved a failure, current realities dictate a change in philosophy and approach. A successful approach was found to be one which includes comprehensive development planning based on a single-city concept. Masakhane as a stand-alone education programme has proved to be a failure. The single-city concept means that a local authority should re-arrange its institution, develop infrastructure and implement policy guidelines to fulfil set goals. By so doing, opportunities will have been created for the enhancement of stronger links between the local authority and communities based on a participatory approach. As these links are strengthened impediments in the system which have an influence on people's thinking diminish. Participation by the community and visible delivery of municipal services create an opportunity for uniting the city and narrowing mental images held about the supply of and payment for municipal services (Figure 23). The institution of civic community structures such as development fora and community service centres have shown promise in the promotion of participatory democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. The model, as it has been developed in general terms, will now be applied to Pietermaritzburg as a case study.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **APPLICATION OF THE MODEL TO PIETERMARITZBURG AS A CASE STUDY**

#### **7.1 APPLICATION OF THE MODEL**

The model will be applied to Pietermaritzburg as a case study for interpretation and analysis. The model is based on a process-oriented behavioural approach, and that the area under consideration is dynamic in nature. Conclusions will be drawn and recommendations made, the goal being to strengthen interactive linkages between the municipality and communities in an understanding of the delivery of affordable municipal services.

##### **7.1.1 Pietermaritzburg Local Authority**

A background to Pietermaritzburg local authority is necessary for the purpose of further analysis.

###### **7.1.1.1 The formation of mental images**

Adult and school-based perception studies discussed in Chapter Two, are indicative of a general lack of comprehension by the community at large and members of leadership about the supply of and payment for municipal services. Many citizens still believe that national government will provide for all their needs, the 'Pretoria will provide' syndrome. Media and municipal reports concerning the actions and behaviour displayed by communities and community leaders support these survey results. There is therefore a need to create or improve existing corporate understanding and communication of strategic goals to the community at large. The delivery of affordable municipal services must of necessity form a central message. There must also be a comprehension that the city is operating in a competitive market. A city's image has important behavioural considerations for persons with an interest in the city.

###### **7.1.1.2 Local authority strategic goals**

Following a partnership with the City of Hampton, the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC developed strategic goals founded on a development cycle model and is shown in Figure 26. This is basically the concept of the multiple effect of positive cumulative causation. The basic premise of the

development cycle is that development creates employment which generates an increase in tax base. An increased tax base facilitates an increase in demand, and ability to pay for more services, which produces a better and sustainable quality of life, which in turn completes the cycle creating more employment (Figure 26). The development of strategic goals is part of the local development process launched in March 1999. A translation of the development model led to the identification of strategic goals which are represented in Table 19.

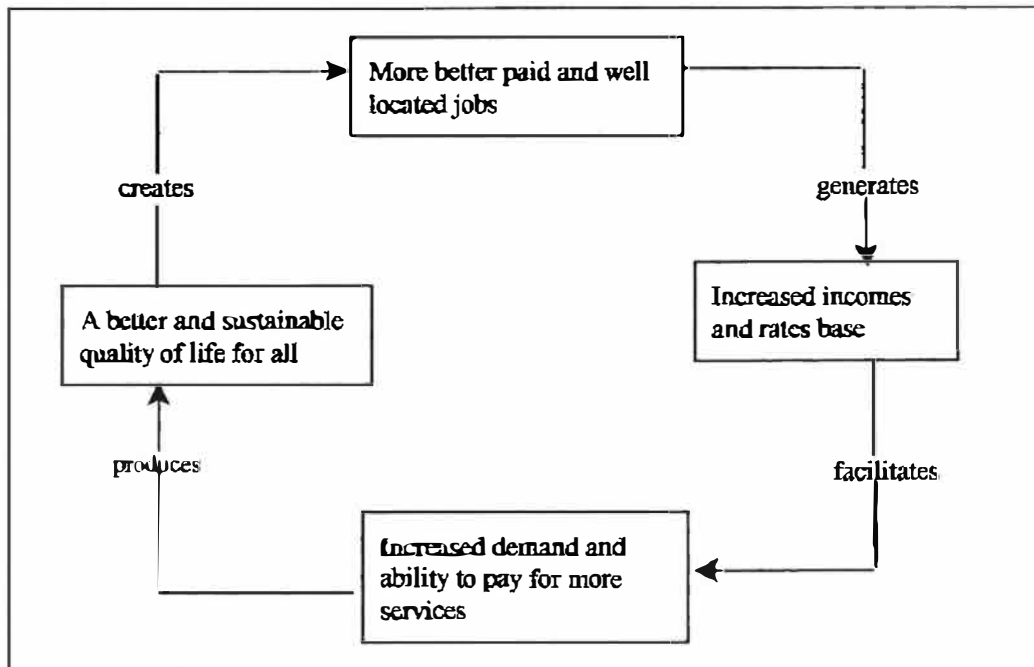


Figure 26 A Pietermaritzburg Development Cycle model

Source: Haswell 1999a

Table 19

Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council: Strategic Goals 1999

- 1 Building the local economy
- 2 Spatial restructuring
- 3 Creating a high performance municipality
- 4 Providing basic services
- 5 Meeting community needs and developing human resources
- 6 Sustainable quality environments

Source: Haswell 1999a: 6

In January 1999 the TLC resolved to set in motion its Big Six Programmes in order to achieve these goals, which according to Haswell (1999a) includes: attracting new investment; a new Transitional Local Council Local Development Plan; a Masakhane Campaign; transformation and development realignment; the preparation of a five year Capital and Operating Budget, and raising staff morale.

Local authority communication strategies have been identified by the research as being a significant component of strategic planning.

#### 7.1.1.3 Municipal communication strategies

Current conventional forms of communication have proved ineffective in the present South African urban dynamic. Evidence from perception studies and the failure of the Masakhane Campaign *vis-a-vis* non-payment for and abuse of municipal services support this view. Seemingly there has been no provision made for the inclusion of communication, education and information flows as an integral facet of the local development plan such as that proposed by this research thesis. According to Sbabalala (1999) the Masakhane Campaign is to be run by the Council's Urbanization Unit following the end of Ubuntu Development Consultant's contract with the TLC. Jackson (1999) holds the view that the message of Masakhane has been difficult to achieve when the programme has been outsourced to advertising agencies. Masakhane in that form tends to become a stand-alone unsustainable project. The continued high levels of non-payment for municipal services tend to support such a view. On the other hand the Inner West City Council of Pinetown have shown that by incorporating Masakhane into a comprehensive development plan there have been benefits for the development of that city as a whole, including that of improvement in the payment levels for municipal services. Johnson's (1999) research tends to support the principles upon which Pinetown achieved their success, namely, the creation of small well-managed geographical units.

#### 7.1.1.4 Community-based development fora and community service centres

The Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC made no provision for the institution of community-based fora and community service centres as an integral facet of development planning. Although, during October 1999 a pilot project based on these principles was introduced in the township of Sobantu. This project has shown sign of promise as noted in Chapter Five.

#### 7.1.1.5 Education system and school curriculum

An education forum has as yet not been established.

#### 7.1.2 Recommendations for Pietermaritzburg

Recommendations are made following an application of the model to Pietermaritzburg.

1. *Review strategic goals in relation to the development of a single-city concept. Review strategic planning to ensure that a nation-building ethos is integrated as a comprehensive developmental programme rather than a stand-alone and unsustainable project (Table 19). A Natal Witness newspaper editorial suggests the TLC as having a lack of vision (Natal Witness 30/12/98). The discussion which follows will provide evidence that supports the view expressed in the editorial. The Inner West City Council and its partners have contextualised Masakhane as a philosophy central to the ethos of building together and not simply as an education awareness programme. Their comprehension of the underlying philosophy has been successfully translated into a comprehensive development programme aimed at developing a moral base to that society. This has included improving material conditions of society in partnership with communities and mobilising people through community-based structures to inculcate a nation-building ethos into the social fabric and value system of society. A vision and mission statement founded on nation-building ethos appears to be in need for Pietermaritzburg and has also been a recommendation made by Hampton. Any following recommendations must be seen in the context of such an interrelated comprehensive development programme founded on an ethos of building together. The city needs to create a vision of a single-city in the minds of all role-players.*
2. *Investigate the institutional capacity to implement strategic goals. According to the director of the PCCI, Andrew Layman (1998b; 1999e), the local authority does not have the policies and institutional capacity to close the deal compared with the notable success in this field achieved by the City of Hampton and the Inner West City Council. Investors and business people will not be given a good impression of the local authority should their needs not be catered for in a business-like and customer-friendly environment. Frustration and dissatisfaction with a local authority create a poor image as revealed in a media report with reference to Pietermaritzburg entitled Nothing gets done (Layman 1999c).*

3. *Be a customer-friendly and business-driven local authority.* The council has identified the creation of a high performance municipality as a goal (Table 19). However, if this is to be achieved, the local authority is advised to:

- 3.1 Appoint a professional public relations officer. The previous incumbent was fired for misrepresenting her credentials. Assistant Deputy City Administrator for Pietermaritzburg, Rona Van Niekerk (1999) suggests that the role should be filled by a Masakhane officer. In terms of the implementation of nation-building philosophy as central to the local authority's operation the concept has merit.
- 3.2 Ensure that it and its partners and roleplayers in the development process comprehend accepted economic and business principles. To allow the city centre to degenerate so as described by media reports (Natal Witness 8/6/99; 11/6/99a; 11/6/99b; 14/6/99; 17/6/99), and the reported mismanagement of Oribi Airport (Boorman 1999a; 1999b; Hellberg 1999; McIntosh 1999; Natal Witness 20/8/99), reflects a lack of comprehension as to the concept of a Central Business District and airport and the significance of their spatial behavioural dynamic. The City's image and attractiveness to shoppers, visitors and potential investors and residents is an important behavioural dynamic in the urban development process, a point noted by the media. A recent report, CBD clean-up gets under way (Aldridge 1999a) suggests that there is a realisation concerning this significant principle in the development process. The local authority has been commended for its street trading policy via reports in the media (Natal Witness 3/7/99). The City Mayor's and chief executive officer's response to press reports about the management of the airport would suggest that this matter is under investigation (Gwala 1999c; Haswell 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 1999d).
- 3.3 Comprehend the significance, in terms of behavioural theory, the shoppers, visitors, investors and residents it is trying to woo, both from within and without, have for the development of the city. It must be understood that the conditions for shopping, touring, investing and living must be satisfactorily perceived by those persons. A Natal Witness editorial (14/6/99: 6), Cleanup, argued that, restoring the attractiveness of the city centre would not occur:

*"Unless broken pavements and choked storm drains are seen to and regularly maintained, unless parking in the Tatham grounds is totally banned and the gardens restored, unless there is restoration of desecrated monuments and vandalised cemeteries, the city will still look and feel as if it has no self-respect."*

The local authority would do well to implement and communicate its strategic plan, by so doing issuing positive messages about the city. Recent reports and communication with municipal officials suggest that the process has been initiated (Harvey-Williams 1999). Visible evidence indicates that the policy is succeeding.

- 3.4 Take note that strategic goals which have economic development intent, should be driven by business-related motives and practice. According to a Natal Witness editorial (27/5/99: 12), Tourism need:

*"Local planners and community leaders have a penchant for dreaming up extravagant projects which seldom become viable actualities. A bit of down-to-earth realism, mixed with thoroughly business strategising and alertness to opportunity, would not be amiss."*

The Natal Witness editorial (29/7/99), On-off development, with reference to the stalled development of a regional shopping complex would suggest that development proposals must be reassessed in terms of strategic goals and economic targets (Natal Witness 3/7/99). The advice provided by the Natal Witness editorial (20/7/99b: 8), Pragmatic development, is therefore significant in this context as:

*"... the last thing needed is the baggage of political correctness. Clearly some of the failed proposals of the last few years have been more political correct than economically viable. ... if the fortunes of the city are to revive there is a need for pragmatism, of encouraging developers to develop unhindered by quotas and restrictions. Otherwise nothing happens. Only through free enterprise which is truly free can the revival of the city's fortunes benefit the previously disadvantaged in the general spin-off of prosperity."*

Notwithstanding the local authority's attempts at projecting a positive image, negative media reports persist such as Nothing gets done (Layman 1999c),



What's happening (Natal Witness 29/10/99) and CBD neglect (Natal Witness 25/10/99).

- 3.5 Note the achievements attained by the City of Hampton. In order to achieve economic development objectives, the City of Hampton found that the appointment of officials on performance-related criteria rather than by political appointment was found to be the most rewarding for success. A Natal Witness editorial (2/6/99), Jobs for pals, alludes to the opposite regarding the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC. These issues will have to be successfully dealt with if the city wishes to develop a competitive economy.
4. *Limit political interference in the business of running the city.* In order to limit political interference the local authority should:
  - 4.1 Ensure that economic goals are not allowed to be overshadowed by political expediency, as has been the advice of the Hampton Delegation. Media reports persist of leaders utilizing situations to further personal and party-political motives (Aldridge 1999a; Layman 1999c; Natal Witness 2/6/99; 23/6/99; 29/10/99; 25/11/99). Reports of political interference support the view that there appears to be no corporate comprehension of, and support for, strategic goals.
  - 4.2 Re-evaluate the effect the proportional representation system has on local government as has been suggested by editorial comment (Natal Witness 25/6/99). Councillors, other than ward councillors, find themselves within a system where there is no accountability to the voters and a political party's vote is in danger of gaining sway over critical issues such as, for example, economic development issues and the provision of and payment for municipal services. Such a scenario allows for political expediency to take precedence over business related economic issues. It also allows for political interference in the management and economic development of the city. Local media reports do not invoke confidence in the matter. According to Nene (1999), the Inner West City Council have been able to limit political interference in the council's affairs by adopting consensus politics. Lobbying takes place outside council meetings thereby avoiding disruption and point scoring for personal or party-political gain. Furthermore all

role-players are guided by agreed policy guidelines. Other success stories achieved in South Africa allude to the co-operation between stakeholders as being a significant contributing factor in the reconstruction and development of townships (Johnson 1999).

5. *Implement a code of conduct for local authority personnel, councillors and partners.*

A code of conduct is essential so that local authority personnel, councillors and its partners:

- 5.1 Adhere to customer-friendly and business-oriented principles as advised by the Hampton Delegation. Establish synergy between all role-players based on trust, and corporate understanding of local authority strategies. Development and management process based on market and business-related principles have been achieved by Hampton and the Inner West City Council (Hattingh 1999; Inner West City Council 1998; Layman 1998b; 1999b; Nene 1999).
- 5.2 Determine that messages and signals projected by the city and its partners are that of a city as a marketable product. Recent media reports do not project any form of confidence in the city's image. A lack of decisive intervention in the control of informal trading has led to a decline in the attractiveness of the Central Business District. However, following three years of negotiations, the clean-up and regulation of informal trading within the Central Business District is taking place (Aldridge 1999a; 1999b). There have also been reports in the media of corruption in the appointment of municipal officials (Kindra 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 1999d; Natal Witness 2/6/99; 23/7/99; 30/7/99).
- 5.3 Ensure that the basic principles of civic responsibility concerning the supply of and payment for municipal services are understood and espoused by all parties concerned. Residents and community leaders must of necessity be introduced to the concept of affordability and the various options in the level of municipal service options as provided by the Department of Constitutional Development (1999a; 1999b). Comprehension of these fundamental principles will help prevent the creation of perceptions based on unrealistic expectations created by

politically motivated promises. A corporate understanding concerning these issues could prevent undue clashes between municipal officials and councillors.

5.4 Develop a corporate understanding of an economic principle that the level of municipal service delivery will depend on the level of economic activity and related productivity of an area - related to which is the concept of the delivery of affordable municipal services.

5.5 Ensure that any irresponsible behaviour by consumers and leaders should not be rewarded in any way. The democratic principle of rights with responsibilities must have universal application. A Natal Witness editorial (2/6/99: 8), Jobs for pals, stipulates that:

*"Corruption of any kind in the TLC is indefensible and makes a mockery of the party-political platforms on which every candidate for council stood in 1996, all passionately espousing transparency and accountability."*

Media reports do not invoke any confidence in the system (Morgan 1999a; 1999b; 1999c).

6. *Institute a monitoring system.* Ensure that the local authority behaviour, including that of its officials and leaders, is not at variance with its strategic goals. The research has noted reports which would suggest that the local authority and its leadership are at variance to the agreed upon strategic goals (Vanderhaeghen 1999a; 1999b). An ombudsman as a neutral independent could evaluate progress and investigate any reported transgressions of the code of conduct. Hampton's initiative is to have an annual survey where the performance of the local authority is assessed by citizens. Furthermore that city's mission statement is advertised as often as possible via messages on council bills, according to Hampton city manager, George Wallace (1999). The Inner West City Council positively reinforces their core message of Masakhane via a monthly news bulletin (Nene 1999). Both Hampton's and Pinetown's success have been attributed to the fact that stakeholders have bought into the process and agreed upon a development path established to develop each of those cities (Nene 1999; Wallace 1999).

7. *Review communication strategies.* Develop communication strategies founded on a nation-building ethos. Such communication strategies require policy guidelines, institutional arrangements and the development of infrastructural resources. Any communication strategies will have to take cognisance of the realities of the composition of South African urban society as noted by this research (Figure 19 and Table 18).
8. *Marketing the city.* Investors wish to invest in secure and stable environments. Consequently a nation-building ethos provides an opportunity to adopt a holistic approach to marketing the city. The Inner West's slogan "*a better place to live and work*" (Inner West City Council 1998a:1) is an example.
9. *Development of community structures.* Develop appropriate community structures and infrastructure within smaller geographic units as a component of comprehensive development planning.
  - 9.1 *Institute development fora.* Divide the area of local authority jurisdiction into smaller development areas in partnership with community-based development fora. Nene's (1997) Building an understanding on community-based development fora provides information of why and how this should be done. The Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC is apparently engaged in discussions with the Inner West City Council on the subject. Recent research in South Africa has found that a Masakhane ethos is more probably developed within smaller communities than in large township or informal settlements (Johnson 1999). These research results tend to support the underlying reasons responsible for Pinetown's success.
  - 9.2 *Develop community service centres.* The council would be enlightened by discussions with Inner West as well as a study of the Masakhane annual award submission 1998 (Inner West City Council 1998). Inner West have shared its expertise with over fifty local government bodies (Nene 1999). Incorporate opinion leaders and change agents to assist in the implementation of strategic goals as a facet of whole-city development. Recent research on the reasons for non-payment for municipal services conducted by Johnson (1999) has identified the positive contribution that community leaders, elected councillors and

municipal officials have made in the reconstruction and development of townships in South Africa. This research supports the role which can be played by opinion leaders and change agents in the diffusion of innovations as described by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971).

10. *Municipal service provision and visible delivery.* Unrealistic expectations create dissatisfaction and tensions within the local authority system. The concept of affordable municipal service-delivery and concomitant levels of suitable service provision must be understood by all concerned, as provided by the Department of Constitutional Development (1999b). Failure to understand the above will put the sustainable development of the local authority and economy at risk of under or non-fulfilment. The principles of development fora and a community service centre provide an opportunity for community participation, interaction and education and training in the municipal service delivery process, particularly as it relates to the development of newly incorporated areas.
11. *Equitable systems of cross-subsidisation.* A local authority will have to implement an equitable system of credit control as an aspect of its business-oriented approach. According to current perception research any policy of cross-subsidisation must of necessity be implemented in a responsible and transparent manner (Human Science Research Council 1997; Ubuntu Development Consultants 1998). Basic needs should be an underlying principle of any cross-subsidisation policy. There exists a danger in South African cities to equate poverty with particular past group areas. The provision of cross-subsidisation should be determined on a needs basis, an important behavioural principle. According to Zziwa (1998), local governments will therefore need to develop databases of socio-economic statistics for their areas of jurisdiction. Furthermore innovative municipal service pricing structures, of for example, water and electricity, may be employed. According to Kennedy (1999), such systems would enable a local authority to employ a more equitable system of cross-subsidisation, regardless of the ethnicity or geographic location of the recipient. However owing to continued non-payment and a abuse of resources, the TLC has had to institute measures designed to deal with non-payment, as was advertised via the media Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council: Notice: TLC to get tough on tampering and non-payment (Natal Witness 6/9/99). Development fora and community service centres provide infrastructural resources and

education centres which could help a local authority achieve an equitable, affordable service delivery system, and understanding thereof, one which is sustainable.

12. *An education and training module on the supply of and payment for municipal services.* The general ignorance citizens have about the supply of municipal services was revealed by both adult and school-based perception studies. This research has identified the need for the development of a module which includes concepts and principles on how the city works. The module should include at least the following: the *raison d'être* of a city; the morphogenesis of a city; resources needed for city development; sustainable use of resources; a local economy and sustainable development, and the civic duties and responsibilities of a local authority and those of communities. Emphasis must be placed on the individual's and communities' role in city development. Added to which, according to Hampton's City manager George Wallace (1999), should be the inclusion of the concept of upward social mobility (Wallace 1999). Citizens need to understand that with opportunities, and the appropriate use of those opportunities, come an improvement in a quality of life. This would help engender an understanding of the concept of affordability. This research has further identified the need for the institution of an education forum as a matter of urgency. The forum should advise national education about the need for the inclusion of a module in the education curriculum which includes concepts and principles on how the city works, as mentioned above. In the interim the local authority may initiate education at a local level as has been advised by a TLC Masakhane report (Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council 1999b). This structure is necessary in order that the problem of education citizens of the future on their civic duties may be addressed.

## 7.2 INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION

The research thesis provided the opportunity for geographical analysis which focused on the behavioural aspect of the reconstruction, development and transformation of the South African city. Apartheid city management and development resulted in skewed physical development occurring in the city. However, attitudinal and perception studies conducted in post-apartheid South Africa have revealed the existence of spatially segmented mental images held by citizens as being consistent with their apartheid experience. Consequently disparities which currently exist in the South African city have physical as well as socio-psychological facets. Factors which

currently exist in the city environment continue to distort the formation of mental images as it relates to city management and development issues. This is particularly evident within newly incorporated areas of municipal jurisdiction. The actions and behaviour of role-players in the system further compound the matter, which continue to frustrate the unifying of the divided city. The Masakhane Campaign as a stand-alone education awareness campaign has failed to encourage municipal service-users to pay for these services. Furthermore, current gaps in the local authority system have been found to exist which mitigate against the development of interactive linkages between the local authority and communities. The filling of these gaps with appropriate municipal community structures has been identified by this research as a possible solution to overcome the problem of community development in post-apartheid South Africa. Current research in South Africa has noted that civic responsibility is best achieved within small, cohesive and well-managed community units.

The development of municipal community structures within defined geographic units particularly within newly-incorporated areas is proposed. A model towards communities perceptions on the supply of and payment for municipal services demonstrates how a local authority may achieve stronger interactive linkages with communities. Comprehensive development planning of whole-city development enables a local authority to formulate policy guidelines which may guide all stakeholders in the management and development process. The policy guidelines necessitate the re-arrangement of that local authority's institutional capacity and development of infrastructure. Examples of municipal community structures are development fora and community service centres in newly-incorporated areas of the city. Such structures enable a local authority infrastructural channels through which it can interact with communities. Opinion leaders and change agents are able to operate in a structured environment within smaller geographic units on behalf of the local authority.

An interpretation and application of the model enables a local authority to identify barriers which currently continue to allow the distortion of perceptions formed by citizens on city development and management issues. These distortions can be created by role-players in the system such as politicians making unrealistic promises to a largely ill-informed audience. Furthermore messages from the local authority are not articulated by the recipient. A culture of entitlement was found to further distort perceptions. The research has identified the need for current and future citizens to be educated in the basic essentials of city management and development and civic responsibilities, which should include training at school level. A fundamental basis for citizen

education and training would be an understanding of the delivery of affordable municipal services. Conclusions and recommendations will be the subject of further discussion in Chapter Seven.



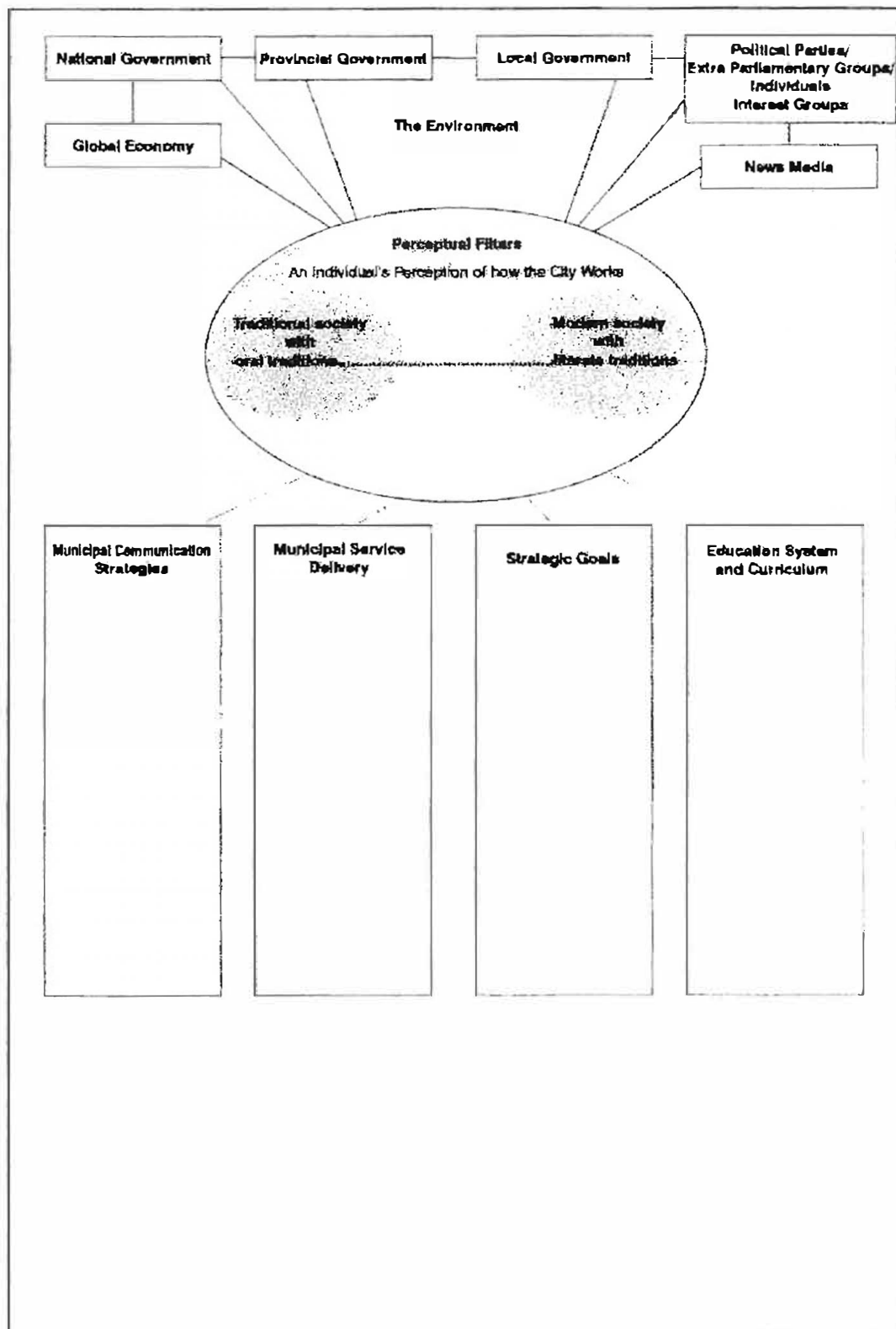


Figure 20 A base model on the formation of mental images

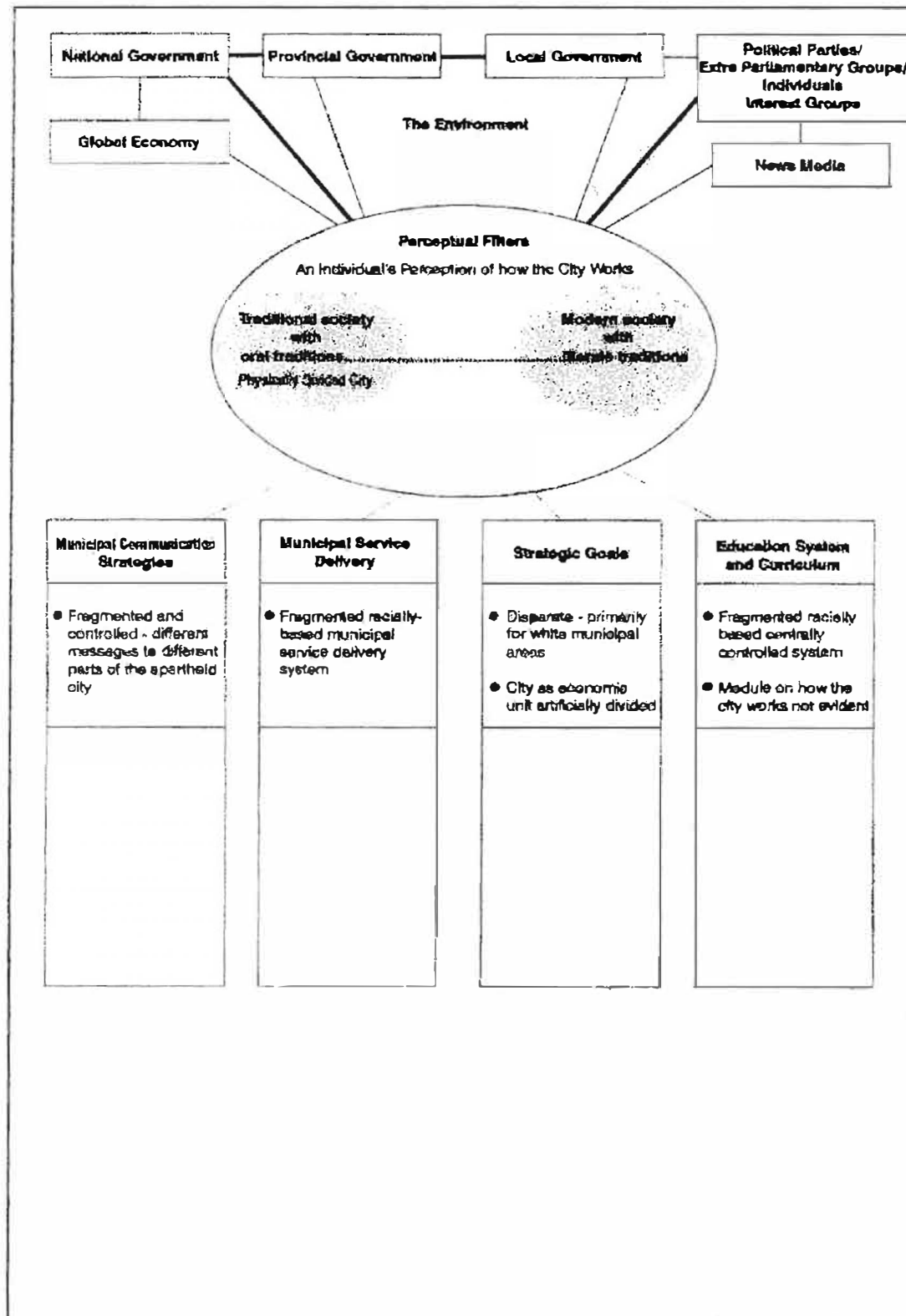


Figure 21 A model on the formation of mental images during the apartheid era

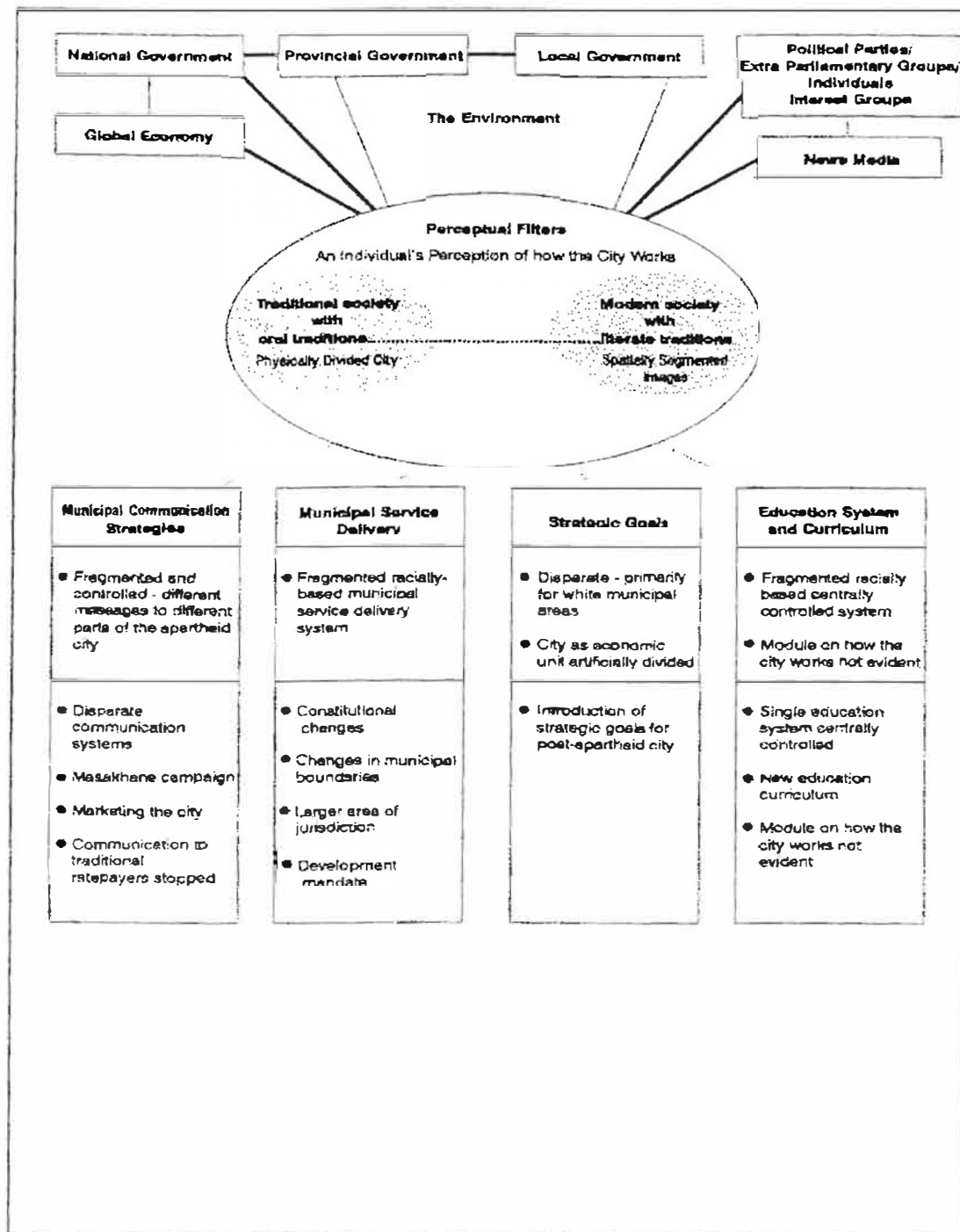


Figure 22 A model on the formation of mental images during the current post-apartheid period

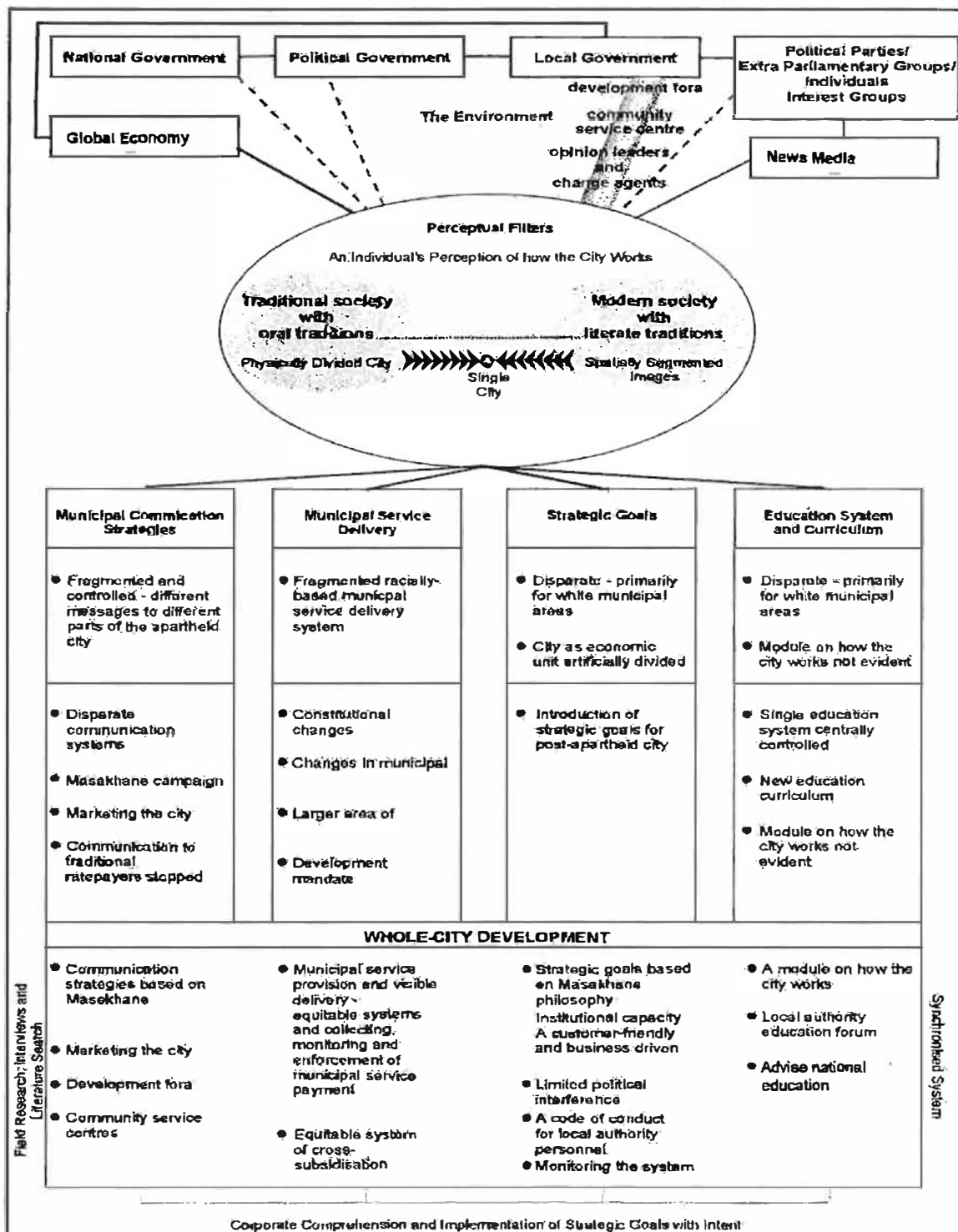


Figure 23 A model on the formation of mental images: recommendations for the future functioning of a democratic city

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 8.1 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

The research identified specific issues related to the reconstruction, development and transformation of the South African city. Specifically, the aims and objectives of the study in Chapter One focused on the following issues:

1. The non-payment of rates and municipal services in South Africa and the government-initiated Masakhane Campaign to overcome that problem.
2. The reconstruction, development and transformation of the local authority system in Pietermaritzburg as a case study.
3. A local authority's financial imperative of income and expenditure within the framework of current government legislation.
4. The development of a model of communities' perceptions of municipal service delivery. This included a concept of whole-city development with specific reference to the role of development forums and community service centres, as local authority community structures, in the development of civic responsibility within communities.
5. Interpretation of the model, as applied to Pietermaritzburg as a case study, to reach conclusions and provide recommendations for the regional and national context of urban management and development in South Africa.

An aspect of the research was the need to determine communities' perceptions on the supply of, and payment for, municipal services. Based on attitudinal and perception studies, Chapter Two revealed how obtuse perceptions and unrealistic expectations exist in South Africa on these issues. Perceptions tend to be consistent with an individual's apartheid experience. A perception survey of young adults revealed the existence of similar patterns to that of the adults. These survey results point to the need for education and training in aspects of civic responsibility and supply of municipal services, for sectors of the community including that of future municipal service-users.

Chapters Three, sketched the background to the development of apartheid. In particular the focus of attention was on the development of a divided city which created different urban environments for persons of the various race groups. Specifically this was related to the different management

practices as regards the provision of municipal services based on different racial groups. Chapter Four and Five depicted the reality of municipal service delivery from the point of view of the service-provider, specifically as this applies to a divided South African city, its transformation, and the financial imperatives of city income and expenditure.

The outcome of the research in the preceding chapters provided the context for the development, in Chapter Six, of a model of communities' perceptions of municipal service delivery in South Africa. In Chapter Seven, the model was applied to Pietermaritzburg as a case study. The application and interpretation of the model provided a context whereby conclusions could be drawn and recommendations made in this final chapter.

## 8.2 CONCLUSIONS

In 1994 South Africa changed from a white-dominated political dispensation to an all-inclusive non-racial democratic system. These changes have also resulted in transformation at the local authority level. Current political and constitutional changes determine that areas of the city previously excluded under the dictates of apartheid, due to race, presently fall under local municipal jurisdiction. Local authorities have accordingly been mandated to service and develop these newly-incorporated areas. Six years following the institution of democracy many local authorities have encountered huge obstacles in the fulfilment of their constitutional mandate. Years of neglect due to apartheid policies have left township areas underdeveloped resulting in tremendous physical infrastructural backlogs. However, this research thesis has highlighted the fact that unifying the post-apartheid city has socio-psychological behavioural dimensions, which too need to be considered. These aspects have as much to do with the process of unifying the city as does physical development. Unless the behavioural weaknesses identified by this thesis are addressed, the unification of the post-apartheid city will remain an unattainable dream. The reality of future economic development in a city being thwarted is a strong possibility unless all role-players in the system have a better understanding of their democratic and civic responsibilities. What is more, the Centre for Development Enterprise provides a reminder, that cities as the engine room of the national economy, need to be competitive in a global economy. The discussion below will illustrate why consideration of the behavioural domain is critical to the reconstruction, development and transformation of the post-apartheid city.

An impediment in the current local authority system, is a lack of understanding of democratic principles, evident in the behaviour often displayed by individuals and many newly-elected leaders,

as has been revealed by this research. Many leaders of the new order have a feeling of superiority, based possibly on their being members of a liberation majority party. There have been instances of political interference in the affairs of city management. Examples have been quoted of political leaders making promises of free services to their constituents or councillors ordering municipal officials to institute a flat rate system for municipal services for particular communities. Such actions depict a level of immaturity and lack of understanding of democratic principles and legal requirements of the law. Moreover, these actions create conflict within the local authority system itself. Problems are created for municipal officials who have to supply municipal services and obtain due payment for these services throughout the whole city. It also engenders a lack of confidence in the system by the paying public. It further engenders a lack of understanding of civic responsibility for those who receive these services without paying for them. In addition, according to the Constitution and the White Paper on Local Government, an equitable system of the supply of, and payment for, municipal services is imperative. These principles have further obtained Constitutional Court clarification, as noted by the thesis. The ANC government itself has publically stated that there is no place for self-serving career opportunists in the public service. The time is to act on these sentiments and no longer appoint such persons that are doing incredible harm to the transformation of South African society. These issues are important if the country wishes to create an equitable society founded on democratic principles as well as developing competitive urban economies under suitable and effective management. The alternative is municipalities and local government which are financially bankrupt and without any moral standing.

Adult and school-based perception studies, discussed in Chapter Two, revealed a general level of ignorance many citizens have about the supply of, and payment for, municipal services. The non-payment for municipal services is creating problems for local authorities that have to service and develop an expanded area of jurisdiction. Non-payment for, and abuse of, municipal services, appears to be particularly prevalent within newly-incorporated sectors of the city. This thesis identified research, which noted the government-initiated Masakhane Campaign to encourage people to pay for services, has generally met with failure. Reasons cited for the continued non-payment phenomenon include: poverty and unemployment, poor community and municipal leadership, political promises of free services and ignorance of Masakhane. Nonetheless, the reported existence of a culture of entitlement appears to be a critical factor related to the whole issue of non-payment. The issue of entitlement will have to be addressed as it is all pervasive and will nullify any attempt to reverse the non-payment trend. The non-payment issue in South Africa currently extends beyond the non-payment for municipal services included in this study - television

licenses and university and school fees serve as examples. At the root of the entitlement issue is the fact that persons who think like this believe government to be a 'Leviathan', and as such, is the provider of all their needs and wants. This level of thinking appears to be the underlying reason why democratic principles and civic responsibilities have reportedly generally not taken root in particularly newly-incorporated sectors of the city. But an aspect of this phenomenon which needs clarification is whether a culture of entitlement is a temporary subculture, or in fact is an aspect of mainstream culture. Decision-makers and policy-makers will have to take note of these aspects if appropriate decisions and policies are to be developed and implemented. It is evident from the outcome of this thesis that the government, if it wishes to espouse democratic principles at the local level, will have to condemn persons who continue to make promises of free municipal services. These self-serving persons will simply continue to engender a culture of entitlement which will further undermine attempts at transforming and unifying the post-apartheid city.

Attitudinal and perception studies, noted in Chapter Two, reflect that a culture of entitlement and ignorance has probably clouded leaders and communities understanding of the economic principles underlying the provision of and payment for municipal services. Municipalities have had to contend with servicing and developing expanded areas of jurisdiction but without necessarily an increase in finances. The governments equity fund and municipal capital often has to be used to fund these developments as well as shore-up bad debts due to non-payment. The thesis noted that a fundamental problem appears to be the interpretation many communities in newly-incorporated areas have of the concept of affordable rates for municipal services. Their interpretation seems to be that they must get the service regardless of the cost, but are only prepared to pay if they think that they can afford it. However, the government has put together a recommended package of affordable municipal services for the indigent, as well as a priority of affordable services for the general public, in accordance with legislation. Alternatively a user-pays principle applies for the supply of, and payment for, municipal services in accordance with the law. It is incumbent on the local authority to have the capacity and political goodwill to enforce these policies.

According to the law local authorities need to develop and implement equitable systems of credit control. The thesis noted examples where such policies have been implemented to positive effect. It should be further noted that it is by no accident that a disciplined environment exists in the traditional parts of the municipality. In this quarter of the city, as the city developed overtime, strict credit control for the supply of and payment for municipal services and the payment of rates, were imposed. Monetary deposits for the connection of services and monthly payments thereafter for their use were imposed, without which the city would not have been able to develop as it has



done. In this manner municipal service-users and property-owners were made to understand how the system works. Clearly the current lack of clear credit control policy and the political will to impose such policy is a disservice to the transformation process, continues to engender a culture of entitlement, and puts the economic development of the whole at risk. By implementing proper credit control policy, a local authority should be able to distinguish between the indigent and the 'free-riders' currently existing in the system. Should this not be done, not only is valuable revenue lost, but the image of, and confidence in the city will decline.

Poverty is often cited as a reason for the lack of payment for municipal services. However, as the thesis has noted, the poverty issue is complex and requires careful consideration. The lack of understanding the concept of affordability and government's life-line policy for the indigent have already been discussed. It is important to realise that whatever service is provided, payment for that service will have to come from somewhere. Two further points need to be discussed. Firstly, Johnson (1999), in his perception research noted that affluent and poor households are equally likely to say they cannot pay. His research further noted that respondents stated that should they be given more money, that money would be spend on private consumption and not for services charges. Secondly, Johnson (1999), further noted cases were, notwithstanding poverty levels within communities, these communities in fact responded positively to the message of Masakhane. Payment levels for municipal services increased dramatically often as much as 100%. The common ingredient in these cases of success was the existence of small, cohesive and well-led and managed communities. Peer pressure was also found to be an incentive to pay for services. In these cases the local community leaders and local authority officials co-operated in the development of these areas. Consequently, it would appear that the division of municipal areas of jurisdiction into smaller geographic units has merit, as does the appointment and election of personal who have the required credentials to lead and help develop these communities in co-operation with the municipality.

The thesis noted that a current infrastructural gap in the link between communities and local authorities resulted from the demise of the apartheid system. This is particularly evident in newly-incorporated areas where these communities do not have easy access to the municipality. There are a number of reasons why this may be so. Firstly, these areas are often geographically further away from the city centre. Secondly, communities may not have access to telephones or transport and therefore communication with the municipality remains remote. Thirdly, the municipality does not have the capacity to respond to requests in remote areas. Fourthly, an individual's ability to articulate concepts, hampered by language ability and level of education, amplifies the problem

of communication between a local authority and communities. Against this background, a model of communities' perceptions of municipal services proposes how a local authority may develop a civic culture towards whole-city development particularly within newly-incorporated communities. The model takes cognisance of, not only physical spatial divisions in the city relating to socio-economic characteristics, but the concept of a divided city still ingrained as mental images in the minds of sectors of the population and their leaders. The socio-psychological behavioural dimension, is in fact regarded as being pivotal to unifying a divided city with manifestations of spatially segmented images. Consequently, constraints existing which impede the unification of South African cities, are both physical and socio-psychological in nature.

This thesis has identified municipal community structures which have the potential to fill these infrastructural gaps in the local authority system. The examples cited comprise development forums and community service centres instituted in township areas. The community service centre forms a civic suburban structure in the community from where the municipality can interact more directly with that community. The centre is in fact a replica of the main municipal body. Furthermore, the community becomes directly involved in development proposals via its representative development forum which consists of councillors, municipal officials and community leaders. This body is involved in decision-making and the preparation of business plans for the development of that community. There are a number of benefits which derive from this participatory approach to development. The approach creates opportunities for human resource development within the community. Physically, municipal community structures are evident in the neighbourhood and smaller more manageable geographic units are defined. From a behavioural perspective, community participation in the manner described, encourages a better understanding of the development process and the financial implications thereof. The notion of delivery, development and payment that may be clearly linked so that residents are able to realise that improvements in their immediate environment are directly related to the payments they made for rates and other services. Johnson (1999) identified this as a key element in achieving better payment levels by a community. Additionally, these structures encourage more responsible and accountable leadership, that has evidently hitherto been lacking in the current proportional representative political dispensation. A factor which mitigates against the implementation of community service centres for cash-strapped municipalities is their cost. Although, when weighed against the continued cost of non-payment and lack of civic responsibility displayed by communities, they may well prove to be cost-effective in the long term. Moreover, these centres can become important education and training centres for the adults of the future. This is an important consideration at this juncture in the transformation process, as the school-based survey

noted that in these communities, parents, relatives and teachers, are currently poor sources of information about municipal services.

More broadly, obtuse images as noted in the thesis, continue to plague South African's interpretation of reality which seems to be continually clouded by racial abuse, in one form or another as media reports would indicate. For example, unrelated judicial decisions are judged by mass hysteria in terms of the race or political background of the persons on trial and not on the merits of the law, as in the recent Boesak and Steyn court cases - not a healthy situation according to professor of criminal law at the University of Natal, John Milton (Von Klemperer 1999). Likewise, suggestions by opposition parties of the privatisation of the provision of municipal services are decried as cheap racial politics and elitist by the majority ruling party. It would appear that internationally accepted values and conventions are constantly misrepresented and decried as apartheid practices, as has been noted by Kenny (1999) in a report, The cowing of debate. Politicians from the ruling party constantly use the poverty gap and or race issues evidently to deflect from deficiencies in the current system. In addition, persons seeking to emigrate due to reasons of crime or as a result of government affirmative action policies, are vilified as being unpatriotic by the ruling party. Efforts and energy would be more constructively directed at identifying the causes to the problem and debating suggested solutions regardless of their background or party political affiliation.

The thesis proposed the need for the development of an education and training module which explains the elementary principles of the supply of, and payment for, municipal services. The module would be relevant at all levels of education. This is particularly necessary due to the levels of ignorance shown by adults and scholars concerning these issues in attitudinal and perception studies referred in the thesis. The sentiments expressed in the surveys was supported by municipal reports and reports noted in the media. This level of ignorance was found to be particularly prevalent in communities from newly-incorporated areas of the city. In fact, as already mentioned, scholars who reside in these areas, revealed their parents, relatives and teachers as weak sources of information about municipal services. An underlying feature to this problem appears to be the lack of appreciation about fundamental economic principles of the development of a modern city. This is particularly evident in the demand made by Third World communities for the benefits derived from a First World economy without wishing to conform to the norms and values which sustain such an economy. Adherence to civic responsibilities and democratic principles are a prerequisite. An attitude of majority rule dictates tend to undermine the attainment of these principles and simply perpetuate a culture of entitlement.

The research has highlighted the areas that should be given further research attention. Recommendations for related areas for further research are noted as follows. Firstly, national, provincial and local government legislation which inhibits the revenue-generating potential of a local authority in South Africa needs to be investigated and identified. Alternate methods of funding and revenue collection and generation for local authorities in South Africa are a necessity if these institutions are to be sustainable. Secondly, factors at national level which impede the management and development process at the local authority level need to be investigated and identified. For example, Cameron (1999) has investigated the role of boundary demarcation in the local government reorganisation process in South Africa. The reported planned expansion of existing TLC boundaries to include areas currently under traditional authority would mean that the consideration of this research become even more critical. Thirdly, the research has revealed the need for curriculum development of educational programmes to include the theme how the city works particularly for the benefit of future generations, decision-makers and leaders. Further research may be utilised to develop appropriate modules as required. Appropriate form, content and methods will need to be employed for effective use in the South African urban context. A range of educational material may be used to articulate the curriculum. Interactive computer models such as Sim City, have proved to be useful educational simulation games for the interpretation of urban space, and possibly represent the sophisticated end of the range. These are however currently based on the American urban experience only. Consequently, the opportunity exists for the design and development of a model formulated on the post-apartheid urban experience which may then be used as an education and training tool. Other less sophisticated material, but containing the same message may also be developed, for the benefit of persons and institutions which do not have access to computers.

### **8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY CHANGE IN THE MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN AREAS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

In effect, by refusing to pay rates and service charges non-payers are passing the buck back to central government. The government faces a situation in which all major public utilities are likely to incur large and possible unsustainable losses due to non-payment. Furthermore, non-payers are also, in effect, voting to weaken local government and to force the tax burden upwards onto the state alone in order that municipalities are simply supported by the state which in turn depends on centrally levied taxes. The 'Leviathan' state clearly lies at the end of this projection. The government will no doubt wish to resist having such a burden laid upon it, for which it does not have the resources and is contrary to the spirit of the constitution. This research thesis has found

that the need exists to investigate policy options to assist a local authority achieve its constitutional obligations and to develop participatory democracy. Consideration of related behavioural aspects, such as the significance of perception formation in the context of the South African situation, has specific relevance.

This study proposes that local authorities investigate the institution of comprehensive development planning for the development of the whole city. Such an approach enables a local authority to consider the economic development of the city and the upgrading of township areas as part and parcel of an overall plan. Various aspects of policy may require realignment with the overall plan. Firstly, cities need to develop and implement strategic goals to market the city in order to attract investment. Policy change may therefore be necessary in order to ensure the institutional capacity exists and intent to implement such goals - the communication of such goals both within and without the system is an important behavioural consideration. The danger exists of potential investors being frustrated if the local authority is unable to respond promptly to their needs. Secondly, cities need to consider policy-guidelines to develop community infrastructure, such as development fora and community service centres, to assist in the development of township areas. This component of the policy has elements of township development and education and training of the community to it. Thirdly, in order to circumvent political interference in economic and technical affairs of city management and development, all role-players need to accept agreed to policy-guidelines. Fourthly, an effective communication and information strategy on the above for current communities, community leaders, municipal officials, and future generations of municipal service-users is required. Such a policy will have to take into account South African urban realities as revealed by this research.

At a national level the development of a component of the educational curriculum which satisfactorily educates citizens on the supply of, and payment for, municipal services and their civic obligations is essential. According to the research concepts which would have to be included are *inter alia*: the *raison d'être* and morphogenesis of the city; aspects of elementary urban economics; and the provision of affordable municipal service level options in accordance with requirements prescribed by the Department of Constitutional Affairs. It is important that a perspective is provided on the role individuals and communities have in the building of a town, city and nation. A clear message, that government and local government cannot pay for everything and even less so if people do not honour their civic responsibilities, should be engendered. A foundation of democratic values and principles espoused by the RDP towards whole-city development is critical to sustainable development. A related consideration which is related to the

previous discussion is that South Africa is a multi-lingual society and therefore the level of language used must be at a level understood by all. Therefore special care will have to be taken in the compilation of education and training strategies and effective channels through which these may be achieved. Research by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971), Ong (1982) and Van Niekerk (1990) support this view.

Local authorities will have to develop and communicate a clear policy of improved revenue collection for the payment of municipal services. The research has noted that a disciplined environment may have to be imposed with intent where more effective systems of payment for service collection, monitoring thereof, and methods of enforcement. A disciplined environment is required so that urban inhabitants are made to realise the significance of their relationship as a partner with the local authority as third-tier government in the development process. Further, there needs to be an interpretation of the constitution and the bill of rights which recognises responsible civic partnerships with concomitant responsibilities and mature behaviour by all.

The results of this thesis provide the post-apartheid decision-maker and planner with a behavioural perspective towards the development of a single-city concept in South Africa. The research revealed the need for the development of civic responsibilities in communities as an aspect of a broader democracy. A model of communities' perceptions provides a tool with which this may most likely be attained in post-apartheid South Africa. Application of the model by local authorities will assist in narrowing the gap, between perceptions and reality, which currently exist in many urban communities.

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**ANNEXURE A**

**GLOSSARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN/APARTHEID TERMS**

For the benefit of the reader unaccustomed to such terms which have assumed common currency with the passage of years, a glossary of South Africa terms is provided to enable an easier understanding of what unfolded during the apartheid era. Included are some terms which have been developed during more recent history. Such terms will have been used in the text of the thesis including Annexures C and D.

**African** Specifically, a member or descendant of any of the peoples of Africa. Note in order to avoid confusion, African in this study when used means a Bantu-language speaker (see Bantu below). Throughout the study the term black is used by the researcher to mean African. See black.

**African National Congress (ANC)** Oldest surviving political organisation in South Africa, it was founded in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) and renamed in 1923. Initially a moderate, even conservative organisation, it opted for an armed struggle against the National Party apartheid regime after being banned in 1960. Unbanned in 1990, it came to power after the post-apartheid democratic election in 1994.

**Afrikaner** White native of South Africa whose mother tongue is Afrikaans.

**amaqabane** Comrades; radical, young and often undisciplined township activist with loose ties to the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress (see United Democratic Front below). The storm-troopers of township protest in the 1980's, they were blamed by the state for the murders of government and community councillors in the townships.

**apartheid** Literally 'separateness, distinctness'; 'racial separation' at all levels was the official National Party Government policy from 1948 until the early 1990's. See 'grand' apartheid.

**armed struggle** Policy of guerrilla warfare aimed at attaining political power.

**Bantu** Literally 'people'; term used by pre-1976 National Party Governments to describe the country's African (black) population. Anthropologists still use the word to describe the language of those African people who migrated southwards from central Africa hundreds of years ago. In this study the term is used with reference to some aspect of National Party Government policy at that time.

**Bantustan** Area for Africans (blacks) which was to be given self-government and eventual independence. A vogue during the Verwoerdian era, it was later scrapped from the Nationalist vocabulary in favour of homeland or self-governing state.

**Black** Person whose skin is not white. However, apartheid ideology referred only to Africans as black, and coloured, Indian and African (black) people together as non-whites. In this study, in order to avoid any confusion, the different population groups in South Africa are referred to as: black, coloured, Indian and white.

**black consciousness** Ideology developed primarily by black students after 1968 that blacks, including coloureds and Indians, had to liberate themselves psychologically from the effects of institutionalised racism and white liberalism. This implied a rejection of all values subscribed to by whites, and an inculcation of a positive world view by blacks.

**black spot** Land settled or owned by blacks, Indians and coloureds and surrounded by or contiguous with predominantly white residential, industrial or agricultural areas; in terms of grand

**apartheid** black spots had to be eliminated. This was done by forced removals.

**Boer** see Voortrekker.

**Bophuthatswana** see homeland.

**Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)** see Declaration of Intent.

**colour bar** Reservation of certain categories of work of a particular race.

**coloured** Person of mixed descent.

**Coloured Advisory Council** Government-established advisory body ostensibly intended to alleviate poverty among coloured people from 1943.

**Coloured Persons' Representative Council** Came into being in 1968 and could draft legislation, subject to government approval, on matters of finance, local government, education and community development affecting coloured people.

**compound** Enclosure or living quarters in which black mine workers are housed; usually attached to a mine.

**comrades** see amaqabane.

**Congress Alliance** Agreement in 1953 between the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress and South African Congress of Trade Unions following the Defiance campaign to work towards the Congress of the People (see below) and the adoption of the Freedom Charter (see below).

**Congress of the People** Gathering held at Kliptown, south of Johannesburg, in June 1955 to adopt the Freedom Charter.

**cordon sanitaire** Literally 'sanitary line'; a series of buffer states, especially when protecting a nation from infiltration or attack.

**Declaration of Intent** Document signed in December 1991 at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I), committing signatories to a multiparty democracy in a unitary state, regular elections, separation of legislation, administrative and judicial powers, an independent judiciary, and the supremacy of the constitution.

**Defiance Campaign** Attempt in 1952 by groups opposed to apartheid to overburden law-enforcement machinery by contravening discriminatory legislation; ended in the banning of most ANC leaders; led to the formation of the Congress Alliance.

**District Six** Former (mainly coloured) residential and commercial area in Cape Town proclaimed a white area in 1966. Its buildings were demolished and its habitants forcibly resettled on the Cape Flats.

**emergency regulations** These extend the powers of the executive and restrict the jurisdiction of the courts in the form of a state of emergency.



**Fagan Commission** Appointed by the United Party Government (under General Smuts) in 1946 to inquire into the laws relating to blacks in urban areas, migrant labour and other matters.

**Freedom Charter** Document pronouncing a non-racial society, liberty and individual rights, adopted by the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955.

**Gazankulu** see homeland.

**Government of National Unity** Government voted into office in South Africa in 1994 in terms of the interim constitution agreed to by the Negotiating Council. Its mandate was to govern the country for five years and to write a post-apartheid constitution.

**'grand' apartheid** Creation of a totally white South Africa devoid of all black citizens - who would become citizens of the self-governing homeland to which they could be ethnically linked, for example, Zulu, South Sotho etc.

**group areas** Areas set aside for exclusive occupation by a particular race group in terms of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts of 1950.

**Harare Declaration** Document compiled in 1989 by the ANC, United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions outlining their terms for talks with the government and their proposals for a new constitution.

**homeland** Region where members of a particular African (black) language group (eg Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana) were offered self-government by the National Party administration. The homeland system with its 10 ethnic areas was the backbone of 'grand' apartheid. Four opted for independence: Transkei (for Xhosa-speakers); Bophuthatswana (Tswana-speakers); Venda (Venda-speakers); and Ciskei (also Xhosa-speakers). The other six self-governing states were: Gazankulu (Shangaan-speakers); KaNgwane (South African Swazi-speakers); KwaNdebele (Ndebele-speakers); KwaZulu (Zulu-speakers); Lebowa (northern Sotho-speakers); and Qwa-Qwa (southern Sotho-speakers). The homelands were scrapped in 1994 and were incorporated into the post-apartheid democratic South Africa (see also national states).

**House of Assembly; House of Delegates; House of Representatives** Chambers of tricameral parliament (1984-1994) representing white, Indian and coloured voters respectively (see also tricameral parliament).

**Independent Development Trust** Body set up with an initial state grant of R2-billion to tackle South Africa's housing crisis.

**influx control** Regulations controlling the movement of blacks out of the reserves/homelands into white South Africa (see also Reserve).

**Inkatha** Zulu national and cultural movement led by Chief Buthelezi; opened its doors to all races as the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in 1990.

**job reservation** Regulations reserving certain jobs exclusively for workers of a particular group (white, coloured, etc). Used primarily to prevent employers hiring lower-paid blacks to undertake work done by whites, but also to enforce 'grand' apartheid in the Western Cape, which became a coloured preference area.

**kangaroo court** Unofficial court set up by township activists to try those victims they saw as 'offenders'.

**KaNdwane** see homeland.

**KwaNdebele** see homeland.

**KwaZulu** see homeland.

**Lebowa** see homeland.

**Masakhane Campaign** Campaign started by the Government of National Unity since 1994 in an attempt to get primarily township residents to pay for municipal services. Part of the anti-apartheid strategy during the 1980's was a boycott on payment for municipal services.

**mass action** Campaign of strikes and other industrial action, sit-ins, marches etc. mainly as an aspect of the anti-apartheid struggle.

**Mass Democratic Movement** Loose alliance of anti-apartheid groups during the 1980's.

**migrant labourer** Person who moves (or is forced to move) from one part of the country to another in search of employment, often for a fixed period.

**mixed marriage** Union between a white and a non-white (black, coloured or Indian) person; outlawed in South Africa between 1949 and 1985.

**Natal Indian Congress** Founded in 1894 to strive for Indian rights.

**National Convention** 1908-9 conference of states in southern Africa to negotiate union.

**National Party** Political party formed by Barry Hertzog in 1914 to represent Afrikaner interests. Fused with Smuts and the South African Party (SAP) in 1934 to form the United Party; emerged as the Herstigte (Reunited) National Party after Hertzog had split with Smuts over whether to enter the war against Germany and linked up with D F Malan's 'Purified' Nationalists. Came to power in 1948 and renamed the National Party (NP) in 1951. Relaunched in 1990, opening its membership to people of all races. Lost power to the African National Congress in 1994. Served in the Government of National Unity from 1994 until withdrawing during 1996.

**National Peace Accord** 33-page document signed in September 1991 by 24 political parties, committing themselves to a code of conduct that prohibited provocation and intimidation of political parties in townships and governed the behaviour of security forces. It also brought into being a Peace Secretariat with legal powers.

**national states** Territories set aside for occupation by members of a particular language group (Zulu, Xhosa, South Sotho, and so on). Originally called Reserves, they were given a measure of self-government by apartheid theorists (such as Hendrik Verwoerd) who wanted to remove all blacks from white South Africa. Four (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda) later chose independence (recognised only by South Africa and each other). The territories were reincorporated into South Africa in 1994.

**Native** Literally means relating to the indigenous inhabitants of a country. During the colonial period and the segregation period Africans were referred to as natives, as reflected by the laws that were passed during that era.

**Native Labour Passport** document entitling a black to seek work in a white area.

**Natives' Representative Council** Established in 1936 after the last blacks were removed from the Cape voters' roll. Abolished in 1951.

**necklace** Rubber tyre filled with petrol, forced over a victim's head and shoulders, and then set alight.

**Negotiating Council** Multi-party forum that drafted the interim constitution in terms of which South Africa held its first election in which people of all races voted in 1994.

**Pass** see reference book or Native Labour Passport.

**'petty' apartheid** Enforced use of separate public amenities such as benches, beaches, buses and trains (see 'grand' apartheid).

**President's Council** Chamber of the interim parliament, heavily weighted in favour of the white house, which had the final power to pass or veto legislation.

**Pretoria Minute** Second round of talks between the government and the ANC in August 1990; main issues arising from the negotiations were commitment by the former to suspend its armed struggle and a pledge by the government to begin releasing political prisoners from September 1990.

**Qwa-Qwa** see homeland

**Racial groups** Also referred to as ethnic groups. In the South African contexts the main racial groups comprise blacks, white, Indian and coloured. For the sake of expediency and to prevent confusion these are the terms which have been used in this research.

**Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)** ANC policy document unveiled during the 1994 election campaign. Adopted as official government policy after the poll, it provided for socio-economic upliftment, especially for blacks.

**reference book** 96-page document carried by all blacks in white South Africa after 1952. It had to be carried at all times and produced on demand. Specifically, it detailed residence and working rights and became more commonly known as "dompas" (stupid pass). Scrapped in 1986.

**Reserve** Land set aside for black occupation (outside white South Africa), by the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, and consolidation under the apartheid regime. Later called bantustan, homeland, national state or self-governing state (see apartheid 'grand' apartheid and homeland).

**Rivonia trial** The trial at which eight *Umkhonto we Sizwe* leaders, including Nelson Mandela, were sentenced for attempting overthrow the government.

**scheduled areas** Areas in which black land-ownership was restricted in terms of the Natives'

**Land Act of 1913.** The Act barred blacks from buying land except from other blacks or in existing Reserves.

**Section 10 rights** Section 10 of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1945 granted exceptions to the general rule forbidding blacks to reside outside the Reserves.

**segregation** Policy of racial separation.

**self-governing states** see national states.

**separate development** Name that attempted to glamorise apartheid by insisting that it fostered the development of each racial and African (black) language group.

**South African Indian Congress** Founded in 1920 to secure Indian rights. Co-operated with the African national Congress during the Defiance campaign and co-sponsored the Congress of the People.

**South African Native Affairs Commission** Set up by Alfred Milner under. It advocated in 1905 the political and territorial separation of whites and blacks.

**state of emergency** Suspension of certain civil liberties in order to strengthen the arm of the executive in controlling a perceived threat to the state.

**Tomlison Commission** Reported in 1954 on the rehabilitation of the African (black) reserves as an essential element of separate development policy.

**Transitional Executive Council** Mini-government representing all parties involved in negotiations for a post-apartheid government; set up at the end of 1993 to oversee the transition to democracy.

**Transkei** see homeland.

**tricameral parliament** Government representing white, coloured and Indian (but not black) voters in racially separate houses; created in 1984 in accordance with the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983. Superseded by the Government of National Unity in 1994.

**township** In the South African context, residential area designated for black South Africans.

**United Democratic Front** Extra-parliamentary, non-racial political alliance of various organisation striving for a democratic South Africa; established in 1983 and dissolved in 1994.

**Urban Foundation** Organisation founded in 1976 by business conglomerates from the English- and Afrikaans-speaking sectors to encourage the creation of a black middle-class society.

**Vaal Triangle** Area surrounding the largely industrial towns of Sasolburg, Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark in Gauteng Province (previously Transvaal Province).

**Venda** see homeland.

**Voortrekker** Literally 'front trekkers'; vanguard of Boers (descendant of any Dutch or Huguenot colonist who settled in southern Africa) who trekked out of the Cape Colony in the 1830's to set

up an independent republic away from British rule. The Afrikaner sector of South African society stems from this group of people.

**ANNEXURE B**  
**PERSONAL INTERVIEWS AND COMMUNICATION**

Mrs J Aitchison	Subject Librarian, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
Dr P Arjun	Educationist, KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture, Durban.
Clr R Ashe	Councillor Ward 17, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Dr S Bailey	Financial Director, City of Hampton, Virginia, United States of America.
Mrs R Bhengu	Director, Ubuntu Development Consultants, Pietermaritzburg.
Mrs T Bhengu	Public Relations, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr M Brett	Corporate Services, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr K Burton	Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr S Camp	Manager, External Education, Umgani Water, Pietermaritzburg.
Rev Dr W Cole-Edwardes	Rector, Holy Trinity Church, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr J Conyngham	Editor, Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg.
Mrs P Davis	Community Life Projects, Durban.
Mr D Ferguson	Director, KwaZulu-Natal Association for Local Authorities, Durban.
Prof R Fincham	Director of Centre for Environment and Development Studies, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr R Findlay	Development Co-ordination, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mrs G Freese	Librarian, Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg.
Prof C Gardner	Councillor, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mrs L Grant	Former Lecturer, Department of Geography, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr M Gratewood	Director, Waste Management, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.

Clr Dr JPE Green	Councillor Ward 15, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr G Hagg	Senior Research Specialist, Human Science Research Council, Pretoria.
Mrs A Harkoo	Community Development, Eskom, Durban.
Mrs C Harvey-Williams	Media Communications, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr R Haswell	Chief Executive Officer, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr H Hattingh	Chief Executive Officer, Inner West Substructure (Pinetown), Durban.
Mr G Holmes	City Planning Department, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr B Jackson	Development Bank of Southern Africa, Policy Analyst, Halfway House.
Mrs M Keane-Murphy	Development Co-ordination, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr R Kennedy	Ex-councillor, Pietermaritzburg City Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr R Keys	Councillor, Pietermaritzburg Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mrs R Kuhn	Subject Librarian, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr A Layman	Director, Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr T Le Roux	City Treasurer, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Dr M Locke	Head, Hampton Delegation, City of Hampton, Virginia, United States of America.
Mr B Madela	Provincial Co-ordinator, Masakhane Campaign, Pietermaritzburg.
Mrs L Malherbe	Group Training Video Unit, First National Bank, Johannesburg.
Prof J McCarthy	Former Head of the Department of Geography, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
Mrs S Mize	Research Co-ordinator, Ubuntu Development Consultants, Pietermaritzburg.



Mr R Naijaar	ASBF Marketing, Principal Consultant, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr A Nixon	University of Natal Audio-Visual Centre, Pietermaritzburg.
Dr J Olivier	Chief Research Specialist, Human Science Research Council, Pretoria.
Dr G Prinsloo	Educationist, KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture, Pietermaritzburg.
Dr S Rule	Chief Research Specialist, Human Science Research Council, Pretoria.
Mr S Shabalala	Urbanisation Unit, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Prof G Slade	Associate Professor, Department of Geography, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr C Smallie	UWP Engineers, Pietermaritzburg, together with Pietermaritzburg TLC and a consortium of Business Partners for Development (Vivendi Water for Africa and PSU International).
Mrs V Spearman	Forward Planning, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mrs M Strachan	Public Relations, Eskom, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr T Thompson	Manager, JHI Property Services, Pietermaritzburg.
Dr R Van Niekerk	Assistant City Administrator, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr Van Wyngaard	Health Department, Nelspruit Transitional Local Council, Nelspruit.
Mrs J Venter	Pietermaritzburg Tourism, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr M Viljoen	Management Services Manager, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Pietermaritzburg.
Mr G Wallace	City Manager, Hampton, Virginia, United States of America.
Mr C Waterworth	Human Resources consultant, Pietermaritzburg.

**ANNEXURE C**  
**SCHOOL-BASED QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY**

**SCHOOL QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY  
ON URBAN MANAGEMENT GEOGRAPHY**

**Thank you for participating.  
You do NOT have to write your name on  
the questionnaire.**

- 1 Name the Ward Area where you live (refer to the attached map).

Ward:.....

- 2 Who do you live with in your household? (Tick whichever are relevant)

Mother..... Father..... Relatives..... Friends.....

- 3 How many persons in total , including yourself, stay in the household with you:

Each weekday night:..... and Over weekends:.....

- 4 How many persons staying in your household are employed: Full time:.....  
Part time:.....

- 5 Do any of the household members get a pension? Yes:..... No:.....

- 6 How many of the household members are under 18 years old? .....

- 7 Is the house where you stay owned or rented by the people you stay with?

Owned:..... Rented:..... Don't know:..... (Tick the right answer)

- 8 What services do you have at the house where you stay and are they free or paid for each month?:  
(Tick the right answers)

Water taps inside the house:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
Water taps outside the house:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
Water standpipe in the street:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
Electricity in the house:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
Street lights:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
Telephone in the house:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
TV in the house:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
Water flush toilet in the house:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
Pit latrine outside the house:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
Refuse removal from the house:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....
Postal delivery to the house:	Yes.....	No.....	Free.....	Paid for.....

- 9 Does anyone staying in the household pay for some of the services?  
Yes..... No..... Don't know.....

- 10 Rank in order of importance from 1 to 9 what you think should be paid for out of the household budget each month ( 1 = most important and 9 = least important).

Entertainment.....	Clothing.....
Food.....	House rental.....
Transport.....	Health care.....
Electricity.....	Water.....
Education.....	

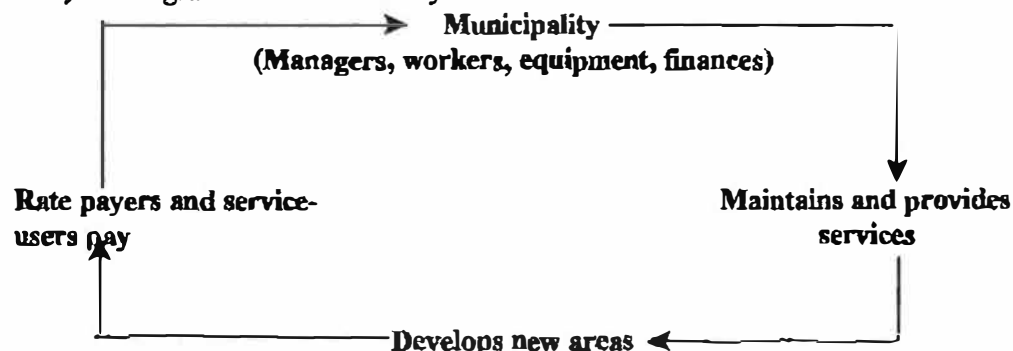
- 11 Do you understand the concept of property rates that are payable to the municipality by people

who own land, houses and businesses in the local authority area?

Yes..... No.....

- 12 Money from rates is used to help develop the whole town's infrastructure such as the building of roads, laying of water pipes and electric cables, provide street lights and refuse removal in all areas.  
True..... False..... Don't know.....
- 13 The level of municipal services that a municipality can provide depends on the amount of money it has (i.e. the level of productivity of the town):  
Agree..... Disagree..... Uncertain.....
- 14 The provision of municipal services develops over a period of time as a town grows and its economy develops:  
Agree..... Disagree..... Uncertain.....
- 15 According to the municipality many households in Pietermaritzburg still do not pay for municipal services they use (eg monthly water, electricity and sewerage accounts). Why do you think people do not pay for these services?
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....

- 16 Study the diagram of an economic cycle ..



The consequences of people not paying rates and for municipal services will be:  
(Tick whichever is applicable)

- Decline in service provision.....
- Those that do pay becoming angry.....
- Disadvantaged areas not receiving any services.....
- All of the above.....
- None of the above.....
- Uncertain.....

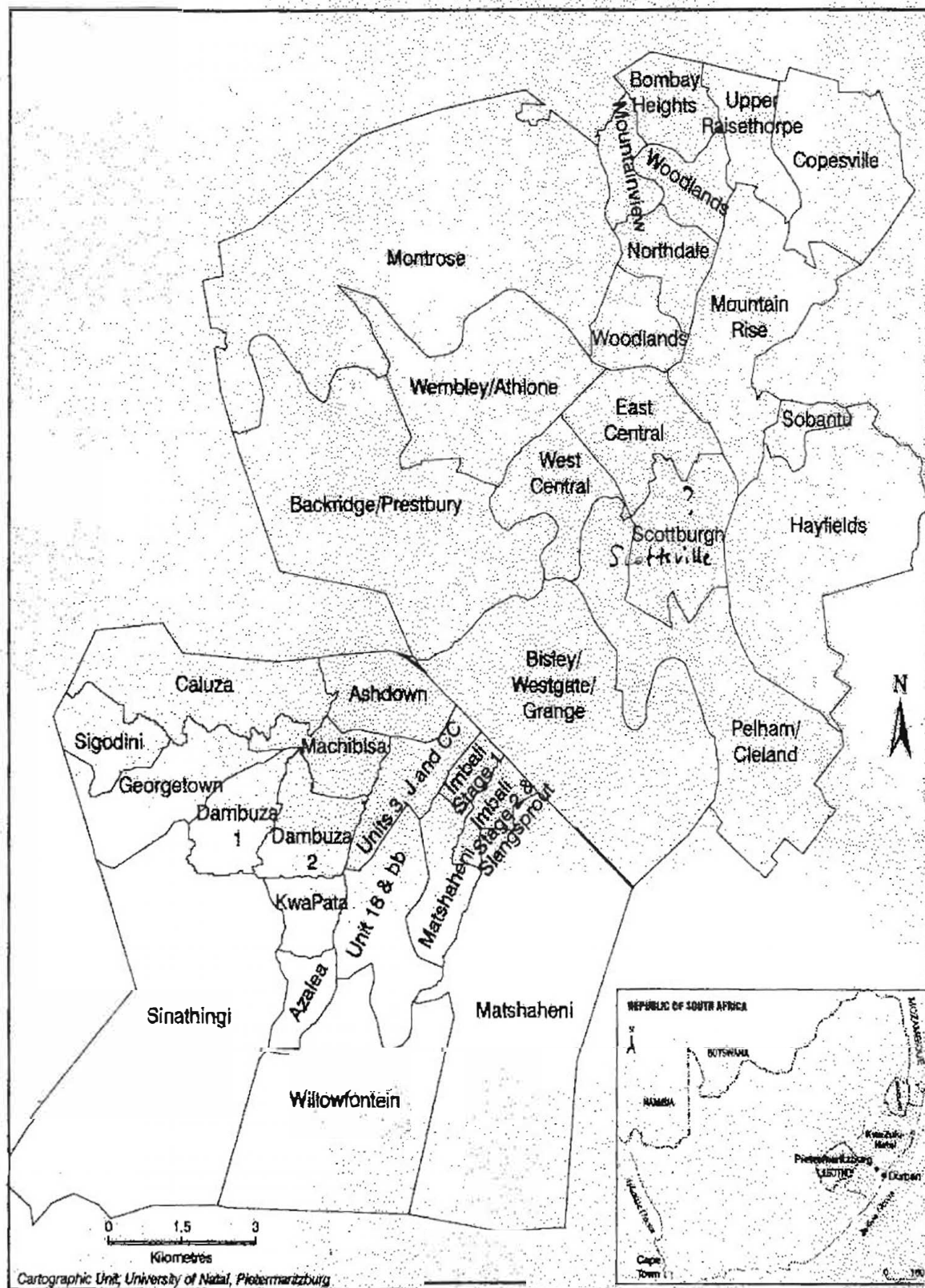
- 17 The Masakhane Campaign is an attempt to unify the racially divided South African city into a single economic unit. By paying rates and for municipal services people will help achieve this effort:  
Agree..... Disagree..... Uncertain.....
- 18 From which of the following sources have you gained knowledge about the supply and payment for municipal services ? (Tick whichever is applicable)

Parents.....

Friends.....

Relatives.....  
Councillor.....  
Teacher.....  
Development Committee.....  
Masakhane Campaign.....

Church.....  
Radio/TV.....  
Newspapers.....  
Other(specify).....  
.....



Map of the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council Wards