

**INTEGRATED LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND
DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:
A CASE STUDY OF THE GREATER LOUIS TRICHARDT
TRANSITIONAL LOCAL COUNCIL**

By

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

The research for this thesis was undertaken in August 1998. Events in local government in South Africa are moving fast, and the Transitional Local Councils have now been superseded by larger integrated municipalities. Local government elections were held in early December 2000, as this thesis was being completed. The thesis thus reflects the situation at the particular moment of late 1998. It should be noted, however, that many of the same problems remain and may even have been exacerbated by recent local government restructuring.

ABSTRACT

With apartheid having left an imprint of spatial fragmentation in the South African urban and rural landscape, there is a major challenge in most places in South Africa to create integrated systems of local governance. Achieving integration of the remnants of self-governing territories, independent homelands, old provincial administrations and tricameral structures, is very difficult. The new political dispensation has raised the aspirations and expectations of both the rural and urban areas but more especially poor rural dwellers. Transitional Local Councils, appointed in 1995, inherited the task of integration and service delivery. This was to be achieved, in part, through the formulation of an Integrated Development Plan for each TLC.

This study examines local governance and development planning in the Transitional Local Council area of Greater Louis Trichardt in the Northern Province. The study provides a background to the history of urban planning and changing urban space in South Africa and in Louis Trichardt in particular. Structuration theory, Local Economic Development theory and literature on public participation and local governance, were used to raise questions about the planning and delivery of development in Louis Trichardt. These questions were then answered through an intensive and extensive research process in which both the residents of the TLC area, and the members of the TLC structures, were interviewed about their perceptions.

The study found that there are still major constraints to the achievement of effective development, integration and service delivery in the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council area.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC African National Congress
SAMWU South African Municipal Workers Union
IMATU Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union
TLC Transitional Local Council
GNU Government of National Unity
UDF United Democratic Front
RDP Reconstruction and Development Programme
GEAR Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
IDP Integrated Development Plan
LDO Land Development Objective
COSATU Congress of South African Trade Union
SACP South African Communist Party
DFA Development Facilitation Act
IDF Integrated Development Framework
CBO Community Based Organisation
SANCO South African National Civics Organisation
RSA Republic of South Africa
BLA Black Local Authorities
RSC Regional Services Council
SPP The Surplus People Project
MEC Member of Executive Council
LED Local Economic Development
LDO Land development objective
LDI Local Development Initiative
PAC Pan Africanist Congress
AZAPO Azanian People's Organisation
ESKOM Electricity Supply Commission
VEC Venda Electricity Commission

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Since the non-racial democratic elections in South Africa in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC)-led Government of National Unity (GNU) has been grappling with the transformation of the social fabric, local government included (Nel, 1994; Pillay, 1994; ANC, 1994; Mabin and Smit, 1997). The apartheid legacy has left an imprint of spatial fragmentation in South African urban and rural space. The government is therefore attempting to create order out of the remnants of self-governing territories, independent homelands, old provincial administrations and tricameral structures (Harrison, 1998).

In this process of reconstruction and ordering of geographic space, the concept of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) has been embraced as a planning tool (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1997; 1998). The IDP seeks to integrate rural and urban areas, the poor and the rich, black and white populations, formal and informal areas, areas in town and cities and different land uses in an attempt to create integrated and compact cities and towns. Holism is therefore a key concept espoused within the Integrated Development Plan (Hindson and Patel, 1997). Brian Marrian of the Ministry of Constitutional Development notes that the aim of the IDP is to, “unblock Verwoerd’s planning ... using new tools and methodologies” (*Sowetan*, 8 September 1998).

In an attempt to address the problems of the apartheid legacy, Chapter 2 of the South African Constitution, 1996, commits the government of the day to ensure that all South Africans have access to adequate housing, educational facilities, healthcare facilities, food, water and social security (Republic of South Africa, 1996). In line with the Constitution of the country, the IDP has been put in place as one of the mechanisms to ensure that all basic needs are met at a local level. Two pieces of legislation, that is, the Local Government Transition Act, Second Amendment (1996) and the Development Facilitation Act (1995) have been put in place in order to bring about spatial integration. In terms of these two pieces of legislation, all local authorities are required to have an IDP and Land

Development Objectives (LDO) (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1997; 1998). This task of delivering basic services through an IDP has been entrusted to local government as the “legs and feet” of reconstruction and development in the country (Munro and Barnes, 1997).

Among the objectives of the IDP are; the determination of community needs, prioritisation of needs, auditing of available resources and the setting of frameworks for attaining these goals. In addition, the IDP must lead initiatives to promote local economic development (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1997). However, the implementation of an IDP in historically segregated areas is complex as shown by the analysis presented in this study which is concerned with Louis Trichardt and its environs.

The town of Louis Trichardt is one of the small former white conservative towns in present-day Northern Province. It is about 100 km north of Pietersburg and about 150 km to Beitbridge. It acts as an economic hub of the adjacent townships (i.e. Tshikota and Vleifontein) and rural areas (i.e. Sinthumule and Kutama). These places have strong historical links with the town; links that were severely interrupted by the apartheid state. In the present political dispensation, the town and its surrounding areas are involved in the process of re-integration and development. As we shall see below, these processes are contested.

The Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council (GLTTLC), like the rest of the country, is undergoing an institutional change and local government now represents the former white and black areas of the town. The former white town of Louis Trichardt has in the process of reconstruction inherited large former black rural areas and the surrounding townships. In these former black rural areas and the townships there is a serious backlog in service provision including, a lack of water supply, electricity and health services and poor road conditions. In addition, the majority of the population in these areas consists of pensioners, children and the unemployed. This backlog must be addressed by the GLTTLC through an IDP. The GLTTLC did not have an IDP when research was conducted, but was intending to devise one.

There are three important aspects from which the challenges of small town development can be viewed. First this thesis highlights the importance of structuration theory which

focuses on how councillors and officials work within their local council (agency-structure relationship). The main objective of examining structuration theory is to think about the possibilities for the transformation of the lives of ordinary people (Giddens, 1982; 1984; Johnston, 1983; Evans, 1988). This TLC is an experiment in integration and people are still learning to work together. This thesis is an attempt to study this process and to observe interactions “behind the scenes”.

The second issue considered is that of local economic development whereby the relationships between towns and their surrounding hinterland is examined. The priority of many small towns such as Louis Trichardt, which are within the Transitional Local Council, is to stimulate economic development (Dewar, 1994; CDE, 1996; Krige, 1997). The IDP is partly intended as a vehicle for achieving this.

The third issue is that of spatial planning. An IDP envisages the necessity to plan for integrated, more compact cities and towns where multiple land usage and culture and economic diversity are catered for (Robinson, 1992). However, there are major challenges in attempting to achieve spatial integration between urban areas and rural (communal ownership) systems.

1.2 Rationale for the research project

The rationale for the choice of this research topic is threefold. First, Louis Trichardt is one of the small conservative rural towns in South Africa where vestiges of past political conflicts are still evident. Secondly, with the demise of racial segregation and the 1994 non-racial general elections, local government in South Africa in both urban and rural areas is undergoing a process of restructuring and a study of Louis Trichardt will provide a contribution to documenting this change in the context of understanding urban reconstruction in post-apartheid South Africa. Third and last, the fact that the researcher is a resident of this town, makes the choice of this topic important at a personal level and the information collected can be fed into the planning process.

1.3 Aim

The aim of this study is to investigate the way in which development has been planned for and delivered by the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council. The objectives are the following:

- To assess the progress made by the GLTTLC in meeting the basic needs of all its residents through service provision.
- To ascertain the attitude of residents to the GLTTLC, including views on public participation and willingness to pay for services.
- To track the progress made in formulating an IDP, and to determine on what basis planning decisions are currently being made.
- To investigate the depth of knowledge among officials and the public in the TLC area about the IDP process.
- To develop an understanding of structural problems that impact on effective functioning and local economic development in the GLTTLC.
- To assess the progress made by the GLTTLC since 1995 in achieving integration at all levels.

This study contributes towards a model for local authorities on how to implement an IDP with the view of achieving sustainable and equitable development.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapter One, introduces the study and discusses the motivation for undertaking this research. It thus provides the basis from which the rest of the thesis develops.

Chapter Two, presents the reader with three bodies of literature, dealing with structuration theory, local economic development and small towns, and local governance and public participation.

Chapter Three, gives a brief history of local government in South Africa, the history of changing South African space and a brief history of the Integrated Development Plan as a tool for urban planning.

Chapter Four, describes the methodology employed in this thesis. It describes data sources, research design, data collection and sampling and concludes with a discussion of problems and constraints encountered during the research.

Chapter Five, locates the history of the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council within the context of South African history. The issue of the demarcation of the GLTTLC boundaries prior to the 1995 local government elections is also covered.

Chapter Six, describes the results of the thesis and they are expressed in a series of tables.

Chapter Seven, the final chapter, provides a conclusion and assessment of development in the GLTTLC. It also makes certain recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the reader with three bodies of literature, that is, structuration theory, literature on local economic development and small towns, and perspectives on local governance and public participation. Structuration theory raises important questions with respect to the way in which development planning, and in particular tools such as the IDP are applied in practice. It draws attention to the actions of individual people as social and political actors, and suggest, that they do have an influence within the bureaucratic and other constraining structures. In this sense, the key functionaries within the TLC under study must be considered as active agents, and the decisions they take and the efficiency with which they carry them out, must be examined. Structuration theory which was widely used in human geography in the late 1980s, is still very relevant in trying to understand how these people operate within their structural context.

Local economic development (LED) is more applied. This theory allows consideration of the way in which development in small town environments like Louis Trichardt can be achieved. Local economic development works as a link between towns, and in this instance small platteland towns and their poverty-stricken hinterlands. Through local economic development small towns must initiate the revival of remote rural areas. In the present dispensation, the TLC is the agent entrusted with the task of leading the initiatives of improving local economic growth, for the IDP states that the task of local government "is to eradicate poverty, boost local economic development and create jobs" (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1997: 3). Achieving LED, however, requires clear vision, commitment and consensus on the side of both the TLC and the broader TLC community.

The final section of this Chapter examines the issues of governance and public participation. Public participation has become a new framework for development in the 1990s. for any community project carried out without community knowledge, consultation

and participation no matter how good it might be, is always likely to collapse (Sharp, 1995; Wallis, 1995).

Good governance is also important. An IDP places the responsibility for transformation of the lives of people on the councillors, officials and the staff of the TLC. This responsibility calls for informed decision-making, skills and the prudent application of these skills on the part of the TLC members. Good governance on the part of the TLC officials and councillors is a priority if any meaningful development is to be achieved. But as this integrated TLC "terrain" is still new to both black and white communities, patience will be necessary as apartheid legacy cannot be discarded overnight.

2.2 Structuration Theory

This theory was devised by Anthony Giddens, a sociologist, but has been widely used in geography. In the local South African context, Scott (1985) has written an article on structuration theory, and a more recent article by Yirenke-Boateng (1995) relates these ideas to rural development. What follows is a brief explanation of the key ideas involved, and an indication of their usefulness in the context of the current project.

Giddens was concerned about the lack of a theory of action in the social sciences and that the role of human agents were derogated to the level of objects (Johnston, 1983). The key concern of structuration theory is to highlight the role of human agency in the transformation of structures and the lives of people. This is clearly shown in Giddens' work as quoted by Yirenke-Boateng (1995: 57) when he says, "... social transformations do not just happen but occur through conscious human action and perceptions."

Structuration theory is defined as "a theory of action and its consequences" (Bhaskar, 1978: 31) and it deals with the "role of men as causal agents as well as perceivers" (Evans, 1988: 123). In both these definitions the key concept is *change* over time and space. Structuration theory asks the following questions: What produces change? What makes things happen? What allows or forces change? and What restrains change? Transformation is perceived as always situated in and stretching across space and time. Structuration theory looks at the relationship between human agency, social structure, time and space within specific periods and places (Yirenke-Boateng, 1995).

Social structures here are generally thought of as constraints, within which people find space to manoeuvre. Human beings as actors or agents in this theory of structuration are not treated and dehumanised as objects but are regarded as subjects who make things happen. For one to read and understand the motives, actions and attitudes of the agent, however, one must learn to understand structures within which agents work in their daily routine of production and reproduction of activities. So human action takes place within a structural context (Johnston, 1983). Johnston (1983: 104) a geographer, acknowledges and appreciates the role that is played by people in the production and reproduction of social activities for he says, "The production of society ... is always and everywhere a skilled accomplishment of its members".

Human social activities are self-producing and recurring (Giddens, 1984). These activities are not brought into being by individual actors or agents but are continually recreated by them. In and through their activities human agents reproduce conditions for making these activities possible. Giddens (1984) indicates that the human agent is a purposive, thinking, feeling person who is sure of what he/she does and can also furnish reasons for his/her conduct. Human beings can be defined in terms of intentionality and are capable of influencing others hence they have causal powers. Power is defined in terms of intent, will and capacity to achieve the desired intended outcomes.

There are two faces of power according to Giddens (1984) namely, the capability of agents to enact decisions which they favour, and the mobilisation of bias built into institutions. Giddens' comments raise important questions for this thesis: What is the capability of the people that are being studied to implement their decisions? On what basis do they make these decisions? To what extent are they constrained by the "bias" built into their institutions? The TLCs are quite new institutions and so they do have an inbuilt bias from the past which is difficult to overcome. There are structures and social practices which constrain action and delivery, for example, bureaucratic inheritance, lack of management and planning skills, and petty politics (power struggle) between white and black councillors, white and black officials. While formal structures of apartheid South Africa may have been removed, both formal and informal mechanisms of control have been inherited by the non-racial, post-apartheid government as from 1994. New forms of

governance have been and are being negotiated, but it will take time for these new forms of governance to work effectively and deliver services to communities.

Amongst the mechanisms of inherited control, that may hinder development in public institutions, is bureaucracy. Organisational structures in South Africa are highly bureaucratized, with strict control through standardised procedure codes and line responsibilities. The performance of officials is measured in terms of their ability to stick to regulations, rather than their management proactivity. This bureaucracy is characterised by an authoritarian, hierarchical, non-consultative and non-participative ethos which prevents development of effective public management. The attitudes of many managers are rooted in the past racial and ethnic system of governance. Commentators have noted that training of managers is essential to ensure that newer management styles are implemented (Munslow et al, 1995). One of the prerequisites of development is that management must empower their staff. An individual may become empowered by being able to do things not done previously and being afforded opportunities which were previously denied (Munslow et al, 1995).

In fact, the South African public service is characterised by racial and ethnic segregation, corruption and mismanagement of resources, poor and outdated management practices, a regulatory bureaucratic culture, top-down approach, a lack of accountability and transparency and poorly trained staff (Munslow et al, 1995). There are thus a number of legacies, in addition to cumbersome bureaucracy, that need to be overcome. Such structural problems continue constrain individual actors within structures of local governance.

Another aspect is the lack of experience on the part of emancipatory movements (civics) who are presently a component of many local governments in South Africa. It has been pointed out that there is an unpreparedness and a serious lack of expertise from within these popular movements. Mabin (1995) reflects that "emancipatory movements have been best at saying no to oppression, [and are] are not terribly well prepared to handle the intricacies and problems of development."

It is widely agreed that workers in local government, Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community Based Organisations (CBOs), communities, political organisations

and other structures are often still trapped in the politics of resistance and confrontation. Negotiations and collaboration are often lacking and there is a need to concentrate on building working development partnerships. Councillors, communities, CBOs, NGOs, businesses and all stakeholders should rid themselves of the past politics and jointly put their heads together for their common good (Munslow and FitzGerald, 1995). As determined efforts are made to reverse past racial tendencies, conflict between opposing interest groups remains high (Preston-Whyte, 1997). "Participative leadership by local government is necessary to regulate and maintain the dialogue between groups that operate from opposing realities" (Preston-Whyte, 1997: 150).

Structures, then, can be understood as rules and resources which function theoretically with the aim of yielding intended outcomes or expectations. Agents therefore interpret these rules and resources to give rise to different outcomes. Structure and agency are seen as a duality and therefore cannot be treated in isolation to each other but as co-existing and interdependent upon each other and therefore implicated in a mutual process of transformation. Yirenke-Boateng (1995: 57) argues that "The theory of structuration is thus basically a transformation model indicating how changes take place as a result of general tendencies (structures) being played out in particular milieux (places) by particular agents (perceptions) at particular times." Johnston (1983: 91) states that the structure is continually being changed or transformed and hence the designation of "structure as a process."

Structures have both an enabling and constraining influences on agents. The enabling features imply that the agents enjoy a degree of freedom at any given time and that they could act otherwise. Evans (1988) argues that structure is not a constraint or a barrier to the action of a human agent but is actually involved in its reproduction. In quoting Giddens, Evans (1988: 120) adds the statement that "neither human agent nor society or social institutions should be regarded as having primacy, each is constituted in and through recurrent practices." Yirenke-Boateng (1995) states that according to Johnston, structuration theory appreciates the roles of individuals as agents operating within both the contexts of local social systems and the wider social structures that they are part of. These structures are regarded as human creations which are changing all the time. Therefore the way agents conduct, perceive and do things must also change with their broader environments.

Structuration theory is relevant for this thesis because it can be used at a local level to explore or explain continuity and change. “Agency, structure, the social system and its local geography are thus never in frozen states but always and everywhere in the process of becoming ” (Yirenke-Boateng, 1995: 58). A study of any social problem such as the creation of integrated local governance, or like the implementation of an IDP in addressing serious backlogs in service provision such as electricity, water, decent roads, health care services, jobs, eradication of poverty and so on in a TLC area , is necessarily a study about social change.

The Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional local Council is an institution which has been created to transform or bring about change to thousands of people in the TLC area. Councillors, officials and the entire staff of the TLC are charged with the task of delivering “development” to the masses. An area’s success does not depend only on the councillors, officials and the TLC staff, but also on NGOs, business and so forth. Their competence, skills and knowledge are of paramount importance in achieving the desired outcome, which is the transformation of the lives of people and the development of the entire area. Without councillors, officials and staff, the TLC cannot function and without community participation, the TLC cannot function either.

In indicating the importance of agency-structure theory in the social sciences, Yirenke-Boateng (1995: 65) says, “Unless social research is guided by theories related to agency-structure-time-space considerations, the research is not likely to be illuminating.” It is important to keep in mind, as (Yirenke-Boateng, 1995: 65) says, that “space and time are always and everywhere social. Society is always and everywhere spatial and temporal.”

2.3 Local Economic Development and Small Towns

This thesis is concerned with the specific space of Louis Trichardt and its surrounding area, an area which is, like the rest of South Africa, undergoing an administrative transformation at the start of the twenty-first century and is seeking to integrate economic, social development and environmental issues within one planning policy. Economic development is a key concern and this section reviews some recent literature on LED and how it may be achieved.

Achieving local economic development in a large city is a difficult enough process. In the context of a small town, this is even more of a challenge. In contemporary South Africa, while the entire country is involved in a process of reconstruction and development, there appears to be little attention paid to reviving small towns, or to the countryside which depends entirely on them (Dewar, 1994; Krige, 1997). It should be borne in mind that about 40% of the population of South Africa are rural dwellers and that rural poverty is endemic (Dewar, 1994). A 1996 CDE study estimates that 75% of South Africa's poor and 81% of the ultra-poor live in rural areas. Rural reconstruction has now become a matter of urgency. Through the integration of former white areas and black areas, the task of reviving these "forgotten" and poverty riddled areas has fallen squarely on small towns.

Small towns are defined as neither urban nor rural and therefore are generally neglected by planners. For decades small towns have been regarded as objects for control and administration rather than as vehicles for development (CDE, 1996). While the international investors may be attracted to big cities like Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, small towns appear to be invisible. The transition to democracy has not really brought much change to the rural dwellers.

Apartheid as a spatial policy was responsible for racial division and fragmenting the towns into white areas which were properly planned and fully serviced, and townships and rural areas which were not planned and also underserved. So like the rest of country, towns were also subjected to racial policies. The post-apartheid South African government is placing much focus on big cities and very little attention is paid the hardest hit rural areas. These are areas that are experiencing natural resource depletion, overcrowding, lack of services and poverty (Dewar, 1994). The population of these small towns are predominantly the young and the aged with low skills levels and income (CDE, 1996).

For decades urban and rural development have been pursued in isolation. However, rural towns need to be placed and understood in the context of broader reconstruction and development presently being attempted in South Africa's urban and rural areas. To reconstruct rural areas, rural towns must take the initiative through local economic development (LED), also known as local development initiatives (LDI). LED is regarded

as an alternative development for the less favoured parts of South African space economy (Nel, 1994).

Local economic development is not a new concept. For decades LEDs have been applied by many cities around the globe mainly those in United States and Britain and various countries in Europe (Urban Foundation, 1994; Nel and McCarthy, 1995; Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998). Though debatable, many observers acknowledge that LED increases employment opportunities and boosts the local tax base by attracting mobile capital (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998).

There are a number of theories about how LED works best. The two main strategies are: the “smoke-stack chasing” approach and the endogenous or “internal combustion theory”. Smoke-stack chasing is an approach through which local authorities attract businesses from outside to locate within the city. This local boosterism is a well known traditional approach. In applying this approach, the town acts as a magnet for attracting businesses from outside. Smoke-stack chasing includes place marketing, where local agents sell the image of the city or town to attract investment through brochures and newspapers; granting incentives in the form of land, buildings and finance on favourable terms; providing electricity, water and so on at a discount, and actively recruiting specific industries and shops (Nel, 1994; Urban Foundation, 1994).

Early LEDs, heavily dominated by national and provincial governments, suffered from a number of problems. The first era of LED in Britain and the USA began in the 1940s after the Second World War, as the national, and provincial and regional governments attempted to control the distribution of industries from the centre. In spite of being popular, LEDs during this period failed to yield any fruitful outcome due to a number of factors such as the application of the top-down approach in plans which were imposed on the locals; the failure of an attempt to redirect funds (grants and subsidies) from the centre to the targeted areas which were disadvantaged, and the attitudes of financiers who were unwilling to invest in remote poor areas. By the end of 1980 there was confusion regarding LED and how best to achieve it (Nel, 1994).

The 1980s and 1990s saw a shift from a national, provincial and regional government-led LED approach to local economic growth which was intended to benefit the host

community. The aim was to improve local conditions by mobilising the local entrepreneurs. This shift also entailed the discarding of the top-down approach in favour of the bottom-up approach in which all stakeholders rally behind local initiatives. This approach is known as endogenous development or “internal combustion”. It was argued that traditional approaches failed because they ignored local institutional, political and cultural conditions which have a major influence on the development of an area (Nel, 1994).

Bennett (cited in Nel, 1994: 65) defines the current understanding of local economic development as being achieved by, “sub-national action, usually sub-state and sub-regional, taking place within the context of a local labour market.” LED must be based on the endeavours, innovation and entrepreneurial skills of the local people who seek to improve their living standards. Benefits accrued must be economically sustainable (Nel, 1994). Development processes must address local needs and must also rely on local information and knowledge. Such development is geared towards stimulating local initiative, and capital accrued from this venture is retained within the local area.

When the ANC-led Government of National Unity came into power, it acknowledged LED as an important strategy for economic growth (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998). The internal combustion endogenous method of LED is widely regarded as the best contemporary approach. The current view is that LED is necessary if economic, social and urban reconstruction is to take place.

In contemporary South Africa, three types of reconstruction need to take place. These are economic, social and urban (Nel, 1994). These forms of reconstruction can be achieved through the following strategies: reconciliation, economic growth, socio-economic development, linkages (rural and urban) and partnerships. Each strategy is considered in more detail below.

First, reconciliation must be considered. For many decades under apartheid rule, blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds lived in isolation from one another. The new democratic South Africa demands that the fence separating the population groups be broken down. For LED to succeed, reconciliation between the different population groups is imperative (CDE, 1996; Krige, 1997). Reconciliation between these races will serve as a selling point

for their towns. As Krige notes, attitudes and perceptions must change from “this is a white man’s place to this is everybody’s place” (Krige, 1997). No development can take place in a climate of hatred and suspicion. The development of climate of trust is imperative for LED to succeed (Dewar, 1994). This can be viewed as an aspect of social reconstruction.

Secondly, economic growth is central. Economic growth or economic reconstruction is really the heart and soul of LED. The most fundamental problems facing rural towns are poverty and unemployment, thus economic growth is the only way to achieve job creation and income generation. As permanent employment is difficult to find, self-generated employment is necessary (Dewar, 1994). Small and medium enterprises are therefore very significant. Amongst these are agriculture, manufacturing in the local urban economy and other forms of mobilisation and utilisation of local resources.

In rural areas, one of the primary resources for economic development is productive, arable land. With the help of local agricultural officers the local people can turn to intensive agriculture for income generation and basic food. Intensive agriculture is preferred to extensive agriculture as it allows more people to be employed. Agricultural products cultivated must mainly be locally orientated in order to promote the concept of “buy local”. This small scale agriculture can be of different types such as minifarming, community gardening, agricultural co-operatives, farmer support programmes and others (Nel and McCarthy, 1995). Marketing of these agricultural products can be done in several ways such as periodic markets, that is five-weekly, six-weekly or bi-weekly community markets which include selling at pension payouts, mobile services, entertainment function and others (Dewar, 1994; Nel and McCarthy, 1995). These markets will serve as a window through which the outside world can buy local products and also offer financial aid.

Another strategy for job creation is by encouraging manufacturing linked to agriculture in a local small town urban economy. The local industries may process local agricultural products and manufacture items needed by farmers while farmers in exchange provide agricultural products to the town. A linkage or a symbiotic relationship between a town and its rural areas is very essential (Dewar, 1994).

A third strategy for economic reconstruction is the productive mobilisation and utilisation of local resources by beautifying the area to be a tourist attraction, by encouraging local

people to be involved in craft industry manufacturing of cultural products and thereby displaying the diversity of cultural heritage within the town or city (Dewar, 1994; Nel, 1994; Krige, 1997). Ecotourism, cultural villages, traditional crafts and heritage trails are important ventures in economic reconstruction (CDE, 1996).

Social reconstruction cannot take place without socio-economic development. This includes human empowerment through education and skills training. The majority of black people in South Africa have been disadvantaged as they received bantu education which was inferior to that of other racial groups. The standard of education in many parts of country are still very low. A section of black people is also illiterate and it is essentially this group which needs adult education, skills and entrepreneurial training programmes which will allow them to become self employed (Dewar, 1994; Nel, 1994; CDE, 1996). Human empowerment is also all encompassing and includes the enhancement of qualities of self-respect, self-reliance, a sense of community, confidence and leadership (Dewar, 1994).

Since the majority of people are illiterate or semi-literate, training in various manual jobs such as bricklaying, building, welding and others is very imperative. This type of training will afford people an opportunity to start self-employment and thereby reducing unemployment and help in raising the tax base of the town.

Rural-urban linkages and partnerships are essential in promoting urban reconstruction in small towns. Here, the town is geared towards countering the legacy of spatial fragmentation which is costly to manage. The goal is that of greater integration at all levels. Multifunctionality and sharing between various communities must be encouraged in order to maximize the utilisation of facilities within the town. Small towns need to be linked with their surrounding rural areas and other towns in order to develop. Partnerships must be formed between the TLC, private companies, NGOs and CBOs. By sharing ideas amongst themselves, these groups can achieve a lot. They can train the local people in various skills in order to help them to be self-employed. Subsistence rural farmers can also be assisted on how to market their products and also to supply their own products to food processing factories in town.

While place marketing is not in itself sufficient, another factor which is of paramount importance for the success of LEDs in small towns is the development of a marketing strategy to boost the image of the town in order to attract outside investment. The industries and shops attracted into the town will provide jobs to many people who are jobless. Place marketing can be achieved through newspapers, brochures and through granting incentives to would-be investors. The image of small towns like Louis Trichardt can only improve if blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds can develop trust amongst one another and stop sending a wrong signal to outside investors about the mistrust between different racial groups.

2.4. Local Governance and Public Participation

Governance is defined by Ritchken (1995: 1995) as “the processes through which power and authority are exercised between and within institutions in the state and civil society around the allocation of resources.” Taking this further, Richtken (1995: 195) notes that governance is “how antagonistic forces with material interests in the state and civil society forge alliances and enter into conflicts so as to access more resources to reinforce their power.”

Picard and Garrity (1995) lament that many cities in Africa failed to develop because of two main reasons. Firstly, the architects of post-colonial Africa did not create viable institutions of governance and policy implementation. Secondly, the lack of management and planning skills are major obstacles to development and good governance. Africa continues to be influenced by colonial bureaucratic control structures. These “bureaucratic and control structures are often more durable than personalities and political movements” and in the long run they become “orphan policies,” that is, policies which outlive their regime. In the view of these writers, Africa’s main problem is not poverty of resources but lack of governance mechanisms that can provide for effective organisation for development (Picard and Garrity, 1995). For LED to yield any fruitful outcomes, the quality and calibre of local leadership plays a very critical role. Leaders need retraining in order to hone their leadership skills.

This thesis is concerned with local governance and development planning in post-apartheid South Africa, in particular in the context of TLCs temporary structures that were a first

step in integrating local government functions across divided space in South Africa. Important questions related to transitional local councils are, who initiates?, who decides?, who participates?, who benefits?, who controls? (Mansfield, 1992; Sharp, 1995). These are essentially questions about governance and the way in which power is negotiated at a local level. The process is bound to be a conflictual one, but conflict must be managed.

A central aspect of modern forms of governance is public accountability and public participation in decision-making. O'Riordan (1993) argued that the main obstacle to real transformation in South Africa is lack of public participation. Sharp (1995) also notes that the beneficiaries at community level are usually subject to cultural, political or economic domination by traditional leaders, politicians or merchants. Public participation in governance, not just at the national but also at the local level, is thus essential in building real democracy.

Public participation can be regarded as the empowerment of ordinary people, as people are given a chance of taking control of their own destiny. This idea is closely related to concepts of sustainable development which is about empowering people to be the sustainers of development in their own communities (Munslow et al, 1995). People are at the heart of the quest for sustainability, both as the means by which development activities are carried out and also as the reason why development happens in the first place (Cook, 1995).

Commentators on local government in South Africa have argued that local government structures, CBOs, NGOs and all stakeholders have to redefine their roles and development practices as new forms of participation, which enable representation and democracy to thrive are formed. Rules that dictate and maintain policies that are unsustainable must be changed (Preston-Whyte, 1997). Communities and the TLCs should overcome internal divisions and abandon political power struggles between black, white, Indian and coloured as this perpetuates the earlier phases of South African struggle into which human energy was channelled into fierce confrontation and resistance. While conflict is inevitable, the danger is that people will continue to replay old struggles for power "while the building of trust and tackling substantive environment and development challenges are postponed or abandoned entirely" (Hindson and Patel, 1997: 26).

One of the key challenges that is faced by the institutional structures of local government in South Africa, is to integrate and to re-build service capacity in the historically neglected black residential areas while on the other hand still maintaining the standards of service provision within the city. A serious handicap to this is lack of financial resources (Hindson and Patel, 1997).

While the process of reintegration has progressed quite far in major metropolitan areas, there are still some burning issues that have not been resolved as yet. In some affluent suburbs there is a resistance towards rate increases while the payment of rates in the poorer areas where there is non-delivery of services and the culture of non-payment is still a thorny issue. These unresolved problems are frustrating the success of the "Masakhane Campaign" a national community building exercise (Hindson and Patel, 1997). All commentators agree that rent boycotts that were used to undermine an illegitimate apartheid government should stop in order for sustainable development to succeed (Munslow and FitzGerald, 1995; Mabin: 1995). Community and TLCs should join forces behind the Masakhane campaign.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored the general theory of structuration, which draws attention to the way in which human actors operate within certain constraints. Councillors, officials and staff of the GLTTLC are agents who are entrusted with the task of transforming the lives of ordinary people in the TLC area. Structuration theory is useful in considering the actions of the TLC officials, councillors and other employees, and in understanding or identifying the constraints under which they are operating such as bureaucratic inheritance, lack of management and planning skills and power struggles between white and black councillors, officials and others. The point must be emphasized that people are potential agents for social change, even if they operate within constraining structures.

The chapter also explored local economic development theory which draws attention to the way in which development in small town environments like the GLTTLC can be achieved. It is assumed that LED can act as a link between small towns and the surrounding rural areas. As the town has far better resources than its hinterland, it is expected that it must initiate and promote economic revival in the rural areas. With the majority of rural

dwellers being poor and unemployed, it is imperative that economic, social and urban reconstruction should be treated as a matter of urgency. The climate of trust between different racial groups must be established. The quality and calibre of the local leadership plays a crucial role in this exercise.

Lastly, the chapter, looked into local governance and public participation. The fundamental part of local governance is public accountability, transparency and public participation in decision-making. It is important that the local community should be fully involved in any community project as they are the beneficiaries. Democracy can only be entrenched if local people are in charge of their own destiny. The entire leadership of the TLC needs to understand that it is there because of the mandate of the people and that the success of the TLC lies in the co-operation of all stakeholders.

CHAPTER THREE

URBAN PLANNING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to locate the case study of Louis Trichardt in the context of town development, urban planning and changing forms of local government in South Africa. The chapter reviews the history of changing South African urban space in the 20th century, focusing in particular on the role of urban planning. The history of local government is then reviewed. Processes leading to the emergence of a democratic, integrated and deracialised local government in South Africa are outlined, and the restructuring of local government in 1995 after the 1994 non-racial elections is a particular focus. The last section of the chapter returns to urban planning. It examines the IDP as the contemporary tool for urban planning, and discusses problems encountered by newly elected local councils attempting to prepare an IDP. It is now a statutory requirement that each TLC develops an Integrated Development Plan.

3.2 Urban Planning and Changing South African Urban Space

The South African city landscape has undergone considerable change since the establishment of Cape Town in the seventeenth century. The evolution of South African city landscapes can generally be sub-divided into four phases: the settler-colonial period from 1652-1910; the period of urban segregation from 1910-1948; the era of grand-apartheid 1948-1980 and the period when apartheid came under stress in 1980-1994. Thus the South African city landscape has never been static but always dynamic. It has always changed with the times as dictated by the political, social and economic order of the day. A fifth era would be the present, post-apartheid phase.

It is interesting to note that all cities built as from the colonial period to the grand apartheid period have some common key features. Control exercised by the dominant group depended on its access to political power and to all the country's resources (such as land), as well as its control over labour and the means of production, over services and amenities, and most importantly control over spatial relations through segregation and urban

containment. Such controls are characteristic of the segregated and apartheid city (Lemon, 1991).

Planning instruments are regarded as having played a pivotal role in engineering the South African city landscape of the segregation and apartheid era (Mabin and Smit, 1997; Lane et al, 1998). Urban planning has always been looked upon as a means of achieving reconstruction at particular political moments. During the segregation and apartheid periods, governments of the day used urban planning to foster residential segregation and to cement domination of certain groups by another. Currently, the democratic government is also relying on urban planning to create order by integrating all fragmented parts of the city. This section therefore examines the backdrop of these moves to employ urban planning as a means to the reconstruction of the city. This discussion is organized chronologically and presented in terms of the four phases mentioned above.

Urban planning is defined by Brooks and Harrison (1998: 93) as “an influential form of modernist politics which has accompanied all social revolutionary and reformist movements of the twentieth century.” It encompasses amongst other concepts, ideals about spatial ordering and control; the idea of progress; a belief in the power of rationality to overcome chaos and disorder; and the notion that, in order to bring into being a better world, the state and its agents should exercise control at every level of society (Brooks and Harrison, 1998). Spatial planning has always been manipulated by governments in order to achieve their political agendas.

3.2.1 The Colonial period, 1652-1910

This period will not be discussed in detail. It stretches from 1652 to 1910, when the Union of South Africa was formed. It should be noted that the form of the colonial city was influenced by the development of mining, which led to a large influx of people to cities like Johannesburg. Attempts to control that influx was facilitated by legalized segregation which dates back to the 1890s. The Kimberley mines can be regarded as a pioneer and a model of urban segregation in the 1880s where African miners lived outside the mine, in compounds (Browett, 1982; Lemon, 1991). However, such African settlements were uncontrolled and there were very few segregated townships (Lemon, 1991). The outbreak of contagious disease in the inner city is said to have been a significant impetus to a

municipally ordained segregation (Lemon, 1991; Mabin and Smit, 1997). For example, the outbreak of bubonic plagues in 1901 in Cape Town, 1903 in Durban and 1904 in Johannesburg were blamed on blacks who were to be separated from whites (Bickford-Smith, 1989; Mabin and Smit, 1997). This form of urban segregation (racial zoning) was still toothless and its powers were not clearly defined until 1923.

3.2.2 Urban segregation, 1910-1948

The founding sources of modern urban planning in South Africa lay in the need to control the pattern of black settlement in the urban environment. All other races had separate districts in the town but blacks did not (Mabin and Smit, 1997). The deteriorating economic conditions in the reserves together with the availability of employment in South African cities, led to an increase in the number of urban Africans. Faced with the task of housing the ever increasing number of African migrant workers, the government of the day (the Union government) decided to curb the inflow of Africans while on the other hand ensuring that there were enough African workers supporting the white economy (Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1985; Mabin, 1995). The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 entrenched separation between planning for black locations and planning for the rest of urban South Africa. At this time, planning in South Africa served two main purposes namely to support the white population's needs and to alienate blacks from other racial groups. The 1923 Act served as a framework for future legislation. It embodied the central principle of segregation as it later led to relocation and influx control (Lemon, 1991).

3.2.3 Grand apartheid, 1948-1980

When the National Party came to power in 1948 its election manifesto was based on the ideology of apartheid or separateness; to show that the party was more determined than its predecessor, the Smuts government, the party intended to enforce compulsory urban segregation. Its popular slogan during election was *swart gevaar* (black danger) (Lemon, 1991). Browett (1982) states that the essence of Prime Minister Verwoerd's grand apartheid vision was that South Africa's multi-racial population, would never develop into a single multi-racial community. Prime Minister Verwoerd's vision spelt disaster for the African population. This vision was given substance by the Group Areas Acts of 1950 and 1966, which were the cornerstone of apartheid.

Mabin (1995) states that planning during the apartheid period, promoted social control and led to economic retardation. He goes to say that a conflict over the shape of the South African city has been in essence a conflict between two rationalist movements and planning approaches. One view of urban South Africa was to be achieved through planned oppression, while the other was based on planned emancipation (Mabin, 1995). Planned oppression is a good description of what occurred under apartheid.

The Group Areas Acts led to the destruction of small, older locations and the laying out of well-separated, huge wedges on peripheral land for segregated black townships. The inner city and the suburbs were proclaimed white and other groups were consigned to the periphery. Robinson (1992) refers to the "location strategy" aspect of urban apartheid. The implementation of the Group Areas Act was accompanied by forced removals.

Another feature of this apartheid city was the establishment of towns and townships within the bantustans in keeping with the policy of influx control. Influx control measures required Africans to carry passes specifying their period of sojourn in the city. Within some townships themselves, blacks were further divided into ethnic zones (Robinson, 1992). Any point of contact between different racial groups was minimised through the so called buffer zones, border strips and frozen zones between residential areas (Lemon, 1991; Smith, 1992).

3.2.4 Challenges to apartheid housing policy, 1980-1994

Apartheid residential areas came under immense pressure in the 1980s. Middle-class blacks started buying houses in white areas through some whites who acted as their nominees. So a new form of urban space, "grey areas" or pockets of integrated residential settlements, began to emerge, undermining the policy of apartheid (Lemon, 1991). With the old system having been inefficient and politically divisive, the government of the day replaced it with an "orderly urbanisation" in which urbanisation controls were relaxed. The result was a massive increase of blacks living in shanty towns as urban areas experienced acute housing shortages (Smith, 1992).

On 2 February 1990, the ANC together with other liberation movements like the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) were unbanned and political detainees were released. The unbanning of these organisations ushered in a new era in South Africa. The repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991, was another crucial step (Beavon, 1992). A negotiated transition to democracy was achieved and National elections were held in 1994. The Government of National Unity (GNU), made up of the ANC and National Party, had the responsibility of leading the country into a new democratic phase. The necessity of shaping South African cities to match the requirements of the post-modern, post-Fordist period was beckoning (Mabin, 1995).

3.2.5 Current challenges

However, the spatial legacies of apartheid remain. The South African city is characterised by the separation of land uses, urban elements, races and income groups. A major problem is the legacy of separation of places of work and residence, and this has drawn the poorest of the poor to the urban edges far away from their work. Hours are spent commuting to and from the cities, and transport systems are woefully inadequate.

The idea of integration as envisaged by the IDP is central to new, post-apartheid and modern planning. The basic principle of this philosophy is that South African cities must be compact (Dewar, 1992; Robinson, 1992; Steinberg et al, 1992). The idea of compact cities is designed to overcome problems of urban sprawl, fragmentation and urban segregation in order to create a more functional city. This move of compacting cities is called urban consolidation by Mabin (1995).

A compact city is a precondition for a viable, efficient and an accessible public transport system which saves time and money for urban dwellers. Fragmented cities aggravate poverty, unemployment and inequality as they are economically inefficient, inflationary and contradict economic growth. The structure of fragmented cities promotes economic centralisation and monopolisation. It also wastes the country's scarce resources such as land, energy and finance (Dewar, 1992). Ideally, all urban functions and land uses must be integrated and exist within a compatible and pleasant walking distance (Mabin, 1995: 194). Dewar (1992: 264) criticises modern planning and says that its settlements are "...sterile monotonous and boring."

The fundamental question that can be raised a few years later after the 1994 non-racial elections in South Africa is, how far has the process of integration progressed in urban areas (and in the case of this thesis, how far has it progressed in Louis Trichardt). Beavon (1992: 234) answers this question by saying that, "The urban future of the South African city revolves around the racial prejudice and discrimination of the past and the allegiance and alliances of the present." This assertion by Beavon shows that South African problems are complex and that the concept of "own turf" which has long been entrenched in residential areas, will be difficult to change. Most residential areas for Africans, whites, coloureds and Indians will remain undisturbed or little disturbed for decades to come (Beavon, 1992; Lohnert et al, 1998).

Commenting on the issue of integration, Mabin (1995) supports Beavon by adding that the future of South Africa will be determined by the strength of integrative versus fragmenting forces. Within the urban context at present, least integration has occurred in residential areas. One of the main fragmentary forces which renders the vision of integration an illusion in urban residential areas is the power of land rent (Mabin, 1995). The idea of mixed residences, multi-cultural space in South African cities and even small towns, remains a dream and change will be difficult to achieve.

3.3 History of Local Government in South Africa

3.3.1 Introduction

The history of local government in South Africa cannot be divorced from the general political history of the country. In order to ensure the effectiveness and endurance of the policies of apartheid, the National Party government passed local government laws that would sustain and promote the vision of apartheid. This section provides an overview of the history of local government in South Africa.

Local government is regarded as the second or third tier of government below the national and provincial government (Botha, 1992; Schwella, 1992). Local government is entrusted with the task of delivering basic services such as water, electricity, waste disposal, health services, housing, maintenance of roads and so on. In the present context, local government must also ensure that resources are redistributed to all communities including

those that were previously disadvantaged (ANC, 1994; Munro and Barnes, 1997; Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998). In defining local government Botha (1992: 1) calls it, as "the purest form of democracy by virtue of the fact that it is closest to the electorate." It is the government which is accountable to the people at the grassroots level. People elected are meant to serve their immediate communities. Therefore local government is a community governing itself (Ferguson, 1992). Since the leaders of local government are where the people are, it is assumed that they know the people's needs.

For local government to function effectively three conditions are regarded as prerequisites, namely, equity, accountability and public participation. This is in line with the principle of democracy. In ensuring that basic needs are delivered to all communities, the issue of equity is of utmost importance. Hindson and Patel (1997: 2) note that "equity refers to the principle of fair access by all in the current generation to opportunities and resources, including employment, education, services or access to the environment." It will serve no purpose for basic needs to be delivered without being accessible to all.

Elected leaders or Councillors within the local government must be accountable to their constituencies. Councillors must always be prepared to accept responsibility for the decisions they have taken. This goes hand in glove with transparency. Accountability on the part of the Councillors must not be confused with consultation as consultation and decision-making do not necessarily mean the same thing. Botha (1992: 4) separates the two by saying that consultation could entail simply informing the citizens of decisions already taken, "decision-making requires that the citizens should be involved in identification and definition of issues, and implementation thereof."

Local government in South Africa goes back to the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck in 1652 and took on a different form when the British annexed the Cape as the Cape Colony. Local government in South Africa is thus influenced by the Dutch and the British administration systems (Green, 1957). It needs to be pointed out that racial segregation or apartheid as it became known after 1948 has its origin in the formative years of administration in the Cape Colony and Natal. While whites were allowed to govern themselves, blacks were not. The British Colonial Secretary stated in a letter of 1853, "I fully concur in your observations as to the expediency of establishing and extending the basis of a thorough

municipal organisation of the district. Those institutions are in fact of much importance as a foundation for political self-government" (cited in Green, 1957: 30). And in 1881 it was mentioned that "establishment of towns and village councils should be left to the wishes of the local inhabitants" (Green, 1957: 54). The local inhabitants were of course white town dwellers. For blacks or natives, different structures pertained. They fell under "native administrations".

3.3.2 Municipalities as agents of central government, 1921-1948

The formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 did not bring any substantive change to the affairs of blacks within the two colonies and two republics as the Union followed the same route that was initiated by colonial government. Local government was the agent of central government and the activities it performed and procedures it followed were all prescribed by the white central government. Self-government on the part of blacks was prohibited, although various forms of indirect rule through chiefs were in place. The fate of the blacks was in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs which administered and controlled the legislation affecting blacks (Bekker and Humphries, 1985).

Through the recommendations of the Department of Native Affairs made in 1921, the black townships were created to spatially separate black urban areas from white residential areas. Black townships were expected to support themselves according to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. White local governments were instructed to open a separate account for the revenue from the black townships and told that "the entire revenue from the natives derived by a municipality should be spent on their betterment" (Green, 1957). The sources for this revenue were the manufacture and sale of beer and also payments for services to the township by local authorities (Green, 1957, Bekker and Humphries, 1985).

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 also ensured that municipalities as agents of central government enforce the regulations that were enacted to keep blacks outside the white areas. Local government was to control the influx of blacks into the urban areas. Blacks who needed jobs were not easily allowed passage into the town unless they were to render a service to the white population. They were therefore regarded as temporary residents of the urban areas (Bekker and Humphries, 1985).

3.3.3 Municipal jurisdiction, 1948-1976

When the National Party came into power in 1948, the policy of apartheid was pursued with a renewed vigour. Many draconian laws were enacted in order to ensure the success of this “grand plan”. The Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 sought to keep both blacks and whites as neighbours and not as fellow countrymen. During these formative years of apartheid, the management and control of black townships was largely the responsibility of white local authorities.

There was however a persistent conflict in the 1950s between the Department of Native Affairs at a national level and municipalities regarding the implementation of apartheid (Mabin and Smit, 1997). For the policy of apartheid to work, the Prime Minister Verwoerd wanted total control of the townships and therefore regulations were to be tightened.

Due to the tensions that developed between the central government and the local authorities over the implementation of apartheid, various attempts were made by central government to create their own management structures for blacks by bringing in all black urban townships under the control of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards in 1971 (Mabin and Smit, 1997).

As a way of appeasing blacks for unnecessary restrictions imposed on them, the National Party government decided to leave the management of black townships to blacks themselves (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998). This they achieved through the enactment of the Black (Bantu) Affairs Administration Act of 1971. Administration Boards were set up and these were the first structures through which blacks were able to govern themselves. These boards took over from the white municipality responsibilities for running the townships. However, these boards were still not truly autonomous and were still agents of central government as they carried out instructions from central government. Labour boards which worked with these Administration Boards were empowered to regulate labour and “influx.”

3.3.4 1976 Soweto uprisings and beyond

In 1976 the apartheid government experienced a crisis of legitimacy. The turmoil that started in Soweto spread like wildfire to all townships in the provinces of Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape Province. The root cause of the uprisings was earlier thought to be contests over education, but scholars have argued that the problem was far deeper, including oppressive rule and the deteriorating social and economic conditions of the townships. Community issues which needed attention were vast, amongst them the following: education, housing, township administration, corruption, township finances (Bekker and Humphries, 1985). Blacks were calling for effective participation in issues affecting their lives. Administration Boards soon became unpopular with the masses. A series of bombscares and sabotage actions in the early 1980s forced mayors and councillors to resign *en masse*, and some were also killed.

After the Soweto uprisings of 1976, the government decided to reform apartheid policies. One strategy used by the government as a reform measure was the devolution of administrative functions from the central government to the local level. This was seen as a strategy to relieve the government of potential conflicts and the financial burden of local government. Minister Heunis of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning thought that this would reduce the number of disputed areas at a central level and bring conflict down to a local level (Cameron, 1986). However, the government needed to tread cautiously in this respect, because it did not want to lose control of local authorities, thus giving its opponents, the liberation movements, a route to attack. So as a reform measure the Administration Boards were replaced through the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 (Lear, 1986; Mabin and Smit, 1997; Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998).

By this time there was a set of institutions to govern the different racial areas at the local level. Blacks had Black Local Authorities (BLAs), whites had Local Authorities and Indians and coloureds had Local Affairs Committees. It should be borne in mind that the foundation for the acts controlling these local authorities was the Group Areas Act of 1950 which advocated separate residential areas for all races.

The formation of the BLAs was a short term solution as they did not have a revenue or tax base since the townships had few industrial and commercial activities (Bennet, 1986; Mabin and Smit, 1997; Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development: 1998). This lack of tax base in the BLAs led to a serious financial crisis and hence the inability to render services adequately. They also could not administer effectively. So the BLAs became more and more unpopular and were the immediate target in challenging the apartheid government. The BLAs tried to increase their tax bases by increasing rent and service charges to the township residents. This led to boycotts of rents and service charges and consumer boycotts in shops owned by councillors in the period between 1984 and 1985. Led by the United Democratic Front and civic organisations, the townships became ungovernable which led to the collapse of the BLAs. In the Vaal Triangle townships, this crisis led to the death of many township councillors and mayors (Bekker and Humphries, 1985).

In the aftermath of the measures to reform apartheid, township violence and the collapse of the BLAs, the government brought about more reform measures, through the establishment of Regional Service Councils (RSCs) in terms of Act 109 of 1985. These RSCs were integrated local government bodies. The RSCs provided effective political representation for all citizens including blacks. The purposes of the establishment of RSCs were fourfold: to channel funds to previously disadvantaged areas for blacks, Indians and coloureds; to broaden democracy; to devolve power; and to foster the interdependence of local authorities (Schlemmer, 1986; Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998). The formation of these RSCs did not entail the abolition of racially divided local authorities. They were, rather, a way of protecting white local self-determination and community segregation while taxing the productive resources of a region so as to develop infrastructure in segregated Black, Coloured and Indian municipalities which had an inadequate tax base (Schlemmer, 1986). It should be borne in mind that the establishment of RSCs "was in keeping with the government's proclaimed intention of maximum devolution of power and minimal administrative control at the local level" (Pillay, 1994: 71).

By the end of the 1980s a pall of gloom was hovering over South Africa with international sanctions, economic stagnation, internal turmoil and battle weariness. Local authorities in

the townships and former homeland rural areas were unable to govern. Change was inevitable (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998).

3.3.5 Political changes in the 1990s

The crisis in local government can be regarded as one of the factors forcing the National Party to succumb and to agree to negotiations in 1990. In 1990, former President F.W. de Klerk removed all the pillars of apartheid, in particular the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Black Communities Development Act of 1984 (the successor to Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923). The Racially Based Land Measures Act 208 of 1991 repealed the Black Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 (De Klerk, 1990). All these measures had far-reaching implications for the structure and functioning of local government.

It was clear that local government had to be fundamentally restructured. However, the National Party (NP) government decided to restructure local government unilaterally, with the aim of maximizing white power (Cameron, 1993). The NP government enacted the Interim Measures for Local Government Act in 1991. This Act was to provide Primary Local Authorities (PLAs) with powers to define and negotiate the form of local government within their jurisdiction. This move was rejected by the ANC and its allied structures on the grounds that the Act still propagated racially based local authorities. This rejection meant that local government restructuring had to be negotiated by the ANC and the National Party (NP) as the main role players (Cameron, 1999). Such negotiations were carried through in the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF), a body that included statutory and non-statutory structures. Agreements from the LGNF formed the basis for the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) of 1993. The LGTA laid the foundation for Metropolitan and Transitional Local Councils that constituted combined structures for former white areas/towns and the black townships and traditional rural areas (Lemon, 1996; Maharaj, 1997).

3.4. The Introduction of Integrated Development Planning

3.4.1. IDP Philosophy in South Africa

Urban planning has always been viewed as a means of bringing about spatial reconstruction. In South Africa, this is true under different political conditions, from the colonial period to the present dispensation. During the pre-apartheid and apartheid periods, governments used urban planning to foster residential segregation and to achieve their political agendas. The present ANC government, like its predecessors, is also relying on planning to create 'order' by integrating all parts of the city using an IDP as its urban planning tool. This section therefore examines the origin and the implications of the IDP.

Apartheid has left an imprint of spatial fragmentation on South African urban and rural space. Planning instruments were active during apartheid and helped to create divided urban and rural landscapes (Mabin and Smit, 1997; Lane et al, 1998). The post-apartheid era also needs planning in order to restructure society and various tools to achieve this have been put in place. The South African government is presently involved in the process of reconstruction and measures are being implemented to integrate the remnants of various self governing territories, independent homelands, old provincial administrations and tricameral structures (Harrison, 1998). In this process of reconstruction and ordering of geographic space, the IDP has been embraced as a tool. This tool is a countermeasure to apartheid planning strategy and tools which advocated the fragmentation of South African geographic space.

An IDP is defined as "a process through which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short, medium and long term." (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1997: 2). As explained later, it is incumbent upon both Metropolitan and Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) to produce an IDP document which will guide development. The IDP is a tool that helps municipalities to plan properly for the delivery of services to communities within a set of frameworks.

The overall objective of the IDP is to combat poverty within the planning region. Poverty is not only understood as a low household income, but is a broad and all encompassing concept which includes factors such as the lack of assets to help cope with financial stress.

a lack of resources, a lack of access to education and health care, the lack of a safe and adequate house with all basic services (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998).

Amongst the specifics to be accomplished by the IDP are: the determination of community needs, prioritisation of needs, auditing of the available resources and setting frameworks for attaining these goals (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1997; Harrison, 1998). The adoption of an IDP philosophy in South Africa was facilitated by, amongst other key influences, environmental movements (social ecology), the socialist view of the ANC exiles, the attempt by the reformist wing at home to replace the decaying apartheid policy, the role of civics and international influence (Harrison, 1998).

As already noted, during the 1980s, civic organisations, NGOs and the UDF mobilised people against the apartheid government around issues relating to the appalling conditions in the townships and the spatially and economically fragmented nature of human settlements. The protests were intensified by the fact that black townships lacked a sound tax-base to sustain them. The protests led to the popular slogan One City One Tax Base (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998). This was a clear call for re-integration. The protests paid off and before the 1994 general elections, the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) had been established to negotiate the structure of local government.

The ANC policy frameworks, that is, the Reconstruction and Development Base Strategy (RDP), and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) had a big impact on the IDP. Running through the veins of these policy frameworks is the concept of "integration". These policy frameworks were established by the ANC in order to address the apartheid legacy (Rogerson, 1997). The ANC as a government in waiting prior to the 1994 elections was concerned with uniting all the masses after the devastation of many years of apartheid. As part of its election manifesto, ANC released the RDP Base Document. It spelt out the agenda for the ANC and integrated planning was its intention. The RDP Base Document spelt out five objectives namely, meeting basic needs, developing human resources, building the economy, democratising the state and implementing the RDP (ANC, 1994).

Various sections within the RDP document stress the importance of the need for integration and coherence as opposed to the fragmentation that occurred under apartheid. For example, the first chapter of the RDP document, speaks of the division of society; that is, the division of rural areas into underdeveloped bantustans and well developed white commercial farms, and the division of urban areas into black townships with a serious lack of basic infrastructure and well resourced suburbs. The document also states that “the legacy of apartheid cannot be overcome with piecemeal and unco-ordinated policies” (ANC, 1994: 4). The list of examples of grievances against fragmentation is long. Suffice to say that the need for integration, that is, integrating separate budgets and financial systems to form One Municipality One Tax Base was highlighted through the document.

It should be borne in mind that in 1995 the idea of the contemporary IDP had not emerged though the concept of integration was already a catch phrase. In quoting the definition of development planning in 1995 from the Draft Business Plan for the Promotion of Integrated Development Planning in Provinces, Harrison (1998) says it was “a process to integrate economic, social, institutional and financial dimensions in order to support the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographic areas and across the population in a manner that provides sustainable growth, equity and the empowerment of the poor and marginalised.” This concept was a harbinger of the contemporary IDP. The RDP failed to implement institutional integration at a national level and was therefore left with no option but to devolve its functions to local government through the IDP.

After having failed to attain its original intended objectives, the RDP Office closed in 1996 and its staff were transferred to the Department of Constitutional Development. Before disbanding, the RDP Office had introduced a non-statutory local plan called an Integrated Development Framework, a predecessor of the IDP. The thinking around the IDP was influenced by foreign consultants brought in by the South African government in recognition of their expertise; the findings of tours undertaken by South African officials and politicians to overseas and neighbouring countries to borrow ideas from their integrated policies; and by the World Bank and its notion of local economic development. While local planners also had their own perceptions regarding the IDP, international expertise and experience were lacking and hence the need for international input (Harrison, 1998).

The closure of the RDP Office in April 1996, showed that the goals of integration at a national level could not be easily attained and the five year plan as envisaged failed to yield any fruitful outcome. GEAR was immediately released in order to plug the gaps left by the closure of the RDP Office.

GEAR is the ANC's macro-economic strategy. Despite its acknowledgement of RDP as providing the overall framework of development, it was heavily criticized by many people including members of the Tripartite Alliance (ANC, COSATU and SACP) for having failed to address the need for socio-economic transformation and for being a "neo-liberal programme serving the interests of financial capitalism and undermining the working class." (*Sowetan*, 19 October 1998).

In order to give the IDP political teeth, its principles were inserted in the Local Government Transition Act, Second Amendment of 1996. All local governments are required to submit an IDP according to the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998; 1997; Harrison, 1998). This legislation came as a relief to the officials of the former RDP Office now working in the Ministry of Constitutional Development. After toiling so hard in the RDP Office without any significant success, the IDP was a welcome opportunity to carry out their original intended objectives which earlier were aborted.

Instead of co-ordinating various national ministries and provinces, an IDP is now looking at a specific process of planning at a local level. Even though the IDP and Land Development Objectives (LDO) are legislated by different Acts that is, the Local Government Transition Act, Second Amendment, 1996 and the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 respectively, they are to be tackled together in one planning process (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1997).

As mentioned before, through an IDP, future planning is done in an orderly and sensible manner taking into consideration the time frame. The Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development (1998) notes that IDPs are "planning and strategic frameworks to help municipalities fulfil their development mandate." This definition highlights two key issues. The first is strategic frameworks which include visioning, situational analysis, the

preparation of an Integrated Development Framework (IDF) and preparation of medium term multi-sectoral strategies. The second key issue involves operational elements which include a one year action plan and budget, a financial plan, an institutional plan, a communication plan and a strategy for monitoring and review. An IDP must be flexible to give room for any unexpected changes. A step by step or incremental approach acknowledges the fact that an IDP is a process and not a one event development hence the need for annual review (Nel, 1997).

The concept of integration runs through the RDP, GEAR and IDP. However, an IDP like the RDP, does not focus on one sector but all sectors for example, environment, transport, social and economic and views them as a whole. Furthermore it brings all stakeholders together namely, national, provincial, regional and local government, local citizens, civics, NGOs and the private sector. These sectors are supposed to come together and plan for future development in an orderly, sensible and achievable fashion and also ensure that the financial resources are allocated fairly and in a sustainable manner. Therefore an IDP is a holistic document (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1997).

The compilation of an IDP is the responsibility of the local councillors and officials. Even though outside help may be necessary, the IDP's preparation must not be "handed over" (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development: 1997) or "farmed out" (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998) to outside consultants. Officials and consultants must realise that it is easy "to assess the benefits of any proposed development in terms of quantity and costs, but the true value of development to all individuals is measured by what they see as an improvement to their quality of life." (Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1997).

3.4.2 Problems in compiling and implementing an Integrated Development Plan

The theory has not, however, always been easy to put into practice. Small towns find it particularly difficult to compile IDP, as their resources and capacity is limited. Three common problems in compiling and implementing IDPs have emerged.

One most serious problem faced by local authorities in compiling an IDP is lack of financial resources. Faced with an enormous problem of delivering to the masses, local authorities are already over-stretched and do not have money to compile IDPs. Coupled with that is a severe inadequacy of policy skills at local level. Many TLC's rely on consultants for whom the writing of IDPs is a business.

A second problem is, changing the nature of urban space, that is redesigning it so that residential integration, for example, is achieved, would be impossibly expensive.

The third problem is that of entrenched power relations and conflict at a local level. The situation at a local level is quite complex because in many TLCs there are power struggles ongoing between white and black councillors; between white and black officials; local councillors and traditional leaders; between local councillors and civic organisations, development forums and individuals (Harrison, 1998). This thesis explores some of these tensions in the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council.

Finally, newly elected local councils are faced with many fundamental problems namely, lack of finance due to non-payment of services by local residents, lack of experience and expertise on the part of officials and councillors who have to adapt to these new changes. (Lane et al, 1998). The capacity for governance (discussed in the previous chapter) is often limited.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored the history of urban space and urban planning in South Africa, and related this to local government in South Africa. The chapter traced developments in the twentieth century in particular, and showed that the legacy of the past is still having an influence today.

While changes became possible after the scrapping of apartheid laws in the early 1990s, the process has been a complex and a conflicted one. The implications of such changes at the local level were that an opportunity was created to restructure local government. The LGTA of 1993 provided for the formation of Metropolitan and Transitional Local Councils comprising of representatives from white towns and black townships and rural areas within

a defined geographic area like the GLTTLC. The present thesis is concerned with the challenges faced by these bodies.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The research process primarily involved the collection of data from councillors, officials and staff of the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council (GLTTLC) and from residents in the TLC area. An extensive survey, and intensive interviews with key representatives, form key elements of the research process. The research was undertaken during August 1998.

This chapter outlines the sources of data, research design, data collection and sampling process, reliability of data collected and problems experienced.

4.2 Sources of Data.

Both primary and secondary sources were used in this study. Primary data form the empirical basis of the study while secondary data provides background information and theoretical perspectives (Shaw and Wheeler; 1994). The primary data sources the researcher consulted include: maps showing the location of Louis Trichardt within the province, wards and boundaries of the GLTTLC; documentary materials such as council minutes, letters, Provincial Government Gazettes, local newspapers; and structured and open-ended interviews (Smith, 1975; Brown et al, 1998; Mouton and Marais, 1990; Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995; Flowerdew and Martin, 1997).

Relevant Government Gazettes, as well as documents such as the White Paper on Local Government, and Northern Province Growth and Development Strategy Documents were obtained from the GLTTLC offices. These documents are of utmost importance in understanding the vision of the national government, provincial governments and local government in respect of the delivery of basic services such as water, electricity, housing, clean air and clean environment to all people, especially those who were denied these services and conditions during the previous regime.

Minutes of the council meetings were requested in order to have an insight into the problems the council has been facing and how they have progressed in tackling some of the problems.

Correspondence conducted between the former white local government and the Provincial Government prior to the 1995 local government elections, were requested in order to find out about the reasons for the postponement of local government elections in the area on 1 November 1995. This correspondence is also necessary because it highlights the historical, political, economic and racial factors which played a role in creating the tension between blacks and whites within this area prior to the local government elections.

Newspaper articles collected for this research are derived from *Mirror* and the *Zoutpansberger*, which are local newspapers, and the *Sowetan* which is a Gauteng-based newspaper. Newspaper articles collected were selected because they contained information pertaining to issues of transformation, or were related to the GLTTLC. These newspapers were collected from 1995.

The primary data is complemented by secondary data which gave information pertaining to the historical background, information on the Integrated Development Plan and LED and issues around local governance. Secondary data in the form of journal articles, documentary material and books was presented in the literature review. This literature provided a context for the study and raised key questions.

4.3 Research Design

In addition to these documentary sources of primary data, the responses from residents and officials derived from the extensive survey and intensive interviews formed the major source of primary data. What follows is a methodological discussion on the overall design or conception of this part of the research.

4.3.1 Extensive and intensive research design

The research design selected for this project was the intensive approach, but this was complemented by an extensive survey of the residents involving 150 households.

The most important source of empirical data collected for this thesis is that derived from oral interviews (intensive research design) and questionnaires (extensive research design). The structure of the questionnaire or interview schedule, the sampling process, and the administration of questions is different in each case.

It was felt that for the researcher to be able to unravel the complexity of the social world, a combination of different methods is necessary. The methods used are the intensive research method, which uses an open-ended interview and observation to get information. This is also referred to as an informal interview, participant observation method or a qualitative method (Eyles, 1988). The second method is called the extensive research method which employs structured questionnaires to extract knowledge from respondents. It is also referred to as a formal method or a quantitative method. There are tensions in the application of both methods in the social sciences. These competing tensions are rooted in two opposed approaches in the social sciences research, that is, positivism (anti-naturalism) and naturalism. The extensive research method or quantitative method is aligned to positivism and the intensive research method or qualitative method is influenced by naturalism (Evans, 1988; Flowerdew and Martin, 1997)

Positivism as an approach, "...endeavours to construct a science of society modeled on the logic of experimentalism in the natural sciences" (Evans, 1988: 198). To positivists, the focus of research are phenomena which are observable, quantifiable, measurable and the tests carried out must be subject to replication. They believe that their methods are objective and value-free.

However, this is strongly objected to by Evans, (1988: 198) when he comments that the statement, "... that observation can be carried out in a value-free vacuum, is unrealistic." Extensive research uses a variety of methods namely, survey of population, formal questionnaires, standardized interviews and statistical analysis (Sayer, 1992). While extensive research methods claim to be representative and unbiased, they do ignored the

non-observable values, meanings and intentions present in the social life (Evans, 1988). An extensive research design is still important in that it allows the development of a large set of data and allows for quantitative discussion.

Intensive research was essential for this present project. Hence the necessity to explain its origins, and where it is used and finally some of its limitations. Intensive research owes its allegiance to naturalism as an approach. According to Evans (1988: 199) it places “emphasis on the social meanings, intentions and attitudes which are the underlying basis of the appearance of social phenomena. To understand appearances we must therefore employ a method which gives us access to the underlying meanings”. Naturalism believes that all human beings as members of society, participate in the social phenomena that they observe and thereby learn the underlying meanings, which produce them (Evans, 1988).

Intensive research is used for data collection in the following instances:

- (a) For very recent issues where there is no documentary evidence.
- (b) Where opinions are needed to give a perspective on the issue.
- (c) Where only a few key representatives are interviewed in depth.
- (d) Where documentary or qualitative data needs “ground truthing” or contextualizing.
- (e) Where an issue or research area is not well known.
- (f) Where there is a belief on the part of the researcher that knowledge is a joint construction (Mather, 1996; Flowerdew and Martin, 1997).

In this method, it is necessary for the researcher to create a relaxed atmosphere wherein the respondent will interact with him/her freely. In demonstrating the value of this method, Eyles (1988: 8) quotes Burgess’ view that, when social interaction takes the form of conversation, it allows the researcher “to probe deeply, to uncover new clues, to open up new dimensions of a problem and to secure vivid, accurate, inclusive accounts from informants based on personal experience.”

It should however, be borne in mind that for this method to be useful, skills of questioning and listening are of paramount importance. At all times the researcher assumes the role of a “methodological tool” and “it is the fact of participation, of being part of a collective contract, which creates the data” (Evans, 1988: 209).

Amongst some of the limitations of the intensive research are the following:

- (a) The data collected is not representative.
- (b) The process of interviewing takes a lengthy period.
- (c) The process of building up trust (rapport) is not easy to achieve.
- (d) Respondents may have a tendency to distort information with the aim of pleasing the researcher (Smith, 1975; Mouton and Marais, 1990; Mather, 1996; Flowerdew and Martin, 1997).

In spite of the above limitations, intensive research remains an important method of data collection. Instead of concentrating on the merits and demerits of extensive and intensive research methods, and focusing on elevating one method above the other, it is more useful to accept that they are appropriate for different situations and that they are complementary rather than competitors (Sayer, 1992). In trying to show the importance of both the extensive and intensive research methods, Harvey (1969, 8) says, "...every method is open for us to use, provided we can show that its use is reasonable under the circumstances."

4.4 Data Collection

Data collection is an essential component of any research project. In human geography and related areas of research, the most frequently used tools for gathering information are questionnaires and interviews. Interview and questionnaire design can take on a number of different forms depending on the research methodology adopted (qualitative or quantitative) and the size of a sample. These tools are essential to provide information about people, their behaviour, attitudes, opinions and their awareness of specific issues (Flowerdew and Martin, 1997).

4.4.1 Design of Questionnaires and Interviews

4.4.1.1 The Extensive Questionnaire Survey

The questionnaire is a technique through which sets of questions are asked with little or without personal contact with the respondents. It is called an interview schedule if it is administered by an interviewer and a questionnaire if it is filled in by respondents. A

questionnaire is sometimes referred to as a self-administered interview as it lacks the personality of an interviewer (Smith, 1975).

Flowerdew and Martin (1997: 110) state that "the aim of using a questionnaire is often to survey a representative sample of the population so that you can make generalizations from your responses." Questions that are asked in a questionnaire are usually standardized. Questions are asked in exactly the same wording, question order and even tone of voice hence named structured questionnaire.

The researcher may distribute the questionnaires and collect them later or the researcher may use a mail or postal questionnaire wherein the respondents answer the questions and send the questionnaire back to the researcher. In this type of research, anonymity is ensured. One problem associated with this method (questionnaire) is that there is a need for literacy and familiarity with the language used (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995).

An extensive quantitative survey formed an important part of the current project. The purpose of the extensive survey was to collect detailed information from respondents on their perceptions of the TLC and its performance, as well as their understanding of the IDP as a tool for urban planning. A questionnaire was constructed consisting of several sets of questions.

The first set of questions in the questionnaire were designed to obtain socio-economic and biographical data in order to create a social profile of the respondents. The second set of questions dealt with services such as water supply, electricity, waste disposal and so forth that respondents had access to. The third set of questions probed the issue of the payment of services by residents. The fourth set of questions was designed to ascertain the public participation process which respondents were exposed to. The fifth set of questions focused on the perceived areas of need in town, townships and rural areas. The last question inquired as to whether people had any knowledge of an IDP (See Appendix 1 for questionnaire). The extensive survey was undertaken during the month of August 1998. The questionnaires were administered by five assistants who distributed them to heads of households throughout the entire GLTTLC (the town of Louis Trichardt, Vleifontein, Tshikota, Sinthumule and Kutama).

Heads of households that were given questionnaires to fill in were either males or females depending on the status of the family, that is single, widowed, divorced or married/cohabiting. In the case of households whose heads are men who are migrant workers in far distant urban areas like Johannesburg, their wives filled in the questionnaires as they remain heads in the absence of their husbands.

4.4.1.2 Intensive Interviews

According to Bless and Higson-Smith (1995: 106) an intensive interview can be defined as “direct personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions”. An intensive interview is also described as a conversation with purpose (Eyles, 1988).

The intensive interview is either an entirely non-scheduled interview (conversation) or a non-scheduled structured interview. The following can be regarded as some characteristics of the fully non-scheduled interviews:

- (a) Respondents are requested to comment on widely defined issues.
- (b) Those interviewed are free to expand on the topic as they see fit.
- (c) The interviewer only intervenes to ask for clarification or further explanation but not to give directives or to confront the interviewee with probing questions.
- (d) There is no time limit fixed for interview.

In contrast to the entirely non-scheduled interview, the non-scheduled structured interview has the following characteristics:

- (a) It is structured in the sense that a list of issues which have to be investigated is made prior to the interview.
- (b) The list will also contain precise questions or alternatives to be asked.
- (c) It is a non-scheduled interview because the interviewer is free to formulate other questions as he/ she deem it fit.
- (d) The respondents are not confronted with possible answers or definitions (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995).

In the case of this research, the non-scheduled structured interview was considered appropriate and the researcher prepared a list of questions prior to the interview. The

intensive interviews/open-ended interviews like the intensive survey was undertaken in August 1998 and were conducted by the researcher himself.

Open-ended interviews were conducted with five categories of respondents namely; ward councillors, TLC officials and staff, union leaders within the TLC, leaders of the two main political parties that are in power in the TLC (that is, the ANC and Residents Association alias Rate Payers Association) and traditional leaders. The duration of these interviews varied widely as some of the people interviewed were at work which interrupted the time schedule and the continuity of questions. In spite of these unavoidable disturbances, speaking over a cup of coffee dictated the tone of the conversation and created a relaxed atmosphere. The interview procedure with these five groups is discussed below.

Questions that were designed for the informal interviews were open-ended, in-depth and unstructured even though the word “unstructured” is rejected by Eyles (1988, 8) when he states that, “...all interviews, like any social interaction, are structured by both researcher and informant.”

Five groups of people within the TLC structure were interviewed. First, were ward councillors. The GLTTLC is composed of sixteen councillors (proportional and ward representation) of which ten councillors were interviewed: five from the statutory wards and five from the non-statutory wards. All these councillors were consulted via appointments as they work in different places. The purpose of this informal interview was to find out the roles of the councillors as agents of transformation. (see Appendix 1 for list of interviews).

Questions asked ranged from their comments on the delivery of basic services, key problems in their wards and the entire TLC, the nature of meetings with their constituencies, their knowledge of the Integrated Development Plan and the working document they are currently employing. The relationship of councillors with their colleagues from other parties was queried in order to establish whether there is a spirit of co-operation (see Appendix 3 for questionnaire).

The second group to be interviewed were key officials (including some staff members) of the TLC. Nine officials were interviewed namely, the Chief Executive Officer, Treasurer.

Town Manager of Vleifontein, Chief Protection Services, an official from the Personnel Department, an official from the Account Section, the Town Secretary, the Secretary in the Office of the Mayor and the Assistant Town Secretary. Appointments for each interview were secured beforehand in order to fit with in the respondents' work schedules.

The purpose of this informal interview was to find out the views of officials as administrators. These officials are entrusted with the task of implementing decisions from the council in order to enforce transformation. mainly delivery of basic services to all communities.

The questions which were asked related to the delivery of basic services, the payment of services by residents/consumers, key problems within the TLC, their knowledge of the IDP and its value to the working documents they are using in the TLC (see Appendix 4 for questionnaire and Appendix 1 for list of interviews).

The third group to be interviewed were traditional leaders. Traditional leaders from rural settlements within TLCs are important role players in any urban development plan as they are the rightful trustees for the land. In Louis Trichardt there are two such traditional leaders namely, chief Sinthumule and chief Kutama, who are ex-officio members of the TLC.

Questions that were asked related to the delivery of basic services, that is, water supply, electricity, and solid waste disposal, which are key problems in the rural areas. The issue of integration into the TLC and the degree of knowledge regarding an IDP were also dealt with (see Appendix 5).

Fourth, it was considered necessary to interview leaders of the trade unions representing workers within the TLC. Workers within the TLC are polarised into predominantly two trade unions. These trade unions are the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) which represents black workers and the Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union (IMATU) which represents white workers. The purpose of the interview was to establish whether the unions are happy about the transformation process as advocated by the IDP and their views regarding the delivery of basic services to all communities. Questions that were related to the delivery of water, electricity and solid waste disposal;

the relationship between black and white workers; the public participation process; payment for services; the key problems within the TLC and knowledge about the IDP (see Appendix 6 for questionnaire and Appendix 1 for list of interviews).

The fifth and the last group to be interviewed were leaders of political parties. The political parties which are represented and are responsible for administering the Louis Trichardt TLC are the ANC which is the majority party and the Residents Association which presents itself as an apolitical organisation. However, it is clear that the body represents white residents of the town. Leaders of these parties were interviewed. Prior arrangements regarding the interviews were made as these leaders do not work within the TLC. Questions that were asked were similar to the ones that were asked union leaders. (see Appendix 7 for questionnaire and Appendix 1 for list of interviews).

4.4.2 Sampling

This section presents the sampling process undertaken for the extensive survey and the open-ended interview (intensive interviews). Sampling for an extensive survey is a process of selecting a representative section of the large population interview. In explaining the aim of sampling, Harvey (1969: 356) says, it “is to form a small data matrix out of an enormous data matrix in such a way that the small matrix provides approximately the same amount of information needed for a given purpose as would the large matrix.” The main purpose of such a sampling method is the need to generalise about the data collected for the sample. In showing the importance of representativity, Bryman and Cramer (1990: 100) states that a sample must be “treated as though it were the population.”

On the other hand, sampling for the intensive interviews was based on a non-probability, purposive method to obtain the views of key representatives of various groups within the TLC structure.

4.4.2.1 Sampling Procedure for the Extensive Survey

Sampling for the extensive survey was carried out through a probability sampling method. Quoting Krumbein and Graybill, Harvey (1969: 36), defines probability sampling as “a formal procedure for selecting one or more samples from the population in such a manner

that each individual or sampling unit has a known chance of appearing in the sample.” A cluster/area sampling method was chosen to select the extensive survey sample. The clustered sampling method classifies settlements according to their geographical area that is, the town of Louis Trichardt, townships of Vleifontein and Tshikota and rural villages of Sinthumule and Kutama. The reason why cluster or area sampling was preferred was because it “allows such geographically dispersed populations to be adequately covered, while simultaneously saving interviewer time and travel costs.” (Bryman and Cramer, 1990: 103).

A cluster or area sampling method was followed by a random sampling method within the areas. The main problem that the researcher encountered during the sampling process was that there was no reliable current official household data or documents except the information provided by the Chief Executive Officer (12 August 1998), with the supplementary information provided by the Town Treasurer on the 15 August 1998. The number of households as provided by the two officials is as follows:

Table 1 Number of households per area in 1998

Area	No. of households	Houses selected	No. of questionnaires
Louis Trichardt	4 200	Every 140	30
Tshikota	706	Every 23	30
Vleifontein	1 000	Every 33	30
Sinthumule	8 327	Every 277	30
Kutama	6 100	Every 203	30
Total	20 333		150

This household data was used as the basis for selecting households for the extensive survey. The survey was undertaken during the month of August 1998. The 150 households to be interviewed were sampled within five areas of the greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council area. These are: the urban area which is the town of Louis Trichardt, townships of Tshikota and Vleifontein, and the rural villages of Sinthumule and Kutama. Figure 1 shows all these five areas while figure 2 portrays the wards of the GLTTLC.

It was felt that for the sample to be representative, questionnaires should be administered per area rather than per ward as the town alone has five wards. So the random sampling method was chosen as each household has an equal chance of being selected (Shaw and Wheeler, 1994). For the town of Louis Trichardt thirty questionnaires were administered and every 140th house was selected out of 4 200 households. In the townships of Tshikota 30 questionnaires were administered and every 23rd house was selected from a total of 706 households. In Vleifontein, out of 1000 households, every 33rd was handed a questionnaire. In peri-urban villages, 60 questionnaires were administered. For Sinthumule, every 277th house was selected out of 8 327 households and for Kutama, 30 questionnaires were also distributed to every 203rd house out of 6 100 households. In total, hundred and fifty questionnaires were administered in the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council.

During the survey the researcher was assisted by five people who helped in administering the questionnaires to residents. As the questionnaires were written in English the assistants gave guidance to respondents on how to fill the questionnaires before leaving them. As the questionnaire was long, respondents were given five days to fill in the questionnaires. After five days the assistants went back to collect the questionnaires.

These helpers were a great asset as they at had passed Std 10 and were also Venda speakers. Generally the co-operation of the community was excellent as the people who were assisting in administering questionnaires were Venda speakers and were either working in the area or living there. Four of these assistants were civic leaders and members of the South African National Civic Association (SANCO). Due to the respect they are accorded in these communities, their involvement in this survey dispelled any suspicions people might have had with respect to participation. However, the majority of people interviewed, that is, heads of households, co-operated in the hope that the researcher will give them assistance in relation to the problems they are facing as residents of the GLTTLC. Some of them were just happy to discuss the situation they find themselves in. All the questionnaires were collected.

After completion of the fieldwork, all questionnaires were checked for anomalies. Four were discarded entirely due to being incomplete, leading to the reduction in the number of questionnaires to a hundred and forty six.

4.4.2.2 Sampling Procedure for Informal Interviews

In the case of the informal interviews, non-probability, purposive or judgement sampling method was applied. When using this method, the population does not have an equal chance of being selected. The selection of population at units is for convenience or economy (Shaw and Wheeler, 1994). They are called convenience samples because they are chosen by the researcher or expert according to the goals of the study (Harvey, 1969; Bryman and Cramer, 1990). The success of this method depends on the skill of the researcher and therefore it is sometimes called a subjective method. Subjective as it may be, this method has an important role to play and is crucial in assessing the role of the key actors in the TLC. It compliments data collected in the extensive survey (Harvey, 1969).

The following discussion outlines the sampling procedure for the TLC officials, ward councillors, traditional leaders, union leaders and political leaders. These contacts were established through the Secretary of the Mayor.

A sample of nine key representatives was selected from among officials of the TLC. The sample was purposive as the people selected were mainly heads of departments within the TLC with the exception of three who were selected randomly from the two departments whose heads could not be interviewed due to their work commitments. Those interviewed were the Chief Executive Officer, Treasurer, Chief Protection Services, Town Manager of Vleifontein, Acting Town Secretary, Secretary for the Mayor, Assistant Town Secretary, an employee from the Personnel Office and another employee from the Accounts Section.

The GLTTLC is composed of sixteen councillors, ten of whom are ward councillors, two are traditional leaders who have been accorded the status of being ex-officio members, and four are councillors who have been voted through the system of proportional representation - two from the ANC and two from the Residents Association. Twelve of these sixteen councillors have been selected for interviews, that is, ten ward councillors and two traditional leaders.

It was decided to interview both the chiefs within the 16 member council. However, the researcher ended up interviewing only Chief Kutama as Chief Sinthumule was unwilling to participate.

Due to the confrontation that was looming between the TLC and the rural villages of Sinthumule and Kutama regarding the non-delivery or poor delivery of services to these areas and the controversial issue of integration (*Mirror*, 2 August 1998; Zoupanberger,

21 August 1998), the researcher went to see chief Sinthumule twice but in vain. Perhaps it needs to be pointed out that having provided him with the letter of permission from the TLC, it might have created an impression of the research being on the side of the TLC. The fact that the researcher did not send a letter to his Tribal Council requesting permission to interview him might have exacerbated the problem. Attempts to see him failed even after having persuaded the Tribal Council twice to speak to him. Therefore Chief Kutama ended up being the only chief to be interviewed by the researcher. This could be indicative of some of the tensions within the TLC as the role of traditional leaders in local government is far from clear at a national policy level.

Two trade union representatives were selected for interviews representing the two municipal Unions in Louis Trichardt which are the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) and the Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union (IMATU).

The political parties that are represented in the TLC are the ANC and Residents Association which presents itself as an apolitical organisation. However, it is clear that this body represents white residents of the town. The leaders of these two parties were targeted for interviews.

Table 2: List of key representatives interviewed

Structure of TLC	Total	No. interviewed
Ward Councillors	10	10
TLC Officials and staff	70	9
Traditional leaders	2	1
Union leaders	2	2
Political Parties	2	2
Total	86	24

4.5 Problems and Constraints

One of the most important aspects associated with the validity of the process of data is its reliability. In trying to define the concept of reliability, Smith (1975: 58) asks a question: "Will the same methods used by different researchers and/ or at different times produce the

same results?" Mouton and Marais (1990) attempt to answer the question put forth by Smith, by saying that the reliability of data is influenced by four variables namely, the researcher, the researched, the research instrument and the research context.

The researcher tried to ensure that the processes of data collection and sampling were rigorous. However, a certain amount of error in the data is always inevitable (Smith, 1975; Clark and Hosking, 1986; Mouton and Marais, 1990; Flowerdew and Martin, 1997). Errors might have resulted from the following factors:

- (a) The lack of pilot survey. Due to the late granting of permission by the TLC, it was not possible to conduct a pilot survey. Had a pilot survey been conducted, the study could have been done differently and mistakes could have been foreseen and avoided.
- (b) Errors resulting from respondents' misunderstanding of the questions.
- (c) Errors resulting from design of questionnaire and semi-structured interviews.
- (d) Errors resulting from incorrect and incomplete questionnaires for example the four questionnaires that were discarded and errors resulting from non-responses as indicated by the refusal of Chief Sinthumule to be interviewed.

Since the majority of people within the TLC do not understand English, most of the interviews were conducted in Venda. In translating the questionnaire from English into Venda, the original meaning of the questions could have altered. Another problem was the error that might have crept in due to the use of interview assistants. For example, the results from the question on educational levels were strange - a high percentage of household heads throughout the study area said they had a post-matric qualification. This data was unreliable and was not presented in the data analysis.

A problem intrinsic to qualitative research (in depth interview) is the transcription of verbal communication to the written form, whilst at the same time attempting to preserve the original meaning.

Among the constraints encountered during the research were the following:

- (a) Lack of reliable population and household data made it difficult for the researcher to be able to administer the questionnaires satisfactorily.
- (b) The absence of an IDP necessitated the dropping and restructuring of some of the original questions.

- (c) Unwillingness on the side of Chief Sinthumule to be interviewed was a constraint as the researcher could have received valuable information.
- (d) The long delay by the GLTTLC to give permission to the researcher to undertake research served as a constraint because the pilot survey was subsequently dropped due to time constraints. The pilot survey would have helped the researcher to be well prepared for the fieldwork and also to fine tune the questionnaire and intensive interview questions.

4.6. Conclusion

The quantitative data derived from the extensive survey was analysed to provide descriptive statistics of the socio-economic, biographical and infrastructural profile of the sample population. Descriptive statistics are a valuable means of summarizing data and displaying results. They are the simplest way of summarizing and presenting what might constitute volumes of data. They manifest themselves in a variety of forms ranging from the use of graphs and frequency tables to spatial statistics.

Qualitative data from the in-depth, open interview process was interpreted qualitatively in order to respond to the research questions. Themes were identified for discussion. Both the quantitative and qualitative data were used to jointly answer the research questions in a complimentary manner. These results are presented in Chapter 6.

In conclusion, it is important to emphasize that both the extensive and intensive research methods have been of paramount importance. Through the use of extensive method, the views or opinions of the residents can be generalised and an overall picture of development in the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council area can be drawn. The intensive research method is also imperative as it allowed the people interviewed to open up their innermost feelings, to provide meaning, and allow the researcher insight into their role as agents and the structural constraints within which they are working in the TLC.

CHAPTER FIVE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to locate the history of the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council within the context of the broader South African process described in Chapter 3. The issue of the demarcation of the GLTTLC boundaries and the struggles that preceded the 1995 local government elections, are a particular focus. The townscape of Louis Trichardt is therefore studied in the light of broader social, economic and political transformation of South Africa as a whole.

5.2 History of the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council

The GLTTLC is one of a number of local councils in the Northern Province. The boundaries of the GLTTLC are shown in Figures 1 and 2. The town of Louis Trichardt is one of the small former rural conservative towns where vestiges of apartheid are still visible, as indicated by the recent incident of the abduction and the beating of a black man by a group of white men (*Sowetan*, 21 September 1998). Prior to the 1994 general elections, Louis Trichardt was the scene of numerous confrontations between blacks and whites which led to consumer boycotts.

Louis Trichardt is the biggest town in the far north of the province and lies north of Pietersburg. It acts as a central place in the north of the province servicing the whole of the former Venda homeland, part of the former Lebowa homeland and part of the former Gazankulu homeland. Its sphere of influence stretches to Messina (91 km to the north), Thohoyandou (70 km to the east), Malamulele (100 km to the east), Matoks (50 km to the south) and Indermaak (71 km to the west) (See Figure 3). Louis Trichardt is located on the main route from South Africa to Zimbabwe, that is, through the Beit Bridge border post.

The town of Louis Trichardt was founded in 1899 by the Voortrekkers and was named after one of the Voortrekker leaders called Louis Trichardt (De Waal, 1986). It was

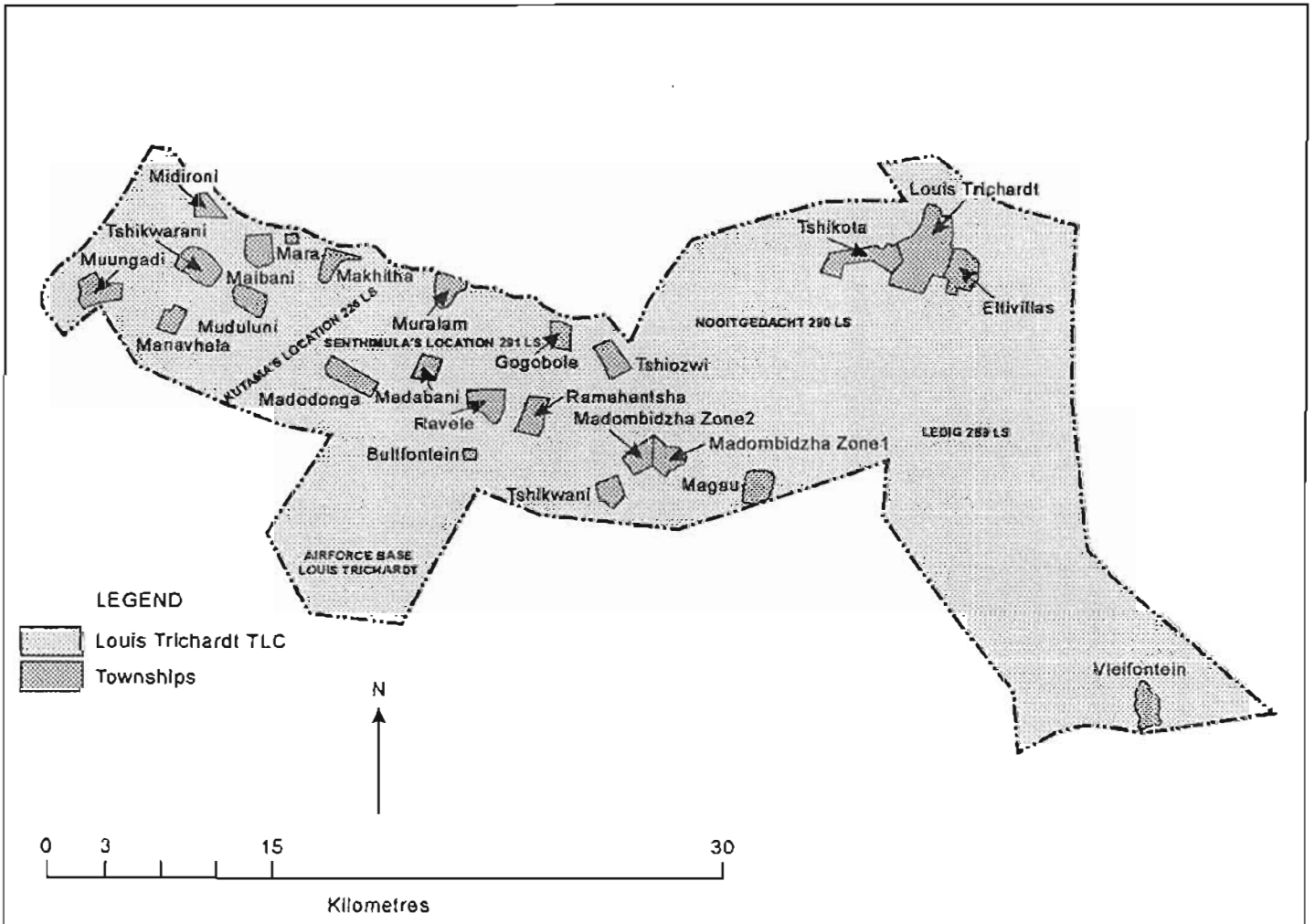


Figure 1 : The Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council (Source : Greater Louis Trichardt Municipality, Mayoral Report, 1998 - 1999, Centenary Celebrations)

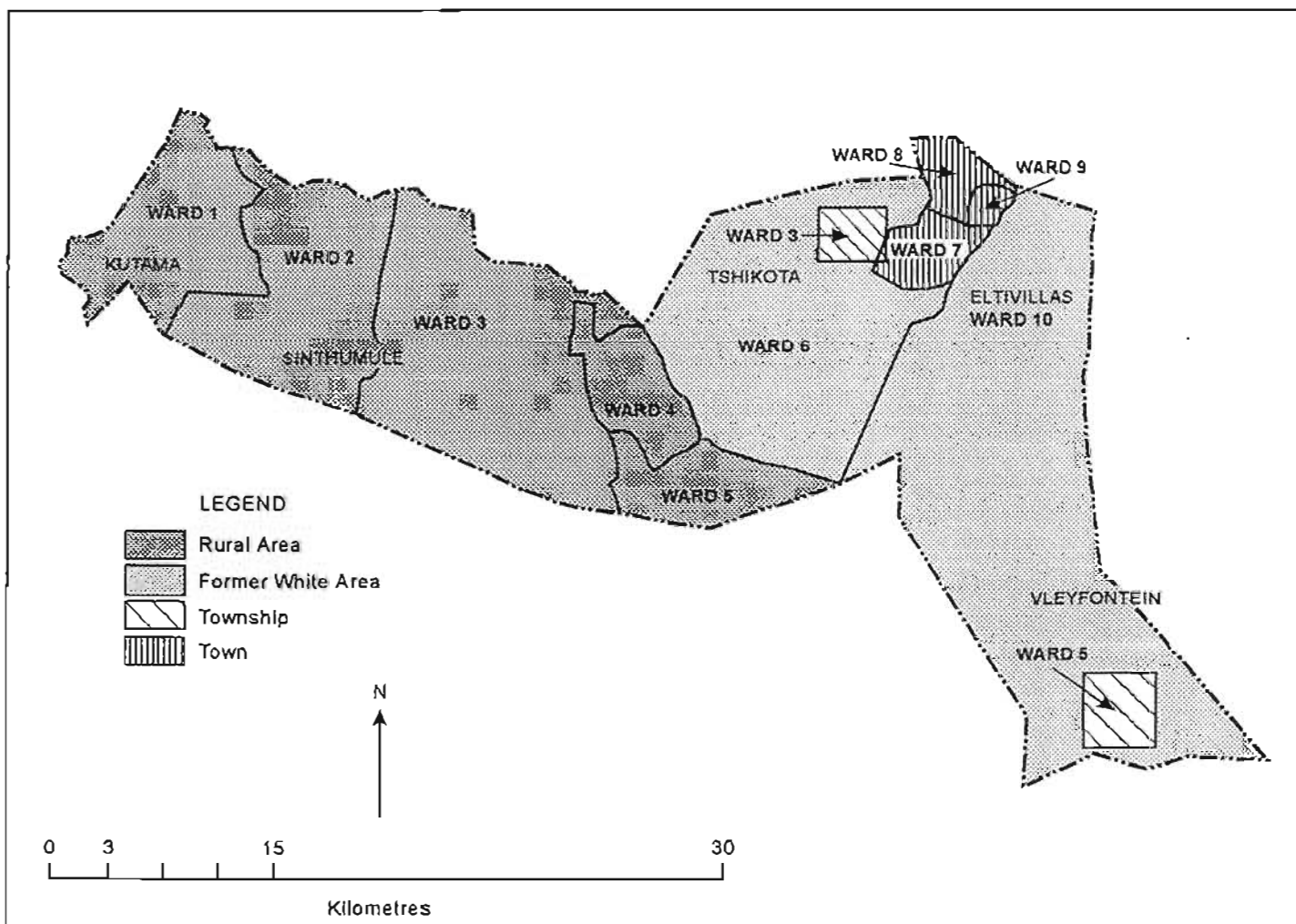


Figure 2 : The Greater Louis Trichardt - TLC Wards (Source : Provincial Proclamation No.15, 1995)

established on the farms Bergvliet (288LS) and Rietvley (276LS). At this time the town had 20 white families, few houses and was the base for police force of 50 men. At this time, the town fell under the Voortrekker republic of Transvaal. Nearly 100 years later, in 1995, the population of the town of Louis Trichardt was approximately 8 470 (De Villiers and Associates, 1995).

After the 1994 general elections, the town of Louis Trichardt was merged with the surrounding townships and rural areas to form the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council. The TLC area is therefore made up of five disjointed settlements, an urban settlement which is the town of Louis Trichardt, two townships, that is Tshikota (2 km west of the town), and Vleifontein (27 km south-east of the town), and the two rural villages of Sinthumule (25 km west of the town) and Kutama (35 km west of the town). (See Figure 1).

The town of Louis Trichardt is the heart of the TLC. This small town has many shops and a few light and heavy industries such as Alert Steel, Pennels, Kynoch Fertilizer and others. The town also houses the offices of the TLC. Louis Trichardt has two primary schools, two combined schools and one high school. Almost all businesses in town are owned by whites and Indians. The town has one hospital which was recently opened to all racial groups but it operates as a private hospital, as patients that are admitted there must be treated by their own doctors. After the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in 1991, blacks started settling in the town even though there was a lot of intimidation. However, after the 1994 non-racial general elections, race relations have improved.

Tshikota township is situated approximately 2 km from the town of Louis Trichardt and is a product of forced removals. This township was established in 1961 in order to accommodate people from Masagani, another location which was a predecessor of Tshikota, which was adjacent to the town. Masagani location was established in 1918. Through the implementation of the Native Land Act of 1913 many people who resided in the vicinity of Louis Trichardt as landowners and tenants lost their homes as their land was expropriated to form part of the town of Louis Trichardt. People whose land had been expropriated were resettled in the adjacent reserves (The SPP Reports, 1983, Volume 5). During this period the areas adjacent to the town were affected by several types of forced removals, also common in other parts of South Africa, namely; black spot removals:

removals from farms; removals due to homeland consolidation; removals from urban and informal areas; and removals because of infrastructural and military reasons and the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Meth, 1999).

The evidence suggests that, before the implementation of racial segregation, that is, earlier in the century, black ethnic groups had lived together harmoniously. Some of the people who liked the area and those who had employment in town, decided to reside at Masagani. But through the tightening of apartheid legislation and the implementation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, people who had settled at Masagani were relocated to Tshikota in 1961. Even though the community was not happy about forced removals there was little resistance due to fear of the apartheid state. Furthermore Tshikota appeared to some to be better than Masagani as houses were of a higher quality than those at Masagani (The SPP Reports, 1983, Volume 5).

The Group Areas Act of 1950 made it difficult for blacks who claimed that they were entitled to remain in a white urban area due to their birth right. There was no accommodation for blacks in the inner areas of towns and cities. Cases in point are the Indians and blacks who were displaced from the inner city of Durban; coloureds from District Six in Cape Town and blacks from Sophiatown to South Western Township (Soweto) in Johannesburg (Browett, 1982). In similar fashion blacks and Indians who were living near and in the central area of Louis Trichardt were later removed to Tshikota and Eltivillas respectively. (See Figure 1)

The Promotion of Black Self-Government Act of 1959, through which homelands were created, provided an outlet for the apartheid government to further push blacks out of white urban areas. Figure 3 shows the position of the former homelands in the Northern Province.

In 1979 the Venda homeland was granted independence. This made the local politics of inclusion and exclusion at Louis Trichardt, much more complicated. Residents of Tshikota who were Venda speaking were resettled in Venda at a location called Makwarela and this was in line with the Bantu Constitution Act of 1971. Through this Act other ethnic groups that is Tsongas and Northern Sothos residing at Tshikota were relocated to Malamulele in the former Gazankulu homeland and Seshégo in the former Lebowa homeland. However

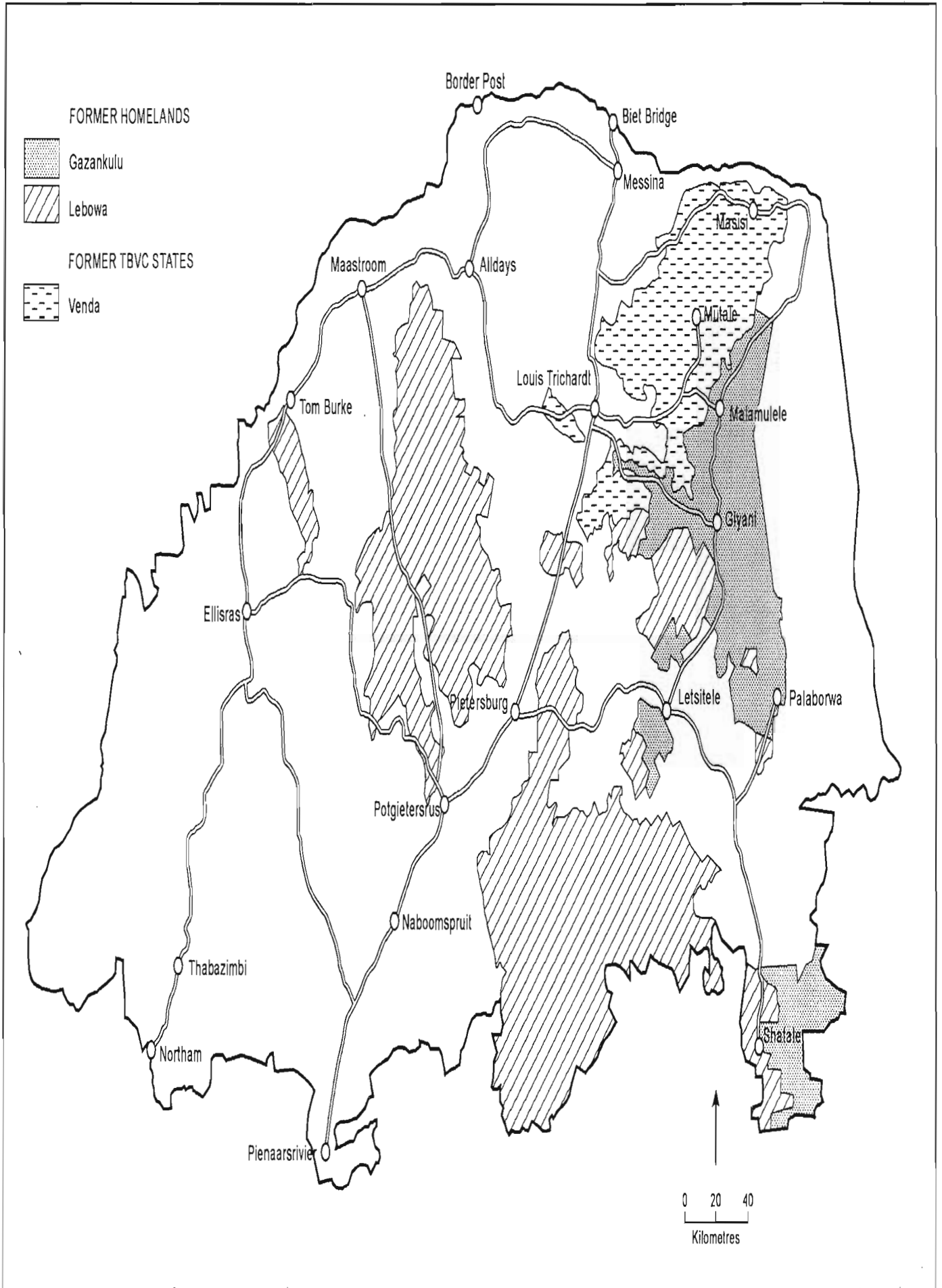


Figure 3 : Location of Former Homelands in the Northern Province (Source : Development Southern Africa : Provincial Profile, 1992)

not all residents agreed to leave their beloved Tshikota as some Vendas, Tsongas, Northern Sothos and a substantial number of coloureds remained even after the proclaimed independence of Venda in 1979. Their stay at Tshikota was shortlived however as in 1982 a new black township called Vleifontein was established south-east of the town of Louis Trichardt. Many Venda speakers were resettled there (SPP Reports, 1983, Volume 5) (See Figure 1).

Vleifontein Township, then, is also a product of forced removals. As noted above, it was established in 1982 and it was specifically built to accommodate Venda speakers from Tshikota who did not move to Venda when it was granted its independence in 1979. Vleifontein Township was established on the farms Vleifontein (316LS) and Doringspruit (41LS). While the Vendas from Tshikota were accommodated here, the Tsongas were taken to Waterval Township which is about 27 kilometres from the town of Louis Trichardt outside of what is today the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council area (SPP Reports, 1983, Volume 5).

People who refused to go to the Venda homeland after independence were brought to Vleifontein against their will. People did not want to go there as the township is 25 kilometres from town and therefore for them to commute daily cost more than from Tshikota Township, which is within walking distance of the central area of Louis Trichardt. As a strategy to lure them to this new location, two roomed houses with running water, bathrooms and toilets were built. These houses were of a higher quality than those they stayed in at Tshikota where people used the bucket toilet system until recently. Residents were expected to pay about R2 000 for a house by means of a monthly instalment of about R7 a month (Interview, Town Manager, 17 September 1998). Four roomed houses were built for government employees, that is, teachers, nurses and others. To assist with transport costs to and from the town to work, transport subsidies were provided. The population of Vleifontein in 1998 was about 7 000 with about 2 000 households (Interview, Town Manager, 17 September 1998).

The removal of black people from Tshikota to Vleifontein (Vendas) and to Waterval (Tsongas), and Indians from the inner city to Eltivillas, cemented the spatial fragmentation of Louis Trichardt in keeping with the Group Areas Act of 1950 and other laws which followed it.

In line with the Bantu Homeland Constitution Act of 1971, Vleifontein was incorporated into the Venda homeland in 1986 (Government Gazette no.10168 of 1986). However, the incorporation of Vleifontein Township into Venda in 1986 did not go unchallenged as residents resisted removal. When Tshikota residents were relocated to Vleifontein they were unaware that this was a strategy on the part of Nationalist Government to incorporate this township into the homeland of Venda. By relocating the Tshikota residents to Vleifontein and only later incorporating this township into the Venda homeland, it was hoped that people would not resist the move. This strategy worked: the incorporation of Vleifontein into Venda came as a surprise to people who had just moved there.

A meeting was held on 1 April 1986 to protest against incorporation. Reasons people furnished for resisting the incorporation were that they did not want to lose their South African citizenship because they would become citizens of Venda and thereby forfeit their political rights in South Africa (*Sowetan*, 22 May 1986; *Star*, 24 June 1986). The implications of accepting Venda identity documents were that people were no longer able to get jobs and houses anywhere in South Africa except with permission from the Department of Home Affairs. This issue of citizenship was highlighted by Dr Connie Mulder in 1978 when he stated that if the policy of the government was taken to its logical conclusion there would not be one black man with South African citizenship. All would eventually be accommodated in some independent new state and there would no longer be a moral obligation on parliament to accommodate blacks politically (Giliomee, 1985).

In venting their anger, Vleifontein residents boycotted the rent payment services to their local authorities. All cars which bore Venda homeland registration numbers, whether government or civilian owned, were barred from entering Vleifontein township. Those who dared to do so were stoned and their vehicles damaged. In order to quell these violent actions, Venda police and army were sent into the township in June 1986. The reason why Venda police and army were sent in instead of the South African police and the army was to show the residents that although they were resisting the incorporation, the deal was already sealed between South Africa and the former Venda homeland. A bus full of workers was escorted to Tshitale police station (Venda) where they were brutally assaulted. After this, residents gave in to incorporation but under duress (*Sowetan*, 22 May

1986; *Star*, 24 June 1986). Hofmeyr (1994: 101) has this to say regarding forced removals, "removals ...did rob people of their surroundings."

However, residents of Vleifontein still nevertheless owe their allegiance to Tshikota and Masagani even though both these locations were in fact "dumping grounds" or resettlement areas. They speak fondly of these locations, for example by stating that "a person who does not know these places may die with envy." These locations (i.e. Masagani and Tshikota) were under-serviced, with poor houses or shacks, no street lights, no waterborne sewerage system but only a bucket system. Others have noted that people do develop loyalty, even to such places (Meth, 1999; Mather, 1996).

After the 1994 general elections, the incorporation of Vleifontein into the GLTTLC became a contentious issue as the former white residents/local authority were not happy about the inclusion of Vleifontein. This issue was finally resolved by the Pretoria Supreme Court. As a result, the local government elections which were supposed to be held on 1 November 1995 were stopped through court interdict (Case no. 19826/95). The use of official records has enabled the researcher to reconstruct this struggle, which forms an important background to current problems in the TLC. The conflict is discussed in detail in the next section.

Apart from the town and the two townships of Tshikota and Vleifontein, the GLTTLC has inherited the two rural villages of Sinthumule (25 km away) and Kutama (35km away) under Chief Sinthumule and Chief Kutama respectively. Both these chiefs are ex-officio members of the GLTTLC (Local Government Transitional Act 200 of 1993). These rural villages together have 15 000 households with a population of 121 428 (De Villiers and Associates, 1995). The estimated total population of the GLTTLC area, then, was 150 000 (Town Treasurer, 15 August 1998).

5.3 Struggles over the setting up of the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council

The demarcation of local government boundaries in South Africa, and specifically in the case of Louis Trichardt has been a contentious issue to both blacks and whites. As explained in Chapter 3, the establishment of non-racial local government is viewed by

many political parties as an important step in reorganising South African political space. After 1994, areas that were previously neglected, that is, the rural periphery and the townships, were to be united with their white urban counterparts to create more effective and equitable local government. Transitional Local Councils and Metropolitan Councils were to consist of councillors from white areas and councillors from black areas. In order to integrate formerly segregated and differentially serviced areas, former white areas which benefited from apartheid were to merge with their surrounding black townships and rural areas to form a single TLC (Local Government Transitional Act of 1993; ANC, 1994).

In the case of the GLTTLC, the merging of the town with the townships and rural areas was met with fierce resistance from the former white urban area. In the 1995 local government election, a system of voting was introduced based on ward representation and proportional representation. For ward representation, the former white town and former black areas were both allocated five wards known as statutory and non-statutory wards respectively. The proportional representation method was based on the party list (Council minutes, 28 November 1995).

The local government elections which were supposed to be held on 1 November 1995 were stopped by a court interdict on the day of the elections. The bone of contention in Louis Trichardt was the inclusion of Vleifontein into the GLTTLC. The Residents Association, which portrays itself as apolitical, but which represents white town residents, was afraid of the concept of proportional representation, that is, seats being allocated to parties that will participate in a local government election in proportion to the total number of votes accumulated by each party (Council minutes 28, November 1995).

Fearing to carry the financial burden, the former white council refused to merge with the traditional rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama. However, on 16 January 1995 the Arbitration Committee and the Demarcation Board ruled that the area of jurisdiction of the GLTTLC should consist of the town of Louis Trichardt; Eltivillas (Indian location); Tshikota; Sinthumule and Kutama (Council minutes. 28 November 1995; Proclamation no. 15 of 1995).

The inclusion of Sinthumule and Kutama meant that both chiefs automatically formed part of the TLC, their status being that of ex-officio members (Section 182 of the Constitution,

Act 200 of 1993). The 50/50 principle was to be followed in the 1995 elections, that is, the statutory and non-statutory components of the proposed TLC have an equal number of wards. Therefore this meant that Louis Trichardt was awarded 16 seats (statutory 5; non-statutory 5; proportional 6) and each of the ex-officio members, that is, chiefs received a seat. The statutory component was not happy with the granting of seats to ex-officio members, arguing that this would give an unfair advantage to the non-statutory component during a voting period or when there is a deadlock.

In short, after having agreed to the inclusion of the rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama, the Residents Association then rejected the proposal to include Vleifontein into the TLC. They realised that they were going to be defeated by the ANC under proportional representation, as the township was a stronghold of the ANC. The reason why residents of Vleifontein wanted to be part of the GLTTLC was a historical one because of their original location in Tshikota township just 2 kms outside of the town.

Ironically, prior to the local government elections on 1 November 1995, Vleifontein was proclaimed as part of the Elim/Tshitale-Hlanganani/Levubu-Vuwani TLC, approximately 25 km from town. Vleifontein residents protested their inclusion into the said TLC. They felt that historically they ought to be part of the GLTTLC. After continuous protests including marches to the office of the MEC for Land, Housing and Local Government in Pietersburg, the MEC gave in to their demands and removed Vleifontein from Elim/Tshitale-Hlanganani/Levubu-Vuwani TLC (*Zoutpansberger*, 3 November 1995). Using his legal powers, the MEC proclaimed Vleifontein as part of the GLTTLC. The former white local authority would not accept the incorporation of Vleifontein into the Louis Trichardt TLC. An urgent application of the Louis Trichardt TLC was lodged in the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court judged that all proclamations concerning the area of jurisdiction, including the delimitation of wards, be declared nul and void. A court interdict halted the local government elections in Louis Trichardt which were supposed to be held on 1 November 1995 (Case no. 19826/95). The interdict was obtained on the very day of the elections.

The annulment of the proclamation pertaining to the area of jurisdiction of the TLC and delimitation of wards made it necessary for all stakeholders to make a fresh start. With the incorporation of Vleifontein in the GLTTLC, the elections were finally held in March 1996. The local ANC won the elections.

5.4 Disparities in service provision and living conditions within the GLTTLC

The legacy of apartheid has left single South African settlements with conditions that are poles apart, that is, developed and underdeveloped (ANC, 1994; Hindson and Patel, 1997; Preston-Whyte, 1997; Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998). The former white urban areas are well developed and characterised by powerful institutions that have financial resources and technical capabilities similar to those in the cities of First World countries. The conditions in many black townships and rural areas are more reminiscent of conditions in the Third World (Hindson and Patel, 1997; Preston-Whyte, 1997; Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998).

There is presently a lack of recent geographical data related to the socio-economic and demographic condition of the GLTTLC. The information available is mainly based on the 1991 census data as highlighted by Scott (1995). In spite of being outdated, however, it does equip the reader with a starting point in considering the state of the demographic and socio-economic demographic background of the area under study.

As with all South African cities and towns, conditions in the GLTTLC bear testimony to many years of apartheid. The quality of life in the town of Louis Trichardt is high with almost all people enjoying the luxury of owning or leasing formal houses with running water, electricity and telephones. The roads within the town are all tarred, and all facilities are within walking distance namely schools, library, hospital, police station, recreational facilities, shops and banks. A Survey of Race Relations (1992/3: 27) revealed that there is a "... High concentration of jobs and services in former white areas in South Africa while high density, low income areas are located on the fringe of South Africa's cities." This is true in Louis Trichardt.

The townships of Vleifontein and Tshikota, in spite of having some houses with running water inside and electricity, display living environments of a relatively lower standard to

those in the central town of Louis Trichardt. Houses are mainly shacks and two-roomed structures, with few big houses. Streets are gravel and there is also a serious shortage of water.

The rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama lack infrastructure. The supply of basic services such as water, electricity, sewage, roads and telephones is not satisfactory. Apparently this is the reason why during the demarcation of the TLC, the then council was not willing to merge with these rural areas as it meant carrying this heavy financial burden. This feeling is captured by the Council memoranda, of 28 November 1995 which stated, "... In short, Louis Trichardt, does not have the economy, functionality, manpower, efficiency, or financial viability to render services to the area, not even with intergovernmental grants."

In the Soutpansberg educational district (an educational district is made up of a combination of circuits) which includes the GLTTLC areas, 91% of whites had running tap water inside their homes as against 13% Africans. 98 % of whites used electricity for cooking as opposed to 14 % of Africans. While 75% of whites had telephones in their homes compared to 6% of Africans (Scott, 1995). This was the situation in 1995, when the GLTTLC took over local government administration. Part of the aim of this study is to see whether any significant progress in service delivery has been made.

The above paragraph indicates the disparity in service provision in the region. It was this factor which contributed to the former white local authority attempting to avoid the burden of redressing the inequalities by suggesting that the two rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama should rather form a separate TLC. The suggestion was not carried as the rural areas do not have a tax base. It is these backlogs and disparities created by the Nationalist Party government which now need to be tackled by the GLTTLC.

5.5 Conclusion

Louis Trichardt is located in the heartland of areas of dire poverty (Sinthumule and Kutama rural areas and Tshikota and Vleifontein townships). These areas are now an integrated unit. The quality of life in these rural areas and the townships is relatively low with poor supply of basic services such as water, electricity and housing. The TLC is therefore looked upon in order to promote and assist in rural economic development and

also in the delivery of basic services such as water, electricity, housing and so on. It is this disparity in service provision between towns and rural areas that has led to the ANC government embracing the IDP as an urban planning tool.

One aim of the research was to determine whether the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council has developed an IDP, and if not, what framework was currently being used for development planning.

This chapter has also revealed a conflicted and difficult past in the history of local government in the GLTTLC. It has also outlined that the importance of this legacy is that divisions between different races are still alive. With integration having been legislated, it is interesting to see as to how the GLTTLC is tackling this mammoth task. It is hoped that struggles that characterized the town of Louis Trichardt and its surrounding areas prior to 1994 elections, will be a thing of the past and that the only struggle that must be waged is that of "delivery" of development. The next chapter shows as to whether the GLTTLC is winning.

CHAPTER 6

DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

The data analysis is divided into two sections. The first part of the data analysis describes the socio-economic conditions and gives a biographical profile of the residents of the GLTTLC area. The manner in which a sample of 150 households was chosen, was described in Chapter 4 and will not be repeated here. The second part of the data analysis presents data gathered on the development process in the GLTTLC.

The discussion of development in the GLTTLC is divided into several sections. First, the progress made by the GLTTLC in meeting the basic needs of all its residents through service provision is assessed. The main interest here was in residents' perception of service delivery since 1995. The following basic services were studied: water supply, waste disposal services, electricity supply, telephone services and roads maintenance. Educational facilities, medical facilities and policing are also considered.

Secondly, residents' attitudes towards the GLTTLC were probed. This included an analysis of residents' willingness or unwillingness to pay for services, which is linked to residents' general attitudes towards the GLTTLC. It also includes an analysis of public participation in decision-making a crucial aspect of new, democratic local governance. This section relates to the second research objective, namely: to ascertain the attitude of residents to the GLTTLC, including views on public participation and willingness to pay for services.

The IDP process in Louis Trichardt is dealt with next. This section looks at the knowledge residents, councillors and officials have of the IDP as it is the document that TLCs are supposed to use. If the TLC does not have an IDP document, as turned out to be the case, they were asked to indicate as to what they are using for planning. This section addresses the third research objective, that is, to track the progress made in formulating an IDP, and to determine on what basis planning decisions are currently being made. The fourth

objective, to investigate the depth of knowledge among officials and the public in the TLC area about the IDP process is also looked at.

Finally, the functioning of the GLTTLC is examined in detail. This section of the data analysis links to structuration theory in that it focuses on individual actors within the GLTTLC. It is mainly based on the in depth interviews conducted with officials, councillors and staff of the TLC. It includes both the views of the actors, and analysis based on observation by the researcher. The following research objectives guided this section: to assess the progress made by the GLTTLC since 1995 in achieving integration at all levels and to develop an understanding of structural problems that may be impacting on efficient functioning and local economic development in the GLTTLC.

6.2 Socio-Economic Conditions and Biographical Profile

The socio-economic conditions and biographical profiles of residents are presented in this chapter as they show the range of circumstances within the GLTTLC area. The socio-economic and biographical profile of residents are also important as they contribute to the understanding of the research questions. This thesis has to do with development and people are at the heart of all development activities and are the reason why development happens in the first place (Cook, 1995). The analysis is presented in tables that allow for a comparison between different places in the GLTTLC area.

Table 3: Socio-Economic Conditions in Households Across the Study Area

	Louis Trichardt	Tshikota	Vleifontein	Sinthumule	Kutama
% Formal occupancy (own/rent)	88,9	56,7	75	33,3	33,3
% household heads employed	100	70	57,1	37,9	60
% unemployed house- hold heads who gave lack of jobs as a reason for joblessness	0	77,8	50	61,1	58,3
% unemployed house- hold heads who gave retrenchment as a reason for joblessness	0	0	8,3	0	0
% unemployed house- hold heads who are pensioners	0	11,1	16,7	11,1	16,7
% households receiving housing subsidy (bank loan or RDP housing)	29,6	43,3	0	0	0
% households receiving any form of assistance other than housing subsidy	0	0	0	0	0

Formal occupancy means that the residents either own or rent their properties. If occupancy is not formal, it implies either that the land is under communal tenure (and therefore is not available on a commercial basis), or that people are living informally in shacks.

Table 3 indicates 88,9% formal occupancy in town. In Tshikota the rate of formal occupancy is also fairly high, 56,7%. The majority of these houses are RDP houses. However, in spite of having benefited from the RDP houses, many people are still living informally here. In Vleifontein, the formal occupancy rate is high at 75%. The majority of these houses are those built by the former apartheid government before relocating the residents from Tshikota.

The results from the rural areas are misleading, as there is in fact no "formal" occupancy in the urban sense. All this land is under traditional authorities/communal tenure. Therefore the 33,3 % who thought have ownership of land do not necessarily own that land, because much land in rural is held in trust as state land. In fact only informal tenure arrangements apply in these rural settlements.

The sample survey clearly shows that the town is dominated by middle and upper class residents who are able to afford to buy or rent town properties. Progress has also been made in promoting formal occupancy in the townships, especially Vleifontein.

With respect to employment, the table shows that 100% of heads of households in town are employed. In Tshikota it is 70%, in Vleifontein 57,1% and in Kutama 60%. The worst off settlement is Sinthumule. However, it is strange to find that more than half of heads of households at Kutama are employed which is contrary to the overall findings in all South African rural areas. The findings of the survey in Kutama are also disputed by the observations of Chief Kutama, (23 August 1998) when he alleged that the majority of residents in rural areas in his domain consist of 60% pensioners, children and the unemployed, 30% who earn between R100-R800 per month, and 10% workers who earn more than R800 per month. It is possible that a high number of migrant workers account for the statistic.

In spite of the unexpected result regarding the employment percentage at Kutama, the sample survey clearly revealed that unemployment is a serious problem affecting the townships and especially rural areas.

Residents interviewed in town were all working. This illustrates the fact that you cannot survive in town if you do not work. The main reasons given by heads of households in the

townships and rural areas for not being employed were: that they could not find jobs, were pensioners or retrenched. The percentage of those who were not working because of lack of jobs in the area were, 78,8% in Tshikota, 50% in Vleifontein, 61,1% in Sinthumule and 58,3% at Kutama. The problem of job scarcity is a general problem throughout South Africa and is especially acute in rural areas. The survey reveals that it is only in Vleifontein where residents have been rendered jobless because of retrenchment (8,3%). With respect to heads of households who are unemployed because of being on pension the results are 11,1% in both Tshikota and Sinthumule and 16,7% in both Vleifontein and Kutama. This suggests that most households are headed by younger, economically active people who cannot, however, find jobs.

Table 3 also illustrates that 29,6% of heads of households in town do have a housing subsidy, as against 43,3 % in Tshikota, and no one in Vleifontein or the rural areas had subsidies. At Tshikota, the availability of the RDP housing subsidy made it possible for many residents to get houses hence the reduction in the number of shacks. However, the result in Vleifontein is surprising (0%) as houses that were constructed there before relocating the people from Tshikota were built with a loan of R 2000 per house, and the agreement was that residents would have to pay R7.00 per month as instalments for repaying the debt.

The survey clearly proves that people living in town are financially fairly well off as 70% of respondents are residing in town without any financial help. This is a clear indication that the majority of them are business people or middle class people who can afford to rent or buy a place. This category comprises mainly the middle class people that is government employees like teachers, nurses, police and those working for the institutions like universities, NGOs and private institutions. More of these people might become property owners if they were given bank loans.

With respect to assistance, one would have expected the TLC to assist rural subsistence farmers to improve productivity in the communal land. Unfortunately this is not the case. The conclusion that one can draw from the Table 3 is that another reason for poverty in these areas, is lack of assistance for the subsistence farmers as there are no commercial farmers.

This section on socio-economic conditions of residents has revealed that the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council has a serious problem of unemployment. As established by many South African surveys, pensioners are often the ones who are fending for the families of their children. Apart from unemployment which is the basic cause of poverty, there is the issue of tenure security and lack of assistance given to subsistence farmers by both the TLC and other institutions.

The quality of life in the town of Louis Trichardt is relatively high with most urban residents enjoying the benefits and services of staying in town while those living in the townships and rural areas experience conditions which are difficult and sometimes appalling. These conditions are common in all South African urban spaces (Hindson and Patel, 1997; Preston-Whyte, 1997).

6.3 Residents' History in the Area

The following three tables give an indication of the history of the five settlements and the movement of people to and from each. These tables provide "biographical profiles" of the household heads interviewed in the sample.

Table 4. Place of origin of heads of households

	Town	Tshikota (Masagani)	Vleifontein	Sinthumule	Kutama
% heads of households born there	7,4	33,3	0	50	46,7
% heads of households from urban areas outside GLTTLC	48,2	0	0	6,7	0
% heads of households from Tshikota/ Vleifontein	3,7	20 (from Vleifontein)	57,1 (from Tshikota)	30	30
% heads of households from townships outside the GLTTLC	25,9	10	3,6	3,3	0
% heads of households from rural areas in GLTTLC	3,7	10	10,7	3,3 (from Kutama)	13,3 (from Sinthumule)
% heads of households from rural areas outside GLTTLC	11,1	26,7	28,6	6,7	10
	100	100	100	100	100

As the table shows, 7,4% of respondents in town indicated that they were born and bred in town. These would inevitably be whites and Indians as no blacks were permitted to live in

town then. The reason why the percentage is so small is perhaps because these are people who are mobile. This supposition is also supported by the fact that 48,2% of respondents in Louis Trichardt come from urban areas outside the GLTTLC. They are mobile urban people. Interestingly, 25,9% of people in town are Africans who had moved in from townships in the GLTTLC.

When compared with Tshikota, Sinthumule and Kutama, it is obvious that the population is more stable – especially in the rural areas, at 50% and 46,7% respectively “born and bred”. The Tshikota results reveal an interesting series of movements of people born at Tshikota/ Masagani (33,3%). The percentage at Tshikota would have been higher had it not been because of forced removals to Vleifontein in 1982, as well as to Waterval also in the early 1980s, Makwarela, Seshego and other areas in the early 1960s. 20% of heads of households in Tshikota went to Vleifontein due to forced removals and after 1990 they decided to come back. 10% of respondents come from the townships outside the GLTTLC (Makwarela and Seshego) which were the dumping grounds for Masagani residents (The SPP Reports, 1983, volume 5).

26% of respondents in Tshikota come from rural areas outside the GLTTLC, possibly attracted by services which are better than in their rural areas. Furthermore, the employment opportunities in the town of Louis Trichardt would have been further incentives. The housing subsidy that was given to those earning less than R800 per month would have been a further incentive to those from outside the GLTTLC. No-one from the town of Louis Trichardt or other urban areas came to Tshikota. It goes to show that services in towns and cities are far better than in the townships and therefore nobody from the urban areas would migrate to the townships.

A similar pattern is evident in Vleifontein, the other township, with 28,6% of household heads having moved in from rural areas outside the GLTTLC. 57,1% of heads of households are from Tshikota township the result of forced removals. These residents are in the majority, closely followed by those from rural areas outside the GLTTLC. 3,6% of heads of households come from townships outside the GLTTLC, 10,7% of heads of households come from rural areas within the GLTTLC. None of the heads of households

were born at Vleifontein as it was a "new" dumping ground settlement in the 1980s. None are from urban areas within or without the GLTTLC.

The rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama share many similarities. As already noted, 50% of the household heads in the rural settlements were born there. At Sinthumule, 30% of respondents are the victims of forced removals from Tshikota or Masagani, 3,3% of heads of households come from the townships from outside the GLTTLC, 13,3% of heads of households are from the neighbouring rural areas of Kutama and 6,7% originate from rural areas outside the GLTTLC. The fact that none of the respondents came from the town of Louis Trichardt shows that no person is interested in residing in rural areas with little or no service provision.

As for Kutama, this table indicates that 46,7% of respondents were born and bred at Kutama. 30% of respondents are from Tshikota/Masagani again no doubt due to forced removals. 13,3% of respondents are from Sinthumule, 10% of heads of households are from rural areas outside the GLTTLC while 3,3% of the respondents are from Vleifontein.

In general, the rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama have the greatest stability of settlement, but forced removals have significantly disrupted lives in the GLTTLC.

Table 5 Period of Residence of Heads of Households

	Louis Trichardt	Tshikota	Vleifontein	Sinthumule	Kutama
1 month to 1 year	11,1	10	0	0	0
1 year to 5 years	40,7	16,7	10,7	10	6,7
5 to 10 years	14,8	13,3	21,4	10	13,3
10 to 20 years	22,3	23,3	67,9	20	23,3
21 years+	11,1	36,7	0	60	56,7
	100	100	100	100	100

This table supports some of the trends noted in table 4. In town, the highest percentage (40,7%) have been there for 1 to 5 years. 14,8% have been residents of the town for a period between 5 to 10 years and 22,3% of respondents indicated that the town has been their home for between 10 and 20 years. A fairly small percentage, 11,1% have been there for more than 21 years. So a substantial number of new residents have been attracted to Louis Trichardt within the last five years. The majority of these people are blacks who came after 1990 after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and other draconian laws. 11,1% of older residents would be whites or Indians who have always had rights to live in town. Louis Trichardt has received by far the highest number of new residents in the last 5 years, followed by Tshikota (16,7%) and Vleifontein (10,7%). That forced removals occurred in the category 10-20 years ago, is clearly indicated by the Vleifontein figures. 67,9% of residents in Vleifontein arrived during this period. The fact that no residents have resided at Vleifontein for more than 21 years is a clear sign that the township is not old.

The table also supports the previous finding of long-term residence in the rural areas. With regard to Sinthumule, the table indicates that 60% of heads of households have been at Sinthumule for more than 21 years, with only 10% having moved there in the last 5 years. A similar pattern has occurred at Kutama. It should also be noted that migrating from Sinthumule to Kutama vice versa is easy as the villages are not divided by any physical barrier.

Table 6 Main factors influencing decision to move to settlement

	Town	Tshikota	Vleifontein	Sinthumule	Kutama
Born there	7,4	33,3	0	46,7	46,7
Less crime	7,4	0	0	0	3,3
Business prospects	18,5	3,3	0	0	3,3
Employment opportunities	25,9	53,4	0	0	0
Better services	33,4	3,3	28,6	0	0
Marriage	7,4	6,7	3,6	3,3	0
Forced removals	0	0	57,1	30	26,7
Not be ruled by chiefs	0	0	3,6	0	0
Sentimental attachment	0	0	7,1	0	0
Change of environment	0	0	0	20	16,7
Escape rates charges in townships	0	0	0	0	3,3
	100	100	100	100	100

The table indicates that most people were attracted to the town of Louis Trichardt because of employment opportunities (25,9%) and good services (33,4%). 7,4% were born in town another 7,4% happen to be in town because of marriage. While 18,5% hoped for business prospects, 7,4% of people moved to town to escape crime. This is not a factor in any other settlement apart from Kutama (3,3%).

Interestingly, more than 50% of household heads in Tshikota were attracted by employment opportunities. Tshikota is just near the town of Louis Trichardt. There were very few business prospects, though, outside the town (3,3% Tshikota, 3,3% Kutama).

Movements to Vleifontein, Sinthumule and Kutama were often involuntary due to forced removals. In Vleifontein especially, 57,1% of heads of households came to the township due to forced removals. This was not the only factor, however. A significant percentage of household heads came to Vleifontein because of better services (28,6%). Also surprisingly, for a resettlement area 7,1% indicated a sentimental attachment to the place. Another reason for moving was to escape the rule of chiefs (3,6%). Most people in the rural settlements were there because they had been born there. Forced removals were also a factor in Sinthumule (30%) and Kutama (26,7%). "Change of environment" was also a significant factor (20% for Sinthumule and 16,7% for Kutama). This was not selected by residents in the other settlements. It is probably that this category includes people wanting to escape family feuds as well as evil intent (witchcraft) in certain places. Very few people moved to rural areas in order to escape rates and taxes.

In general, the rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama and the townships of Vleifontein and Tshikota are characterized by unemployment and low income and hence the inability of heads of household to purchase property in town. Added to unemployment and low income experienced by the residents, there is a problem of land rent and cost in the town of Louis Trichardt which renders the vision of integration to be an illusion. The land prices in Louis Trichardt like in the rest of urban areas in South Africa are too high making it difficult for the majority of blacks to buy properties in town (Mabin, 1995). Therefore, the suburbs will remain predominantly white while rural areas and the townships will also remain 100% black for years to come.

All areas within the GLTTLC, including the town itself, have been affected by forced removals. Indians who now reside at a suburb called Eltivillas once lived and owned shops in the city centre. Vleifontein township in particular is a product of forced removals. None of the residents of the townships come from the urban areas within or without the GLTTLC. The majority of residents of Tshikota are from Masagani and those from Vleifontein are originally from Tshikota. A few residents are from other townships like Makwarela, Seshego and other rural areas which were the dumping grounds during the height of forced removals.

Tshikota is becoming a favoured residential area by those who cannot afford to buy properties in town. The fact that it is near the town of Louis Trichardt and the possibility of acquiring an RDP house, is making Tshikota a favoured destination. However, in spite of the provision of RDP houses, many people are still staying in shacks.

6.4 Progress Since 1995 in Meeting the Basic Needs of Residents: Perceptions

This section outlines residents' perceptions regarding the supply of services to meet their basic needs. This survey provides an indication of the existing level of service provision within the TLC. The issue of the delivery of services is viewed in a variety of ways by different role players i.e. officials, councillors, trade unions and other stakeholders. They are divided on this issue with some stating that in all areas within the TLC service delivery is sufficient while others are saying that it is sufficient only in town and not in the rural areas and the townships. Political parties (the ANC and Residents' Association) both agree that service delivery in the rural areas and the townships is still lagging behind, with the main problem being lack of financial resources.

The fundamental objective for the formation of the TLCs all over South Africa in 1995 was to ensure that the serious backlogs that were inherited in the former black rural areas and townships in service provision were addressed. Van Zyl Slabbert, (cited in Munslow and FitzGerald, 1995) has noted that South Africa is facing a crisis of delivery. He notes that there is a close continuing relationship between legitimacy and delivery. "If the one does not reinforce the other, they undermine each other. Lack of delivery drains

legitimacy, declining legitimacy drains the capacity to deliver and so on.” (Munslow and FitzGerald, 1995: 43).

The following tables present residents’ perceptions regarding the provision of services and facilities in the GLTTLC. In some cases, this data is supported by information obtained from newspapers and in depth interviews.

Table 7 Perceptions of residents on the delivery of water

Type	Settlement	V.poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V.good	Total %
Urban	Town	0	0	24,1	20,7	55,2	100
Township	Tshikota	10,0	6,7	6,7	43,3	33,3	100
Township	Vleifontein	17,0	53,6	3,6	21,4	3,5	100
Rural	Kutama	80	20	0	0	0	100
Rural	Sinthumule	44,9	37,9	10,3	6,9	0	100

Approximately 76% residents in town view the delivery of water as good or very good. In the townships of Tshikota and Vleifontein, residents perceptions differ with approximately 76% of Tshikota residents saying that it is good to very good while in Vleifontein approximately 71% of residents are saying that it is poor to very poor. The rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama are in consensus that water delivery is poor to very poor with 100% of Kutama residents and approximately 82% of Sinthumule residents of this opinion.

Regarding the delivery of water within the GLTTLC area, all seem to agree, that is, residents, councillors, officials, traditional leaders, political and union leaders. They all agree that water delivery in the rural areas is poor.

The issue of water supply has been one of the most contentious issues in the GLTTLC, more particularly in the rural parts of the TLC. Due to the water supply problem in the rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama, the Presidential Water Project was initiated in order to improve water provision. The State President donated 46 million rands towards water provision (*Mirror*, 6 November 1998) (Plate 1). The TLC introduced the pre-paid water metering system (street taps) with the aim of collecting the funds in order to offer

maintenance on a continuous basis. This was however, rejected by residents as they said they were not prepared to pay for street water (*Mirror*, 7 August 1998). Villagers protested to the Transitional Local Council and said, "They will have to remove their pipes and leave us with what we used to have" (*Mirror*, 21 August 1998).

Residents within these rural areas (Sinthumule and Kutama) appeared to be unhappy about the pre-paid water metering system. They say that they are prepared to pay for water which is within their yards but not along the streets. According to Mr Magwala (Member of the Water Project Committee), it was explained to residents why this system was installed. Furthermore, it was explained as to why taps could not be installed inside each home in these villages. The reason he gave was that there were limited resources and the installation of taps in every home was not affordable (*Mirror*, 21 August 1998).

It should be borne in mind that during the era of the Venda homeland, residents used to get water from boreholes which were scattered all around the villages. Apart from boreholes, residents also used to fetch water from springs and rivers. Water from these sources was free. To pay for water which is outside their yards is unacceptable to people. This sentiment was also echoed by Chief Kutama who said that "rural residents were never used to paying for water which they regarded as a natural resource and moreover they used to receive it from boreholes" (Chief Kutama, 23 August 1998).

Due to anger about this issue, about 113 pre-paid water meters were vandalised and damage estimated at more than R120 000 was incurred (*Mirror*, 6 November 1998). However, there are diverse views regarding the non-payment of water service in these rural areas (*Mirror*, 7 August 1998). Councillor Holtzhausen blamed the conflict on a councillor who allegedly told people living in these areas that they do not need to pay for water, whereas Mr James Delekisa the leader of the Soutpansberg branch of SANCO blamed the non-payment of water on the TLC who failed to consult the residents. He stated, "The authorities always called meetings on weekdays when most of the community members were at work" (*Mirror*, 7 August 1998).

The issue of water problems in the Sinthumule and Kutama areas shows or confirms that development projects initiated without community knowledge, consultation and participation are always likely to collapse (Sharp, 1995). This also echoes the feeling of

O’Riordan (1993) when he states that the main obstacle to transformation is lack of democracy and public participation. According to Sharp (1995) the key questions are: Who initiates? Who decides? Who participates? Who benefits? and Who controls? In the GLTTLC, councillors are in control of everything and it seems that often people are not informed. This issue is discussed in detail later on.

Table 8 Perceptions of residents on waste disposal services

Type	Settlement	V.Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V.Good	Total %
Urban	Town	0	0	37,9	20,7	41,4	100
Townships	Tshikota	3,3	16,7	16,7	50	13,3	100
Townships	Vleifontein	14,3	25	21,4	25	14,3	100
Rural	Kutama	70	26,7	3,3	0	0	100
Rural	Sinthumule	55,2	34,5	10,3	0	0	100

Table 8 indicates that heads of households in town are satisfied about waste disposal services with approximately 62% of residents indicating that it is good to very good. Similarly, approximately 63% of Tshikota residents feel that waste disposal services are good to very good. In Vleifontein there is a wide spread of views about waste disposal services. Approximately 39% feel that waste disposal services are poor to very poor while 39% feel they are good to very good. However in the rural villages of Sinthumule and Kutama it is clear that residents’ views of waste disposal services are that they are poor to very poor, that is approximately 86% at Kutama and approximately 89% at Sinthumule. The survey once more reveals that the rural areas are the most disadvantaged in service provision.

The results of the survey are also supported by other stakeholders such as councillors and officials who perceive the disposal of solid wastes as not satisfactory.

Table 9 Perceptions of residents on electricity supply

Type	Settlement	V.Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V.Good	Total %
Urban	Town	0	6,9	20,7	20,7	51,7	100
Townships	Tshikota	13,3	10	23,3	33,3	20	100
Townships	Vleifontein	17,9	35,7	21,4	17,9	7,1	100
Rural	Kutama	70	20	6,7	3,3	0	100
Rural	Sinthumule	20,7	6,9	41,4	24,1	6,9	100

Table 9 depicts that almost all residents of the town are satisfied with the supply of electricity with the exception of 6,9% who say that it is poor. Residents of Tshikota are also satisfied with the electricity supply, with the exception of 23% saying that it is poor to very poor. In Vleifontein residents' perceptions are again divided with approximately 54% who say that it is poor to very poor, and approximately 46% who feel that electricity services are satisfactory to very good. In Vleifontein the main problem as pointed out by residents is that the quality of electricity is very poor. Plate 4 shows a street scene in the electrified village of Madodonga at Kutama, plate 2 shows a resident using electricity in the household, while plate 3 shows repair work at Madodonga. One serious problem with electricity at Vleifontein is that it simply goes off when there is lightning, thunderstorms or gusty winds.

The residents of the rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama however are not happy with the electricity service. 70% of residents from Kutama village regard electricity provision as poor to very poor as opposed to approximately 20% of residents from Sinthumule village who also regard it as being poor to very poor.

Electricity supply is thus another source of conflict within Sinthumule and Kutama rural areas. The two rural areas are serviced by two service providers, that is, the Transitional Local Council and the Electricity Supply Commission (ESKOM) (See plates 2, 3 and 4). The rural communities have always complained that the TLC was charging too much for electricity installation fees. They allege that ESKOM charges R65 as opposed to R600 charged by the council (*Mirror*, 31 June 1998). Villages that are under ESKOM are those that were previously electrified by the then Venda Electricity Supply Commission (VEC)

PLATE 1

**SINTHUMULE /
KUTAMA WATER
PROJECT**

A reservoir constructed
to supply water to
residents of the village
Ravele in Sinthumule



PLATE 2

**PRE-PAID
ELECTRICITY METERS**

A resident of Madodonga
Ms Maureen Muthama
enjoying the
Commodity of electricity



PLATE 3

MAINTENANCE OF STREET-LIGHTS

An electrician busy with the repair of a street-light.



PLATE 4**PROVISION OF
ELECTRICITY**

A street scene
in the electrified
Village of
Madodonga



**SOURCE: THE GREATER LOUIS TRICHARDT MUNICIPALITY,
MAYORAL REPORT, CENTENARY CELEBRATION 1998-1999**

under the former Venda homeland before the 1994 elections. Residents do not understand the point that if they are neighbours and are all falling within the same TLC, then the installation fees would be the same of all residents at a higher rate. Apart from high installation fees, they allege that the units for electricity metered are not the same for the TLC and ESKOM. This is one area that needs to be negotiated between the service providers, ESKOM and the Transitional Local Council.

The above scenerio as depicted by residents of rural areas, is partially admitted by councillors and officials even though they regard themselves as having done their best to provide electricity to rural areas. It needs to be pointed out that both the TLC and ESKOM are the sole providers of electricity.

Table 10 Perceptions of residents on the delivery of telephone services

Type	Settlement	V. Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V.good	Total %
Urban	Town	3,5	3,5	24,1	17,2	51,7	100
Township	Tshikota	16,7	20	13,3	26,7	23,3	100
Township	Vleifontein	39,3	42,9	14,3	3,6	0	100
Rural	Kutama	83,3	13,3	3,3	0	0	100
Rural	Sinthumule	48,3	31,0	13,8	6,9	0	100

Table 10 depicts that the residents in town are generally satisfied with the telephone service with the exception of 7% who feel that service is poor to very poor. Tshikota residents, are also satisfied with 60% feeling the telephone service is satisfactory. Vleifontein residents however view the telephone service supply as satisfactory to very poor (approximately 82%).

As with other services the rural residents view the supply of telephone services as unsatisfactory to very poor. Approximately 97% of Kutama residents and 79% of Sinthumule residents view the service as poor. Telephone booths have been installed all over Sinthumule and Kutama rural villages but they are non-functional. The GLTTLC does

not regard this service as their responsibility but they need to negotiate on behalf of their residents.

Table 11 Perceptions of residents on the maintenance of roads within the TLC

Type	Settlement	V.poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V.good	Total %
Urban	Town	27,6	20,7	0	51,7	0	100
Township	Tshikota	66,7	20	6,7	6,7	0	100
Township	Vleifontein	60,7	35,7	3,6	0	0	100
Rural	Kutama	63,4	20	13,3	3,3	0	100
Rural	Sinhumule	62	27,6	10,4	0	0	100

51,7% town residents are satisfied with the conditions of the roads while the majority of residents in the townships and rural areas are not. Table 11 shows that the views of residents in town regarding the conditions and maintenance of roads are divided with 51,7% saying that this is good while approximately 48% regard it as being poor to very poor. Potholes and tall grass along the roads are some problems experienced by residents. In Tshikota and Vleifontein townships roads and streets are mainly gravel and during rainy seasons, they are muddy and slippery. Thus approximately 96% of Vleifontein residents view the condition and maintenance of roads and streets as poor to very poor. In Tshikota approximately 86% of respondents regard them as being poor to very poor while 6,7% regard them as good.

In short, the sample survey reveals that roads and streets within the major areas of TLC are not properly maintained and are in a bad condition. Councillors, officials and other stakeholders that were interviewed do admit that conditions of roads in rural areas and townships are not satisfactory.

Other aspects of service provision which are of fundamental importance, are that of equity or fair access to opportunities, especially educational opportunities, access to health care facilities; and the assurance of a good policing system.

Table 12 Perceptions of residents on the access of pre-schools, schools and crèches.

Type	Settlement	Very Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V. Good	Total %
Urban	Town	6,9	3,4	41,4	27,6	20,7	100
Townships	Tshikota	63,3	30	6,7	0	0	100
Townships	Vleifontein	10,7	25	42,9	21,4	0	100
Rural	Kutama	50	30	13,3	6,7	0	100
Rural	Sinthumule	31,0	27,6	37,9	3,5	0	100

Table 12 depicts a fairly high percentage of residents in town, in Vleifontein and Sinthumule find access to educational facilities satisfactory. In Tshikota there is unhappiness about access (63,3% think the facilities are very poor and 30% think they are poor). Residents of Kutama are also unhappy (80% poor or very poor).

In Vleifontein, 42,9% viewed the aspect of quality and accessibility of such services with a degree of satisfaction as compared to approximately 10,7% who view it as very poor. There is thus a big disparity between the two townships. Vleifontein has much better facilities than Tshikota. These facilities were built when people were resettled there in 1982.

Table 13 Perceptions of residents on the quality of and access to hospitals, health centers and clinics.

Type	Settlement	V.Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V. Good	Total %
Urban	Town	3,5	17,2	37,9	34,5	6,9	100
Township	Tshikota	46,7	33,3	3,3	13,3	3,3	100
Township	Vleifontein	14,3	14,3	36,7	27,6	7,1	100
Rural	Kutama	33,3	33,3	16,7	6,7	10	100
Rural	Sinthumule	41,4	24,1	31	0	3,5	100

Table 13 shows a similar pattern to other tables. It reveals that good services are in town and they decrease in quality in the townships and are worst in the rural villages. The majority of respondents in town and the township of Vleifontein are fairly satisfied with the access and quality of health facilities while those in the rural areas of Kutama and Sinthumule and Tshikota township are generally not satisfied. In town, approximately 37,9% of respondents are satisfied with quality of service rendered as compared to 20,7% who are not happy. In Vleifontein 37% of respondents are also fairly satisfied with the services as opposed to 27,6% who are not happy. Vleifontein is actually a very small township and hence the ability of one clinic to be able to serve the entire area adequately.

In Tshikota township 80% of respondents view the service as poor to very poor in contrast to 16,6% who perceive it as good to very good. One fails to understand why the majority of residents are not satisfied with the service rendered. The fact that it is nearest to the town of all other areas within the GLTTLC should have brought a degree of satisfaction to respondents, unlike in Vleifontein which is approximately 25 km from town.

In the rural areas as expected, health services are poor. In Kutama approximately 67% perceive the services as poor to very poor with only 16,7% viewing them as good to very good while in Sinthumule 69,5% experience them as poor to very poor. The implication therefore is that the majority of residents in rural areas are not satisfied, as health centers and hospitals are non-existent in their areas except clinics. The only hospital in the whole of the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council is the Louis Trichardt Memorial Hospital, which operates more as a private hospital, as patients that are admitted must be treated by their own doctors.

Table 14 Perceptions of residents on the quality of and access to police services.

Type	Settlement	V.Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V. Good	Total %
Urban	Town	3,5	27,6	37,9	24,1	6,9	100
Township	Tshikota	40	26,7	13,3	16,7	3,3	100
Township	Vleifontein	56,4	20,4	11,2	12	0	100
Rural	Kutama	46,6	16,7	10	10	16,7	100
Rural	Sinthumule	24,1	44,8	31,1	0	0	100

Table 14 reveals that the majority of residents in the entire GLTTLC are concerned with the access to and quality of police services. The escalating crime rate in the form of burglary, rape and car theft has led to residents within the GLTTLC viewing the police service as inadequate. The views of the town residents are divided on this issue as 31,1% view policing services as poor to very poor and another 31% feel it is good to very good. Policing is clearly an important concern in the townships. In Tshikota, approximately 67% view the service as poor and very poor and therefore are not satisfied with the quality of and access to police services. In Vleifontein approximately 77% of respondents view the above service as poor to very poor while in Kutama 63% are not satisfied with police services. In Sinthumule approximately 69% regard the quality of and access to police services as unsatisfactory. Townships and rural settlements then, seem to require better and more visible policing.

The sample survey reveals that the majority of residents in the TLC are not satisfied with the quality of and access to services rendered by the police. Many crimes are committed openly and when the police are called in at a scene of crime, they always respond or appear hours after the crime has been committed. This has resulted in a feeling of vulnerability and lack of safety evident in the following table.

Table 15 Perceptions of residents on the safety of the TLC area

Type	Settlement	V.Poor	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	V. Good	Total %
Urban	Town	41	38	0	17,5	3,5	100
Township	Tshikota	36,7	16,7	13,3	10	23,3	100
Township	Vleifontein	57,1	28,7	0	7,1	7,1	100
Rural	Kutama	13,3	23,4	20	13,3	30	100
Rural	Sinthumule	58,6	17,3	0	10,3	13,8	100

Table 15 complements Table 14. In town 79% of residents view the safety of their area as poor/very poor. It is interesting that, while the town has better facilities, people feel very unsafe there. In Tshikota people seem to feel a bit safer, although 53,4% view the safety of

their township as poor to very poor. In Vleifontein 85% perceive safety as poor to very poor. Thus Vleifontein is where people feel unsafe.

There is an interesting difference between the two rural settlements. In Sinthumule 76% say that safety is poor/very poor. Only Kutama residents (63%) view the safety of their area as satisfactory to very good. The sample survey therefore again points at the issue of the quality of and access to police services which are viewed generally as inadequate, although there is differentiation across the settlements.

Table 16 Perception of residents on service delivery before 1994, compared to 1998

Type	Settlement	Deteriorated	No change	Improved Slightly	Improved Greatly	No Response	Total %
Urban	Town	34,5	27,6	24,1	3,5	10,3	100
Township	Tshikota	6,7	10	76,6	6,7	0	100
Township	Vleifontein	17,9	35,7	39,3	7,1	0	100
Rural	Kutama	10	53,3	36,7	0	0	100
Rural	Sinthumule	3,4	24,1	69	3,5	0	100

Table 16 depicts that town residents' view of service improvement is divided with 34,5% who perceive a deterioration of services after the 1994 election and 24,1% who regard services as having improved slightly. In fact, residents of Louis Trichardt are the only significant group claiming that services have deteriorated (34,5%). The most positive result is from Tshikota township, where 76,1% of residents perceived the delivery of services as having improved slightly.

Vleifontein township is divided on the issue of service delivery with 39,3% perceiving a slight improvement while 35,7% perceive no change in service delivery. In Kutama village, 53,3% of residents are saying that there is no change in service delivery while approximately 37% perceive a slight improvement. Sinthumule residents are happier, with 69% viewing the delivery of services as having improved after 1994. The difference between the formerly white town and the "African" areas (townships and rural settlements)

is striking in that very few people in town (24,4%) view things as having improved at all since 1994.

The sample survey reveals that most people in the TLC area either think there has been no change or slight improvement. This confirms the frustration with the whole process of delivery as expressed through the protest on 29 July 1998. One can only draw a conclusion that peoples' expectations were too high during the 1994 elections as hinted by Hindson and Patel (1997: 26): "In the immediate aftermath of the elections expectations were high amongst black residential communities that they would receive formal housing and services of a high standard within a short space of time."

Looking back at the objective, one can only say that there has been a slight improvement in service delivery from 1995, with most success in Tshikota (township) and Sinthumule (rural area). Very few people felt that service delivery had improved greatly. People in town used to a very high standard of delivery, even felt that conditions had deteriorated.

6.5 Attitudes to the GLTTLC

The research objective addressed in this section is the following: to ascertain the attitudes of the residents to the GLTTLC, including views on public participation and willingness to pay for services.

Generally people are not entirely satisfied with the performance of the TLC. Rural residents and some Vleifontein residents cherish the era when they were still under the Venda homeland (ironically their dumping ground) when electricity was heavily subsidized and graders were always maintaining the roads and the streets. To some of these people the TLC is not achieving delivery as it is failing to do what the then homeland was doing for them. To them integration has only exacerbated their poverty and they view the TLC as only interested in "milking their pockets". Town residents, mainly whites, see integration as an imposed structure. They blame the high service charges on integration. They see themselves as being overcharged in order to make up for the non-payment by rural dwellers. So these town residents regard the TLC as adopting a soft-approach to rural dwellers and if they had their own way they would cut ties with the rural areas.

Specific research questions were asked on issues which help to reveal attitudes to the TLC. These include the willingness to pay for services, something that may be linked to the feeling people have about the extent to which they are consulted about, and involved in, development (public participation).

6.5.1 Willingness to Pay for Services

Payment of services rendered by the service provider, i.e. the TLC is of utmost importance for the smooth running especially of the urban area. Without funds, the TLC will be rendered powerless which will create a situation detrimental to all the residents of the TLC. The issue of payment of services has enjoyed the attention of all stakeholders in the GLTTLC. Residents were asked about their perceptions about whether or not people paid.

Table 17 Perceptions of residents on the payment of services.

Type	Settlement	Nobody pays	Few	Half	Most	Everyone	Total %
Urban	Town	0	17,2	20,7	34,5	27,6	100
Township	Tshikota	0	23,3	13,3	46,7	16,7	100
Township	Vleifontein	3,6	14,3	7,1	57,1	17,9	100
Rural	Kutama	43,4	33,3	0	10	13,3	100
Rural	Sinthumule	20,9	44,8	0	34,5	0	100

Table 17 depicts that in town 62,1% of residents perceive that the majority of people pay for services. In Tshikota 63,4% of residents perceive that most people pay for services used. In Vleifontein, 75 % of the residents also stated that users pay. However, in Kutama, 43,4% of residents say no one pays whereas in Sinthumule 44,8% of residents say that just a few pay for services used. The sample reveals that it is perceived in the rural areas that either nobody or very few people pay for services.

The residents of the town, that is, 62,1% of people, viewed most or everyone as paying for services. This was confirmed in that everyone interviewed, that is councillors, officials, trade unions and political structures with the exceptions of residents, agreed that in town most residents pay for their services. Mr. Vic Viljoen, the Chief Executive Officer of the

GLTTLC said that, "In Louis Trichardt and Eltivillas (Indian suburb) it is excellent and in other villages payment is very poor" (Chief Executive Officer, 12 August 1998). This view is echoed by Councillor Rudolf of ward 10 when he stated that the payment of services by residents is "most unsatisfactory in rural areas. A culture of non-payment or political reasons seem to be the cause" (Rudolph, 19 August 1998). All officials and councillors are worried about the non-payment for services by the majority of rural dwellers.

This culture of non-payment has been inherited from the past era as a strategy used to cripple the illegitimate Black Local Authorities (BLA) (Schlemmer, 1986). As a result of this strategy of rent and service charge boycotts, services in the townships totally collapsed (Mabin, 1995). However, today residents in the townships do seem to feel that people are paying for services.

As stated earlier the residents of Sinthumule and Kutama refused to pay for anything, whether it was the R11.50 that the Council charges for the monthly service fee, or the pre-paid water and electricity system which they claimed was very expensive. The mood was best captured at the protest held at the GLTTLC office on the 29 July 1998, when people shouted, "We cannot offer to pay for nothing. Service first and payment later" (*Mirror*, 31 July 1998). Apart from calling for services first, marchers announced that they cannot pay for water as most of them are unemployed (*Mirror*, 31 July 1998).

The issue of service delivery in the rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama is complex. While the TLC claims to have brought electricity and water to these areas in addition to maintaining the condition of roads and managing the disposal of waste, residents say they are not satisfied with the level of delivery and hence their refusal to pay. According to residents, they will pay once there is real delivery. The TLC claim to have spent 17 million rand on electrification projects in these areas and thus far have recovered no funds for expenses on the electrification project. As they have already spent more money in these rural areas, they need these communities to start paying for services so that more efficient service can be provided. There is thus a stalemate with regard to payment and continued service delivery.

The Sinthumule and Kutama residents dispute the fact that the TLC brought electricity and water to the rural areas. Mr. Stanley Rangata of SANCO argues that it was not the TLC that proposed the water project but local traditional leaders and their communities. The TLC was accused of getting involved in this issue, and worst of all, for taxing the poor residents. Mr. Stanley Rangata further explained that the same applied to the electricity supply (*Mirror*, 31 July 1998). It was the traditional leaders, together with their communities, who approached ESKOM for electricity before the TLC introduced its expensive electricity (*Mirror*, 06 November 1998).

There is a stalemate in the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council between the rural dwellers of Sinthumule and Kutama and the TLC regarding the payment of services and continued service delivery.

6.5.2 Degree of Public Participation in Decision Making

According to the principles of Integrated Development Planning (IDP), development is about people and therefore people should be consulted in any decision making that has a bearing on their lives. People's participation is fundamental to development within any society and development projects initiated without community knowledge, consultation and participation are always likely to collapse (Sharp, 1995). So community participation enhances the success of any project (Wallis, 1995).

The issue of consultation and community participation in Louis Trichardt was researched. It seems this is a major problem dividing councillors and communities. Mr. James Delekisa blames the TLC for lack of development and the lack of public participation or consultation (*Mirror*, 7 August 1998). Table 18 records peoples' knowledge of meetings called by councillors in their wards, as an indication of consultation (meetings since 1996).

Table 18 Knowledge of Meetings called by councillors in their wards/areas

Type	Settlement	None	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-13	14+	Total %
Urban	Town	86,1	6,9	0	3,5	3,5	0	100
Township	Tshikota	63,4	23,3	10	3,3	0	0	100
Township	Vleifontein	14,3	50	21,4	3,6	3,6	7,1	100
Rural	Kutama	73,3	6,7	6,7	10	3,3	0	100
Rural	Sinthumule	58,6	24,1	0	3,5	10,3	3,5	100

Table 18 depicts that 86,1 % of town residents and 63,4% of Tshikota residents claim that no meetings were called by their councillors. 73,3% of Kutama residents and 58,6% of Sinthumule residents claim that no meetings were called by their councillors.

The striking exception here is Vleifontein, where only 14,3% of people were unaware of meetings. 50% thought between 1 and 3 meetings had been called, and a significant number (10,7%) thought that over 10 meetings had been held. The survey thus shows that the majority of residents in all areas other than Vleifontein claim that they were not consulted by councillors regarding service provision planning. The Vleifontein result shows that an individual councillor can make a difference. Clearly, residents in Vleifontein feel involved in the process and consulted.

The following table on the effectiveness of public participation process supports the findings.

Table 19 The effectiveness of public participation process

Type	Settlement	Little participation	Effective	V.effective	Excellent	Total %
Urban	Town	68,9	24,1	7	0	100
Township	Tshikota	73,3	13,3	3,3	10,1	100
Township	Vleifontein	35,7	50	3,6	10,7	100
Rural	Kutama	73,3	16,7	10	0	100
Rural	Sinthumule	82,8	17,4	0	0	100

Out of all the five areas of the TLC, it is only in Vleifontein that more than half of the residents (64,3%) are satisfied with the public participation processes rating it effective, very effective or excellent. This is indicative of the fact that the ward councillor is indeed involving the stakeholders in decision-making. In other areas it goes to show that there is lack of consultation, hence the residents regard the public participation process as less effective.

A range of different views regarding public consultation were expressed by councillors from different settlements. The open ended interviews conducted with the ward councillors in town reveal that all agree that white councillors do not call meetings to speak to their wards but depend solely on residents' letters and telephone calls from their wards informing them of grievances as encountered within their wards or the TLC area as a whole.

The open ended interview conducted with the black councillors who represent wards 1-6 reveals exactly the opposite to what the residents of those wards suggest. All black councillors claim that they hold regular meetings with their wards which is strongly contradicted by the residents' views. The only exception is Vleifontein township, which is part of ward 5. It was also noted that some ward councillors are not even known by residents that they claim to represent.

The residents of Sinthumule and Kutama complained that councillors do not consult them when they take decisions. For example, this was the case with the installation of the prepaid water supply meters and the electricity installation fees (*Mirror*, 6 November 1997; *Zoutpansberger*, 24 July 1998).

During the big protest march to the GLTTLC offices, on 29 July 1998, one of the grievances contained in the memorandum was lack of community consultation. The marchers accused Mr. Sikhutshi (Mayor and councillor for ward 4) and other officials of the TLC of not attending the meetings where community members are present especially as these meetings were organised by the councillors (*Mirror*, 31 June 1998).

Lack of consultation by councillors and community participation seem to be the major cause of conflict in the TLC. The TLC is supposed to carry its mandatory task of development and must not dictate terms to its constituency but rather engage in consultation (Preston-Whyte, 1997).

6.6 The IDP Process in Louis Trichardt

As described in Chapter 3, in the twentieth century urban planning emerged as a primary tool for restructuring of society. In the South African context, apartheid-planning policies were mainly responsible for fragmenting the South African urban space according to race, class, and zoned land-use. After the 1994 general election, an Integrated Development Plan was proposed as an urban planning tool to redress the past imbalances. According to the Local Government Transition Act, Second Amendment Act of 1996 and the Development Facilitation Act of 1995, all local governments are required to have an IDP. The absence of this document makes it impossible for the TLC to meet its mandated obligations and as a result it is faced with a number of problems more especially from the rural areas and the townships.

The IDP process has been slow in becoming operational in the GLTTLC area. In 1998 at the time of undertaking this research, the TLC was still battling to start preparing for it. With the absence of an IDP after almost two years after the local government elections it was not going to be easy for the TLC to deliver effectively. The research objective here was to track the progress made in formulating an IDP, and to determine on what basis planning decisions are being made and to investigate the depth of knowledge among officials and the public in the TLC area about the IDP process.

It should be pointed out that the overwhelming majority of residents interviewed during the survey revealed a lack of understanding of what the concept of IDP entails. Councillors, officials and employees of the TLC also displayed lack of knowledge regarding the IDP. This lack of direction is a cause for concern. 100% of residents that were given questionnaires knew nothing about the IDP. These are the people who are supposed to decide about what they want in their residential areas and provide input into the planning process.

Lack of understanding and persistent squabbles between the rural areas and the TLC highlights the priority of an IDP or planning exercise. In working to draw this together, the people for whom it is intended will be able to exercise patience regarding delivery of services as they shall have been informed that development is a process and not an event. Furthermore, the TLC would also be able to inform all stakeholders that budgetary constraints should be considered within the planning process hence, the need for time-frames in planning.

In trying to find out from the councillors, officials and employees of the TLC which guideline documents are presently in use, a vague picture of what is actually happening emerged. Their answers ranged from: Town Planning Scheme, ad hoc basis plan, strategic plan, the budget, priority needs analysis. Others claimed that nothing was being used and that they do not know. The fact that people who are working for the TLC or sitting on the council cannot tell as to which document is being used, is worrying and indicates a level of disorganization in the TLC.

The majority of the TLC councillors, officials and staff have little or no knowledge of an IDP. This lack of knowledge stems from the fact that there is a lack of public consultation within the GLTTLC and also amongst councillors, officials and staff.

In spite of the lack of understanding of what an IDP entails, the majority of residents believed that the availability of an IDP can lead to sustainable development within the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council. This question becomes rather meaningless, though in that levels of understanding of Integrated Development Planning and sustainable development were so low.

6.7 The Functioning of the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council.

The following section is based mainly on information gained from in depth interviews with councillors and other staff of the TLC, that is, individual actors within the structure. The research objectives relevant to this section are to develop an understanding of structural problems that impact on effective functioning and local economic development in the GLTTLC, and to assess the progress made by the GLTTLC since 1995 in achieving integration at all levels.

6.7.1 Problems within the GLTTLC

The transitional local council is regarded as the 'legs and feet' of the RDP (Munro and Barnes, 1997). It is therefore tasked to see to it that there is delivery of basic services and the creation of jobs for the jobless. Unfortunately the GLTTLC is characterized by poor functioning, in particular, power play between white and black councillors and officials and between rural areas and the TLC. Both councillors and officials regard the following as stumbling blocks to development: racial attitude, dictatorship, nepotism and lack of experience and skill. Black councillors and officials accuse their white counterparts of racial attitude, dictatorship and nepotism while white councillors and officials blame their counterparts for lack of experience and skill, racism and to a lesser extent nepotism and dictatorship. In terms of structuration theory, TLC officials and councillors appear often to be obstacles to change rather than as agents of change.

It appears as if the councillors, officials and employees of the TLC are still trapped in the past hence there are poor race relations, mistrust, intolerance and petty politics amongst some people working for the TLC. It was reported by the media that five senior officials in the GLTTLC appealed to the Soutpansberg sub-region of the ANC for protection from harassment by the "boers", referring to members of Residents Association. These senior officials as reported in the media are the Town Secretary Mr. J Seriti, the Town Treasurer Mr D Masengana, the Assistant Town Secretary Mr. P. Ntholeng and other two officials Mr. J. Sikhwari and Mr. P Muleya (*Zoutpansberger*, 26 June 1998). The above five officials are all members of South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU) which represents blacks. The people reported to be harassing them are members of the Residents Association which is alleged to be a white aligned association. In the letter they wrote, "...when we were deployed, we were under the impression that we have been deployed by the ANC and not the Boers, to be precise, not the Residents Association" (*Zoutpansberger*, 26 June 1998).

These five senior officials as reported by the media are all members of the SAMWU an affiliate of COSATU which is a member of the Tripartite Alliance (ANC, SACP and COSATU). Therefore by virtue of their membership in COSATU, they are also members of ANC. These officials were previously working for different employers. After the 1994

general elections, they began working at the local TLC. They believe that they were deployed to this TLC on account of affirmative action to ensure that there is balance in race distribution in the top echelons of TLC. Unlike in the past where all senior positions were occupied by only one race (whites), the new dispensation encourages integration even in TLC management. So they feel that they are there because of their link with the ANC. Thus, in their alleged harassment by the Residents' Association, they wanted the ANC who deployed them to this TLC to protect them, hence their writing the letter to the ANC Soutpansberg Sub-Region (*Zoutpansberger*, 26 June 1998).

Whereas the five officials see their alleged harassment by "boers" as a ploy "to get all blacks out of the Council except those who tow their line" (*Zoutpansberger*, 26 June 1998), the Residents' Association retorts by saying that they were instrumental in appointing black officials. Councillor Holtzhausen argues that "certain of these officials are loyal, competent and efficient."

The above newspaper article reflects that the Councillors and officials of the GLTTLC are divided into two camps, black (SAMWU) and white Independent Municipal Trade Union (IMATU). It should be noted that both these unions hotly debated the appointment of both the town secretary Mr. J. Seriti and the town treasurer Mr. D. Masengana as it was alleged that they were affirmative action appointees. Both the ANC and Residents Association were also involved in the fray. It was alleged that the ANC was behind their appointments whereas the Residents Association did not approve their appointments. In response to the allegation of harassment, Mr. Louis Holtzhausen a member of the Resident Association says, "It is however, worth noting that the competence of the five officials is questionable" (*Zoutpansberger*, 26 June 1998). The officials referred to here were, Mr J. Serite, Mr D. Masengana, Mr J. Sikhwari, Mr P. Muleya and Mr P. Ntholeng.

This verbal exchange clearly shows that the TLC has not overcome a history in which whites and blacks live and work in isolation from each other. Later on, the Town Secretary Mr. J. Serite was demoted, it is alleged due to his incompetence (*Mirror*, 7 August 1998; *Zoutpansberger*, 7 August 1998). It needs to be pointed out that when Mr J, Serite was appointed as Town Secretary, he was severely criticized by councillors of the Residents' Association. They based their argument on the fact that Mr Serite was not qualified for the post and furthermore they claimed that he did not have the necessary experience to do the

job. When Mr Serite was demoted to the post of Assistant Town Secretary, they cited that he also lacked knowledge about Council procedures and regulations. These they believed frustrated many meetings in the council chambers. When he was demoted it is alleged that even ANC councillors admitted that they made a mistake in appointing Mr Serite (*Mirror*, 7 August 1998).

The appointment of Mr Masengana as a Town Treasurer in 1997 was also another source of conflict between the ANC and the Residents' Association. Mr Masengana was an affirmative action appointee. He contested the post with two white candidates who it is alleged were far better experienced and qualified than he was. It is alleged that during the interview the two candidates scored more marks than him, but due to affirmative action he ended up getting the post. The case was taken to court by the Residents Association together with the independent IMATU. On the 23 July 1999 Judge J. Mlambo ruled that the appointment of Mr Masengana as Town Treasurer in May 1997 was an unfair labour practice. He set aside the appointment of Mr Masengana and ordered the Council to pay the costs of the applicant, the IMATU (*Mirror*, 17 December 1999). Mr Masengana was later demoted to the post of assistant Town Treasurer on 30 July 1999 (*Mirror*, 17 December 1999). It is also alleged that Mr Masengana was incompetent (*Zoutpansberger*, 26 June 1998).

Therefore it is of utmost importance that officials and managers are trained to ensure that efficient management is implemented (Mc Lennan, 1995). Staff development is necessary.

Another example of infighting within the TLC is when the Mayor of the TLC, Councillor Sikhutshi, was asked to resign mainly by members of the Residents Association on the grounds that he had misappropriated his general allowance (*Zoutpansberger*, 31 July 1998; *Mirror*, 31 July 1998). The Residents Association has accused the mayor of the TLC of lack of transparency. They allege that the mayor refused on several occasions to explain the R31 000 expenditure in the 1997/1998 financial year. The mayor is said to have objected on the grounds that Section 19 of the Ordinance on Local Councils prescribes that the allowance is not subject to audit. The Residents' Association even went further to the extent of asking the Premier of Northern Province to launch an investigation into the matter (*Zoutpansberger*, 21 August 1998). On numerous occasions there have been verbal

exchanges between the Mayor and councillor Holtzhausen regarding a range of issues apart from that of the general allowance (*Mirror*, 31 July 1998).

The underlying conflict between the two chiefs (Chief Kutama and Chief Sinthumule) and the ANC members within the GLTTLC is another point of concern. This was evident when the two chiefs walked out of the monthly Council meeting. They left after accusing the mayor of meddling in Royal kraal affairs. The two chiefs had openly supported the opinion that rural areas should be excluded from the GLTTLC (*Zoutpansberger*, 1 December 1999).

The rift between the TLC and the union (SAMWU) is one of the very many tugs of war going on in the GLTTLC. The councillors have accused the SAMWU members of verbally insulting them. They also accuse the Secretary and the Executive Management of the workers union of verbal insult. This followed the letter written to the chairman of the Executive Committee, Councillor Solly Noor (one of the wealthiest Indian business men) in which he was threatened with a consumer boycott at his businesses by SAMWU members (*Mirror*, 24 March 2000).

The GLTTLC has become a locus of conflict between black and white councillors, black and white officials, IMATU and SAMWU, the African National Congress and the Residents Association, rural dwellers of Sinthumule and Kutama and the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council Traditional leaders, between the TLC and the South African National Civic Association and between the TLC and the ANC. The council meetings, which are intended to be a place to discuss development issues, are sometimes abandoned due to hot verbal exchange between councillors. The culture of confrontation, resistance and struggle for local power which marked the earlier days of South African politics should first be rooted out in order that meaningful development can take place (Hindson and Patel, 1997).

The complexity of problems as encountered in the GLTTLC clearly indicates that the transitional local council has been slow in becoming operational. Councillor Holtzhausen noted that "Properly trained and able people must become councillors and officials" (*Mirror*, 7 August 1998). This reflects what Picard and Garrity (1995: 63) observed when they state that "...experience throughout Africa suggests that the lack of management and

planning skills has been a major impediment to development and good governance". For the TLC to be transformed, competent, skilled and knowledgeable functionaries are of paramount importance. If it is really the case that these people are not properly trained to handle this job perhaps it is time that people be retrained in order to improve their capability to perform. This may be one of the major reasons why residents have become impatient with the slow pace of delivery from the Transitional Local Council.

From the information gleaned from residents, councillors, officials and other stakeholders the major structural constraints existing within the TLC are racial tendencies, petty politics, mistrust, lack of transparency, lack of experience and skill, authoritarianism and intolerance. This legacy from the past continues to haunt the TLC. Unless the TLC officials and councillors admit that they need to adapt with change, nothing tangible will be achieved by the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council. They need to understand that for economic, social and urban reconstruction to be achieved, they need one another more than ever before. They need to realise that they cannot wish each other away. The sensitive issue of incapacity and inefficiency by officials as signified by the demotion of the town secretary and town treasurer, can only be addressed by retraining of all officials and councillors.

6.7.2 Views on Integration

Achieving integration is not only a problem within the TLC structures, but achieving physical integration throughout the TLC area is very difficult. Of the three areas (town, township and rural areas) rural dwellers are the most vocal in their dissatisfaction regarding the delivery of services. Their frustration with the slow pace of delivery led to the protest march held by Sinthumule and Kutama residents at the Louis Trichardt TLC offices on 29 of July 1998 (*Zoutpansberger*, 24 July 1998). The march was organized by the Soutpansberg branch of SANCO.

The long standing dispute between the rural areas and the GLTTLC which has been simmering for a long time regarding the delivery of services reached a breaking point at a big meeting residents held at Tshikwarani Village (Kutama) in November 1998. The meeting was attended by hundreds of residents, representatives of the GLTTLC, SANCO and the two local traditional leaders, Chief Kutama and Chief Sinthumule. The residents

announced that they were severing links with the greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council and that they were no longer prepared to be under its management. The residents agreed that the Council was no longer considered as an authority at their villages (*Mirror*, 6 November 1998). A letter to that effect was sent to the Chief Executive Officer of the TLC. During this meeting, the residents of Kutama and Sinthumule agreed to hold more mass meetings to iron out the issues of the exclusion of their areas from the TLC. This issue is still unresolved.

Chief Kutama puts the blame for all this conflict on the imposed integration of rural areas and urban areas. For he says "if people failed to pay for the R10 annual Venda Tax which was paid to the former Venda homeland, how can they be expected to pay for R11.50 for monthly service?" Furthermore, the majority of rural dwellers are unemployed (Chief Kutama, 23 August 1998). So according to him the rural areas should have their own separate TLC's (*Mirror*, 6 November 1998).

As clearly indicated throughout this thesis, the GLTTLC is comprised of five disjointed settlements: the town of Louis Trichardt, two townships of Tshikota and Vleifontein and the two rural villages of Sinthumule and Kutama. The power of land rent has rendered the whole vision of integration in the TLC area a mere fallacy. The new South Africa has brought nothing to the majority of black South Africans as they are still in rural areas and townships with a serious lack of service provision. For those people who are residing at Kutama and Sinthumule rural areas, integration has made them belong to the same TLC with whites and Indians, but being their real neighbours will remain a pipe dream as they cannot afford to either buy a stand or a house in town. The townscape of Louis Trichardt has not changed that much as whites and Indians are still predominant in town and blacks are still residents of the periphery (rural areas and townships). Schools in town are predominantly white and manned by white staff members only, the only exception being Eltivillas combined school (previously an Indian school) which is manned by white, Indian and black teachers and the majority of pupils are black. All other sectors of the town, the TLC included are still in the hands of whites and Indians as they still occupy senior positions.

The African townships of Vleifontein and Tshikota will remain 100% African for decades to come. It is in these former locations that 70 years of segregation and apartheid is visible.

It is here where the apartheid legacy has left a serious backlog in housing provision, service provision such as electricity, water, health facilities, educational and a host of other infrastructure (Corbett, 1992; Robinson, 1992). Land that is available and cheaper is found within and around these townships. Making use of such land for low-cost housing and private housing just serves to entrench the policy of apartheid. Workers earning less than R800 per month or who are unemployed have been accommodated in low-cost housing at Tshikota township. It is alleged that these low-cost houses will also be constructed in rural areas. No white or Indian person will ever reside in African townships because there is a backlog in service provision. The repeal of apartheid legislation, the new constitution and granting of a universal suffrage did not eliminate these differences (Beavon, 1992).

In the white suburbs and Indian suburb of Eltivillas the African middle and high income earners are building and buying properties. The average price of residential properties is much higher than in the African townships. In general, the repealing of residential racial legislation had little impact on the suburbs. These suburbs will remain predominantly white for years to come (Beavon, 1992). Lohnert et al, (1998: 89) states that, "The powerful inscription of an apartheid past is likely to persist, but the situation is not static." The township of Louis Trichardt hasn't changed that much as whites are still predominant in town, blacks are still residents of the periphery (rural areas and townships). The integration at all levels has yet to be achieved in the GLTTLC.

6.7.3 Views on the Potential for Local Economic Development

It appears that little effort is being made by the GLTTLC to actively promote LED in Louis Trichardt. There is still a high rate of unemployment and poverty within the TLC areas, more particularly the rural areas. Subsistence farmers claim to be given no financial or other support in order to break the poverty circle they find themselves in. It is clearly impossible to think constructively about promoting LED when members of the council are locked in conflict with each other.

And yet potential for LED is there as Louis Trichardt is about 100 km from Beit Bridge border post. The town of Louis Trichardt can thus be regarded as the gateway to Africa. All truckers and people heading to Africa via Zimbabwe pass along the N1 which divides

the town of Louis Trichardt into two halves. The town is thus on a major transport route, and advantage should be taken of this.

When asking officials and councillors as to whether there are incentives or benefits given to business people as a way of promoting development or business in the area, almost all of them admit that there are none except three who said there are. Mr Rudolph, Councillor for Ward 10 said "Free land has been given to the Correctional Department for development...land is given for development" (12 August 1998). He is supported by the Mayor, Councillor for Ward 4, when he concurred that, "Municipal concessions are where land is given for free" (13 August 1998). However, the question that one can ask is whether the land is given for free for any business venture or whether this favour was done for Correctional Services Department only. The CEO, 12 August 1998, did agree with the two but, he explained further that "Land prices can be negotiated for industrial purposes." From the CEO's utterances one can conclude that only industrialists benefit but others do not. Perhaps the TLC should do more if they are serious about the promotion of LED. The issue of LED can best be summed up in the words of Assistant Town Secretary, 11 August 1998, when he stated, "The town is not marketed."

The continuous power struggle between black and white councillors and officials which is always reported in the local newspapers is not doing the cause of LED any good. It discourages businesses from locating to town and tourists are also threatened as they think that the environment might be hostile. Looking back at structuration theory, the TLC which is entrusted with the task of transforming the lives of ordinary citizens within the TLC area, is not doing what it is mandated to. They are the ones who need to come up with ways and means of creating a viable atmosphere which is suitable for economic development. They are tasked to eradicate poverty, boost LED and assist in the creation of jobs. These agents are failing to have an influence on their constituency. Rather than concentrate on the task they have been employed for, they are involved in a tug of war amongst themselves. All agree that rural areas are still lagging behind but they fall short of what to do in order to revive these poverty-stricken areas. Funds are short, but nevertheless vision and planning could change the situation in Louis Trichardt.

6.8 Conclusion

There is a lot of disparity in terms of the socio-economic variables between the rural areas, townships and the urban area (the town of Louis Trichardt). Louis Trichardt (the town) is inhabited mostly by the middle and high income groups, while the rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama and the townships are characterized by unemployment and low income group. This group cannot afford to buy properties in town due to the problems of the land rent. The price of land in town is too high, making it difficult for the majority of blacks to buy properties in town. Urban areas (suburbs) will remain predominantly white for decades while townships will remain 100% black for years to come. Both rural areas and the townships lag much behind in service provision.

Service delivery has often been slow and uncoordinated in the townships and rural areas. This has caused dissatisfaction in communities and extra spending on repairs. The march and protest by Sinthumule and Kutama residents to the TLC office is an example of dissatisfaction by the residents. The damage to the street taps in Sinthumule and Kutama and the subsequent repairs by the TLC is a symptom of the problem. Service provision is crippled by the culture of non-payment mainly in rural areas and to a lesser extent in the townships. This is detrimental to the council and to residents who are paying for services. To recover the loss due to non-payment of services (by both rural areas and townships), the council is forced to increase the rates and taxes in order to pay the employees and to maintain the services rendered. The increase in rates and taxes becomes a disadvantage to the loyal rate payers.

Another problem that is highlighted by the research is lack of consultation by councillors. Councillors are only seen when they want votes from the communities. The conflicts around the issues of pre-paid street taps, installation fees of the electricity within the villages and non-payment of services by residents are the result of lack of consultation by councillors. The stalemate between the TLC and the rural residents regarding the delivery of services is also the result of lack of consultation. Councillors should therefore communicate with people at all times. All the stakeholders should be involved in the planning and delivery of services.

Integrated Development Planning is not very far advanced in the GLTTLC. There was no plan late in 1998 and residents within the GLTTLC as well as councillors and officials had little or no knowledge of an IDP. One of the objectives of the IDP is to improve local economies so that municipalities can generate enough income to continue providing services. In terms of the above objective the GLTTLC is still lagging behind as the majority of people in the townships and rural areas are jobless. Local economic development initiatives are hampered by structural conflicts within the TLC. Very little real integration has been achieved at any level.

The survey also revealed that the townships of Vleifontein and Tshikota are the products of forced removals. However, Tshikota is fast becoming a favoured residential area by the residents of Vleifontein and other areas who cannot afford to buy properties in town. The fact that it is near the town of Louis Trichardt and the possibility of acquiring an RDP house is making Tshikota a favoured destination. There are encouraging signs that in Vleifontein township, individual councillors are making a difference and people feel included in decision-making.

The TLC has embarked on a low-income housing project at Tshikota, housing development at the extension at Makhado Park, Sinthumule/Kutama, Presidential Water Project, electrification of villages and so on. In spite of these few initiatives, residents are still not satisfied with the delivery of services. There are numerous problems in the GLTTLC which will have to be tackled in a structured and committed manner.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

Louis Trichardt is one of the many small towns that are dotted throughout the South African landscape which are undergoing a process of restructuring. In 1996 the town of Louis Trichardt was merged with the townships of Tshikota and Vleifontein, and the rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama under Chief Sinthumule and Kutama respectively. These rural areas and townships lagged behind in service provision such as water, housing, electricity and others. There was also a complex history of spatial division, racial division, and forced removals in the new TLC area.

The GLTTLC is faced with a mammoth task of improving life in the rural areas and the townships under its jurisdiction. As shown in the literature reviewed above, such tasks cannot be accomplished with ease, the more so because the rhetoric of the liberation movement is seriously challenged by existing socio-economic realities (see Mabin, 1995). Furthermore, the process of reconstruction and development is entrusted to the TLCs which lack the capacity and resources to act as engines of development (Munslow and FitzGerald, 1995). In this context, the town of Louis Trichardt is compelled to compile the document called an IDP.

With the local government elections having taken place in 1995, throughout South Africa and in Louis Trichardt and other areas in 1996, it is pertinent to notice that the GLTTLC did not have an IDP in place at the time of the survey in August 1998.

The aim of this study was to investigate how the GLTTLC was implementing an IDP as a tool for urban planning. The objectives of the research were:

- To assess the progress made by the GLTTLC in meeting the basic needs of all its residents through service provision.

- To ascertain the attitudes of residents to the GLTTLC, including views on public participation and willingness to pay for services.
- To track the progress made in formulating an IDP, and to determine on what basis planning decisions are currently being made.
- To investigate the depth of knowledge among officials and the public in the TLC area about the IDP process.
- To assess the progress made by the GLTTLC since 1995 in achieving integration at all levels.
- To develop an understanding of structural problems that impact on effective functioning and local economic development in the GLTTLC.

It is clear that in general the rural areas of Sinthumule and Kutama and the townships of Vleifontein and Tshikota are characterized by poverty, unemployment and lack of basic services. Landlessness and lack of assistance given to subsistence farmers are further causes of poverty. Some better-off blacks are moving to the town of Louis Trichardt, as they are the ones who can afford to buy properties in town. The main threat to achieving real integration is land rent. The price of land in urban areas is too high making it almost impossible for ordinary citizens to buy just a stand. If the majority of blacks cannot afford to buy properties in town, then the whole question of integration is just an illusion. If land was not too expensive in town the majority of people would have preferred to settle in town due to better services, as there is tendency for services to decrease with distance from the city centre. Employment opportunities are also pull factors to town. Unfortunately due to the power of land rent, towns and suburbs will remain predominantly white for years to come.

Tshikota and Vleifontein townships are both the products of forced removals and were settled in 1960 and 1982 respectively. The majority of residents in Vleifontein were born at Tshikota while the majority of residents at Tshikota were either born at Tshikota or Masagani. Of the two townships Tshikota is becoming a favoured destination by those

who cannot afford to buy properties in town. Among the reasons are, the proximity to town where the majority of people are working, better employment opportunities in town, better services and the prospect of getting an RDP house at Tshikota. Vleifontein is becoming deserted by the original inhabitants of Tshikota as they are flocking back to Tshikota. One of the reasons why Vleifontein is losing some residents to Tshikota is that Vleifontein does not have RDP housing project as yet. In spite of a few RDP houses at Tshikota the majority of residents are still living in shacks.

One notable fact is that no white or Indian person is residing at Tshikota or Vleifontein in spite of their cheap stands (plots). This goes to show that the quality of life is too low to attract middle class whites and Indians. Therefore townships will remain 100% black for years to come.

The research revealed that some of the residents from Kutama and Sinthumule were forcefully removed from Masagani and Tshikota. None of the residents from both these villages come from the town of Louis Trichardt. This clearly shows that no person is interested in residing in rural areas with little or no service provision.

During the field survey which was undertaken during the month of August 1998, people that were interviewed, that is, councillors, officials, political parties running the TLC, heads of households, union leaders and traditional leaders displayed a lack understanding of what the concept of an IDP entails. Only a handful of these people displayed an understanding and knowledge of the concept. These people are supposed to be working on the production of an IDP. Even amongst the councillors, only a few comprehended what the IDP entails.

What is actually more disheartening in the GLTTLC is that it appeared that nobody was sure of what document is currently in operation in the absence of an IDP document. The answers varied from old town planning scheme, an hoc basic plan, strategic plans, budget, to priority needs analysis, while others said there was nothing and they do not know. Senior officials of the TLC alleged that the reason the IDP was not yet compiled is a lack of funds. Compilation of an IDP demands that the funds be budgeted specifically for it by the TLC (CEO, 12 August 1998). What is quite obvious therefore is that the IDP was not budgeted for by the TLC. The absence of this document is one of the main reasons why

there are numerous problems in the GLTTLC and as a result residents view the delivery of service as slow or non-existent.

The march that was undertaken by Kutama and Sinthumule residents under the auspices of SANCO on 29 July 1998 to the TLC offices shows how impatient the residents have become with the slow pace of delivery. The Sinthumule/Kutama Residential Water Project clearly illustrates how confusing things can become if leadership is not proactive. The controversy surrounding this project has to do with the prepaid water metering system which demands residents to pay a certain amount before they can get water from taps which are lining their streets. Residents feel that they cannot pay for water which is not in their yards (*Mirror*, 7 August 1998). The TLC on the other hand indicate that they need money in order to be able to maintain the service. The majority of residents, including the leader of SANCO in the area Mr James Delekisa, lay the blame at the door of the TLC and accuse the TLC Councillors of a lack of consultation. This is interpreted as power mongering by SANCO and some individuals. The IDP clearly stresses the need for people's participation in decision making for any project intended for residents.

Another complicated issue is that of electricity which is provided by both ESKOM and the TLC in the rural villages of Sinthumule and Kutama. Residents who are neighbours and belong to the same TLC, therefore pay their bills to different service providers. In addition, the most worrying aspect of it is that the TLC is charging more per unit of electricity than ESKOM. In addition the amount they charge for installation of electricity is far above that charged by ESKOM. Therefore residents feel that it is better to be serviced by ESKOM than the TLC. The bulk of the money the TLC gets is from payment for electricity by both residents and businesses (*Mirror*, 31 July 1998).

The integration of a former white town, two black townships and two rural areas is quite complex as their dilemma is spilling over into the question of payment of services rendered by the TLC. There is much talk about integration, but practically on the ground it is not working. Integrating black people, the majority of whom are poor, and relying mostly on pension grants, and whites and Indians, the majority of whom are well-off is quite a daunting and a complex task. As mentioned earlier on. Chief Kutama noted that it is extremely difficult to expect blacks, who during the days of Mphaphu regime, were unable to pay the annual Venda Tax of R10, to pay the current R11,50 monthly levy.

Residents in Sinthumule and Kutama claim that they cannot pay for services which are non-existent whereas the TLC indicates that for them to continue to render services in the rural areas, rural residents must start paying for services rendered. If residents cannot pay fees for service rendered, then who is supposed to pay for them. If the TLC continues rendering services without any monetary compensation it will soon run into a deficit.

This issue of non-payment of services leads one to ask whether the issue of integration was properly handled in the first place or perhaps residents never anticipated the problems that go together with integration and urbanisation. If residents knew that the path they were intending to tread was going to be difficult, they may not have forced the merger as they did during the 1995 demarcation of local government boundaries.

Due to the fragile relationship that exists between the TLC and the rural dwellers of Sinthumule and Kutama pertaining to the issue of payment of services and delivery of services, a stalemate was reached. Kutama and Sinthumule residents declared that they were severing links with the TLC and that it was no longer considered as an authority at their villages. These residents concluded that "they could rather have their rural status restored than face the bureaucracy that govern urban dwellers" (*Zoutpansberger*, 21 August 1998).

It is interesting to see whether this self imposed isolation will last. The battle lines have clearly been drawn. More importantly, local government boundaries have now been redrawn in the light of the new local government elections in the year 2000. It was felt that the number of existing TLCs post-1995 is too large, and that fewer but bigger local councils than the present ones must be created. However, if the TLC's, rural councils and metro councils have failed to solve disputes within their area of jurisdiction small as they were, it will be difficult to solve problems of a much bigger municipal council areas.

The issue of boundary disputes is of course not confined to the GLTTLC only but occur in other areas as well. Cases in point are Bushbuckridge, Groblersdal and Tafelkop in Northern Province and Kuruman and Taung in North-West Province (Ramutsindela, 1998; Ramutsindela and Simon, D 1999). However, the GLTTLC's case of the Sinthumule and Kutama residents is perhaps unusual in the sense that the very people who pressurized

government to be included into the GLTTLC are the ones who are now expressing their desire to withdraw. The few cases mentioned above, raises the question of the workability of integration of rural areas and urban areas. If the TLC's are not being trimmed down but being made bigger, one is tempted to ask whether this exercise does not defeat the idea of devolution of power to local people.

Sinthumule and Kutama areas are part of the GLTTLC. Being part of this urban structure, therefore implies that these rural villages will be redefined as urban areas. The GLTTLC proposed to supply the rural dwellers with a "Deed of Grant" for the sites which they occupy in villages (*Zoutpansberger*, 21 August 1998). The TLC tried to convince residents by saying that this "home ownership document" would make it easy for them to get home construction loans from financial institutions. This proposal was openly opposed by the rural dwellers. Their argument was that if the government really cares, it should devise means of making it possible to get loans from financial institutions through the old document called "Permission to Occupy" which was issued by local chiefs. The fear of people is that "Deed of Grant" will strip chiefs of their traditional powers thereby rendering them powerless (*Zoutpansberger*, 21 August 1998). This would in turn impact on the tenure security of people in rural areas.

7.2 Recommendations

In spite of poor race relations that existed between black and white people during the days of apartheid, the GLTTLC and the entire community need to be commended for some contributions that they have made since 1994.

7.2.1 Achievements to date

- Educational integration

Unlike in other small towns like Potgietersrus, Ventersdorp and Vryburg where racial tendencies of the past have rendered it impossible for children from different racial backgrounds to learn together under one roof, the GLTTLC, School Governing Bodies of different schools and all other stakeholders have succeeded in this area. It needs to be pointed out that this has never been an easy exercise as conservative attitudes are not easy

to change more especially of the elderly people. Apartheid does sometimes rear its head but what is promising is that people seem to have accepted the fact that change was inevitable.

- Maximum security prison

Another achievement that should not go unnoticed is that the GLTTLC was able to secure the construction of a maximum security prison, at a cost of about R350 million. This project will provide investments in town and also create job opportunities for the unemployed (*Mirror*, 25 August, 2000).

Recommendation: The majority of people to be offered jobs must be from the local TLC or else the whole venture will be a futile exercise.

- Low cost residential project (RDP houses)

The GLTTLC was also successful in launching a low cost residential project at Tshikota township. About 1000 low income houses are to be erected to provide shelter to the people who are on the lower strata of the economic ladder (GLTTLC Municipality, Mayoral Report, 1998-1999, Centenary Celebrations). Thus far only three hundred houses have been built. The most tricky question here is that not all owners of those RDP houses are working and therefore will have difficulty in paying for services rendered to them.

Recommendation: Serious attention must be given to the issue of job creation.

- Housing development at Makhado

Another housing development known as Makhado Park was developed east of the industrial area and N1 highway. This new extension is being developed by the developer Housing Development Strategies, of Pietersburg (GLTTLC Municipality, Mayoral Report, 1998-1999, Centenary Celebrations).

Recommendation: As above.

- Presidential Water Project

The Sinthumule/Kutama Presidential Water Project is another success story of the TLC even though its existence and its operation is shrouded in controversy.

Recommendation: For the interest of everybody in the TLC, residents must be involved in negotiating the way forward.

- The electrification of villages

The electrification of some Villages at Sinthumule and Kutama is one of the achievements of the GLTTLC. However, the presence of two service providers, that is, ESKOM and the TLC to the area leaves much to be desired.

Recommendation: As for the controversy surrounding the supply of electricity in rural villages, the TLC and ESKOM must at least agree on a uniform charge per unit in order to avoid unnecessary squabbles.

7.2.2 Issues to be addressed

In spite of some achievements, there are certain matters which warrant serious attention from the GLTTLC if any meaningful progress is to be attained. These were identified as the following:

- Integration of rural and urban areas

It was clear that the question of integration of rural and urban areas needed to be reconsidered. Two solutions were proposed on the basis of the finding of this thesis.

(a) *The formation of rural councils to be under joint leadership of traditional leaders and elected councillors.* Unfortunately, this has now been overtaken by events as demarcation has taken place and there are no rural councils.

(b) *The formation of an alternative new structure.* This could still apply as problems are the same. This structure should be formed by traditional leaders together with ward councillors from rural areas on one hand and Ward Councillors from the town and townships on the other hand. From the two groups an Executive Council would be formed. It is imperative that Chiefs be part of the Executive Council as the rightful and traditional custodians of their land. With the present dispensation or structure, the elected councillors have greater powers than the traditional leaders hence there is confrontation between the TLC and traditional leaders as the chiefs feel threatened by the TLC. Therefore the new local council should be a two-tiered structure with councillors from rural areas and those from urban areas (town and townships).

Recommendation: A structure suiting local conditions could be devised in which chiefs are given equal powers to councillors.

- Public participation and consultation

The issue of consultation and people's participation needs to be revisited. Local government is supposed to be people driven and not vice versa. Unfortunately it looks like councillors are running the TLC by remote control. Some of the councillors are not known in the wards they claim to be representing due to the fact that they do not live there. Ward councillors must be residents of their wards and not outsiders as is the case in Vleifontein and Tshikota townships. If people do not reside in their wards, the problems that exist in the wards that they claim to represent do not affect them directly no matter how serious they are.

The culture of white councillors who do not arrange meetings for their wards but depend solely on letters and telephone calls from residents, residing in their areas needs to be changed. Councillors need to move with the times and ensure that they call meetings for their wards in order that they can talk face to face with each other. As stated earlier, local

government should be people driven, give people time to air their views during meetings and people should then take control of their destiny. If people are consulted from the onset on every project even when things go wrong, they will also shoulder the failures and successes with the leadership.

Recommendation: Councillors should call meetings and solve problems with residents face to face.

- Verbal confrontation

Verbal exchanges between white and black officials; white and black councillors; the Residents Association and the ANC; SAMWU and IMATU is not doing justice to reconciliation as envisaged in the IDP.

A commitment to the future of the town and the entire TLC in the part of the entire leadership (black and white) is very essential. For any meaningful progress to be achieved a degree of consensus amongst local residents and their leadership around a vision for the future of the TLC is of utmost importance. Consensus is likely to emerge if leaders work together and residents will in the long run take cues from the leadership.

Both black and white communities and councillors need to understand that their futures are tied together and that no group can wish another away. Racial reconciliation is not only imperative for the bright future of the town but can also serve as a selling point for the town.

Recommendation: Reconciliation and trust between black and white councillors and officials must be built.

- Integrated Development Plan

The preparation of an IDP is an urgent priority. It is likely that progress has been made in formulating an IDP since 1998.

- Lack of employment opportunities

There is a lack of employment opportunities in the GLTTLC. This is however, a trend which is prevailing throughout South Africa. The TLC seems to view the creation of jobs as an area that is outside their scope of operation. However, the IDP states that the task of the local government is to eradicate poverty, boost local economic development (LED) and to create jobs. It is therefore essential that local economic development (LED) be taken seriously. Various developmental projects suited to local conditions, that is, pottery, traditional crafts, cultural villages and others need to be encouraged in order to create jobs for the unemployed (CDE, 1996). Place marketing is also essential as it will serve as a selling point for the town attracting foreign investment into the town and thereby creating jobs for the jobless. The availability of an IDP will ensure that LED and Land Development Objectives (LDO) be incorporated into the planning of the TLC.

Recommendation: LED must be taken seriously and initiatives to promote the town must be undertaken.

- Efficiency of officials

The issue of poorly trained officials needs to be tackled urgently by the TLC. It can be pointed out that the operation of a municipal council is new and strange to the majority of the black officials and councillors. Not only is this environment new to black officials and councillors but white officials and councillors as well. Both were used to working in their own "cocoon" and now that they have integrated, problems arise. The attitudes of many managers (black and white) is rooted in the past racial and ethnic system of governance. White managers and councillors feel threatened by blacks while blacks on the other hand are still battling to adjust in this new environment and always blame the past for their inefficiency. It has been pointed out that there is an unpreparedness and a serious lack of expertise from the popular democratic and civic movements (Mabin, 1995).

Recommendation: Further training of officials is a necessity.

- Training senior managers to handle conflict

The training of managers is essential to ensure that newer management styles suited to this new dispensation are implemented. For sustainable development to be attained, all senior managers need to be empowered and capacity built. Due to racial and cultural backgrounds between races, there is likely to be conflicts. The new dispensation calls for a change in attitude from all racial groups. Conflict management courses are essential for senior managers in order to cope with their work.

Recommendation: Senior managers should be trained in conflict management.

- Awarding of contracts

In Vleifontein the main street was tarred as from 1997 but before the end of 1998, it was gravel as the quality of work was poor.

Recommendation: In future the TLC must give contracts to credible and reputable contractors to avoid further embarrassment.

- Hospitals and clinics

The whole of the TLC has one hospital which is the Louis Trichardt Memorial Hospital which operates more as a private hospital as patients that are admitted must be treated by their own doctors. It is therefore largely a hospital for the well-to-do rather than for the entire public.

Recommendation: The operation of the hospital needs to be changed in order to cater for everybody across the economic strata.

- Culture of non-payment

The town of Louis Trichardt is too small to carry both the townships and rural areas without serious financial support from local residents themselves, provincial and national governments. The whole question of integration of rural areas and urban areas and its promising future could turn into a fallacy without the financial muscle. Rural residents

need to be educated about the importance of paying for the services used. On the other hand, the TLC must understand that the delivery of basic services is a motivation enough for the residents to pay for services used.

Recommendation: Residents have to be educated about the payment of services in the spirit of "Masakhane".

Despite some changes since the research for this thesis was conducted in 1998, burning issues remain. These are:

- The workability of the integration of rural areas and urban areas.
- The role of traditional leaders in areas that have been declared urban.
- The relationship of CBO's, NGO's and local councils in the post-apartheid era.
- The implications of a larger municipality for the building of democracy and the devolution of power.

In conclusion President Nelson Mandela said "At the end of the day, the yardstick that we should all be judged by is: are we creating the basis to better the lives of all" (Munslow and Fitzgerald, 1995 quoting him from *Business Day*, 19 August, 1994).

Councillors and officials have been tasked to change their local environment. The effort that they put into their task will determine the success of betterment of their areas. The road that South African come from has been long and arduous. With the vision, commitment and calibre of local leadership the future looks bright. The legacy of the past will continue to haunt our institutions, but the determination and the will to succeed can make a difference. The yardstick that officials and councillors shall be judged with, is whether they have succeeded in changing the lives of all South Africans. However, without the support of the local residents and all the stakeholders, they cannot succeed. History will judge us all.

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_____ 21 August 1998.

_____ 28 August 1998.

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

1. Ward Councillors

NAME	DATE	DESIGNATION
Mabila MN	21.08.98	Cllr. Ward 1
Kutama P	16.08.98	Cllr. Ward 2
Mutshinyali IP	22.08.98.	Cllr. Ward 3
Sikhutshi P	13.08.98	Mayor, Ward 4
Malima ME	20.08.98	Cllr. Ward 5
Moolman FJ	19.08.98	Cllr. Ward 6
Van Schalkwyk MCJ	17.08.98	Cllr. Ward 7
Schlesinger PB	17.08.98	Cllr. Ward 8
Holtzhausen LJ	11.08.98	Cllr. Ward 9
Rudolph S	19.08.98	Cllr. Ward 10

2. Traditional leaders

Chief Kutama P	23.08.98	Cllr. Ex- Officio
Chief Sinthumule	28.08.98	Cllr. Ex-Officio

3. Officials of the TLC

Viljoen V	12.08.98	CEO
Du Toit	12.08.98	Town Secretary
Ntholeng P	11.08.98	Ass. secretary
Rambado R	13.08.98	Chief Protection
Masengana D	15.08.98	Town Treasurer
Pretorius D	14.08.98	Secretary/ Mayor
Mathivha MS	14.08.98	Personnel Office

Mathivha MS	14.08.98	Personnel Office
Muleya P	20.08.98	Account Section
Ramavhoya	17.08.98	Town Manager

4. Structures and Unions

NAME	STRUCTURE	DATE	DESIGNATION
Holtzhausen LJ	Resident Association	11.08.98	Chair
Musitha ME	ANC	12.08.98	Chair
Sikhwari J	SAMWU	13.08.98	Chair
Kruger D	IMATU	17.08.98	Chair

APPENDIX 2

RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a student of the University of Natal in Durban and this questionnaire will help me to complete my research. I would greatly appreciate it if you would answer the questions that follow with honesty and in your own words as it is your feelings, views and attitudes that I seek. This questionnaire will be treated with utmost confidentiality, in other words no one besides yourself will know the answers you have given. I thank you for your co-operation.

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

1. How old are you?

A	Under 21 years
B	Between 22 and 40 years
C	Between 40 and 60 years
D	Above 60 years

2. Gender

A	Male
B	Female

3. Are you working?

A	Yes
B	No

4. If the answer is Yes, what kind of job(s) do you do?

A	Professional job e.g. teaching
B	None professional job e.g. domestic work
C	Self-employed
D	Any other job. (Mention)

5. If the answer is No, above, what could be the reason for your not being working?

A	Can't find a job
B	Pensioner
C	Retrenchment
D	Housewife
E	Student

6. Number of years passed?

A	None
B	7 years
C	10 years
D	12 years
E	Matric + 1, 2, 3 etc

7. Where do you live within the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council?

A	Town
B	Tshikota Township
C	Vleyfontein Township
D	Sinthumule rural village
E	Kutama rural village

8. Before you came here where did you live? _____

9. How long have you been living in this area?

A	1 Month to 1 Year
B	1 Year to 5 Years
C	5 Years to 10 Years
D	10 Years to 20 Years
E	21 Years +

10. Mention factors which attracted or forced you to come here

.....

11. Do you own / lease the land / house?

A	Yes
B	No

12. If the answer is Yes, what kind of assistance do you get form the TLC or any other institution?

A	Financial assistance or loan
B	Housing subsidy
C	Training
D	Seeds, manure, hiring tractors
E	Others (Specify)
F	None

13. What is your view on the delivery of the following services within your area.

13.1. Water supply

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

13.2. Waste disposal services

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

13.3. Electricity

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

13.4. Telephones

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

13.5. Road maintenance

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

14. Comparing the period before 1994 and now what can you say regarding the delivery of such services?

A	Deteriorated
B	No Change
C	Improved Slightly
D	Improved greatly

15. What is your view on the payment of the above services by you and your community for the smooth running of the TLC?

A	No-one pays
B	Few pay
C	Half pay
D	Most pay
E	Everyone pays

16. If there is no payment why?

A	No service rendered
B	Poor service
C	Payments too expensive
D	No consultation with the residents

17. What is your view on the access and quality of services rendered by the following:

17.1. Schools, Pre-Schools and Crèches

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

17.2. Library

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

17.3. Hospitals, Health Centres, Clinics

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

17.4. Police Services

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

17.5. Recreation

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

18. Do you regard your area as being safe?

A	Slightly safe
B	Safe
C	Very safe
D	Dangerous
E	Very dangerous

19. Since the beginning of the year, how many meetings were called by your Councillor or TLC to talk about issues affecting development in your area?

A	None
B	1 to 3
C	4 to 6
D	7 to 9
E	10 to 13

F	14 +
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20. Do you participate in meetings called by your Councillor or TLC officials?

A	Yes
B	No

21. How effective is public participation process?

A	Less effective
B	Effective

22. What suggestions can you give (have you given) to your Councillor or the TLC regarding development?

23. How do you view the relationship between your community and your Councillor?

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

24. Comment on the relationship between various political parties within your area and the entire Greater Louis Trichardt Local Council.

A	Very Poor
B	Poor
C	Satisfactory
D	Good
E	Very Good

25. Which factors do you regard as hindering development within the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council?

26. What problems in what areas need particular attention?

26.1. Town

A	Security
B	Pollution
C	Housing
D	Informal sector
E	Schooling
F	Library
G	Immigrants
H	Unemployment
I	Recreation

26.2. Townships (Vleyfontein and Tshikota)

A	Security
B	Pollution
C	Housing
D	Immigrants
E	Water
F	Roads
G	Electricity
H	Telephones
I	Unemployment
J	Schooling
K	Library

26.3. Rural Villages (Sinthumule and Kutama)

A	Security
B	Pollution
C	Housing
D	Informal sector
E	Schooling
F	Library
G	Immigrants
H	Unemployment
I	Recreation
J	Schooling
K	Library
L	Hospitals

M	Recreation
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27. Comment on any issue not mentioned above _____

28. Any knowledge about the Integrated Development Plan or Land Development Objectives? Comment _____

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE TO OFFICIALS

I am a student of the University of Natal in Durban and this questionnaire will help me to complete my research. I would greatly appreciate it if you would answer the questions that follow with honesty and in your own words as it is your feelings, views and attitudes that I seek. This questionnaire will be treated with utmost confidentiality, in other words no one besides yourself will know the answers you have given. I thank you for your co-operation.

1. What does your position entail ?

.....

2. How long have you held this position ?.....

3. Can you comment on the rendering of the following services in the TLC ?

(a) Water supply

.....

(b) Electricity

.....

(c) Solid waste disposal

.....

4. Comment on payment of these services by residents

.....

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5. Comment on the condition and maintenance of roads within the TLC

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6. What do you regard as key problems within the TLC ?

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7. What parts of the TLC need most attention?

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8. What processes or mechanisms exist through which you may have an input ?.....

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9. As an official what do you think must be done to alleviate these problems ?

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10. Are there some incentives or benefits given to business people as a way of promoting business in the TLC ? Comment

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11. Comment on your relationship with your colleagues from other political parties

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12. What contribution have you made towards an Integrated Development Plan or Land Development Objectives?

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13 How does this IDP achieve redistribution ?

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14. Which stakeholders have been contacted for IDP meetings ?

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15. Using IDP as a document do you see the TLC as achieving a sustainable and an equitable development within the next few years ?.....

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16. If there is no IDP as yet, which working document or plan are you using.

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17. How are decisions made without the IDP?

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18. Who make decisions regarding development issues within the TLC?

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19. How are community needs communicated to the TLC?

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20. Working without the IDP are you managing to meet community needs?

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21. Your vision for the future in the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council.

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22. Comment on any other issue not mentioned above.

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APPENDIX 4

QUESTIONNAIRE TO A LEADER OF A POLITICAL PARTY OR ANY STRUCTURE WITHIN THE GREATER LOUIS TRICHARDT TRANSITIONAL LOCAL COUNCIL.

I am a student of the University of Natal in Durban and this questionnaire will help me to complete my research. I would greatly appreciate it if you would answer the questions that follow with honesty and in your own words as it is your feelings, views and attitudes that I seek. This questionnaire will be treated with utmost confidentiality, in other words no one besides yourself will know the answers you have given. I thank you for your co-operation.

1. What does your position entail ?

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2. How long have you held this position ?

3. Can you comment on the rendering of the following services by the TLC ?

(a) Water supply

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(b) Electricity

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(c) Solid waste disposal

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(d) Telephones

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(e) Roads maintenance

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4. Comment on payment of these services by residents

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5. How is redistribution being achieved ?

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6. What do you regard as key problems in the TLC?

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7. What suggestions can you give towards alleviating such problems ?

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8. What areas need to be targeted ?

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9. As a leader in your party / structure do you sometimes send your suggestions to the
TLC ? Comment on that

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10. How does public participation process function within the TLC ?

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11. As a way of reducing unemployment in the TLC what do you think could or must be done by the TLC officials ?

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12. Comment on your relationship with other structures and political parties within the TLC

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13. How many times do you hold meetings with the TLC and talk about issues related to development ? Your comment

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14. What do you know about an Integrated Development Plan or Land Development Objectives ?

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15. Using IDP as a document do you see the TLC as achieving a sustainable and an equitable development within the next few years ?.....

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16. Your vision for the future in the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council

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17. Comment on any other issue not mentioned above

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APPENDIX 5

QUESTIONNAIRE TO TRADITIONAL LEADER

I am a student of the University of Natal in Durban and this questionnaire will help me to complete my research. I would greatly appreciate it if you would answer the questions that follow with honesty and in your own words as it is your feelings, views no one besides yourself will know the answers you have given. I thank you have given. I thank you for your co-operation.

1. What does your position entail? _____

2. How long have you held this position? _____

3. Can you comment on the rendering of the following services in your country.

(a) Water supply _____

(b) Electricity _____

(c) Solid waste disposal _____

4. Comment on payment of these services by residents

5. Are the roads in your area gravel or tar?

6. Comment on the condition and maintenance of these roads

7. What do you regard as key problems in your country / TLC

8. Although representing you country, what parts of the TLC should receive the most attention?

9. What processes exist through which you ma have an input?

10. As a leader what do you thing should be done to alleviate these problems.

11. Are there some incentives or benefits given to business people as a way of promoting business in you area? Comment

12. As a way of reducing unemployment in your TLC what is being done.

13. Comment on your relationship with your colleagues form other political parties

14. How many times do you hold meetings with the community?

15. What issues are usually discussed during these meetings?

16. What contribution have you made towards an Integrated Development Plan or Land Development Objectives?

17. How does this IDP achieve redistribution?

18. If there is no IDP as yet, which working document or plan is the TLC using?

19. How are decisions made without the IDP?

20. Who make decisions regarding development issues within the TLC?

21. How are community needs communicated to the TLC?

22. Working without the IDP is the TLC managing to meet community needs?

23. Your vision for the future in the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council.

24. Comment on any other issue not mentioned above. _____

25. Can we say that the integration of rural areas and urban areas was well thought of? Your Comment _____

APPENDIX 6

QUESTIONNAIRE TO A COUNCILLOR

I am a student of the University of Natal in Durban and this questionnaire will help me to complete my research. I would greatly appreciate it if you would answer the questions that follow with honesty and in your own words as it is your feelings, views and attitudes that I seek. This questionnaire will be treated with utmost confidentiality, in other words no one besides yourself will know the answers you have given. I thank you for your co-operation.

1. What does your position entail?
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2. How long have you held this position?
3. Can you comment on the rendering of the following services in your Ward / TLC?
- (a) Water supply
-
- (b) Electricity.....
-
- (c) Solid waste disposal
-
4. Comment on payment of these services by residents.....
-
5. Are the roads in your area of representation gravel or tar?
-
6. Comment on the condition and maintenance of these roads
-
7. What do you regard as key problems in your Ward / TLC.....
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-
8. Although representing your Ward / TLC what parts of the TLC should receive the most attention?

9. What processes exist through which you may have an input?

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10. As a leader what are you doing to alleviate these problems?

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11. Are there some incentives or benefits given to business people as a way of promoting business in your area? Comment

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12. As a way of reducing unemployment in your Ward / TLC what are you doing?

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13. Comment on your relationship with your colleagues from other political parties.

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14. How many times do you hold meetings with the community?

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15. What issues are usually discussed during these meetings?

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16. What contribution have you made towards and Integrated Development Plan or Land Development Objectives?.....

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17. How does this IDP achieve redistribution?.....
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18. Which stakeholders have been contacted for IDP meetings?.....
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19. Using IDP as a document do you see the TLC as achieving a sustainable and an equitable development within the next few years?.....
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20. If there is no IDP as yet, which working document or plan are you using?.....
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21. How are decisions made without the IDP?.....
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22. Who make decisions regarding development issues within the TLC?.....
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23. How are community needs communicated to the TLC?.....
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24. Working without the IDP are you managing to meet community needs?
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25. Your vision for the future in the Greater Louis Trichardt Transitional Local Council.....

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26. Comment on any other issue not mentioned above.

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APPENDIX 7

THE BIG MARCH

JULY 31, 1998

The big march

(See also page 1)



"Sikhutshi, we are tired of you ...!" The placard waving crowd chanted in front of the mayor of Louis Trichardt, who remained silent during the protest on Wednesday. The people were protesting against the Town Council of Louis Trichardt, which they accuse of failing to address their problems.



A crowd of angry protesters from the Sinthumule/Kutama areas toy-toyi on their way from the Louis Trichardt TL Offices after handing over a memorandum of their grievances to the mayor, Cllr. Patric Sikhutshi.