

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO KEY INTERVENTIONS TO
PROMOTE RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE IN
GAUTENG: A case study of Tshwane Metropolitan
Municipality**

by

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submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject

DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF FC DE BEER

30 JUNE 2006

DECLARATION

I declare that AN INVESTIGATION INTO KEY INTERVENTIONS TO PROMOTE RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE IN GAUTENG: A case study of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is my own unaided work, and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references

Tirhane Alinah Manganyi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all the participants, the community, ward members and members of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality who made time to complete the questionnaires for the purposes of this dissertation. I would also like to thank Mr Leslie Mashishi, the coordinator for region one (1) for his support in enlisting the support and participation of zone liaison officers and facilitating the distribution of questionnaires. I am also grateful to the following zone liaison officers who facilitated the receipt of the questionnaires by the respondents and myself. These are: Mr George Ngobeni (Zone B); Ms Tiny Ramane (Zone D); Mr Oupa Mokoka (Zone G); Mr Mike Nkosi (Zone F); Mr Smangaliso Mthimunye (Zone A); Mr Velile Bengu (Zone C); Mr Flip van der Walt (Zone E) and Ms Ockelene van Wyk (Zone I). In Zone H, I was voluntarily assisted by a member of the Civic Association at Olivenhoutbosch, Mr Robert Matshete, who served as a nodal point between me and the respondents.

Thank you too to Mr Jaksa Barbier from the Housing, City Planning and Environment Management department; City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, who opened his door to me when I knocked and requested the relevant official documentation, as well as the relevant contact people for the purposes of this study.

My thanks also to the then Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government and the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality for allowing me to use their policies and documentation during the research process.

I am also grateful to Ms Merriam Moetse who stood by me through thick and thin; Tshungu and Dorothy for their encouragement, support, and prayers. Thanks to Fredah and Lesego for helping with the binding of manuscripts. Thanks to Naniki Moeketsi, Annah Maepa and Selina Nepfumbada for assisting with the typing of the handwritten notes I gave to them, based on the responses from questionnaires, for completion of some sections of chapter 5. The help of various other people that I met during the period of study and whom I will not mention by name, because of running the risk of omitting someone, is gratefully acknowledged. Your words of encouragement sparked the urge to move until this dissertation was complete.

My beloved family members; Themba, my husband; Mpho, Amogelang and Sinovuyo my children, who constantly served as my pillar of strength and offered me unconditional love, flexibility and support during my years of study. Guys, I could not have done this without you. I am indebted to you in a manner I will never be able to repay. Many thanks. I hope this serves as a motivation for my children to follow in my footsteps.

To my parents, who never got the means to go to school themselves, but understood and had wisdom to encourage all their children to go to school, so as to learn and make something of themselves, I really am proud of you. I owe my courage and perseverance to you my mother, Josephine and father Alpheus, as you can obviously see that your words of wisdom really paid off.

Special thanks go to my supervisor at the University of South Africa, Professor Frik De Beer, who patiently guided my work during the whole period of study. Your support and patience triggered enormous energy that motivated me to complete this dissertation.

Thank you to Mr Jason Wildman of the Cartographic Publications, Geomatics department; City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, assisted by Ms Rina Dreyer, for compiling and issuing the maps for purposes of this study.

My language editor, Ms Alexa Barnby for willingly taking up the laborious task of editing this manuscript. Your efforts are highly appreciated and support immeasurable. My special thanks go to you.

Many thanks to the Lord Almighty, who gave me qualities such as determination, motivation and perseverance that, against all odds, served as vehicles in completing this dissertation.

ABSTRACT

The importance of developing the rural and urban areas in an integrated manner is a fact that can no longer be ignored by not only the proponents of the development planning approach, but by all the governments in the developing world. The long history of separate development has left scars on the planning system in South Africa, and this poses serious challenges to the new democratic state, particularly the local government sphere that has to ensure redress of the previous imbalances and inequalities. Through democratic local governance and active community participation in the development of rural and urban areas, some of the fruit of integrated development planning can be realised.

The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality case study shows that there is an interface between the rural and urban areas. The methodology employed enabled a more comprehensive analysis of the key areas where the rural and urban areas interface as well as the interventions that could foster the interaction between rural and urban areas. Although the development of rural and urban areas should be prioritised, developing the rural areas is perceived to be more urgent due to their history of underdevelopment during the apartheid era. Therefore development initiatives should be guided by the local context as well as the actual needs identified by communities.

Key terms: Tshwane Metropolitan area; Rural-urban interface; Integrated Development Planning; Apartheid policies; Community participation; Sectoral analysis; local context; development planning approach.

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MAP:

TSHWANE WARD REGIONS AND ZONES

ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

ABET :	Adult basic education and training
ANC :	African National Congress
CBO :	Community based organisations
CBPWP:	Community Based Public Works Programme
CBD :	Central business district
CMIP:	Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme
CTMM:	City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality
DC :	District Council
DFA :	Development Facilitation Act
DPLG :	Department of Provincial and Local Government (National Government)
ESTA :	Extension of Security of Tenure Act
EU :	European Union
GAD :	Gender and development
GALA :	Gauteng Association of Local Authorities
GDDPLG:	Gauteng Department of Development Planning and Local Government (Provincial Government)
GDLG :	Gauteng Department of Local Government
GAURUDS:	Gauteng Rural Development Strategy
GDP :	Gross domestic product
GEAR:	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme
PGP :	Gauteng Provincial Government
GSPD :	Gauteng Spatial Development Framework
IDP :	Integrated development plans
IDT :	Independent Development Trust
IFI :	International financial institutions
IGR :	Intergovernmental relations
IMF :	International Monetary Fund
ISRDS :	Integrated Strategic Rural Development Strategy
LDO :	Land development objectives
LED :	Local economic development

LFA :	Logical framework analysis
MEC :	Member of Executive Council
MINMEC:	Minister and Members of the Executive Councils
MNC:	Multinational corporations
MPCC:	Multi-purpose community centres
MSDF :	Tshwane Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework
MTEF:	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NEPAD:	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NFIGR	National Framework for Intergovernmental Relations in South Africa
NGO :	Non-governmental organisation
PGDP :	Provincial Growth and Development Plan
PWV :	Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging
RDF :	National Rural Development Framework
RDP :	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SADC :	Southern African Development Community
SALGA:	South African Local Government Association
SAP :	Structural adjustment programmes
SDF :	Spatial development framework
SDI :	Spatial development initiatives
SON :	State of the Nation Address
SMME:	Small medium and micro enterprise
SRAC :	Sport, Recreation, Arts and Culture
TA :	Tribal Authority
TNG :	Technicon Northern Gauteng
TRC :	Transitional Rural Council
URS :	Urban Renewal Strategy
USA :	United States of America
WED :	Women, Environment and Development
WSSD :	World Summit on Sustainable Development

CHAPTER 1

1.1. DESCRIPTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1.1. Introduction

The development process of rural and urban areas is intrinsically linked. The development initiatives at any level, that is, political, technological, social, physical, economic and infrastructural, have an impact on the lives of the people living in both the rural and urban areas. Therefore, integrated development and planning should inform initiatives that serve to benefit the rural and urban communities. The researcher needs to mention upfront that this dissertation adopts the development and planning perspective. Therefore, the theoretical chapters would interrogate issues pertaining to the development and planning of urban and rural areas, and the interface between the rural and urban areas, mainly within the developing and ‘Third World’ countries. The perspectives of the broader policy and legislative framework that guide development and planning within South Africa would also be presented. An investigation of the status of development and planning of the rural and urban areas, as well as the areas of intervention to promote the interface between these areas would specifically be conducted within the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM), based on the selected sectors.

In order to provide the reader with the historical and socio-economic context of the area, this chapter offers background information of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, which is used as a case study for purposes of this research. A motivation for research is outlined, alongside an analysis of the research problem, the scope of research, description of community, method of research and sampling process. The definitions of ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ and the ‘rural-urban interface’ are provided to lay a basis for the theoretical debate that still ensues on the concepts.

Gauteng is one of the nine provinces that came as a result of the amalgamation process of the previous administrative system of government that characterised the Public Service prior to 1994 in South Africa. Gauteng is comprised of a combination of rural and urban areas with a variety of settlement types. Similarly, the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is divided into nine zones comprising a total of 76 wards. These wards are categorised within the proposed land use zones, namely; the urban environment; suburban environment; peri-urban environment and the rural environment (see table 2.2).

1.1.2. Context of dissertation

Gauteng is a predominantly urban province and perhaps in line with this, the development of urban areas has always been seen as a priority, thereby channelling most resources to the urban areas, the flip side of which appeared as if less attention has been devoted to the development of rural areas (see 1.6.1.1). According to the South Africa (2001: 6), out of a total Gauteng population of 7 348 423, 97 percent (7 130 27 people) were urban dwellers, while 3 percent (218 14 people) were residing in the rural areas. The South Africa (2001: 6) indicates that 97.2 percent (8 590 798 people) are urban dwellers and 2.8 percent (246 380 people) live in the rural areas. This therefore implies that Gauteng Province has a total population of 8 837 178 people, out of a total South African population of 44 819 778. A comparative analysis of the 1996 and 2001 census figures reflects a 20.3 percent population growth in the Gauteng Province, which is the largest in all the provinces, as it is followed by KwaZulu-Natal with 12 percent (South Africa 2001: 6). It should be noted that although only 3 percent of the Gauteng Province is statistically classified as rural, the Gauteng DDPLG (1997/8: 1), indicates that about 30 percent of Gauteng's urbanised population still maintain regular links with the rural hinterland. It argues that a significant number of rural households rely on the Gauteng economy and a significant percentage of Gauteng's income from the urbanising population is tied into rural-urban networks.

For the purposes of this dissertation, a closer look into the governance system of the South African government is crucial. Section 40 (1) and (2) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (South Africa 1996b) provides that government is constituted in national, provincial and local spheres. Section 155 of South Africa (1996b) provides the three categories of municipalities: category A, B and C municipalities. According to South Africa (1996b), category A municipalities have exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in their area; category B municipalities share municipal executive and legislative authority in their area with a category C municipality in which area it falls. The category C municipalities have municipal executive and legislative authority in an area that includes more than one municipality. This simply means that category A is a metropolitan municipality, category B is a local municipality and category C is a district municipality (of which the local municipality is part). These municipalities fall within the local sphere of government.

According to Department of Provincial and Local Government (2003: 1), there is a total of 284 municipalities, consisting of 6 metropolitan municipalities, 47 district municipalities and 231 local municipalities. The country is divided into six metropolitan municipalities, and these are the City

of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality; City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Ethekwini Metropolitan Municipality, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality; and City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality. The Gauteng Province has three metropolitan municipalities, namely the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality; the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality; three district councils, namely the Sedibeng District Municipality, Metsweding District Municipality and the West Rand District Municipality; and nine local councils/municipalities. The latter comprise Emfuleni, Midvaal, Lesedi, Nokeng tsa Taemane, Kungwini, Mogale City, Randfontein, Westonaria, and Merafong City local municipalities. The research for the purposes of this dissertation will confine itself within the boundaries of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. However, cross-references to other municipalities/provinces and/or countries may be made as they add value to this dissertation.

1.1.3. The new planning framework in South Africa

The beginning of 1994, which marked the end of apartheid in South Africa, posed fundamental challenges for the planning environment. The new democratic dispensation changed the political environment on which planning was based and rendered traditional planning approaches and legislation inappropriate. According to the Gauteng Provincial Department of Development Planning and Local Government (GDDPLG 1996: 1), growing considerations for the development of the previously excluded South Africans, encapsulated in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP 1994), and presented radical challenges within the realm of planning in South Africa. Furthermore, major policy and political restructuring had been triggered in the country, and this was likely to permeate the work of government and the planning professions for many years to come. This discussion document distinguishes between “current paradigm (apartheid planning)” and the “paradigm shift (rapid change taking place)” (GDDPLG 1996: 1). During this paradigm shift, the traditional planning approach was challenged on a number of grounds, and many new planning approaches competed to become the new dominant trend. Furthermore, it is crucial to note that over and above the political changes experienced in South Africa, it is a “middle-income developing country which faces most of the typical development challenges confronted by other developing countries across the world such as poverty, land invasions, unemployment, poor environments, huge demands and minimal resources” (GDDPLG 1996: 2).

The country’s changed political environment, the new policy directions and re-entry into the global development arena, has meant that integrated development planning has become an

emerging trend that characterises the current paradigm shift (GDDPLG 1996: 2). In addition, the traditional “control oriented spatial planning focused on physical planning that prepared blueprint land plans which also determined zoning and township layout” (GDDPLG 1996: 2). Development planning is therefore described as “holistic planning looking at all ingredients required for development to take place, including physical issues, private sector and communities, financing, capacity, administration, socio-economic factors, political factors” (GDDPLG 1996: 2). In this instance, particular attention is paid to co-ordinating all sectoral inputs in the development process. “Integrated development planning implies having all aspects of a full and normal community present in every development i.e. clinics, schools, houses, jobs and amenities, and it requires improved co-ordination and alignment between government departments and spheres of government that are responsible for delivery of various services” (GDDPLG 1996: 2).

South Africa (1995), the Development Facilitation Act, Act no.67 of 1995 (DFA), introduced the new planning paradigm that encourages integrated development planning for the South African rural and urban areas. Both rural and urban development planning should be tailored within this framework, and be consistent with principles as stipulated in Chapter 1 of the DFA. This new way of planning begins to redress the differences and imbalances that characterise rural and urban areas created by the segregationist policies of the past. It has been established that budgets and plans for the development of urban areas have in the past been very large resulting in accelerated development of urban areas, while rural areas were allocated low budgets, resulting in them being under resourced with fewer efforts made towards their development. This situation has been compounded by the meagre salaries paid to councillors working in the rural areas which were less than half of those paid to their urban counterparts.

The DFA has also had an impact on the principles that guide development decisions in Gauteng. Gauteng local authorities were obliged to prepare land development objectives (LDOs) in accordance with the principles of the DFA. However, the Gauteng DDPLG (1998: viii) argues that the application of these principles to the rural areas has yet to be fully developed. In South Africa, the process of preparing LDOs marked a significant change in planning. It introduced the notion of involving communities in setting priorities, of preparing strategies for accomplishing them and of providing opportunities for many people to be heard within the planning process, contrary to the provisions of the previous planning system. This process has been carried forward through the integrated development planning process, and builds on the work already done in the preparation of the LDOs. The integrated development plans (IDPs) allow local government, in consultation with communities, to set priorities and prepare strategies for accomplishing them, and to plan the

means of integrating the activities of local and provincial government departments. “The IDP process will provide key opportunities for realising the objectives, and implementing the strategies set out in the rural development policy” (GDDPLG 1998: ix).

1.1.4. Policy and legislative framework

It is almost impossible to discuss the background to policies and laws in South Africa without making reference to the apartheid era. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 1) reminds us that the Group Areas Act, the key piece of apartheid legislation, instituted strict residential segregation and compulsory removal of black people to “own group areas”. This implies that apartheid was not the beginning of geographic, institutional and social separation at the local level, since segregation was already a policy by the time apartheid was introduced in 1948. The diverse challenges faced by local government outside the country’s metropolitan areas are discussed in Chapter 4.

The national Rural Development Strategy (1995) and the Urban Development Strategy (1995) were, amongst others, developed to address issues pertaining to rural and urban development. The Gauteng Provincial Department of Development Planning and Local Government (GDDPLG) initiated the process of developing the Gauteng rural and urban areas, which culminated in the development of the policy documents, the Green Paper on Rural Development for Gauteng (GDDPLG 1998), which is seen as the strategy document, and the White Paper on Urban Regeneration and Integration Plan for city, town and township centres (GDDPLG 1997a). Both policy documents were developed in terms of national policies.

The Gauteng DDPLG (1997a: 8-9) outlines the following ten strategies to develop the Gauteng cities, which are clustered into spatial, management and economic strategies. In terms of the spatial strategies, there are those meant for integration and densification; for improving maintenance; and for enhancing intra and inter-metropolitan accessibility and linkages. The management strategies include those that optimise legislative powers, that optimise law enforcement, that are meant for effective organisation, that target effective planning, and that are meant for participation. Economic strategies include those meant for alleviating poverty, providing incentives and stabilising tenure.

The GDDPLG (1998: 36-40) suggests seven immediate strategies to put rural development into practice. These include creating policy instruments to manage the urban/rural interface; focusing

resources in development nodes; revitalising small towns; establishing parameters for developing urban and peri-urban agriculture; promoting ecotourism; providing information to rural stakeholders; and building capacity in rural local government. This rural development strategy has been crafted to also provide a framework for the formulation of integrated development plans for the rural areas, and for the realisation of the development and service needs in the rural land development objectives.

The Green Paper on Rural Development for Gauteng (GDDPLG 1998: v) on the one hand comprehensively addresses rural development and suggests strategies to put this into practice. The development of this policy document has been seen as an indulgence on the part of policymakers. Policymakers should, amongst other things, realise the importance of facilitating rural-urban linkages and provide a basis for managing the rural-urban interface, as well as foster cooperation among the three spheres of government by identifying key areas for intervention. On the other hand, the White Paper on Urban Regeneration and Integration Plan for City, Town and Township Centres (GDDPLG 1997a: 10) addresses the decline, underdevelopment and change being experienced in the Gauteng cities, towns and townships. Furthermore, it demonstrates the commitment of the Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) and local government structures to championing the reconstruction and development of these centres. The major objective of this paper is to “facilitate common dialogue about the centres, direct spending targeted for urban centres, co-ordinate planning for centres at the local level, and catalyse regeneration within the centres of Gauteng” (GDDPLG 1997a: 2-3). However, it should be noted that this paper was seen as the building block, alongside a series of other legislative and policy frameworks, such as the Gauteng Growth and Development Framework (GDDPLG 1997/8), the Gauteng Planning and Development Planning Bill (GDDPLG 2002), Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (1999) and the Land Development Objectives Regulations (GDDPLG 1996), towards the development of a broader and more encompassing development strategy for Gauteng.

It should be noted that the development of these policy documents and regulations happened at different times and by different stakeholders and, owing to the perceived urban primacy, the rural development strategy for Gauteng lagged behind. This resulted in the Urban Regeneration and Integration plan for city, town and township centres being at the White Paper stage, while the Green Paper on Rural Development for Gauteng held the Green Paper status. The disjuncture between these two documents seems to have resulted in gaps, left by the lack of communication, collaboration and alignment during the conceptualisation, planning and development of these two policy documents.

1.1.5. Concepts of rural-urban planning and interface

The definitions below have been selected for the purpose of this research, however, the researcher admits that there are others that are equally valid that are being used by different authors.

Rural development is referred to as a process required to preserve the viability of the rural economy, to identify ways of enhancing the contribution of the rural areas to gross domestic product (GDP) and job creation through the development of tourism and agriculture, to facilitate positive urban/rural linkages and provide a basis for managing the urban/rural interface (GDDPLG 1998: v).

Land development refers to any procedure aimed at changing the use of land for the purpose of using the land mainly for residents, industry, business, small-scale farming, community or similar purposes (South Africa 1995: 3).

Integrated development planning implies having all aspects of a full and normal community present in every development i.e. clinics, schools, houses, jobs and amenities, and it requires improved coordination and alignment between the government departments and spheres of government that are responsible for delivery of various services (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 2).

Integrated development planning denotes a process by which future development is achieved in an orderly, sensible and manageable manner, and in which the necessary financial resources for such development are allocated in a disciplined and responsible manner (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 2).

Rural-urban interface may be divided into two categories, which are *linkages across space*, (such as flows of people, goods, money and information and waste); and *sectoral interactions*, which include “rural” activities taking place in urban areas (such as urban agriculture) or activities often classified as “urban” (such as manufacturing and services) taking place in rural areas (Tacoli 1998:3).

Community participation refers to the involvement of communities in the development of some municipal key performance indicators and in the identification of their land development needs to

increase the accountability of the municipality (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 31).

Urban core is the “the formal city and town, including the former white municipal and former townships areas, characterised by high population density, with generally over 10 dwelling units per hectare and high levels of economic activity and consequently higher land values” (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13).

Linkages (between urban and rural settlements) implies that urban areas are usually linked to the surrounding rural areas in ways that create interdependencies between urban and rural wellbeing. For example, rural businesses may use the urban centre as a place to market their goods and sell their produce, while the business in urban centres may benefit from the consumer power of rural residents (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 157).

Urban fringe is the “various settlement conditions which exist within the boundaries of municipalities, but outside the urban core. These include low-income settlements on the outer edges of towns and cities, many of which display middle order densities and large service backlogs. It also includes high-income low-density settlements, particularly on the peripheries of metropolitan areas” (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13).

Small towns: “Most of these have intermediate density levels and the characteristic apartheid urban form – a former white area with intermediate to high service levels, and former black areas with more limited access to services. Small towns vary greatly, but most are economically and socially linked to surrounding rural hinterlands” (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13).

Compact development: A distinction can be made between integrated development planning and the concept of compact development. According to GDDPLG (1997a: 56), compact development refers to “maximising the use of existing resources, bringing houses closer to jobs, mixed land use, densification and integration of services and facilities”. The GDDPLG (1997a: 56) argues that compacting around every urban centre, of whatever type, will not promote integration and could cause further fragmentation of the system. Furthermore the integrated plans that target areas for compaction that are both efficient within themselves and which serve to connect and integrate the urban system, can be developed as a framework for promoting compact development.

1.1.6. Defining rural and urban

The definition of rural and urban in the South African literature has varied from one author to the next, depending on the context of the particular period. This dissertation identifies various definitions of the terms “rural” and “urban”. Moore (1984: 6) states that we do not need to investigate the tautologies of the dictionary definitions to realise that the terms “rural” and “urban” have a wide variety of implicit and overlapping references. He asserts that these terms relate to one or more of the following sets of differences: “ecology or landscape; size and density of human population; patterns of economic activity especially where rural is equated with agriculture and urban with non-agriculture; economic functions in the geographer’s sense (central places and all that), and characteristic patterns of human interaction” (Moore 1984: 6). The GDDPLG (1997b: 4) indicates that most of the rural areas of Gauteng are characterised by small populations, lack of organisation, lack of access to resources, poorly developed infrastructure, and relative long distances between the area and other areas, resulting in relative isolation and long travelling times.

Tacoli (1998: 4) states that the division between urban and rural policies is based on the assumption that the physical distinction between the two areas is self-explanatory and uncontroversial. She identifies three problems in this regard. First, the demographic and economic criteria used to define what is “urban” and what is “rural”, which can vary widely between nations, making generalisations problematic. The second problem is that of the rural boundaries because certain sub-urban developments and other types of land use coexist in areas with a radius as large as 100km, where the high mobility of the population includes circular migration and commuting. The third problem identified is in the definition of the boundaries between “rural” and “urban” areas, because urban residents and enterprises depend on an area significantly larger than the built-up area for basic resources and ecological functions (Tacoli 1998: 5). This implies that the larger industrial city will have a bigger industrial base, and its consumers will draw on such resources and ecological functions from beyond its surrounding region.

The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 12) states that there is no simple categorisation of settlement types and the definition of “urban” and “rural” is hotly debated. However, it describes the urban core as the formal city and town, including the former white municipal and former township areas. What characterises these areas is the high population density with generally over 10 dwelling units per hectare. It further describes small towns as having “intermediate density levels and the characteristic apartheid urban form – a former white area with intermediate to high service levels, and former black areas with more limited access to

services. Small towns vary greatly, but most are economically and socially linked to surrounding rural hinterlands” (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13). According to the GDDPLG (1997b: 4) one possible differentiator between urban and rural is the lack of built-up areas in rural areas. Although generally built-up areas are characteristic of urban areas there is also some built-up area in rural areas. This is the case especially in a highly urbanised province like Gauteng.

According to the Municipal Structures Act, Act no. 117 of 1998, South African urban places demonstrate patterns that can be described as the consequence of apartheid. The most significant feature of these patterns is persistent racial segregation. Decades of segregation and apartheid have undoubtedly produced distinct South African urban geographies. The same issues that have been identified in the literature can be identified in South Africa. The key question is whether or not a reasonably consistent distinction can be made between a set of the larger (metropolitan) urban areas, and the set of other (secondary) cities, in terms of density, employment location, employment structure, movement and land markets. In line with this view, the following questions are asked: Is there a clear distinction between the larger and the smaller sets of cities? Does the urban hierarchy reflect a continuum on which it is difficult to insert a break or is there a reasonably clear “step” in the hierarchy that separates the truly “metropolitan” areas from the next set of essentially secondary places? This dissertation does not attempt to answer these questions, but does reflect the characteristics of rural and urban areas in detail in Chapter 3.

1.1.7. The rural-urban interface

According to Baker and Pedersen (1992: 12), by the 1980s, the “myopic focus on rural development lost its appeal” as the anticipated results and objectives were not realised. They argue that the emphasis shifted, and is still shifting towards a concern with the interdependence and symbiosis of the rural and urban. This led to the explicit rejection of the earlier compartmentalisation of rural and urban into separate and distinct areas of investigation and intervention.

The rural-urban interface can be divided into two categories, which are, *linkages across space*, (such as flows of people, goods, money and information and waste); and *sectoral interactions*, which include “rural” activities taking place in urban areas (such as urban agriculture) or activities often classified as “urban” (such as manufacturing and services) taking place in rural areas (Tacoli 1998: 3). Furthermore, the rural-urban linkages are influenced and often intensified by macro level

changes that include structural adjustment and economic reform, which affect both rural and urban populations. She stresses that job insecurity and general increases in prices in the urban areas make it increasingly difficult for urban dwellers to support their relatives in the rural areas from which they originate. This argument supports the view that rural-urban linkages vary according to local historical, socio-cultural and ecological factors. It concludes that the spatial development policies that have attempted to integrate rural and urban dimensions have failed because they were based on inaccurate generalisations about the relationship between the two (Tacoli 1998: 3).

A historical categorisation in terms of apartheid practices classifies settlement types according to the following four schemes: firstly, proclaimed urban areas and peri-urban settlements within metropolitan boundaries; secondly, other proclaimed urban areas and adjacent peri-urban areas; thirdly, dense settlements; and fourthly, rural areas (Simkins 1990: 7). He states that classifying the white, coloured asian, and the black population outside the homelands, according to this scheme presents no difficulties. However, when it comes to the black population inside the homelands there are considerable difficulties in applying the scheme in practice. The classification is such that all those settlements where households have the possibility of access to agricultural land and where a significant portion of them depends on it are considered rural. Dense settlements and peri-urban areas are then differentiated according to their location, but if they happen to fall within the metropolitan region adjacent to a proclaimed urban area, they then fall into the urban category. In some regions it is likely that those rural areas will shade into dense settlements and peri-urban areas in a distinct fashion, and this is normally the case where homelands extend close to cities, for example Pretoria, Durban and East London (Simkins 1990: 7).

Evidence has shown that rural-urban linkages may be extremely fluid and unstable. Little (1992: 85) explored the importance of climatic seasonality in shaping economic and social linkages between rural populations and small towns in Southern Somalia. He notices that marked seasonal changes in rainfall and productivity in the region result in considerable movements of livestock and people. It is said that under such conditions certain settlements “close down” on a seasonal basis and the role of towns as markets and suppliers of inputs to rural populations change dramatically during the year. “Certain urban based businesses and traders actually move out seasonally into range areas to pursue pastoral customers. The effect of these processes is that rural-urban linkages tend to be extremely fluid and unstable” (Little 1992: 21).

According to the Proclamation (1999) issued by Minister of Provincial and Local Government, on the declaration of metropolitan areas under section 5 read with section 4 of the Local Government:

Municipal Structures Act, no 117, 1998, every part of an urban area has social and economic linkages with all other parts of the urban complex, and there is no doubt that there is great variety in the strength of these linkages.

In order to examine the meaning of ‘interdependence’, some of the criteria given in section 25 on the Demarcation Act for the determination of metropolitan boundaries are informative. These include the following: the interdependence of people, communities and economies as indicated by (i) existing and expected patterns of human settlement and migration; (ii) employment; (iii) commuting and dominant transport movement; (iv) spending; (v) the use of amenities, recreational facilities and infrastructure; (vi) commercial and industrial linkages (Proclamation on the Declaration of Metropolitan Areas 1999: 5).

The views expressed above already indicate the complex nature of the rural-urban linkages. This research acknowledges that there is no single correct route, but interrelated approaches may assist in the exploration of this area. This dissertation will explore the concept of the rural-urban interface in detail in Chapter 2.

1.2. REASONS FOR SELECTING THIS PROBLEM

In line with the aforesaid, this dissertation admits that an investigation into the development and planning status of the rural and urban areas, and areas that would foster interaction between these areas as well as the specific interventions is challenged by the fact that the definition of rural and urban areas is still hotly debated. However, the South African context would be used to adopt a description that reflects the historical background with its segregationist and apartheid policies, which had an impact on the development of both the rural and urban areas. Though international literature on the definition of both areas would be considered, it would not be imported into the South African context owing to the peculiar history of this country.

The South African apartheid system has left its imprint on South Africa’s human settlements and municipal institutions. The authorities are thus faced with a mammoth task of transforming government as a whole, as well as defining a new system and role for local government, to enable this sphere to be prepared and ready for the implementation of the new policies and laws of the country. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 1) recognises that transformation requires an understanding of the historical role of local government in creating and perpetuating

local separation and inequity, and the impact of apartheid on municipal institutions. Empirical evidence supports this view because in South Africa blacks were segregated to the rural areas and other areas such as homelands and the so-called black spots. These areas lacked resources, facilities and services and were therefore unsustainable. With the advent of the new democratic state, the transformation of these areas became inevitable. Policies and plans have been put in place to develop the urban and rural areas with the involvement of community members through the integrated development planning process. The rural communities are also afforded an opportunity to indicate their needs to assist with targeted development and sustainability of their areas. The statistical data presented above indicate that a large proportion of Gauteng's population lives in the urban areas and about 3 percent occupies the rural areas. This population, however small, requires development, and resources need to be channelled towards the sustainable development of the Gauteng rural areas.

This dissertation acknowledges that development needs to happen in an integrated fashion, with policies, plans and resources within and outside of government supporting such development initiatives. There is an interaction between urban and rural areas at different levels, and this includes, amongst other things, socially, economically, backwards and forward migration and commuting, agricultural products, goods and services. This research also acknowledges that people residing in the urban areas still maintains links with the rural areas and vice versa, resulting in cross-pollination between the two areas.

In the State of the Nation Address (SON) (2001: 9), the State President of the Republic of South Africa, emphasised the importance of the development of the rural areas through the launching of the Integrated Strategic Rural Development Programme in June the previous year, alongside the Urban Renewal Programme, and made them key priorities for Cabinet. All government departments are urged to take collective responsibility for the implementation of the strategies. This makes the topic for this dissertation politically relevant as well. It is against this background that this dissertation endeavours to investigate significant key intervention areas that could create a constructive relationship between the Gauteng rural and urban areas. It does not intend closing all the gaps left open by the existing policies and laws, as outlined above, owing to the complexities surrounding the interaction between rural and urban areas, but adds to the ongoing debate on the integrated development of rural and urban areas.

1.3. ASSUMPTIONS

In view of the aforesaid, it is important to highlight some of the key assumptions as this research is undertaken within the Gauteng Province. These include the following:

- 1.3.1. Historically, the Gauteng rural areas did not receive adequate resources for purposes of development, and thus are underdeveloped.
- 1.3.2. There has been an urban bias in the Gauteng Province.
- 1.3.3. There is a need for this type of research that begins to investigate the assertion that there is unequal development of the rural and urban areas and identify elements and interventions that could foster interaction between the rural and urban areas in the Tshwane Metropolitan area.
- 1.3.4. Conducting a survey through questionnaires will elicit the perceptions of respondents on the status of development of their respective rural and urban areas and indicate whether there is actually an interface between the two areas or not.
- 1.3.5. The nature of cross-pollination between the Tshwane Metropolitan area's rural and urban areas and attitudes/perceptions of people towards development in the rural and urban areas may be depicted.
- 1.3.6. The results of this dissertation may trigger further research into policy instruments and other types of interventions that could foster interaction between the rural and urban areas in the Tshwane Metropolitan area
- 1.3.7. There may be existing attempts by the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality to establish integrated rural-urban development.

1.4. RESEARCH PROBLEM/ PROBLEM STATEMENT

There are initiatives in South Africa to channel efforts towards the development of rural areas in particular, owing to, amongst other things, their historical background. This has been indicated through the development of policies, laws, programmes and plans since 1994. However, implementation of these policies, programmes and plans at the local level of government has been very slow. This has partly led to the initiative of transforming local government as well as developing mechanisms to address the challenges related to lack of coordinated efforts faced by the South African rural areas. Alongside this challenge, the local government also experiences inadequate capacity (staff) to implement policies at the local level, and in some cases, lack of funds to implement policies. Furthermore, though building the capacity of the local authorities is

underway, the ability to transform policies/strategies into implementable plans has been generally lacking amongst the local authorities. This sentiment has been echoed in various forums and has challenged government to make concerted efforts to ensure that the local authorities are properly trained to be enabled to carry out responsibilities and tasks efficiently and effectively. It should be mentioned that although this initiative may contribute to efficient delivery of services, there is a range of issues that need to be addressed to ensure visible movement towards integrated development and planning within South Africa. The implementation of the transformation agenda for the local government sphere; devolution of powers and functions; implementation of policies, programmes and plans; collaboration with partners inside and outside of government; sustainable development and integrated planning; aligning plans to budgets in line with the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) cycles; constant monitoring, evaluation and review of policies and plans; and accountability to the public and parliamentary structures, are amongst some of the major responsibilities that confront government at large.

The development of rural and urban areas has been perceived as two poles on the continuum without much consideration of the key areas of intervention that could foster the interaction between them. Though policies do cross-refer to the development of rural and urban areas, the policy instruments to manage the key areas where they interface in practice are still lacking. An investigation of the key areas that could begin to foster a constructive and complementary relationship between the Gauteng rural and urban areas may be a positive step towards boosting rural development. In this regard, the researcher cannot agree more with the perspective provided in the Green Paper on Rural Development for Gauteng (GDDPLG 1998: 36), which identifies the “creation of policy instruments to manage the rural-urban interface” as one critical strategy that should be researched, explored further and discussed, resulting in the identification and implementation of pilot projects, to put this strategy into practice. The GDDPLG (1998: 36) clarifies that the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework should, amongst others, integrate principles for decision making concerning development at the urban-rural interface, rather than suggested urban boundaries that would not be implementable. It further suggests that the Gauteng Department of Local Government should develop a policy statement that indicates the need for the management of development at the urban/rural interface, including the management of urban sprawl. The latter is perceived as a severe threat to rural development strategies and programmes, as they may be seriously undercut if the expansion of urban land uses continues (GDDPLG 1998: 36).

Chapter 1 section 3(1) of South Africa (1995) gives the premier of the province powers to extend

(prescribe in greater detail) the existing principles, proclaim new principles not inconsistent with existing ones, and publish for general information provincial policy which, if direct reference is made to the DFA, must be referred to in all land development decision making (as set out in section 2 of the Act). One approach that has been suggested in the Green Paper on Rural Development for Gauteng (GDDPLG 1998) with regards to the application of these powers to the management of the rural-urban interface is that specific implementation proposals of the Chapter 1 principles that are relevant to the management of the rural-urban interface for all land development decisions should be prepared. The main reason is that the existing principles concerning urban sprawl, compact urban development and the integration of rural and urban development are broad and relatively vague as they stand in the Act (GDDPLG 1998: 37). Therefore customisation to relevant contexts would make them much clearer and implementable. However, little research has been conducted to establish the key areas that may foster this type of interaction between the rural and urban areas in such a way that they coexist, particularly within the Gauteng Province.

In summary, the situation analysed above can be captured in the following problem statement:

There is a lack of research-based knowledge on areas of intervention to facilitate the interaction between the Gauteng rural and urban areas, as well as the lack of policy instruments to manage the rural-urban interface.

1.5. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE DISSERTATION

In line with the above stated problem, this dissertation has a dual focus. Firstly, to investigate the status of development and planning in the rural and urban areas and the interaction between the two areas. Secondly to identify areas of intervention that could foster the interaction between the rural and urban areas, and identify policy instruments to manage the rural-urban interface within the Tshwane Metropolitan area.

The aim of this dissertation can be summarised as follows:

To conduct an investigation into the development and planning status and interaction between the rural and urban areas, and identify areas of intervention to promote rural-urban interface in Gauteng using the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality as a case study.

In order to address the aim of this dissertation, the following objectives will be pursued for the area under investigation:

- 1.5.1. To explore various theoretical perspectives on the rural-urban interface, in the context of development planning theory
- 1.5.2. To discuss the characteristics, trends and challenges of rural and urban development in South Africa
- 1.5.3. To present the various policy perspectives of the broader legislative and policy framework that guides development and planning in South Africa
- 1.5.4. To reflect both ward and community members' perceptions on the status of development and planning and identify areas of interface between their respective rural and urban areas based on various sectors
- 1.5.5. To reflect the current and planned attempts towards integrated rural-urban development within the Tshwane Metropolitan area

1.6. ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

1.6.1. Problem analysis: Logical Framework Analysis (LFA)

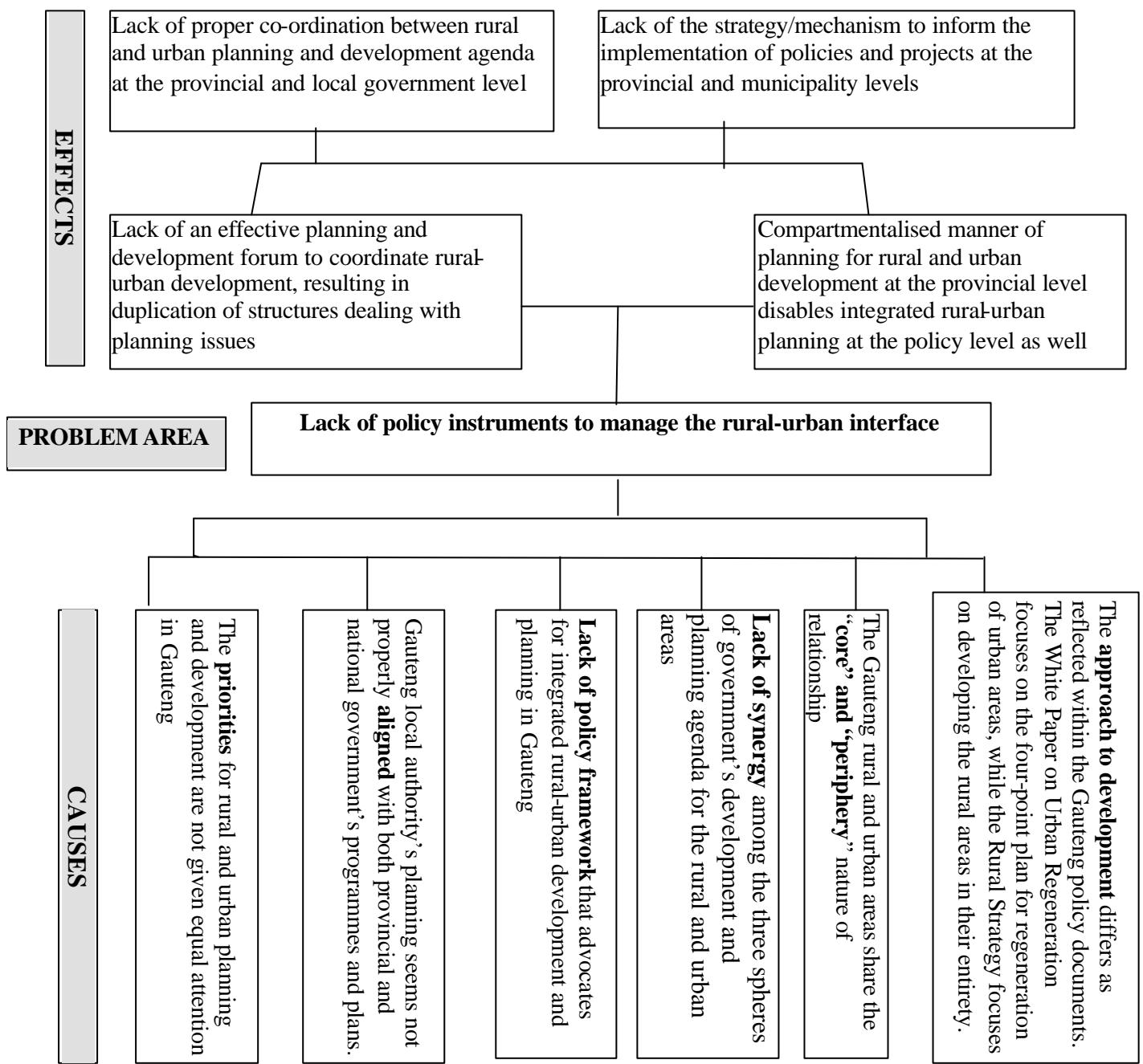
According to Mikkelsen (1995: 43) engaging in a process-oriented planning model with “bottom up” approach using participatory methods that include workshops, data collection and analysis, problem analysis, preparation of recommendations and plans, is recognised as a new planning model that both researchers and planners need to adopt. “Logical Framework Analysis is a set of interlocking concepts which must be used together in a dynamic fashion to permit the elaboration of a well defined, objectively described, and valuable project” (Gosling & Edwards 1995: 178). The International Service for National Agricultural Research, quoted by Neil Price, parenthesis added by Gosling and Edwards (1995), defines the Logical Framework as a tool that provides a structure for specifying the components of a project and the logical linkages between a set of means and ends. Mikkelsen (1995: 43) argues that the Logical Framework Analysis (LFA) does not necessarily contradict the people-oriented principles and the interactive study approaches (i.e. participatory planning and anthropological approaches), but rather presents a different aim of planning according to well-defined objectives. However, the latter LFA principle should not be applied strictly as it may block the flexibility of the process, hence the necessity of involving representatives of all stakeholders in a project (Mikkelsen 1995: 43).

It has already been mentioned in 1.5 above that this dissertation has a dual focus. The initial focus, the investigation into the development and planning status and interaction between the rural and urban areas, has been researched through a survey (questionnaire) through participants in the Tshwane Metropolitan Area. The second part, the identification of areas of intervention that could foster the interaction between the rural and urban areas, including the policy instruments to manage the interface within the Tshwane Metropolitan area, was on the one hand, informed by the literature review in the documents obtained from the CTMM. On the other hand, some policy instruments were identified and analysed with the stakeholders during one of the workshops held during the development of the Gauteng Rural Development Strategy (GAURUDS) (GDDPLG 1997b), using the LFA. The deliberations during the workshops were at a policy level and inputs made served to beef up the Gauteng Rural Development Strategy, which was in the process of development. This analysis assisted in identifying the cause-effect relationship that exists between variables raised.

The sketches below were designed by the researcher for purposes of this dissertation.

Figure 1.1: Problem analysis

1.6.1.1. Problem analysis (cause-effect relationship)



Source: LFA compiled by TA Manganyi, GDDPLG, 1997

This LFA was compiled by the researcher after one of the workshops held to analyse the status quo with regards to the development of rural (and urban) areas. The discussions focused on, amongst other things, the policy and legislative framework, institutional mechanisms, system of and approach to development and planning within the province, and the interrelationships/interface between the rural and urban areas within the Gauteng province. In 1997, the researcher was in the employ of the Department of Development Planning and Local Government, as a member of the Policy Development and Implementation (PDI) team, which was responsible for developing the Gauteng Rural Development Strategy (GAURUDS) (GDDPLG 1997b), the same team that later developed the Green Paper on Rural Development for Gauteng (GDDPLG 1998). Several workshops were organised for various stakeholders to gather inputs for the GAURUDS. The researcher took notes during the workshops for purposes of developing GAURUDS, and together with the other team members, developed the Strategy. The active involvement by the researcher in the conceptualisation and development of the GAURUDS; the urban regeneration paper, (though minimally) as well as the deliberations in the work sessions, enabled the PDI team to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the status quo with regards to urban and rural development within the Gauteng province.

The researcher identified a topic for research purposes beyond the development of the GAURUDS. The topic was the “Rural-urban interface in Gauteng”. The interest was generated mainly by the gap the researcher identified between the development of rural and urban areas in Gauteng, especially with regards to a policy framework to inform the development of rural areas in particular; the sizes of the Gauteng rural and urban areas; an assessment of documents depicting the financial and human resources allocated to both areas, observations made by the researcher during the PDI team visits to both the rural and urban areas; an assessment by the researcher during the actual field visits of the gap between the urban rich versus the rural rich and the urban poor versus the rural poor; as well as the longer distance between the houses in the rural areas, as opposed to those in the urban areas. The researcher drafted a conceptual document entitled “The Rural-Urban Interface in the Gauteng province”. The main objective was to present an analysis of the current situation and identify those areas that could be used to make the Gauteng rural and urban areas interact in a complementary manner. The researcher organised a meeting and presented the conceptual paper to members of both the rural and urban teams. Input was gathered and used to rework the initial draft. One of the workshops organised for the development of GAURUDS was used to develop this paper further as well. The causes and effects of the status quo within the rural areas were analysed through the LFA, and the main challenge identified by the researcher, and also seen by participants/stakeholders, was the state of underdevelopment in

the rural areas and the observed interaction between the rural and urban areas, as well as the lack of policy/policy instruments to manage the relationship between the rural and urban areas. The latter was seen as the main contributory factor to the “unequal” development of these areas. The analysis is presented below.

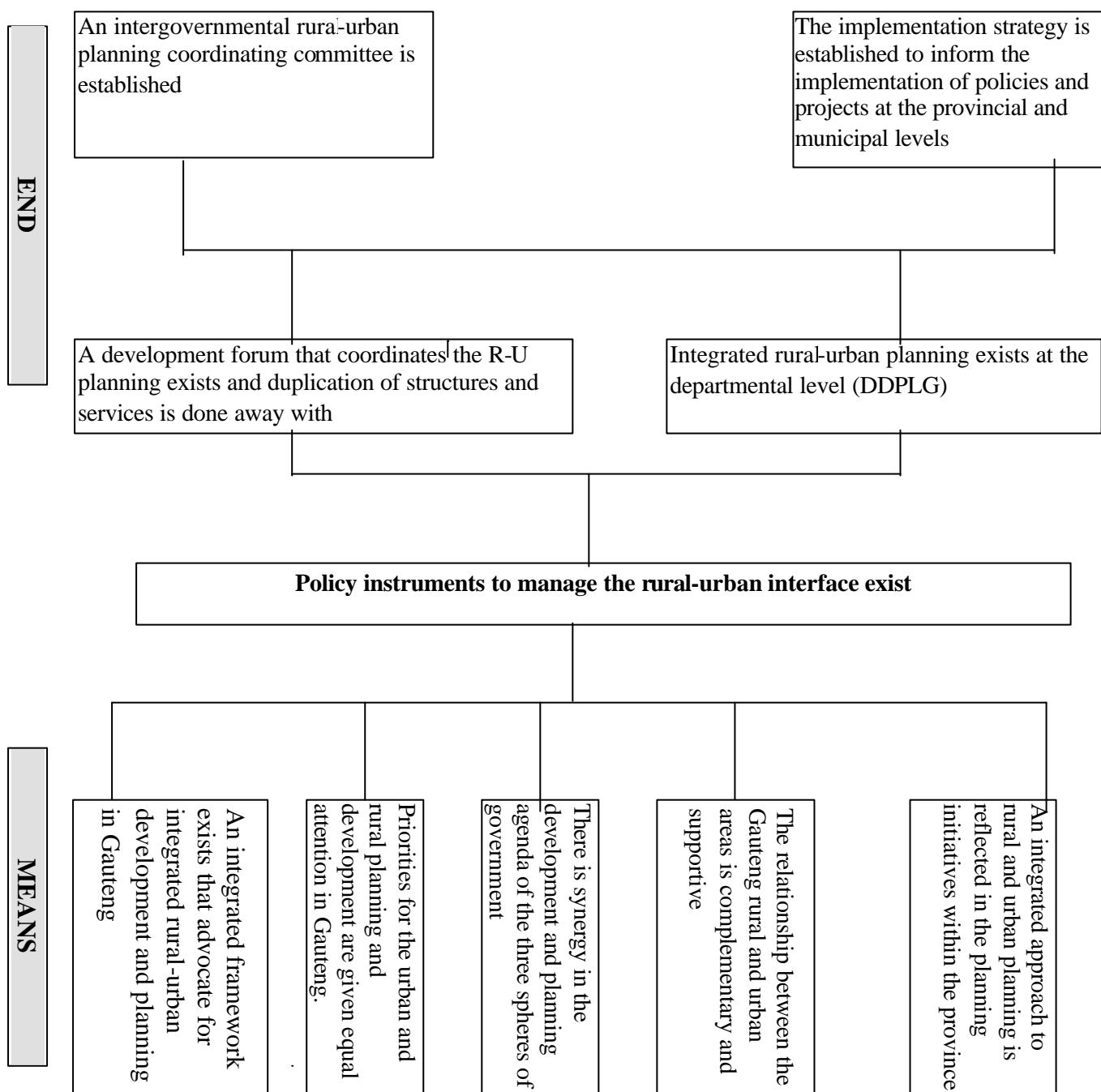
There is *lack of synergy among the three spheres of government’s development and planning agenda for the rural and urban areas*. There are initiatives for the development of rural and urban areas based on the needs and nature of each area; however, the planning system should ensure streamlining and cascading of the broader national government’s agenda to the provincial and local spheres as well. This would enable the spheres of government to work in support of each other in the quest to develop the rural and urban areas. Alongside this, is the assertion that the *Gauteng local authority’s planning does not seem to be properly aligned to both provincial and national government’s programmes and plans*. This is the perception of the people at the local level, although it is acknowledged that the challenge may actually be at the level of implementation of these plans and programmes. A general concern raised during the workshop was that though priorities, plans and programmes are in place, *implementation of plans for urban areas seem to be given priority over those of the rural areas, therefore they are not accorded equal status and attention*. This results in the development of rural areas lagging far behind that of their urban counterparts.

The lack of policy framework that advocates for integrated rural-urban development and planning in Gauteng is regarded as the matter that seem to be stifling integrated planning at the provincial level leading to fragmented initiatives at the local level. This affects the approach to the development of rural and urban areas in Gauteng. There is evidence in the Gauteng policy documents owing to the fact that the White Paper on Urban Regeneration focuses on the four-point plan for regeneration of urban areas, while the Green Paper on Rural Development for Gauteng focuses on developing the rural areas in their entirety. *There seems to be no cross-pollination of plans between the two policy documents or indications of how they can begin to foster the complementary relationship between the Gauteng rural and urban areas*. This type of approach gives the impression that the Gauteng rural and urban areas share the “core” and “periphery” nature of relationship. The participants feel that because of the small size of the rural areas, they seem to be neglected while much development is happening in the urban areas. Therefore, the priorities for rural and urban planning and development appear not to be accorded equal attention by the local authorities in Gauteng.

The compartmentalised manner of planning for rural and urban development within the Gauteng Province serves as an impediment to integrated rural-urban planning at the policy level. The lack of proper coordination between rural and urban planning and development agenda at the provincial and local government level brings about lack of synergy resulting in uncoordinated planning and development initiatives. *The lack of strategy to inform the implementation of policies and projects at the provincial and municipality level* creates difficulties in the proper allocation and utilisation of resources. This is closely linked to the *lack of an effective planning and development forum to coordinate rural-urban development*, resulting in duplication of structures dealing with planning issues. The institutional mechanisms, such as the Planning Forum, need to be strengthened to assist with the coordination of rural and urban planning and development to avoid duplication of structures and services and wastage of scarce resources. The challenge for the Gauteng Department of Local Government (GDLG) is to ensure that *planning for rural and urban development is integrated at the policy level to enable proper implementation at the local level*. This may amongst other things, also assist in the identification of policy instruments to manage the rural-urban interface within the province. These challenges raised by the stakeholders are amongst those investigated further in this dissertation in line with the focus of each chapter and their relevance to it.

Figure 1.2: Objectives Analysis

1.6.1.2. Objectives Analysis (means-end relationship)



Source: LFA compiled by T.A. Manganyi, GDDPLG, 1997

An analysis of the objectives indicates that *the existence of a policy framework that advocates for integrated rural-urban development and planning* is crucial. The development and implementation of an integrated rural-urban development policy framework would inform planning for rural and urban development at the provincial and local levels of government and assist the local authorities in fostering a complementary relationship between the urban and rural areas. The proper

implementation of the policy framework within the Gauteng province would influence and encourage the integrated approach to rural and urban planning initiatives.

A system of planning that allows synergy in the development and planning agenda of the three spheres of government should be implemented, as it would streamline programmes and plans and avoid duplication of services. This would enable the prioritisation of urban and rural plans and programmes in an equitable manner. The integrated development planning process is regarded as a proper mechanism for use by officials to address this situation in Gauteng province. However, *the IDPs should be complemented by the development of an implementation strategy that is customised to suit the situation at the local level to enable proper implementation of projects and plans*. The involvement of key stakeholders in the development of an implementation strategy would foster ownership of the processes and this would facilitate the implementation of policies, plans and projects by the local authorities.

The establishment of an intergovernmental planning committee/forum should assist in coordinating issues of integrated rural-urban planning at the provincial and local government levels. The national Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) should chair the sessions and provide the government's strategic direction, while the provincial DLG should facilitate planning and development in line with government's agenda and ensure effective implementation of decisions taken within the local sphere of government. The DLG should also ensure that provincial planning initiatives for rural and urban development take place in an integrated manner. The main aim of the committee/forum should be to ensure proper consultation and synergy among initiatives emanating from all spheres of government and to cascade national plans and programmes to the local sphere of government for proper implementation. The role of local government should be to develop plans and programmes in line with the provincial and national priorities and participate as a crucial stakeholder in the development of these priorities.

1.7. SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

1.7.1. Sectoral and spatial analysis

According to Department of Provincial and Local Government 2003a: 1), there is a total of 284 municipalities, 6 metropolitan municipalities, 47 district municipalities and 231 local municipalities in the country, with a total of 3754 wards.

The Gauteng province has a total of fifteen municipalities, comprising three metropolitan councils, three district councils and nine local councils. Based on this, it would be a daunting and unmanageable task to conduct this research within all municipalities given the time constraints associated with the completion of the study; thus the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality was selected as a case for purposes of this study.

This dissertation aligns itself with the notion that one case study is not sufficient to draw reliable and conclusive evidence with which to address the research problem in full. In this regard, more case studies should be conducted within the Gauteng province to unearth key elements and interventions that may foster the interaction between rural and urban areas, particularly in view of its nature in being predominantly urban. However, this dissertation may be seen as one in a series of research approaches to be further refined by other researchers in the efforts to contribute to the concept of integrated rural-urban development.

This dissertation focuses on an investigation and an analysis of people's perceptions of the key intervention areas within and across the borders of the Tshwane Metropolitan area's rural and urban areas; and this would particularly be carried out within the following sectors:

- ❖ social
- ❖ physical
- ❖ spatial
- ❖ economic
- ❖ infrastructure; and the
- ❖ governance and institutional factors

The scope has also covered the following areas:

- ❖ rural-urban /urban –rural migration and commuter patterns
- ❖ rural-urban/urban –rural interface in the selected zones

The results of the research based on the above categories are presented in Chapters 5 and 6 of this dissertation.

1.7.2. Description of community, geographical borders and statistical sampling

The research was conducted within the borders of the Gauteng province, specifically within the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM). The community profile of the CTMM was assessed and the research investigated the geographical and functional types, and a combination of the community types available within the selected zones. The cross-border migration issues were also incorporated.

Statistics of people living within both the rural and urban parameters of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan area, as well as the demographic information such as the total number of people residing in each zone, were researched and presented accordingly.

1.8. TERMINOLOGY

1.8.1. Terminology

Metropolitan areas: are large urban settlements with high population densities, complex and diversified economies, and a high degree of functional integration across a larger geographic area than the normal jurisdiction of a municipality. Metropolitan governments are governments whose area of jurisdiction covers the whole metropolitan area (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 58).

Development Facilitation Act (DFA): the piece of legislation that “introduces extraordinary measures to facilitate and speed up the implementation of reconstruction and development programmes and projects in relation to land; and in so doing to lay down general principles governing land development throughout the Republic of South Africa” (South Africa 1995).

Land Development Objectives: required by chapter four of the DFA, should be developed by every local authority. They are a collection of local planning outputs as development frameworks, strategies and projects (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 3).

Integrated Development Plans: a process through which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short, medium and long-term and they are seen as frameworks to assist municipalities fulfil their developmental mandate Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 27).

Spatial Development Framework: a plan that outlines development principles and policies, and goals that are applicable in your area in relation to physical space (Department of Constitutional Development (1998a: 6).

Urban core: the formal city and town, including the former white municipal and former townships areas, characterised by high population density, with generally over 10 dwelling units per hectare and high levels of economic activity and consequently higher land values (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13).

Urban fringe: various settlement conditions which exist within the boundaries of municipalities, but outside the urban core. These include low-income settlements on the outer edges of towns and cities, many of which display middle order densities and large service backlogs. It also includes high-income low-density settlements, particularly on the peripheries of metropolitan areas (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13).

Small towns: “Most of these have intermediate density levels and the characteristic apartheid urban form – a former white area with intermediate to high service levels, and former black areas with more limited access to services. Small towns vary greatly, but most are economically and socially linked to surrounding rural hinterlands (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13).

Dense rural settlements: There are two predominant kinds of dense rural settlements, namely:

‘**Betterment**’ settlements are common in the former homeland areas. These are dense, planned settlements, with populations of over 5 000 people” (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13).

Informal settlements are unplanned and largely unserviced, with populations of over 5000 people. Some are close to urban areas, and others are located in rural areas with a minimal local economic base. Some intensive commercial farming settlements also fall within this category” (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13).

Villages: smaller rural settlements with populations of more than 5000, but less than 5000 people. These are often unplanned traditional settlements or resettlements areas” (Department of

Agri-village are planned, dense settlements in rural areas, which service the surrounding farms”
(Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13)

1.9 METHODOLOGY

1.9.1. Method of research

The research that has been conducted used both quantitative and qualitative techniques in complementary ways to obtain data that would assist in the achievement of the objectives of this study. The research issue is relatively new to the Gauteng situation and there is little information about areas of intervention to foster the interaction between the rural and urban areas. Due to the complexity of areas that may be covered by the research issue, a case study was considered an appropriate methodological approach. The focus was also limited to particular types of areas within the Tshwane Metropolitan Area due to the large size of the wards. The survey and an analysis of people's perceptions were conducted based on specific sectors i.e. social; physical; spatial; economic; infrastructure; and the governance and institutional factors. The scope also covered the rural-urban /urban –rural migration and commuter patterns as well as matters pertaining particularly to the rural-urban/urban–rural interface in the selected zones. It is recognised that a case study would only expose people's perceptions on the status of development within their respective areas as well as the interaction between the rural and urban areas. It would also assist in broadly identifying areas of intervention that would be utilised to foster an interaction between the rural and urban areas in the Tshwane Metropolitan area within the selected sectors. Therefore the intention is to highlight, within various sectors, areas of intervention that can be used to facilitate the interaction between the rural and urban areas in the CTMM. It is not the intention of this research to zoom into one specific sector and investigate the interaction and the relevant interventions, however, it is acknowledged that further research that is more focused on a specific sector would yield results with more specific interventions pertaining to the interaction between rural and urban areas within that particular sector.

Newman (1997: 14) indicates that on the one hand, *the quantitative style*; “measures objective facts; focus on variables; reliability is key; is value free; is independent of context; focuses on many cases/subjects; analyses statistics and the researcher is detached. On the other hand, the qualitative style constructs social reality and cultural meaning; focus on interactive processes and

events; is authentic; the values are present and explicit; is situationally constrained; focus on a few cases/subjects; analyses themes; and the researcher is involved” (Newman 1997: 14). The sources of information used, both secondary and primary, are outlined, triangulation, the sampling method, as well as the validity of data.

During the research process, various indicators were used to measure the validity of variables (triangulation). For example, the researcher used questionnaires to gather relevant information from the respondents within the selected zones. In order to test the integrity of the information provided, the researcher tried to organise workshops to present the results to ward committee members, and when workshops did not materialise, she consulted the IDP office in Tshwane where she was advised that the Tshwane Integrated Development Plan (IDP) was the best tool to verify the information. The researcher therefore utilised the Tshwane IDP to test the validity and reliability of the information gathered from respondents, prior to presentation of the final results.

The secondary sources utilised include the Government documents and the UNISA library, both of which made documentary research possible. The government legislation and policies were utilised in addition to extensive research of literature on development planning.

The primary sources were the respondents from the selected wards in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Area. The City of Tshwane Integrated Development Plan was utilised to test the reliability and validity of the field research results.

In order to conduct research on the interaction between the rural and urban areas, the research instruments were designed to gather required data from the respondents. Field research was conducted through structured interviews, and a questionnaire was also developed for this purpose. The sections below explain how research was done.

1.9.2. Participation analysis (stakeholders)

The key stakeholders identified for the purposes of this research are the *regional coordinators* who were the CTMM employees, each responsible for coordinating activities within the three zones; *the zone liaison officers*, also employees of the CTMM, stationed within the wards and responsible for coordinating activities within all the wards of each zone. The *ward members* were composed of ward committee members (officials) and councillors (politicians). (See Table 5.3. for an outline of the administrative regions, the zones and where the stakeholders fit in.) The

community members participated either in their individual capacities or on behalf of organisations within their respective communities. This implies that the perceptions of members of community based organisations, private institutions and non-governmental organisations were included in the scope of this study.

1.9.3. The research design process

The researcher used the clustered probability sampling approach to get a broader representative sample. Newman (1997: 214) indicates that the researcher who uses clustered probability sampling firstly samples clusters, each of which contains elements, then draws a second sample from within the clusters selected in the first stage of sampling. This means that the researcher randomly samples clusters, and then randomly samples elements from within the selected clusters. He mentions two advantages to this method. Firstly, the researcher may be able to get a sampling frame of clusters even if a sampling frame of elements is not available. This is the case because once clusters are chosen a sampling frame of elements for the sampled clusters may be created. Secondly, the elements within each cluster are close to one another so there may be savings in reaching the elements. In summary, a researcher draws several samples while cluster sampling in three stages: stage one is random sampling of big clusters; stage two is random sampling of small clusters within each big selected cluster; and stage three is sampling of elements from within the small sampled clusters. In order to increase accuracy, the researcher who uses clustered sampling must decide on the number of clusters and the number of elements within each cluster (Newman 1997: 215).

The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is divided into nine zones comprising a total of 76 wards. Each ward consists of a number of areas that vary in total from one ward to another. Each ward has a ward committee comprising ward committee members, some of whom are ward councillors, as well a liaison officer who is responsible for the coordination of the functions in each ward.

To fulfil the objectives of this dissertation, the wards have been clustered into categories of “rural”; “urban”; “peri-urban”; and “informal settlement”. This is not because of the size or the distance between these areas, but to enable the researcher to observe/measure the interrelationships/interface between the rural areas and their neighbouring areas. The interface has been unlocked through a sectoral analysis based on the perceptions of ward and community members derived from their responses to the questionnaires. The ward liaison officers assisted with the identification and clustering of the wards into categories of “rural”, “urban”, “peri-

“urban”, and “informal settlement”. Clarity was also sought on their definitions of the terms to understand how the classification came about.

1.9.4 Sampling process

1.9.4.1. Ward and community members

The researcher obtained the complete list of all 76 wards from the coordinator of region one. She then wrote down each ward name and number on separate pieces of paper; and ultimately ended up with 76 pieces of paper, all clustered according to their respective nine zones, for example, zone A cluster had eight pieces of paper as this zone is composed of eight wards; zone B cluster had nine pieces of paper since it has nine wards, etc. In addition, the researcher had four separate containers, each with a label “rural”, “urban”, “peri-urban”, and “informal settlement” on the outside. A population of 76 wards was categorised into “rural”, “urban”, “peri-urban”, or “informal settlement” within the boundaries of each zone. This implies that all the areas in the wards of each zone were classified according to these categories. For example, the researcher, with the assistance of the liaison officer, identified all the eight wards in zone A, and thereafter identified all the areas according to their type (“rural”, “urban”, “peri-urban”, and “informal settlement”), in line with the description of each area in the wards as provided by the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. All the areas were written on a piece of paper, folded and separated according to these categories, such that each area in each ward ended up in a container that described what it is, that is, “rural”, “urban”, “peri-urban”, or “informal settlement”. The researcher further randomly sampled one ward from each labelled container and put it aside, but this action was only be carried out once. This process ensured that each ward within each category (container) had an equal chance of being selected for the purposes of this study. The sampled four wards from each category were then used for the analysis of the rural-urban interface within zone A. A similar process was followed for all the other zones, from which only four wards were sampled. This process is indicated below:

From a population of 76 wards, the sampling was conducted as follows:

- ❖ Zone A has a total of 8 wards and 4 wards were sampled
- ❖ Zone B has a total of 9 wards and 4 wards were sampled
- ❖ Zone C has a total of 9 wards and 4 wards were sampled
- ❖ Zone D has a total of 7 wards and 4 wards were sampled

- ❖ Zone E has a total of 9 wards and 4 wards were sampled
- ❖ Zone F has a total of 9 wards and 5 wards were sampled
- ❖ Zone G has a total of 9 wards and 4 wards were sampled
- ❖ Zone H has a total of 8 wards and 2 wards were sampled
- ❖ Zone I has a total of 8 wards and 3 wards were sampled

(See Table 5.1 for a detailed categorisation and description of the region zones and wards.)

Therefore, out of a population of nine zones, consisting of 76 wards within the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, in total 34 wards were sampled for the purposes of this study.

However, there were exceptions in zones F, H and I. In the case of zone F where five wards were sampled, the process outlined above was used for the selection of the four wards, but the fifth ward was sampled from the rural/informal settlement category. This implies that one of these categories was sampled twice. This was done to elicit more responses from the rural/ informal settlement categories.

With regards to zone H, the researcher discovered that it has only one ward, ward 48, with a combination of “rural”; “urban”; “peri-urban”; and “informal settlement”, while all the other seven wards are described as urban in character. For the purpose of sampling, the same categories used for all the other zones were applied. In ward 48, from each category of “rural”, “urban”, “peri-urban”, and “informal settlement”, three areas were sampled, one from the “rural”, “peri-urban”, and “informal settlement” categories. All the other seven (urban) wards from zone H were put in one “urban” container and only one was randomly sampled. Therefore only two wards were used for purposes of assessing/analysing the interface between rural and urban areas.

All eight wards in zone I are classified as urban, thus only one container labelled “urban” was used for this zone. Three wards were sampled randomly for the purposes of this study.

In each selected ward, a minimum of two ward members and two community members were expected to fill in the questionnaire, but the zone liaison officers were requested to reproduce more copies for respondents if there were more people than the number of copies supplied to them. Indeed, there were more people and they assisted with the distribution of questionnaires to respondents. All these were thus completed by respondents and returned to the researcher through the zone liaison officers or to the researcher herself by the given due date. Thus the minimum

targeted population was 18 ward committee members serving on the ward committees of the 18 selected wards, and 18 community members selected randomly. (See a list of the sampling frame in Table 5.1 in Chapter 5.) The community members were randomly selected, irrespective of their level of education, background and status in the community. Therefore, a minimum of 36 questionnaires were expected to have been completed by the given due date. However, a total of eighty questionnaires were received back from the selected wards. The analysis of the results from the questionnaires is presented in detail in Chapter 5.

1.9.4.2. Coordinators for planning regions: Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality officials

The City of Tshwane (2003: 19) indicates that Tshwane is divided into eight planning regions. For the purposes of this study, only three regions were selected, owing to their nature, as they are composed of a combination of rural and urban areas, and these include regions 1, 2 and 5. The City of Tshwane (2003: 20-22) indicates that region 1 consists of Soshanguve, Akasia and Winterveldt; region 2 of Hammanskraal; Eastern Soshanguve and Bon Accord; while region 5 is comprised of Centurion, Olivenhoutbosch and Crocodile River.

In addition to the perspective of ward and community members, the researcher requires the perspective of the officials responsible for planning within the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, hence the selection of the three regions. Three questionnaires were sent to three regional managers for completion. Only one questionnaire from the regional manager for region 5 was returned, despite several telephonic follow up with the other two regional managers. The analysis of this questionnaire was done separately from that of ward and community members, and is included in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. This was done because the content of the questionnaires was different, thus the analysis would have compared apples with pears. The questionnaire for ward and community members focused on all the sectors, including the patterns for migration and commuting, while the questionnaire for the regional planning managers only focused on the governance and institutional factors and the factors relating to the rural-urban interface within the Tshwane Metropolitan area.

Therefore, in total, 81 questionnaires were analysed for purposes of this study.

1.9.5. Techniques for data collection

1.9.5.1. Questionnaires

A survey was conducted and three types of structured questionnaires were designed with a combination of open-ended and closed questions, depending on the nature of information required. Two types of questionnaire were designed for the purposes of gathering perceptions from ward and community members and, though the questions were similar, there were only a few exceptions, which were directed to the ward members to get their particular perspectives on matters raised. Asking these questions of community members would have been beyond their capabilities, as this is the type of information that one would only expect an official employed by the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality to know. An analysis of these exceptions is captured and clearly indicated in Chapter 5. The questionnaires were handed to the zone liaison officers, while the researcher also handed some to community members randomly.

The major aim of these questionnaires was to gather people's perceptions on the key service delivery areas in terms of the availability/unavailability of specific services within the sectors mentioned above, as well as the key areas where rural and urban areas interface.

All questionnaires were handed personally to respondents to fill in and returned by a given due date and many questionnaires were filled in by respondents without the assistance of either the zone liaison officers or researcher. There were very few community members who could not (properly) read and/or write and they were assisted by the zone liaison officers/researcher with the translation of statements into languages that they could understand, as well as with the proper filling in of the questionnaires.

1.9.5.2 In-depth interviews

Specific employees of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality were also consulted for information on the sectors they worked in and to gather relevant documentation for the purposes of this study. These consultation sessions also served to establish current and planned initiatives on integrated (rural-urban) planning as well as any existing documentation on the interface between the Tshwane rural and urban areas. The structured interviewing sessions were conducted through a set of questions prepared prior to the sessions by the researcher, adapted from the questionnaires, and during the sessions the researcher took notes and recorded the responses.

The survey research interviews were conducted during the administration of the questionnaire to respondents in order to gather more facts on rural-urban interface. The researcher interacted with the zone liaison committee members, ward committee members, community members and councillors in the development and administration of the questionnaire and during this period much information was gathered and included in the dissertation in order to strengthen the findings

Only two telephone interviews were conducted on specific areas in the questionnaire on which the researcher needed clarity from the respondents, however, several telephonic conversations were held with the above mentioned stakeholders for follow-up on issues and clarity as well as quality checking against the information required for presentation in the dissertation.

1.9.5.3. Analysis of literature

There is little information on the study topic within the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, as there have been no previously conducted studies/surveys. However, there is literature pertaining to rural and urban development and the process of integrated development planning. Existing relevant documentation, statistics and maps to reflect the spatial outlook, census reports, demographic data and population patterns were consulted and applied in accordance with the value they added to the dissertation.

Books, journals and periodicals and research reports were consulted to gain more insight into the research topic.

1.9.5.4. Data analysis

The researcher used data coding throughout the research process. Data collected was categorised into specific sectors according to which the questionnaires were also designed. Notes were taken throughout and organised accordingly for purposes of integration into the analysis. The successive approximation method was utilised from the initial phase when key research questions were entertained, as well as the assumptions and key concepts for the research. This assisted the researcher in moving from vague ideas and concrete details in the data to a comprehensive analysis with generalisations (Newman 1997: 427).

The researcher used tables, charts, maps and diagrams for the presentation of summaries of data in

her analysis. As stated in Newman (1997: 437), data display is a critical part of qualitative analysis (Miles & Huberman 1994).

All the information from the questionnaires was captured in the analysis. All categories of the “yes”, “no”, “do not know” as well as all “comments/remarks” provided, were analysed and reflected mainly in Chapters 5 and 6 of this dissertation. In addition, the comments provided by respondents are also presented as motivation for the responses given. It should be mentioned that though the respondents filled in one questionnaire, in terms of reporting, the sectoral analysis has been separated from the migration and commuter patterns and the rural-urban interface matters. This sectoral analysis provides a broad analysis of the relations within each sector, while the movements between the two are more specific to the nature of interface experienced between the rural and urban areas.

1.9.6. Challenges encountered

The distribution of the questionnaires to ward members happened during the year when specific members were holding office, and the same members were then able to return the questionnaires to the researcher as requested. The period after the analysis of questionnaires had been completed coincided with the election period when the restructuring of ward committees took place. It was thus difficult to hold the focus group sessions with relevant officials as some of them had already left office, making it very difficult to contact them. It also proved difficult to meet with the zone liaison officers after their monthly meetings normally held in Pretoria, owing to other commitments they had. The researcher then contacted the IDP office and one of the managers advised that the problem should not really affect the progress of the study because the revised IDP document contained all the relevant information from all the regions and zones that could be used for the purposes of this study. He indicated that the information from the IDP document had been quality checked as well and that the evidence presented in it might even be more reliable than the one the researcher would have obtained from the new ward members.

It should be borne in mind that the research within the Tshwane Metropolitan area was conducted whilst the Tshwane Integrated Development Planning (IDP): Revision cycle no. 2 document was being refined. The IDP documents were collected from the IDP offices to keep abreast with the results of the consultation sessions for the purposes of finalising the document. The latest document was finalised in August 2004, and a copy was made availed to the researcher in November 2004. This document was therefore used as a base document to support the content of

Chapter 5, which required extensive restructuring based on evidence within the wards.

The other problem the researcher encountered was getting the questionnaires back from some zone liaison officers. There were those who made an effort to call the researcher to come and collect them from their offices, others sent them by courier to the researcher's office, while others kept promising that they were still waiting for the respondents to bring them back. The researcher had to keep on calling them, and even went to the regional coordinator to ask for assistance in getting the questionnaires back. These zone liaison officers were even asked to bring them with them when they came to their monthly meetings. This yielded fewer results at the beginning, but later paid off when the researcher called and reminded them a day before the meeting and on the morning of the actual meeting date. Most questionnaires were thus returned.

1.9.7. Limitations of the study

This study investigated people's perceptions on the status of development and planning in their respective rural and urban areas as well as the interface between these areas, within specific wards in the zones of the Tshwane Metropolitan area. Furthermore, the research and analysis were conducted within the specific sectors with the intention to generally highlight areas that could be used to promote the interaction between the rural and urban areas in the Gauteng province.

There is a need to conduct one more complex study that would focus on all the Tshwane rural and urban areas in order to obtain a more representative view of the development and planning status, the interface between these areas as well as the specific interventions. Due to time constraints, this type of study could not be conducted by the researcher. Alternatively, a number of studies may be conducted, each focusing on the development initiatives within a specific sector and identify specific interventions based on the findings pertaining to the interface between rural and urban areas within that particular sector.

1.10. FORMAT OF DISSERTATION

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter 1

This first chapter introduces the research by outlining the manner in which it is designed, the problem it addresses, the aims and objectives it pursues, the assumptions, the methodology, the

techniques used to carry out the research as well as the challenges and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2

This chapter provides a theoretical perspective of the rural-urban interface within the perspective of the development planning theory. In its conceptualisation of the rural-urban interface, it provides various perspectives from local and international theorists. It discusses key elements of the rural-urban interface such as the rural urban fringe, the role of settlements as well as the household livelihood strategies along the rural-urban continuum and migration trends/patterns. It uses case studies to illustrate the dynamics in real-life situations.

Chapter 3

This chapter presents the trends, characteristics and challenges of rural and urban development in South Africa. It begins by providing the background to rural-urban development in South Africa, and focuses on the characteristics, trends and challenges of rural and urban development and gives the perspective to the regional and international levels. Case studies are used as illustrations of the trends and characteristics of rural and urban development.

Chapter 4

This chapter presents various perspectives of the broader legislative and policy framework that guide development and planning in South Africa. A theoretical analysis of development planning within the Third World is included as a backdrop to reflect the origins and challenges experienced within the development planning approach. The chapter reflects the South African policy and legislative frameworks in the pre- and post-apartheid periods, and also highlights the planning system that prevailed during these periods. Particular attention is also devoted to some of the critical policies and laws that pertain to rural and urban development in South Africa.

Chapter 5

In Chapter 5, an analysis of perceptions of ward and community members from selected wards within the Tshwane Metropolitan area, are presented. The approach to the investigation is multifaceted and this is due to the fact that (it is not merely an investigation **of** the key interventions but) an investigation **into** the key interventions to promote interaction between the rural and urban areas should incorporate the following. First, an assessment of the status of development and planning of the respondents' respective rural and urban areas. Secondly, establishing the nature/type of interface emerging within the research area and determine areas where the rural and urban areas interact. Thirdly, identify key interventions to promote the

interface between the rural and urban areas. The research is conducted and an analysis of the findings is also provided within the following sectors: social; physical; spatial; economic; infrastructure; and the governance and institutional sectors. The commuter and migration patterns are also investigated in order to assess the nature of interaction created by these movements.

The methodology is outlined, including the sampling frame, to indicate the descriptions of areas within the wards and for easy reference on the region zones and wards discussed in the chapter. The demographical data is provided on the area of study (Tshwane) as well as the total population within the zones. A comparative analysis of all the sectors within selected zones is presented to indicate the status of development and planning per sector, particularly with regards to existence or non existence of certain services and or facilities across all the selected wards. This is critical for purposes of determining the basis for the pattern/nature of interaction emerging in the research area, as well as for establishing the type of interventions that should foster the interaction between the rural and urban areas. The chapter concludes by presenting a maze of interconnections within and across the selected zones.

Chapter 6

In Chapter 6, an analysis of perceptions of ward and community members in selected wards within the Tshwane Metropolitan area is presented. The analysis focuses on the rural-urban/urban-rural migration and commuter patterns. The perceptions of respondents on the interaction between the Tshwane rural and urban areas in selected wards are also presented. The chapter concludes by identifying policy instruments to manage the rural-urban interface within the Tshwane Metropolitan Area.

Chapter 7

This final chapter concludes by providing a summary of the findings with regard to the aims and objectives of the research, and formulates some recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

A view that suggests that the development of rural and urban areas should be perceived as separate processes owing to the nature and characteristics of each area is regarded as not only outdated, but meaningless for the current trends within the integrated development planning fraternity. Empirical evidence indicates that a myriad of policies and legislation have been developed in developing countries that address the development of rural and urban areas. However, only a few advocate for the integration of rural and urban development. Indeed, as stated in Chapter 1, the “myopic focus on rural development” as well as ‘urban development, has lost its appeal since the beginning of the 1980s’, as the anticipated results and objectives were not realised. The emphasis shifted, and is still shifting towards a concern with the interdependence and symbiosis of the rural and urban, and this has particularly led to the explicit rejection of the earlier compartmentalisation of rural and urban into separate and distinct areas of investigation and intervention (Baker & Pedersen 1992: 12). In line with this perspective, the researcher agrees with the opinion that integrated development planning is the anti-thesis that has replaced the previous thesis of separate development between rural and urban areas. For a comprehensive understanding of the rural-urban interface concept, it is crucial to provide a background to the concept itself and reflect how it has been used in the literature.

Various perspectives have been advanced on the rural-urban interface (Dewar 1994) and concepts such as the “rural-urban continuum” (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002); “urban-rural interaction” (Preston 1975; Potter 1989; O’Connor in Unwin 1989); “urban-rural relations” and “rural-urban linkages” (Muzvidziwa 1997; Tacoli 1998; Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002; Little 1992), “growth pole and periphery” and “core-periphery relations” (Rondinelli 1985); “core- periphery continuum” (Moore 1984); the “rural-urban fringe” (Reeds 1982); “rural-urban polarity” (James 2001), have been amongst others used to illustrate the nature of the relationship between the rural and urban areas. This dissertation adopts the usage of the rural-urban interface concept with an understanding that the interactions between the rural and

urban areas within developing countries are complex and there is thus no single correct approach to address the nature of the relationship between the rural and urban areas.

The key questions that should be addressed include the definition of rural areas together with the people living in rural areas and urban areas with the people living in urban areas. The same argument goes for the rural rich and the urban poor. Rural and urban communities are not homogenous groups, but present with dynamics and characteristics that should be assessed, identified and analysed. This analysis may assist in determining the fluidity of some elements that foster the interface between the rural and urban areas.

The rural-urban interface dialogue should be seen against the backdrop of the economic situation that prevails within developing countries. Some countries have undergone periods of ‘economic sanctions, declining terms of trade’, unemployment and poverty. Thus addressing the socio-economic status of the country should be prioritised to enable policymakers and planners to understand the key challenges confronting the rural and urban areas. This may also assist in determining the status of development of each area and planning targeted interventions that do not disadvantage one area over another.

The researcher submits that the historical context and background; political environment; the social, economic, spatial, physical, infrastructure, institutional and governance aspects of the country, can provide the scope within which the interface between rural and urban areas can be explored (see chapter 5 and 6). South Africa is a country that has undergone a phase of segregation and apartheid and eventually transformed into a democratic state, which implies that the role of government is crucial in directing the system of development that should prevail. The transformation of the country should be prioritised by government through the necessary policy and legislative frameworks that serve to facilitate this process. Institutions with an oversight role should be established and/or strengthened to ensure compliance with the change process at all levels. Commitment should continuously be visible at the political level, within the government departments and among parastatals and community based organisations/institutions that work in collaboration with government. The role of the local sphere of government should be refined and the guidelines on development and planning system provided. Policies and laws should be developed with the active participation of and interaction with local people and to ensure buy in and implementation.

The local authorities should work in close collaboration with the local communities in order

to be enabled to meet their needs and sustain the improved quality of people's lives as this process may have an effect on the type of development that should take place between the rural and urban areas (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: x). This interaction can enable the development process to be 'mutually dependent and symbiotic', and have a direct influence on the process of integrated rural-urban planning in a locality. The benefits of developing local democratic governance are two-fold because it ensures the existence of a responsive and accountable local government that is able to meet the citizens' demand, whilst at the same time it is able to create a conducive environment that enables organised local government structures and community members to express their needs and participate in the policy development process for purposes of developing the rural and urban areas. This type of constant interaction between communities and local government structures should enable both stakeholders to deal sufficiently with the challenge of local policies shaped by the ideologies of institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (neoliberalism) to the detriment of the poor.

The spatial and physical inequalities should be addressed to deal with problems related to amongst other things, land, housing, development of small towns and rural areas. Spatial development policies should be put in place to coordinate the development of rural and urban areas properly. The development of infrastructural facilities that foster the interaction between rural and urban areas, such as roads and transport, can have a positive impact on the linkages between these areas. There should therefore be investment in infrastructure by government and institutions outside of government to ensure its sustainability. These institutions should set specific standards for service delivery within the rural and urban areas to ensure targeted interventions in a complementary manner. Public-private partnerships should be forged to accelerate the process of integrated development within the rural and urban areas. The development projects should improve the lives of marginalised groups, that is, previously disadvantaged and rural people.

Obviously the above-mentioned aspects are not exhaustive, but a further interrogation of these factors by policymakers, planners and those at the local level, may serve as a basis for more dialogue and research in the creation of a constructive relationship between the rural and urban areas.

This chapter serves to discuss the various perspectives on the rural-urban interface in line with development planning theory. Case studies would be used to illustrate some aspects of the rural-urban continuum.

2.2. DEFINITION

According to *New English Usage Dictionary* (Alswang & van Rensburg 1995), *interface* denotes a place or area where different things meet and have an effect on each other, or a surface forming a common boundary between two things. According to Unwin (1989: 12), one of the first attempts to define the rural-urban interaction was undertaken by Preston in 1975. Preston (1975) identifies five main categories of interaction as the movement of people, goods, capital, social transactions, and administrative and social provisions. Another view highlighted by the series of workshops held on the Third World, by the Social Science Research Council in 1982, suggests that the rural-urban interface involves population mobility, resource transfer and social interaction (Unwin 1989: 12).

The urban-rural interaction involves the study of relative degree to which “top-down” and “centre-out” strategies of change have been pursued, either implicitly or explicitly, as opposed to the reverse “bottom-up” and “periphery-in” path to national development planning (Potter 1989: 323). For him, these wider aims involve fundamental ideological and political choices concerning the economic efficacy and social morality of personal and territorial welfare differences which in actual fact are the overarching concepts of social justice and equity.

Tacoli (1998: 3) describes the rural-urban interface as having two categories, which are, “*linkages across space*, (such as flows of people, goods, money, information and waste); and *sectoral interactions*, which include ‘rural’ activities taking place in urban areas (such as urban agriculture) or activities often classified as ‘urban’ (such as manufacturing and services) taking place in rural areas”. For her, these rural-urban linkages are influenced and often intensified by changes at the macro level such as structural adjustment and economic reform, which affect both rural and urban populations. Some of the effects the rural-urban linkages have, particularly to people in the urban areas include, job insecurity and price increases leading to lack of sufficient means to support their relatives left behind in the rural areas. In this regard, Tacoli (1998: 3) asserts that the linkages between the rural and urban areas depend highly on the ‘local historical, socio-cultural and ecological factors’ of each locality. This implies that for the spatial development policies to be successful, they should be

based on the dynamics and uniqueness of each area and not on the generalisations that do not provide a true reflection of the relationship between the rural and urban areas.

The above view is complemented by that of the Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 7) which reflects that the integration of cities, towns and rural areas has a spatial dimension; an economic dimension (e.g. ensuring that all residents who contribute to a local tax base enjoy the benefits derived from that tax base); and a social dimension (e.g. encouraging mixed-income development). This type of integration serves to work towards the attainment of equality between the cities, towns and rural areas, to ensure that community needs are met regardless of geographical location, colour, creed and social orientation. The following section will thus focus on perspectives on the rural-urban interface within the development and planning fraternity.

2.3. CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE: VARIOUS PERSPECTIVES

There are various perspectives on the rural-urban interface, but this dissertation would focus on the spatial and socio-economic analysis using case studies of developing countries.

2.3.1. A spatial perspective

An analysis of the spatial perspective on the rural-urban interface is located in the context of developing countries, particularly with regards to approaches to integrated rural and urban development and the interaction between the two areas. It is acknowledged upfront that there are few reliable sources on the linkages between the rural and urban areas, however as already acknowledged above, the changes in the urban and rural come as a result of intense processes of transformation within communities (Unwin 1989: 13). In this regard, it is crucial to understand the relationship between the rural and urban areas through conducting an in depth analysis of trends, characteristics, change processes and the socio-economic status of communities residing in these areas. The results of this analysis would also assist in understanding the interactions between the rural and urban areas. It should be noted that three basic and interrelated ideas have dominated much of the literature on urban-rural links in development planning since the late 1950s, and these include the growth pole concept, the distinction between top-down and bottom-up development and the conceptualisation of cities as being either parasitic or generative (Unwin 1989: 13).

The growth pole concept of spatial development suggests that ‘governments in developing countries can stimulate economic growth that will spread outward to generate regional development by investing heavily in capital-intensive industries in the largest urban centres’. (Rondinelli 1985: 3). Therefore this growth pole concept focuses mainly on key areas of development, though much emphasis is placed on urban initiatives with the expectation that this will in turn, generate rural development both at the regional and local scale (Unwin 1989: 14). The growth pole concept is based on the principle that states that the free operation of market forces would create “ripple” or “trickle down effects” that would stimulate economic growth throughout the region Rondinelli (1985: 4). In this regard, investment in industry at the growth pole is seen as the “engine of development” for agricultural and commercial activities.

In view of the above perspective, it should be noted that the growth pole policies have failed to materialise in Latin America and Africa, where they have instead been replaced by adverse “backwash” effects, which have created increased inequality between cores and peripheries, and between urban and rural areas (Unwin 1989: 14). Owing to the experienced failures of the growth pole policies, Stohr and Taylor (1981: 1) introduce an antithesis to the popularly held growth pole concept, which seeks to place emphasis on the provision of basic needs and the overt “development” of rural areas. This antithesis implies that the failure of top-down planning based on the growth pole concept has itself given rise to alternative bottom-up policies. The development from above actually originates from the neoclassical economic theory and its spatial manifestation is the ‘growth centre’ concept. In this regard, the basic hypothesis is that development is driven by external demand and innovation impulses and that from a few dynamic sectoral or geographical clusters, development would either in a spontaneous or induced way, trickle down to the rest of the system (Stohr & Taylor 1989: 1). In South Africa, particularly in the Gauteng province, it has been evident that development initiatives started in the urban core, and evidence within the rural communities suggests that such development did not automatically initiate similar actions in the (adjacent) rural areas. Instead, there have been initiatives to try to avoid developments on the edges of the urban areas that seem to overlap into the rural areas thereby curbing urban sprawl. The Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (2000) discusses this situation in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Evidence from the Gauteng province indicates that the community-driven participation in the development of both the rural and urban areas has been encouraged through the LDO’s and IDP processes.

Lipton (1977:13) also condemns the effects of urban top-down development policy through his advocacy of the “urban bias” concept. In his view, the most important class conflict in the world’s poor countries was not between labour and capital, or between foreign and national interests, but between the rural classes and urban classes. Lipton (1977: 68) rejects the view that there is no clear distinction between urban and rural, and sees this binary distinction as too simple in that the real division lies between capital cities and the rest of their nations. He views a sectoral industrial-agricultural division as being of more significance in explaining the distribution of poverty. In view of this, the people living in urban-areas are perceived as having the power to secure a large share of resources to their own interests and much less to people living in the rural areas. This therefore suggests that the policies aimed at developing the rural and urban areas are biased towards the urban areas, greatly disadvantages the poor people and widens the inequality gap between the rural and urban areas.

However, Corbridge (1982: 95 in Unwin 1989) criticises this view and argues that the symptoms of Lipton’s urban bias concept are the heavily imbalanced investment strategies that favour the urban industrial nexus. The effects of this on the rural areas is a further lack of basic resources, critical services and amenities culminating in the movement of particularly the skilled people from the rural to urban areas. In line with this, it is therefore not possible to speak of undifferentiated urban and rural societies, with the urban population gaining at the expense of the rural (Corbridge 1982: 95). However, it must be realised that the rural and urban populations are not a homogenous group, due to the existence of rich people living in the rural areas and the poor people residing in the urban areas. A closer look into the position of the rural elite reflects a dual status because, though on the one hand they are perceived as the ‘natural leaders of the rural class’ with regard to food prices, the provision of transport and educational facilities; on the other hand, particularly with regards to the provision of agricultural inputs, they become part of the urban class. This view casts doubt on Lipton’s concept of “class”, regarding the approach as reductionist because it implies that there is rarely such clear-cut urban versus rural political allegiances, and that each of the urban and rural classes have clearly defined politics and interests (Corbridge 1982: 95). This view provides, at a descriptive and empirical level, a useful account of the relative flows of surpluses between the countryside and the towns, but fails to satisfactorily explain why these flows occur (Unwin 1989: 17). In his view, this is mainly because whilst it is relatively easy to identify places as being either rural or urban, it is much more difficult to do the same with people, because it is the people rather than the places who are responsible for creating the flows that exist between the rural and urban areas. It is indeed the movement of people

between the rural and urban areas that create the nature of relationship and pattern of interaction between the rural and urban areas. Therefore the debates for Africa on this matter should be about whether urban dwellers do or do not exploit the rural areas, though the special difficulty in Africa still lies in the clearer identification of these two groups (O'Connor's 1983: 29). The investigation conducted within the CTMM also endeavoured to establish the type of people living in the rural and urban areas as well as a specific lifestyle associated with each area, and the results indicate that there is no clear-cut definition in this regard, due to the similarities observed within the rural and urban areas in this regard.

It is important therefore to adopt an integrated approach when developing both urban and rural areas, so as to be enabled to deal with the developmental challenges confronting both areas. The thesis that supports this view is advanced by (Potter 1989: 327), and distinguishes the rural from urban areas in a form of the ““top-down and quintessentially laissez-faire capitalist model of development planning” on the one hand, and the “bottom-up, interventionist and basically socialist formulation” on the other. This may be referred to as the “spread wealth unequally” and the “share poverty equally” theses of development planning respectively, which ultimately aims to spread the welfare and opportunities equally (Potter 1989: 328). This bottom-up ideology suggests that the diversification of the economy and the eventual introduction of non-agricultural activities may render the urban locations less mandatory. This thesis posits that cities can quite easily be based on agricultural foundations, and should this happen, large cities will eventually lose their overwhelming advantage, hence the need for an integrated approach when developing both urban and rural areas (Friedman and Weaver 1979: 200). In the South African context, the key question is the type or form of development that is required or should take place in the rural areas. This question accompanies debates on rural development. Some opinions suggest that the development of rural areas should aim to change them into urban areas (or even small towns), whereas others argue that development in the rural areas should not serve to change them to urban areas, but instead, allocate resources in line with people's needs order to improve the livelihood of people living in the rural areas. Therefore the aim should not be to render urban areas inadequate through massive rural development. The researcher is of the opinion that matters of this nature require research with a multi-pronged approach. The research should adopt an integrated approach, focus on the macro and micro issues and assess the political and socio-economic situation in the country; as well as the position of government in relation to rural and urban development. Furthermore, conduct a status quo analysis of the rural and urban areas in as far as development initiatives are concerned as well as opinions of people living in

these areas particularly with regard to the form of development required. The results would inform the interventions required toward the development of rural and urban areas.

Since the Second World War, the socialist states have genuinely followed the bottom-up model of development planning, in an effort to reduce the effects of large metropolitan cities and their ties with capital accumulation and western patterns of consumption, (Potter 1989: 329). Mao's case of China may be used as an example as it contends that prioritising agriculture and fostering rural identity is typical of the socialist development strategy (Potter 1989: 329). Proper implementation of the community-driven strategy can contribute towards integrated rural-urban development in a complementary manner, dealing a heavy blow to the exploitative nature that exists between the rural and urban areas, particularly with respect to policy development and resource allocation. As already indicated above, there is no one correct approach to development, be it initiated from above, nor from below (Stohr 1981 in Unwin 1989: 328). In his view, development from below needs to be closely and sensitively dovetailed with the specific socio-cultural, historical and institutional conditions prevailing in each and every country. However, he cautions that under such a strategy, development should be based on territorial units and should endeavour to mobilise both their natural and human resources to the fullest extent possible. The essential components of change and the connotations they carry for the relations and interactions existing between rural and urban areas are identified. These include, amongst others; broad access to land (involving land reform); granting greater self-determination to rural areas; selecting regionally appropriate technology; external resources being employed only where rural peripheral ones are inadequate; improving rural-to-urban and village transport and communications, as well as the introduction of national pricing policies (offering more favourable terms of trade to the periphery) (Stohr 1981 in Unwin 1989: 328-9).

Another concept that parallels the trickle down and backwash effects is Hoselitz's distinction between generative and parasitic cities. The generative cities are those which are responsible for beneficial influences, whilst parasitic cities are those that give rise to adverse effects in their surrounding rural regions (Hoselitz 1957, in Unwin 1989: 15). In line with this debate, Rondinelli (1983: 19) suggests that the extent to which secondary cities have development influences on their regions depends on the degree to which the following factors are applicable. These include, amongst others, the identification by local leaders of their successes with those of their city and region; local leaders investing in their city; national government supporting the internal growth of the city; and the willingness of the city's

leaders to promote and encourage social and behavioural changes responsive to new conditions and needs, which in turn are acceptable to the city's residents (Rondinelli 1983: 19).

The aims and objectives and strategies for rural development should be carefully determined alongside those of the urban areas to enable an integrated approach to development due to the interaction that exists between the two areas. There are some characteristics in the cities, of what is commonly known to be practiced in the rural areas, such as urban agriculture; and though bulk production is normally associated with the cities, bulk agricultural produce come from the rural areas. However, most agricultural inputs come from organisations in cities because the major markets for agricultural surpluses are located within urban centres, and many of the social, health, educational and other services that satisfy basic human needs in rural areas are distributed from urban centres (Rondinelli 1983: 10). This triggers a movement from the rural to urban areas as people seek employment due to lack of job opportunities in the rural areas. For the governments in developing countries to maximise gains in development both socially and spatially, they must develop a pattern of investment that is spread across the geographical spectrum covering both the rural and urban areas. This can be achieved through the creation of a 'deconcentrated, articulated and integrated system of cities that provides potential access to markets for people living in any part of the country or region' (Rondinelli 1983: 10). However, central to this approach is the argument that neither the diffusion pole nor the parasitic view of small cities is appropriate. This approach supports the view that a decentralised investment in strategically located settlements can create the minimal conditions that enable rural people to develop their own communities through bottom-up and autonomous processes (Rondinelli 1983: 10). It should be noted that if development is to be equal between the rural and urban areas, there must be an integrated approach so as to encompass the needs of both the developers and those being developed. This approach ensures that felt needs are identified because development from below involves the local communities and all available resources in order to maximise gains and achieve desired goals of each locality. This approach should also serve to alleviate poverty and be driven mainly by community needs. The three critical features of community-driven development include, first, the fact that development is determined from below and is therefore unique to each society; makes it is egalitarian and self reliant; it is communalist and involves selective growth, distribution, self reliance, employment creation; and above all, it respects human dignity (Stohr & Taylor 1981: 454).

A contrasting view that reflects the shift of balance towards social rather than economic aims advocates for the “agro-politan” development, where the primary objective is no longer economic growth, but social development which focuses on specific human needs (Friedman and Doughlas 1978: 163). In line with this view, planning for rural development must be aligned to ‘ecological constraints’, be prioritised, decentralised, participatory and located within the context of each locality. In order to achieve this, a number of strategies need to be put in place. This includes the national development strategies that should be oriented to cater for amongst others, the key policy elements and fundamental criterion of development such as replacing generalised needs by limited and specific human needs. Furthermore there is a need for treating agriculture as a propulsive sector of the economy; prioritising the attainment of self-sufficiency in domestic food production; and the reduction of inequality in income and living conditions between social classes and between urban and rural areas (Stohr & Taylor 1981: 163). Other key policy elements include the adoption of planned industrial dualism involving the protection of small-scale production of the domestic market against competition from large-scale capital-intensive enterprise. Each of these elements can be seen to have important repercussions for urban-rural interaction if they are incorporated into any planning framework (Unwin (1989: 24).

A closer look at the implications of the arguments on the linkages between rural and urban areas, require changes in the following areas in order to introduce integrated development and achieve community-driven development. Firstly, at a political level, rural areas need to be given a higher degree of self-determination so that political power becomes less directly urban to rural in nature (Stohr 1981: 472). This step should be dovetailed with a rigorous capacity building programme to skill the local authorities and community leaders. A process that would enable communities in the rural areas to take ownership of their development process. Secondly, national pricing policies offering terms of trade more suitable to agricultural and other rural products must be introduced, and productive activities in rural areas encouraged in order to exceed regional demand so that a pattern of export flows is generated. The financial and fiscal policies and LED strategies and projects should be developed in consultation with key stakeholders and made popularly known among community members. Prioritising agriculture would contribute to increased agricultural activities particularly in the rural areas in order to militate against an exodus from rural areas to urban areas in search for employment opportunities. Third, the entire transport and communication network, between both the urban and rural areas, and between village-and-village should be reorganised. Infrastructure development within the rural areas, particularly the development of roads,

transport and telecommunications would facilitate the interaction between the rural and urban areas. Bottom-up approaches such as these therefore seek to change the balance of a perceived inequitable flow of resources from rural to urban areas through integrated regional resource utilisation at different spatial scales (Stohr & Taylor 1981: 472).

The nature of an interface that takes place between urban and rural areas in developing countries, of which South Africa is a part, is of importance to this research. The socio-economic differences that exists between ‘these ostensibly contrasting portions of the national space’ and their relative sizes, define the nature of interface that exists between them (Potter 1989: 323). In his view, this implies that the greater the spatial disparities which are “etched-out in the universality and essential unity of the social, economic, political and administrative processes”; the larger the flows and interactions which serve to promote and maintain them. Empirical evidence shows that the nature of the interactions and flows that exists between the rural and urban areas in the Third World countries are rooted in the development planning theoretical discourse in both its territorial and sectoral forms (Potter 1989: 323). Therefore the application of development planning in capitalist countries did not entirely focus on the promotion of a pattern of rural-urban relations that particularly reflected important aspects of development and social change.

In the Third World countries, the nature of interaction that was sustained was that which happened between the urban and other urban areas or rather between larger urban areas and smaller areas or towns. This approach mainly marginalised the rural areas in the peripheries and left them underdeveloped. This explains the focus on national urban development strategies in Third World countries, which stress principles of what may best be described as “concentrated deconcentration” and not through “decentralisation and deconcentration” per se (Potter 1989: 324). A spatial analysis of this approach reveals a prevalence of a drain of capital from the rural areas to the urban areas, leaving the rural areas with less or no resources to improve people’s livelihood. Theoretically, this suggests that the “corollary of this short-term spatial polarisation is the eventual diffusion of growth to the rural periphery, and this process will occur after some point of spontaneous polarisation reversal has been reached” (Potter 1989: 325). Therefore, the long-term “generative” trickling down or “spread effects”, parasitic flows, “backwash and polarisation” seem to have occurred quite often without the positive and direct intervention of the state (Potter 1989: 325). The intervention by governments in the Third World countries where this type of polarisation occurs is imperative to reverse the process in a manner that promotes integrated development and planning

between the rural and urban areas. This approach can foster a positive interaction between the rural and urban areas, and serve to redirect some resources to the marginalised areas.

There are various mechanisms for addressing the capitalist approaches to the development of rural and urban areas in such a manner that can contribute towards building of the moral fibre and social fabric within the rural areas. Following the prescriptions of dependency theory that states that, generally, the more nations have become involved with the capitalist system, the more underdeveloped they have become, it may be argued that the clarion call is to start with the development of the rural areas first on an essentially indigenous basis (Potter 1989: 327). This approach can have beneficial effects on the spatial development and the relations between the rural and urban areas in a complementary manner. However, the provision of basic needs at a regional level, following agro-politan principles of growth, should involve the promotion of selective regional closure (Potter 1989: 327). This implies that external trade links should be cut and rural regions protected from the diffusion of western lifestyles and consumption norms, and this should happen until basic needs have been provided for, and the rural areas manage to catch up (Potter 1989: 327). However, a concern raised against this practice is that the extremely hypothetical nature of this entire debate is revealed when the scale and rate of contemporary entrepreneurial and domestic technological change is considered, along with the influence of multinational companies and international capital (Potter 1989: 327).

The following case studies demonstrate the importance of an integrated spatial approach both in relation to the directions that may be taken by future academic research, and with regard to the formulation of appropriate and effective development and planning policies in developing countries.

2.3.2. A spatial perspective: the case of Cuba

Susman (1987) uses the post revolutionary experience of Cuba as a case to illustrate urban-rural relations and the wider socio-political remit of development planning within the Third World. In Cuba the main objective was to increase equitable participation and decision making on matters pertaining to production across rural and urban areas. This major step was taken primarily to deal with the differences that existed between the rural and urban areas particularly in both the ‘consumption and production spheres’. The development goals in Cuba served to accelerate integration rather than reducing urbanisation. In the Cuban case,

strong efforts were made to reduce Havana's urban primacy by disinvesting in the capital city. Furthermore, village settlements were reorganised into so-called "rural towns" in an effort to upgrade rural living conditions, and the "central place hierarchies based on provincial capitals were also established" for purposes of increasing the integration between the rural and urban landscapes and ways of life (Susman 1987: 253). The provision of services in rural areas was seen as a major priority, particularly with regards to primary health care facilities, as well as secondary and tertiary health care units in all towns and cities. Education was intentionally utilised as an instrument to bind people living in the rural and urban areas in order to deal with negative attitudes based on superiority and inferiority complexes. This Cuban case study demonstrates the importance of an integrated approach to the development and planning of rural and urban areas. It recognises the disparities that exist between rural and urban areas and acknowledges that the development of rural areas does not imply reducing urbanisation. The efforts towards investing in the rural areas as well as provision of essential services to improve their livelihood, for example health and education serve to create a balance between the rural and urban lifestyles. The development of small rural towns introduces economic nodes that should help maximise economic activity within the rural areas, and minimise the massive movement especially by consumers from rural to urban areas.

Potter (1987: 331) sees the Cuban example as pivotal to the whole issue of urban-rural interaction in developing countries. This is due to its emphasis on the need for an integrated approach in the analysis of the relationship between the rural and urban areas. The territorial dimension to development planning in Third World countries such as Cuba is of cardinal importance, and geographers can play the most important role in analysing the "closely interlocking spatial elements of the development equation in urban and rural areas" in a manner that recognises their fundamentally integrated and holistic nature (Potter 1987: 332).

2.3.3. A spatial organisation: categorisation of rural and urban areas in South Africa and in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

According to South Africa (2001), the situation regarding the classification of the country into urban and rural areas in South Africa is still rather fluid at this stage. An analysis of both the South Africa (1996b) and the South Africa (1998) reveal that they are silent on the concept of urban and rural when describing Category B municipalities. As stated in Chapter 1, the Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 7) correctly points out that, in some cases, the separation of rural areas from cities and towns has imposed artificial political and

administrative boundaries between areas that are actually functionally integrated. This creates inequity for rural residents who contribute to the towns' economy but do not benefit from its resources. Table 1 below reflects the Census 2001's classification (made to correspond with the Census 1996) of rural and urban areas in South Africa.

Table 2.1: Reclassification of urban/rural from Census 2001 to correspond with the Census 1996 classification

Urban/Rural 2001	2001 Geography Type	2001: EA Type	1996 EA Type	Urban/Rural 1996
Urban	Urban Formal	9 Hostel	13 Urban: hostels 23 Semi-urban: hostels	Urban
		7 Industrial Area	14 Urban: institutions* 24 Semi-urban: institutions*	
		8 Institution	14 Urban: institutions* 24 Semi-urban: institutions*	
		6 Recreational	14 Urban: institutions* 24 Semi-urban: institutions*	
		3 Small Holding	31 Rural: formal	
		4 Urban Settlement	11: Urban: formal 21 Semi-urban: formal	
		0 Vacant	31 Rural: formal	
	Urban Informal	5 Informal Settlement	12 Urban: informal 22 Semi-urban: informal 32 Rural: formal/semi-formal	
Rural	Rural Formal	2 Farm	37 Rural: farms	Rural
		9 Hostel	35 Rural: hostels	
		7 Industrial Area	36 Rural: institutions**	
		8 Institution	36 Rural: institutions**	
		6 Recreational	36 Rural: institutions**	
		3 Small Holding		
	Tribal Area	9 Hostel	36 Rural: institutions**	
		7 Industrial Area	36 Rural: institutions**	
		8 Institution	36 Rural: institutions**	
		6 Recreational	36 Rural: institutions**	
		1 Tribal Settlement	33 Rural: tribal villages 34 Rural: informal	
		0 Vacant	38 Rural: tribal exc. village	

Source: Census 2001. * & ** In 1996 these EA types included all institutions, recreational areas, hostels and industrial areas; in 2001 distinctions were made between the different types, but they can still be classified as urban or rural.

Table 1 above displays the spatial organisation of the South African rural and urban areas. A closer look into the Census 2001 classification reflects that both politically and administratively there are boundaries between the rural areas, cities and towns, while

functionally they are actually integrated. For instance, the 2001 categorisation of the informal settlements include what was in 1996 categorised as rural formal/ semi-formal settlements, which implies that since 2001 they all fall under the “urban informal” settlements classification and share a similar lifestyle. According to South Africa (2001: vi), an Enumeration Area (EA) is the smallest geographical unit (piece of land) into which the country is divided for census or survey enumeration, of a size able to be enumerated by one census fieldworker (enumerator), in the allocated period. The EA's typically contain between 100 and 250 households. It has already been acknowledged that the definition of “rural” and “urban” in South Africa is still fluid, however, the above classification distinguishes between areas that can be described as urban and rural. It should however be acknowledged that even the above classification has similar EA types classified under both rural and urban. This implies that at the functional level, a clearer distinction still needs to be made to identify for instance a rural recreational centre and an urban recreational centre, as well as the characteristics/features that clearly distinguish between the two, apart from the mere location.

According to the Proclamation on the Declaration of Metropolitan Areas (1999), under section 5 read with section 4 of the Municipal Structures Act no. 117 of 1998, every part of an urban area has social and economic linkages with all the other parts of the urban complex. There is therefore no doubt that there is great variety in the strength of these linkages. In order to examine the meaning of “interdependence”, some of the criteria given in section 25 of the Demarcation Act (1998) for the determination of metropolitan boundaries are informative. These include the following: “the interdependence of people, communities and economies as indicated by existing and expected patterns of human settlement and migration; employment; commuting and dominant transport movement; spending; the use of amenities, recreational facilities and infrastructure; and commercial and industrial linkages” (Proclamation on the Declaration of Metropolitan Areas 1999: 5). The GDDPLG (1998: xiv) argues that the principles for decision making concerning development at the urban/rural interface are more crucial than the urban boundaries, which will not be implementable. This mainly supports the view that the rural and urban areas are inextricably linked and therefore planning and development of both areas should be done in a complementary manner.

The CTMM has developed principles that should be used to guide land use in Tshwane. These include the following: first, that the entire metropolitan area has been divided into a number of land-use zones (The City of Tshwane (2003: 38-41). Secondly, all possible purposes for which land could be used have been grouped into a number of land-use categories. Thirdly,

certain requirements that every land-use zone has in terms of the overall spatial development concept, functionality and environmental quality have been formulated. Lastly, the compatibility or incompatibility of each land-use category with the requirements of each land-use zone has been established. According to the City of Tshwane (2003: 37), from an environmental point of view, the proposed land-use zones can be grouped as follows:

Table 2.2: Proposed land-use zones within the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

Within the URBAN environment	Within the SUBURBAN environment	Within the PERI-URBAN environment	Within the RURAL environment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban cores • Capital core 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metropolitan activity nodes • Residential densification areas • Residential neighbourhoods • Suburban specialised activity areas • Noxious activity areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Areas of consolidation • Informal (squatter) settlements • Residential small holdings • Peri-urban specialised activity areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rural settlements • Rural specialised activity areas • Rural mixed activity areas • Farmland

Source: Tshwane Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (2003)

This categorisation assists with an understanding of the definitions attached to each “environment” within the CTMM for purposes of sampling during the research process. The researcher sought clarity from the zone liaison officers with regards to the categorisation of the areas in the respective wards in line with the official definitions. The results of the research are detailed in chapters five and six of this dissertation. The section below focuses on the socio-economic aspects of the relationship between the rural and urban areas.

2.3.4. A socio-economic perspective

Various theorists present their perspective on the socio-economic relations of the rural and urban areas. There are economic policies in developing countries that do not necessarily prioritise and are biased towards agriculture, which implies that Third World development

policy has been characterised by some form of urban bias (Lipton 1977 in Moore 1984: 105). This is in contrast to the situation in industrial countries where agriculture is promoted, protected and subsidised. It should however be noted that within developing countries there is a difference in the high urban to rural income ratios particularly in the technology and international economic relations, and not merely in intersectoral relations and their effect on government policy (Lipton 1977 in Moore 1984: 105). An analysis of the inter-sectoral relations in Gauteng province clearly indicates the differences that exist between the rural and urban areas. This research reflects the sectoral analysis and the nature of interaction between the rural and urban areas within and across these sectors in chapters five and six respectively.

Moore (1984: 105) is critical of Lipton and states that the core-periphery concept does not provide a complete framework for understanding Sri Lankan politics, where conflicts of interests area essentially between “core-located groups” and of a “class in nature”. However, one of the advantages that this concept has over the “urban-bias” analysis of Michael Lipton (1977) is that it allows one to separate class analysis from sectoral/spatial analysis, while acknowledging the relationship between the two. The ‘core-periphery continuum’ concept is important because it defines the type of relationship that exists between the rural and urban areas and the differences with respect to economic activity patterns and political interests. The people living in the urban areas are closer to government facilities and services and have therefore an advantage of advocating for their needs than those in the remotely placed rural areas. The people residing in rural areas lack the basic resources and facilities and are mostly not organised to enable them to speak in one voice collectively, resulting in their needs not being properly advocated for, within local development and government structures. This implies that they subsequently have less power to influence policy decisions to their benefit and the governance system in general (Moore 1984: 105).

South Africa comprises of a combination of the urban, suburban, peri-urban and rural areas, with the urban areas much more developed, commonly referred to as the metropolitan ‘core’, surrounded by the belt of the urban fringe, peri-urban and the rural areas, with the latter referred to as the outer periphery. In this context, the metropolitan core and inner-periphery regions (jointly referred to as the modern sector) of South Africa are industrialised and their economy is capital oriented (Spies 1983: 1). The economy of the rural areas is traditionally characterised mainly by agricultural produce (commercial and small scale) and survive on LED projects. However, it is crucial to view the rural and urban areas as elements of the broader system interlinking at the economic, social, technological and physical levels. The

sectoral analysis provided in Chapter 5 demonstrates the inter linkages between the rural, peri-urban and urban areas in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality's selected wards.

Evans (1990: 9) indicates that the domestic terms of trade between agriculture and the rest of the economy affects the nature of rural-urban linkages. This is the case because domestic terms of trade directly influence farming incomes, food prices, wage differentials between farm and non-farm employment, and the propensity for labour to migrate out of agriculture to urban areas for jobs. It should be acknowledged though that this situation, might lead to increases in food prices on other agricultural outputs. Thus to address this situation, the constraints such as inadequate roads and transportation services, the "mal-distribution of inputs", the ineffective operation of marketing systems, and the malfunctioning and inefficiency of other agricultural support services should be removed (Evans 1990: 8).

The debate on the relations and interface between the rural and urban areas in Africa should be located within the context of a wider framework of political and economic constraints and possibilities (Baker & Pedersen 1992: 17). They contend that the 1980s was generally seen as the "lost decade" for Africa, and the continent's development efforts have been overshadowed by, amongst others, debt, internal strife, drought, declining terms of trade, agricultural decline, falling real incomes, unemployment, and widespread poverty, though there are exceptions. This deterioration must be seen against the backdrop of structural adjustment programmes (SAP) as dictated by the international financial institutions (IFI), which are ostensibly designed to stimulate ailing economies (Baker & Pedersen 1992: 17). South Africa has also experienced decades of separate development where the areas occupied predominantly by whites were developed and those occupied by blacks were underdeveloped. The latter areas were marred by challenges ranging from poverty, unemployment, female headed households and the migrant labour system. In addition, cities were confronted with job seekers, escalating crime level, sprawl and deterioration of buildings. The initiatives targeting city revival serve to deal with the legacy created by decisions based on the past segregationist policies. The development initiatives aim to redress challenges pertaining to the physical, socio-economic, infrastructure and governance and institutional matters within the rural and urban areas.

The development of physical, social and institutional infrastructure is the significant factor in facilitating rural-urban and urban-rural reciprocity because it removes constraints that

otherwise would inhibit or distort the emergence and expansion of rural-urban linkages and exchange (Baker & Pedersen 1992: 16). Similar sentiments are echoed by Rondinelli (1987: 29) who believes that the investments in physical infrastructure, including facilities that link towns and cities to rural areas, can have a strong impact on accelerating agricultural development and generating increased income for rural households. This empirical evidence from the rural-urban road investments studies in developing countries indicate the pervasive impact these linkages have on agriculture and regional economy. Rondinelli (1987: 30) argues that in order to attain an integrated rural-urban economic development, farmers should be provided with improved access to markets, rather than just constructing roads. In addition, he emphasises that rural farmers in particular, need to establish a marketing system with the capacity to accommodate high levels of production, price incentive, complementary services and inputs, as well as a transport industry that can respond with more and better services but at lower prices.

In South Africa, the poverty alleviation programmes *Zibambele* (doing it for ourselves) and the *Vukuzakhe* (arise and build) programmes initiated by the KwaZulu-Natal province's Department of Transport exemplifies this situation. Bhengu and Gcaba (2003: 53) state that more than half of the population in KwaZulu-Natal live in poverty and approximately 75 percent of poor people live in rural communities. In this province, the objective of creating a better life for all cannot be achieved without creating wealth among the poor, which in turn cannot be achieved without policies and programmes that target black economic empowerment. This is in line with the spirit of *Letsema* or *Vuk'uzenzele* (self-help and self-initiative). The South African national government has launched a massive public works programme that serves to improve access to social security measures with better vehicles to improve service delivery while reducing the number of citizens dependant on grants. This public works programme will be expanded to include both labour intensive construction and social services to address the causes and consequences of poverty within the country, especially in the rural areas.

Bhengu and Gcaba (2003: 52) show how road construction and maintenance can act as a catalyst for development, and place the rural economy on a labour-absorptive growth path. In addition, the capital investments in road infrastructure can be managed to kick-start and diversify stagnant rural economies and to restructure rural to urban leakage (Bhengu and Gcaba 2003: 52). The Department of Transport in KZN province intends to reverse the spatial inequalities of apartheid planning and create new opportunities for disadvantaged

communities in terms of enterprise development and job creation (Bhengu and Gcaba 2003: 53). One of the legacies of separate development is seen as the intellectual isolation of inaccessible communities, and the Department contends that roads can open rural areas to new ideas and new ways of doing things. Therefore, locating road development initiatives within the wider context of integrated and sustainable rural development, as well as organising rural suppliers and assisting them to become tax compliant, would help reverse the effects of apartheid planning that has left rural communities impoverished. These are amongst other initiatives that can facilitate the development efforts towards uplifting the livelihood of people living in the rural areas. The development of rural areas is a necessary precondition for fostering the interface between them and their urban counterparts.

It has already been mentioned that the clear definition between the rural and urban areas in South Africa is still being debated. The lines between what is rural and what is urban are fuzzy, because the economic and spatial boundaries between urban and rural areas are not clear-cut owing to the many rural-urban interlinkages (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002: 59). Therefore, it is critical to initially understand the background and context of the area as well as the diversity of its livelihoods, in order to be enabled to understand the particular challenges experienced by the poor people, as this may assist in determining the types of interventions required to deal with their challenges. All stakeholders, including the three tiers of government, NGO's and CBO's should thus have a clear understanding of each locality as it is the place where the actual implementation of programmes and projects take place. It is acknowledged that many studies show the complexity and diversity of urban livelihoods, rural livelihoods and rural-urban linkages, but the projects and programmes of governments and international agencies are at times planned with relatively little knowledge of local contexts and the impact these programmes would have on the local communities.

Secondly, most governments and international agencies still act as if urban and rural economies and societies are not connected, and also as if agriculture only affects rural populations and non-agricultural production only takes place in urban areas (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2002: 67). The nature of interface that occurs between the rural and urban areas is such that certain activities that take place in the urban areas impact positively or negatively in the rural areas. Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002: 67) agree that at the household level, strong rural-urban links mean that increased poverty in rural areas often impacts negatively on urban areas, and vice versa. They assert that the rural-urban interlinkages are intensifying owing to increased opportunities, for example improved transport and communication facilities that

increase access to information on new employment opportunities in expanding export-oriented industrial sectors; stronger constraints, such as population pressure on agricultural land, but most importantly, decreasing agricultural incomes. In line with this debate, it is crucial to note that a country's position in global markets is also important in rural-urban linkages because the nature and scale of rural-urban linkages are affected by the predominant production base and urbanisation patterns of specific regions and countries (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2002: 67).

This perspective is consistent with the principle of integrated rural-urban planning advocated in this research, but further warns that the development of a single sustainable livelihood framework is relevant to both rural and urban areas. However, given the dynamics associated with the rural and urban areas, it is indeed not realistic to assume that the framework developed for the rural livelihoods can be transferred to urban contexts where a smaller proportion of poor people depend on their livelihoods for access to resources. The sustainability of people's livelihoods in one type of area cannot be generalised to another, i.e. rural to urban or urban to rural, as this may be biased towards the other area. Therefore, an integrated approach would cater for both rural and urban contexts because there are certain characteristics of the urban and rural areas that can have an effect on poverty, although the occurrence pattern may not be the same because of the vast differences between the rural and urban areas (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2002: 67).

It should be noted that there is a complementary relationship regarding the debates on broader policy issues and ideas on the ground, and James (2001) locates this debate within the household unit. James (2001: 93) indicates that the rural-urban dichotomy that is used to represent divergent racial identities in the making of apartheid policy about South Africa's rural areas, has been reappropriated by local people to mark age, gender and even class divisions between people within particular socio-economic units such as households. There is indeed a tendency to classify people in accordance with their socio-economic status, linked to the type of household they occupy both in the rural and urban areas. The picture portrayed by this 'spatial dichotomy' has camouflaged the close relationship between the rural and urban areas as resource bases for both identity and income. James (2001: 93) acknowledges that ignoring the interplay of rural and urban sources of income and identity, envisages town and country as separate and reconstitutes Africans as either rural farmers or as urban wage earners. There is therefore a similarity between this discourse and that of apartheid with its

attempts in the 1950s to promote successful African farmers and to divide urban from rural people through such means as the infamous influx control regulations (James 2001: 93).

The ‘apartheid official discourse’ represented all Africans as having always resided in their “tribal homelands”. The reality is that there were large numbers of families living in the rural areas residing on white farms where they were involved in a constant juggling act by trying to satisfy their bosses or farm owners’ labour needs through working on the farms and also pursue their own activities as ‘cultivators and pastoralists’; whilst some of the family members were migrants workers in town (James 2001: 93). However, there were few Africans who lived on free standing farms in the white areas which were later designated as “black spots”, independent of the control by the farm owners. Some of the latter group’s members were involved in subsistence farming while others were wage earners within both the rural and urban areas. It should be noted that from the 1960s onwards, the labour tenants, “free-holders” and those people who moved voluntarily to African homelands, reserves or Bantustans and additional territory known as the “Trust”, experienced considerable mobility (James 2001: 93). This move compelled many Africans to engage in working for wages in order to survive. James (2001: 96) criticises this division by referring to viewpoints presented by findings of the Tomlinson Commission of 1955 and the Wiehahn and Rieckert Commission. The results of the Tomlinson Commission suggested that African migrant labourers and their dependants had developed a self-image as people rooted in the countryside rather than having any fundamental connection to the towns. "This image has not only been shaped by but has also shaped the discourse of policy makers and those in government" (James 2001: 97). These viewpoints revealed the manifestation of the apartheid ideology that served as a blueprint for workable rural development. The position held by these commissions actually meant to entrench the divisions between those Africans who were legally residing in cities and the majority of Africans living in the marginalised rural areas (James 2001: 97). This is the legacy that the local government structures have to deal with in order to foster integrated development between the rural and urban areas. In addition, there is clearly a challenge pertaining to the mind-shift in order to enable people to be re-orientated towards the democratic dispensation that regulates people’s residence and movement between city and countryside through government policies and legislation, irrespective of race and gender.

Ferguson (1990 in James 2001: 96) advances an opposing view from the one advocated by previous commissions, using as an example the Zambian Copperbelt African workers who were labelled “target workers” to depict the fears of colonists who were threatened by the

integration of Africans into the urban areas. In line with this argument, “the scholarship which tended to stress the possibilities for integration, and to emphasise the proletarian and/or urban nature and future of the African population, was that written in a liberal/radical tradition” (James 2001: 96). It should however be noted that the insistence that rural and urban be kept as separate worlds has since 1994 had been contested within and beyond policy debates in South Africa. The dominant thesis advocates for integrated development and this is indeed government’s position that is being debated and implemented through various mechanisms such as the IDP’s and various policies that serve to develop the rural and urban areas. Although to some extent at that time the perception of the two worlds as separate and discrete was shared by actors at both village and government level, both actors had an ambiguous attitude about the acknowledgement of the interactions between the rural and urban areas (James 2001: 97).

South Africa is one of the progressively developing countries where initiatives for both rural and urban development remain a priority on the government’s agenda. Debates at different levels of government have already taken shape to interrogate the interplay between rural and urban areas. The South African national government has from a socio-economic perspective reflected on its history as well as the challenges related to rural-urban interface. “The Cabinet resolved that our country is characterised by two parallel economies, the First and the Second” (Mbeki 2003: 1). According to Mbeki (2003: 1), the First (or industrial) economy is modern, produces the bulk of South Africa’s country’s wealth and is integrated within the global economy. The Second (or marginalised) economy is characterised by underdevelopment, contributes little to the gross domestic product, contains a large percentage of South Africa’s population and incorporates the poorest of the rural and urban poor. The latter is also structurally disconnected from both the First and the global economy and is incapable of self-generated growth and development. Therefore the First economy cannot realise its full potential nor guarantee the social stability it needs in the medium term unless it achieves growth and ensures the integration of the millions imprisoned within the Second economy within its sphere of operation (Mbeki 2003: 4). This implies that integrated planning and budgeting is essential in order to create constructive linkages between the two economies. This has the potential to foster a complementary relationship between the rural and urban areas as well.

The South African economy is regarded as a product of the colonial and apartheid economy and society that is created by successive minority regimes that have happened over a period of

three centuries. In addition, the process of global integration has also exacerbated certain features of the divided economy in that competition from countries with cheap, relatively skilled labour makes it more difficult to find employment for unskilled South African workers in the tradable sector (Mbeki 2003:1). The colonial and apartheid eras transformed the majority of African people into the landless, propertyless, disenfranchised, unskilled and cheap labouring class. The African people were therefore marginalised and were not exposed to opportunities that could provide them with the necessary skills to help them survive. This resulted in the “capitalist development” process, which heavily relied on low-paid migrant workers whose youth, old age and families were not the responsibility of their employers in South Africa (Mbeki 2003:1).

Some comprehensive and sustained intervention strategies to end the state of underdevelopment, and the domestic and global marginalisation of the Second economy are suggested. Mbeki (2003: 6) argues that the South African government has focused its energies on the growth and development challenges of the Second economy, rather than merely on addressing the needs of the people through social grants. Some of these interventions include, amongst others, the implementation of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (2000) and the Urban Renewal Programme (2000) and a major boost to infrastructure spending with an emphasis on improved underdeveloped regions and communities. More strategies include giving further support to local government's preparation of the integrated development plans (IDP's); the development of SMME's, LED projects and cooperatives in both urban and rural areas; black economic empowerment (BEE), as well as special programmes for women's economic development. South Africa (1996b) provides the framework within which local government planning must be contextualised. The mandate given to local government is to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government. This means that local government is no longer a function of national or provincial government, but an integral part of the democratic state, though dependent on and related to both spheres.

Mbeki (2003:7) believes that the national government is better positioned to meet the objective that is fundamental to its strategic outlook, which is to reduce the numbers of people dependant on social grants by enabling them to pull themselves out of poverty by engaging in gainful economic activities and exercising their right to human dignity. In South Africa, these people are the marginalised poor mostly located in the rural areas. This challenge, he suggests, can be addressed through the European Union's (EU) system of “structural funds”

whose purpose include amongst others the development of less prosperous regions and social groups. This initiative would assist improve the standard of living in the rural areas. Mbeki (2003: 8) indicates that 5.35 percent of the structural funds will be spent on rural development through local initiatives; sustainable development of cities and declining rural areas; cross-border, transnational and inter-regional cooperation; as well as combating inequalities and discrimination in access to the labour market. These types of development initiatives must meet the specific needs identified on the ground by the local people. The local communities are encouraged to participate in the process of identifying their needs in order to have them addressed by the government through implementable programmes. These initiatives form part of an approach to development which respects the environment and promotes equal opportunities, in that implementation is decentralised and remains the responsibility of the national, regional and local authorities (Mbeki 2003: 9). This is in line with the concept of integrated development planning in South Africa which is discussed in chapter four and referred to in various parts of this research.

Integrated planning is defined as “planning which takes all the conditions and circumstances which will play a part in the successful outcome of the plan into account, and involves all the people or organisations who have a role to play or a contribution to make” (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 3). The IDP’s are seen as a tool that strengthens the links between the developmental (external) and institutional (internal) planning processes. Through the IDP process, local communities are enabled to identify their needs which get to be prioritised and integrated in the municipal planning and budgeting process for purposes of implementation. The IDP process affords local government an opportunity to consult with local communities on critical areas of concern. Based on these, they then set priorities and develop strategies for implementing them and, plan on how to integrate the activities identified at the local level with those of provincial departments (GDDPLG 1998: ix). The IDP’s are an essential tool established to avail an opportunity to the rural communities that have been marginalised and poor, to engage in the process identifying their needs through the public participation process, and have them practically addressed as required, but within available budgets,. This process is amongst many of the similar type designed to address marginalisation of the poor from the mainstream economic activities.

In South Africa, the local cities are seen surrounded by an escalating number of unemployed or underemployed people, some of whom are regarded as immigrants from the poor rural areas, and this is an indication that marginalisation is not simply a regional phenomenon

(Mbeki 2003: 10). He contends that in this regard, the “supra-market” interventions are needed to assist these communities as well as those in neglected rural areas. The programmes introduced in South Africa such as “pushing back the frontiers of poverty”, are some of the critical intervention strategies in this regard that serve to make a difference in the lives of the poor and marginalised. Mbeki (2003: 2) mentions that one of the results of new freedoms, rights, and the provision of housing, infrastructure, and services since 1994, is a large number of the marginalised people who moved and are still moving from the rural areas to towns and cities. This continued migration is strongly evidenced in the results of the Census 2001. According to the South Africa (1996a) and South Africa (2001) figures for the country as a whole, the urban population accounted for a rising share of the total population from 53,7 percent in 1996 to 57,5 percent in 2001. This represents a 3,8 percentage point increase in the proportion of urban dwellers over the period 1996 to 2001. This increase in the proportion of urban residents is reflected in an equivalent decline in the proportion of rural dwellers from 46,3 percent in 1996 to 42,5 percent in 2001. These results are further confirmed by the results of this research in chapters five and six, as the respondents indicate that there is still a movement of people from the rural to the urban areas in search of better living conditions, resources and facilities, and improved employment opportunities. However, a large proportion of these communities settled on the peripheries of the cities and towns, in a place commonly referred to as the fringe area.

2.4. RURAL-URBAN FRINGE

The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 13) defines the urban fringe as various settlement conditions which exist within the boundaries of municipalities, but outside the urban core. These include low-income settlements on the outer edges of towns and cities, many of which display ‘middle-order densities and large service backlogs’. In South Africa, and particularly in the Gauteng province, this area is characterised by a combination of settlements, legal and illegal/ formal and informal, with the illegal settlements having lack of basic services and amenities because they are not established by the local councils. The fringe areas also include high-income low-density settlements, particularly on the peripheries of metropolitan areas.

The following terms are being used to delineate rural-urban fringe: “rural-urban fringe, rurban fringe, urban fringe, urban penumbra, urban-rural fringe, country-city fringe, the area of urban sprawl, and the urban shadow” (Reeds 1982: 9). He describes the rural-urban fringe as an area

that is no longer rural, but is not yet urban; an area of rural decay where the normal functioning of the rural community and its institutions has been disrupted, and where farming is in decline. “Other writers suggest that it is the zone where land values have risen to a point where a bona fide farmer cannot afford to purchase additional land to expand his business and take advantage of economies of scale, and as a consequence, has no alternative but to sell” (Reeds 1982: 9). Furthermore the rural-urban fringe has been perceived as an area where land speculation is rampant, vacant land is commonplace and where more than 50 percent of farms are no longer owned but are rented on short-term leases from real estate agencies. . He claims that the depth of the soil varies with latitude, while the width of the fringe varies with the size of the city. Reeds (1982: 9) describes the rural-urban fringe as a dynamic zone that is undergoing change because of contact with the city. It has already been mentioned that the developments in the city affects the surrounding areas that include the nearby settlements and the rural areas. Therefore in cases where caution is not exercised, and proper land development procedures are not adopted, the rural-urban fringe can be destroyed. The rurban fringe or the rural-urban fringe is described as the area which is least accurately defined both in terms of its extent and characteristics (Coleman 1969 in Reeds 1982 12). This is a zone which is besieged by the most problems including mixed and conflicting land uses, the opposing factions, urbanites, full-time farmers, part-time farmers, hobby farmers and tax evasion farmers, where there are interspersed areas of idle land, piecemeal development, premature development, escalating land prices and uncertainty regarding the future (Reeds 1982: 12). It is thus very difficult to devise a proper planning policy to accommodate such a varied situation. In this research, it has been discovered that in the CTMM, this is one amongst the other areas where an interaction between the rural and urban areas occurs. There is thus a need to develop mechanisms on how to manage this area and introduce planning tools to ensure its proper governance within the CTMM.

In South Africa, the Gauteng DDPLG (1999: 3) was developed to serve as a tool that will contribute to the redressing of past spatial imbalances, while at the same time guiding development towards a sustainable, equitable and economically viable future settlement pattern. It identified a need for the “urban edge” and sees it as that area that would delineate urban development in order to avoid urban sprawl and to protect the peripheral rural areas. GDDPLG (1999: 29) agrees that the purpose of sound rural development is to achieve a balance between the urban and rural environments, and to protect the rural land from being taken up through urban sprawl. Indeed, the development in the urban areas should not be to the disadvantage of the rural land nearby the cities. It acknowledges that although a constant

provincial edge could not be formulated at the local level, components of it were determined locally and clearly reveal open spaces, transport routes and boundaries, playing an important role in defining the edge. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the development of urban areas cannot be achieved without a balanced rural development, as the rural areas constitute one part of the urban edge which becomes the “greenbelt component” enabling the edge to be established.

The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality developed its Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework in 2003. For planning purposes, the metropolitan area is divided into four environments, namely urban, suburban, peri-urban and rural. It argues that the urban environment occurs within the urban edge, more specifically within the urban cores, including the capital core; and the suburban environment also occurs within the urban edge, but outside the urban environment and peri-urban environment. The CTMM (2003:37) refers to the urban edge as a boundary beyond which urban and suburban development should not take place. Thus boundaries to urban/suburban expansion have been demarcated in order to protect the rural and natural areas from the sprawling (sub) urban development, to ensure the optimum use of service infrastructure, reduce the need for commuting (including commuting distances), and encouraging all aspects of spatial integration. "The rich and poor should not be spatially segregated so that the poor can benefit from the environmental quality and facilities ensured by the rich, and so that the rich have the opportunity of contributing to the economy of the poorer areas, by making use of services provided by the poor" (CTMM 2003: 40). One critical strategy that supports this principle is that rural and urban areas must be planned for in such a manner that they complement and support each other. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 93) also echoes the principle of cross-subsidisation between services within rural and urban areas, which means using a surplus or profit generated by one service to subsidise (or help pay for) the costs of delivering another service that generates less income.

Some perspectives are raised on the rural-urban fringe particularly with regards to challenges faced by planners operating on the rural-urban fringe. Lapping (1982: 58) clarifies the perspective that planners can and do operate on a number of jurisdictional levels, that is, provincial, regional, country and municipal. This position becomes critical since the agendas and priorities differ from one level to another, for instance national and provincial may adopt a macro view whilst the local may adopt a micro perspective of a particular problem. His particular focus is on the concern of local planners who operate at the country level or below, where the planners' practices are largely shaped and directed by local politicians and

community pressures. This perspective is significant for the South African analyses of the rural-urban interface as planning and implementation take place in different spheres of government, namely national, provincial and local government. The dynamics, needs and pressures at the local level tend to, through the IDP process, influence planning at the provincial and national levels of government.

Concerns have been raised on the critical mass of agriculture for everyone including those farmers who remain in production at the local level. Lapping (1982: 59) states that like any other industry, agriculture depends on an integrated support system called “agribusiness and services”. This implies that with the reduction of individual farms, the support system for local agriculture is also placed in jeopardy. Therefore, he emphasises that ignoring the obvious relationship between farms and agribusiness is accompanied by failure to recognise the vulnerabilities underlying the economic viability of any local agricultural system. In his study in the North American farms, Lapping (1982: 59) observed a perceptible shift in population back to rural regions and small communities, a process he refers to as the “turn-around or demographic counter-stream”. It should be noted that very little of this population increase occurred in the farm sector, because growth was largely centred in the rural non-farm sector. Reasons attributed to this type of movement/growth included, amongst others, the job creation in rural areas, the desire of people to live in small communities, as well as the “back to the land” ethic (Lapping 1982: 60). This research reveals that in the CTMM, there is a combination of those people who admire and actually move to stay in the urban areas for upliftment of their lifestyle, but there is a small proportion of the population that prefers to live in the rural areas and continue to adhere to traditional norms and customs and practice agricultural farming.

One critical characteristic of the fringe area that is identified by Lapping (1982:60) is that many non-farm people live among farmers and this often leads to conflict among the farm and non-farm communities prompted by the nature of farming itself. In his research on the Canadian rural-urban fringe, Lapping (1982: 60) discovered that farms were labelled as producing noises, odours and other effects, which are judged nuisances by neighbours. An escalating number of nuisances led to the introduction of the “Code of Practices” which was one way of trying to resolve the nuisances-type of problems by the Ontario State. Alongside this, the major challenge faced by the planners is the land use pattern and social change, mainly because the socio-political changes also confront the urban-rural fringe areas. A trend that was noticed in Canada for instance is the loss of local political, social and even moral

power by the farm community, which was regarded as moving from being the first majority to becoming the last minority. The change in power therefore obviously brought about changes in agendas because concerns for local planners changed from farmland retention or community stability to service provision, infrastructure development and transportation (Lapping 1982: 61). In view of this, it is suggested that planners use education and mediation between the extremes on the continuum to resolve situations such as these.

It should be noted that farming depends on certain inputs of resources and their mix, which includes land, capital and labour, however, the nature and availability of these inputs changed as a rural agricultural area entered a transformation phase to become a “fringe region” (Lapping 1982: 62). The latter situation was seen to have introduced competition for land, which invariably became more expensive as local needs and demands increased, and farmers could not expand or rationalise their operations as usual. The development of the new enterprises and emerging alternatives for investment, local sources of capital could find other, often more lucrative investment destinations than agriculture (Lapping 1982: 63). This led to a tremendous reduction in agricultural labour, resulting in the ability to attract labour to farming rapidly diminished in areas where other alternative employment opportunities existed. Therefore competition for the inputs led to a sense of “impermanence” for farmers, and this created a short-term psychology, which was able to rationalise poor soil and water stewardship, poor management of livestock and a general erosion in stewardship (Lapping 1982: 63). In Canada, the move of new governmental sources of capital often bears costs that farmers find unable to pay, resulting in an increase in property tax on the farmers. However this source of funding for local/community projects is normally borne by the agricultural community, relative to others in the community, for the provision of new services and infrastructure. This situation poses a challenge for planners operating in areas that lack proper taxation mechanisms because they are met by resistance from the farming community to the new capital investment, which feels that it could be paying more per capita than its non-farming neighbours (Lapping 1982: 63). He refers to this practice as a case of whose “ox” gets gored more and to what ends.

In line with the above situation, Lapping (1982: 64) suggests a move in the fringes, from the “prime agricultural land” to the adoption of the concept of “land virtuosity”. The latter concept refers to land that can for instance grow grapes now and could, if necessity so dictated, grow other things more basic to diets and contemporary nutritional needs in future. Against this background, the local planners are cautioned to realise that it is often difficult to

place the preservation of “prime farmland” into the local planning context due to the high costs involved in transforming marginal land into production. The eventual process of farmland loss, even on the urban/rural fringe, is incremental and is characterized by the nickel-and-diming of the resource (Lapping 1982: 65). However, since implementation on policies, programmes and projects happen at the local level, solutions should be generated at this level.

Manning (1982: 34) looks closely into Canada's Ontario case of the federal government's urban fringe from a policy and research perspective. He raises three perspectives on the rural-urban fringes. Firstly, he identifies that federal policy lacks a planning authority with respect to land within the provinces save for its own properties. Secondly, the federal government tends to be organised on a sectoral basis with ministries dealing with such specific focuses as transport, agriculture, housing or environment as discrete phenomena. Thirdly, the urban fringe itself tends to be indistinct and widely scattered making it difficult for the senior government to treat it as a distinct phenomenon or special interest area. Therefore the urban fringe is seen as a focus for some of the problems within the federal government, which have to be dealt with within the framework of a sector-oriented ministry.

There are few programmes specifically designed to influence the urban fringe in the federal government; because it does have a profound influence on what takes place within the urban fringe through its actions in fulfilment of its mandate in a wide variety of social, economic and environmental areas (Manning 1982: 35). This is normally the case because federal policies, programmes or regulations do influence the land planning process as executed by provinces or municipalities. The federal influence on land use is regarded as coming through seven categories of activity, and these include “land management, construction programs, regulatory powers, financial policies, sector support, regional development and information” (Manning 1982:36-8). It was noticed that the 1970s saw the federal government's strong influence on land use in the fringes and elsewhere; however significant, this influence was at times disruptive to both the users of rural land and to those who tried to plan it. As a result, the federal government developed federal policy on land use with the intention of making possible the review of all federal actions that have the potential to seriously influence the use of land (Manning 1982: 39-40). These concerns were particularly directed to areas of transition such as the urban fringe, where the potential for disruption and for incompatibilities between land uses was said to be greatest. However, Manning (1982: 42) raises a concern that the urban fringe has received less attention than it might deserve, simply because it tends to

fall between the slats. Furthermore, individual ministries tend to focus on single sectoral problems, rather than on zones of transition or interaction between sectors, and work on the express problems of the fringe itself has been generally left to those in other levels of government or in the academic world. This situation calls for the integrated approach in addressing challenges related to the rural-urban fringe areas to ensure that matters of urban and rural communities are attended to appropriately. In the CTMM, factors affecting the rural-urban fringe area still require an in depth investigation per sector to enable integrated planning at this area.

In contrast to the view presented by Manning (1982) above, Reeds (1982) critically reviews the progress made on the Canadian rural-urban fringe research. He argues that in spite of the progress made to date, terminology remains imprecise, knowledge of the extent of the fringe is nebulous, and research is not very well coordinated. The research on the rural-urban interface within the CTMM is undertaken with little theoretical information available on the topic under investigation. This research has to establish whether there actually is an interface; the areas/ sectors where it occurs; identify the key interventions as well as the policy instruments to manage the interface between the rural and urban areas. Reeds (1982: 6) agrees that there is lack of a solid theoretical base, and very little is known regarding the social and psychological impact of urban encroachment on rural communities, and the policies for planning in order to deal effectively with urban problems, have not yet been formulated. A distinction is made between “reversible and irreversible” losses of the food producing land rural-urban fringe, implying that built-up areas can never be reclaimed, but under the proper circumstances of demand, abandoned farmland reforested areas and parklands could be redeveloped for food production if needed (Reeds 1982: 7). However, urban growth is at times unnecessarily delayed by the obsession with conservation of farmland and governmental bureaucratic red tape and planning regulations, because urban growth has been regarded by many as a plague or enemy and all developments are thus expected to occur far from places of residence (Reeds 1982: 7).

The land use problems in the rural-urban fringe cannot be corrected easily since this is an area where conflicting pressures are most intensively concentrated (Reeds 1982: 8). Therefore the assertion that the growth and development of land in the urban areas be focused on ‘areas of poorer agricultural land’ may not take shape since it is not economical. The ““free market system” is rather seen as the most appropriate mechanism for determining land use, but only if it is not hamstrung by governmental intervention and negative type planning. In addition

the time frames attached to land acquisition and actual construction has a huge impact on the development process itself. Reeds (1982: 8) compares the time frames for Canada and those of the United States of America, and indicates that the interval between the time that land is acquired and the actual construction begins usually takes six to ten years in Canada bureaucratic regulations, while the USA, the time period has been reduced to two to three years. He admits that with the tight controls that exist in Ontario, ““urban sprawl” should no longer occur, and the higher density suburban housing and attempts to make city living more attractive encouraged. The government can facilitate the process of land acquisition and actual construction as one amongst the many mechanisms available to deal with challenges related to urban sprawl. It needs to be acknowledged that in South Africa, urban sprawl cannot be attributed solely to these challenges only. There are a myriad of other factors that contribute to sprawl in each locality, thus a proper research into this area can assist unearth the causes in order to inform proper interventions.

In Reed's (1982: 11) research on farmland loss in Central Ontario, it was evident that many farms in Northumberland have been purchased by Toronto residents for recreational use. This practice has resulted in farming generally retrogressing due to urban pressures. The results of his study on the urban fringes of Toronto, reflects that relocating farmers from the rural-urban fringes to outlying areas represented a huge transfer of capital and management ability, and undoubtedly had an upgrading effect on farming in their new location. This implies that there might be an element of benefit derived from migration of farmers from the urban fringe to other areas. In addition, the urban encroachment on rural communities had negative results as it affected them both socially and psychologically. Furthermore, the invasion of industrial interests on farmland sent farming into complete disarray, leading to the disruption of the lifestyle and normal practices of farmers. Reeds (1982: 16) speculates that the rural-urban fringes will become much narrower in future, and the deepening economic recession and the accompanying inflation, high interest rates, high land and construction costs may make ownership of a single-family residence in suburbia an extremely restricted possibility for the next decade. “Urban growth in many areas has almost stalled” (Reeds 1982: 19). Reed's view beyond the immediate suburbs predicts a slow down in migration to the countryside. He sees the “back-to-the-land” movement as having passed its peak, and the increasing costs of commuting making rural living somewhat less attractive. The next section looks closely into the interface in the peri-urban areas.

2.5. THE RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE AROUND CITIES: PERI-URBAN AREAS

Dewar (1994: 14) defines the term peri-urban development as a pattern of distribution of households which have a foot in both urban and rural worlds. According to the CTMM (2003: 57) the peri-urban environment has been introduced as a planning category and refers to informal settlements with life styles which are neither rural nor (sub) urban. It includes peripheral informal settlements, remote residential townships characterised by rural lifestyles and residential smallholdings. According to South Africa (2001:1), in the demarcation of the municipal boundaries, provision was made for the incorporation of peri-urban areas relevant to future urban growth which also incorporates any of the hitherto excluded functionally linked suburbs which were the product *inter alia* of apartheid-era displacement.

Satterthwaite and Tacoli's (2002: 62) view of the rural-urban interface around cities is that cities generally transform large rural areas around them as a result of land for non-agricultural uses; sport, recreation and tourism; water for urban uses; more diverse and often higher value foodstuffs and building materials. They assert that although there is a tendency to refer to the rural-urban interface as "peri-urban", it is generally more complicated spatially than the term peri-urban implies, deducing from the definitions already provided above. It is not simply a circular zone around the built-up area of an urban centre in which rural and urban land uses and agricultural and non-agricultural activities are mixed (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002: 64). Evidence suggests that there are different types of settlements. There are settlements that are within the peri-urban area but spatially separate from the city's built-up area, and these are often said to develop diverse employment bases with enterprises strongly connected to the main city. However, there are certain preferences of landowners or existing road systems that can keep some peri-urban areas undeveloped, while others that are 'not contiguous with or close to the built-up area' become highly urbanised (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002: 64). Therefore the characteristics of each locality or research area would determine key areas of interface within the rural and urban areas. In the City of Tshwane Metropolitan area, a sectoral investigation (in Chapter five and six of this dissertation) enables the analysis of the status of development; identification into key interventions, definition of settlement types and land use patterns of the locality, and areas of interface between the rural and urban areas.

There are challenges pertaining to the management of the rural-urban interface. One of the difficult issues in the rural-urban interface is how to manage the rapid economic and land-use changes in ways that enhance prosperity, while controlling environmental costs, bringing

forward sufficient land for housing and ensuring secure livelihoods for poorer groups (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002: 65). They assert that the local government structures and strategies tend to, at times, be weak and ineffective on the edge of large cities' built-up areas. These structures may fall within the boundaries of a large predominantly rural provincial or district authority whose head office may be far from a large city or may be part of a newly formed municipality that is weak and ineffective. There needs to be a proper audit of strategies and structures around the city in order to establish amongst others, the population growth, level of unemployment, land use pattern and resource needs. Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002: 65) agree that reviews of growth rates for the districts or municipalities that make up large cities or metropolitan areas often reveal rapid population growth rates in peripheral municipalities or districts where local authorities are particularly weak and household incomes are well below the city's average. It should however be noted that cities where physical growth or an ineffective land-use plan exists grow haphazardly impacting on their immediate hinterland. This area cannot then be described as urban or suburban and yet much of it is also no longer rural. This is due to the fact that the area may be experiencing a decline in agriculture because land is purchased by people or companies anticipating its change from agricultural to urban use, as well as the increases in the resulting land value. "There is usually a lack of effective public control of such changes in land use and no means of capturing a share of the increased land value, even when it is public investment (for instance, the expansion of road networks) that creates much of the increment" (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002: 65).

In contrast to the unplanned physical growth evidenced around the cities mentioned above, there are legal subdivisions of land reserved for purposes of residential or commercial use. Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002: 65) acknowledge the existence of low-density high-income residential neighbourhoods that develop around more prosperous cities, along with commercial, development and leisure facilities for higher income groups. They state that in many cities, especially those with higher levels of crime and violence, such residential developments may be enclosed within walls and protected by private security firms. These are referred to as the gated communities or *barrios cerrados*. In South Africa, examples of these include, amongst others, Blue Valley Golf Estate in Midrand, Silver Lakes in Tshwane and Gallo Manor in Sandton. However, there are at times illegal squatter communities around these cities and suburban areas, as well as in those cities that contain settlements formed when the inhabitants were dumped after being evicted from their homes by slum clearance. Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002: 66) reflect that the inhabitants of these settlements often find

themselves under threat of eviction as the physical expansion of the urban area and its road network increases the value of the land on which they live. A realistic characteristic of these areas is environmental health problems, which become particularly serious for certain groups within the rural-urban interface. This may either be due to increased concentration of population due to the influx from neighbouring rural and urban areas, heightened level of activities as well as lack of policies to regulate the movement of people. The latter usually result in sub-divisions of land and developments that contravenes government legislation and policies.

Bank (2001: 129) focuses on the day-to-day social and economic dynamics of the households in informal settlements. She states that the new government of the African National Congress (ANC) promised to deliver 1 million new homes to the poor within five years. This announcement raised community's expectations as they anticipated that these homes would be predominantly based in the towns and cities where apartheid policies had prevented people from settling and where chronic housing backlogs had encouraged large-scale squatting. The ANC insisted that former apartheid hostel complexes be transformed into family accommodation and that the families of migrants settle with them in the urban areas (Bank 2001: 130). This process was followed by the introduction of the new incremental housing policy in 1996 that provided poor households with once-off state subsidies to transform their shacks into permanent urban homes. This new policy viewed squatter families as essentially modern social forms and as functional to urban development (Bank 2001: 130). The effects of these transformation initiatives (in relation of the interface between the rural and urban areas) are also evident in the research area of CTMM and are reflected in Chapters 5 and 6).

Bank (2001: 131) reveals a feature of the rural-urban linkage in the Duncan Village informal settlements in East London. She evidenced a move by especially the youth from their rural hinterland to reside in the Duncan Village informal settlements. This movement to towns and cities and a break away from the poverty of village life, increased in the mid to late 1980s in East London. The growing demographic imbalances in a largely stagnant urban economy, together with deep-seated social and political ferment among the youth, provided the essential background to the assessment of "living together" or ukahlalisana relationships as counter-cultural social practice in Duncan Village" (Bank 2001: 38).

This shack settlement type of living in Duncan Village, did not serve as a solution as it did not rearrange and reorder these informal settlements into modern, orderly suburbs, or the stable

working class neighbourhoods that the policymakers envisaged. This led to serious criticism being levelled against the new government for abandoning its original commitment to fully-fledged social housing programmes in favour of an incremental housing policy, which failed to provide proper homes for the poor.

The results of an assessment of the rural-urban interface by Bank (2001: 145) reveal the various categories of residents in the Duncan Village informal settlement. Amongst others, there were those who used them as a transitional area to easily access employment and permanently reside in the city, and those that continued to struggle in the overcrowded informal sector to raise money to support their families in the rural hinterland. She asserts that the collapse of employment opportunities in certain sectors of the urban economy appears to have made it difficult for the aspiring urbanites to find gainful urban employment and support their images and fantasies as city-based household breadwinners and patriarchs. This failure to reach their objectives drove many of them to crime, rape and domestic violence in Duncan Village during the 1990s. However, an observation was made that most females increasingly straddled the urban-rural divide as they sought to spread their risks and responsibilities between town and country (Bank 2001: 146). This created a network of linkages between the rural and urban areas. An example of planning for the rural-urban interface follows below.

2.5.1. The case of Transkei, Umtata

Dewar (1994) investigated the planning for the rural-urban interface in the Transkei area. He used functional analysis of the economic base of settlements (focusing on the 28 urban centres) to gain insight into the nature of the rural-urban linkage. The results revealed that there is almost no rural-urban linkage, and what occurs is almost entirely unidirectional. Dewar (1994: 4) raises a number of factors to support this finding and to expose the nature of the rural-urban interface that exists in the Transkei. First, he discovered that there is no widespread rural economy, because although the lifestyle of most of the population can be described as rural, the economic basis of that lifestyle cannot. The rural economy is entirely cash-based where basic needs are met through cash purchases and very little derived directly from the land. The cash used to live from hand-to-mouth too, is derived almost entirely from remittances from South Africa, in the form of partial wages or pensions from employment in Transkeian towns". In the area under study, the Tshwane Metropolitan area, it was discovered that there is actually an interaction between the residents of the rural and urban areas and that there are people from both areas that share a similar lifestyle. However, it should be

mentioned that due to apparent differences in the economic basis of the rural and urban areas, the lifestyle derives from different sources. There is a population that resides in the rural areas, but employed in the urban areas and can afford the similar type of lifestyle that their urban counterparts can. They also have bigger houses of a better quality, style and design like those residing in the urban areas. This contrasts to a rural population that lives from hand to mouth and depend largely on the income from agricultural produce or LED projects. Secondly, the production sectors of the urban areas are hardly structured by rural needs, because many industries in the smaller settlements are concerned with the exploitation of locally specific resources, and the products are instead exported or are directed towards larger local urban markets. In the CTMM, the bulk agricultural products from the rural areas are transported to the fresh produce markets located in the city where consumers purchase them. Thirdly, the urban economies are weakly geared to meeting the needs of their internal local populations, because most are met through imports. He cautions that in a real economic sense, the traditional categorisation of settlements from urban to rural according to their primary support base is misleading in the case of the Transkei.

The peri-urban areas in the CTMM are an area where the interaction between the rural and urban areas occurs. People resettle in the peri-urban areas for various reasons in the CTMM. The results of the research revealed that some of the people who stayed in the peri-urban areas were doing this in order to be close to areas of work. This implies that in the CTMM, the peri-urban areas are amongst others, providing labour to the urban areas. Dewar (1994: 13) provides an analysis of the peri-urban settlement around the largest Transkeian town, Umtata, and reveals some features of the rural-urban interface. He confirms that the peri-urban areas supply almost nothing to Umtata except labour. Dewar (1994: 13) argues that almost no locally generated agricultural surplus is directed to the urban market. There is similarly very little small-scale or informal manufacturing or service industry geared to supplying the needs of people in the peri-urban areas. The results of the Transkeian study reveal that the peri-urban areas are dependent on Umtata for almost all services and that the peri-urban areas are almost entirely unserviced with the exception of some scattered schools and clinics. “The entire system is dependent upon an inordinate amount of movement, but these areas are very poorly served by public transport” (Dewar 1994: 14). In the CTMM, some of the peri-urban areas are formalised and serve as homes for people from either the urban or rural areas; and are therefore provided with the necessary services. There is a combination of people who are residents in the peri-urban areas as well as those who travel in and out from the neighbouring urban and rural areas for socialisation and visit their relatives or friends. Therefore the rural-

urban interaction occurs in the peri-urban areas as well. The results of the Transkeian study reveal that the only reverse form of interaction is social, where the quasi-rural lifestyle is highly valued and over the weekends many urban dwellers move to the peri-urban areas to be with friends and family. Therefore, in contrast to the results of the CTMM, an application of the term “peri-urban” to the Transkeian areas is highly inaccurate, because the phenomenon is in effect simply a badly distorted and fragmented form of sprawl (Dewar 1994: 15). The main Transkeian development problem is seen as a lack of functional rural-urban interface, and the challenge and opportunity is to create it (Dewar 1994: 6). In the CTMM, the functional rural-urban interface exists, and the challenge is to establish key areas of intervention and develop policy instruments to manage the interface.

In the CTMM there are several development initiatives along major vehicular routes, such as the SDI's (i.e. Maputo corridor) in a form of shopping complexes, residential areas and smaller business. These are areas that create an interface between the rural and urban areas. Dewar (1994: 6) confirms that the urban agglomerations and areas along the major transport routes which open up close to potential markets, are the spatial areas of greatest potential for a strengthened rural-urban interface, through integrated rural development schemes and small-farmer support programmes. However, he sees a direct relationship between this potential and distance from towns and also between it and the hierarchical order of the route. This type of relationship has implications for settlement formation because a more “balanced settlement system” should be encouraged (and not imposed), and growth encouraged at places of ‘superior resource advantage and of greatest economic potential’. This balanced settlement pattern has particular implications for three important areas of policy, and these include the nature of infrastructural investment, the pattern of that investment and land allocation (Dewar 1994: 6).

In the CTMM, the objective is to develop spatially interlocking routes to deal with challenges related to spatial marginalisation, through the Tshwane Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (2003). This would serve to foster an interface between the rural and urban areas and facilitate movement between the two areas. In Transkei, the problem of territorial and rural spatial organisation is seen as becoming one of promoting over time, a hierarchical form of interlocking activity routes that systematically reduces spatial marginalisation, increases accessibility to all levels of service provision, and provides a framework for reinforcing investment over time. However, the development planning challenge associated with this is to create routes where necessary in order to shrink space and to free those settlements that are

trapped in space. Land allocation and tenure in the Transkei was historically based on the traditional tribal system which operated on the basis of allegiance and patronage. In order to redress this situation, Dewar (1994: 6) recommends the creation of “zones of intensive settlement” around those areas preferred for settlement purposes, as well as around the most rapidly growing towns and the major routes, as a mechanism to move towards a developmentally more positive settlement pattern.

Various forms of linkages exist between the rural and urban areas. In the Transkei, the only reverse linkage from urban to rural areas is seen as a social one. This is the case because at the spatial level, the areas where the interface between urban and rural areas is most strongly expressed is in the peri-urban areas of the larger towns and along the major transport routes that tie rural communities further afield to the towns (Dewar 1994: 5). It should be noted that the historical background of the area has an impact on the settlement pattern. In this regard, Dewar (1994: 5) admits that the settlement pattern in the Transkei is grossly distorted in that it has not been, and is not being, primarily shaped by economic forces as settlement systems usually are in most parts of the world. It has rather been primarily informed by issues of “historical administration, apartheid-enforcing policies, and the traditional pattern of land allocation which ensures that people move not necessarily to where they most want to be, but to where they can gain the commitment of a headman and chief to the allocation of a land parcel” (Dewar 1994: 5). Consequently, this distorted settlement pattern lacks integration with the economic base, and does not generate the range of economic opportunities that it should. Furthermore, the fragmented settlement system is highly inefficient in providing necessary utility and social infrastructure. Due to this fragmentation, it is difficult to adopt a rational approach to the provision of services and settlements operate as relatively discrete, isolated pockets with very little support or sharing of facilities from one settlement to another. The historical administration and settlement pattern of the Transkei bears similarities with that of the Tshwane Metropolitan area under study. The apartheid policies that were implemented based on separate development, disadvantaged the development of the previously designated black spots, and the northern part of the CTMM. This system prevented integrated development planning, thus sharing of resources and facilities is still a challenge in the CTMM, making service delivery difficult, necessitating a spread of resources across the rural and urban areas.

The case of Transkei focuses mainly on the economic base of settlements using 28 urban centres to gain insight into the nature of the rural-urban linkage. The results reveal that much interaction between the urban and rural (with the urban moving to the peri-urban areas) is

social. The lifestyle in these areas is preferred by residents from both the rural and urban areas. The peri-urban areas are formations of urban sprawl, a phenomenon that in turn presents challenges of its own nature to development planners (Dewar 1994:5). An analysis of this case study reflects that the Transkeian peri-urban areas are entirely dependent on the nearest town (Umtata) for almost all their services and in turn supply nothing to the town. Furthermore, there is no functional rural-urban interface in Transkei, and as a result it needs to be created. The key areas of intervention identified for the creation of the rural-urban interface include:

The integrated rural development schemes and small farmer support programmes, close potential markets, the urban agglomerations and areas along the major transport routes which open up these markets. The three identified areas of policy that are pertinent to a balanced settlement pattern include the nature of infrastructural investment, the pattern of that investment as well as land allocation (Dewar 1994: 16).

These initiatives, as identified above, could develop into potential economic nodes that could inject some vibrancy into the settlements.

The guideline provided by this case study is that the rural-urban interface should be looked into against the historical background (i.e. historical administration and apartheid enforcing policies) and the settlement pattern (i.e. distorted settlement pattern that lacks integration with the economic base) that shaped the particular area under study. In addition, in cases where there may be less interaction between the rural and urban areas or where the movement is unidirectional, the rural-urban interface needs to be created. This case relates, though different in the scope of coverage, to the CTMM case study chosen for the purposes of this research. An analysis of the historical situation within the CTMM also reveals that a spatial organisation as well as the settlement pattern was shaped by apartheid policies, resulting in the provision of services being directed mainly to the urban areas, leaving the rural areas without proper services. In the case of the CTMM, evidence shows that there is functional interaction between the rural and urban areas as opposed to the Transkei, however, much planning still needs to be done to manage the interface. Both the studies on the CTMM and the Transkei identify the key areas of intervention to manage the rural-urban interface, and the recommendations are based on the area researched.

2.6. LINKAGES, FLOWS AND INTERACTIONS BETWEEN TOWNS AND THE COUNTRYSIDE

There are linkages between towns and the rural areas, also known as the countryside. The urban-rural linkages in Africa involve movements of people, the transmission of ideas, flows of goods and transfers of cash (O'Connor (1983) in Unwin (1989:26). It has also been noticed that there have been few attempts in the literature to distinguish between different types of linkage or interaction, and in general terms the words linkage, flow and interaction are used interchangeably (Gould (1985) in Unwin (1989: 26). However these concepts should be seen as separate, but closely linked. The rural-urban interface is considered as a two-way flow of people, goods, money, technology, information and ideas between rural and urban areas, seen as metaphors for a wider range of spatial categories on various scales (Unwin 1989: 26). These flows are not only regarded as systems of the development process but are active features in the transformation of rural and urban places.

Evidence has shown that rural-urban linkages may be extremely fluid and unstable. Little (1992: 21) explores the importance of climatic seasonality in shaping economic and social linkages between rural populations and small towns in Southern Somalia. He noticed that marked seasonal changes in rainfall and productivity in the region result in considerable movements of livestock and people. It was under such conditions that certain settlements closed down on a seasonal basis and the role of towns as markets and suppliers of inputs to rural populations changed dramatically during the year. “Certain urban based businesses and traders actually move out seasonally into range areas to pursue pastoral customers. The effect of these processes is that rural-urban linkages tend to be extremely fluid and unstable” (Little: 1992: 21).

It should be acknowledged that while it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between rural and urban people, there are nevertheless a number of different types of linkage between towns and the countryside, which can provide the basis and the measurement of urban-rural interaction. Unwin (1989: 25) admits that it is extremely difficult to interpret the results of such an approach to the study of rural-urban interaction, since it is people rather than places that exploit and are exploited. He regards an interesting phenomenon as being able to see how different people and classes benefit from different types of urban-rural interaction, and thus how the flows between the two types of area are related to broader social and economic transformations. The broader political and socio-economic factors in the country influence the

nature of interaction and flows between the rural and urban areas. There are a variety of factors that influence the direction of flow of resources between town and countryside, and these include amongst others; the economic, political, governance, social and ideological factors. This is the case because people's perceptions, particularly development ideologies and different class interests also influence the direction of resource flows, and must be included in any analysis of the urban-rural interaction (Unwin 1989: 25).

Unwin (1989: 26) agrees that at the broad theoretical level there are economic, social, political and ideological linkages between urban and rural places, which find their physical expression in measurable flows of people, money and budgetary allocation. These flows are also associated with interaction between people, places and objects, but do not in themselves actually embody those interactions. The following table provides examples of the urban-rural flows and interactions between town and countryside at the social, economic, political and ideological levels:

Table 2.3: Examples of the urban-rural flows and interactions between town and countryside

Linkages	Flows	Interaction
ECONOMIC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Labour ➤ Money ➤ Food ➤ Vehicles ➤ Commodities ➤ Energy ➤ Credit ➤ Raw materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Labour/ capital ➤ Marketing ➤ Shopping ➤ Transport
SOCIAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ People ➤ Correspondence ➤ Telephone calls ➤ Medicine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Social groups ➤ Family ➤ Friends ➤ Class
POLITICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Power ➤ Authority ➤ Budgetary allocation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Political action ➤ Lobbying ➤ Justice provision

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Allegiance payments
IDEOLOGOCAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Ideas ➤ Books ➤ Radio ➤ Television 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Religious activity ➤ Education ➤ Advertising

Source: Unwin 1989:27

In line with the above, Unwin (1989: 51) cautions that it is essential to view urban-rural interaction as being the outcome of a series of underlying economic, social, political and ideological processes that find particular expression in flows and linkages between rural and urban areas. The sectoral analysis (in chapters five and six) of this dissertation maps out a specific pattern of the relationships between the rural and urban areas within the Tshwane Metropolitan area.

There has been a tendency within debates at various levels to disregard the reality that, the existence of many rural residents in their villages form part of the broader world in which the rural and urban areas ‘interpenetrate’ and are ‘interdependent’. In reflecting the aspect of rural-urban polarity, James (2001: 106) contends that recognising the polarity between “town” as a site of wage labour and “home” as a place to lay one’s head would likewise mean that once lands were reclaimed or redistributed, the developers and planners facilitating the process would no longer be blinded by their commitment to a farming paradigm. She indicates that the claimants’ reluctance to see reclaimed lands as sites of agricultural production, is linked to the desire of many, for a way of life characterised by development and civilisation (tlhabologo)” (James 2001:107). This may translate into people’s demands for development initiatives on these reclaimed lands, to based on expectations that their areas could be modernised and provided with services such as tarred roads, running water and other urban-style amenities. To some residents, she sees such a desire for country areas to become more like the town suggesting that rural and urban do not only interpenetrate but can fade imperceptibly into one another (James 2001: 107). This approach has sparked debates at various levels within the country and raised questions on the shape and form that rural development should take in an attempt to develop the rural areas. Key issues raised include whether the development of rural areas implies turning them into little towns or that the characteristics and dynamics should be kept “rural” whilst development occurs in as far as the improvement and sustenance of living conditions for rural people is concerned. It the opinion

of the researcher that any development strategy that is aimed at developing the rural and urban areas should entertain the debates around the specific type of development that is required in each area, and ensure that informed decisions are taken by policy makers in consultation with relevant stakeholders on the approach that should be taken to ensure integrated development. The GDDPLG (1998: 36) argues from the rural development perspective in its analysis of the policy and planning framework, and proposes the rural-urban interface as one of the key intervention strategies to develop the Gauteng rural areas. This approach would enable developers and planners to focus their energies on the issues that impact on the development of rural and urban development and linkages between them in an integrated manner. Below is a case from Zimbabwe that illustrates the interface between the rural areas and town, indicating how the rural-urban linkages were achieved within the Masvingo's double-rooted female heads of households

2.6.1. Rural-urban interface between the rural areas and town: A case from Zimbabwe

Muzvidziwa (1997: 97) explores ways in which women were turning to rural-urban linkages as a survival strategy that enabled them to cope with Masvingo town life. The results of his study are based on urban anthropological fieldwork over a period of 14 months, from early November 1994 to the end of December 1995. He carried out his study in Masvingo town, a provincial capital, which lies in the southern part of Zimbabwe with a population of 52 000, according to the 1992 Census (CSO 1993: 13). This town is historically known to have been ravaged by repeated droughts in the decade extending from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990's, but has since developed into a regional economic centre as well as a provincial capital. The 1992 census (CSO 1993: 59) reveals that 33.7 percent of Masvingo's women aged 15 to 64 were economically active at the time of the research. Women participated intensively in operations in the informal sector, but this was not enumerated in the census, hence the very low female participation rate in the urban economy in the census results (Muzvidziwa 1997: 97). He reveals that that Masvingo has its economic roots in a free capitalist market that is male-oriented and male controlled. Furthermore, Africans in this town were considered permanently rural, while the urban economy supported only a migrant male population resulting in an official unemployment rate of 25 percent.

A closer look into the gender issues in Masvingo reveals that although job opportunities for women were very rare, they seemed to occupy positions mostly in the domestic sector and service jobs such as teaching and nursing. Women in Masvingo were involved mainly in the informal sector, beer brewing, prostitution and marketing of fresh produce, together with domestic service and child care (Muzvidziwa 1997: 98). Interestingly, out of the total number of his research participants, only 6 percent were born in Masvingo town, while the rest were migrants to the city. For these respondents, urban-rural linkages constituted an on-going survival strategy, and despite their desire to stay and source a living in town, most respondents maintained linkages with their rural areas. (Muzvidziwa 1997: 98). He indicates that without a foot in the rural areas, most women would not have been able to pursue their desired, permanently urban objectives. The system of migrancy has characterised most of the apartheid system's era in South Africa, and it left most the black communities destitute and headed by females who had to fight to make ends meet in order to support the children for survival on a day to day basis. An interesting observation on migrancy pertaining to the rural-urban interface is advanced by Muzvidziwa (1997: 98) who demonstrates that although female migrants were urban-oriented, they used kinship networks in ways that maximised their chances of surviving in the city against the structural constraints imposed by central and local bureaucracies. The results of his study reveal that 68 percent of his sample maintained a "double-rooted strategy", with the ultimate aim of returning to their rural villages at a later point in life. The system of land tenure and ownership which recognises men as household heads is seen to be denying women control of the only form of meaningful property in communal areas. However, despite the fact that "female heads" had no access to rural land, they still maintained village ties so as to retain their right of return to the village should things not work out in town or for when they might retire. Therefore the proximity of the women's rural homes to Masvingo town is easily facilitating the maintenance of rural links through remittances, visits and other regular contacts with those in their villages. This is in actual fact part of their survival strategy. In the CTMM, some people from the rural areas travel to work in the cities and town, but go back to their homes in the rural areas. Their contacts with the urban areas is through visits to shopping complexes, friends and family and prefer residing in the rural areas for various reasons ranging from affordability of houses, the cultural norms and customs shaping the society and rearing of livestock and growing fruit and vegetables for survival. Therefore, Muzvidziwa (1997: 98) maintains that splitting the household into the urban and rural component reduces costs of urban production, and keeping the rural links active is like an insurance against unforeseen future problems. Irrespective of the dominant survival strategy, urban-rural interactions did accomplish the desired goals in Masvingo.

It should be noted that though the respondents had very limited access to urban facilities and basic services, they utilised spaces in the urban areas for housing units as residences, and their houses in the urban areas functioned to generate an income or as a place from which to operate one's business activities such as servicing clients by prostitutes or for veranda food sales (Muzvidziwa 1997: 107). He established that the deliberate investment in rural-urban networks was amongst the survival strategies adopted by the Masvingo participants. Therefore the continued utilisation of rural-urban networks as a survival option was a pragmatic response to scarcity of resources, including jobs. An examination of the rural-urban linkages in this case study enables one to see how the regulations that were institutionalised were sidestepped, manipulated and even resisted by women. In addition, laws that had a bearing on migrants, especially women, such as the Vagrancy Act, conditioned and provided the arsenal, language and ideological space for understanding rural-urban linkages (Muzvidziwa, 1997:108).

The two types of respondent, the *double-rooted* and the *permanently urban*, particularly with regards to perceived attitudes towards urban stay, can be distinguished from this case study. The results of Muzvidziwa's study reveals that 68 percent were double-rooted respondents who continued to use rural-urban networks as part of their strategy to ensure their continued stay in the city. However, 32 percent of his respondents saw the town as their permanent home, and generally considered the town as a marketplace from which they derived a living. On the one hand, Muzvidziwa's (1997: 108) double-rooted respondents continued to activate rural-urban networks in their day-to-day living experiences, but with the intention of returning to their villages as they regarded urban life too expensive. "Consequently, they perceived that their rural village was their home: in the women's ordinary talk, 'home' is reserved for the village" (Muzvidziwa, 1997:109). This situation seems to support the argument that women householders can actually maintain two places simultaneously as a survival mechanism. On the other hand, those women who intended to pursue the permanently urban strategy had socio-economic benefits in mind, they perceived the standard of living to be better in town compared to the village, and saw more survival options in town (Muzvidziwa 1997: 110).

The Zimbabwe case study reflects the gender relations, particularly the plight of women in a patriarchal society of the Masvingo town with a background of the capitalistic environment as well as racial stereotypes. The case study demonstrates that the rural-urban linkages exist in Masvingo and are being used to the benefit of women as a survival strategy. As in the CTMM

case study, owing to unemployment, women find job opportunities as domestic workers, child minders and are selling fresh produce, creating linkages between the rural and urban areas. Evidence from the Muzvidziwa's (1997) case study shows that most of his respondents were not born in Masvingo, but were migrants who maintained linkages with the rural areas. This relates to the CTMM case as most tribal groups who are found in the towns, cities and townships are migrants who still maintain strong linkages with their families and friends in the rural areas.

Other theorists such as Baker and Pedersen (1992), Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002) and Bank (2001) recognise the role of settlements in the rural-urban interface, which this dissertation will focus on in the following section.

2.7. THE ROLE OF SETTLEMENTS

As already mentioned above, there are a variety of settlement types, of which type and shape are determined by the historical background and socio-economic pressures of the country. The urban development and the integrated rural development programme are the two paradigms and strategies that prevailed in the 1960s and 1970s (Baker and Pedersen 1992: 12). Urban development was considered beneficial for national development during the then prevailing development paradigm and strategy, and the urban-based industrialisation policies were seen as essential in bringing about transformation of agriculturally based economies. However, urbanisation was criticised and seen as the parasitic process that led to underdevelopment and the neglect of agriculture. This led to the introduction of a new paradigm and counter strategy, the integrated rural development programme. The main thrust of this strategy was agricultural change. However, this strategy lacked sustainability because it paid little attention to the critical role of settlements in the rural economy, and its successes generally depended on permanent external interventions (Baker and Pedersen 1992: 12). This dissertation recognises the role settlements play in the rural-urban interface, as the movements between urban core, urban fringe, small towns and dense rural settlements can depict key areas of interface within the local sphere, hence the focus on the role of settlements.

As already mentioned in Chapter 1, there is no simple categorisation of settlement types and the definition of "urban" and "rural" is also still hotly debated. The apartheid system in South Africa influenced settlement patterns in a profoundly unequal manner, and introduced measures to impinge the easy movement into the urban areas as well as between the rural and

urban areas. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 13) distinguishes the following settlement types: urban core, urban fringe, small towns, dense rural settlements consisting of "betterment" settlements and informal settlements, villages, agri-villages, and dispersed or scattered settlements. The informal settlements are defined as areas which are unplanned and largely unserviced, with populations of over 5000 people. Some are close to urban areas, and others are located in rural areas with a minimal local economic base, and include some intensive commercial farming settlements. Villages, or smaller rural settlements, are defined as having populations of more than 500, but less than 5 000 people, and these are often unplanned traditional settlements or resettlement areas. The agri-villages are defined as planned, dense settlements in rural areas, which service the surrounding farms. The 2001 Census in brief (South Africa 2001) states that there are 448 393 informal dwellings/shacks within the Gauteng province, which are not in backyards, while 34 626 are traditional dwellings/huts/structures made of traditional materials. There are indeed different types of shacks in the Gauteng province some of which are formalised and provided with basic services; and the informal ones ranging from those illegal occupants mushrooming around the cities and suburban areas, those built in the backyards, parks, and/or closer to industrial areas.

It has already been mentioned that, historically, settlement types were classified in line with the apartheid practices into four schemes: (1) proclaimed urban areas and peri-urban settlements within metropolitan boundaries; (2) other proclaimed urban areas and adjacent peri-urban areas; (3) dense settlements and (4) rural areas (Simkins 1990: 7). The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 14) cautions that each of the settlement types mentioned above contains a diversity of communities and households and individuals whose relationships to their living space are shaped by the activities, interactions, needs and opportunities that "colour" their daily lives. It is clear that these "communities" and "households" are not homogeneous categories in which everyone is the same because different people have different starting points in life, which are determined by factors such as gender, class, and race and different opportunities to access resources and influence decision making. However, power dynamics can develop within communities and households, resulting in situations where some people gain access to resources and power, and others are marginalised or excluded (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 14). The local sphere of government is, however, better positioned to analyse and understand power dynamics within communities, and ensures that those who tend to be excluded and marginalised can become active and equal participants in community processes and the transformation of the settlements where they live.

The crisis in local government was a major force leading to the national reform process that began in 1990 (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 1). The systematic protest in the 1980s against the way human settlements were spatially and economically distorted contributed to the collapse of the apartheid local government system. Therefore urbanisation arises from both natural urban population growth and migration from rural to urban areas. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998a: 1) predicts that urbanisation is expected to continue and most of this growth is likely to be absorbed by metropolitan areas and secondary cities, while the rural population is not expected to grow substantially. However, South African local government is faced with the challenge of contributing to the transformation of the distorted, inequitable settlement patterns. Settlements considered for purposes of this dissertation include the peri-urban, small towns, secondary towns and the countryside.

2.7.1. Role of secondary cities

Having looked at the cities, suburban areas, peri-urban and rural areas, it is crucial to also focus on the role of secondary cities in the interface between the rural and urban areas. A new approach emerged in the late 1980s and made a sectoral distinction between smaller towns (market towns) with their emphasis on the marketing of agricultural products and the larger towns (secondary cities) where the focus is on manufacturing and services (Baker & Pedersen 1992: 12). However, it is essential to be flexible in terms of both planning approaches and interventions since factors that influence growth and development are extremely diverse and complex. Despite this, it is still crucial to try and identify a number of prerequisites, which are necessary for a well-functioning small town rural economy. Baker and Pedersen (1992: 12) give an analysis of the small urban centres (secondary cities) and their interdependency with their rural hinterlands. They claim that the exploitative nature of many small African towns is not vested in the small towns themselves, but in the highly centralised governmental and economic systems found in many African countries.

The challenge of marginality, poverty and squalor associated with the rural areas in South Africa, and particularly the Gauteng province, has already been highlighted in the debates above. Secondary cities are essential as they have the potential of serving as a link between the city and countryside in a sense that those people who cannot travel longer distances to the city, can access services and resources from these cities. People from the rural areas can also

travel to the neighbouring secondary cities for business purposes, i.e. selling of fresh produce, opening and running small businesses and for employment opportunities. However, the relationship between the two areas should be properly regulated through policies and or legislation to guard against exploitation of the vulnerable groups from both areas, especially those from the rural areas. The policies should therefore ensure that the relationship is mutually beneficial or rather uplifting the livelihood of people living in the rural areas.

Rondinelli (1983: 18-19) sees the following as the five main beneficial results of the development of secondary cities. Firstly, it relieves pressures on the largest cities in terms of problems of housing, transport, pollution, employment and service provision. Secondly, it reduces regional inequalities, since, if it is accepted that the standard of living is higher in urban than in rural areas, then the spread of secondary cities would lead to the spread of the benefits of urbanisation. Thirdly, the development of secondary cities is seen as stimulating rural economies through the provision of service, facilities and markets for agricultural products. Fourthly, it provides increased regionally decentralised administrative capacity, and fifthly, it helps to alleviate poverty in intermediate cities where it is argued that the problem of poverty and marginality are often most acute and visible. Unwin (1989: 21) criticises the features Rondinelli (1985) identifies as generating beneficial regional influences. He asserts that none of the features is directly concerned with the rural economy, and in a free market system it is difficult to see how those with economic and political power are going to be persuaded to relinquish some of the advantages currently accruing to them for the benefit of the urban and rural poor. In addition, Rondinelli (1985) fails to evaluate the significance of the nature of socialism and capitalism in the “development process”, and throughout his analysis he assumes implicitly that the context within which his secondary cities are to be developed is indeed a capitalist one (Unwin 1989: 21). However, he applauds Rondinelli (1985) for having drawn together a useful broad basis for the analysis of major linkages in spatial development, ranging from systems to patterns and interdependencies. These include physical linkages, economic linkages, population movement linkages, that is, migration, technological linkages, social interaction, service delivery linkages and the political, administrative and organisational linkages. Unwin (1989: 22) acknowledges that there is no clear logic in Rondinelli’s classification, although it begins to form the basis for analysis in development planning theory.

Unwin (1989: 20) criticizes Rondinelli’s (1985) argument which suggests that rural change can best be implemented and encouraged by the provision of social and economic facilities in

medium-sized urban settlements. In his opinion, Rondinelli (1985) assumes that beneficial rural change will necessarily be promoted by the development of such things as marketing facilities within the towns, yet he fails to provide a convincing argument that the changes instilled will be mutually beneficial to people living in both rural and urban areas. Though Unwin (1989: 20) sees this in practice as ‘one that closely fits the classical rank-size rule distribution’, he acknowledges that there is no real evidence that the classical rank-size distribution does indeed provide the context for successful development that is defined, nor is there evidence to suggest that such a pattern will necessarily benefit the poor and under privileged. Thus in this context, there should be a feasibility study undertaken to establish the nature of relationship that exists between the two areas, then, introduction of strict measures to regulate this relationship. Specific plans and programmes linked to the budget should be identified and implemented; and regular monitoring and evaluation conducted to ensure compliance and sanctioning of acts of exploitation. This should serve to ensure that the linkages between the secondary cities and rural areas is mutually beneficial. In line with this theory, the dynamics of the larger towns (secondary cities) within the Tshwane metropolitan area would be assessed in as far as their role in the rural-urban interface is concerned.

2.7.2. Role of small towns

Small towns vary from one area to another in South Africa due to its formations as apartheid areas to segregate races from one another. Small towns have intermediate density levels and the characteristic apartheid urban form, with most of these being former white areas with intermediate to high service levels, and former black areas with more limited access to services (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13). Small towns vary greatly, but are mostly economically and socially linked to the surrounding rural hinterland. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 157) defines hinterlands as the areas surrounding urban centres, which are not part of the urban settlement, but are economically, socially or functionally linked to the urban centre. According to Simon (1992: 30) development analysts and planners should adopt an integrated perspective when dealing with small towns and rural development, in contrast to the situation where the focus is on actual settlements and physical planning. He believes that rural areas must be viewed as elements of wider regional, national and international systems, and factors such as the impact of global restructuring and the debt crisis, which have profound effects, should be taken into account.

In South Africa, the urban areas are seen as linked to surrounding rural areas in ways that create inter-dependencies between urban and rural well-being. For example, rural businesses may use the urban centre as a place to market their goods and sell their produce; while businesses in urban centres may benefit from the consumer power of rural residents. It must be noted that over half of the nearly 40 million people who live in South Africa are currently urbanised (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 14). In line with this, increased urbanisation from natural urban population growth and migration from rural to urban areas, is expected to continue and result in dramatic increases in the proportion of urbanised citizens over the next two decades. According to South Africa (2001:1), the urban population accounts for 57,5 percent of the total population. Metropolitan areas and secondary cities are expected to absorb most of this growth, which implies that the population of rural areas is not expected to grow substantially either as a proportion of the total population, or in total. In order to deal with challenges pertaining to urbanisation, one of the mechanisms is to devolve certain powers to the provincial and local government to enable proper control of growth processes by municipalities.

In South Africa, with the advent of the new democratic dispensation, certain powers were devolved to both provincial and local government thereby reducing centralisation of decision-making powers at the national level. This move was accompanied by the capacitating of local government structures to enable a higher level of autonomy on development and planning issues, though key government policies are still developed nationally for implementation at this level. Baker and Pedersen (1992: 14) indicate that the economic systems in most African countries have been highly centralised, thus services and other activities operating in small towns are not independent units operating in a free-market economy. They stress that these services are branches of large monopolistic public and private enterprises linked strongly by hierarchical structures governed by patron-client relations that are very exploitative of the rural areas. However, it is acknowledged that the decentralisation of decision making to the local level may provide the means through which the articulation of local needs and priorities could be made, and this would stimulate both urban and rural development.

Since small towns are located between the rural areas and (secondary) cities, they create an interesting pattern of interaction between the rural and urban areas. In Gauteng, most small towns are located closer to the rural areas, such that some are regarded as ‘rural towns’ and provide services to the surrounding rural areas. Therefore, their role in the development process should be conceptualised alongside that of their rural counterparts. Small towns play a

central role in economic organisation in rural areas, particularly in terms of marketing systems and essential agricultural back-up in a form of credit, extension services, agricultural equipment and supplies (Dewar 1996: 21). However this back-up is regarded as an insufficient condition to promote rural development. He advises that small towns should not be considered in their own right, but in relation to their rural hinterlands. It should however be noted that the mere existence of a town does not guarantee that there is a close connection between town and its hinterland, because the linkages between the two should be consciously forged. Indeed, as in the case of the secondary cities discussed above, the relationship that exists between the rural and small towns should be clearly defined and regulated in such a manner that it would rather promote rural development and enhance agricultural activities and strengthen the LED projects, in order to generate revenue. Therefore, programmes initiated in the small town should address the issues within the town, overcome hindrances to increased agricultural production in the hinterland and strengthen linkages between the two (Dewar 1996: 22). However, all tiers of government and policies developed, particularly on the structuring and management of the agricultural industry should support initiatives towards strengthening the linkages between small towns and the rural areas to ensure a mutually beneficial type of relationship.

2.8. HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES ALONG THE RURAL-URBAN CONTINUUM AND MIGRATION TRENDS/PATTERNS

Evidence presented in the CTMM research indicates that there is a linkage between the household livelihood strategies and the interface between the rural and urban areas. Thus the strong rural-urban links at the household level, mean that increased poverty in rural areas often impacts negatively on urban areas and vice versa (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2002: 55). For example, an increase in urban poverty also implies that there are no job opportunities in urban areas for rural dwellers, reduced remittance flows from urban to rural areas, less urban demand for rural products and possibly more urban-to-rural migration, which could increase dependency burdens in rural areas. This is actually a key issue for governance within South Africa because the integrated approach in the development and implementation of policies, plans and programmes serves to ensure that various aspects of the development process are taken into account. This implies that the policies that affect the viability and effectiveness of livelihoods that straddle the rural-urban divide should ensure that the asset bases of both urban and rural dwellers are protected, and that they are able to influence the allocation of public resources. In line with this, Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002: 59) caution that rural and

urban contexts have imprecise distinctions that should not be ignored. Three examples of these are: "the imprecision in urban definition; the number of urban dwellers who work in agriculture; and the similarities in urban groups' exposure to environmental hazards in rural and urban settings" (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002: 59). It has been acknowledged in this research that the people residing in the rural and urban areas are not a homogenous group and that the definition for rural and urban are still being debated, affecting a clear categorisation of certain activities as either rural or urban i.e. urban agriculture. They argue that most discussions of rural-urban differences ignore the fact that large differences in the ways that governments define urban areas compromise the validity of international comparisons of rural-urban gaps. For instance, it would not be comparing apples with apples if a comparison is made on the level of urbanisation of a nation which defines urban centres as all settlements with 20,000 or more inhabitants, with another that defines urban centres as all settlements with more than 1000 inhabitants (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002: 61). Other factors constituting the difference include urban agriculture. It is difficult to gauge the importance of agriculture for the livelihoods of urban dwellers due to lack of data. It is acknowledged that statistics on urban occupational structures are unlikely to include most of those who engage in urban agriculture, especially those working part time or outside their work hours, or not registered as working in agriculture.

Many rural and urban residents are regarded as relying on a combination of both rural and urban-based assets and income generating sources, and access to these is often essential for the survival strategies of poorer households as well as for the accumulation strategies of better-off groups. This implies that urban demand can be critical for rural producers, while at the same time many urban enterprises rely on rural consumers. "Small and intermediate urban centres are often linked to the surrounding rural settlements by complex two-way interactions which include trade, employment and the provision of services such as hospitals and secondary education" (Satterthwaite & Tacoli 2002: 54). Migration can be seen as an important way to increase or diversify income and to ensure access to assets. Although in some cases this movement is temporary and seasonal, and complementing farm employment, in other instances migration takes longer periods of time but with migrants maintaining strong links with relatives in their home areas (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2002: 55). The interface in this instance includes a number of strategies of a migrant's livelihood such as sending remittances from urban to rural areas, and sending food from rural to urban areas and investing in property such as housing, land or cattle in the home area. Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002: 55) state that rural-based relatives play a critical role of supporting migrants by

bringing up their children for whom workloads and living conditions in urban centres can make childcare problematic. It must however be acknowledged that these linkages between migrants and their relatives may not always be that strong due to migrants' limited access to rural assets such as land because of their income, gender, ethnicity or religious and/or political affiliation. This may, in some instances, result in people having little reason to maintain links or invest in their home areas.

The following is a table that illustrates the rural-urban continuum, however caution must be exercised when using this as it reflects the two ends of the continuum within which most urban and rural areas fall:

Table 2.4: The rural-urban continuum

Rural	Urban
Livelihoods drawn from crop cultivation, livestock, forestry or fishing (i.e. the key for a livelihood is access to natural capital)	Livelihoods drawn from non-agricultural labour markets, making/selling goods or services
Access to land for housing and building materials not generally a problem	Access to land for housing very difficult; housing and land markets highly commercialised
More distant from government as regulator and provider of services	Vulnerable to “bad” governance at the local level because of reliance on publicly provided services and restrictive regulation
Access to infrastructure and services limited (largely because of remoteness, low population density and limited capacity to pay)	Access to infrastructure and services difficult for low-income groups because of high prices, illegal nature of their homes (for many) and poor governance
Fewer opportunities for earning cash, more for self-provisioning. Greater reliance on favourable weather conditions	Greater reliance on cash for access to food, water, sanitation, garbage disposal, transport to work
Access to natural capital as the key asset and basis for livelihoods	Greater reliance on the house as an economic resource (space for production, access to income-earning opportunities; asset and income-earner for owners, including de facto owners)
But also	

Urban characteristics in rural locations (e.g. prosperous tourist areas, mining areas, areas with high-value crops and many local multiplier links, rural areas with diverse non-agricultural production and strong links to cities)	Rural characteristics in urban locations (e.g. urban agriculture, village enclaves, access to land for housing through non-monetary traditional forms)
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Source: Carole Rakodi with Tony Lloyd-Jones 2002: 63

Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002: 62) state that it is useful to see in the middle of the continuum between extreme rural characteristics and extreme urban characteristics, a rural-urban interface in which there are complex mixes of characteristics. This is illustrated by many areas around prosperous cities or on corridors linking cities, which have a multiplicity of non-farm enterprises and a considerable proportion of the economically active population that commutes daily to the city or finds work seasonally or temporarily in urban areas. Furthermore, many rural areas also have tourist industries that have fundamentally changed employment structures and income sources.

James (2001: 99) explores in detail the interdependence between the rural and urban poles of labour migration within South Africa. She criticises the legislative system which disallowed most labourers from setting up houses in town, a practice that suggested that a man must live apart from his rurally based family for most of the year in order to support them. This policy showed that men had no choice but to support the agricultural enterprises of their dependants since it represented a form of investment in the rural social system on which they would be dependent when returning home after retirement from the urban places of work. A review of studies by Vail (1989); Delius (1996) and Mc Allister (1980) also reveal that men had undertaken virtually lifelong participation in the urban labour market as a means of preserving a primarily rural way of life, and as a way in which to secure the building of a homestead in social as well as in purely physical terms in their home villages. James (2001: 100) distinguishes a relationship between the “de facto residents” (migrant's dependants residing in the countryside) and the “de jure residents” (the wage-earning migrants themselves) as components of the household. The migrant's dependants and the migrants themselves are involved in a supportive relationship that serves the interests of their families both socially and economically. The migrants send remittances from urban to rural areas to support their families while their rurally based families, especially those with access to assets such as land

or cattle and houses, take care of these assets. This is done with the intention to prepare for the migrants' return from the urban work environment when they retire.

Two patterns to expose the viewpoints of the rural people on the interface between rural and urban are revealed. On the one hand, the spatial mapping of migrant and non-migrant members was one that separated men working in town from their dependent and rurally based wives. On the other hand, in some better-off families where men resided in town together with their wives, the spatial mapping was a different one (James: 2001: 100). This system separated members of succeeding generations from one another, and placed the elderly at home with their children (to be taught traditional values and customs). At a later stage the children would inherit and occupy the urban pole (to earn wages for a living) of that spatial dichotomy. It must be acknowledged however that both migrant models had its cons as well. In the previous one, there was a danger of lawlessness among children who were taking advantage of the elderly in the absence of parents. In the latter, children who grew up in the town held an attitude of being better off as compared to their village counterparts. The obedience and willingness of the inheriting son was a potential hazard to the disruption of the family arrangement. Thus this system ignores the significance of the role women can play in the interface, in cases of the inheriting son being unwilling and/or irresponsible.

An entrenched migrant culture is perceived to have turned rural areas into places of retirement and refuge for labour migrants, and that young South African black men are averse to working in agriculture as it is seen as an “unmasculine” form of labour. A similar view is held by Merle and Lipton (1996) who argue that these forms of habituation are due not to long-standing cultural practices but rather are rational responses given the context of sustained institutional bias which has favoured large-scale white agriculture and opposed the growth of African farming. They assume that if this bias were to be overturned, such forms of entrenched opposition to farming would be overturned.

James (2001) seems to share the viewpoint expressed by Slater (2001). For both, economic decline has consequences on the movement between the rural and urban areas. According to James (2001: 98) the decline of the mining and manufacturing industries led to significant changes in the rate and extent of labour migration in South Africa. The decline resulted in many households' cash component being provided by state pensions rather than a migrant wage. It is thus crucial to understand the interaction between the wider urban-based economy and the local rural one to be enabled to grasp how the rural people sustain themselves in the

countryside. It is also imperative to know that the rural and urban worlds are intrinsically interlinked and that incomes within the rural areas depend on wages earned in the urban areas, but an awareness of these linkages has not informed debates about the future of the rural areas (James 2001: 98). She states that the emphasis has been more on economic aspects of the interdependence without recognising the extent to which urban and rural dichotomies and interdependencies have also come to be used by migrants and their families in cultural processes of building and affirming identities. Evidence was produced in her study conducted among the Pedi (Northern Sotho speakers) in what is now Limpopo province over a 15-year period. The findings reveal that there was a complex interplay between these forms of representation and identification which stressed the reciprocally constitutive nature of town and country, as well as those that appeared to enshrine them as discrete, separate worlds. Therefore the “rural” and “urban” in the process of signifying different things, come to denote shifting and indeterminate spaces and geographical areas (James 2001: 98).

The poles of rural and urban dichotomy are perceived to be used to represent the complex interrelations and interdependencies between people involved in a series of overlapping and oscillating movements between town and countryside (James 2001: 99). An example provided of villages in Limpopo province indicates a phenomenon that also applies to other rural areas of the Southern and South Africa to depict the dynamics of labour migration. In these villages, the process of a young man's leaving home to find work became inextricably intertwined with rituals of manhood and with preparing to marry. The perception widely held by the rural people was that the work considered appropriate for a young man was that situated in an urban area (to be a man was to be away from home), while women's and the girl-child's identities were associated with staying at home. This situation led to many female-headed households in the rural communities. Bhengu and Gcaba (2003: 54) observed a dramatic increase in female-headed households in rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal. “In KwaZulu Natal there is a strong correlation between deep-rooted poverty and women headed households” (Bhengu & Gcaba 2003: 54). They argue that these are the results of centuries of underdevelopment, first through colonial rule and then through apartheid, which led to a massive drain of skilled and unskilled labour from rural to industrial urban areas.

Bhengu and Gcaba (2003: 54) assert that the number of women-headed households in KwaZulu-Natal province dramatically increased through decades of civil conflicts that saw thousands of women widowed and children orphaned. According to Bhengu and Gcaba (2003: 54), the relatively poor economic performance of KwaZulu-Natal has meant the loss of

many jobs in the formal economy. This led to an increase in the number of unemployed to over one million, and of these, 94 percent are black while 53.5 percent are women. This situation compelled the provincial government to intervene strategically in order to address the anomaly, hence the introduction of the Zibambele (doing it for ourselves) and the Vukuzakhe (arise and build) community-based initiatives. The Zibambele is a community-based initiative that targets the long-term unemployment situation in rural communities. This programme is known to be a strongly gender affirmative programme in that, 95 to 98 percent of all Zibambele contracts (14 800) have gone to women-headed households (Bhengu & Gcaba 2003: 54).

This is really a major breakthrough in rural development initiatives in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), considering that the rural society is still very patriarchal, though women are the majority gender in rural populations. The Vukuzakhe programme is another community-based initiative seen as a source of hope for work, entrepreneurial and wealth development opportunities for the rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal. One of Vukuzakhe's striking achievements is the ability of contractors to create sustainable employment opportunities. An independent evaluation of Vukuzakhe has indicated that its contractors currently provide work for approximately 17 500 people. The government in KZN anticipates that by providing more than R370 million worth of work to Vukuzakhe contractors, some 30 000 jobs will in turn be created in this financial year. These programmes boost the status of rural women who bear the responsibility of supporting their migrants and families alike (Bhengu & Gcaba 2003: 56).

The case of the KwaZulu-Natal Vukuzakhe programme reflects that the dynamics of the rural-urban interface have linkages with the migrant labour system. This is the system that created a massive movement of heads of families (black men) to migrate to the respective areas of work (urban areas), leaving their houses in the rural areas to be headed by women. This system crippled the already poverty-stricken rural areas, because women were left to care for children and keep the family units intact, against all odds. The government initiative to support women, particularly those based in the rural areas with contracts worth R370 million, was a giant leap towards the development of rural areas. This initiative served to inject economic vibrancy, instil a competitive edge and create jobs for the local communities. The case study shows that the allocation of financial and human resources towards the development of rural areas, with the active involvement of those previously disadvantaged, has been proven to be very efficient and can lead to sustainability of initiatives in the rural areas. The case also

reflects that the rural-urban linkages should be supported by development initiatives, particularly in the rural areas to boost the socio-economic status of the poorer communities.

In line with the above argument, Agarwal (1989: 68) argues that poor rural women have emerged as the main actors in the environmental movement owing to their marginality as they had to maintain a reciprocal link with nature. This woman/nature link has been socially and culturally constructed and not biologically determined (Agarwal 1997: 68-69). This ideology was in line with the viewpoint of looking into the interdependence in a purely economical sense. However James (2001: 100) asserts that a migrant household, through a tenuous balancing act in which different members were positioned at different points on the polarity between town and country, maintained itself economically. In addition, however, the migrant household affirmed a moral, home-based identity for its members, expressed in terms of the customary values of *Sesotho*. Young (1997: 51) presents the antithesis to the women, environment and development (WED) approach. Her gender and development (GAD) approach advocates the focus on gender relations in a variety of settings rather than on women per se.

The development perspective should therefore focus on ascribed and achieved relations of both men and women within societies (Young 1997: 51). This integrated approach considers the totality of the social organisation, economic and political life in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of society. This implies a “fit” between family, household or the domestic life and the organisation of both the political and economic spheres. An assumption made by this approach is that political and economic power are closely enmeshed, thus the first step in women's advancement is to provide the conditions for men and women to surmount poverty within rural and urban areas. Thus consciousness should be built into welfare or basic needs programmes, and encompass not only the nature of structures creating poverty for some and wealth for others, but also those structures of inequality between men and women which weaken their common struggle for survival and betterment (Young 1997: 51). Therefore there must be a political will in the country to enable welfare to be subverted for equity and reform for radical restructuring. Much emphasis is placed on the role of the state in promoting women's emancipation. GAD perspective sees the support of local communities for women as critical as it serves as the precursor of organisation of women at a higher level (presumably provincial and national levels). Other theorists who advocate the need for rural people to organise themselves include Levin and Weiner (1994) as referred to in James (2001:104). They acknowledge the existence of multiple livelihoods that straddle the

urban and rural economies, the importance of rural people and the importance of organising them.

The GDDPLG (1998: vii) cautions against the myopic view of regarding migration as a movement from rural to urban areas only. Backward migration has been stated as a process that creates a linkage between rural and urban areas as well. Some rural populations that migrate to urban areas for work are said to drain certain resources back to the rural areas with which they continue to have strong linkages. In South Africa, historical planning and development backlogs may continue to lurk in planning agendas and decision-making structures lest a concerted move towards integrated rural-urban development planning takes precedence. It should, however, be acknowledged that the National Rural Development Framework (1997), and later, the Integrated Strategic Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) (2000), were developed both of which serve to address key issues affecting the plight of rural people in an integrated fashion. The ISRDS (2000) is designed to realise a vision that is forecast to 2010, to “attain socially cohesive and stable rural communities with viable institutions, sustainable economies, and universal access to social amenities, able to attract and retain skilled and knowledgeable people who are equipped to contribute to growth and development” (ISRDS 2000: 1). The strategic objective of the ISRDS (2000: 1) is to ensure that by the year 2010, rural areas would attain the internal capacity for integrated and sustainable development. This will be implemented initially in selected areas (nodes) as a pilot, and then expanded. This strategy in its totality presents an opportunity for South Africa’s rural people to realise their own potential and contribute more fully to their country’s future. Interventions at this strategic level have the potential to filter down to the micro level, thereby impacting on the livelihood of rural people. The case study below exposes the dynamics of the rural-urban interface within multiple livelihoods in Qwaqwa, Free State province in South Africa.

2.8.1. Conceptualising rural-urban dichotomy: multiple livelihoods in Qwaqwa (Free State Province, South Africa)

Slater (2001: 82) argues that macro level changes have encouraged an accelerated shift towards multiple livelihood strategies at the micro level, and that these changes have increased local mobility and eroded the urban-rural dichotomy in Qwaqwa. She argues that the “urban” and “rural” have become increasingly intertwined to the extent that this has created new possibilities for social differentiation and identity formation. Although she

acknowledges the definition of "livelihoods" as portrayed quantitatively by Lipton and Ellis (1996); she defines livelihoods qualitatively as strategies adopted by both individuals and households that are mediated by the economic, political and institutional context. She focuses specifically on systems or repertoires of multiple livelihoods that cross the geographical and sectoral boundaries that operate both within and between households.

The strategies behind livelihoods are perceived as not necessarily clear, explicit and coherent, and not easy to understand as well. This is because livelihood activities should not be perceived in isolation but as part of a whole 'repertoire of activities, while multiple livelihoods develop as individuals gain experience, transfer skills and ideas and allow the movement of capital to secure new opportunities' (Slater 2001: 83). This view cautions against the usage of livelihoods activities as a mechanism used by the poor, particularly rural people, in order to alleviate poverty. She contends that even those in a less vulnerable position (urban people in particular) utilise livelihoods as sources from which to accumulate wealth and capital, but ultimately they are involved in the same basic and necessary struggle to survive.

There was a massive influx of people forcibly removed from farms and towns into Qwaqwa between 1970 and 1980 (Slater 2001: 83). These people swamped the available agricultural land, making farming impossible for all except those living in Qwaqwa's most remote villages. This resulted in the majority of households being forced to seek employment outside the homeland, particularly in the mines of the Free State and in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) triangle. "In this context of mass relocation, a growing social and economic divide opened up between those living in the homeland's only town of Phuthaditjhaba and in the surrounding closer settlement villages" (Slater 2001: 84). The remainder of the urban population was thus comprised of individuals and families who had been relocated to Qwaqwa from the town and cities in "white" South Africa.

The key findings for Slater's (2001: 90) study reveal an interesting feature of the rural-urban interface. The exodus to Qwaqwa resulted in the formal wage labour opportunities diminishing and the replacement of relatively stable jobs by insecure and temporary employment. This situation led to an increasing reliance by households on income generated mostly by women in the informal sector, with high implications for power relations within households. Although this seemed to be contributing to the high proportion of household income, the actual amount of money earned decreased due to declining wages in the urban

economy, leaving informal sellers to compete in a saturated market (Slater 2001: 90). The situation in Qwaqwa forced people to revert to alternative means of survival. An observation made in this regard is that the rural households tended to be more dependent on State grants, for example pensions and other welfare grants as a strategy to improve their livelihood, a phenomenon that was less observed in the urban areas.

The evidence from the Phuthaditjaba case suggests that there might be less to distinguish urban and rural livelihoods than it has been assumed (Slater 2001: 90). She asserts that the common idea that urban livelihoods were made by combining income from formal-wage labour and informal-sector activities, while rural livelihoods depended on a more diverse range of resources and activities, made little sense in Qwaqwa. The striking observation made was that the elongated three-generational households so frequently encountered in rural areas were becoming an increasingly common feature in Phuthaditjaba, where retrenched workers were also building their households around pensioners and other welfare recipients.

Qwaqwa has two categories of people: those who built their expectations of modernity and their hopes of social mobility on local industrial development, and those with limited resources and skills with no option of migrating (Slater 2001:90). The former were, in view of the declining opportunities in formal wage labour, forced to rethink their position and migrate or at least develop new livelihood strategies and combine resources and opportunities over a broader geographical range. The latter group tended to embed themselves in local support networks while they focused on eking out a living in the local informal sector. However, households started realising that very little separated them from their counterparts in the villages. "Their multiple-livelihood strategies also straddled the urban and rural divide and embraced a range of activities, such as selling chickens, beer, cabbages and even practising urban farming, which would have been unthinkable in the 1980s" (Slater 2001: 90). In the face of an economic decline, the urban households struggled to maintain a level of social respectability and to continue to differentiate themselves from the rural poor when they too were reduced to a "bits-and-pieces" livelihood. It must however be acknowledged that the prospect of the collapse of town and country as a social and economic divide has generated much fear and anxiety for individuals whose multiple livelihood strategies transcend local geographical boundaries and economic sectors in Qwaqwa.

The Qwaqwa case study reflects some of the dynamics of the rural-urban interface. It shows that the forced removal of people from towns and farms that occurred between the 1970s and

1980s, removed people from their employment comfort zones to insecure temporary jobs in Qwaqwa. This forced people into the migrant labour system, as they had to go out of the homeland to seek jobs. This system, as in the case of KZN above, led to families being headed by women and the reliance by families on the income generated by women from the informal sector. In the rural areas, as in the CTMM case study (though in the latter the same applied in the townships as well), Slater (2001) discovered that there was dependence on social welfare grants. The critical role played by government's resources in supporting communities surfaces again. However, it is the abuse that is linked to spending of the old age pensions by some families that poses a serious challenge. In Chapter 5 of the CTMM case study, some respondents raise similar concerns, but link this matter to the state of unemployment among the poor communities.

An interesting feature of the rural-urban interface from the Qwaqwa case study is that due to declining opportunities in the formal wage labour, households reached a point where they realised that there was very little that separated them from their rural counterparts. Therefore the survival strategies were similar for those in the urban and rural areas, such as urban agriculture, selling home brewed (sorghum) beer, spaza shops and so on. The researcher admits that in cases where the economic opportunities are improving, a much clearer line can be drawn between the households, in terms of being more financially viable, than those in the rural areas. In the CTMM case study, evidence shows that the lifestyles for the rural and urban residents are similar (except for the most affluent urban communities versus the remote rural communities). For instance, urban agriculture, including other activities such as selling chickens, fruit and vegetables and so on, is also practised in the CTMM rural and urban areas.

2.9. CONCLUSION

This chapter gave a comprehensive account of the rural-urban interface within various theoretical perspectives, that is, at spatial, socio-economic and political levels. It addressed aspects of the rural-urban interface at the policy and implementation levels, and used case studies to illustrate key aspects of the interface between rural and urban areas. The focus on the fringe area and informal settlements, as well as migration patterns, served to indicate the dynamics at this operational level of local government as key areas where the actual interplay between rural and urban areas can be observed.

CHAPTER THREE

TRENDS, CHARACTERISTICS AND CHALLENGES OF RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapters 1 and 2, the definition of rural and urban was introduced together with the challenges facing development and planners in their quest to develop these interlinking but contrasting areas and the complexities surrounding them

In view of the discussions in the previous chapters, it is thus far clear that there is no single definition of the rural and urban areas that can be used across the board, but the characteristics, land use and settlement pattern of each locality, by and large determines the type of definition that can be used. Whilst it is acknowledged that the definition of “rural” and “urban” is still debatable, there are certain characteristics by which these areas can be identified. The urban core is the formal city and town, including the former white municipal and former township areas (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13). What characterises these areas is the high population density with generally over 10 dwelling units per hectare. The urban core is part of the metropolitan area which is described as large urban settlement with high population densities, complex and diversified economies, and a high degree of functional integration across larger geographic areas than the normal jurisdiction of a municipality. In this regard, economic and social activities transcend municipal boundaries, and metropolitan residents may live in one locality, work in another, and utilise recreational facilities across the metropolitan area (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 58). Small towns are seen as having “intermediate density levels and the characteristic apartheid urban form, they are former white areas with intermediate to high service levels, and former black areas with more limited access to services” (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 13). These small towns vary greatly, but most are economically and socially linked to surrounding rural hinterlands.

Literature reveals that there has been much difficulty with the definition and description of rural areas although theorists have been able to describe what an urban area/urban core/metropolitan area is. Various sources of information seem to offer unreliable data on rural areas, making it very difficult to develop a sound argument on these bases. Data integrity

pertaining to the rural areas remains an issue that should be pursued through further research. However, this is outside the scope of this dissertation. The GDDPLG (1997b: 2) informs us that it is problematic to use the census data to describe the rural areas because “rural” is not clearly defined but simply taken as “non-urban” and residents of an informal settlement adjacent to the boundaries of a town are counted as “non-urban”. The definition of “urban” and “non-urban” does not clearly differentiate between the Gauteng rural and urban areas. This situation has really not improved much in Census 2001, because it clearly admits that the situation regarding the classification of the country into urban and rural areas in South Africa is still rather fluid, as referred to in Chapter 2. The current classification has tried to include categories of urban formal and urban informal, as well as rural formal and tribal areas with the major differences being farms and smallholdings in the rural formal areas and tribal settlements/tribal villages in the tribal areas.

Khanya (2004: iii) classifies the following different types of area: commercial farming areas, rural “communal” areas, urban areas and the peri-urban areas. The commercial farming areas are comprised of large farms with most people working on the farms, and small towns which are increasing in size with ex-farm workers but dying economically. The rural communal areas consist of the former homelands or Bantustans with artificially high population densities, and people living on micro or smallholdings and where traditional authorities are still important. In these areas, formal markets are weak with a major decline in the remaining remittances, pensions and home gardens. The urban areas comprise the formal parts of the former urban settlements, while the peri-urban areas have parts of the former homelands close to major centres, or areas of informal settlement adjacent to major urban centres, many of which have been formalised. Khanya (2004: iii) argues that since 1990, there has been a massive expansion in the population of the major urban centres, notably through the explosion of informal settlements, particularly in Gauteng.

One peculiarity with regards to Gauteng is its historical background. It evolved as a mining city where much economic activity was situated and had no homelands as was the case with other provinces such as the Eastern Cape, Northern Province and KwaZulu-Natal, thus it has not a large land occupied by former homelands but a small proportion of the rural population (GDDPLG 1998: 1). This implies that the rationale for rural development policies for Gauteng would be different from those of other provinces, which seek to reincorporate vast marginalised rural populations situated in the former homelands economically, politically and socially. However different, the rationale for a rural development policy in Gauteng is

nevertheless powerful, owing to the fact that the development and service needs of the relatively small rural Gauteng population are great (GDDPLG 1998: 1).

This chapter serves to discuss the characteristics and trends of rural and urban development in South Africa. Although there are similarities and differences between the rural and urban areas, this dissertation will attempt to single out those characteristics, trends and challenges that pertain to each area, and then reflect the integrated/holistic approach to sustainable rural and urban development in the region Case studies will be used to illustrate some of these characteristics in the practical environment

3.2. BACKGROUND TO RURAL-URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.2.1. Historical background

The context of the system of government that existed prior to and post the apartheid era needs to be reflected in order to understand the background to the development of rural and urban areas in South Africa. It is true that apartheid has left its imprint on the government system as a whole as well as on the local government sphere. The Nationalist government that came into power in 1948 introduced laws and policies of separate development and through spatial segregation, influx control and a policy of “own management areas”, apartheid aimed to limit the extent to which affluent municipalities would bear the financial burden of servicing disadvantaged black areas. The Group Areas Act therefore restricted the permanent presence of Africans in urban areas through the pass system, and reserved a viable municipal base for white areas by separating townships and industrial and commercial development (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 1). During this period, local government was established in the bantustans, and amongst others, some rural townships (the so-called “R293 towns”) were given their own administrations. This made it appear as though the traditional leaders were given powers over land allocation and development matters in areas with communally owned land, but they actually lacked real power. This was the case because the key decisions affecting people within these areas were still taken at the central government level. In fact, the “own local government structures established at that time were designed to reinforce the policies of segregation and economic exclusion as none of them had resources to make any real difference to the quality of life of their constituencies” (Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 2). This view is supported by Khanya (2004: iii) as it states that South Africa has a peculiar history in relation to the management of development,

owing to the apartheid state, the creation of bantustans and, in the mid-1980s, the creation of the tricameral Parliament with separate administrations for coloureds, Indians and whites. However, the administrations for the bantustans were weak and very locally identified, while white provincial administrations were stronger.

South Africa's political economy derives from its background as a mining and agricultural colonial economy, with the development of major urban centres around mines and ports, regional market administrative and service centres, a predominantly white commercial farming areas covering 80 percent of the land area and former homelands (Khanya: 2004: iii). Thus a major feature was the promotion of 'cyclical labour migration' from very poor homelands to the mines and industries. However, by 1993, a classification of urban and rural poverty showed that 73 percent of the rural population and 20 percent of metros were classified as poor (Khanya 2004: iii).

Discrimination and segregation in the rural areas were equally stark, since scant regard was given to the needs of the rural majority (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 2). This implies that the service needs of the vast majority of South Africa's non-metropolitan, including labour reserve populations in small dormitory townships attached to white towns, farm workers and people forcibly settled in bantustans, went largely unheeded. The eventual collapse of this system was predicted once it reaches crisis proportions, and this was evidenced in the sporadic protests and community mobilisation against apartheid local government between 1983 and 1990. This crisis eventually led to the national reform process of local government, and the national debate about the future of local government took place in the local government negotiating forum, alongside the national negotiating process. With the advent of the new democratic state in South Africa, the South Africa (1996b) was developed and it introduced three autonomous spheres, national, provincial and local government, each with specific powers and functions to govern within its mandate. All three spheres have a major responsibility for dealing with the inequalities created by the apartheid state. The local sphere has restructured itself and moved from the administrative towards the developmental type of government in order to be more effective in its delivery of services to citizens.

Indeed, several policies were developed in the post 1994 period to focus on the development of rural and urban areas, amongst them both the Urban Renewal (2000) and the Integrated

Sustainable Rural Development Programmes (2000) were developed to deal with the developmental challenges facing the impoverished rural and urban areas in South Africa.

3.3. CHARACTERISTICS, TRENDS AND CHALLENGES OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

3.3.1. Characteristics and trends

The characteristics, trends and challenges of rural development in South Africa must be viewed against the historical background presented above. Rural development has its roots in the apartheid system and although it has been difficult to define the term “rural”, the characteristics of rural areas and rural development in general are discussed with a view to indicating those aspects that are peculiar to the rural environment. Rural areas throughout the world tend to have similar characteristics. Populations are spatially dispersed, agriculture is often the dominant, and sometimes the exclusive, economic sector, and opportunities for resource mobilisation are limited (The Presidency 2000: 3). This means that people living in the rural areas face factors that pose major challenges to development. The spatial dispersion of rural populations often increases the cost and difficulty of providing rural goods and services effectively, and the specific economic conditions in rural areas result in fewer opportunities available than in non-rural locations. This leads to the limitation in the tax base leaving rural areas rarely able to mobilise sufficient resources to finance their own development programmes and therefore they are dependent on transfers from the urban areas.

The South African rural areas generally share some features with other countries. The rural areas are characterised by high levels of poverty, poor local economies with a weak manufacturing base, undeveloped infrastructure and a limited tax base that offer limited opportunities for employment (The Presidency 2000: 7). This is accompanied by the high costs of basic social services, poor access to natural resources that support subsistence, as well as low levels of skills development. In South Africa, approximately 70 percent of poor people live in rural areas and their incomes are constrained because the rural economy is not sufficiently vibrant to provide them with remunerative jobs or self-employment opportunities, as their urban counterparts. Furthermore, their cost of living is high because they spend relatively more on basic social services such as food and water, shelter, energy, health and education, and transport and communication services. Moreover, the natural resource base to

which they have access cannot provide rural people with the means of subsistence (The Presidency 2000: 7).

It is in this spirit that the Minister of Social Development, launched a programme "Pushing back the frontiers of poverty" in the year 2002. This government initiative introduces strategies meant to counter all the factors that push people to live in conditions of abject poverty. In November 2002, the Minister of Social Development and the Minister of Agriculture, launched the second UNFPA Country Support Programme (GCIS: 2003). This programme aims to support the government in redressing past imbalances including combating the effects of poverty on the poor, promoting gender mainstreaming activities, raising the profile of population and development, and mobilising resources and contributing to capacity building in the population and development sector. It also seeks to advance population development in South Africa, with an amount of R72 million to be spent over the next five years, thus making a difference in the fight against poverty and HIV/Aids. However, this programme has targeted three of the poorest provinces in the country, namely Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo (GCIS: 2003).

The demographics of rural South Africa still reflect past policies, and the legacy of the former homeland system is one of 'enduring planned and deliberate poverty'. The scars of the past apartheid policies are evident in rural areas in a form of high-density population areas and dislocated settlements where people live in abject poverty (The Presidency 2000: 7). These so-called ghettos are located far from economic opportunities necessitating travelling between home and work, incurring high transport costs for jobs located in the urban areas, as well as for the accomplishment of basic tasks on a daily basis. The types of houses that have been developed in the rural areas are of a substandard nature located far from the cities , thereby forcing many rural people to be migrants working in urban areas, resulting in the rural-urban continuum created between the two areas (The Presidency 2000: 8). Therefore the level of interdependence between rural communities and distant large cities is higher than elsewhere, but there is a less organic linkage between rural areas and the towns near them. It can thus be argued that the present settlement pattern reflects the distortions and discrimination of the old regime, characterised by forced removals that left people in search of better living conditions and jobs.

Another unique feature to the South Africa's rural areas is the existence of the resettled communities, different types of people from former homelands and people in mining towns.

Most migrant workers live in hostels around the mining towns with few facilities, while others, including those in the so-called white rural areas, live around these areas in poverty and with no facilities at all. The farm labourers in particular commonly suffer from a lack of opportunities and access to basic services, and the state of poverty in South Africa is exacerbated by the implementation of the policies of the old regime which are rooted in the apartheid system. It can thus be argued that if the South African economy had followed a different development path in the past, rural poverty would not have become such a pervasive feature of our present. Natrass (1986: 28-29) indicates that the uneven spatial access to amenities in the African rural areas and the low level at which they are supplied calls for direct government action to upgrade and extend rural services. Such actions would have the added spin-off of providing jobs in the rural areas through the construction phase of the delivery of needed services. If this process is properly managed, it may also maximise the long-term spin-offs from such programmes.

Evidence has also shown that the infrastructure is skewed in favour of commercial farming areas, and rural people generally do not have access to natural resources. This calls for the accommodation of the diversity and complexity of rural areas and poverty in flexible and responsive strategic planning. There is compelling evidence indicating that, in South Africa, commercial agriculture has followed a more capital-intensive growth path than should have been the case and significant agricultural resources lie unused in the former homeland areas (The Presidency 2000: 9). This has affected the income-earning potential of rural people in different ways. Firstly, the entrepreneurial abilities of African farmers were suppressed in the rural areas in general by their exclusion from the commercial land market, and also in the former homeland areas where commercially viable farming became almost impossible. This implies that employment opportunities in commercial agriculture were and are still largely limited to unskilled workers and thus poorly paid, and more than half of employment in commercial agriculture is of a seasonal and temporary nature only. There is really no job security and this is one sector that has been marred by exploitative employment practices in South Africa, hence the efforts by the Ministry of the Department of Labour, through Sectoral Determination, to set minimum wages and minimum employment standards for farm workers. This matter is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. In addition, agricultural industries were stunted and urban-based, thus depriving rural people of further opportunities. Generally, rural people lack natural resources to support their subsistence, thus more than 85 percent of the countryside is settled by commercial farmers, and the population pressure in the former

homeland areas has depleted the natural resource base to an extent that only a few communities can provide for their subsistence needs in this way (The Presidency 2000: 9).

The participation of local communities in the development of policies cannot be overemphasised; it is through their input that government is enabled to put the food where the mouth is. The rural areas are often politically marginalised, thereby leaving little opportunity for the rural poor to influence government policies. Thus in many developing countries, policies have also consistently discriminated against agriculture through high levels of taxation and other macro-economic policies that have adversely affected agricultural performance and the rural tax base. This has ultimately resulted in a net transfer of resources out of rural areas (The Presidency 2000: 8).

Since the 1970s, there have been efforts to extend the benefits of development to rural people, including the development and adoption of a regional or area-based approach by many countries and international agencies (The Presidency 2000: 10). The major objective of this approach was to tackle rural poverty in a cross-sectoral manner through integrated rural development projects. As stated in Chapter 2, the focus was on the implementation of integrated development projects. These projects were criticised for their inadequate participatory processes and capacity building and centralisation of decision making. The 1980s witnessed the return to more traditional, single sector approaches, which prioritised the role of rural local government and the rural communities themselves in the development process. Since 1994, there has been a move towards integrated development planning in South Africa, and the focus has thus been on integrating the efforts of all stakeholders towards the development of rural and urban areas. This is in line with the principles of the DFA.

During the same period there has been advocacy for the decentralisation of decision-making powers from the centre to the periphery. However, for a decentralised system to work effectively, cooperation is required at the local level between formal governmental institutions and a range of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs). The formation of public-private partnerships and the participation of community members in government processes are important as they assist in fostering consensus building among all stakeholders and buy in. However the rural municipalities should be well prepared for this purpose and be capacitated through appropriate training, in order to enable them to fulfil their roles and responsibilities. The challenge within local communities is the level of consultation, particularly of community members in government processes. A general concern

raised by some respondents within the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality during administration of the questionnaires is that community members are seldom consulted, and there are no community forums that serve as consultative structures to enable them to provide input to matters that affect the development of their localities. This matter needs to be addressed, as mentioned in Chapter 2, through the actual establishment of these consultative structures, as well as by empowering communities to organise themselves and advance their needs appropriately. This view is supported by The Presidency (2000: 4), which indicates that once this is in place, systems must also be in place to discourage the misuse of funds and communities must be empowered to participate in the development process. The process of decentralisation, without explicit efforts to strengthen rural institutions and enhance participation of rural people, is seen as being in great danger of urban bias and prolonged incapacitation. The Zimbabwean case is used to demonstrate the dangers of decentralisation in this instance. In Zimbabwe, the urban local authorities have taken effective responsibility in the delivery of many services, and are raising increasing revenues from local taxes, whereas rural authorities have been perhaps less successful. This implies that creating local authorities and assigning equal formal roles to all will not avoid urban bias or address rural poverty. The urban bias may arise without extensive efforts to strengthen rural institutions and undertake participatory processes (The Presidency 2000: 6).

Planning must take into account the nature of urban-rural linkages and aim for comprehensive regional development where urban settlements form an integral part of the strategy (The Presidency 2000: 9). However, for this strategy to be effective, it must take into account the diversity and complexity of rural South Africa, because the nature of planning, as well as effective implementation of rural development would depend largely upon an agreed to definition of the rural areas within the South African context. It is important to note that rural/non-urban areas are not homogenous and thus include geographical areas and populations that often differ significantly from one another. Most concepts of rural areas and populations include commercial farmers, some small towns and villages, and nature reserves that have very different functions and development needs. In the South African context, these differences are complicated by past policies of racial segregation and especially the creation of independent and self-governing homelands that have reinforced some existing divisions and blurred others. The researcher admits, as mentioned above, that the definition of rural areas in South Africa is still a matter that is hotly debated, and thus far there has been general consensus on the peculiar characteristics that categorise areas as “rural”. There is indeed a

need for an agreed-on definition that can inform development and planning decisions and assist in effective implementation of rural development policies and programmes.

This dissertation has already alluded to the complex linkages that exist between rural and urban areas, and the fact that the successful planning and implementation of rural development require an understanding of the type of these linkages. The marginalisation of agriculture, preferably in the former homelands, needs to be addressed, acknowledging the role of women and gender issues. The deepest poverty in South Africa is found in the rural areas, and women form the majority of the rural population and female-headed households are particularly disadvantaged. The poorest households in the rural areas are perceived as having low levels of literacy and education, have difficulty accessing resources such as water, fuel and other services, and have few opportunities of gainful employment. Subsequently, this results in high levels of under-nutrition and malnutrition, morbidity and mortality of children. It is crucial to note that women head the majority of these households. This indicates that the correlation between poor living conditions, poor access to services, time spent obtaining water and fuel, low incomes, and large household size are characteristic of rural areas. "On the one hand, 11 percent of rural households have adequate housing, piped water and acceptable sanitation, little time has to be spent collecting fuel and none is taken with water collection. On the other hand, nearly 22 percent of the rural population lives in abject poverty, with virtually no access to any of these services" (The Presidency 2000: 11). The impact of HIV/Aids must also be incorporated into policies in order to respond to consequences on particularly the rural households as a category of the population that is also at risk and highly vulnerable. To militate against the effects of HIV/Aids, visible efforts from government and key stakeholders outside of government should be deployed to the rural areas.

Rural development plays an important role in the South African regional strategy as well as in its interaction with urban development (Kok & Gelderblom 1994: 206). Urbanisation is perceived to have implications for the welfare of rural areas. The countryside is the source area for rural-urban and city-ward migration, and thus the development of these urban areas may retard the out-migration stream to the towns. However, regional development should not take place in order to keep people in the rural areas. The idea that rural development will inhibit out-migration should therefore be replaced by the principle that rural development should serve to improve the quality of life and standards of those living in the rural areas. In line with this argument, it is thus necessary to provide opportunities outside the agricultural sector for those who are not interested in leaving the rural areas. This implies that rural

development should happen alongside urban development, because the mutual importance and interdependence of urban markets and agriculture is crucial (Kok & Gelderblom 1994: 212). This view is shared by Rondinelli (1986: 240) when he argues that rather than urbanisation being detrimental to rural development, the growth of urban centres could provide economies of scale that increase the efficiency of agricultural support services, essential commercial and financial services and physical infrastructure. Therefore the absence of proper services in the rural and semi-urban areas of South Africa has adverse implications for the quality of life of people living in these areas.

A multi-sectoral approach to development that puts agriculture at the centre is important because the process of integrated rural development and agricultural development are seen as complementary and place emphasis on the development of services and industries in concert with agricultural development (Kok & Gelderblom 1994: 206). However, rural development should also include the establishment of non-agricultural career opportunities for those who do not have an interest in agriculture. Therefore the process of integrated rural development should consist of ‘labour intensive agricultural innovations’, the provision of infrastructure in a properly coordinated and reciprocal manner and the introduce markets that would serve to create constructive linkages between the ‘agricultural and non-agricultural sectors’ (Gelderblom 1994: 211-212). The cornerstone for sustainable rural development is active participation by the intended recipients of the service, in order to achieve integrated rural development. This participation may be in a form of, amongst other things, involvement of community members in identifying their needs, organising the rural population into self-help associations as well as the provision of training to farmers (Kok & Gelderblom 1994: 212).

In line with the above argument, The Presidency (2000: 12) suggests the following. Firstly, both rural areas and poverty represent diverse, multifaceted, complex and dynamic realities, which are often difficult to capture with statistics and other descriptive and measuring devices. The government should accommodate this diversity and complexity in its strategic planning in a flexible and responsive manner. Secondly, the analyses of rural poverty need to take rural-urban linkages into account. This should involve linking rural development with the development of the larger urban settlements, as well as through the development of a comprehensive regional strategy, by strengthening rural-urban linkages. Thirdly, the marginalisation of agriculture, particularly in the former homelands, needs to be addressed. Gender issues are central to rural agriculture since there has been a high involvement of women in this sector. Finally, it is crucial to develop strategies to mitigate the impact of

opportunistic diseases such as HIV/Aids since they have a significant impact on highly vulnerable households in the rural areas (The Presidency 2000: 12). The table below gives a summary of the socio-economic characteristics of rural communities in South Africa.

Table 3.1: Socio-economic characteristics of rural communities in South Africa

Characteristic	Former homeland	Displaced and resettled communities	Commercial farming areas	Mining areas
Population range	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 500 to 10 000 ➤ Average household size 7 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 3000 to 20000 ➤ Average household size 7 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 10 to 150 ➤ Average household (labourer/tenant size 7) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 1000 to 15000 ➤ Average household size 7
Settlement type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Scattered ➤ Homestead ➤ Dense settlements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Dense settlements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Villages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Dense settlements
Amenities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Shops, clinics usually distant ➤ Schools usually distant ➤ Formal and informal dwellings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Shops, clinics usually distant ➤ Schools usually distant ➤ Formal dwelling and some RDP houses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Shops, clinics usually distant ➤ Schools usually distant ➤ Commercial schools ➤ Informal and farm accommodation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Shops, clinics usually nearby ➤ Schools usually nearby ➤ Formal (hostels and in some cases houses)
Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Subsistence farming ➤ Unemployment on excess of 30% ➤ Under-employment 50% ➤ Significant remittances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Commute to urban areas daily, weekly, monthly ➤ Unemployment 70% ➤ Remittances from urban areas ➤ Informal sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Labourers and tenants for commercial farms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Labourers (usually from nearby and artisans and from far away)

	from urban area ➤ Off-farm employment negligible			
Average household income	➤ +/- R650	➤ +/-R650	➤ +/-R350 (labourer) ➤ +/-R700 (tenant)	➤ +/-R900 to +/-R4000

Source: Department of Transport, Rural Community Archetypes, adjusted

The GDDPLG (1997b: 22) reflects the status quo of rural areas in Gauteng and indicates that it is characterised by increasing development pressure on rural areas from urban areas, and have little foresight on how to deal with this pressure or limit its negative impact. The Gauteng rural areas are characterised by a ‘low economic growth’, escalating levels of employment demands compounded by a growing population, as well as inadequate and badly coordinated service delivery by all levels of government. Rural areas also have inadequate infrastructure as well as social conditions that continue to reinforce the marginalisation of the majority of the rural population. Therefore there is a need for a concerted effort to develop a strategy to address these concerns in a coordinated manner.

Gauteng is a highly urbanised province and this urban nature has affected the nature of its rural areas. The GDDPLG (1997b:4) states that in this context, it is somewhat difficult to describe clearly what is meant by “rural”. However it mentions some of the characteristics of rural areas as having agricultural activities, a lack of built-up area, lack of bulk infrastructure, sprawling settlements with small populations, and a large distance between settlements. Most of the rural areas in Gauteng are also characterised by small populations, a lack of organisation, a lack of access to resources, poorly developed infrastructure and relatively great distances between the area and other areas, resulting in relative isolation and long travelling distances (GDDPLG 1997b: 4). It was mentioned in Chapter 1 that one possible differentiator between urban and rural is the lack of built-up areas in rural areas, but the situation on the ground proves that there are also some built-up areas in the rural areas, particularly in an urbanised province like Gauteng. This indicates that there is much interaction between the Gauteng rural and urban areas, although the difference between the two is not always clear. Evidence shows that there are elements that are classified as rural in the urban areas and vice versa. In some urban areas agricultural activities are practised while

commercial farming is practised in some rural areas. This characteristic clearly shows that in addition to the normally stated differences, there are similarities between the rural and urban areas. Therefore a debate on the development of rural and urban areas should reflect both sides.

3.3.2. Bronberg Transitional Rural Council (TRC) City case study: trends and characteristics of rural areas

Bronberg is a rural area situated on the western border of Pretoria with a population estimated at 31 187 people, 80 percent of whom are African. Almost all rural Africans live as farm workers on white-owned farms. Almost 40 percent of all households have a very low income, while only 13 percent are in a high-income category. Bronberg presents with the following characteristics. Cattle farming is the main agricultural activity (mostly informal) with some game farming occurring predominantly in the north-eastern side. Bapsfontein, an area that lies in the western half of Bronberg, serves as its local service centre, and the N4 freeway development corridor runs strategically through this main service centre. Agriculture makes the largest contribution to the local economy, therefore a general decline in the agricultural sector and a shrinkage of the labour component on farms further contributes to unemployment in Bronberg. (GDDPLG (1997b: 11).

Infrastructure such as electricity is supplied by ESKOM, while some areas to the west are supplied by the Tshwane Metropolitan Council. There is a shortage of water, minimal refuse disposal, a few primary schools, and occasional mobile clinics. Furthermore, Bronberg is characterised by a lack of public sports and recreational facilities, a lack of railway stations for access by commuters, and a local road network that is generally in poor condition restricting through traffic from using the network. Most people commute to neighbouring areas for work and other purposes, and also in pursuit of facilities that are not available in Bronberg. Community facilities such as churches and schools occur throughout the area, although there are no publicly owned facilities (GDDPLG (1997b: 52). This case study reflects the social, economic and infrastructural challenges experienced by people living in the rural areas. Agriculture and farming are the survival strategies, and the periods of decline hit the rural people very hard. Some of the characteristics reflected in this case are experienced in the CTMM, where people in the rural areas find themselves migrating to neighbouring urban areas for survival.

3.3.3. Challenges

The rural areas are generally confronted with the challenges of creating liveable environments for their communities, and these range from “securing access to land and services for the rural poor, addressing the distortions in ownership and opportunity that apartheid created between black and white rural dwellers” (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 24). During the apartheid era, many communities were forcibly relocated to “decentralisation points” in the former homelands and this created acute challenges for the municipalities. This resulted in dense settlements without a sustainable economic base, with the majority of residents commuting up to 70 kilometres to work in towns and cities (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 24). In view of this, it has already been alluded that the distance between home and work imposes high transport costs as well as the harsh social and personal costs. To deal with these effects, innovative strategies and programmes should be developed and implemented to help to create sustainable and quality living environments for communities. However, the harsh realities within South African rural areas indicate clearly that this may not be a short to medium-term issue. Although plans have been drawn up and priorities identified, progress on the ground has been very slow leaving people in the rural areas to continue to live in appalling environments.

The rural areas are diverse with concentrations of poverty and relative prosperity, but not all of them are poor. The institutional design of rural municipalities needs to recognise the diversity of rural settlement patterns, and the variations in existing municipal capacity and service demands across rural areas. Therefore it is imperative that the rural municipalities are allocated minimum executive and legislative powers, but are able to ‘draw down’ powers from the district government as they demonstrate sufficient administrative and financial capacity to administer power (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 74). It has already been indicated that rural communities are not a homogenous group, and neither are the municipalities. There are some rural municipalities that could immediately assume a number of additional powers and functions, while particularly in very sparsely settled areas the rural municipality may assume relatively fewer powers. District government should play an important role in the provision of municipal services where rural municipalities lack administrative capacity (Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 74). The institutional factors profoundly affecting rural development are the role and power of chiefs in the political and social systems of rural areas. They have the ability to influence development towards a culture that suits their needs and are also very influential with regard to community

members and structures. The traditional authorities still have more influence over the rural population than is the case in urban areas. A cooperative model for rural governance should be designed and properly implemented, particularly in those areas falling under the traditional leadership or tribal authorities. This model should ensure cooperation, communication and consultation between local government and traditional leaders and institutions. Thus working collaboratively with the chiefs in the process of developing the rural areas where they still exercise control can help yield positive results.

The importance of regional planning was advanced in the above analysis. This view suggests that the primary ostensible objectives of any development project or programme are improving the levels of welfare and the quality of life of the majority of the population, especially the poorest community members, and increasing people's control over the conditions of their lives and initiating positive processes of upliftment (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 1). However, in South Africa the realities on the ground reveal that although there have been increasing calls for rural development both from planners and from government, actual attempts at rural development have been very small scale in extent and scattered in distribution. The researcher is of the opinion that several policy and legislative frameworks that have been developed since 1994 would serve to address issues pertaining to rural development and their implementation assist in improving the livelihood of rural communities. Efforts should be devoted to assisting the local authorities with their interpretation and application to facilitate the process of monitoring and evaluation.

Some of the challenges experienced by people living in the rural areas include the poor rural-urban linkages, migration remittances and unemployment, constraints on entrepreneurial activity, and restrictions on women. In addition, the rural people experience obstacles to the expansion of the small farming sector, vulnerable environments, land tenure and ownership issues, women's land tenure rights, as well as obstacles to the provision of infrastructure on communal land (Department of Land Affairs 1997: 21). Most challenges to rural development can be traced back to the long period of apartheid with its discriminatory laws, forced removals and neglect of the majority of black people. These forced removals led to overpopulation of the majority of the homelands and deprivation of basic needs. High population growth appears to have put pressure on family income, social services and natural resources. Therefore the successful development of rural areas requires institutional development; investment in basic infrastructure and social services; improving income and employment opportunities; restoration of basic economic rights; resource conservation; and

justice, equity and security (Department of Land Affairs 1997: 21). The structural problems facing rural development in South Africa include overcrowding and landlessness, migrant labour, lack of markets and difficulties associated with marketing, lack of access to resources, lack of synchronisation in regional investment and political factors (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 14-24). In addition, most of the peripheral regions are massively overcrowded and are expected to support a far greater population than they are capable of supporting, and this has resulted in massive social and ecological problems (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 29). The perception that the migrant labour system provides improved opportunities for communities than rural agriculture, negatively impacts on efforts to promote and invest in agriculture, because people, especially men from the rural areas perceive migrant labour as a more attractive choice with better prospects than working in an agricultural sector. The migrant labour system negatively affects rural productivity in that “migrant remittances” tend to be invested in improving competitiveness in the migration process through education rather than being invested in agriculture, because migrancy is seen as a more attractive option than farming. Traditionally in South Africa, men from the rural areas who managed to get employment in the urban areas, particularly in Gauteng, were regarded in high esteem and accorded a status higher than that of other men working either in agriculture or locally. This has indeed perpetuated the migrant system and influenced the thinking of younger boys, who also wanted to work in Gauteng when they grew up. The rural development policies should serve to reverse this thinking through the development of programmes that plough back resources into the rural areas and instil a sense of pride among communities for working within their localities.

The fundamental structural challenge facing most undeveloped local areas in the deep periphery is that of spatial marginalisation, which means that each local area is locked into its own developmental problem, and frequently developers perceive the problem of these areas in an isolated manner (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 21). An intervention measure that may be suitable in this instance is designing a framework to guide investment in such a way that each parcel and form of investment reinforces the others and contributes to an emerging regional structure that systematically reduces the problem of spatial marginalisation. The Tshwane City Strategy (discussed in Chapter 5) serves to address this matter within the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. Historically the problem of separate development within South Africa has continued to exacerbate pressure via relocations and influx control. This situation has increased pressure on the land and has also resulted in a large landless class that cannot be

absorbed into the fledging urban communities, and cannot also be “reached” by rural development programmes and policies (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 22).

An analysis of the economic situation within the rural areas reveals that the local markets are very small owing to poverty and, as a result, are easily flooded, for instance the production of one small-scale producer is expected to satisfy the demand of the entire village or local region. Given this situation, small-scale peasant producers cannot compete for the broader market comprising of larger towns and their surrounding hinterlands with more efficient and often subsidised, larger-scale producers operating outside the borders (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 19). Efficient marketing therefore requires a high degree of organisation, and since this is not available in most rural areas, it is found that in largely subsistence farming areas, many producers within the marketable range produce the same staples. These factors serve as impediments to sustainable rural development because people have to practically compete for the same market and customers. The lack of resources, particularly land (landlessness) and capital, greatly affects integrated rural development because firstly, agriculturally centred rural development programmes are at times incapable of reaching the poorest rural dwellers since they do not have access to the vital resources to participate in these schemes. Secondly, access to capital is not evenly distributed across the population leading to existing resources being inefficiently used or the skewed distribution of resources that favour the wealthy (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 20). This has been seen to negatively affect the motivation of poorer families to participate in rural development schemes, and these difficulties have led to increasing calls for input-intensive approaches to “bottom-up” development projects. However, caution must be exercised in this regard because this approach requires a strong and sustained financial and political commitment over a long period of time, and very often this commitment does not extend much beyond rhetoric. In Tshwane, the process of developing integrated development plans (IDPs) involves the participation of local communities in line with the priorities of government in different planning and financial cycles. This indicates that a combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches is rather practised and seems to be aligning plans better.

There is a dearth of information on Gauteng's rural economy, however, the Statistics in brief, (1996) confirm that there are 2,500 farming units in Gauteng, and the total number of workers employed in agriculture is 34, 302 (2% as opposed to 13% employed nationally). This is actually a minuscule proportion of workers employed in agriculture in South Africa as a whole (GDDPLG 1998: vi). The October 1995 Household Survey (Central Statistics 1997)

indicates that in Gauteng 68 percent of the economically active population is employed in the formal sector, 11 percent is employed in the informal sector, while 21 percent is unemployed.

An analysis of the social challenges paints the following picture. A large proportion of South Africa's population are children, most of whom live in rural areas where 80 percent of the very poorest children are found. The problems experienced include malnutrition/under nutrition, Vitamin A deficiency and anaemia, and some of these are caused by environmental conditions such as the lack of available water and sanitation. All opportunistic diseases such as malnutrition, tuberculosis and HIV/Aids prevalent in rural areas pose threats to rural development and economic growth, stability and long-term sustainability. The challenge of HIV/Aids is particularly significant because it may affect the most productive member of the household, resulting in the deterioration of the health of the entire household (The Presidency 2000: 12).

The impact of HIV/Aids on the rural poor can be demonstrated in a number of ways. This includes the loss of a spouse that can have a major disruptive effect on the agricultural cycle because of the division of agricultural labour between men and women. Some trends that have been witnessed in the rural areas are such that some households have begun to cultivate crops near their homesteads rather than in more distant fields in order to be able to take care of the ill. Other ways of helping to deal with HIV/Aids include reductions in investments in agricultural inputs, reduction of areas under cultivation, reduced yields, cultivation of less labour-intensive crops, shifts to non-agricultural activities, and a decline in the care and health of livestock. These trends are said to have important implications for household income, productivity, the division of labour in the household, social and human capital and land tenure rights (The Presidency 2000: 12-13).

The plight of farm workers cannot be overemphasised by virtue of them living in isolated homesteads on land owned by farm owners. Their rights, such as those that address human dignity, freedom and security, servitude and forced labour are often violated by landowners in the rural areas. The labour tenants are a vulnerable group of rural dwellers with specific land needs (Department of Land Affairs 1997: 59). The Land Tenant's Act (Act 3 of 1996) provides for the protection of their rights and for the acquisition of land for labour tenants who will be able to access the settlement/land acquisition grant for this purpose. As already mentioned, the farm workers are the most vulnerable group owing to their dependence on their employees for employment wages, housing, electricity, schooling, access to medical

facilities, water and transport. Most of the farm workers are not educated or their educational qualifications are low. This was proven by a survey conducted among black farm workers in 1997, which revealed that 50 percent of farm workers had no schooling and a further 40 percent had only been educated between Grades 2 and 7 (The Presidency 2000: 11). In South Africa, while various government policy documents have reiterated the importance of targeting state transfers to rural areas, this commitment lapsed when it came to funding allocations at the local levels. The provincial government's formula for allocation of funds is weighted 25 percent in favour of those provinces with relatively large rural populations. It is however clear that this weight-allocation does not reverse urban bias, as it merely compensates for the higher costs associated with servicing a larger rural constituency (The Presidency 2000: 11).

At a macro (policy) level, the key challenges are around limited political, administrative and fiscal decentralisation, and a viable economic strategy for rural areas and for the informal economy. At the meso (local government) level, the major challenge is an implementable IDP to which all stakeholders are committed (Khanya 2004: v). Since South Africa has moved a step towards recognising the interdependence between urban and rural areas through having integrated authorities, it is important to assure that the rural voice is not lost, and therefore community-based planning should assist in this regard. In relation to the linkages, there is a significant challenge for effective alignment of plans, particularly between the IDPs and the Provincial Growth and Development Plans (PGDP). The intergovernmental planning framework needs to be strengthened in order to be effective (Khanya 2004: v).

The IGR Act (2005) serves to ensure that the three spheres of government that are autonomous and distinct, co-operate in line with the requirements of Chapter three of the Constitution. The structures proposed in the Act include the Presidential Coordinating Council which the Presidents uses to consults with Premiers and the leaders of organised local government (i.e. SALGA), the Minister and Members of the Executive Councils (MINMECS), as well as the Premiers Forum, which are at a functional level to address issues of policies, legislation and priorities as well as sectoral issues that impact on service delivery and budgets. These are not decision-making structures, although they create a platform for executive level of government to coordinate their efforts and align plans to address challenges facing government, such as, poverty and marginalisation, to enable them to make decisions informed by discussions held at a structure level, within their respective mandates. Although South Africa has a unitary state where plans developed nationally apply to all spheres, it is at

this level that function cannot be centralised as the three spheres are autonomous and have powers to implement plans within their provinces. In terms of resources, the IGR Act supplements the initiatives led by the Presidency aimed at harmonising and aligning the planning instruments across the three spheres of government, and, amongst others, these include the National Spatial Development Perspective, the PGDPs, IDPs, the single Public Service and the review of powers and functions and the review of equitable share of resources (money the provinces are entitled to, from national government). All these efforts are aimed at institutionalising the evolving government of the intergovernmental relations system within South Africa.

3.4. CHARACTERISTICS, TRENDS AND CHALLENGES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

3.4.1. Urbanisation trends and tendencies

The term “urbanisation” is used for two interrelated but basically different meanings, that is, in a behavioural and processional sense. In the behavioural sense, it refers to the process of urban acculturation, which is the social transition of individuals and families from “rural” to “urban” dwellers. In a processional sense, it refers to the physical movement of people from rural to urban areas and within this to the distributional pattern of migrants within the settlement hierarchy. The latter definition is used to discuss the process of urbanisation in South Africa (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1982: 2).

Prior to 1860 and the discovery of minerals in South Africa, the level and rate of urbanisation was low and relatively static, but the economic restructuring which took place as a result of mineral discovery had a profound effect on the pace and pattern of urbanisation, such that by 1980, 89 percent of whites, 77 percent of coloureds, 91 percent of Asians and 38 percent of blacks lived in cities, and 53 percent of the total population was living in the four main metropolitan areas (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1982: 19). In South Africa, the precise form of the factors that brought about this transformation and which shaped the pattern of settlement in South Africa have been the subject of debate. Two types of approach were dominant, one comprising radical theorists who have taken a historical materialist approach to explain the development of the South African political economy, and the other consisting of a series of writers who either implicitly or explicitly drew on concepts contained in demographic or process models of urbanisation. These different theoretical positions also underpin different

interpretations of measures directed at urbanisation, particularly influx control (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1982: 19).

According to Dewar, Todes and Watson (1982: 21), pre 1870 was characterised by low levels of urbanisation; the period between 1870-1913, saw a rapid increase in urbanisation with attempts on the part of the state to induce urbanisation. The 1913-1948 period was marked by attempts to allocate labour satisfactorily between urban-based activities on the one hand and white farms on the other. The period from 1948-1982 was marked by a change of policy from one of determining the direction of rural migrants, to that of attempting to stem the rural-urban flow and displace urbanisation to the homelands (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1982: 24). Many theorists have deliberated on the theories, events and implications of urbanisation since pre 1870 to 1993, thus there is a myriad of literature on this matter. This dissertation will therefore not dwell on the pre-1994 period, but on the period from 1994 onwards, since the focus is not solely on the evolution of urbanisation in South Africa, but those factors that are characteristic to the development of urban areas. One of the strongest implications that emerge from the analysis of urbanisation and settlement policy in South Africa is that urbanisation and its related restrictive policy arena of influx control are probably the most important development issues facing in South Africa in the short to medium term. Therefore from a development planning perspective, efforts should be devoted to addressing the increased levels of urbanisation and the removal of influx control to ensure the survival chances and improvement in the quality of life of the majority of the population.

Evidence suggests that the term “urbanisation” has practically become a misnomer in a number of Third World cities, as it appears that planning has been lagging behind development, partly as a result of futile attempts to order the development of the city in the past (Kok & Gelderblom 1994: 2). They argue that planning should be undertaken more proactively than reactively, and indicate that the basic principles to ensure that this happens include equity, sustainability, viability and implications. The researcher is of the opinion that there should be collaboration among the spheres of government as planning for local government cannot be viewed in isolation from the national planning agenda of government. Participation by communities for input to policy development is crucial, as has already been emphasised in this dissertation as it informs decision making by planners. However, Kok and Gelderblom (1994: 5) assert that there is a need for higher tier governments to ensure that national and regional “development objectives” are met by these decisions, particularly in view of the fact that many developments require strong central government financial inputs.

Kok and Gelderblom (1994: 190) state that the revised regional development strategy was developed in 1981, based on a more realistic description of the structure of the South African space economy, with an acknowledgement of the different needs of each of the three sectors of the space economy. These include the core, consisting of the four metropolitan regions and the most secondary cities; the inner periphery, consisting of the “platteland” and its smaller towns; and the outer periphery, consisting of the homelands. This policy attempted to create opportunities for more development from below, that is, from community members so that the needs of people from all sectors can be addressed appropriately (Kok & Gelderblom 1994: 190).

The estimates of urbanisation in South Africa differ and seem to arise from the definitions of “urban areas” employed, which in the past did not correspond to functional urban areas; from insufficient research on the impact of the abolition of influx control and the Group Areas Act; and from the acknowledged flaws in census enumeration, mainly of blacks (Coetzee & De Coning 1994: 22). Therefore the urban population has been growing and both migration and natural population growth contribute to urban growth in South Africa. However, natural population growth is increasingly recognised as the main reason for urban population growth, and this corresponds with experience at global level. It is believed that whites, coloureds and Asians have already reached urbanisation levels close to saturation point, and that future growth is likely to come from blacks. Projections on urbanisation trends forecast that the metropolitan population is likely to increase from 12 million to 32 million between 1980-2010, while the total number of blacks in metropolitan areas will quadruple from 6,6 million to 23,6 million (Coetzee & De Coning 1994: 24).

An analysis of urbanisation trends and tendencies in South Africa reveals that the past policies have had a pervasive effect on the pattern of urbanisation rather than on the process itself. Furthermore, functional urbanisation has reached levels comparable to those seen in other middle-income developing countries and that urban growth is still some 3 percent per annum. In line with this, informal settlements and some secondary cities are likely to grow rapidly, metropolisation is likely to increase further and by the year 2010 only some 30 percent of the black population will live in the rural areas (Coetzee & De Coning 1994: 28). It is doubtful whether the existing settlement pattern will change dramatically over the next decade, but the Africanisation of cities is likely to occur with inner city decay continuing (Coetzee & De Coning 1994: 28).

The emerging settlement patterns point to a migration of the rural poor to the cities, an almost uncontrolled growth in backyard shacks and free-standing new communities, all of which pose particular questions to the policymakers concerning urban management. An oscillating pattern of migration, mainly to the metropolitan and the larger urban areas, as well as trans-national migration will continue in the wake of the abolition of apartheid in South Africa. Therefore the continued Africanisation of cities can be expected as blacks continue to move into formerly white residential areas (Coetzee & De Coning 1994: 26). In addition, voluntary urban relocation will take place as a result of higher socio-economic mobility, with people moving to "white" areas or to new "black" areas. South Africa has embarked on the process of demolishing or upgrading the hostels, converting them into family units, and to date, many have already been converted. This process may also result in a further increase in the rate and level of urbanisation as wives and children join their heads of household.

These trends pose a challenge to urban management due to the "divided city" phenomenon with more or less developed areas adjacent to each other. The government will continue to experience increasing pressure with regards to the provision of basic infrastructure and services and in meeting the rapidly growing socio-economic needs of the population (Coetzee & De Coning 1994:29). In line with this perspective, it can be argued that urbanisation and urban development policies should be informed by the realities of economic development, urbanisation trends and tendencies and the latest international thinking and policy pointers. The policy pointers/ principles identified to promote a process of reconciliation in both political and economic realms, include amongst others, the development of policies and programmes to combat poverty and to reach the infirm, aged and poorest of the poor; and the appropriate spatial economic development policies, including both rural and urban development (Coetzee and De Coning 1994: 11). However, a sound policy/strategy framework is also necessary to promote sustainable urban development and give effect to these development pointers. This policy should consider, amongst other things, issues such as squatting, inner city decay, the urban poor, trans-national and inter-metropolitan migration and the policy environment should also be conducive not only to equitable and employment-creating patterns of growth, but also to sustainable growth and human development (Coetzee & De Coning 1994: 30). The researcher is of the opinion that in addition to policies, research studies on urbanisation trends in the South African context, and particularly in Gauteng province, are necessary to define the issues and challenges faced by urban management.

3.4.2. Challenges

It has already been highlighted in chapters 1 and 2 that the dysfunctional structure of South Africa's urban areas is an outcome of apartheid policies, associated planning approaches and economic forces that have influenced city, town and township development for many decades. As a result, the current urban structures reflect both the country's history as well as a number of major trends which are evident all over the world (Department of Housing 1997: 3). Evidence challenges planners to plan timeously around continued rapid urban growth timeously. One advantage that South Africa has is that it has a relatively well-developed urban hierarchy, and aside from the largest urban agglomerations, a number of second-order urban areas with populations of up to 500 000 that are distributed around the country, particularly in the southern and eastern areas (Department of Housing 1997: 4). The trend observed among the medium-sized cities in South Africa, is that they tend to be dependent on a narrow and often natural resource-based sectoral economic base, and this has made them particularly vulnerable to economic downturns, especially when their resources become exhausted or their markets decline (Department of Housing 1997: 4).

The small towns have a population from about 30 000 to 100 000, and to a large extent rural small towns with a population of up to 30 000 are largely related to the agrarian economy and this makes them even more vulnerable (Department of Housing 1997: 4). In view of this position, although evidence generally suggests that they are not declining in population, the processes of growth and/or decline of medium-sized, small rural towns are varied and complex, as they are related to drought, shifts in production methods and the cumulative effects of rural poverty

South African cities, especially the bigger ones, and towns of all sizes are marked by stark contrasts between, on the one side, the so-called formerly white suburban residential areas divided by income and class, especially in the bigger urban centres, and the lower income residential areas, particularly the townships and informal settlements, on the other side (Department of Housing: 1997: 4). The former areas are typically well-maintained and well-serviced low-density residential neighbourhoods that consist of housing interspersed with public and private amenities like clinics, schools, parks and shops. The latter areas encompass the so-called matchbox formal houses, commonly known as RDP houses, built by government, single-sex hostels, some of which have been converted to family units, and shacks, as already referred to in this dissertation. The informal settlements have been

mushrooming around almost every city and town though the occurrence differs depending on regions. Most of the worst houses are occupied by black people whereas some 20% of blacks in Gauteng live in informal housing; and in the Durban and Cape Town metropolitan areas 50% of the black population live in these rudimentary structures (Department of Housing 1997: 4).

It should be borne in mind that these informal settlements are often characterised by the poverty and squalor directly linked to excessive overcrowding, high levels of pollution, lack of access to clean and portable water and proper sanitation. Furthermore, they lack proper community facilities and are pushed to the urban periphery, making them incur high transportation and social costs to those who can least afford it, as already mentioned. These areas are also marred by social disintegration, high levels of unemployment and crime (Department of Housing 1997: 5). The poor urban local communities are largely employed in the informal sector, characterised by a lack of facilities where they can easily access credit and other resources in the more institutional formal sector. South Africa still presents with the gender imbalance that seems to haunt almost every sector, and the rural and urban are not an exception.

Just as in the rural areas, the poor population in the urban areas is comprised mainly of women who earn money from informal activities. However, the Presidency introduced the National Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality in 2001 as a guide to dealing with gender issues head on, thereby fostering gender equality and equity as well as mainstreaming gender in all government strategies and operations. This is aimed at empowering women to enable them to participate fully in all spheres of life, especially the currently most deprived women who are predominantly African women living in the rural areas. According to The Presidency (2001: 6), rural women are the poorest of the poor and extremely isolated, as they are almost completely unable to participate in South Africa's national institutions or take advantage of our resources. Strategies are therefore suggested for redressing these gender imbalances in the country.

The Department of Housing (1997: 5) highlights the financial pressures faced by municipalities in the wake of the aforesaid challenges. It maintains that the dismantling of apartheid and its policies put pressure on municipalities as they had to reorient their expenditure priorities to providing infrastructure to low-income households in the formerly black townships and informal settlements. This is the case because since they are at the

coalface of service delivery, they are key to the development and management of urban development and the entire urbanisation process in partnership with key stakeholders. This consultation with stakeholders is crucial to the efficient and effective performance of cities and towns.

3.4.3. Post-apartheid cities: planning for a new society

South African cities have reflected white dominance in the social formation since colonial times, such that until the 1950s, cities could generally be viewed in the context of African and colonial cities (Lemon 1996: 62). As a result, whites regarded the cities as their cultural domain and attempted “to secure labour-power without labourers” leading to controls on rural-urban movement and segregation. However, by the 1980s the emphasis had changed as increasing pressures on the group areas legislation were reflected in the emergence of “unofficial grey or ethnically mixed areas, and the state attempted to contain the process by recognising the Free Settlement Areas after 1988” (Lemon 1996: 63). The challenges associated with desegregation can be seen as the demographic, economic, social and cultural integration of the previously segregated groups. Evidence in South Africa suggests that although the desegregation process is not yet far advanced, some progress has been made in integrating population groups that were segregated by apartheid policies. It should however be noted that desegregation is not simply a numbers game, but should be observed at different levels, such as changes in the policy and legislative framework, political and cultural sensitivity and people’s attitudes and perceptions.

In South Africa, research on urbanisation (similar to that on segregation) for most of the apartheid period has focused on the growth and nuances of the legislative framework and its effects on the distribution of settlement and population. To deal with this challenge, Lemon (1996: 66) suggests the following. Firstly, the continuing contributions to research should focus on monitoring, describing and analysing national and regional urbanisation patterns using the census and other available data. This implies that data integrity should be ensured at the level of census material produced after each count. The correct statistics should serve to inform planning and policy decisions. Secondly, a much greater focus is needed on the people actually living in informal settlements, with a particular focus on who they are, where they come from, what their migration history is, and what actually motivates their successive movement from one place to another. Lemon (1996: 66) indicates that the realities can prove highly complex, and it is certainly inadequate to assume simple processes of rural-urban

migration, because evidence presented by Crankshaw's (1993) survey in the southern Witwatersrand reflects that many people have actually moved from the townships to informal settlements. Thirdly, a contribution should be made with respect to the medium-sized and smaller towns, and their potential role in a national urbanisation strategy. Therefore there is a need for the development of a properly researched urbanisation strategy for South Africa, which requires a good national database beginning with studies of the urban hierarchy and its spatial patterns, as well as detailed case studies of specific towns in terms of demography, economy, infrastructure and services to assess their developmental potential (Lemon 1996: 66).

South African urban realities reflect the characteristics of cities elsewhere in the "First" and "Third" Worlds (Parnell 1996: 42). In line with this, it may be argued that all urban areas undergo similar experiences because various theoretical perspectives that are considered for the 'cities of advanced capitalist societies' can effectively be deployed in investigate matters of cities usually designated as "Third World" (Parnell 1996: 43). In South Africa, the profound anti-urban bias that gripped development studies in the wake of modernisation theory has given way to a growing literature which stresses that cities are a vanguard of economic growth, and assumes that "the cities that work best will generate the most wealth". It should be noted that the urban form is shaped by the changing organisation of production within the South African context (Parnell 1996: 45).

A clear example of the relationship between urban space and colonial society, is the evolution of the new form of residential space in response to the specific conditions of mining production in the late nineteenth century (Parnell 1996: 47). He states that this type of relationship can be exemplified by the early African location, which is the hallmark of colonial cities. In this case, the land for African settlement was sufficiently far away from the colonial town to ensure that it was not a health threat, whilst little consideration was given to the planning and development of the urban environment. Residents were therefore not only viewed as impermanent urbanites, but the hard manual work that they performed necessitated only the most rudimentary of infrastructure investment to ensure an efficient service (Parnell 1996: 47). This implies that ad hoc towns with no roads, sewers or shops sufficed. Looking at the relationship between the production process and the urban landscape against the more recent urban developments, Crankshaw (1996) argues that aside from the racially disproportionate increases in the levels of unemployment, African workers have made extensive inroads into routine clerical and sales positions, as well as into artisan and semi-

professional positions. He indicates that just as the segregation of cities is clearly related to shifts in the volume and character of work, the deracialisation of once rigidly segregated cities cannot be explained without reference to the changing economic climate and the restructuring of employment. Simply put, labour markets and housing markets are inextricably linked.

The urban significance of occupational change extends beyond issues of segregation and the ghetto, a point which is made more overtly in the gentrification literature. This dissertation uses the case study of Cape Town, presented below, to indicate the characteristics of gentrified neighbourhoods. In South Africa, market researchers are interested in consumption patterns and the difference the consumption patterns of new class interests make to the character or dynamics of the city (Parnell 1996: 49). Particular reference is made to the rapidly expanding suburban black middle class, whose consumption patterns have the potential to dictate which suburb will boom, that is, those close to old township areas or older suburbs increasingly favoured by the white middle classes. Post-apartheid differentiation extends beyond the growth of an African professional elite, and thus one of the most significant challenges to South African urbanists in the 1990s is the identification of the impact of different subcultures and social classes on the township landscape (Parnell 1996: 49).

Agencies such as the World Bank are promoting the notion of a compact city, and this has an impact on changes in cities globally, as well as on renewed concern for sustainability and the escalating cost of urban service provision (Parnell 1996: 52). Associated with this are the costs, the needs of communities to live in safe environments coupled with escalating levels of crime, endeavours to live urban lifestyles which generally have access to services, with greater densities promoted in the newly developed areas among all socio-economic groups. The case of Khayelitsha, which is one of the most dense low-cost development in South Africa, is used to portray this situation. Housing provision in Khayelitsha and the multiplying townhouse or cluster housing developments for the urban elite, both suggest that once again the basic patterns of settlement in South Africa are in line with international planning trends towards more compact, decentered cities (Parnell 1996: 52). In addition, the declining downtowns, the startling growth in communication corridors and extra suburban concentrations of hi-tech industries between metropolitan centres, along with the proliferation of ostentatious shopping malls, also reflects an international trend. Therefore, elsewhere in the world, these developments are heralded as evidence of the dawning of a post-modern area, and perhaps in South Africa the time has come to abandon the claim to specificity and to look

beyond the end of apartheid, to, among other places, the restructuring of the world economy in order to explain patterns of urban change (Parnell 1996: 52).

It is acknowledged that away from the multinational headquarters, the globalisation of production and consumption makes it impossible not to give some credence to an internationalist view on the future of individual cities (Parnell 1996: 53). The global focus for South African purposes is useful as it draws attention to the transnational financial, social and political impact of large centres such as Johannesburg or Durban. This global focus will undoubtedly have increasing bearing as patterns of urban inequality quickly move away from apartheid or racial discrepancies and reflect more “normal” uneven and unfair distributions of power and wealth (Parnell 1996: 53).

In South Africa, the dualist discourse of understanding cities as either rich or poor, First or Third World is expressed by the relegation of urban questions related to “black/African/disadvantaged” communities to either a legacy of apartheid or, worse, an unsolvable residue of the “Third World problems” that have finally invaded our “European/affluent/first world” urban areas (Parnell 1996: 53). Practically adopting this view should facilitate the new social divisions in the city, whether created by massive immigration from neighbouring states or by the growing number of African employed in the service sector, which is exemplified by the significance of Johannesburg in the regional context (Parnell 1996: 53). A crucial example in this regard is the circular migration between Zimbabwe or Mozambique and the Rand, which may be a reflection of the urban impact of the concentration of international and regional financial services. This is closely linked to the perspective adopted by geographers when conducting policy work, as they benchmark against world class literature, which is in turn utilised for understanding local economic development initiatives of specific cities.

The key question is whether this global economic perspective has any value for the peripheral and semi-peripheral urban centres such as those in South Africa. Historically, Africa’s settlements were excluded from the definition “urban” and this relegated and strengthened a fallacy that Africans are ‘inherently rural, traditional and uncivilised, within the colonial discourse’. Similarly, the contemporary emphasis on world cities threatens to eclipse critical transformations occurring in smaller urban centres, but a red flag should be raised against these smaller centres being totally seduced by those cities with sufficient sizes to merit a designated marketing budget. In South Africa, any debate within the global perspective

should consider the historical inequities and the difference in character and status of the rural and urban areas to ensure that the advantages and disadvantages are discussed in the proper context. In case where certain cities are threatened, the revitalisation process should be initiated to enable cities to be competitive at the global level as well, without compromising the needs of the local people. Some of the processes related to this, are discussed in the section on gentrification below.

3.4.4. Important features of cities and their centres

The GDDPLG (1997a: 25), indicates that the 55, 4 percent of South Africa's population that live in the cities and towns, create 80 percent of the country's economic output. It mentions that Gauteng is 96 percent functionally urbanised, and this confirms the view that cities are extraordinarily efficient. Furthermore, cities facilitate a diffusion of products, ideas and human resources between urban, suburban, "exurban" and rural spaces. Therefore cities and towns are the centres of global finance, industry and communications, home to a wealth of cultural diversity and political dynamism, immensely productive, creative and innovative (GDDPLG 1997a: 24). One identified characteristic of cities is that they generate economic activities which create jobs and wealth essential to achieving the key goals of the government. It argues that in a country with scarce resources and a highly fragmented and inefficient urban form, they also serve as centres of integrated development, compact land-use and the efficient sharing of under-utilised infrastructure (GDDPLG 1997a: 24).

The characteristics of urban areas are identified as the following. They are seen as transportation hubs and areas well served by public transportation networks; they generate significant amounts of any area's gross geographical product and employment opportunities; and they offer an intense and diverse range of goods and services to the community (GDDPLG 1997a: 24). Furthermore, cities are repositories of high land value, hence rates, and are therefore an important source of revenue for local government, and they also make a major contribution to the rates of the local authority. Within the logic of a "precinct-based approach" which will consider appropriate mixes of use, city centres should overall be multifunctional places where living, working, and entertainment ensure that the centres attract people on a 24-hour basis (GDDPLG 1997a: 24). This strategy would bring together different activities and cut down on travelling.

3.4.5. Durban City case study: trends and characteristics of urban areas

Bouillon (2000) uses Durban as a case to reflect the trends and characteristics of urban development. He also exposes the plight of the migrant people with whom he had worked at the time of his study.

A withdrawal of former white residents from the inner-city, followed by the withdrawal of remaining white capital, has been witnessed in Durban. Bouillon (2000) shows that Durban has undergone an active transformation phase that involved the substitution of functions, services and uses by the city and its immediate suburbs. The city has not only been deserted by its former occupants, but is newly occupied and used by a population made up of residents, migrants and visitors alike, and it is a new locality where new activities are performed, new neighbourhoods produced and new contexts generated (Appadurai 1995). These newcomers are referred to as a growing middle-class segment, made up of students, professionals, and upwardly mobile people, for whom the sojourn in the city of Durban is a step in a journey that often has just begun. In addition, there are South-African migrants (of occasional, circular, reversible, uncertain, irreversible patterns of migration) coming from the rural areas of Kwazulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, and from other provinces, and local "Durbanite" people, still with links or not with the township. In the central city shelters, white, coloured and Indian people are overrepresented, black people tending to concentrate more in the accommodation places of the working-class areas on the fringes of the former CBD close to the transport nodes (Bouillon 2000).

From a socio-economic perspective, these inhabitants can be seen as traders commuting from their rural base; informal street traders catering for local people or tourists; formal business semi-qualified employees; qualified or semi-qualified workers (in construction, carpentry, mechanics, sales, etc.) who came to Durban to "make it", lost their job and are reduced to informal occasional jobs (Bouillon 2000).

The above-mentioned people have often started drinking and end up on the streets, where they survive as "security" or car guards; unqualified people working occasionally as warehousemen, handymen, and so forth. This situation in the city often leads to concerns that beg policy development in a number of areas. Thus include policies on cleaning and keeping the inner city compact and safe. Local authorities in collaboration with private organisations and concerned community members have developed the "clean-up" policy for the inner city.

This policy has been legitimised by the national cause of the fight against crime and, closely linked to this, is local preoccupations with public space lighting, policing and security. In the range of anti-crime related tactics, there are also police raids against informal traders at regular intervals. As a matter of fact, it is a South African tradition for authorities and citizens alike to castigate the "informal traders" as the prime culprits responsible for the "filth" and "mess" disfiguring the city, for the transformation of streets into "slums". Consequently, these people, most of whom are from the rural areas, are only tolerated on the margins of the inner-city around the rail, taxi and bus transport nodes, of little interest to tourists and high-revenue consumers.

As Bouillon (2000) puts it, the only counter element of local public policy is housing, although even in housing the same paradigms have so far dominated the stage, there is evidence of a few attempts to relocate so-called "homeless" people in new townships at a fair distance from the central city. This move seems to have produced mitigated results. However, the Durban City's welfare policy seems to rely on private charitable enterprises, to the extent that the police are regularly "delivering" people into their care. Somehow, a glimmer of hope is said to be appearing with the city looking for buildings to convert into budget accommodation and shelters for the growing number of transient users of the city. The Tshwane Metropolitan Council has also embarked on similar strategies to clean up the inner city by removing the shacks made for both business and residential use at Marabastad in Pretoria, and relocating people to Mamelodi township. People have been resettled in structures that accommodate them for residential purposes, from which they will have to commute to their respective business areas in the city centre on a daily basis.

It should be noted that while local politics currently opens its doors to everyone in the Durban City, and especially to those coming from the previously disenfranchised and disadvantaged sectors of society, practical devices are designed to extract or distract some areas from the city and encapsulate them (Bouillon 2000). These may be in the form of cluster-house estates, in "Urban Improvement Precincts", in centrifuge "expatriated" businesses and residential districts, and in enclosed leisure areas for rich people only largely made of pre-fabricated, transnational, substitutable pieces of urbanity. The latter refers to the secluded, "extra-territorial" entities that have or will not have much to do with the rest of the city (Bouillon 2000).

3.4.6. Gentrification of inner-city Cape Town

Gentrification is defined by Palen and London (1984: 489) as a generic description of neighbourhood revitalisation, a word derived from “gentry”, which means people of gentle birth, the condition of rank of a gentleman, upper or ruling class, land proprietors of noble class. As referred to in Kotze (1996: 489), Hammett (1991) and Cameron (1992) define gentrification as the invasion by middle or higher income groups of inner-city neighbourhoods previously occupied by blue-collar workers, with the result that many of the original occupants are replaced or displaced. This process therefore involves the renovation of dilapidated housing of the area to meet the needs of the new owners, resulting in significant price appreciation and change in tenure. A more inclusive definition incorporates other forms of neighbourhood change, but without the necessity of residential succession or the displacement of lower-class households (Bourne 1993: 97); and studies based on this definition often incorporate upgrading in some of the middle or upper-income areas, but either relax or ignore the replacement criterion (Kotze 1996: 489-490).

Kotze (1996) conducted a case study on the gentrification of the inner city, that is, De Waterkant, Cape Town in South Africa. Only two similar studies have been conducted previously in South Africa, namely by Swart (1988) in Stellenbosch and Garside (1993) in Woodstock, Cape Town. De Waterkant is one of the older central residential neighbourhoods of the city of Cape Town, “which was developed between 1793 and 1894 and started to decline into a slum area during the twentieth century. According to Kotze (1996: 491), the renewal process started in 1968 when 35 Loader Street was bought by Mr Austen, and his renovation of the property triggered the renewal process. Kotze’s (1996:491) study area comprised Strand Street, Vos and Dixon Streets in the south-east and south-west respectively, and Jarvis Street, which forms the north-eastern boundary of the area, with the end of Loader Street being the northern boundary. This residential area is situated against the slopes of Signal Hill, has a view of the Cape Town harbour and the central business district (CBD) which is only 1 kilometre (km) away. It is surrounded by light industries, as well as buildings used as offices and retail outlets. De Waterkant neighbourhood experienced problems related to parking space for residents as the roads are narrow and only a few properties had garages, except in parts of Loader Street (Kotze 1996: 491).

Studies conducted all over the world indicate some of the characteristics of gentrified neighbourhoods (Kotze 1996: 490). This includes the assumption that gentrifiers are

suburbanites who are migrating back to the city; people in gentrified neighbourhoods are well educated, are young and single adults in the 20 to 35 age range and that there are few families with children; most immigrants are white and only a few areas experiencing rejuvenation show an influx of the black middle class. In addition, the typical neighbourhood to be gentrified is a deteriorated area, with houses that are run-down but still structurally sound, such residential areas are located close to the central business district (CBD), and often have a specific desirable characteristic such as a view of the skyline, access to parks or historical significance (Kotze 1996: 490). It is assumed that the deteriorated and run-down state and low economic value of these areas before gentrification are indications that they had gone through the “devalorisation cycle” which is seen as a product of decisions by urban managers, namely financial institutions, developers, landlords and estate agents, who are able to control the housing market (Kotze 1996: 490). The development and underdevelopment of urban areas are mainly seen as activities of these main role-players. The devalorisation cycle is subdivided into five stages, and the first involves new construction for the first users of the properties; the second involves a transmission to landlord control; the third involves blockbusting; the fourth redlining and the fifth abandonment (Kotze 1996: 490-491). The main role-players mentioned above are responsible for the development of slum areas in the cities with redlining practices, but the reverse of this process is found in most cities of the world in the form of gentrification, which takes place because of the huge profits that can be made in these backwards neighbourhoods.

De Waterkant has characteristics of gentrified neighbourhoods due to the following:

It is a relatively old residential area and only one kilometre away from the CBD of Cape Town; it has deteriorated to a slum during the twentieth century; has a good view of the harbour, Table Mountain and the CBD and it is also characterised by mainly older row-houses. Furthermore, it has easy access to the CBD, the Waterfront and sports facilities of Green Point by only 1,4 km. The socio-economic characteristics of De Waterkant indicate that at the time of the study, the majority of respondents were male, the inhabitants mainly young unmarried people or newly weds with few children, and the mostly white well educated with 50% of the respondents having a university degree and mainly occupying white-collar jobs. The situation also reflects that only 22% of the inhabitants were suburbanites who returned to the inner city of Cape Town (Kotze 1996: 491-496).

The neighbourhood characteristics and the socio-economic profile of the respondents of De Waterkant lead to the conclusion that the renewal process that has taken place in this neighbourhood is actually gentrification. It is however acknowledged that the current and future political changes in South Africa may affect the gentrification process in De Waterkant, though this may only be verified through further research into this area (Kotze 1996: 496).

In the CTMM, some of the subtle characteristics of gentrification can be identified. There has been an influx of particularly the black middle class people who have migrated to the city for access to improved living conditions. The CTMM has also responded to this movement and embarked on a process of renovating some of the older buildings in the city centre to accommodate the new residents. These are low-cost flats that are occupied mainly by students and the employed youth who are trying to be independent from their families and/ or taking a break from living in the backyard shacks. However, further research would need to be conducted to determine the actual characteristics, the extent and confirmation of whether the renewal process is taking place.

3.4.7. Urban growth pressures and the dominance of a broad modernist planning agenda

According to Thorns (2002: 178) during the first two thirds of the century, urban growth pressures and the dominance of a broad modernist planning agenda were two of the most significant features shaping issues of planning, urban governance and social movements. During this period, applications of science and technology enabled progress to take place and provided more efficient ways of creating and maintaining the cities. He asserts that urban planning has gone through three phases over the course of the last century. Firstly, urban planning was seen as part of the agenda of the social reformers and as part of addressing the physical and social problems that had been created by rapid urbanisation. Secondly, planning was inherently conservative and more about maintaining the power and position of planners than meeting the needs of urban communities and diverse populations, a phase that was criticised by both the left and right sides of the political and intellectual spectrum through the 1970s and 1980s. The third phase that was prevalent in the 1990s saw a partial recovery in the place of planning, with the emergence of the new agenda of sustainability and the move to place the nature of environmental concerns at the centre of planning. This is linked to the principle of integrated and sustainable development that currently guides development initiatives. Sustainable development is regarded as the type of development that meets the

needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. However, concerns raised with regards to sustainable development generated certain prescriptions for action. Thorns (2002: 206) refers to the Brundtland Report of 1987, that prescribes that for sustainable development to succeed, it requires amongst other things, a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision making as well as a social system that provides for solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development.

The reformers of the nineteenth century were concerned with problems of urban squalor, poverty and inadequate housing, which they saw as a result of insufficient control over the urban development process (Thorns 2002: 180). Cities were then described as choking people's lives, as sources of illness and a breeding ground for crime. However, planning policies were introduced across the world to generally deal with the city and its woes, and these also contributed to the transformation of cities, and an analysis of the results of this transformation reflects that the post-modern city has two faces(Thorns 2002:75-76). The first is the face of a successful city that displays a glitzy and entertainment-centred culture of restaurants and wine bars, shopping malls and casinos. The second face is that of the excluded who create new urban ghettos composed of the homeless, the asset-poor households, those displaced by a new wave of gentrification, the elderly renters on state pensions, and those on public housing assistance. This has resulted in the city becoming even more polarised, and thus the two faces of the city are seen, in Davies's (1996) terms, in the growth of the city as a centre of festival and display, gentrification and the increased level of homelessness, urban crime and fear.

3.4.8. The post-modern and sustainable city: the urban millennium

Thorns (2002: 1) predicts that the twenty-first century is likely to be dominated by urban living in a way that we have not experienced before, because over half of the world's population are at this stage city dwellers. Thorns (2002:1) refers to the World Bank (1996) estimates that by 2025, 88 percent of the world's total population will be located in rapidly expanding urban areas and 90 percent of that urban growth will be absorbed by the developing world. However, it should be acknowledged that cities contain enormous diversity.

Globalisation is seen as an interrelated set of processes, economic, social, political, cultural and ecological that are continuing to shape the world in which we live (Thorns 2002: 1-2). Transformations are occurring at every level from the global, economic, political and social structures to the ways in which we fashion our lives every day, and globalisation has been a key transformation of the last two decades of the twentieth century. It is apparent that the processes of globalisation have an impact on the lives of people living in the cities. There are varied opinions about globalisation, because on the one hand, it is seen to have brought increased homogeneity and global processes that have impacted on the local in ways that have reduced our ability as individuals, families and communities to shape our lives. On the other hand, it has resulted in heterogeneity and these people believe that resistance is still possible and it is in fact a significant part of the global world.

The rise of the modern industrial city in the nineteenth century is perceived as another major transformation that created the most rapid shift in patterns of settlement from country to the city. The Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ushered in the modern world where manufacturing production was the driving force of societies (Thorns 2002: 3). Urbanisation was therefore the dominant spatial process of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the industrialising world. In some cases, rapid industrialisation and the shifting national and international patterns of trade led to the discovery of the “new world” and migration to the cities also changed the population distribution and impacted on the city’s growth (Thorns 2002: 4). Therefore the shift from rural to urban areas has brought dramatic and far-reaching change to people’s lives. This shift introduced two opposing ends of the continuum that were brought into interaction as a result of these changes. On the one hand the rural situation integrated work and living, with poor rural people tied to the land in ways that limited mobility. On the other hand, the transition to the urban industrial world separated work and residence, thus inequality was considerable. Therefore production has become factory based and working-class men and women have became wage earners selling their labour power within the capitalist-based urban economy (Thorns 2002: 4).

3.4.9. From urban industrial world to community

The newly emerging urban industrial world was seen by most of the early writers such as Comte (1876) and Durkheim (1960) as typified by competition, conflict, contractual relations and utility, whereas community was the antithesis of these things based on cooperation, integration and kinship relations (Thorns 2002: 23). In this regard, the notion of community

(*Gemeinschaft*, as analysed by Toennies, 1887) was emphasised and human relations were therefore intimate, enduring and based on a clear understanding of where each person stands in society. In this regard, status is ascribed and not achieved as the worth of an individual is related to the person rather than what they have done. The notion of society (*Gesellschaft*, Toennies, 1887) that characterised the industrial society was based on the understanding that status is achieved and not ascribed, giving greater importance to individual actions and motivations (Thorns 2002: 24). The twentieth century writing within this tradition, developed more complex typologies of “contrast” and, created what became known as the “rural-urban continuum”. Therefore most of debates related the “rural” with the small-scale, integrated social groups and set this against the “urban” which was seen as larger in scale and of a more individualistic orientation (Thorns 2002: 25).

The rural-urban continuum model presents with a number of weaknesses with respect to the analysis of urban areas, particularly cities. The first problem is that it was only a dichotomy, where the two polar types of “rural” and “urban” were reasonably clearly defined but the stages in between were not (Thorns 2002: 25). The questions such as what needed to change for a locality to become urban in its social characteristics or how many of the contrasting elements had to change received little attention. This resulted in a model that was essentially a static presentation capturing two points in time and articulating their social and cultural base, therefore unable to deal with social change (Thorns 2002: 25). This difficulty arises in part from the reliance on “ideal types” and these are abstractions from, and often simplifications of, the real world, and these are used to examine actual situations to see how closely they conform to the model. Generally, such models are regarded as lacking historical depth and often preventing an analysis of social change (Thorns 2002: 25).

The second major weakness of the rural-urban continuum and its ideal types was the incorporation into the analysis of the implicit bias in favour of the countryside. This was viewed as an anti-city approach that saw the city as the place where “community” had become lost and where rebuilding would require intervention and conscious “community development” on the part of planners and others (Thorns 2002: 26). In addition, this position favoured a particular notion of community as integrated social relations bound by common values and traditions. A critical concern is that this position denied or chose not to investigate the fact that small towns and rural villages were also the place of petty tyrannies, power imbalances and unequal relationships, where conformity and stability were often the result not of choice and consensus, but of power and oppression (Thorns 2002: 26).

The third deficiency was that the model was generated out of the experience of a largely European society at a particular moment in its development (Thorns 2002: 26). A critical question that needs to be addressed is how far such an analysis is transferable to situations where the historical experience has been different. It is argued that the transition from a rural, small-scale peasant into an industrial urban one has been far from a universal experience, and indicates that variations have actually occurred (Thorns 2002:26). Both the West and South Africa are used as examples, owing to their history of colonialism, where cities were initially administrative and political cities with trading functions, and their structure was created to reflect the power and cultural values of the colonial elites rather than being a product of industrialisation. The researcher submits that more representative studies need to be conducted to assess the “rural-urban continuum” within specific locations; however, caution should be exercised in generalising the findings of a study on one country to another with very different historical background and characteristics. The discussion below focuses specifically on the secondary cities.

3.4.10. Secondary cities

The nature of the urban hierarchy for South Africa has already been mentioned above. It is necessary to first appreciate that the metropoles, cities and towns in a country together comprise a graded network of urban centres, what is known as an “urban hierarchy”, in order to understand what comprises a secondary city (Dauskart 1994: 5). A distinction is made between the “balanced urban hierarchy” and an “unbalanced urban hierarchy”. On the one hand, in what is conventionally called a “balanced urban hierarchy”, there is a ratio of the number of towns and cities of various population sizes, that is, many small towns, proportionally fewer moderately-sized cities, and one or two primate cities. On the other hand, an unbalanced urban hierarchy is considered to be polarised, with an insufficient number of centres falling between the smallest towns and cities or undeveloped with a large number of small centres and too few centres of a larger size.

Rondinelli (1983: 63-65) broadly distinguishes the characteristics that are shared by secondary cities, and these include the presence of a combination of both rural and urban characteristics and the tendency to perform functions found in both areas. Furthermore, they are characterised by local economies which are dominated by commercial and service activities, with manufacturing employment mainly in the small-scale industrial sector, and

they have generally closer functional links to primate centres than towns, although towns are more functionally linked to rural areas than are secondary cities. Therefore secondary and small cities are viewed as being characterised by urban centres with which most rural and urban enterprises interact; hence they play an important role in the performance of the rural and agricultural centres. The secondary or intermediate cities are also known as the “second order” cities and are located between towns and the large metropolitan complexes in the country in terms of both size and function (Dauskart 1994: 13). He contends that secondary cities occupy an important position in the process of urbanisation, and contribute substantially to the national economy. They tend to be specifically centred on particular economic sectors such as mining, heavy industry or services. They can be seen to fit within a complex of relationships that in effect tie local dynamics to wider regional, national and global spheres of influence. In South Africa, a better approach to understanding secondary cities is to undertake the mammoth task of examining the major factors underlying each city’s growth and development, drawing on the dependencies of the various local economies to identify a general pattern or typology for the cities (Dauskart 1994: 16). The latter typology includes the mining cities, manufacturing cities, agricultural servicing cities, trade and transport cities, as well as administrative cities, and basically serves to indicate that secondary cities in South Africa are not a homogenous set of complexes.

The small towns should also be a focus for development, providing input and output markets, mechanical and other workshops, financial services, and social services such as schools and clinics, which will be of benefit to people in the surrounding area. For historical reasons, these functions and links to the rural hinterland often do not exist or are poorly developed (Department of Housing 1997: 22-23). The inter-district transport routes serve migrant labour routes, not the needs of intra-regional trade, whereas output from the large farms passes through cooperatives to distant markets without serving the needs of small towns. Therefore, there is a need to integrate economic activity in order to generate economic activity so as to generate income from added value at a local level.

In terms of the relationship the secondary cities have with wider spheres of influence, Dauskart (1994: 17) argues that cities interact with their hinterlands, other cities and regional, national and international markets and economies through complex and multifaceted networks. These include, amongst others, direct economic linkages, political relationships, policy and trade regimes and informal contacts, many of which pass through the filter of national, regional or local policies. At the base of these interactions lies the increasing global

mobility of business and capital, and also confirms that the cities are in essence functioning in national and global markets where capital and business have a greater potential to locate in different places as well as a greater number of potential places to choose from than previously (Dauskart 1994: 17). The international trends also dictate that cities are required to compete individually and aggressively for growth and economic development, thus South Africa's cities have similar demands. Therefore the "local-global" dimension of urban and economic management and policy will be of increasing importance in this changing context (Dauskart 1994: 17). The section below takes a closer look into the role of small towns in promoting integration within the town and between the town and its rural areas.

3.4.11. Small town integration, social interaction and development initiatives:

The case of Stutterheim in the Eastern Cape province, South Africa

In their paper on small town integration, social interaction and development initiatives, the case of Stutterheim in the Eastern Cape province, South Africa, Fox and Nel (1996) assess the successes and failures of the Stutterheim Development Forum in promoting integration within the town and between the town and its rural hinterland. Fox and Nel (1996: 260) argue that Stutterheim exhibits trends that are similar to many small towns in South Africa, and some of these include the stagnant urban economy, negative growth in the rural hinterland and serious shortfalls in the provision of facilities and services to the most destitute members of the urban and rural communities of the surrounding areas. The Stutterheim Initiative was launched through the formation of the Stutterheim Development Forum in 1990, within a community that was scarred by one of the highest levels of political intolerance, friction and violence in the country. The intention was to resolve many conflictual issues as well as other problems experienced in the town (Fox & Nel 1996: 260).

Stutterheim is situated in approximately the middle of the Border Corridor which separates the two former homelands of Ciskei and Transkei, and lies in the foothills of the Amatola and Kologha mountains some 80 kilometres inland from East London. It is the largest city in this region. Perhaps it is important to indicate the uniqueness of this small town, as the conceptualisation of the situation in this town is different from the assessment of a larger metropolitan area. In Stutterheim, racial segregation was "firmly impressed on the rural landscape and townscape" because in addition to the white town, the municipal area provided for one area of coloured residence and four for black occupancy (Fox and Nel 1996:263). They indicate that these were the areas of Van Rensburg, Cenyu, Kubusie and Cenyu Lands

respectively, with the last two having been granted to the ancestors of the present occupants by Queen Victoria in recognition of the support they had afforded Britain in her military campaigns of the 1850s. The mission activities in the rural areas led to the establishment of African communities in the hinterland of Stutterheim. This led to the existence of islands (black spots in apartheid terminology) of high density black population in a sea of low density white stock farms, such as Mqwali, Heckel and Wartburg. As stated in Fox & Nel (1996: 263), Brink (1990) indicates that access to land was blocked by both apartheid legislation that prevented black access to white rural and urban areas, and by the land tenure system within areas such as Kubusie. Furthermore, the ownership of plots in Kubusie was mixed between 1864 and 1990 but, in the wake of the racial tensions experienced in the area in the 1990s, whites were no longer occupying the plots they owned. The unfulfilled intention of the state under apartheid planning, to remove all of Stutterheim's black population to the adjacent homeland of Ciskei, led to serious neglect of the black areas. The failure by the state to provide sufficient services, houses and other amenities seriously impaired living conditions (Fox & Nel 1996: 263).

Stutterheim is seen as functioning as a service centre for surrounding farmlands, several black spots in the area and extensive timber estates which occupy the nearby mountain ranges. In addition to the urban residential component, the town contains well-developed secondary and tertiary activities. In Stutterheim, there are a number of businesses and shops and the town also accommodates agricultural cooperatives, hotels, garages/car repair facilities and light engineering firms. The secondary activities include a small industries park, quarry, dairy, bakery, chicken hatchery, abattoirs, a paint/chemical factory and no fewer than seven sawmills or timber products firms (Fox & Nel 1996: 261). They argue that the timber industry is clearly of great significance as it has given the town a measure of economic support that ordinarily would not be found in places of similar size elsewhere in the country. In addition, this has assisted in the generation of employment opportunities in furniture, poles, sawmills and other timber product industries. Employment has also been derived from the presence of government institutions and offices, such as schools, offices of the Department of Forestry and Agriculture, the Provincial Administration, the then Regional Services Council and the Municipality (Fox & Nel 1996: 261).

The situation reflects that livestock farming predominates in the surrounding rural areas where maize cultivation and market gardening in irrigated areas are secondary activities. It was however noticed that commercial agricultural economy appeared to be in a phase of slow

decline, and the profitability of farming inhibited by the mediocre soil quality and a relatively low regional rainfall. There were other factors impacting on the town's viability. Fox and Nel (1996: 261) show that unemployment rate among the economically active population in 1993 was estimated at 45 to 50 percent, and this was due to, amongst other things, population growth and the closure of two wool washeries leading to many job losses and a significant decline in the link between the town and its surrounding commercial farming sector. This subsequently led to the involvement of community members in the informal sector functions as a survival strategy. The evidence presented reveals that the town seems to be increasingly serving the needs of its own population, with the exception of the agricultural cooperatives. It is estimated that only about 30 percent of the sales and businesses in the town is derived from residents of the surrounding rural areas, and of that 30 percent, the greater part comes from African farm workers or residents of the several black spots in the area. The agricultural goods produced in the surrounding area are either sold locally or at the East London market and to Port Elizabeth wool washeries, and the timber products such as poles, and sales of the local paints and chemicals factory, are distributed nationally (Fox & Nel 1996: 261). The erosion of the buying power of the white commercial farming sector had been a discernible trend over the past years, and Fox and Nel (1996: 261) state that though the economy of the town appears to be healthier than those of many other small towns in the country, the declining importance of agriculture, dependence on the timber industry and high unemployment rate, were and are still a source for major concern. The Stutterheim Initiative was, amongst other things, launched in order to diversify the economy and generate employment.

The conceptualisation of the rural-urban linkage by Fox and Nel (1996: 264) focuses on the segregation and integration within the urban area, within its surrounding, complementary rural area, and between the two. They build on the assertion by Baker and Claeson (1990: 19) that the demand from the wealthy and powerful few benefits more distant larger towns and cities which are functionally more diversified. This implies therefore that one of the prerequisites of an integrated and healthy rural-urban economy would be the existence of a land-owning peasantry with the necessary income level to create demands for local urban goods and services. The under-provision of service centres in circumstances of inequitable land division is observed in Stutterheim (Fox & Nel 1996: 265). Much of the businesses of the commercial sector were transferred to other centres, for example the movement of the wool washeries to Port Elizabeth on the one hand, and the sub-subsistence communities living in the black spots hardly producing anything for commercial exchange on the other (Fox & Nel 1996: 265). This

implies that without a commercially productive black peasantry in Stutterheim, there has been little supply of or demands for goods and services in the periodic markets out in the rural hinterland, and consequently little stimulus of the interactions between rural and urban areas needed to sponsor developments (Fox & Nel 1996: 265).

It should be noted that in addition to the need for goods and services, gaining access to land was the top priority for most black rural dwellers. In response to community needs, the Stutterheim Development Forum (SDF) managed to secure 900 serviced sites, two schools and associated training for several hundred people in building and other skills to enable local people to acquire future employment or set up their own businesses (although by 1995, many were lost to larger metropolitan areas). In addition, training and support was given to emerging entrepreneurs, such as brickmakers and woodworkers, and improved educational facilities were provided as well as the introduction of the Molteno programme in schools to improve basic literacy. In the town, the establishment of periodic markets and rural strategies were also being pursued (Fox & Nel 1996: 266).

The Wartburg periodic market centre was developed, funded by the Independent Development Trust (IDT), consisting of a fenced-off area which incorporates a covered structure (the market building), a workshop which includes a small grain mill, accommodation for a proposed women's sewing cooperative and a community hall (Fox & Nel 1996: 270). A second periodic market was also developed at Mqwali. The principle agreement was that local producers would sell their goods at the market and that retailers and hawkers would come to the market to buy produce and sell wares. The IDT apparently saw periodic markets as a cornerstone of future rural development, as does the Rural Development Framework (1997). The intention of the SDF was to strengthen rural links on the ground and it believed that one of the most logical sources for sustainable development in Stutterheim rests in the development of the rural areas. According to Fox and Nel (1996:270-271), provision of funds from the IDT for the periodic market project and the development of rural communities encouraged selective identification of specific developmental projects by communities. These included the fencing of farmlands, the construction of a community hall and the establishment of crèches.

Fox and Nel (1996: 271) indicate that the results of a survey conducted in 1995 to ascertain the types of activities and rural-urban linkages that were developing revealed the dependence of the periodic markets on products brought in from external sources, usually the formal

sector, for example goods came in from nearby large towns such as King Williams Town, and even fruit and vegetables came pre-packaged from wholesalers. The findings also reflected that although strong links were developed with traders in the formal sector, many from distant surrounding areas, the impact on local production and exchange was very modest. The SDF found the results problematic as the intention of the programme it had launched in 1993 was to assist small-scale black farmers in the black spots (Fox & Nel 1996: 271). Therefore the SDF established links with farmers in the Wartburg (23 farmers), Heckel (1) and Mqwali (5) areas, as part of the programme to bring about rural development. In this instance, income for the rural areas was to be generated through production for produce markets, and the town's ability to process produce from its own hinterland was to be strengthened. The SDF also succeeded in securing a promise of financial assistance from the then Agricultural Credit Board in Pretoria, and in 1993 the first direct assistance was undertaken with the hiring of tractors to plough lands and fertilisers were also ordered. In addition, smallholdings in Kubusie and Cenyu were targeted for assistance. Many other initiatives are underway to assist in the development of agricultural production in the rural areas with the support of the Stutterheim Development Forum. The Stutterheim experience became an exemplary model and an inspiration to other towns for its provision of simple, people-based solutions to complex problems, particularly with regards to issues of urban reconciliation and economic development (Fox & Nel 1996: 271-272).

The CTMM is also promoting integration between town and its rural hinterland. There are various initiatives to promote the integration of rural and urban areas, as well as the development of rural areas to maximise their potential and competitive edge. The development of the Northern side on Tshwane is a positive step towards developing the area that has gone through prolonged periods of neglect. The rural development strategy aims to maximise economic viability as well as establishing economic nodes that would fasttrack the development of the North within the CTMM.

3.5. THE INTEGRATED APPROACH TO SUSTAINABLE RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE FOR SADC COUNTRIES

Ebohon and Rodrigues (2000: 1) state in a paper presented at the Urban Futures conference held in Johannesburg in 2000, that in 1950, only 29 percent of the global population lived in the city and by 1994, this proportion has grown to 45 percent and is expected to accelerate to more than 60 percent in the first decade of the new millennium. However, the projected

growth in the rate of urbanisation is expected to increase in developing countries, especially sub-Saharan Africa.

In 1994, South Africa alone amongst all the SADC countries had an urban population of between 45 and 65 percent, while other SADC member countries had between 25 and 45 percent of their population living in urban cities. They predict that by 2025, between 80 and 100 percent of South Africans would be living in urban cities while the figures for the rest of SADC range between 60 and 80percent. In South Africa alone, eight cities already have in excess of a million people and this figure is projected to double by 2015, and the same trend is expected for other SADC cities (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 1). This should however be seen in the context of urbanisation because rapid rates of urbanisation have major implications for infrastructure and services, strategic urban and town planning, energy, sustainability and development. The region is unlikely to be able to seize on the potential advantages offered by agglomeration unless existing infrastructure and services are restored and new facilities provided. These cities are likely to evolve into giant slums instead of becoming engines of growth, in the absence of effective and functional infrastructure and services.

The SADC's ability to respond to such huge infrastructure demands and the attendant environmental implications is severely limited by financial constraints largely imposed by the narrow economic base from which these countries operate, and the lack of institutional capacity to initiate and implement policies (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 1). This dilemma calls for a major rethink, especially the need for a holistic approach to the management of urban environmental problems. However, such an approach must appreciate the impossibility of achieving urban environmental sustainability without addressing the lack of basic infrastructure and services in the rural areas (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 1).

It may be argued that the urban-biased policies pursued in the past present a narrow premise from which future urban policies can be derived. Only a holistic appraisal of urban environmental problems would be able to address the multiplicity of issues associated with the dynamic changes to the process of urban agglomeration, which is fast transforming into new forms and dimensions (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 1). These forms and dimensions into which urban problems are transforming therefore call for the sharing of responsibilities and actions between a host of stakeholders, including governmental and non-governmental organisations, the private sector, and multilateral and bilateral funding agencies, which should

facilitate a multidisciplinary engagement of urban environmental problems and their management.

A permanent feature of the urbanisation trends is evidenced in the increased mobility of people between rural and urban areas of the developing countries. The current trends suggest that rural population will peak at 3.1 billion by 2010 and be overtaken by urban population by 2030 (World Bank 1992). Thus, the challenge of seeking creativity in managing urban growth and the attendant urban sprawl, which is brought about by the difficulty of expanding and extending infrastructure at the rate commensurate with urban growth, is overwhelming (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 1). Similarly, rural-urban wage differentials and the expectations of better remunerating jobs have tempted many migrants from rural to urban centres (Papanek, 1975; Berry, 1975; Kearney, 1986). Thus, the incentive to migrate is predicated on the desires of migrants to escape rural poverty and profoundly improve their living standards and those of the rural communities left behind through income remittances (Harris & Todaro, 1970; Grindle 1988; UNCHS 1994).

The political dimension to urbanisation is seen as significant and as such deserving some attention, as it is becoming a major constraint to the adoption of bold and imaginative or holistic solutions to problems that are not confined to urban areas. Urban bias and urbanisation are inextricably linked to the concentration of wealth and power in urban areas; a status quo the urban elites would want to keep as their preserve . Castells (1977), Caldwell (1968) in (Ebohon and Rodriques 2000: 5) adds to this argument and contends that administrative, commercial, industrial, cultural, recreational, health and educational facilities are concentrated in urban areas, explaining the disproportionate share in infrastructure and other social amenities accounted for by urban areas. Therefore one cannot easily discount the fact that the urbanisation process and its policies perpetuate the consumption patterns of the political elites and other vested interests such as transnational corporations (Ebohon and Rodriques 2000: 5).

It is crucial to note that efforts at containing urbanisation can initially be seen in rural-biased policies that were pursued. As stated in Ebohon and Rodriques (2000: 11), Rakodi (1990), indicates that the strategy had been to enhance rural capacity to export primary commodities and raise income levels. This was expected to reduce rural-urban wage differentials, and curtail migration tendencies among rural population and in pursuance of this policy, ‘growth points and service centres’ were proposed for rural areas and supported with investments. It

was ultimately discovered that very limited successes were achieved due to, on the one hand, lack of sufficient infrastructure to attract industries and services to rural areas, and on the other the failure to realise that value added to export rather than volume offered the best strategy for enhancing rural income. The main reason for this was the failure to adopt a holistic perspective when dealing with rural problems. The focus therefore should have been on basic rural infrastructure provisions to strengthen rural-urban links rather than a strategy of attempting to turn rural areas into cities. Thus, rural economic problems cannot be treated outside an integrated economic development framework.

A careful study of these themes and perspectives at the regional (SADC) level, especially the underlying principles, indicate the conception of urbanisation and interrelated problems as part of the structural problems of the wider economy. They refer to the World Bank (1999) which states that these include the emphasis on efficiency in resource allocation, which is currently repackaged as efficiency and good governance, that blends with the strong emphasis currently placed on poverty alleviation in the new urban management strategy. A criticism laid against this approach is that it deals with rural and urban strategies separately, as well as the fact that there is failure to appreciate or harness the interconnectedness between rural and urban economies. This serious omission has been a major hindrance to effective policy formulation, both in South Africa and in other parts of the region (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 13). Therefore, in conceiving "urban" and "rural" as closed systems, the opportunity to harness the synergies between rural and urban economies for effective development policy, which can then be sequenced according to economic priorities, is lost. This holistic approach contends that rural and urban problems must be considered as one whole, allowing policymakers to "strategize holistically and intervene selectively". Thus an integrated economic development strategy for development is crucial in generating employment, provision of physical infrastructure, education and health facilities for the economy as a whole (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 13).

In the SADC countries, the idea of resolving urbanisation and environmental problems is not borne out by the huge disparity between rural and urban areas, because of the potential to migrate and seek better living conditions in urban areas as the rural economy deteriorates (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 13). Apart from facilitating food delivery to urban areas and sustaining the rural income base by facilitating supply and reducing food scarcity, food prices are lowered to affordable levels alleviating some of the most visible symptoms of poverty such as hunger and malnutrition. Furthermore, apart from having an impact on urban poverty,

hunger and malnutrition, commercial agriculture is encouraged for rural farmers whose income is stabilised by access to larger markets. Through this process, it is assumed that a massive movement by migrants to urban areas in search for employment opportunities may be discouraged.

In response to the above discussion, South Africa has demonstrated its grasp of this reality by unveiling the "rural passenger vision for 2000" programme. The ethos of this programme is to further integrate the rural agricultural communities with the rest of the economy as a mechanism for alleviating rural and urban poverty. Subsistence farmers are known to predominate the South African farming community, as research indicates that they account for 500 000 farmers, while there are 60 000 commercial farmers and another 30 000 small-scale farmers (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 14). It is estimated that 85 percent of rural roads linking subsistence farmers to urban areas and services are grossly inadequate. Subsistence farmers are more prone migrate to urban areas due to the state of poverty they normally live in. Therefore stabilising rural income is beneficial to the whole economy, as well as the physical environment. Thus, effective and implementable policies can be derived by addressing urban issues from a holistic perspective.

Apart from the distinctions drawn between "rural" and "urban" economies, those drawn between "informal" and "formal" sectors and settlements hinder effective policy formulation and focus attention on the symptoms rather than the cause of development problems. Such compartmentalisation of urban problems is known to provide legitimacy to urban sprawl. An example includes the "high" building regulations and standards of planning that are often blamed for overcrowding and acute housing shortages that afflict most urban cities in developing countries (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 15). This is particularly the case where policies prescribed include lowering of standards to facilitate housing affordability. Research indicates that the literature on urbanisation and human settlements is replete with justifications for inadequate housing, informal settlements and urban sprawl, as they have been accorded economic value and used to underpin upgrading and self-help housing strategies (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 15). The SADC countries must therefore confront urban and rural development problems holistically and appreciate that the urban and rural economies, and the formal and informal sectors, are not closed systems but are linked and interconnected.

SADC countries must adopt a holistic approach to urban environmental management by appreciating and harnessing the interconnectedness between rural and urban economies within the context of an integrated economic development strategy (Ebohon & Rodriques: 2000: 15). Compartmentalising the economy into rural, urban, formal and informal often results in the formulation and implementation of “expedient policies”, which postpone rather than attempt to solve the problem. Given the role that rural-urban migration plays in urban agglomeration in SADC and in other developing countries, it is inconceivable how urban problems can effectively be solved without attention being given to rural problems (Ebohon & Rodriques 2000: 15). Poverty, which is the root cause of rural and urban problems, must be alleviated as a necessary prerequisite to urban sustainability and development because of the well-established link between poverty and environmental degradation.

3.5.1. Building Gauteng province as a globally competitive city region

In South Africa, the Gauteng Office of the Premier (2005: 7) identifies the following as common features for global city-regions. It indicates that spatially and demographically global city-regions are comprised of one or more central metropolitan areas and the surrounding hinterland in a polycentrical spatial form. The successful global city-regions also demonstrate an increasing intensification of economic activity in which manufacturing and service sectors gather together in dense regional clusters to secure enhanced competitive advantage in response to heightened economic competition. In addition, as the impact of globalisation increases, the capacity of central government to deal with the nuanced policy needs of its individual regions diminishes, as regions develop new institutions to deal with the threats and opportunities of globalisation. According to the Gauteng Office of the Premier (2005: 9-10), global city regions also become poles of attraction for both high and low-wage migrants, both nationally and internationally, leading to immense pressures through the urbanisation of poverty, increasing diversity in local populations, the need for effective political participation and the reconstruction of local political identity and citizenship.

Gauteng Office of the Premier (2005: 24) indicates that the strategy to build and consolidate Gauteng as a globally competitive city-region actually requires three significant new approaches. Firstly, it requires all stakeholders to think regionally and cooperate in a common aim to compete more effectively in the hierarchy of global cities. Secondly, it requires significantly enhanced cooperation across all spheres of government and to reinforce the imperative of improving intergovernmental relations. Thirdly, it requires a closer look at the

spatial implications of development such as the identification of the future loci of economic growth, including growth corridors (i.e. the Midrand and the Gautrain corridors) and nodes (i.e. the newly identified “Zone of Choice” part of the Tshwane’s development programme to the north, and its relationship with the provincially-led Innovation Hub project to the South). Gauteng Office of the Premier (2005: 25) argues that these three approaches should enable people to concentrate less on the political jurisdictions and administrative boundaries and more on the relationships between political and economic actors within and surrounding Gauteng. These approaches would further enable people to focus more on growth nodes and development corridors and on enhancing the flow of goods and services, wealth, opportunities and information between the heart of the city-region and its hinterland.

According to the Gauteng Office of the Premier (2005: 32), understanding the core-hinterland relationship is important because the metropolitan municipalities for the contiguous urban core of the city-region, along with the provincial government, constitute the central relationship for driving its growth and development. The affiliation between the secondary centre hinterland and the core is crucial since there are clearly economic and social interconnections that form the overall functional region and affect both neighbouring municipalities and other provinces (Gauteng Office of the Premier 2005: 32). However, since this dissertation reports on work in progress, a process of consultation and research will be initiated to gain a better understanding of these relationships, with a particular focus on local growth processes, constraints and opportunities, that is, the flow of goods, services, capital, companies, remittances and labour. It acknowledges that the results of this analysis would then be used to identify positive actions to spread the benefits of improved competitiveness among the hinterland communities, and maximise such linkages in policy and planning.

3.5.2. Regional development in South Africa: the issue of convergence and the core-periphery concept

The assumption underlying regional development in South Africa and elsewhere is that the objective of regional planning programmes is to move towards regional economic convergence across national space over time (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 24). Empirical evidence has proven that this is often the exception than the rule, and this is exemplified by the growth centre strategies that failed to cause convergence by the mid-1970s.

Dewar, Todes and Watson (1985: 25) assert that in less developed weaker Third and First world countries in which strong regional disparities existed, industrialists seldom responded on any significant scale to attempts to change the pattern of location. In addition, in more developed countries, disparities were sometimes reduced at an inter-regional level but were increased at other, usually intra-regional and inter-personal levels. This basically implies that the concept of convergence is misleading when used to claim successes. Evidence suggests that these failures have not been just the result of ineffective policy implementation, but reflected the way in which industrialists have responded to an initially uneven surface in a given circumstance or the lack of “urban push factors” such as lack of labour militancy, high wages and urban congestion in the larger cities (Dewar, Todes and Watson 1985: 25).

A perspective that rural-centred development strategies are viewed as a solution to the problem of uneven regional development in the Third World is perceived as problematic. Dewar, Todes and Watson (1985: 25) argue that in practice, “peasant-oriented” rural development strategies are usually more difficult to effect because there are severe political obstacles to success. They demonstrate that experience has shown that if rural development efforts are to reach the poor, it is necessary that fairly thorough-going land reform occur, coupled with efforts to democratise local power structures, because the organisational element of “peasant-centred” rural development strategies is critical. Furthermore, plans for a series of input programmes must be properly coordinated and long-term continuity ensured, and sectoral policies be geared to meeting the needs of the rural poor as well as efforts to re-orientate the form of industrial development. Within the South African context, initiatives around these processes have been observed since 1994; political commitment has also been pronounced for integrated development, thus rural development is part of the broader agenda of government. However, there is still more room for the development of the rural areas.

The excessive pursuit of convergence poses some dangers. Dewar, Todes and Watson (1985: 26) view the problem as the resulting strong anti-city bias and ultimately restrictive measures being taken against the metropolitan cores. They indicate that the core-periphery conception of the regional problem which is increasingly being used, views the underdevelopment of peripheral regions as a result of the development of the cores. As mentioned in Dewar, Todes and Watson (1985: 26), this theory has been tested by several theorists such as Friedman (1964) (a positive relationship between the core and periphery) and Frank (1967) (an exploitative relationship), and criticised by several other intellectuals, including Dewar, Todes and Watson (1985) who indicate that whatever the validity of any element of the concept at a

national-international level, it is not possible to simply transplant concepts to a lower level of spatial aggregation. They show that there are empirical differences between nations and regions, and the role of the state and class relations within it are usually different at national and regional levels.

The anti-urban lobby argue that the urban poor can be seen as part of or synonymous with the rural population, and that rich landowners generally possess extensive urban connections. Dewar, Todes and Watson (1985: 28) are of the opinion that this is not true and the tendency to juxtapose urban against rural is perceived as overestimating the degree of equality in rural areas. Their argument is that this ignores the fact that colonial development as well as attempts to commercialise agriculture have resulted in a process of rural differentiation, and from this point of view it is not fair to objectify rural areas and to argue that urban exploits rural. “In fact, there is often significant absolute poverty in urban as well as in rural areas and, despite the overall urban bias in services, the poorest urban dwellers seldom have access to these. The bias in service provision too, is often a class bias” (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 28).

The core-periphery concept is widely used to describe different types of process and different forms of uneven development, for example, relations between urban and rural areas in different contexts; relations (broadly) between areas which are capitalist and those which are pre-capitalist, and so forth (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 27). It is increasingly argued that these forms of uneven development, and significantly, the core-periphery, are not the only forms of uneven development, but must be understood as instances of the way in which capitalist development produces configurations in accordance with its laws of motion in time, and in interaction with the socially defined territory upon which it operates. The study of uneven development therefore requires identification of precise, contextual elements – not simply broad references to “core-periphery” (Dewar, Todes & Watson 1985: 27). This dissertation will discuss the elements pertaining to the rural-urban interface in detail Chapter 5.

3.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the characteristics and trends of rural and urban development in South Africa. Case studies were used to illustrate the characteristics and trends in each sector. The SADC cases were used to demonstrate the integrated approach to sustainable rural and urban development in the region.

CHAPTER FOUR

PERSPECTIVES OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out to present various perspectives of the broader legislative and policy framework that guide development and planning within South Africa. It reflects perspectives of the South African policy and legislative frameworks in the pre and post-apartheid periods, and also highlights the planning system that prevailed during these periods. Particular attention is devoted to some of the critical policies and laws that pertain to rural and urban development in South Africa. A theoretical analysis of development planning within the Third World is included to reflect the origins and challenges associated with the development planning approach.

4.2. DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN THE THIRD WORLD

The origins and growth of development planning reveal that it is a post-war phenomenon, although some very preliminary attempts at planning were made in some countries before the Second World War, usually under the auspices of colonial powers (Conyers 1984: 42). During the mid-1960s, development planning was concerned primarily with economic development, particularly with the growth and structure of the national economy. Therefore the origins and rapid growth of economic development planning in the Third World can be attributed to the desire to achieve development, the growth of economic planning in the socialist world (the Soviet bloc), and the experience gained in Europe and the United States during the Second World War. “Economic development planning” can be described as a type of planning mechanism that has a certain degree of influence over national decision making in most Third World countries (Conyers 1984: 42). According to Waterston (1965: 27) countries were considered to be engaged in development planning if their governments were making a conscious and continuing attempt to increase their rate of economic and social progress and to alter those institutional arrangements which were considered to be obstacles to the achievement of this aim.

The planning process may be defined as an exercise in which “a government first chooses social objectives, then sets various targets, and finally organises a framework for implementing, co-ordinating and monitoring a development plan” (Todaro 1994: 566). He describes economic planning as a deliberate governmental attempt to coordinate economic decision making over the long run and to influence, direct and in some cases even control the level of growth of a nation’s principal economic variables (i.e. income, consumption, employment, investment, saving, exports, imports etc.) to achieve a predetermined set of development objectives. This particular approach to planning was designed especially for use in countries with a high degree of state control over the economy, particularly a one-party system of government. However, it is significant to note that even those countries characterised by a multiparty system of government, and with relatively less state control, have introduced a system of national economic planning, which resembles the Soviet model in many respects. “The concern with economic objectives was manifested in a preoccupation with macroeconomic planning, that is, planning the economy as a whole, with the aim of increasing the rate of growth and productive capacity, and altering the balance between different sectors and to a lesser extent, with the planning of major economic development projects” (Conyers 1984: 46). Thus particular emphasis was placed on increasing the coverage of plans and the ultimate objective was considered to be the production of a “comprehensive” plan or an integrated plan. The latter is regarded as a plan that covers all sectors, including both the private and public sectors.

Despite a great diversity of development plans and planning techniques available, Killick (1981: 570) identifies basic characteristics of comprehensive planning that are common to most developing countries. Firstly, starting from the political views and goals of the government, planning attempts to define policy objectives, especially as they relate to the future development of the economy. Secondly, the development plan sets out a strategy by means of which it is intended to achieve these objectives, and which are normally translated into specific targets. Thirdly, the plan attempts to present a centrally coordinated, internally consistent set of principles and policies, chosen as the optimal means of implementing the strategy and achieving the targets, and intended to be used as a framework to guide subsequent day-to-day decisions (Killick 1981: 570). The development plan typically covers a period of, say, five years and finds physical expression as a medium-term plan document, which may, however, incorporate a longer-term perspective plan and be supplemented by annual plans. Many economic development plans were seen as rigid in a manner that may be

counter-productive, if not damaging, to a country's interests if the government's ability to adjust and respond to changes in the economic environment is impaired (Conyers 1984: 46).

Seers (1972) also identifies "the basic triangle of forces" and sees the problem as resulting from the nature of the relationship and the interaction that occurs between the politician, the planner and the traditional administrator (Conyers 1984: 46). He argues that though each of this trio may play his role quite reasonably, the outcome is nevertheless quite irrational because of basic differences in the way they approach their joint task, owing to differences in the education and experience that have moulded them. The major critique of this traditional approach to development planning is an overemphasis on the plan itself rather than on the implementation process; too much focus on the medium term; extreme rigidity; varying perspective and lack of proper communication between politicians, planners and administrators (Conyers 1984: 47). By the 1960s there was increasing disillusionment with this approach to planning and by the end of that decade it was widely accepted that it was not reaching its objectives.

Two critical changes to development planning are identified. Firstly, the scope of development planning has gradually broadened to include much more than just economic aspects of planning. "It is now generally recognised that planning must take into account political, social and physical environmental considerations as well as economic factors" (Conyers 1984: 48). This implies that, at the national level, the objectives of development plans should include the achievement of political goals, the provision of social needs and the conservation of the natural environment, as well as growth or structural change of the national economy. Secondly, the broader scope of development planning is regarded as having important implications for the nature of planning as a discipline. This appears to have resulted in the rise of new branches of planning dominated not by economists, but by other professions, and these include social planning and physical or environmental planning. Physical planning is therefore concerned with detailed land-use planning and design particularly in urban areas. Although to a lesser extent than in the developed world it sometimes overlaps with the activities of development planning, particularly in the fields of regional and rural planning, in a form of planned settlement schemes or special agricultural development projects (Conyers 1984: 53).

A criticism levelled against development planning is that its methodological approach tends to focus far too much on simply writing plans or vetting projects. Furthermore, in many

countries planning was, and is indeed still, regarded as little more than producing some kind of document on either a five-yearly or annual basis. “This blueprint for the future, often incorporating totally unrealistic objectives, frequently became an end in itself rather than a means for achieving development” (Conyers 1984: 46). These plans were seldom operational in nature and not geared towards implementation, and one of the major shortcomings of planning in the Third World is the gap that exists between planning and implementation of plans. The financial and human resources were utilised to prepare large plans, but the review process at the end of each financial year, revealed that few of the targets or objectives specified in the plan had actually been achieved. It was discovered that those plans whose targets were achieved, it was pure coincidence rather than planned activities which were designed to implement the plan. This situation led to what Seers (1972: 19) terms “a crisis in planning”, as most Third World countries still face serious problems of underdevelopment and the gap between rich and poor countries is increasing rather than decreasing, and consequently, the need to plan development has not been reduced. However, Mehmet (1978: 271) has criticises this conventional approach to planning and states that the crisis in planning is not a crisis in relevance. He believes that, if anything, economic planning is more relevant and more urgently needed than ever before, but the actual crisis lies in its approach, which relates to the objectives and strategies of planning. The general trends in the nature and extent of changes have been observed both in the scope and approach to planning.

Another view suggests that most development plans have been formulated and carried out within the framework of the mixed economies of the Third World (Todaro 1994: 579). These mixed economies are distinguished by a substantial amount of government ownership and control and are characterised by the existence of an institutional setting in which some of the productive resources are privately owned and operated and some are controlled by the public sector. The four fundamental economic and institutional arguments upon which the early widespread acceptance of planning as a development tool rested include market failure, resource mobilisation and allocation, attitudinal or psychological impact and foreign aid (Todaro 1994: 579). However, these were often not supported by the actual planning experience

The governments in most Third World countries have rarely, in practice, reconciled private and social valuations except in a piecemeal manner (Todaro 1994: 579). Plans had limited impact in mobilising resources and in coordinating economic policies due to the fact that they have seldom became operational documents (Todaro 1994: 581). Another reason that led to

the failures is that the role that governments played in reconciling the divergence between private and social valuations of benefits and costs, and the experience of government policy in many less developed countries, has actual worsened than reconcile these divergences. The four crucial areas where private and social valuations tend to diverge and where the impact of government policy has often tended to increase rather than reduce these divergences include “factor prices, choices of technique and employment creation; rural-urban imbalances and migration; demand for education and the employment problem as well as the structure of the economy” (Killick 1981: 580-1). The argument on rural-urban imbalances and migration indicates that government policies that are strongly biased in favour of urban development, as revealed by the existence of sizeable urban-rural income differentials and disparities in “locational” economic opportunities, have stimulated an excessive outflow of rural migrants in search of limited but highly paid urban jobs. Therefore, with the growing urban unemployment and stagnating agriculture, the continued heavy influx of rural migrants represents a net social loss to society in the context both of lost agricultural output and the higher social costs of their urban accommodation Todaro (1994: 580-581).

Evidence has proven that while the gap between the theoretical economic benefits of planning and its practical results in most Third World countries has been quite large, the gap between public rhetoric and economic reality has been even greater. The planning policies of some of the less developed countries have in fact unwittingly contributed to the perpetuation of poverty, reducing inequality, and lowering unemployment,(Todaro 1994: 581). Some of the reasons why plans have failed include deficiencies in plans and their implementation, insufficient and unreliable data, unanticipated economic disturbances (external and internal), institutional weaknesses as well as the lack of political will. At times, plans have been overambitious and tried to accomplish too many objectives at once without considering that some of the objectives are competing or even conflicting, and the gap between plan formulation and implementation is often enormous and plans never implemented.

All plans that do not have the necessary political backing end up as documents that go to waste. This view is also supported by Todaro (1994: 583) who warns that the ultimate cause of planning failures may not necessarily be poor plan performance and the growing gap between plan formulation and implementation, but may be attributable to a lack of commitment and political will on the part of many Third World leaders and high-level decision makers. Evidence shows that those plans that lack government support are never implemented. A lesson learnt from this planning experience of developing countries is that

the sustained commitment of a politically stable government is the '*sine qua non*' for development (Todaro 1994: 583). The researcher agrees with the fact that when the country's political leadership makes development a central concern, the people can also be involved through judicious use of economic incentives. Furthermore, the researcher also contends that although it is never easy to reform administrative and institutional inefficiency, commitment by political leaders is a necessary condition for reform because without it reform is impossible.

In South Africa, similar sentiments can be expressed with respect to rural and urban development. The commitment to the development of both the rural and urban areas is seen at the political, government, NGO and CBO levels. This has been supported by the development of relevant policies, structures, plans and programmes and some visible gains have been observed. However, there has been a mixture of positive and negative views on the development of rural and urban areas. One view expresses an urban bias and a concern raised is that urban development seems to have received enormous attention at the expense of rural development. Another view reflects that much progress has been made in developing the rural areas since the advent of the new democracy in South Africa. The reality on the ground is that much still needs to be done in the development of South African rural areas, as well as in the upliftment of the livelihoods of rural people. Both financial and human resources are being made available to ensure the successful implementation of rural development strategies. Since rural and urban development were made Cabinet priorities, government departments have been tasked with the responsibility of ensuring active involvement in the development of peripheral and rural areas and this has challenged departments to take action. Although progress has reportedly been slow, some movement has been observed at the local government level, particularly through the integrated development planning process.

Some of the institutional weakness and failures of governments in the Third World include the separation of the planning agency from the day-to-day decision-making machinery of government; the failure of planners, administrators, and political leaders to engage in continuous dialogue and internal communication about goals and strategies; and the international transfer of institutional planning practices and organisational arrangements that may be inappropriate to local conditions. To crown this argument, there has also been much concern about incompetent and unqualified civil servants, cumbersome bureaucratic procedures commonly known as red tape, caution and resistance to innovation and change, inter-ministerial personal and departmental rivalries and working in silos. Furthermore, the

lack of commitment to national goals as opposed to regional, departmental, or simply private objectives on the part of political leaders and government bureaucrats, and in accordance with this lack of national as opposed to regional interests, the political and bureaucratic corruption that is pervasive in many governments. Addressing these institutional weaknesses is crucial as they have the potential to hold back both the structural and institutional reforms needed to accelerate economic and social development (Todaro 1994: 593).

The South African government has introduced the cluster system to ensure better planning, coordination, and monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of cluster priorities at the end of each financial year. Departments are accountable to the clusters with regards to the implementation of government priorities throughout the year, and Cabinet can summon any department to account for progress made on any of its priorities. These institutional mechanisms have proved to be effective in encouraging departments to take corrective action in addressing their key responsibility areas as well as coordinate efforts with other departments within the cluster to avoid duplication, thereby reducing wastage of resources. In his State of the Nation (SON) address (2004), the President of the Republic of South Africa, reiterated the importance of commitment to government priorities by departments, as well as a committed public service cadre that should not just be seen as bureaucrats and guardians of pushing papers, but dedicated members of the Public Service. This position challenges the politicians, government departments and civil servants to “pull up their socks” and avoid involvement in unethical conduct.

The 1970s could be described as a period of increased public sector activity in the pursuit of more equitable development, while the 1980s witnessed the re-emergence of free market economics as part of the ever-changing development orthodoxy (Todaro 1994: 584). He raises critical concerns with regards to the role of the state versus the role of the market in the development planning context in Third World countries. Both the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are regarded as preaching the virtues of the free market. According to Todaro (1994: 584) on the one hand, the IMF requires substantial market liberalisation programmes and policies to improve comparative advantage and promote macroeconomic stabilisation as conditions for access to its higher credit windows. On the other hand, the World Bank is said to be carefully scrutinising its project lending scheme to ensure that the projects proposed could not otherwise be undertaken by the private sector. The World Bank also emphasises joint ventures between governments and private enterprise as part of its structural adjustment lending (Todaro 1994: 584). This obsession with the market

appears to have arisen from the growing dissatisfaction with government intervention in general, and with central planning in particular. He indicates that the poor rates of growth, massive inflation, high debt, and growing balance of payment deficits during the 1970s and 1980s, have been deservedly attributed to the rising burden of public spending, excessive price distortions, and inward-looking trade policies. However, in most developing countries markets are in reality characterised by widespread imperfections, such as the lack of information and the presence of uncertainty that most individual producers and consumers face (Todaro 1994: 585). This, amongst other things, has often led to government's intervention in the form of provision of massive information or through guiding market consumers and producers.

Third World governments must inevitably assume active responsibility for the future wellbeing of their countries. In its quest to fulfil the duty of nation building in the newly independent countries and generating rapid economic growth in the less developed countries, governments are preoccupied with challenges related to debts and deficits as well as poverty, population, unemployment, the environment, and inequality (Todaro 1994: 593). Governments in the Third World are therefore forging a new role of institutional and structural reform in the field of land tenure, taxation, asset ownership and distribution, labour relations, pricing policies. Government is also actively involved in the organisation and orientation of technological research and experimentation, the operation or privatisation of public sector enterprises, and the machinery of government and planning itself. It is predicted that the public sector, whether centralised or decentralised, whether jointly with private enterprise or on its own, will in the coming decades continue to claim major responsibility for the commanding heights of most Third World economies (Todaro 1994: 593).

4.3. POLICY AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK: SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

4.3.1. Historical background

A focus on South Africa warrants a brief review of the situation that existed prior to the 1994 elections. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, the Group Areas Act as apartheid legislation instituted strict residential segregation and the compulsory removal of black people to "own" group areas. This therefore implies that apartheid was not the beginning of geographic, institutional and social separation at the local level, since segregation was already a policy by

the time apartheid was introduced in 1948 (Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 1).

The Natives Land Act of 1913 was the first legislative attempt to divide the Union of South Africa into areas where Africans could own land and areas where they could not. A Native Trust and Land Act was passed in 1936, together with a Representation of Natives Act, and the principle of territorial and political segregation was thereby extended. Although at this stage some proponents advocated for total separation of races, others such as the Minister of Native Affairs (1951-9) and the Tomlinson Commission of 1955, preferred the principle of separate development or "apartheid" as it is commonly known (Davenport & Hunt 1974: 34). This principle of segregation influenced policymaking with regard to African land tenure, and marked a significant change in the history of African land holding, as they were not allowed to have title deeds. Africans thus stayed on the Union Reserves, which were not producing enough food to feed people living on them and which were being over-grazed resulting in increasing soil erosion. These conditions led to the movement of some Africans from the reserves to squat in other areas, which were owned by whites. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act was promulgated in 1951 as a mechanism to enable the South African government to remove squatters from white-owned land. This Act provided the basis for the establishment of resettlement camps and towns in the Bantu "Homelands" (commonly known as reserves). Three categories of Bantu could be removed from white areas into the homelands, and these included the elderly, the unfit, the widows, women with dependant children and families that did not qualify for residential rights in urban areas. This also included the "surplus Bantu" on white-owned farms, on mission stations and on "black spots". "Doctors, lawyers and businessmen, who were to be considered as of more value to their own people in the homelands than in the white areas, remained behind" (Davenport & Hunt; 1974: 34).

In line with this argument, a distinction is drawn between four categories of settlements where people were settled between the late 1960s and early 1970s. Firstly, these were the Bantu towns situated near the borders of the homelands and developed with the aid of funds from the South African Bantu (Native) Trust under conditions laid down in Proclamation 293 of 1962 (Davenport and Hunt 1974: 34). These places included Umlazi near Durban, Mdantsane near East London and Ga Rankuwa near Pretoria. Secondly, the more modest homeland villages where housing and services were more rudimentary, but in which homes could be sold and rented. These areas included Sada near Queenstown and Boekenhoutfontein near

Pretoria. Thirdly, the more densely populated settlements where houses could be rented but not bought under the terms of Proclamation 92 of 1949 for the sum of R1,00 per month. Lastly, the Trust land where organised squatting was allowed (Davenport & Hunt 1974: 36). However, the squatter laws were later abolished and this contributed to an escalation of squatting by black people on white owned land, resulting in the so called ‘white flight’, that is, white people moving out of parts of their rural areas to other areas..

The Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 (amended in 1964) was introduced as the main instrument for controlling African movement into, and settlement in “white” areas. At that time the white South Africans took it for granted that the urban areas were actually a kind of “white reserve” into which blacks were only admitted as servants of the white man (the so called Stallard doctrine) (Davenport & Hunt 1974: 36). Though this idea was actually more vigorously contested, since Parliament during that time did not reject it, it was eventually implemented. The Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 (amended in 1964) stipulated that the influx of black men be strictly adjusted to the availability of unskilled work, with the “surplus” being earmarked for rustication instead of leaving flow of these people to towns unregulated. It was later discovered during the review of this Act that the number of unemployed Africans in urban areas was much smaller than the legislators had anticipated. In addition, this legislation of segregation prevented effective African investment in urban areas, as economic strength could have meant demands for political privileges (Davenport & Hunt 1974: 38). Thus, this type of segregationist policy prohibited the rural-urban interface at levels other than the economic sphere.

Against the backdrop of the aforementioned South African history, serious challenges face the local sphere of government. The service needs of the vast majority of South Africa’s non-metropolitan, including labour reserve populations in small dormitory townships attached to white towns, farm workers and people forcibly settled in bantustans went largely unheeded. Thus, the new system of local government needs to change this pattern (Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 68). Local government outside the country’s metropolitan areas faces a diverse set of challenges. These include the need to “anticipate shifts in settlement patterns, especially with large numbers of people leaving commercial farmland, and with informal settlements rapidly growing on vacant land in agricultural areas and on the edges of towns” (Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 69). Furthermore, there is a need to provide for the basic needs of people living in historically derived settlement patterns, which are difficult and costly to serve. These include settlements

on communally owned land where dispersed homesteads are the norm, and in denser areas of “displaced urbanisation” on the borders of former homelands.

However, for the government to achieve some recognisable gains, capacity-building programmes should be introduced, particularly to train or retrain the local authorities to enable municipalities to respond to new opportunities. National funding should be availed for the purposes of infrastructure investment, the devolution of national and provincial functions and a range of sectoral and spatial initiatives. (Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 69). In view of this situation, a crisis was predicted as being imminent alongside an inevitable collapse of the system. Indeed, with the advent of the democratic state in South Africa in 1994, this system collapsed giving way to a system of equitable provision and distribution of resources and services. The period since 1994 to 1999 saw the development of a series of policies and laws to chart the future progress of the transformation agenda of government.

4.3.2. Legislative and policy frameworks: the post 1994 period

With the advent of a new democratic dispensation in 1994, South Africa saw the development of the number of policy and legislative frameworks. These were, amongst other things, aimed at setting the scene for transformation and promoting good governance within government. Policies and legislation that pertain to development and planning will be singled out, among other things, for the purposes of this dissertation. Although not all of them will be discussed in this chapter, the dissertation may touch on some of them in various chapters depending on the relevance and context. The frameworks that have been developed to guide all efforts, particularly towards rural and urban development and planning in South Africa, include the following: the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act no. 108 of 1996:); Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (1996); Land Transport Policy Framework (1996); the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) (Act no.67 of 1995); White Paper on Housing (1994); the (national) Rural Development Framework: thriving rural areas (1997); the (national) Urban Development Framework: living cities (1997); the White Paper on Urban Regeneration and Integration Plan for City, Town and Township Centres (1997); the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) (Act no.62 of 1997); the White Paper on Local Government (1998); the Green Paper on Rural Development for Gauteng (1998); the Municipal Structures Act (Act no. 117 of 1998); the Municipal Systems Act (Act no. 32 of 2000); Agricultural Policy in South Africa (1998); the Gauteng Planning and Development

Bill (2002); the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework, Third Phase (1999); the Urban Renewal Strategy (2000) and the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) (2000); the National Framework for Intergovernmental Relations in South Africa (NFIGR) (2003); the Intergovernmental Relations Act (2005); and the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) (2003).

However, it must be mentioned that the post-1999 period witnessed calamity with regards to policy development, and all efforts within government have been geared towards the implementation of existing policies and legislation, policy review and the development of guidelines or “dummy” guides to assist in the process of implementation. Policies in the post-1999 period have been developed only in the most critical areas, and with prior approval from Cabinet. Most policies have been either amended or reviewed to update them and align them to the new processes and systems within government. A discussion on some of the critical frameworks mentioned above follows below. The post-1994 frameworks (between 1994 and 1999) will be discussed initially and then the debate on the post-1999 frameworks (1999 to 2005) will follow.

4.3.3. The post 1994 system of government in South Africa

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, regarded as one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, was introduced in 1996 and establishes government in South Africa. Section 40 (1) and (2) of the Constitution (1996) provides that government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres that are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated, but perform “distinctive” functions that must fuse into a single, indivisible, coherent government for the country as a whole. This implies that South Africa is a single unitary state with decentralised characteristics. Government consists of national government, nine provinces and 284 municipalities, each performing the constitutionally allocated functions for which it is accountable. South Africa (1996b) and government policy establish a developmental state predicated on core values such as eradicating racial, gender and other forms of discrimination through policies that redress the legacies of the past. The South African democratic government's role includes, amongst others, mobilising community and public participation in development through partnerships with the state and government. Public participation, particularly of key stakeholders, is seen as key as it is an important tool for consultation, identification of needs and feedback on implementation of government's goals and objectives. Feedback is normally attained from the actual recipients of services,

who are located within the local government sphere, and some of it is used to plan for the future goals and objectives of government.

Furthermore, the South Africa (1996b) prioritises the needs of the poor, historically marginalised, women, youth and people with disabilities. Chapter 3 of the Constitution binds all spheres of government and organs of state in each sphere of government with the basic principles of cooperative governance that include effectiveness, transparency, coherency, accountability, distinctiveness, common loyalty and implementation of concrete measures. Cooperative governance assumes the integrity of each sphere of government and also recognises the complex nature of government in modern society. Government should therefore develop a cohesive, multisectoral perspective on the interests of the country as a whole, and respect the discipline of national goals, policies and operating principles. Chapter 3 of the South Africa (1996b) refers to intergovernmental relations as a set of multiple formal and informal processes, channels, structures and institutional arrangements for bilateral and multilateral interaction within and between spheres of government. In South Africa a system of intergovernmental relations gives expression to the concept of cooperative government contained in the Constitution.

The roles of the different spheres of government in South Africa are stipulated in chapter 3 of South Africa (1996b). However, in terms of these roles, a distinction should be made between administrative agencies (coordinating departments responsible for macro-issues of governance rather than service delivery), service delivery institutions and statutory bodies. At the national level, the departments of Public Service and Administration, National Treasury, Development Planning and Local Government, and the Office of the Presidency perform the coordination role. National government is generally responsible for policymaking, regulation and oversight. Provinces have legislative and executive powers within the concurrent functions in Schedule 4 and the exclusive functions in Schedule 5 of the Constitution. Schedule 4 of the South Africa (1996b) categorises both rural and urban development as one of the functional areas of concurrent national and provincial legislative competence. However, it should be mentioned that in both cases, provincial powers are subject to national overrides. Therefore, the main role of provincial government is to administer social service functions such as education, social grants and health that are not subject to cost recovery, and therefore have limited own revenue-raising powers. In addition, chapter 3 of the South Africa 1996b indicates that it is responsible for overseeing and supporting municipalities as well as intervening when municipal failures threaten financial obligations or service delivery.

Municipalities have legislative and executive functions in respect of constitutionally allocated municipal functions and other functions assigned to them from national and provincial government. Section 155 of South Africa (1996b) provides for three categories of municipalities, and these are category A, B and C municipalities. According to the South Africa (1996b), category A municipalities have exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in their area; category B municipalities share municipal executive and legislative authority in their area with a Category C municipality in which area it falls. The category C municipalities have municipal executive and legislative authority in an area that includes more than one municipality. This simply means that category A is a metropolitan municipality, category B is a local municipality and category C is a district municipality (of which the local municipality is part). These municipalities fall within the local sphere of government.

According to Act 117 of 1998, the Municipal Structures Act (South Africa 1998: 16), an area must have a single category A municipality if that area can reasonably be regarded as, firstly, a conurbation featuring the following: "areas of high population density; an intense movement of people, goods, and services; extensive development; and multiple business districts and industrial areas". Secondly, a centre of economic activity with a complex and diverse economy; a single area for which integrated development planning is desirable and having strong interdependent social and economic linkages between its constituent units. South Africa (1998) distinguishes between the following types of category A municipalities: "a municipality with a collective executive system; a municipality with a collective executive system combined with a sub-council participatory system; and a municipality with a collective executive system combined with a ward participatory system" (South Africa 1998: 16). There following are types of category B municipalities: "a municipality with a collective executive system; a municipality with a collective executive system combined with a ward participatory system; and a municipality with a mayoral executive system". In addition, they include the following: "a municipality with a mayoral executive system combined with a ward participatory system; a municipality with a plenary executive system; and a municipality with a plenary executive system combined with a ward participatory system" (South Africa 1998: 16). The types of category C municipalities include the following: a municipality with a collective executive system; a municipality with a mayoral executive system; and a municipality with a plenary executive system. Only certain types of local municipalities may have wards. The object of a ward committee is to enhance participatory democracy in local

government. An explanation of the wards within the CTMM for purposes of this study, is done in Chapter five

South Africa (1999) stipulates that each municipal council must within the first 12 months of its elected term adopt a single inclusive plan (integrated development plan, IDP) for the development of a municipality that is compatible with the national and provincial development planning requirements binding on the municipality in terms of legislation. Furthermore, the plan should link, integrate and coordinate plans, schemes and proposals for the development of the municipality; and forms the policy framework and general basis on which annual budgets must be based. In terms of Section 10(c) of South Africa (1996c), metropolitan and metropolitan local councils respectively are required to promote integrated economic development, the equitable redistribution of municipal services, and the equitable delivery of services. For these purposes, it grants such councils certain powers contained in Schedule 2 and 2a of the Act respectively. Metropolitan councils must formulate and implement a metropolitan integrated plan incorporating land use planning, transport planning, infrastructure planning and the promotion of integrated development; and coordinate and monitor local integrated development plans.

4.3.4. Changes in the local government system

There have been changes in the local government system since 1993. Local government has a range of powers and functions at its disposal and definitive municipal powers are defined in South Africa (1996b), in Part B of Schedules 4 and 5. The powers listed in Schedule 4, over which national and provincial government have concurrent legislative competence, include air pollution; building regulations; childcare facilities; electricity and gas reticulation; fire fighting services; local tourism; airports; planning; health services; municipal public transport; public works (only in respect of the needs of municipalities in the discharge of their responsibilities to administer functions specifically assigned to them under the Constitution or any other law); pontoons, ferries, jetties, piers and harbours (excluding the regulation of international and national shipping and matters related thereto); storm water management systems in built-up areas; trading regulations; water and sanitation services (limited to potable drinkable water supply systems and domestic waste water and sewage disposal systems). National and provincial governments have the right to legislate on these powers and functions, and the executive authority to ensure that municipalities perform these functions adequately.

The powers listed in Schedule 5, over which provincial government has exclusive legislative competence, include beaches and amusement facilities; billboards and the display of advertisements in public places; cemeteries, funeral parlours and crematoria; cleansing; control of public nuisances; control of undertakings that sell liquor to the public; facilities for the accommodation, care and burial of animals; fencing and fences; licensing of dogs; licensing and control of undertakings that sell food to the public; local amenities; local sports facilities; markets; municipal abattoirs; municipal parks and recreation; municipal roads; noise pollution; pounds; public places; refuse removal; refuse dumps and solid waste disposal; street trading; street lighting and traffic and parking. Other local government powers are defined in national and provincial legislation. For example, the Local Government Transition Act (1993) (Second Amendment Act) gives local government powers for integrated development planning. In addition, municipalities have potential powers and functions that may be devolved or delegated to them from provincial and national government. These national and provincial powers and functions are listed in Part A of Schedules 4 and 5 of South Africa (1996b). The Constitution provides for the delegation of powers and functions to local government by agreement if municipalities have the necessary capacity and are regarded as the most effective site from which these powers may be exercised. Again local government's exercise of these powers and functions is subject to national and provincial oversight.

Local government's core function needs to be understood as part of the functioning of the state and its three sphere government system as a whole. The constitutional definition of local government's powers and functions in relation to provincial and national government is, however, ambiguous in some respects and requires further clarification. This situation is further complicated by the fact that most powers and functions have several components, not all of which are best performed by the same sphere of government. The Constitution makes these distinctions to some extent (e.g. between trade and trading regulations) but grey areas remain. No municipality can ignore the economic changes taking place in its locality, in the surrounding region, in the nation, and globally. The rise or decline of industries can have a marked impact on local income, employment and tax revenue.

Globalisation or the internationalisation of capital, production, services and culture, has had and will continue to have a major impact on metropolitan areas in particular. The logic of transnational corporations, the fact that economic transactions and the integration of systems

of production occur on a worldwide basis, and the rapid development of information technologies have resulted in the emergence of the so-called "global economy" (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 11). In this context large cities become the nodes or points of contact that connect economies across the globe.

4.3.5. Globalisation: its impact on economic and development planning and management

Maganya (1996: 2) admits upfront that the concept of globalisation is very much in vogue in the academic discourse. Globalisation is described as an economic and political process in which market forces, particularly after the so-called golden age of capitalism (1945-1969), dominate the conduct of local and global economic processes (Maganya 1996: 2). Bienefeld (1996: 415) views globalisation and economic liberalisation promoting social and economic polarisation, political instability, economic insecurity, persistent unemployment and a dangerous erosion of trust in political and economic institutions. In his opinion, the generic nation state appears as a necessary and ultimately feasible response to this imminent crisis, because it is defined as a political entity that has the ability to manage its national economy in accordance with a set of socially rooted and politically legitimised values and priorities. It is predicted that the end of history will remain the futile dream of a global elite desperately trying to persuade itself and others that its powers and privileges are secure forever (Bienefeld 1996: 416). Against this backdrop, the majority of nation states may unfortunately find themselves wanting in that they would perhaps be in a worse off situation than before globalising their economies, and severely compromised their national identities in order to conform to global trends. Globalisation has been argued to have fundamentally challenged the role of the nation state by eroding it from above and from below (Bienefeld 1996: 415). He examines options available to nation states given globalisation, particularly within the context of economic and development planning and management. In his view, globalisation is treated as beneficial and inevitable, and demands for national sovereignty are dismissed as misguided and foolish. In his opinion, strong nation states cannot even qualify as a "Utopian" goal since that implies a desirable but unattainable objective. It is therefore not easy to argue for the desirability of sovereign nation states at the end of the twentieth century. This view presents challenges to the development planners who need to plan in consideration of global trends but without compromising the needs of the local communities. It has already been alluded to in Chapter 3, that the existence of smaller cities should not threatened and eclipsed by the bigger ones with a bigger budgets as well. Issues of national identity should not be swallowed by

global trends due to the fact that the characteristics, settlement patterns and historical background of one country differs from that of another. In the same vein, it has already been argued that although conducting benchmarks to learn best-in-class world practices, it is always advisable to customise and adapt the principles to local practices, instead of implementing practices that may not be implementable. Therefore, it is the opinion of the researcher that the effects of globalisation on nation states would differ from one country to another. In South Africa, caution must be exercised in the application of global practices due to the challenges confronting development planners. This include amongst others, grappling with the universally acceptable definition of rural and urban areas; historical backlogs lurking in the planning agendas of the national, provincial and local government; the fragmented settlement patterns stifling a coordinated delivery of services; value system and cultural norms and standards that contribute to the social fabric and moral fibre; policies and plans that are either not implementable or not implemented at all; and financial resources and human capital to facilitate transformation processes and comprehension of global trends that can be applied appropriately within the dynamic and changing public sector environment.

There are however varying perspectives to globalisation. Globalisation is seen as a negative phenomenon destroying the sovereignty and cohesion of nation states, thereby depriving markets of the social and political guidance without which they cannot function effectively (Bienefeld 1996: 417). He indicates that this view disputes the mainstream belief that states that globalisation will lead to desirable social, political and economic outcomes.. Bienefeld (1996: 435) asserts that globalisation should not be seen as inevitable, nor irreversible, and that the global elite cannot look forward to steady improvements in its quality of life with a globalised economy that will not remain stable or dynamic. Globalisation may be seen as inevitable, but some of the adverse effects it may have on nation states can be reversed. An assessment of the local economies and the level of competitiveness should assist determine the readiness of each nation to compete globally. If an assessment reveals a negative result, then the state should not consider globalisation in the short to medium term. Furthermore, providing training to countries will not prevent the disadvantaged states from deterioration, and depending on the response to globalisation by the government of nation states, the eventual restoration of national sovereignty would be very costly.

It is important to comprehend the conditions of the global economy, in order to be able to appropriately assess the current policymaking processes in South Africa, because failure to do so will lead to inaccurate assessments of policy trends and simplistic conclusions (Maganya

1996: 2). Indeed, South Africa is a newly crowned democratic state with a policy environment that has evolved and moved through various phases of government and governance, thus an understanding of the context is crucial. Commenting on globalisation and the policymaking process pre 1994, he asserts that the fast movement of capital within countries and across national boundaries, and the increased role of multinational corporations (MNC) in investment decisions, has greatly diminished the right of sovereign states to formulate and implement economic policies. Maganya (1996: 2) assumes that the review of the policy and legislative frameworks in South Africa led to amongst others, the favourable macroeconomic conditions, and therefore believes that South Africa could create spaces for the implementation of policies that reflect national interests generally and those of the poor in particular. The locally developed policies should be done in consultation with local communities so as to be enabled to address the needs of the people on the ground. There are a number of policies that were developed post 1994, some of which have already been implemented. Some of these policies that pertain to development and planning and the development of rural and urban areas, are discussed in this chapter.

In South Africa, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (South Africa 1996d) strategy places greater emphasis on an export-oriented economy that will lead to increased international openness and competition. GEAR's ultimate aim is to achieve internationally competitive industries and enhance economic growth and wellbeing, therefore in the short-term, municipalities will need to manage the consequences of globalisation such as the restructuring and relocation of industries. This implies that bcal government should have an interest in attracting investment based on promoting the comparative advantages of the area for competitive industries, as well as supporting the LED initiatives. According to South Africa (1996d), it will become increasingly important for municipalities to find the right balance between competition and cooperation among themselves. While some competition will improve both efficiency and innovation, cooperation between South African municipalities is necessary to enhance the performance of the national economy as a whole, and to avoid damaging forms of competition between municipalities. It should however be acknowledged that whilst cross-pollination and co-existence is encouraged, the municipalities, just like the rural and urban areas, are not a homogenous group, thus proper strategies should be employed to foster cooperation and collaboration among municipalities. Globalisation may affect these groups differently and its impact may be felt much more by the disadvantaged groups, mostly based in the rural and peripheral areas, than those in the urban core/metropolitan areas.

South Africa is still battling with the dynamics of the two economies, that created by an “artificial boundary” between the rich and poor located both within its rural and urban areas. Whilst local government restructures itself, consideration should be given to the balance or interface between the rural and urban areas particularly with regards to issues of development, capacity building and both financial and human resources. This may assist in the assessment of the state of readiness of both rural and urban municipalities in attracting investments, as well as in their comparative advantage particularly with respect to the growth of local industries. Thus municipalities that are at the same level in terms of growth and development may compete to improve economic efficiency in the country, while those that are still lagging behind should be supported and developed further to avoid unhealthy competition in the face of globalisation, which may be to the detriment of the smaller and disadvantaged ones.

4.4. THE POST 1994 PLANNING SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The beginning of 1994, which ushered in the new democratic dispensation in South Africa, posed fundamental challenges for the planning environment. The new democratic dispensation changed the political environment on which planning was based and rendered the traditional planning approaches and legislation inappropriate.

According to the GDDPLG (1996: 20), it is crucial to note that over and above the political changes experienced in South Africa, it is a middle-income developing country facing most of the typical development challenges confronted by other developing countries across the world, such as poverty, land invasions, unemployment, poor environments, huge demands and minimal resources. The realisation of the need to develop the previously marginalised South Africans, supported by the development of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP 1994), introduced radical challenges within the realm of planning in South Africa. Major policy and political restructuring has been catalysed in the country, and it is likely to influence the work of government and planning professions for many years to come. GDDPLG (1996:2-3) distinguishes between “current paradigm”, which is characterised by “apartheid planning or traditional planning approach”, and the “paradigm shift” towards the emerging trend and development planning. The latter is characterised by changed political imperatives, new policy directions and re-entry into the global development arena. According to the GDDPLG (1996: 2), on the one hand the traditional “control oriented” spatial planning which focused on physical planning and prepared “blueprint land plans which also determined

zoning and township layout”, is on the retreat. On the other hand, however, development planning is seen as a rising alternative for holistic planning as it looks at all ingredients required for development to take place, including physical issues, private sector and communities, financing, capacity, administration, socio-economic factors and political factors. In this instance, particular attention is paid to coordinating all sectoral inputs in the development process.

The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 17) defines developmental local government as a local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. It must focus its efforts and resources on improving the quality of life of communities, especially those members and groups within communities that are most often marginalised or excluded, such as women, disabled people and very poor people. This mandate is intended to have a major impact on the daily lives of South Africans. However, it should be borne in mind that national government may adopt a more prescriptive approach towards municipal transformation in cases where municipalities do not develop their own strategies to meet community needs and improve citizens' quality of life.

According to the Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 18) developmental local government must play a central role in representing communities, protecting their human rights and meeting their basic needs. One of the most important methods for achieving greater coordination and integration is integrated development planning. Integrated development plans provide powerful tools for municipalities to facilitate integrated and coordinated delivery within their locality. The principles set out in the South Africa (1995) should guide municipalities in their approach to building integrated, liveable settlements. To achieve developmental outcomes will require significant changes in the way local government works. The three interrelated approaches that can assist municipalities to become more developmental are integrated development planning and budgeting, performance management and working together with local citizens and partners. The same principles apply to the process of enabling integrated development planning within municipalities as highlighted further in this dissertation.

4.4.1. The Development Facilitation Act

South Africa (1995) introduced the new planning paradigm that encourages integrated development planning for both our rural and urban areas. Both rural and urban development planning should be tailored within this framework, and be consistent with principles as stipulated in Chapter 1 of the DFA. South Africa (1995) serves to provide for, amongst other things, nationally uniform procedures for the subdivision and development of land in urban and rural areas. It also serves to promote the speedy provision and development of land for residential, small-scale farming or other needs and uses. Every local government body should use these principles as a yardstick to measure the rightness of their vision, goals, strategies and development decisions. According to the Department of Constitutional Development (1998a: 6-13), the following fundamental principles underpin the planning methodology: transformation; strategic focus; integration; sustainability, accountability, prioritisation and time. It argues that the planning process should seek to promote the objectives of developmental local government and facilitate local processes of democratisation, empowerment and social transformation. Furthermore, the enormous developmental task faced by the local municipalities is the transformation of the historical pattern of development and the equitable distribution of resources. The targeted strategic approach is more appropriate to South African distorted socio-economic reality as it enables a more participative approach to planning and implementation. For local government to plan and act strategically, it needs to obtain leverage, synergy and optimise resources (Department of Constitutional Development (1998a: 7).

The promulgation of the Development Facilitation Act, South Africa (1995) has had an impact on the principles that guide development decisions in the country. In accordance with the principles of this Act, local authorities are obliged to prepare Land Development Objectives (LDOs). According to the South Africa (1995: section 28), LDOs relate to the objectives of the relevant authority in relation to access to and standard of services for land development, including public transport and water, health and education facilities. In addition, they relate to urban and rural growth and form in the relevant area, as well as the integration of areas settled by low-income communities in the relevant area. As already mentioned, the GDDPLG (1998: viii-ix) argues that the application of these principles to the rural areas is yet to be fully developed. However, it emphasises that the LDO's preparation process represented a significant change in planning, and provided opportunities for planners to address a range of questions which the previous planning system made little provision for. This process also

provided opportunities for many people to be heard within the planning process. The LDO process should be seen as the first of many steps towards the setting of priorities, and the preparation of strategies for accomplishing them. The LDO process is being carried forward through integrated development planning (IDP), and will build on the work already done by the local authorities in their preparation of the LDOs. The IDPs enable local government, in consultation with communities, to set priorities and prepare strategies for accomplishing them and, to plan the means of integrating the activities of local and provincial departments. “The IDP process will provide key opportunities for realising the objectives, and implementing the strategies set out in the rural development policy” (GDDPLG 1998: ix).

Municipalities are required to develop objectives for service delivery and the “form” of the settlement that relates to “town and regional planning” or the spatial planning of an area, such as land-use control, environmental planning, integrating low-income areas into the broader settlement and development strategies South Africa (1995: ???). The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 29) argues that these objectives will provide a broad strategic framework for development. In addition, they are expected to develop action plans or an institutional plan and budgets or a financial plan of action. Institutional action plans are intended to assist municipalities in reorganising their administrations for improved delivery to communities. A financial plan involves producing a medium-term (five-year) projection of capital and recurrent expenditure.

There is need to put in place extraordinary measures to facilitate the implementation of reconstruction and development, and these measures include the fundamental transformation of planning processes, mechanisms and institutions in order to achieve the newly envisaged developmental role of local government (South Africa (1995)). Since provinces are expected to adopt the DFA as their planning legislation, some have actually passed the regulations in terms of this Act that require local government bodies to prepare LDOs. For the purposes of this study, the Gauteng province regulations will be singled out, amongst others. The Gauteng Provincial Government passed the Extraordinary Provincial Gazette No. 257, 30 August 1996, Notice No. 3004 of 1996; and these are the regulations relating to LDOs in terms of Chapter IV of South Africa (1995),, the Gauteng Land Development Objective Regulations of 1996. In addition, this province has opted for the formulation of the Gauteng Planning and Development Bill (2002) in the context of the DFA. The principles for planning and development outlined in the Gauteng Planning and Development Bill (2002) apply in the preparation and administration of plans including integrated development plans, spatial

development frameworks, land development policies and zoning schemes. These should be integrated into provincial policy, administrative practices and laws in Gauteng province.

4.4.2. Integrated development planning for local government

The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 27) defines integrated development planning as a process through which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short, medium and long term. According to GDDPLG (1996: 2), Integrated Development Planning (IDP) implies having all aspects of a full and normal community present in every development i.e. clinics, schools, houses, jobs and amenities. For IDP's to be effective, improved co-ordination and alignment is required between government departments and spheres of government that are responsible for delivery of various services.

Integrated development planning is seen as a process by which municipalities prepare five-year strategic plans that are reviewed annually in consultation with communities and stakeholders. In line with this argument, the Local Government Transition Act (1993) also requires all local government bodies to formulate integrated development plans (IDPs) for setting local development priorities and a local expenditure framework for a period of five years. These plans seek to promote integration by balancing social, economic and ecological pillars of sustainability without compromising the institutional capacity required in the implementation, and by coordinating actions across sectors and spheres of government.

In line with this argument, Conyers (1984: 59) notes that broadening the scope of development planning has not only resulted in the incorporation of non-economic factors into planning, but also in a concern with the interrelationship between economic, social, political and environmental factors. This means that the emergence of the concept of "integrated development", has resulted in a corresponding concern with integrated development planning, in which all aspects of development are taken into consideration. This approach to planning has become particularly important at the regional or area level, since integration of the different aspects of development is more obviously needed and more easily obtainable within the confines of a specific geographical area (Conyers 1984: 59). This approach suggests that development planning should be regarded as a "wide-ranging activity encompassing all efforts to control, direct, or influence and to monitor the process of development, taking into account that development is currently defined very broadly and that each country can, and should define its model of development" (Conyers 1984: 59). Therefore the activities included

in this broad definition of development planning range from the more conventional macroeconomic planning, through to the planning of socio-economic development programmes for particular sectors or geographical regions and the detailed planning or design of specific projects.

According to the Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 9), the integrated development planning process presents a fundamental shift from a technically based approach to a participatory planning process. Thus representative participation is an essential element of a democratic planning process, because the development priorities should be set with the full participation of all stakeholders in the area. The global trend that manifests itself very strongly in the South African setting is the search for integration, a phenomenon which in our development context is probably more complex and pronounced than anywhere else in the world (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 10). The RDP and a wide range of legislation and policy frameworks also identify the need for integration as one of its key development principles. South Africa (1995) adopts integration as one of the driving national development principles that guide and override any other development legislation in the country. The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy developed in 2000 also emphasises the integrated development of rural areas within South Africa. This implies that planning for rural and urban development should be done in an integrated fashion so that the unique aspect of each should be taken into consideration.

One of the strengths of integrated development planning is that it recognises the linkages between development, delivery and building local democracy, which is regarded as a central role of local government. Therefore municipalities should develop strategies and mechanisms (including, but not limited to, participative planning) to continuously engage with citizens, business and community groups (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 33). According to Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 33), municipalities require active participation by citizens at four levels. First as voters to ensure maximum democratic accountability of the elected political leadership for the policies they are empowered to promote; second, as citizens, who express, via different stakeholder associations, their views before, during and after the policy development process in order to ensure that policies reflect community preferences as far as possible; third, as consumers and end-users, who expect value-for-money, affordable services and courteous and responsive service; and fourth, as organised partners involved in the mobilisation of resources for development via for-profit businesses, NGOs and CBOs. Therefore for municipalities to meet their challenges, local

government should work together with local citizens, communities and businesses, and adopt a developmental approach that offers substantive benefits to local residents, communities, provincial and national spheres of government, and the nation as a whole. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 36) argues that municipalities need to enhance their capacity as policy and planning centres that are able to mobilise and manage a range of development initiatives, resources and processes through a coherent vision and integrated planning framework for their local area. To succeed, they should focus their own institutional and financial capacity on the delivery of affordable and sustainable services relevant to the needs of local communities.

The laws relating to development in the Gauteng province should, amongst other things, promote integrated land development in rural and urban areas in support of each other and support the correction of historically distorted spatial patterns of settlement (GDDPLG 2002: 4). They should also promote the more compact development of urban areas and the limitation of urban sprawl and the protection of agricultural resources. In addition, Gauteng should promote the integration of social, economic, environmental, institutional, infrastructural and spatial aspects of development, provide for the development of formal and informal settlements, and discourage illegal occupation of land. GDDPLG (2002: 4) states that all policies and laws should encourage the participation of all sectors of the economy and promote partnerships so as to maximise development. They need to ensure that organs of state coordinate the interests of the various sectors involved in or affected by development so as to minimise conflicting demands on scarce resources and promote efficient and rapid development. In its quest to promote sustainable development, the province intends to establish viable communities with convenient access to economic opportunities, infrastructure and social services. Provincial policies need to optimise the balanced use of existing resources, including resources relating to agriculture, land, water, minerals, services infrastructure, transportation and social facilities. However, a balance should be struck between the rural and urban areas and provision should be made on the possible imbalance that may be created by the interface between these two areas for the purposes of sustenance of these resources (GDDPLG 2002:4).

In line with intergovernmental relations planning and development, the GDDPLG 2002: 4) stipulates that the Gauteng provincial laws should support and promote the IDPs, the spatial development framework and related policies, and ensure cooperation between municipalities, provincial and national departments. In order to achieve its development objectives, Gauteng

municipalities should promote the development of the skills and capacities of all persons involved in planning and development, particularly people who were previously disadvantaged economically and socially through legislative and other means. Most poor rural and urban people have been denied opportunities and resources to enable them to participate actively and contribute to the economy of their areas. Thus a proper needs assessment should be made to balance these resources and proper monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, as well as indicators, should be developed to ensure the successful implementation of this system. According to the GDDPLG (2002: 4), the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework should include a description of the desired development patterns, as well as strategies and mechanisms for achieving the objectives and goals and an assessment of available resources for implementing priority projects.

It has already been highlighted that municipalities are required by South Africa (1995) to produce LDOs. Municipalities are required to be multisectoral in their approach to integrated development planning. They are therefore also required to prepare plans that meet the requirements of different departments such as the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, the Department of Transport, the Department of Housing and the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 28). These requirements will nevertheless be linked to a single planning cycle and process within municipalities as envisaged by IDPs.

The Department of Constitutional Development (1998a: 10) states that the concept of integration refers not only to integration across sectoral or disciplinary interests, but includes amongst other things, the integration of urban and rural areas and the eradication of spatial segregation. In addition, it includes the spatial integration of place of employment and place of residence and adjacent geographic areas; multiple land uses; strategic, operational, sectoral, and spatial planning; as well as the various developmental processes such as planning, management, implementation, monitoring and review. The municipalities need to thus achieve integration while obtaining synergy and leverage in the programming of development priorities, in order to harness the country's scarce resources in a coherent and purposeful manner.

The integrated planning approach is relatively new and efforts are being made for development of manuals and training sessions in order to assist people understand the concept better., This implies therefore that the integration of rural and urban areas as well as the

desired policy outcome can only be realised in the long term. This is the case because there are no real models of integrated rural areas, towns and cities to guide us, however, the integrated development planning process has the potential to get us there (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 11). It should be noted that the process outlined in the IDP manual attempts to use integrated methods to realise integrated strategies and projects which are broken down into sectoral tasks and programmes for implementation. This process would fulfil several objectives, such as, institutional transformation and integration, as well as integrated investment for rural and urban areas, towns and cities (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 11).

It can be predicted that the local government system will grow into a new system of local governance, comprising on a wide array of institutional and political interventions in order to realise the vision, and achieve desired goals and objectives as anticipated. The new system of local governance will include the experimentation with institutional models in an attempt to "right size" local government and redistribute resources. Furthermore, it will revise the demarcation of institutional boundaries in an attempt to conform to a series of criteria that will facilitate functional, efficient and effective governance. This new system serves to change the previous manner of planning and introduce processes and procedures aimed at facilitating and promote rapid delivery and to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of government. In addition, it would foster cooperative governance and public-private partnerships in order to assist with service delivery and increase the skills level and capacity of local government. This new system will strengthen the democratic approach to development and planning and involve communities in the planning and decision making processes as well.

Integration cannot be observed in isolation; instead the sustenance of the development process is of critical importance. Sustainable development is recognised as a major international trend that is interpreted as a programme for local and global economic reform (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 11). The local economic development initiatives should support community life and power and distribute the benefits of development equitably, in order to sustain them over the long term. "The sustainability debate has been formalised through the adoption of Local Agenda 21 by more than 178 governments including South Africa" (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 11). This Local Agenda 21 originates from Chapter 28 of Agenda 21, developed at the Rio Earth Summit on Environment and Development, hosted by the United Nations during June 1992. Local Agenda 21 provides a mandate to encourage and promote sustainable development in all countries and is a long-

term strategic programme for achieving sustainability in the context of the 21st century. The development agenda for each area should be unique, indicating the “developmental needs, aspirations and resources” of the area which should be contained in the IDPS.

World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) Plan of Implementation adopted on 4 September 2002 in Johannesburg South Africa, commented on sustainable development in a globalising world as well as sustainable development for Africa. Since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, sustainable development was seen as an elusive concept for many African countries. This is due to the fact that poverty still haunts most countries on the continent, and instead of benefiting fully from opportunities created through globalisation, it has worsened their state of marginalisation. The WSSD Plan (2002: 30) asserts that Africa's efforts to achieve sustainable development have been hindered by conflicts, insufficient investment, limited market access opportunities and supply-side constraints, unsustainable debt burdens, and the impact of HIV/Aids. Thus the Plan should reinvigorate the commitment of the international community to address these special challenges and give effect to a new vision based on concrete actions for the implementation of Agenda 21 in Africa.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is a commitment by African leaders to the people of Africa that recognises that partnerships among African countries themselves and between them and with the international community are key elements of a shared and common vision to eradicate poverty. Furthermore, NEPAD aims to place its countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustained economic growth and sustainable development, while participating actively in the world economy and body politic. It provides a framework for sustainable development on the continent to be shared by all Africa's people.

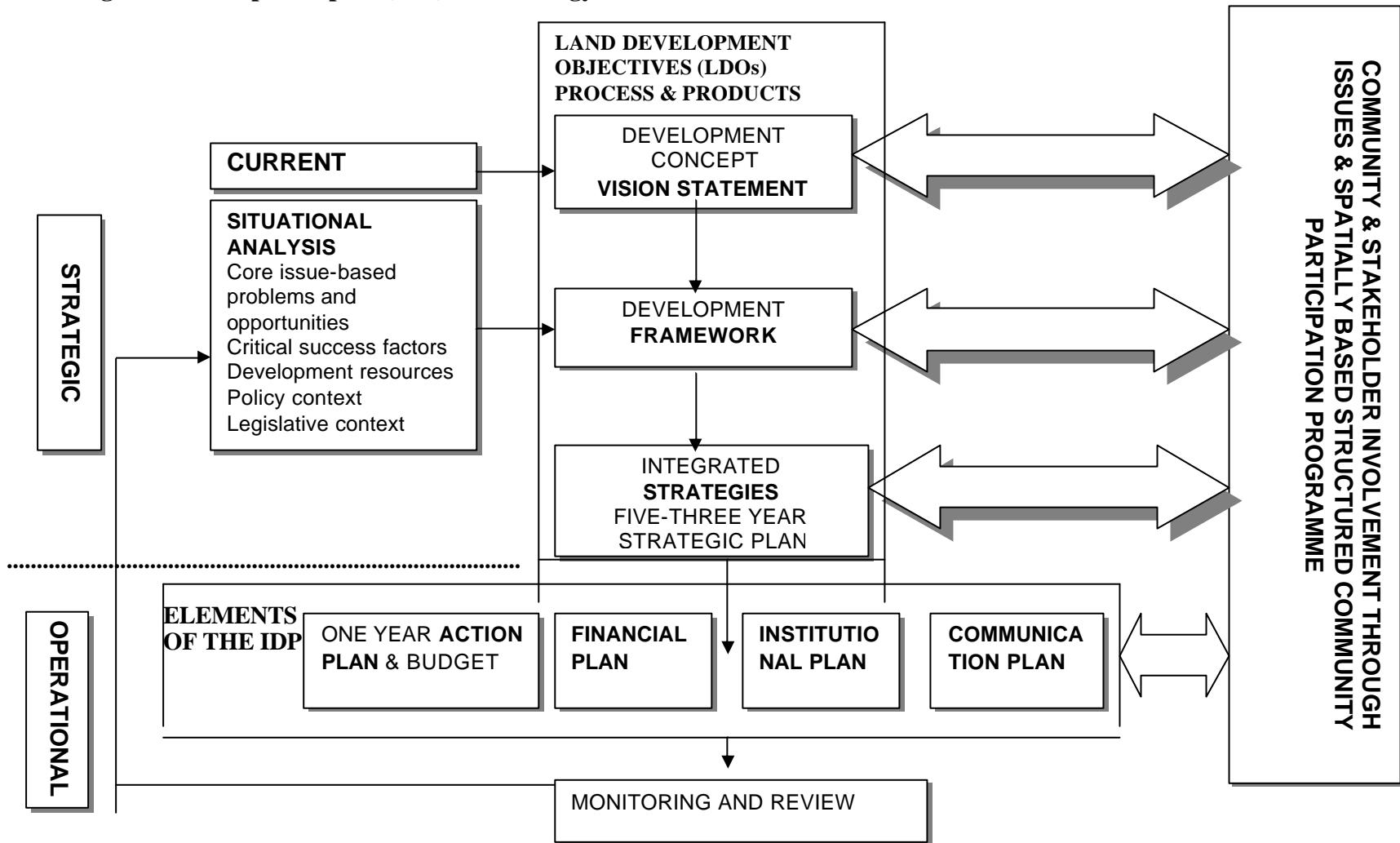
According to the WSSD Plan (2002: 30), the international community welcomes NEPAD and pledges its support to the implementation of this vision, including through utilisation of the benefits of South-South cooperation supported, *inter alia*, by the Tokyo International Conference on African Development. It also pledges support for other existing development frameworks that are owned and driven nationally by African countries and that embody poverty reduction strategies, including poverty reduction strategy papers. Achieving sustainable development includes actions at all levels to achieve improved sustainable agricultural productivity and food security in furtherance of the agreed millennium development goals, including those contained in the Millennium Declaration, in particular to

halve by 2015 the proportion of people who suffer from hunger (WSSD 2002:11). This should also include initiatives at all levels to promote and support efforts and initiatives to secure equitable access to land tenure and clarify resource rights and responsibilities, through land and tenure reform processes that respect the rule of law and are enshrined in national law. It should provide access to credit to all, especially to women, and enable economic and social empowerment and poverty eradication as well as efficient and ecologically sound utilisation of land, and enable women producers to become decision makers and owners in the sector, including the right to inherit land. In view of the aforesaid, it becomes important to outline the planning methodology and process of integrated development planning.

4.4.3. Integrated development plan (IDP) methodology and planning process

According to the Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 27), the process of formulating and producing an IDP includes an assessment of the current reality in terms of the social, and economic and environmental situation in the municipal area. Furthermore, it includes a determination of community needs through close consultation; prioritisation of needs; the development of a vision for development in the area, as well as an audit of available resources, skills and capacities. The process also requires the development of a framework and goals to meet these needs; formulation of strategies to achieve goals within specific time frames; implementation of projects and time frames to achieve key objectives; and the use of performance monitoring tools to measure impact and performance (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 3). This process is illustrated in the diagram below:

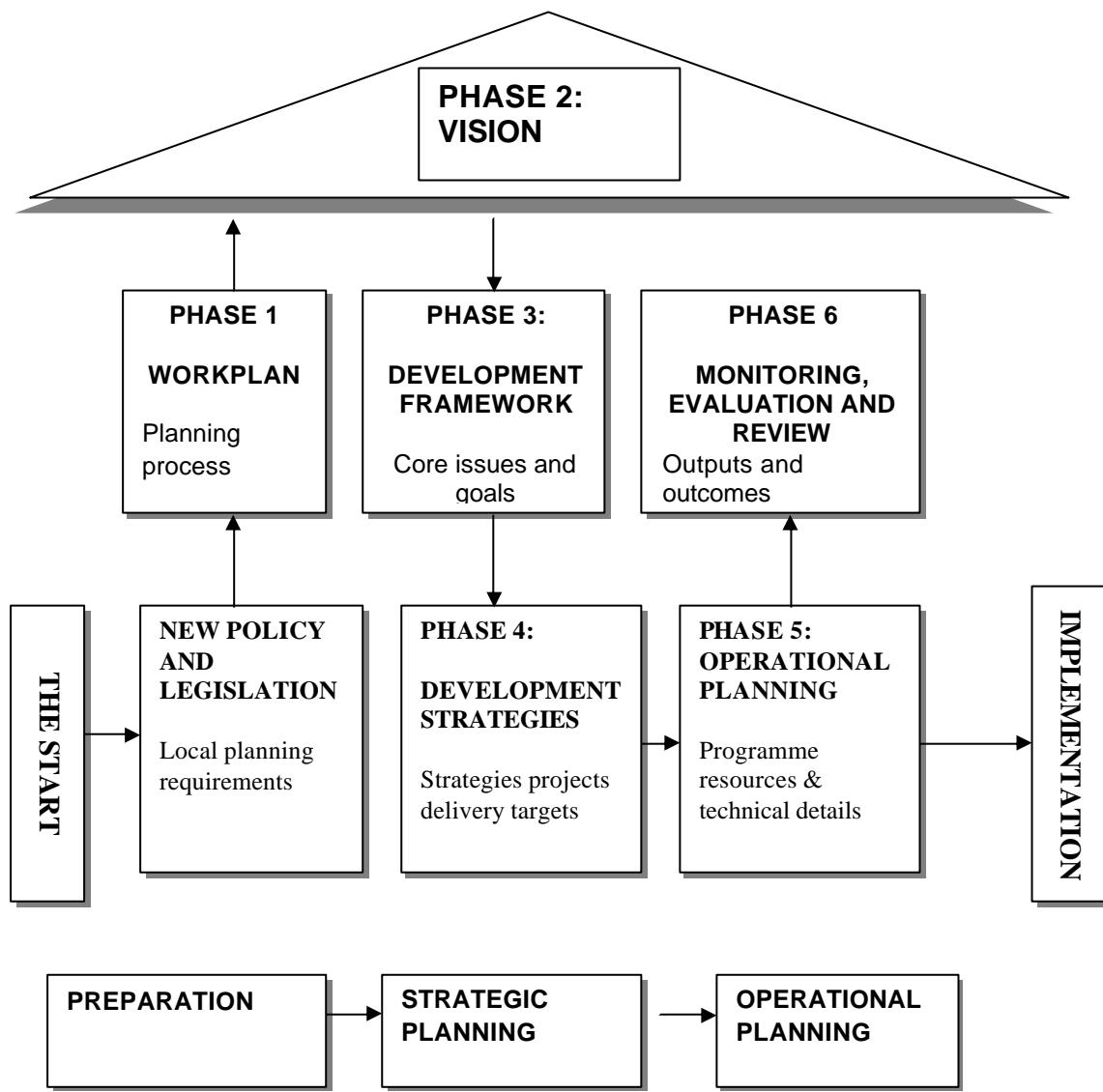
Figure 4.1: Integrated development plan (IDP) methodology



Source: IDP Manual (1998: 4)

According to the Department of Constitutional Development (1998a: 1), integrated development planning needs to occur in the socio-political, policy and legal context. The IDP approach is phased and each phase consists of several steps. The six phases in the planning process are the following: preparing the work plan; vision; development framework; development strategies; operational planning for implementation and monitoring; evaluation and review (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 1). The following figure depicts the sequence of phases in the planning process:

Figure 4.2: The sequence of phases in the planning process



Source: IDP manual (1998: 2)

According to the Department of Constitutional Development (1998a: 1), the first phase in the integrated development planning process is the preparation of the work plan that serves to enable a municipality to implement the new system of local government planning by planning to plan. This work plan should clearly stipulate the purpose of the plan, the intended planning process, the institutional arrangements, public participation strategy, empowerment strategy, communication

plan, technical support arrangements, information management, local political approval, programme of work and the budget. The second phase is the development of the vision of the municipality. The municipality should establish the current reality and develop a current profile of the local development issues, forces and trends by way of SWOT analysis. The development priorities should be clearly spelt out and, based on these processes, formulate a vision statement that describes a picture shared with councillors and stakeholders of the desired future for the local authority area with a time frame of up to 25 years.

The third phase involves the development of a framework that must provide general direction to strategy development and decision making over the medium term. A municipality should conduct a situational analysis that enables it to develop a focused and in-depth evaluation of the development priorities identified during the visioning phase. This process should culminate in the identification of core issues that require attention and translate these into medium-term development goals. The latter should include a spatial framework that clearly stipulates a municipality's integrated development goals and development policies. At the end of this process, the municipality would have completed the LDO components of its planning process for submission to and approval by the MEC.

Phase four, according the Department of Constitutional Development (1998a: 10), involves the development of strategies in a manner that turns the municipality's development goals into "alternative strategy statements". These strategy statements should be formulated in an integrated manner and assessed in terms of "their strategic impact, viability, sustainability, policy compliance and a range of other locally developed and adopted criteria, in order to arrive at a set of preferred development strategies" (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 10). However, the success of this process depends on the existence of the local policy framework. A municipality should assess its local policy environment with respect to whether it supports and enables the implementation of the development strategies. A mechanism for the implementation of these strategies includes the identification of projects that are relevant to specific sectors resulting in the production of sector programmes and targets. To ensure the sustainability of these projects and programmes, a municipality should conduct an environmental impact assessment for the relevant projects and programmes, as well as the spatial assessment of the development proposal. However, it is imperative to ensure that capacity both in terms of financial and human resources is in place to implement the municipality's plan. Thus phase five, which is the operational planning phase, requires a municipality to produce a medium-term (five-year) projection of capital and operational

expenditure as well as a plan for raising the revenue to support the strategies (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 10).

It is critical for a municipality to formulate the communication plan during the operational planning phase to ensure that stakeholders are informed about the progress with the implementation of the IDPs. A project implementation plan should be developed in line with the annual budget, detailing the year's activities, delivery targets as well as delivery milestones. From the beginning of the planning cycle to the end, a municipality should build in the performance and development indicators or the early warning signs to assist with the monitoring and evaluation of progress at different phases of the planning process (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 10). These indicators should be developed jointly with the key stakeholders to ensure transparent and accountable local government. Thus phase six requires municipalities to continuously monitor their own strategies and plans as this will enable them to make adjustments to plans and implementation programmes and to take corrective action where necessary. Evaluation of plans and programmes will provide a municipality with information to reappraise the development goals and to assess the appropriateness of goals, strategies and policies, and whether they need to be amended or adjusted (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 10).

4.4.4. Performance management

The Department of Constitutional Development (1998a: 1) contends that municipalities should institutionalise performance management in order to ensure meaningful, effective and efficient delivery of services. Municipalities must also promote local economic development and job creation in the context of a strong poverty-alleviation focus. In addition, they should emphasise global competitiveness and the exploitation of strategic advantage and potential through strategic spatial development initiatives (SDIs). In South Africa, national government has an important role in leading and directing the course of change, and local government is perceived to be the agent of change and the vehicle for development. "The constitution and various pieces of legislation devolve a variety of new competencies and functions to local government, in an attempt to bring government closer to the people" (Department of Constitutional Development 1998a: 2). Whilst these powers are bestowed upon them, a vast majority of local government bodies find themselves in dire straits due to their financial situation, largely because of the inheritance of the culture of non-payment for services and inadequate financial management. Thus integrated development planning is a way in which municipalities can start to develop strategic policy capacity to mobilise resources and to target their own activities in the short, medium and long term.

Public participation, community involvement in goal setting exercises, as well as transparency by local government through reporting back to them on key service delivery areas and performance, fosters accountability and serve to increase public trust in the local government system. Consultation should also include internal municipal stakeholders (i.e. management and organised labour) as they can assist in developing a shared organisational vision and common goals for improved performance and delivery. It should however be noted that if the key service delivery areas and associated performance indicators are not crafted in line with people's needs, they may impact negatively on service delivery. Thus, it is critical to ensure that indicators are outcomes based and not only focusing on inputs and outputs. In order to provide support to municipalities, a national performance management system is required to serve as a guideline and also assess the overall state of local government, monitor the effectiveness of development and delivery strategies adopted by different municipalities and ensure efficient utilisation of resource and avoid unnecessary duplication. This would assist with the provision of "early warning" signs where municipalities are experiencing difficulties, and enable other spheres of government to provide appropriate support before a crisis develops. Municipalities would also be enabled to compare their own performance with that of similar municipalities across the country, identify successful approaches or "best practice", and learn from one another. Therefore, integrated development planning, budgeting and performance management are powerful tools that can assist municipalities in forming an integrated perspective on development in their area. It will enable them to focus on priorities within an increasingly complex and diverse set of demands, and assist them to direct resource allocations and institutional systems to a new set of development objectives.

4.4.5. A case of the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality's strategic focus areas include amongst others, the management of the physical development so as to compact and integrate the city, as well as to improve the quality and liveability of the urban and rural environments. Furthermore, it ensures the well-being of the community through addressing poverty and making essential services and facilities available, affordable and accessible. According to the CTMM (2004), a strong commitment to adhere to national and provincial norms such as planning, provide a platform for the intergovernmental 'seamlessness' in service delivery. An area of strength for the municipality is its strong commitment to engaging communities through representative structures around specific needs and associated service delivery initiatives.

The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality acknowledges having made progress though there are still areas of development that require attention. The CTMM needs to develop a clearer relationship between the City's spatial framework, and its service delivery and management, in a manner that enables it to explore its 'menu of services' and the extent to which existing services and the means of delivery meets current challenges. Some of the building blocks to assist strengthen the municipality's strategic focus include a concise and clear understanding of the state of development in Tshwane; the infrastructure, service and finance situation; its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT); as well as the compelling, articulated set of priority areas, programmes, objectives, strategies and projects.

According to the Municipal Systems Act (2000: 38), the municipality should determine a vision for long-term development, and set development objectives for the elected term of the council, and this should include its local economic development aims and its internal transformation needs as well as the development strategies which should be aligned to the national or provincial sector plans and planning requirements. This implies that the vision should be developed and owned by the municipality and community members, and should be forecast beyond the council's term of office. The CTMM (2004:11) indicates that the agreed to vision, metropolitan priority issues, strategic focus areas and strategies have a unifying and coordinating impact on the management of development processes.

The CTMM has developed a process plan that serves as a management tool, which helps with the management of the IDP process on a day-to-day basis. This process plan fulfils the function of a business plan or an operational plan for the IDP process. It outlines in a simple and transparent manner what has to be done when, by whom, with whom, and where, and it should include a cost estimate where possible. The municipality believes that the institutional mechanisms it has put in place will enable it to fulfil its developmental responsibilities as required by the Constitution, thereby improving the quality of life for its citizens. The CTMM (2004:1) clearly reflects that the municipality aims to inform itself about the problems affecting its municipal area through the IDP, and develop and implement appropriate strategies and projects to address the problems through guidance provided by information on available resources. The CTMM consults with stakeholders to be enabled to arrive at decisions that are informed by the needs of its communities, and for community participation purposes it utilises the ward committees. These ward committees submit their individual community needs, problems and issues directly to the IDP office and to the ward committee section. These needs, problems and issues form the basis for the budgeting process in

the next revision cycle of the IDP and the results of the implementation of such becomes visible in the next financial year.

4.4.6. Benefits of integrated development planning

The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 27) highlights that IDPs promote developmental government, and in effect they are planning and strategic frameworks that help municipalities fulfil their developmental mandate. First, the IDPs are a vital tool for ensuring the integration of local government activities with other spheres of development planning at provincial, national and international levels, by serving as a basis for communication and interaction. Second, they serve as a basis for engagement between local government and the citizenry at the local level, and with various stakeholders and interest groups. Third, they help municipalities to develop a holistic strategy for poverty alleviation. Poverty in this regard is not just about low household income, but includes other aspects of deprivation such as a lack of assets to help households cope with shocks and stresses. It also includes a lack of the resources or contacts necessary to secure political advantage, a lack of access to education, health care and emergency services, and the lack of safe, secure and adequately sized housing with basic services (Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 28).

The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 28) argues that integrated development plans should empower municipalities to prioritise and strategically focus their activities and resources, because an attempt to plan too comprehensively may result in unrealistic plans that lack the human and financial resources for implementation. Thus IDPs should be viewed as incremental plans. Since integrated development planning is a normal and required municipal function, IDPs should by no means be seen as "add-ons" and should thus not be "farmed out" to consultants. They should rather be managed within municipalities and provide a way of enhancing the strategic planning capacity of the administration, building organisational partnerships between management and labour, and enhancing synergy between line functions (Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 28).

4.5. RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK: POST-1994 PERIOD

4.5.1. Rural development

The Office of the President (1997: 11) sets out to define the role of government in supporting the development efforts of the people living in the rural areas. The 2020 vision for rural development includes a South Africa that has a more diverse commercial and service sectors in country towns and the countryside, and greater integration between towns and the rural areas, especially on market days. Further, its vision involves local government in rural areas having close links with civil society and business through which are expressed the needs and priorities of different groups of people living in the rural areas. It needs to achieve by 2020, dignity, safety and security of access for all, especially women, to useful employment, housing and land, with people able to exercise control over their society, community and personal lives, and to invest in the future. The Department of Housing (1997: 5) defines the rural areas as the sparsely populated areas in which people farm or depend on natural resources, including the villages and small towns that are dispersed through these areas. These include the large settlements in the former homelands, created by the apartheid removals, which depend for their survival on migratory labour and remittances. It is estimated that almost three quarters of people below the poverty line in South Africa live in the rural areas, amongst whom children less than five years, youths, the elderly and women are particularly vulnerable (Department of Housing 1997:5).

The Department of Housing (1997:i) identifies key requirements for rural development, and these include institutional development, investment in basic infrastructure and social services, improving income and employment opportunities, restoration of economic rights, resource conservation, and justice, equity and security. Therefore, people living in the rural areas should be assisted to set their own communities priorities through effective and democratic structures through the provision of capacity building programmes and increased access to financial resources to enable them to plan and implement local economic development initiatives. The government serves to deal with the past injustices affecting people living in the rural areas and ensure their safety and security, particularly the most vulnerable groups, women and children. When these efforts are in place, people living in the rural areas will be enabled to invest their efforts in the sustainable use of natural resources to their own benefit. In South Africa, most rights of the people living in the rural areas have been grossly violated due to their state of vulnerability caused by, amongst other things, their lack of “a voice” that would advocate for their needs in different spheres of life, including employment, family and social needs. It is thus anticipated that the IDP process would enable them

to participate in the setting of priorities for the development of their livelihoods as well as being heard as a marginalised group in the country.

The Department of Housing (1997: ii) sees the success of government's strategy for Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) as dependent on the maintenance of a sound fiscal and macroeconomic framework. Amidst the criticisms laid against the effectiveness of this strategy, it believes rural development may have positive spin-offs to its success. The Department of Housing (1997: 26) indicates that these benefits may be by means of diversified job creation through local economic development. Furthermore, the improvement of social development particularly in education and health services, and the provision of access to resources to improve household and national productivity, may have a positive contribution to the success of the growth strategy. Integrating marginal rural areas where the majority of citizens have been cut off from the national economy may have the similar effects. However, rural development needs to be properly coordinated because for these objectives to become a reality sectoral initiatives must be coordinated both at the national and provincial level. At the provincial level departments should identify representatives to form interdepartmental committees that serve to coordinate planning and development. However, since implementation takes place at the local level, the local government's role is actually crucial in effectively coordinating sectoral initiatives on the ground, but it should build sufficient capacity to deal with such development challenges.

The Department of Housing (1997: ii) specifies impediments that could constrain effective rural development. It states that obstacles to rural development date back to the apartheid era with its discriminatory policies and neglect of the majority of the black population. Amongst other challenges, forced removals led to overpopulation of the "reserves" and the deprivation of basic needs, and the high population growth put pressure on family income, social services and natural resources. The major obstacles include landlessness and overcrowding in the former homeland areas, as well as the inappropriate farming methods on commercial farms that gave rise to severe land degradation and soil erosion (Department of Housing (1997: ii)).

This is exacerbated by the fact that environmental management policies and practices are sectoral and fragmented. In South Africa, the current land ownership and land development patterns still strongly reflect the political and economic conditions of the apartheid era. This is due to the fact that racially based land policies and inefficient land administration and land use were a cause of insecurity, landlessness and poverty among black people. The policies of the previous government, particularly in the predominantly white commercial farming areas, led to 'an overcapitalised and

over mechanised farm system'. As a result, the opening of up of the system to African farmers poses difficulties due to lack of skills, experience and rural finance. Department of Housing (1997: ii) states that difficulties occur because of lack of markets where small farmers can trade their produce and lack of support services for sustainable small-scale agriculture farmers, for example applied research and extension.

The Department of Housing (1997: ii) recognises the prime importance of broadening access to land resources and the establishment of partnerships between local government, the private sector and NGOs for the promotion of a wide range of enterprises. It states that rings of markets should be established to strengthen these enterprises and trading links for locally and regionally produced goods and services, linking small towns into regional economies, building total production and cash circulation and a more competitive position in the wider economy. The Department of Housing (1997: ii) has two key elements, comprised of first, a focus on governance and the provision of infrastructure and services, and second, a focus on an enabling framework for the expansion of rural livelihoods. The GDDPLG (1998: 12), is critical of the Rural Development Framework (Department of Housing 1997) by saying that it has critical gaps in that migration patterns are not discussed, the significance for policy of multifaceted income-generating strategies is not addressed, and the RDF does not (and indeed cannot) take account of the specifics of provincial, regional and local spatial planning because it is meant to be a national framework which can be customised to various localities depending on the relevance .

According to the GDDPLG (1998: 2), the rural development policy for Gauteng relates to the provincial policy and planning framework in clearly defined ways, because it takes cognisance of both the national RDF (1997) and the national Urban Development Framework (UDF 1997). It is has been developed to complement and strengthen the province's Urban Regeneration and Integration: Plan for City, Town and Township Centres (1997). Furthermore, rural development strategy has been crafted to provide a framework for the formulation of IDPs for the rural areas, and for the realisation of development and service needs in the rural LDOs.

There are elements of what is normally classified as "rural" in the urban areas and vice versa, for example urban agriculture, rural towns and subsistence farming practised by people living in urban areas. The cross-border migration issues persistently remind development planners about prevailing realities of the rural-urban interface. The SDIs cut across both rural and urban areas compelling planners to realise the importance of developing rural and urban areas alike. Various projects may be identified to serve as pilots for rural-urban interface. This dissertation acknowledges a wide

array of issues that may create positive linkages between rural and urban areas, but extensive research would clearly spell out these areas and provide research-based knowledge in this regard

In its argument from the rural development perspective and its analysis of the policy and planning framework, the GDDPLG (1998: v) states that the notion of formulating a rural development White Paper for Gauteng has been met by a spectrum of responses ranging from disbelief and scepticism to wholehearted support. The former response reflects an urban bias position that cancels out rural development as a legitimate concern and is grounded on the perception that Gauteng is predominantly an urban province. The latter is a rural bias position that is founded on a simplistic “special case” argument and is based on the view that the Gauteng rural areas are distinct and unique, and therefore require special attention. According to the GDDPLG (1998: 1), however powerful, the rationale for a rural development policy for Gauteng is very different from the rationale for rural development policies in South Africa's “rural” provinces where there is a need to reincorporate vast marginalised rural populations situated in former homeland areas. In the Gauteng province, a small population occupying 4 percent of land should be integrated appropriately in order to benefit from development initiatives.

According to the South Africa 1996a and South Africa 2001 figures for the country as a whole, the urban population accounted for a rising share of the total population from 53,7 percent in 1996 to 57,5 percent in 2001. This represents a 3,8 percentage point increase in the proportion of urban dwellers over the period 1996 to 2001. This increase in the proportion of urban residents is reflected in an equivalent decline in the proportion of rural dwellers from 46,3 percent in 1996 to 42,5 percent in 2001. However, there is a large proportion of communities that settled on the peripheries of the cities and towns, commonly referred to as the “fringe area”. According to South Africa (2001: 71), Table 4.1 below illustrates the urban/rural area breakdown in the Gauteng province and country in 2001 using the EA type classification and the proposed population density criteria at main place level and sub-place level. At the national and provincial levels, all urban populations are higher using the sub-place level criteria. As stated in South Africa (2001: 71), the percentage of South African urban population using sub-place density is 68,5 percent, compared to 51,7 percent when using main place, because when a main place covers a large area the overall population density is not high, despite concentration in some sub-places. The following is an illustration of Gauteng that covers the statistics for the Tshwane metropolitan municipality relevant to this dissertation, as against the country as a whole.

Table 4.1: Proportion of people living in urban and rural areas in 2001

		EA type 2001		Main place Pop size >=1000 and pop density >=500		Sub-place pop size >=1000 and pop density >=500		Main place pop size >=1000 and pop density >=1000		Sub-place pop size >=1000 and pop density >=1000	
				Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Gauteng	Urban	8 590		798	97.2	7 817 001	88.46	8 027 005	90.83	6 182 111	69.96
	Rural	246 380	2.8	1 020 177	11.54	810 173	9.17	2 655 067	30.04	1 136 579	12.86
	Total	8 837		178	100.0	8 837 178	100.00	8 837 178	100.00	8 837 178	100.00
S. Africa	Urban	1 288		434	41.3	1 196 923	38.33	2 204 108	70.58	988 188	31.64
	Rural	1 834		556	58.7	1 926 067	61.67	918 882	29.42	2 134 802	68.36
	Total	3 122		990	100.0	3 122 990	100.00	3 122 990	100.00	3 122 990	100.00
	Urban	25 769		619	57.5	23 041	51.72	30 794	68.46	18 750	41.68
	Rural	19 050		159	42.5	21 737	48.28	14 984	31.54	26 028	58.32
	Total	44 819		778	100.0	44 778	100.00	44 778	100.00	44 778	100.00

Source: Adapted from Census 2001 as adjusted by the relevant PES. Owing to rounding, the totals may not always add up. This table compares the proportion of main places in South Africa that are considered urban according to the 2001 EA type classification and according to the two different population density criteria

Table 4.1 above indicates that in the main place in Gauteng, with a population density of = 1000 or >=1000, there is a rural population of 30 percent and 68.36 percent respectively, while the urban population comprise 69.96 percent and 31.64 percent respectively. Statistics for the sub-places also indicate a higher population density with respect to urban over rural areas in Gauteng. This supports the view that Gauteng is a predominantly urban province. Irrespective of this view, the Gauteng rural areas need to be developed to assist in sustaining the livelihoods of people who have been disadvantaged and marginalised. An interesting observation with respect to South African main areas with >=1000 population density is that 58.32 percent is inhabited by the rural population. This reinforces the view that the development of rural areas including formal and

informal settlements is of significance and thus should be prioritised as much as that of their urban counterparts.

The GDDPLG (1998: 2) argues that a rural development policy for Gauteng is important to preserve the viability of the rural economy, and to identify ways of enhancing the contribution of the rural areas to GGP and job creation through the development of tourism and agriculture. Furthermore, it is crucial to provide a framework and principles for the formulation of IDPs and public investment to facilitate positive urban/rural linkages and to provide a basis for managing urban-rural interface. However, the GDDPLG (1998: 26) raises inherent problems in the policy and planning framework in South Africa. It argues that a realignment of policies and planning initiatives are required if resources and services are to be delivered to rural constituencies in rational and cost-effective ways, and if rural and urban development is to be integrated. Within the Gauteng province there seems to be a demand for land whereon to settle and for cultivation purposes, both in the urban and rural areas. According to GDDPLG (1998: 26), current programmes that are attempting to meet these demands for land for purposes of land reform, housing and agricultural programmes, are working less effectively than they might. This can be attributed to a number of reasons. Firstly, to the fact that insufficient land is being delivered resulting in the demand not being met leading to the exacerbation of urban invasion of the rural areas. Secondly, programmes are simplistically categorised as either "urban" or "rural", implying that the stereotyping of programmes may mean that opportunities for supporting livelihoods are not realised or maximised in the context of urban projects. On the one hand, less thought is given to the potential demand for land cultivation, while on the other hand land reform projects are conceived as "rural" and agricultural. "Poorly located land reform projects in relatively remote and inaccessible rural areas may ultimately become displaced urban settlements, and yet another instance of the urban invasion of the rural areas" (GDDPLG 1998: 26). The third reason is that programmes are not being implemented within the context of a spatial framework as they are applicant based. Therefore, the location of projects that operate solely on the basis of application will almost inevitably be largely determined by factors other than a clear spatial rationale. The factors that would tend to influence the location of projects include the levels of community organisation access to and availability of NGOs, levels of local knowledge of current programmes and the capacity of local authorities (GDDPLG 1998: 26).

Some of the strategies to deal with identified problems include the following: addressing landlessness, supporting livelihoods, and creating economic opportunities; focusing the provision of resources and the delivery of services; and promoting urban and peri-urban agriculture. In

addition, they include realigning institutional arrangements to facilitate the rational delivery of resources and services; reorientating planning initiatives to achieve coordination across spheres of government; as well as understanding the needs of migrants and maximising their contribution to the local economy (GDDPLG 1998: 32-35). The critical immediate intervention strategies to implement rural development in Gauteng include "creating policy instruments to manage the urban/rural interface; focusing resources in development nodes; revitalising small towns; establishing parameters for developing urban and peri-urban agriculture; promoting eco-tourism; providing information to rural stakeholders; as well as building capacity in rural local government" (GDDPLG 1998: 36-40).

The GDDPLG (1998: 36) argues that the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework should include clear proposals for fixing the urban edges at particular transport routes, as it believes that it is highly improbable that absolute edges can be fixed for urban development. In addition, the Spatial Framework should include principles for decision making concerning the development at the urban-rural interface, rather than suggesting urban boundaries which may not be implementable. The Gauteng province has developed initiatives to address urban sprawl, which has been perceived to be a problem in terms of costs of infrastructure provision and the efficient running of urban economies. The rural development strategies and programmes are under severe threat of being undercut if the unmanaged expansion of urban land use continues (GDDPLG 1998: 36). This may be due to the fact that little work has been done on establishing the parameters of policy that could potentially address these problems, or even identifying their dimensions with any degree of precision. A challenge for the MEC for the Gauteng Department of Local Government (DLG) is to develop a policy on urban sprawl for Gauteng and, further, to develop a policy statement that includes the need for the management of development at the urban-rural interface, including the management of urban sprawl. Thus the DLG should make both human and financial resources available for analysing and documenting the status quo of the positive and negative effects of urban spatial expansion. On the basis of this analysis, specific policy should be developed in consultation with local government to manage the urban-rural interface in a way that enables the intentions of both rural and urban development policies to be fulfilled (GDDPLG 1998: 36).

The GDDPLG (1998: 37) proposes a three-stage approach to the usage of powers and principles on all land development decision making stipulated in South Africa (1995). First, the specific implementation proposals of the existing Chapter One principles that are relevant to the management of the urban-rural interface for all land development decisions should be prepared. The existing principles concerning urban sprawl, compact development, and the integration of rural

and urban development are broad and relatively vague as they stand in the Act (GDDPLG 1998: 37). Reference is made specifically to Sections 3 (c) (i), (ii) (vi). Section 3 (c) (i), of South Africa (1995), which state that policy, administrative practice and laws should promote the integration of the social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development. Sections 3 (c) (ii) states that integrated land development in urban and rural areas that support each other should be promoted. It is recommended that these two clauses be extended in order to support the implementation of a policy on nodal development in rural Gauteng, as well as for application specifically to the management of development on the urban fringe, the urban-rural interface. This implies that developments that do not pay attention to the integration of urban and rural activities should be made more specifically undesirable in favour of those in support of the integration.

Section (c) (vi) of South Africa (1995) states that the phenomenon of urban sprawl should be discouraged. This principle should be clearly defined and elaborated on in the context of Gauteng province, particularly with regard to its impact on rural activities and populations. The GDDPLG (1998: 37) states that the new principles that are appropriate to the particular relationship between rural and urban development could be properly formulated for addition to the list in the DFA. It proposes that since the DFA is very thin on the principles that apply specifically to rural development, the Gauteng Planning and Development Bill should be more specific on these principles. These principles should be continuously monitored by the development planning commission. In line with this argument, the Gauteng Planning and Development Bill (2002) specifies, amongst other things, the following principles to promote spatial restructuring and development. It states that policy, administrative practice and law in the province shall promote development and land use to promote the more compact development of urban areas, the limitation of urban sprawl and the protection of agricultural resources. It also serves to support the correction of historically distorted spatial patterns of settlement in Gauteng, as well as the promotion of integrated land for development in rural and urban areas in support of each other. This view supports the notion of integrated rural and urban planning in a complementary fashion, and should indeed be supported through implementation programmes and facilitated by the Planning Commission or the Development forum as alluded to in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

4.5.2. Urban development

The Department of Housing (1997: i) aims to promote a consistent urban development policy approach for effective urban reconstruction and development policies, strategies and actions of all stakeholders in the urban development process and to steer them towards the achievement of a

collective vision. A number of key priorities that include overcoming the separation between spatial planning and economic planning in South African cities are identified. This implies that steps must be taken to embed economic development targeted at the disadvantaged urban populace within integrated spatial and socio-economic planning frameworks, particularly at the local level. Another priority is ensuring that integrated planning determines projects which are approved and which elements are targeted at urban development, rather than the reverse situation where large urban development projects drive the planning. However, for these priorities to be met, integrated programmes need to be designed in terms of the goals and focus areas of this framework to ensure a better working environment. National, provincial and local government, in partnership with other stakeholders, should therefore be able to design and implement appropriate programmes and projects in line with the requirements of this framework.

One reality of the urban areas is that the dysfunctional structure of South Africa's urban areas is an outcome of apartheid policies, associated with planning approaches, and economic forces which have influenced city, town and township development for many decades. The urban settlements are thus characterised by spatial separation of residential areas according to class and race, urban sprawl, disparate levels of service provision, and the concentration of the poor in relatively high density areas on the urban peripheries and the wealthy in the core and intermediate areas (Department of Housing 1997: 3). This situation therefore makes the cities and towns very inequitable, inefficient, unsustainable and expensive to manage and maintain, as well as exacerbating poverty and unemployment. This implies that as cities increase in scale and spread, they move away from the ideal of sustainable development and the attempt to use resources in a way that meets the needs of the present, while not compromising the needs of future generations (Department of Housing 1997: 3). However, the GDDPLG's (1998: 12) critique is that the Department of Housing (1997) has not been thought out and planned closely in relation to rural development, because there is little policy guidance on the physical interfaces between urban and rural areas and new measures to manage them, neither is there a focus on the role of smaller urban centres.

As quoted in the Department of Housing (1997: 3), Central Statistics (1997) reports that more than half (55.4%) of the estimated population of South Africa, live in urban rather than non-urban areas. Of all the provinces, Gauteng is the most urbanised with 96.4 percent of the population living in urban areas, followed by the Western Cape with 69.9 percent. The figures provided reflect that Limpopo province has the largest rural population since less than 12 percent live in urban areas. On issues of poverty and inequality, women make up the majority of urban poor, mostly earning

money from informal activities. According to the Department of Housing (1997: 5), although advances have been made in changing the status of women, there is no national mechanism yet in place to facilitate this process. Some of the disadvantages said to be suffered by women include scarce resources, lack of expertise, wide-ranging needs and virtually no experience relating to the empowerment of women. However, the National Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (2001) was produced by the Office on the Status of Women in The Presidency advocating for gender equity, gender equality and gender mainstreaming, in line with important international agreements such as the SADC declaration and the Beijing Platform of Action. The gender machinery is expected to expedite the implementation of this policy framework. The Commission on Gender Equality's role is the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of this framework in the country. There should therefore be close collaboration between policymakers, implementers and monitoring and evaluation agents to ensure synergy of efforts towards the improvement of the lives of previously disadvantaged groups.

The GDDPLG (1997a : 3) identifies a number of national and provincial policies and specific projects that address issues that are directly relevant to the urban centres within as well as the means for driving their development. However, it begins to move towards significant changes in urban planning processes. The vision for regenerating the urban centres in Gauteng is articulated by the Gauteng Provincial Government's four-point plan. This serves to promote centres that provide public safety, and are clean and well maintained; promote integrated, compact development; encourage vibrant trading centres and build regeneration partnerships. The GDDPLG (1997: 5) indicates that Gauteng province is 96 percent functionally urbanised and the cities and towns are of particular importance, thus the regeneration of urban centres potentially benefits all stakeholders, which include the local governments, the private sector and the urban poor. The urban poor in this context are those people locked in dormitory areas with inadequate access to employment opportunities and resources. For these people, the agglomeration benefits of centres provide opportunities for seeking employment, markets for informal trade and a pool of civic, social and welfare resources. The GDDPLG (1997: 8) mentions a host of strategies intended to realise the integration and regeneration of urban centres. These include strategies for densification and integration, for improving maintenance, as well as for enhancing inter and intra-metropolitan accessibility and linkages. Mention is not made of the relationship and or linkages between these important cities and towns and their adjacent rural areas, thus the White Paper adopts an urban bias approach that excludes the interface between rural and urban development in a manner that complements each other.

4.5.3. Gauteng Growth and Development Framework and Spatial Development Framework

The Gauteng Growth and Development Framework (GDDPLG 1997/8: 1) was developed in line with the requirements of the South Africa (1995), and sets parameters for the preparation of detailed plans and programmes to facilitate growth and development as equally important objectives. The priorities for growth and development are job creation, the improvement of safety and security, the delivery of services, the building of administrative capacity, the strategic alignment of programmes, and communication of the strategy (GDDPLG 1997/8: 2). This framework assesses the economic, social, physical and institutional sectors and proposes strategies for development within each sector. Although it mentions the potential for development within the agri-industry and tourism sectors, there is no reference to the actual development of rural areas or their relationship with the urban areas. However, there is an initiative to develop the provincial growth and development plans that would serve to inform development initiatives at the provincial level of government. The researcher acknowledges that the Gauteng province is in the process of developing its provincial growth and development plan, which, it is recommended that it also incorporate elements of the rural-urban interface that would inform future development and planning within the province.

The GDDPLG (1999) was developed to guide decisions relating to the location and nature of physical development in the Gauteng province in the context of the principles stipulated in Chapter 1 of South Africa (1995). The GDDPLG (2002: 2) intends to serve as an instrument for addressing past spatial imbalances in Gauteng, while at the same time guiding development towards a sustainable, equitable and economically viable future settlement pattern. The strategic areas of development throughout the province in the rural and urban areas, based on the development potential of a specific area are identified. In the rural areas, the strategic development areas are said to have the ability to enhance the rural environment through development by using the potential they offer for recreation, tourism, conservation or intensive agriculture. In the urban areas, such areas have the inherent potential to attract economic activity and hence to enable growth and the creation of job opportunities. According to GDDPLG (2002: 2), the successful implementation of the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework depends amongst others, the base economic development on existing resources, containing of urban growth and the definition and control of rural development beyond the urban edge.

The GDDPLG (1999: 28) highlights key spatial development issues that include the need to contain urban sprawl, enhancement of transportation linkages, integration of low-income areas, integration

of residential and economic development, conservation of natural resources, maximisation of rural potential, and the upliftment of areas of economic decline. It acknowledges that the urban environment and its development cannot be achieved without a balanced rural development. It argues that the rural area constitutes one part of the urban edge, as it becomes the "greenbelt component" which enables the edge to be established. "If a greenbelt is defined beyond the edge, and its development and uses determined, it becomes a mechanism for rural and urban development" (GDDPLG 1999: 29). Thus all the LDOs identified the need for an urban edge that would clearly delineate urban development in order to avoid urban sprawl and to protect the peripheral and rural areas. International experience suggests that the urban edge should form part of a comprehensive, multi-disciplinary provincial framework that integrates all development disciplines (GDDPLG 2002: 7). Thus in the Gauteng province, the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework is seen as a first step towards this direction. The urban edge was discussed in chapter two of this dissertation in line with how it relates to the urban and rural areas.

The GDDPLG (1999: 29) admits that although a constant provincial edge could not be formulated at local level, components of it were determined at the local level. Thus portions of the urban edge were contained in the plan and it was revealed that the open spaces, transport routes and boundaries played an important role in defining the edge. For the purposes of this dissertation, the urban edge may be regarded as a critical area for the interface and it is thus of significance. According to the GDDPLG (1999: 29), the urban edge serves to "discourage urban sprawl and contain growth with the city limits; preserve the rural environment and landscape; protect rural the rural assets and resources; protect agricultural land especially the high potential agricultural land; as well as assist urban regeneration by adopting an inward approach" (GDDPLG 1999: 28). The GSDF (1999: 29) recognises the fact that the purpose of the sound rural development is to achieve a balance between the urban and rural environments, and to protect the rural land from being taken up through urban sprawl. It furthermore identifies the development of rural towns, rural residential areas and rural intensive (agriculture, conservation, recreation, nature reserves and agri-villages) and extensive (extension farming to retain the rural land and rural character) areas. The GDDPLG (2002) proposes the delineation of the urban edge along the current line of urban activity. In mentions that working clockwise from Temba in Hammanskraal, in the far north of the Greater Pretoria/Johannesburg urban complexes, the urban edge is a small potion of land around Hammanskraal, both to the west and east where it extends across the N1 freeway. The Tshwane metropolitan boundary, the edge is around the eastern tip of Mamelodi and then in a southerly direction along the metropolitan boundary (including Silverlakes and the surrounding agricultural holdings) to the northern tip of the Rietvlei Dam Nature Reserve (GDDPLG 2002: 13). The types of land uses

allowed outside the urban edge include extensive agriculture, farm stalls and home industries, as well as tourism and related activities. However, the implementation of the urban edge in the Gauteng province will have particular implications for local authorities, as they will have to revise their Spatial Development Frameworks to achieve a more compact and efficient urban form. The urban edge is also envisaged to have an impact on the Gautrans as it could require a rescheduling of their road construction program especially along the urban edge where expansion should take place at a much reduced rate. It is acknowledged that the definition of the urban edge around the smaller rural towns has not yet been done at the provincial level, thus caution should be exercised during planning and implementation of development initiatives to avoid urban sprawl into the rural areas (GDDPLG 2002: 1).

4.5.4. Agricultural policy and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA)

According to Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs (1998: 7), the rural concentration of poverty should not detract attention from urban poverty. It argues that poverty in the rural areas is associated with agricultural policies, through which the needs of the persistently marginalised small-scale black farmers' access to resources such as land, credit and technical know-how was curtailed. Thus past policies contributed to rural impoverishment, while new policies create the opportunity for reforms which will enable agriculture to make a much larger contribution to poverty alleviation and enhanced national and household food security in future. One of the encouraging developments in recent years has been the growth in support for home gardens, especially in peri-urban and urban areas, where small plots of vegetables in particular can contribute significantly to both livelihoods and nutritional standards (Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs (1998: 7). However, much more needs to be done among the poor in rural areas to stimulate home gardening. Thus extension services are regarded as critical in promoting production, encouraging suppliers of seed, tools and production requirements to devote more attention to this neglected section of the economy. The availability of land, difficulties associated with obtaining water and lack of family labour may also serve to limit the type of contribution the people living in the rural areas can make towards alleviating poverty (Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs (1998: 7).

Formal agriculture provides employment for about 1 million farm workers on the one hand, albeit at very low incomes, and the smallholder sector provides full or part time employment for at least a further 1 million households on the other (Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs (1998: 8). This is estimated to represent about 10 million or almost 25 percent of South Africa's population.

An economic analysis reflects that farming is a major source of employment, particularly agro-processing and the food industry. The figures presented here underestimates the significance of agriculture, thereby ignoring the effect it can have on employment through its linkages with the rest of the economy (Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs (1998: 8). This implies that generally the number of jobs created per unit of investment is higher in agriculture compared to other sectors, and thus it has a greater impact on employment creation. Most of the people in the rural areas (including urban areas in a form of urban agriculture) depend on agriculture for survival, be it commercial or of a subsistence type. Most of the products obtained from commercial farming are normally sold in the big markets in the cities, creating an interface between the rural and urban areas. In 1998, the then Minister for Agriculture and Land Affairs stated that "although the rate of urbanisation is accelerating in South Africa, large numbers of our people will by circumstances or choice, remain in rural areas even if they have to struggle to make decent living there" (Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs (1998: vi). This shows the importance of agriculture as a job creation initiative and a mechanism to improve the livelihood of communities in the rural and urban areas.

Owing to past discriminatory laws and practices, many South African people, especially the vulnerable groups, do not have secure tenure in their homes and the land that they use, and are therefore vulnerable to unfair eviction Act no. 62 of 1977 (South Africa 1997: 2), the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) serves to promote the achievement of long-term security of tenure for occupiers of land where possible through the joint efforts of occupiers, land owners and government bodies. It also aims to extend the rights of occupiers while giving due recognition to the rights, duties and legitimate interests of owners and ensure that occupiers are not prejudiced. The ESTA was introduced to provide for measures of State assistance to facilitate long-term security of land tenure and regulate the conditions of residence on certain land (South Africa 1997: 2). This Act applies to all land other than land in a township established, approved, proclaimed or otherwise recognised as such in terms of any law or encircled by such a township(s) (South Africa 1997: 6). This includes any land in a township that has been designated for agricultural purposes in terms of any law. Furthermore, it regulates the conditions on and circumstances under which the right of persons to reside on land may be terminated, and regulates conditions and circumstances under which persons whose right of residence has been terminated may be evicted from land, and provides for matters connected therewith. The fundamental rights recognised by ESTA include, amongst others, the right to human dignity, freedom and security of the person, privacy and religion, belief and opinion and expression. According to South Africa (1997: 2) the occupier has the right to a family life in accordance with the culture of that family, provided that this right shall

not apply in respect of single sex accommodation provided in hostels erected before 4 February 1997. The Act stipulates that the occupier may not enable or assist unauthorised persons to establish new dwellings on the land in question.

In terms of the provisions of this Act, an occupier has the right to visit and maintain family graves on land belonging to another person. However, this is subject to any reasonable condition imposed by the owner or person in charge of such land in order to safeguard life or property or to prevent the undue disruption of work on the land. There are instances where, in the period of employment in the farms, death occurs in the family, resulting in family member(s) getting buried on the farm. In line with family customs and cultural practices and norms, some family members prefer to continue to show respect to their late family members through going to the grave(s) at specific times, a practice referred to as talking to the ancestors. This therefore implies gaining access to the farm owner's land when they wish to do so. The provisions allow the occupant or ex-employee and family member's entry to such land in consultation with the owner to avoid unnecessary conflict (South Africa 1997: 10).

In South Africa, most people living in the rural areas are, from an early age, forced out of their homes by poverty and go to work on (white-owned) farms to generate income for their families. There are two categories of people who live in the rural areas; that is those who work for short periods and then go and work in the urban areas; and then the others who move from their rural homes and reside next to the farms where they are employed, normally on land that belongs to the farm owner. In other instances, generations of families join others in pursuit of employment opportunities on farms and stay end up staying on these farms. Evidence in South Africa proves that farm work is characterised by low income, appalling working conditions and long and unstable working hours. In South Africa, incidences have been reported of farm labourers who were evicted from white-owned farms owing to ill health, injury or disability, some of which occurred whilst they were on duty, after staying there for prolonged periods serving their masters loyally. In other instances, the family members were said to have been evicted without prior notice from farms because they were perceived useless after the death of the main occupant who was an employee on the farm. Though this practice is mostly experienced in rural South Africa, occurrences in the urban/peri-urban areas have also been observed. In some instances, children also form part of this labour force, even if it is known that this practice is against the law. A case of a Mossel Bay farmer bears evidence. In a press release issued by the Department of Labour on the 3 November 2003, the Minister of Labour, welcomed the three-year jail term and a R12 000 fine, suspended for five years, imposed on a Mossel Bay farmer for employing children as young as 12 on his farm.

It is a true characteristic of most farm employment (though there are many exceptions) in that, though it is temporary and at times very abusive, people tend to stay longer and withstand all the conditions due to limited choices. Owing to lack of resources, most rural residents employed on farms lack proper educational qualifications to elevate them to positions of strength (especially the younger generation) that could enable them to get better posts with appealing conditions and lucrative salaries elsewhere. Thus the labour relations and conditions of employment are at times grossly violated on these farms and most incidences go unreported to the relevant structures, such that even those who might complain and wish to take up matters generally lack knowledge of where to report such cases. Other reported incidences were of those few people who have complained to the authorities about appauling work conditions. These people were reported to have been expelled and evicted with immediate effect, without provision of alternative employment or place of residence. Therefore rural people are often subjected to unfair land evictions and other discriminatory practices that really require the intervention of the State to protect their rights, hence the introduction of the ESTA amongst other measures. The government has launched a campaign to inspect farmers in order to monitor non-compliance with the relevant legislation by certain farm owners, as well as compliance with the Sectoral Determination for the Agricultural sector that sets minimum wages for farm workers.

4.6. THE POST 1999 FRAMEWORKS

4.6.1. The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) and the Urban Renewal Programme (URP).

The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) was announced by the President of the Republic of South Africa, in his State of the Nation Address in February 2001. The Presidency (2000: 1) is designed to realise a vision that is meant to “attain socially cohesive and stable rural communities with viable institutions, sustainable economies, and universal access to social amenities, able to attract and retain skilled and knowledgeable people who are equipped to contribute to growth and development” (The Presidency 2000: 1). The strategic objective of the ISRDS is to ensure that by the year 2010 rural areas will attain the internal capacity for integrated and sustainable development. The strategic intent of the ISRDS is to transform rural South Africa into an economically viable, socially stable and harmonious sector that makes a significant contribution to the nation’s GDP (The Presidency 2000: 23). Therefore the ISRDS in its totality, presents an opportunity for South Africa’s rural people to realise their own potential and contribute

more fully to their country's future. It intends to benefit the rural poor generally, but particular efforts will be made to target women, youths and the disabled. In his ministerial briefing on the ISRDS and the Urban Renewal Programme, on the 15 February 2001, the Minister for the Department of Provincial and Local Government emphasised a need for an understanding by government of the imperative of rising to the challenge of overcoming the legacy of underdevelopment. He reiterated government's commitment to creating conditions for just and sustainable socio-economic development, fully recognising the plight of the 70 percent of our country's poverty-stricken people who live in the rural areas. Thus a successful strategy to achieve integrated sustainable rural development should reflect each of the three key elements, that is, integrated, sustainable, and rural development (The Presidency 2000: 23). Furthermore, the strategy adopts an operational approach in that it would use and develop existing institutional, planning management and funding mechanisms to focus the expenditure of government in three spheres (national, provincial and local government) to more effectively and efficiently respond to needs and opportunities. In line with the requirements of this strategy, local government is expected to engage in integrating programmes to achieve synergistic rural development. Its role is to identify local development needs and opportunities and plan to respond to them, while ensuring that they align their budgets to achieve their planned objectives.

As already mentioned, rural development, sustainability, integration and a rural safety net are the key elements behind the vision of The Presidency (2000). Since the focus of rural development in this context is much broader than poverty alleviation, it places emphasis on changing environments to enable poor people to earn more, invest in themselves and their communities and contribute towards maintenance of key infrastructure that is important to their livelihoods. In other words, this implies the identification of opportunities and acting on them. The success of this strategy would make people less poor rather than more comfortable in their state of poverty. This emphasis should be complemented by specific measures to assist the vulnerable and relieve the burdens of poverty. According to The Presidency (2000: 23), sustainability is derived from increased local growth, and where rural people care about success and are able to access resources to keep the strategy going. It argues that rural society is not homogeneous, and widespread poverty creates tensions, thus at least a portion of benefits should be targeted at particular groups that might otherwise be under-recognised, such as women and young people. A realistic assessment must recognise that not all areas have high potential for growth, and that people, particularly the youth, must have opportunities to move away voluntarily from those areas over time (The Presidency 2000: 26). It argues that most young people in these areas assume that they must move to cities, and many of them will. However, with more active land reform, growing tourism and responsive programmes of

public investment, rural youth in areas of low potential may see new opportunities in more dynamic rural areas and small towns (The Presidency 2000: 26).

Rural growth is perceived to take place in a spatial dimension. The Presidency (2000: 26) states that rural towns are critical to the developmental opportunities of their hinterlands, because the provision of key services in rural towns increases the multiplier for incremental incomes, and rural people can spend more of it closer to home. This is the case because much of the infrastructure and service industry (transport, banking, trade, and communications) that allows agricultural producers to capture the value of their primary products is located in rural towns. For instance, livestock producers come to town to auction their animals and to deliver them to abattoirs, and the prices they receive depend directly on the location and quality of these services. In the same vein, service providers will locate only in towns that can provide adequate public services, and examples include power, communications, public safety and fire protection. Therefore, one of the positive outcomes of successful integrated rural development will be vibrant, rural towns that serve their hinterlands and add value to the production that takes place there (The Presidency 2000: 26).

As stated in The Presidency (2000: 24), integration has been a goal of rural development programmes for many decades and the IDP process serves to establish a primary locus of integration at the municipal level. However, most plans failed to achieve the desired synergy because they failed to design a mechanism for integration. Rural development is difficult to integrate because it cuts across traditional sectors and involves all levels of government (The Presidency 2000: 24). Thus an effective mechanism for integration would specify what happens at the various levels, who does what, and how the integration should be accomplished. In the South African context, each sphere of government plays a defined role, but the primary locus of integration is at the municipal level through the IDP process. Therefore the implementation of decisions arrived at through the IDP process can be achieved by drawing on an ‘amalgamated “resource envelope” comprised of the municipal budget, the commitments of the line departments, and other sources’ (The Presidency 2000: 24).

It should be acknowledged that South Africa has some unique features and development challenges derived from the legacy of planned poverty left by the former homeland system. According to The Presidency (2000: 8), South Africa has high-density population areas, dislocated settlements and resettled communities which are ghettos isolated from economic opportunities, and the level of interdependence of rural communities and distant large cities is higher than elsewhere. Poverty is also rife on the farms in the former so-called white rural areas, because infrastructure is skewed in

favour of commercial farming areas, and rural people generally do not have access to natural resources. In his speech on the 15 February 2001, the Minister for Provincial and Local Government, acknowledged that rural South Africa is characterised by high levels of poverty, dislocated and sparse settlements, substandard or non-existent housing, poor access to basic services, and subsistence modes of economic activity. He furthermore identified the outcomes of the apartheid urban planning and management as massive unemployment, overcrowding, infrastructure backlogs and/or decay, high levels of crime, as well as poor systems of governance. Therefore, to intensify the offensive against poverty and underdevelopment, government adopted both the Urban Renewal Strategy (URS) and the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS). The Presidency (2000: 9) argues that the diversity and complexity of rural areas and poverty in South Africa must be accommodated in flexible, responsive strategic planning. Of critical importance, planning must take into account the nature of urban-rural linkages and aim for comprehensive regional development where urban settlements form an integral part of the strategy. Furthermore, the marginalisation of agriculture, particularly in the former homelands, needs to be addressed, with central acknowledgement of the role of women and gender issues. The impact of HIV/AIDS must also be incorporated to respond to impacts on especially the highly vulnerable rural households (The Presidency 2000: 13).

According to The Presidency (2000: 10), rural-urban linkages take many forms, some of which are particularly important with a view to developing a strategy for integrated sustainable rural development. The Presidency (2000: 10) states that the more dynamic types of linkage are found in the movements of people between rural and urban households (many of which are of a circular nature), and these include temporary migration (as in seasonal moves) and labour migration (including weekly commuting); the more permanent migration of people from rural to urban areas and vice versa. Furthermore, the rural-urban linkages may also be found in the movement of people operating from a single (urban or rural) household (as in daily commuting or school trips, shopping trips and short-term visits); the movement of resources (such as money and remittances), commodities (as in the production-market chains for agricultural produce), and services (e.g. mail delivery) (The Presidency 2000:10). The more static (or long-term) types of linkage are found mainly in the infrastructural connections between rural and urban areas (e.g. roads, railway lines, and water, electricity and telecommunication networks). Therefore in the absence of these linkages, neither rural nor urban development can take place, thus the strategy should not only be aimed at integrating *rural* development actions, but should also incorporate actions to integrate rural and urban areas (The Presidency 2000: 10).

At the operational level the ISRDS should build on existing programmes of government through a well-coordinated, bottom-up approach to rural local economic development. Thus key government initiatives would form a core of integrated programmes on which the ISRDS should be built. The implementation of the ISRDS aims to focus initially on selected nodal points as a pilot to ensure sufficient concentration of coordinated efforts to make an impact, and at the same time to act as points of leverage for development in further areas. These nodes would later be expanded to more areas based on the lessons learnt from the current nodal development. The range of programme options will thus be customised in each node into a “basket of services”. According to The Presidency (2000:32), the chief instrument for integration would be the mechanisms of IDPs as provided for in the Municipal Systems Act and the objective will be to bolster and develop local capacity. However, the state of readiness of the rural local governments should be taken into account because they may initially not be ready to take on some of the “more sophisticated functions associated with this decentralisation”. The Presidency (2000: 33) is positive that the rural areas stand to benefit just as much and often proportionately more than urban areas from initiatives designed to build the capacity of local governments to manage their own affairs, and empower local communities to take responsibility for their own local development programmes. In his State of the Nation address in 2001, the President of the Republic of South Africa, announced thirteen rural nodes of the ISRDS. The following table reflects the 13 nodes:

Table 4.2: Thirteen nodes for rural and urban development in South Africa

Province	13 nodes
Eastern Cape	OR Tambo Alfred Nzo Chris Hani Ukwahlamba
Kwazulu Natal	Umzinyathi Umkhanyakude Ugu district municipality Zululand district municipality
Mpumalanga	Sekhukhune cross border district municipality
Limpopo	Eastern municipality
Western Cape	Central Karoo

Free State	Thabo Mofutsanyane
Northern Cape (North West)	Kalahari-Kgalagadi
Total	13

GDDPLG media briefing 15 February 2001: 4.

The Presidency (2000: 27) states that safety nets are still needed because the rural poor in most countries are greatly disadvantaged relative to their urban counterparts when it comes to social assistance. It argues that few developing countries include rural people in social security programmes, and the prevalence of self-employment means that unemployment compensation is largely irrelevant to those without work. Therefore this added attention to the nodes is one of the advantages of the Strategy as it is intended to attract a critical mass of complementary programmes to particular localities to demonstrate the benefits that can be achieved through synergy of various activities.

Although the introduction of the nodes is done with the good intention of focusing resources to disadvantaged areas, it may have its own limitations. According to The Presidency (2000: 36) the attention accorded to nodes under the present budgetary arrangements in South Africa presents a major risk to the replicability and sustainability of the strategy. The danger posed by this new arrangement is that the energy of champions and the visibility of the ISRDS may lead departments to shift excessive proportions of their budgets to the nodes. Since the overall expenditure on rural development under the ISRDS is not intended to increase substantially, a redirection of resources to the nodes will necessarily come at the expense of other areas. Thus this risk should be properly managed to avoid a proliferation of showcase projects within the nodes and a reduction in expenditure in neighbouring areas or in parts of the country not selected as nodes in the first round. The Presidency (2000: 36) cautions that the showcase projects would not be replicable or sustainable, and the reduced attention on non-nodal areas could result in higher costs of maintenance in the future to compensate for deteriorated infrastructure. Therefore departments need to develop indicators that would warn them against "showcase fever", as presented in the case study below.

4.6.1.1 Case study: avoid creating Potemkin villages

One of the earliest champions of rural development on the global scene was Catherine the Great, who ruled Russia from 1762 to 1796. Concerned about the evident poverty and misery of Russia's serfs, and desiring to stimulate development in the southern part of her

empire, Catherine encouraged Russia's estate owners to provide better housing and improved conditions for the peasantry. She decided to go on tour to inspect in person the results of her efforts, and invited members of the European royal houses to accompany her. Her Chief of Staff, Prince Gregory Potemkin, was put in charge of arrangements for the trip. Potemkin selected a route for the trip, much of which was by water. Along the banks of the river he constructed villages with solid cottages and amenities unusual for the serfs at the time. Prior to the inspection tour, peasants were issued with new livestock and clothes. Catherine floated by, delighted with the apparent success of her endeavours, and returned to St. Petersburg confident that her peasantry had been uplifted. Since that time, showcase projects that are not replicable or sustainable, and created largely in response to official orders have been referred to as "Potemkin villages" (The Presidency 2000: 36).

The development of existing institutional and planning management and funding mechanisms to focus the expenditure of government in the three spheres (national, provincial and local government) to more effectively and efficiently respond to needs and opportunities, should be used as key indicators. The institutional mechanisms put in place for the purposes of overall coordination and monitoring, such as the Infrastructure, Economic and Social Cabinet Clusters, should ensure that sectoral line function departments prioritise identified nodes and operate through the planning mechanisms of IDPs. At the operational level, community-based project teams should be established in each node in a range of formats and scales depending on local circumstances to integrate with designated nodal IDP structures.

Rural development by its very nature is marred by challenges, and however clearly defined the role of local authorities can become, these cannot be ignored. According to The Presidency (2000: 2), international experience suggests that rural development efforts are constrained by poverty and poor service delivery. The major challenges facing the development of rural areas worldwide include: "spatial dispersion, economic dependency on urban areas, political marginalisation, taxation and inappropriate macro-economic policies leading to a net outflow of resources" (The Presidency 2000: 2). Given this situation, the ISRDS advocates the decentralisation of resource allocations and investment decisions. However, capacity-building programmes should be introduced to enable the rural municipalities to receive appropriate training to fulfil their roles and responsibilities appropriately. This would in turn allow decentralisation to achieve the desired rural development outcomes. In addition, adequate budgets must be available for them to fulfil their assigned roles and responsibilities. The operational relationships between different spheres of government and between government and NGOs must be established. The appropriate financial

flows must be established and systems developed to discourage the misuse of funds, but most importantly the communities must be empowered to participate in the development process.

Irrespective of the existing challenges, rural development has celebrated some development victories. As stated in The Presidency (2000: 17), some examples of achievements of rural development under various departmental programmes include: “promotion of small-scale mining activity through managerial support, infrastructure investments and support services”. The Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) also created spin-offs such as job opportunities, socio-economic upliftment, economic empowerment and upgrading of infrastructure. More successes identified include the investment in water infrastructure development projects to increase rural communities’ access to water; extension of telephone services to rural communities increased from 20 to 40 percent of households; and under the land reform programme, 350 000 households gained access to 6.5 million hectares of land (The Presidency 2000: 17). This picture can still improve, as these are just initial efforts. Rural development can benefit much from projects that promote economic viability within the areas. The Presidency (2000: 27) identifies factors that are likely to result in local economic development as the diversification of the economic base, the strengthening the rural-urban linkages, the provision of basic physical and social infrastructure and services, stimulating the natural potential of an area, as well as implementing a range of interventions in a targeted area (node).

Alongside the announcement of the ISRDS by the President of the Republic of South Africa in his State of the Nation Address in February 2001, the Urban Renewal Programme (URP) was also introduced. He articulated the aim of both these nodal programmes as being to conduct a sustained campaign against rural and urban poverty and underdevelopment, bringing in the resources of all three spheres of government in a coordinated manner. Cabinet mandated the national department of Development Planning and Local Government as the national coordinating institution for the URP, but the successful implementation of the programme relies on the involvement of all the stakeholders. In his ministerial briefing on the ISRDS and the URP, on 15 February 2001, the Minister for the Department of Development Planning and Local Government, indicated that approximately 60 percent of South Africa's population is found in the metropolitan areas, in the cities, which are the country's economic engines, as well as in secondary towns. He also recognised that the majority of these people live in urban decay without access to proper services and jobs. In this speech, the Minister indicated that the black townships that are located on the peripheries of cities and towns are redolent with problems that reflect some of the outcomes of apartheid's urban planning and management. These include massive unemployment, overcrowding, infrastructure

backlogs and decay, high levels of crime, as well as poor systems of governance. The urban nodes were pronounced, representing the largest concentrations of poverty in South Africa, and it is estimated that both these nodes (urban and rural) are home to more than 10 million people (GDDPLG media briefing 15 February 2001: 5).

In addition to the 13 nodes of the ISRDS mentioned above, the focus of the Urban Renewal Strategy would initially be on the following nodes: Galashewe (Kimberley, Northern Cape Province); Alexandra (City of Johannesburg, Gauteng Province); Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain (City of Cape Town, Western Cape Province); KwaMashu and Inanda (eThekweni, KwaZulu Natal Province); Mdantsane and Motherwell (Eastern Cape Province). The implementation of the URP in these urban nodes would serve to touch on the largest number of people since they are the largest townships harbouring people that live in abject poverty. In areas such as Mitchell's Plain, which was established as a result of the displacement and forced removal of people from places such as District Six in greater Cape Town, the social inclusion would deal with the effects of the alienation they had experienced over a prolonged period, and create access to the resources of the beautiful Mother City.

4.6.2. Common features of the rural and urban nodes

There are features common to both rural and urban nodes that are critical to the planning and implementation of the ISRDS and the URP. As the Minister for Provincial and Local Government, put it in his response on 15 February 2001, following the President's announcement of the ISRDS and the URP, the principles that underpin the relationship between these two strategies are as follows. Firstly, both strategies are directly aimed at addressing the persistence of the socio-economic, infrastructure and spatial imbalances that emanate from our apartheid past. Secondly, the programmatic and developmental approach adopted by both these strategies is informed by the various development programmes of government, which have been in place since 1994. Thirdly, integration of service delivery and development at a local level is a conscious attempt to address the multifaceted nature of the complex challenges that confront us in rural and urban South Africa. Fourthly, the objective of both programmes is poverty targeting and alleviation. This serves as a backdrop to government's identification of the nodal points and localities to correspond deliberately with the landscape of underdevelopment and poverty in South Africa. In line with this issue, it is important to note that Gauteng province, from which the Tshwane Metropolitan Council has been identified as a case for the purposes of this dissertation, has no areas identified as one of the nodal points to date. It is therefore hoped that the outcome of the further nodal points still to be identified

would consider the 4 percent rural population that resides in abject poverty and underdevelopment in the Gauteng province. Finally, the Minister contends that the need for a demand-driven approach to development, where local projects are identified through the municipal integrated development planning process, is important.

It should be recognised that both rural and urban nodes are areas of severe neglect, where poverty is at its most endemic. The implementation programme of both strategies has a ten-year life span and has the following objectives: “to address poverty alleviation and underdevelopment; to achieve increased equity; to attain social cohesion; to enhance local government capacity to deliver; and to promote innovation in approaches to planning, design, implementation and financing” (GDDPLG media briefing 15 February 2001: 2-3). Furthermore, the achievement of these outcomes is underpinned by principles such as addressing micro and local economic development imperatives that seek to complement and sustain the macroeconomic stability as well as improved coordination and integration of service delivery across government (GDDPLG media briefing 15 February 2001: 2). For both, the decentralisation of decision making and the setting of priorities at the local level are regarded as fundamental. This is intended to directly build robust and sustainable municipalities and a strong local government, and includes supporting an approach to development that is demand driven by using the integrated development planning processes at local level to identify priorities and needs (GDDPLG media briefing 15 February 2001: 3). Both strategies encourage fostering partnerships to mobilise resources for the local level, as well as participatory approaches to development. The focus since the inception of the ISRDS in 2000 has been on matters of institutional capacity and intergovernmental alignment in support of implementation, and significant strides have been made in establishing and strengthening the institutional platform on which the programme rests.

According to the DPLG (2003b: 10) the development challenges on the scale that confronted government in 1994 necessitated the complete overhaul of the machinery of the state and government, resulting in the key sectors and areas for immediate intervention being defined and development objectives decided upon. These included the “extension of school education, health services, housing and social grants to communities marginalised by apartheid policies and to eradicate poverty in urban townships and rural hinterland” (DPLG 2003b: 11). Given the spatial distribution of poverty and underdevelopment as a result of apartheid, some innovative and effective service-delivery mechanisms that are crucially important instruments for extending services to communities previously marginalised by apartheid are suggested. These include the “multi-purpose centres; information technology systems, such as e-government; imbizos;

community development workers; and ward committees" (DPLG 2003b: 11). The researcher admits that the South African state and government have adequate resources to meet the development challenges arising from the coexistence of the two economies (already referred to in Chapter 2 of this dissertation). These would determine whether the country succeeds or fails in its quest to eliminate poverty and the lack of human dignity that flows from poverty. The DPLG (2003b: 11) insists that unified state action to address nationally important development priorities is essential if cooperative government is to have meaning and purpose for the poor and impoverished. Therefore the goal of intergovernmental machinery is to engage the challenge of the two economies and the situation of the poor.

According to Section 40(1) of South Africa (1996b), a system of intergovernmental relations should promote and facilitate cooperative decision-making, and coordinate and align priorities, budgets, policies and activities across interrelated functions and sectors. Furthermore, it should ensure a smooth flow of information within government, and between government and communities, with a view to enhancing the implementation of policy and programmes, and prevent and resolve conflicts and disputes. According to the Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 38), the development of a framework for intergovernmental relations has focused on the relationship between national and provincial government. The role of local government is being defined as it develops in practice over time. The establishment and recognition of organised local government structures is an important step in ensuring local government representation in intergovernmental processes and forums.

Section 41(2) of South Africa (1996b) requires the development of an Act to establish or provide for structures and institutions to promote intergovernmental relations. The DPLG (2003b: 26-27) states that the core business of any government consists of planning, budgeting, implementation, monitoring and evaluation (as the main intergovernmental systems and processes). As stated in DPLG (2003b: 27), the six core systems through which this practically happens are interrelated, and include the Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF), Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), the government planning cycle, the Cabinet cluster system, the spatial development instruments, and the integrated development plan (IDP). "There are several instruments that inform spatial development planning, including the National Spatial Development Perspective, Provincial Growth and Development Strategies and the municipal integrated development plans" (DPLG 2003b: 28). This implies that planning for rural areas and development as well as the relationship between the two should, at a strategic level, be done within this framework to ensure that processes are aligned and synchronised with the planning framework for

government. At the operational level, intergovernmental forums serve as consultative structures on national policy, and national government in turn receives feedback on the implementation of policies within both provincial and local government from these structures. The South Africa (2005) provides for the establishment of structures and institutions that will promote and facilitate intergovernmental relations, as well as appropriate mechanisms and procedures to facilitate the settlement of intergovernmental disputes.

According to The Presidency (2003a: 37), the relationship between a national planning perspective such as the NSDP, provincial plans such as provincial growth and development strategies (PGDS) and the IDPs should be determined in the context of a set of intergovernmental planning principles. It acknowledges that the NSDP is not a national plan, but a perspective that provides an indication of potential in various geographical spaces across the country. However, it is expected to inform the planning framework that incorporates the MTSF and the MTEF planning and budgeting cycle in which decisions are made, and other medium to longer-term strategies of government (The Presidency 2003a: 38). According to the Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 29), future legislation should endeavour to reduce the legislative complexity of the various planning requirements placed on municipalities. In particular, it will ensure that integrated development plans incorporate other planning requirements into a single planning cycle.

4.7. TOWARDS A TEN-YEAR REVIEW OF GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMME

The South African government has embarked on a process of reviewing the implementation of its programmes, reflecting on its performance in realising its objectives since the attainment of democracy in 1994 (in the past nine years), a process referred to as "towards a ten year review". The Presidency (2003b: 12) refers to the development of 37 multi-purpose community centres (MPCCs) as providers of services and information to the public. It states that more MPCCs are expected to be built per district.metro by the end of 2004, after which each would be expanded in each municipality. It should be noted that local government is not yet included in the national planning process, however the introduction of the IDPs is intended to assist in such an interaction. A key weakness identified in the latter interaction is that although the IDPs are a form of local consultation that seeks to involve local communities in identifying their needs within a given locality, there remains a need to involve communities more in decision making, especially in poor communities. Government plans to deploy community development workers for the purposes of contributing to improved service delivery by taking services directly to the poor, but it also intends to assist the poor to develop the capacity to organise themselves and participate in decision making

(The Presidency 2003b: 14). However, constraints are anticipated in the areas of capacity and fiscal risks, especially in the local sphere. The Presidency (2003b: 14) cautions that any attempt to improve service delivery must confront the problem of serious capacity shortages at the provincial and local levels of service delivery. It is important to note that the performance of both provincial and local government reflects unevenness resulting in some provinces and municipalities performing well whilst others are still struggling to achieve a basically acceptable level of operational efficiency and effectiveness. However, government plans to improve service delivery by building the necessary institutions and initiatives; as well as utilising The Presidency (2003a) to focus government's attention on localities that have the greatest potential for development and poverty alleviation whilst rebuilding other areas.

4.8. CHALLENGES FACING SOUTH AFRICAN MUNICIPALITIES

According to the Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 18), municipalities face immense challenges in developing sustainable settlements that meet the needs and improve the quality of life of local communities. Thus, to meet these challenges, municipalities need to understand the various dynamics operating in their area, develop a concrete vision for the area, as well as strategies for realising and financing that vision in partnership with other stakeholders. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 15) states that municipalities the world over face the challenge of managing viable and environmentally sustainable urban and rural systems. There are great spatial separations and disparities between towns and townships and urban sprawl, which increase service provision and transport costs enormously. This implies that most urban areas are racially fragmented with discontinuous land use and settlement patterns. Municipalities in urban areas should develop strategies for spatial integration while managing the continuing consequences of rapid urbanisation and service backlogs. Therefore municipalities need to create institutions that recognise the linkages between urban and rural settlements. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 15) argues that there is a wide variety of urban settlements, ranging from those which play the roles of local or regional service centres (supplying services to rural areas and other towns), to functionally specialised towns (such as mining towns) and administrative centres (common in former homeland areas). This situation reflects that almost all towns are functionally linked to rural areas, relying on their hinterlands for productive economic activity and providing critical centres for the delivery of social services.

Municipalities are still marred by entrenched modes of decision making, administration and delivery inherited from municipalities geared for the implementation of urban and rural apartheid

(Department of Constitutional Development 1998b: 16). This is coupled with an inability to leverage private sector resources for development due to a breakdown in the relationship between capital markets and municipalities, the lack of a municipal bond market and the poor creditworthiness of many municipalities. Municipalities need to deal with substantial variations in capacity, since some municipalities have little or no pre-existing institutional foundations to build on, thus they need to rebuild relations between themselves and the local communities they serve. The Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 16) states that municipalities should be particularly sensitive to the needs of groups within the community who tend to be marginalised, and responsive and accessible to people with disabilities.

4.9. CONCLUSION

This chapter has given a detailed discussion on perspectives of the broader policy and legislative framework that guide development and planning within the country. The theoretical analysis of development planning in the Third World served as a backdrop to indicate the historical origins of the development planning approach. The pre and post-apartheid policies and laws as well as the new planning system, the integrated development planning, were presented to reflect the historical background within which development and planning should be understood in South Africa. The chapter concludes by assessing government's progress with regards to the achievement of development and planning imperatives both in the rural and urban areas. It also highlights some plans that are intended to improve the lives of those previously marginalised, that is, the rural and urban poor, as well as the challenges that still confront municipalities, indicating that more still needs to be done particularly in addressing aspects related to the development of rural and urban areas as well as the interlinkages between them in South Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE SECTORAL, GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS: PERCEPTIONS OF WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS IN SELECTEDWARDS WITHIN THE TSHWANE METROPOLITAN AREA

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an analysis of perceptions of ward and community members from selected wards within the Tshwane Metropolitan area. The approach to the investigation is multifaceted and this is due to the fact that an investigation into the key interventions to promote interaction between the rural and urban areas should incorporate the following. First, an assessment of the status of development and planning of the respondents' respective rural and urban areas (with specific regard to availability or non-availability of specified services or facilities). Secondly, establish the nature/type of interface emerging within the research area and determine areas where the rural and urban areas actually interact. Thirdly, identify key interventions to promote the interface between the rural and urban areas. The research is conducted, and an analysis of the findings is also provided within the following sectors: social; physical; spatial; economic; infrastructure; and the governance and institutional sectors. The commuter and migration patterns are also investigated in order to assess the nature of interaction created by these movements. This research, therefore serves to broadly investigate and specify the interventions that serve to promote the interaction between the rural and urban areas within all the sectors covered by the dissertation. The literature from the CTMM would be used to validate the results of the respondents to ensure that the information presented in this dissertation is of a quality acceptable to the CTMM as well. However, it is acknowledged that further research that zooms into a specific sector and conduct an investigation into key interventions, would yield results pertaining to the interaction between the rural and urban areas within that particular sector.

The methodology is outlined, including the sampling frame, to indicate the descriptions of areas within the wards and for easy reference on the region zones and wards discussed in the chapter. The demographical data is provided on the area of study (Tshwane) as well as the total population within the zones. A comparative analysis of all the sectors within selected zones is presented to indicate the status of development and planning per sector, particularly with regards to existence or non existence of certain services and or facilities across all the selected wards. This is critical for

purposes of determining the basis for the pattern/nature of interaction emerging in the research area, as well as for establishing the type of interventions that should foster the interaction between the rural and urban areas. The chapter concludes by presenting a maze of interconnections within and across the selected zones.

The GDDPLG (1996:2) indicates that integrated development planning implies having all aspects of a full and normal community present in every development i.e. clinics, schools, houses, jobs and amenities, and this requires improved co-ordination and alignment between government departments and spheres of government that are responsible for delivery of various services. As already mentioned in Chapter 4, the Presidency (2000: 10) demonstrates that the rural-urban linkages take many forms, some of which are particularly important with a view to developing a strategy/ interventions for integrated sustainable rural development. They include the following:

- The more dynamic types of linkage are found in the movement of people between rural and urban households (many of which are of a circular nature), and these include temporary migration (as in seasonal moves) and labour migration (including weekly commuting); the more permanent migration of people from rural to urban areas and vice versa.
- The rural-urban linkages may also be found in the movement of people operating from a single (urban or rural) household (as in daily commuting or school trips, shopping trips and short-term visits), the movement of resources (such as money and remittances), commodities (as in the production-market chains for agricultural produce), and services (e.g. mail delivery).
- The more static (or long-term) types of linkage are found mainly in the infrastructural connections between rural and urban areas (e.g. roads, railway lines, and water, electricity and telecommunication networks).
- In the absence of these linkages, neither rural nor urban development can take place, thus the strategy should not only be aimed at integrating rural development actions, but should also incorporate specific interventions/ actions to integrate rural and urban areas.

This research uses a sectoral analysis and movements between the rural and urban areas to establish areas where the rural and urban areas interface within the City of Tshwane Metropolitan area, and identifies interventions that can be used to foster interaction between these two contrasting but interrelated areas.

5.2. THE POPULATION OF TSHWANE

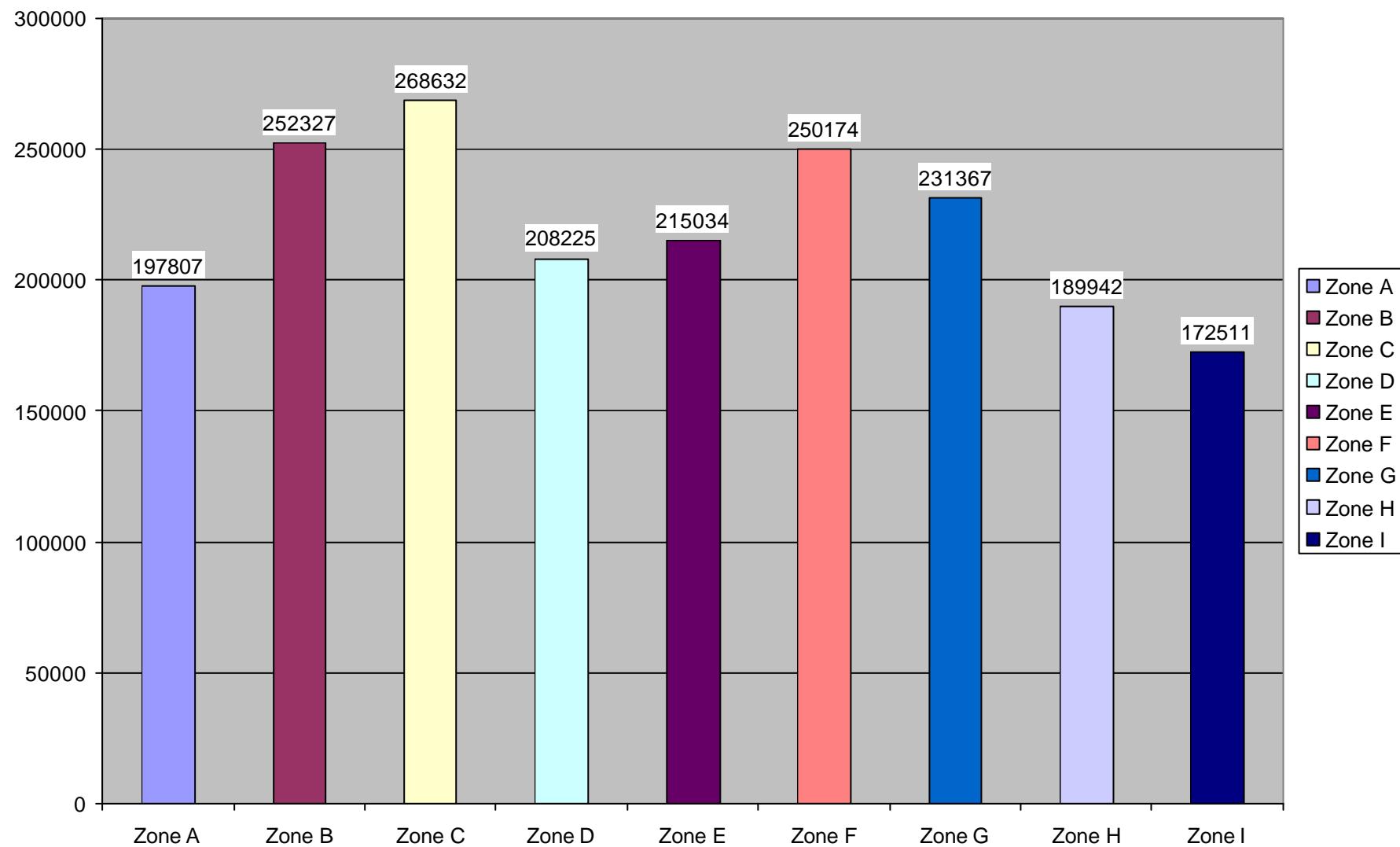
According to South Africa (2001:1), the population of Tshwane is close to 2 million people and the distribution of these people is mainly concentrated in four ward zones, namely Zones B, C, F and G. These four zones alone account for 50.5 percent of the city's population with 1 002 500 inhabitants and they include parts of Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane, Winterveld, Soshanguve, Mamelodi and Atteridgeville. The areas of old Pretoria, Pretoria East and Centurion, that is, Zones E, H and I, have a total population of 497 487 inhabitants or 25 percent of the city's population. The areas north of the Magaliesburg, included in zones A, B, C and D, have a total population of 926 991.

The CTMM (2004: 35) states that nearly 40 percent of the total population and an estimated two-thirds of the total black population are concentrated within the northern/north-western periphery settlements of Temba, Winterveldt, Soshanguve and Ga-Rankuwa. The South Africa (2001:1) data estimates that about 681 000 people with an estimated 145 000 households were living in these areas during the period of the count.

Chart 5.1 below demonstrates the total population per zone within the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

CHART 5.1: TOTAL TSHWANE POPULATION

TOTAL TSHWANE POPULATION= 1 986 019



5.3. METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Specific areas within the Tshwane Metropolitan area were selected from the available three administrative regions. The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is composed of three administrative regions, namely regions, 1, 2 and 3. Region 1 consists of three zones, zones A, B and C, region 2 has zones D, E, and F, while region 3 has G, H, and I. Owing to a large number of wards within the zones, only 34 wards were selected as a sample for the purposes of this study. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, the researcher selected four wards within each zone with the exception of zones F, H and I, where five wards were selected from zone F, two from zone H and three from zone I. The reason behind this is that zone F has a very high number of informal settlements/rural areas; zone H has one zone (48) with a combination of peri-urban and rural areas, while all the other wards are urban in nature; and zone I is completely urban. Most wards are composed of a combination of rural, urban and peri-urban areas, thus in each ward questionnaires were administered to four different areas, implying that the research targeted a total of eight (8) respondents (i.e. four officials and four community members). Exceptions were intentionally made for zone H, which is predominantly urban, thus only two wards, one with urban and another with rural areas, were selected and questionnaires were administered to areas within these wards randomly. In zone I, which is completely urban, only three wards were selected and questionnaires were randomly administered to respondents within these areas. Therefore a total of seventy questionnaires were produced for the purposes of being filled in by or interviewing respondents across all the zones. In line with table 5.1, a total of 70 questionnaires were expected back from the respondents.

The activities for research, ranging from reproducing copies of questionnaires for respondents; making appointments to personally deliver them to the zone liaison officers in their respective offices in the wards; administration of questionnaires, including persistent follow up and receiving them back, took a period of five months, from October 2003 to February 2004. Although a total of 70 questionnaires were administered, eighty (80) were returned. The researcher learnt that some zone liaison officers reproduced additional copies for respondents who needed to fill in questionnaires as well, hence the increase to 80 (see Table 5.2).

The questionnaires were designed in such a manner that they started by establishing the availability/ non availability of specific services within the wards, then determined the interaction created by the availability/ non availability of such a service between the rural and urban areas. A questionnaire was also designed for officials responsible for the planning regions within the

Municipality. The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has eight planning regions, and regions 1, 2 and 5 were identified as those with a combination of rural and urban areas. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, the CTMM (2003: 19) indicates that region 1 consists of Soshanguve, Akasia and Winterveldt; region 2 of Hammanskraal, Eastern Soshanguve and Bon Accord; while region 5 is comprised of Centurion, Olivenhoutbosch and Crocodile River. A coordinator was appointed to be responsible for each zone, thus only three respondents were expected to respond to the questionnaires. Only one coordinator from region 5 responded, despite following up with the others on several occasions, thus however important, the views of one respondent could not be used and generalised to other selected regions. Therefore the results are not presented here.

Table 5.1 below depicts the zones selected for the purposes of this dissertation and the regions in which they are clustered, as well as the sampling procedure. The table reflects the total number of questionnaires prepared for distribution in each zone. A map of the Tshwane ward regions and zones (attached as Annexure E) clearly shows where the different areas are located in Tshwane. These should be used as references for the sectoral analysis.

TABLE 5.1: WARDS SELECTED FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES WITHIN THE CTMM

REGION	ZONES	TOTAL WARDS	SELECTED WARDS	WARD NUMBER, NAMES OF AREAS IN THE WARD & TYPE	MIN. NO.WARD MEMBERS	MIN. NO. COMMUNITY MEMBERS	GRAND TOTAL
1	A	8	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13: Nuwe Eersterus (Blocks A, B, C, D, E, F1, F2, F3, F4) (peri-urban and rural) • 24: Kromkuil/Winterveldt (peri-urban and rural) • 74: Temba (Rent view, Park 18, Winnie's square) (urban/peri-urban and rural) • 75: Unit D, Unit D extension, Leboneng, Selosesha, Chris Hani, Chris Hani view, Unit 7, Tambo village (urban/peri-urban and rural) 	4	4	8
	B	9	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12: Winterveldt (Klippa South, Loate) (rural) • 19: Mabopane (Central view and Zone EW), (urban/peri-urban/informal settlement) • 22/24: Mabopane/Winterveldt, Botshabelo (peri-urban/informal settlement) • 30: Garankuwa (Zone 16 and 17), Skierlik (peri-urban/informal settlement) 	4	4	8

TABLE 5.1: WARDS SELECTED FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES WITHIN THE CTMM

REGION	ZONES	TOTAL WARDS	SELECTED WARDS	WARD NUMBER, NAMES OF AREAS IN THE WARD & TYPE	MIN. NO.WARD MEMBERS	MIN. COMMUNITY MEMBERS	NO.	GRAND TOTAL
	C	9	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11: Soshanguve Block JJ; HH & GG (peri-urban/rural) • 25: Soshanguve Block T extension; Block V extension; and Soutpan farms (peri-urban/rural) • 35: Soshanguve Block M; Extension H and M (peri-urban/rural) • 36: Soshanguve Block L; Extension L and Basserzone (peri-urban/rural) 	4	4		8
2	D	7	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2: Pretoria North (farms/rural), Theresa Park (urban) • 4: Soshanguve South; Ext. 8, 9 & 10 (informal settlements) • 5: Montana, Doornpoort farms (urban/ rural) • 49: Mandela Village, Chris Hani and Kanana Village (informal settlements) 	4	4		8
	E	9	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1: Pretoria Gardens (western side) (urban) • 38/43: Mamelodi Sun Valley (hostels and formal houses), Eersterus (peri-urban) • 40: De Wilgers, Nellmapius (rural/peri-urban) • 53: Gezina (urban) 	4	4		8

TABLE 5.1: WARDS SELECTED FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES WITHIN THE CTMM

REGION	ZONES	TOTAL WARDS	SELECTED WARDS	WARD NUMBER, NAMES OF AREAS IN THE WARD & TYPE	MIN. NO.WARD MEMBERS	MIN. NO. COMMUNITY MEMBERS	GRAND TOTAL
	F	9	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10: Ext 6, 22, 12, 4; Ikageng, RDP zone (rural/peri-urban) • 15: Phase 1 (informal settlement), SNS (peri-urban) Selbourne side, sections 12,13,14,15 (urban) • 28: Naledi, Moretele View (urban) • 67: Sun Valley, B1, B2, B3, C1, C2 (urban) • 6: D1, D2, D3, D5, C3 (urban) 	4	4	8
3	G	9	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7: Brazzaville & Schurveberg (informal settlement), Lotus Garden (peri-urban), • Crocodile river, Kameeldrift (rural) • Danville (urban) • 51: Oustad, Ten Morgen (peri-urban) • 63: Selbourne side (Matebeeleng, Saulridge, hostel) • 72: Jeffsville, Black Rock (peri-urban), 	4	4	8
	H	8	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 48: Olivenhoutbosch, (peri-urban & rural areas) Mooiplaas, Itireleng, Laezonia, Gerardsville, Mnandi and Heuweloord (urban) • 64: Rooihuiskraal, The Reeds (urban) 	4	4	8

TABLE 5.1: WARDS SELECTED FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES WITHIN THE CTMM

REGION	ZONES	TOTAL WARDS	SELECTED WARDS	WARD NUMBER, NAMES OF AREAS IN THE WARD & TYPE	MIN. NO.WARD MEMBERS	MIN. NO. COMMUNITY MEMBERS	GRAND TOTAL
	I	8	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 44: Faerie Glen (urban) • 45: Moreleta Park (urban) • 46: Menlyn (urban) 	3	3	6
TOTALS	9	76	34	34			GRAND TOTAL
				Total questionnaires <u>expected</u> back from respondents for purposes of this dissertation = 70	35	35	70

The statistics for the total number of questionnaires received from all respondents are reflected in table 5.2 below:

Table 5.2: Total number of questionnaires received from respondents in the Tshwane Metropolitan area

Region	Zones	Total received from ward members	Total from community members	Grand total	Total received from each region
1	A	6	5	11	Region 1 =23
	B	3	6	9	
	C	1	2	3	
Total		10	13	23	
2	D	24	2	26	Region 2 =43
	E	4	7	11	
	F	1	5	6	
Total		29	14	43	
3	G	2	2	4	Region 3 =14
	H	2	5	7	
	I	2	1	3	
Total		6	8	14	
Grand total		45	35	80	80

The analysis that follows below represents the perceptions of a sample of eighty respondents from selected zones in the Tshwane Metropolitan area.

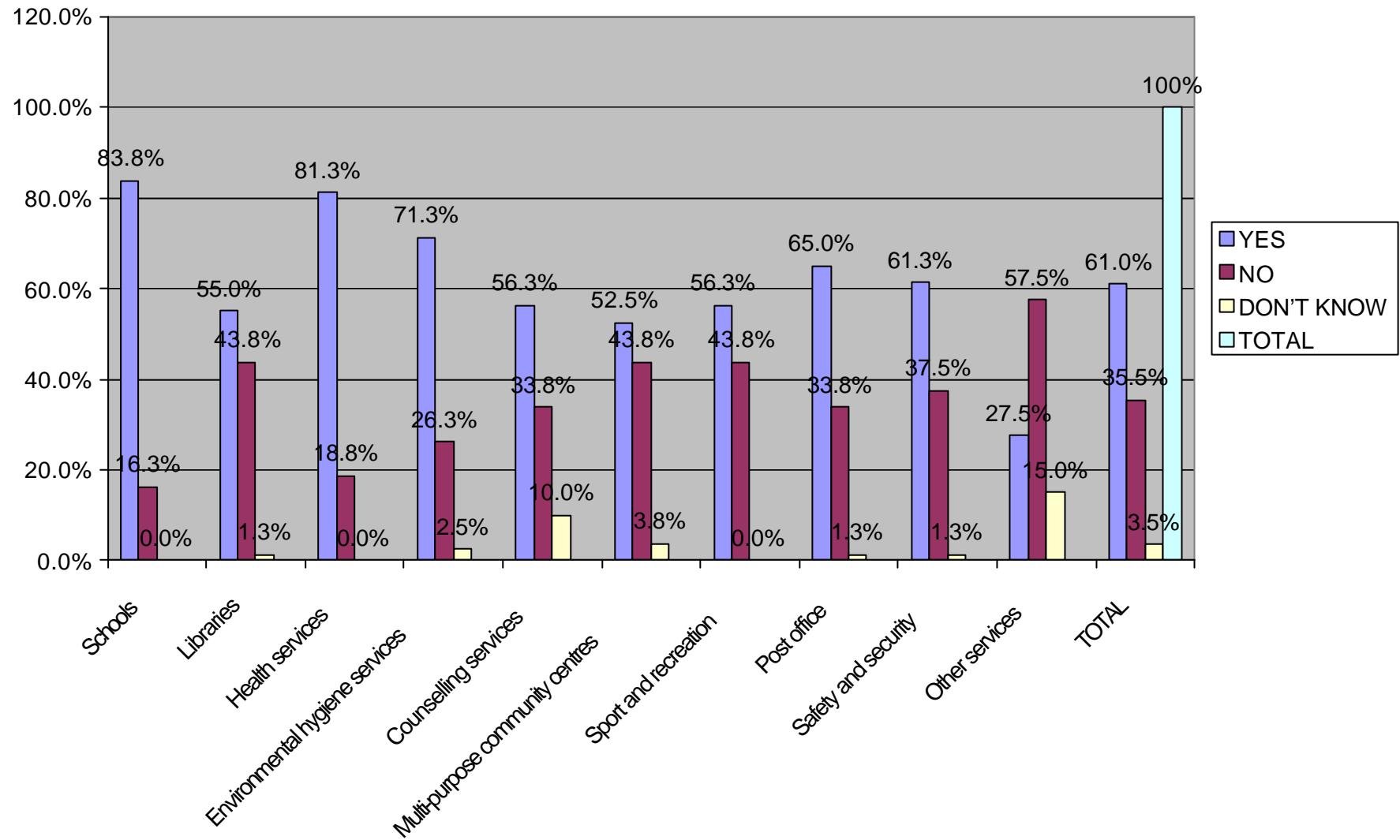
5.4. SECTORAL ANALYSIS: RESPONSES FROM QUESTIONNAIRES

The key question asked for purposes of this research is "whether the following services facilities/institutions are available within your area?". The response could either be a 'Yes'; 'No' or 'Don't know', and provide remarks where necessary, prompting them to indicate which other areas they interact with and the nature of the interface. The researcher needs to indicate that some respondents attached more pages to the questionnaire so that they could motivate their responses better. The remarks are also captured in this chapter. Most questions asked through the questionnaire are similar, however, there were some variations. In cases where different questions were posed to only ward or community members, a separate chart and analysis is provided and clearly entitled under each sector.

5.4.1. Social factors: Ward and community member's responses

CHART 5.2: SOCIAL FACTORS

SOCIAL FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES



5.4.1.1. Schools

Chart 5.2 above indicates that 83.8 percent of respondents are aware of the schools available in their wards, though 16.3 percent still indicate a lack of these facilities.

In the education sector, schools, tertiary and other training institutions are available within zones. Respondents acknowledge the adequate provision of schools by government within the zones at primary, secondary/middle and high school levels, as well as the availability of private schools (i.e. pre-primary/crèches and schools). These schools generally accommodate learner from local and neighbouring/surrounding rural and urban areas. Students also interact at a tertiary level in various educational institutions. Thus learner and students from different wards interact from pre-primary school up to high school level.

Most schools admit learners irrespective of colour or creed. Although some local learners attend school in their wards, others attend schools in other wards in the neighbouring peri-urban areas and in the cities. Thus the interaction at the educational level in the Tshwane Metropolitan area in the selected zones is between learner from the rural and peri-urban areas, rural and urban and peri- and urban areas, as well as between urban-urban areas. The following examples bear witness. Learner from ward 74 attend school at, amongst others, Reneilwe, Lefofa and Itireleng primary schools, Kgetse-ya-tsie and Tsebe-ntlha middle schools, Ratshepo and PHL Moraka high schools, as well as tertiary institutions, for example Temba manpower centre. However, there are those students who attend schools within the city of Pretoria. Responses from questionnaires indicate that ward 19 (zone EW informal settlement) still lacks schools thus learner attend schools in the neighbouring areas, and examples include Fatlhogang, Sun Valley, Selelo, Letlotlo and Morula primary schools, as well as at Setumo middle school located in zone B. Zone C has a school for disabled children and admits learner indiscriminately. Responses indicate that zone F (i.e. Mamelodi) learner attend school in neighbouring urban areas such as Villieria, Queenswood, Gezina, East Lynne and Pretoria. They travel to and from school and interact with learner and teachers from other wards. Tertiary education is offered to students at the Technicon Northern Gauteng (TNG) where students from different zones interact with those from other provinces as well.

On the one hand, schools in some urban areas only admit learners in zones as defined by the school's criteria. They admit learners who live in areas surrounding the schools, but do not accommodate learners from neighbouring areas. Thus, in such cases, there is no interface between the learners in

the urban and neighbouring rural/peri-urban areas. On the other hand, schools in the rural/peri-urban areas are more receptive to admitting learners from neighbouring rural areas. Thus learners from rural areas generally travel longer distances to access these educational facilities.

Teachers are also employed from inside and outside the wards according to the required competencies/their expertise and not strictly on the basis of areas from which they come. Therefore schools have a mixture of both rural and urban teachers from within and across the selected zones who are in constant interaction on a daily basis. Therefore there is much interaction within and across the zones between learners, students and teachers from rural/peri-urban and urban areas.

People from all the wards within the selected zones have access to Adult Basic Education Training (ABET) classes in their places of residence. In some instances, people from rural areas access these classes from neighbouring peri-urban\urban areas. These classes are offered to those adults who wish to study further at their convenience. The available ABET classes accommodate residents from local urban and rural areas in different wards, while some wards admit people from surrounding areas as well, bringing adults in constant interaction as they learn both from the teachers and each other.

There is a cross-pollination of skills within and across the zones as learners who are trained and educated in one zone may be employed locally or in other zones or even provinces; thus interaction takes place both in the educational and the employment sectors. This result in the skills learnt from one area benefiting the other and the observed movement is between rural, peri-urban and urban areas.

Some challenges were raised with regards to the provision of educational facilities. Respondents indicate a general level of satisfaction with the available schools in their areas. However, a concern raised was with regards to the condition of government schools as well as the lack of facilities at schools in that they need to be upgraded to better serve the interests of communities. Some respondents contend that there is satisfactory provision of schools that are easily accessible to community members in most urban wards, though other rural/peri-urban areas do not have local schools and as a result learners have to travel longer distances to other wards in order to access them. However, it is important to note that respondents reflect that there are learners who do not have access to educational opportunities at all, owing to the poor socio-economic status of their own families for example learners in wards 2 (Pretoria North farms) and 4 (Soshanguve South informal settlements, Ext 8, 9 and 10). Ward 2 had a school that has been closed, while ward 4 also has a limited supply of schools.

Respondents indicate that though ABET classes are available in the urban wards, there is a shortage of this service in most rural areas thus this service should also be properly provided for.

Responses on the schools in this zone G will be singled out to illustrate some of the challenges in the educational sector. Respondents indicate that schools are generally adequate in the peri-urban and urban areas but some schools are not utilised properly due to a movement of learners to other schools that offer subjects they prefer, for example Mathematics and Science. For instance, learners from Attridgeville/Saulsville attend schools at Lotus Garden, Pretoria West, and Pretoria city. Most learners require training in Mathematics and Science and owing to a lack of qualified teachers in some areas, these learners move to Bokgoni Technical School in Attridgeville. This school was meant to accommodate 1500 learners, but the intake has tripled such that some high schools are left vacant and end up accommodating primary school learners from within and outside the zone. Responses indicate that this school has accommodated most learners from the Walton and Kgolofelo Roman Catholic schools. Learners also attend schools in the neighbouring zones as well and they include Burger Right Primary, Pretoria West and Elandspoort high schools, as well as some schools in Valhalla. Learners from the informal settlements travel very long distances to attend schools in Attridgeville so that they can access classes in their home languages, that is, Zulu and Sotho. Most of these are primary school children. Generally, informal settlements lack schools that accommodate all the grades, thus learners travel to neighbouring urban areas to access educational facilities.

The CTMM (2004: 24) indicates the following level of education among community members: 47.4 percent possess between Grade 8 and 12 qualifications; 6.4 percent possess between Grade 12 and another certificate or diploma; 3.2 percent hold a bachelor's degree along with some other diploma or qualification; only 2 percent hold higher degrees, such as honours and master's degrees and doctorate qualifications. The CTMM (2004: 24) reflects that 16.4 percent of the Tshwane inhabitants either have no schooling or cannot be accounted for in Census 2001. The evidence presented leads to an assumption that some of the people have attended existing educational institutions within the Tshwane Metropolitan area, while others have acquired their qualifications in institutions outside Tshwane.

5.4.1.2. Libraries

Chart 5.2 above indicates that there is a 55.0 percent supply of libraries within the selected zones while a gap of 43.8 percent should still be filled in terms of provision of this service. 1.3 percent of those who responded do not have knowledge of libraries.

Respondents indicate that there are community libraries, including mobile libraries, in some wards and they service both rural and urban residents alike. Examples of these libraries include those located in ward 74 (Temba), ward 49 (Mandela Village), zone C (Soshanguve Block H and BB), zone G (Saulsville and Atteridgeville, both fully operational, accessible to urban, peri-urban and rural residents and servicing people from neighbouring zones at a membership fee of R50.00), and a mobile library in ward 40 (Nellmapius), for people who cannot access services from the urban areas. Other libraries are available in the cities, for example Pretoria Central, and the services are accessible to people inside and outside the boundaries of the Tshwane Metropolitan Area. The CTMM (2004: 113) acknowledges the availability of community libraries in the following areas: Akasia, Alkantrant, Atteridgeville, Bajabulile, Bodibeng, Brooklyn, Danville, East Lynne, Eersterus, Eldoraigne, Erasmia, Glenstantia, Hammanskraal, Hercules, Irene, Laudium, Lyttelton, Mayville, Moot, Mountain View, Olivenhoutbosch, Overkruin, Pierre van Ryneveld, Pretoria North, Rooihuiskraal, Saulsville, Silverton, Stanza Bopape, Valhalla, Waverley, West Park; Halala Information Centre, Mahlasedi Masana community/school library, Gatang community/school library, Depot services, Mid-City community library/Sammy Marks Square, Central community library and the Travelling library. These are located in various zones within the CTMM and provide services for residents of both rural and urban areas from within and outside the zones.

Much interaction is thus experienced at these libraries as people interact and share knowledge, experiences and skills, and exchange ideas in different areas of study and employment. Respondents state that libraries are available for use by both rural and urban residents. Community libraries are available in the urban areas where users interact on a daily basis, but people from rural areas where these services are not available access them from the urban areas by travelling longer distances. Mobile libraries are provided and reach out to communities that are located far from the existing library buildings.

Respondents acknowledged that there are still gaps in the delivery of libraries within the selected zones. For instance, community libraries are still lacking in zone A in areas such as Majaneng, Temba, Eersterus, Stinkwater, Kromkuil, Suurman and Sekampaneng. There are community libraries in most peri-urban and some rural areas. However, most rural areas and informal settlements do not have access to these services and those that can afford to do so travel long distances to access the service. Others cannot, due to either illiteracy or poor socio-economic status, for example unemployment and high costs charged by these institutions.

5.4.1.3. Health services

According to Chart 5.2 above, 81.3 percent of respondents acknowledge the availability of health services and express a general level of satisfaction with the provision of this service to communities. However, 18.8 percent of respondents believe much can still improve within the health sector.

According to the CTMM (2004: 91) the local government provides primary health care services in the Pretoria, Akasia and Centurion areas. The Gauteng Provincial Administration renders primary health care services in the Soshanguve and Hammanskraal areas, and the North West Provincial Administration in the Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane, Winterveldt (Odi District), Temba and Stinkwater (Moretele district) areas. The CTMM (2004: 91) acknowledges that the CTMM also renders environmental health services in the cross-border areas through an informal service level agreement with the North West Province. This fosters interaction between the CTMM and neighbouring provinces.

Respondents indicate that health centres are available within selected zones in the form of hospitals, clinics, private medical centres and mobile services. Examples of some hospitals and clinics include Jubilee Hospital located in Temba, Hammanskraal; Unitas Hospital; Rooihuiskraal and Olivenhoutbosch clinics; Kalafong in Attridgeville/Saulsville; Garankuwa Hospital in Garankuwa; Louis Pasteur; Pretoria Heart Hospital; Pretoria Academic Hospital, Medforum, Meulmed Hospital, and the Pretoria Gynaecological Hospital in Pretoria. Respondents indicate that these health centres are available and accessible to people in both the urban and rural areas, as well as those from other zones and provide services to residents located in different zones.

Health centres are available throughout the zones in different wards and provide medical services to people within and around the zones from both rural and urban areas. Clinics are available mostly in rural areas to provide local communities with primary health care services. However, respondents argue that most of these clinics are located far from rural communities, open for limited hours, are in a bad state of repair and lack the facilities needed to enable them to better serve the interests of communities. Those community members that are able to afford better services (and have medical aids) go to doctors of their choice to access better medical services, whilst the poor and frail, who cannot afford to even travel to other areas, are stuck with the poor services within their reach. Respondents indicate that owing to the high costs associated with medical treatment, most (critical) patients are referred to neighbouring government hospitals for medical attention, and these hospitals

also require serious improvement in staff, facilities and available medication. The situation in the urban wards is much better with adequate health care services that are easily accessible to people on a 24-hour basis. In some urban wards, training is also provided in first aid for those who are interested, however, much of these services still need to be made more accessible to people in the rural areas.

Owing to the lack of services in the rural and some peri-urban areas, there is an observed movement of people from rural areas travelling long distances to neighbouring urban areas to access (better) health services. For instance, ward 20 has clinics in Morula View, section D and U, and sick rural residents from ward EW and Sun Valley commute to ward 20 to get medical treatment. Furthermore, hospitals and clinics in Akasia, Rosslyn, Temba, Mabopane and Garankuwa, Montana and Pretoria North service the surrounding rural and urban areas as well. Mamelodi Hospital and several clinics located in different areas in Mamelodi (East, West, North and South) service rural and urban residents from all areas in the zone. In another example, respondents indicate that health services are available mostly in Silverton, Mamelodi, Gezina, Pretoria Gardens, Eersterus and Nellmapius. However, Nellmapius only has a one-day clinic that caters for maternity services, children and specific ailments only. People here have to travel to neighbouring areas to get access to medical services. Several clinics are available in the informal settlements and in Attridgeville and Saulsville, that is, along the main road that divides Ext. 6 and 7 in Jeffsvilles' RDP section, and these include the Vhembe Clinic in Saulsville and Sedibeng Clinic in Attridgeville. Kalafong Hospital services both rural and urban residents within and outside the zone, for example Centurion, Laudium, Lotus Garden, Pretoria West, Attridgeville, Saulsville, informal settlements and rural areas. The situation in the townships/peri-urban areas is such that available health care centres provide services to patients within and across the zones. Residents of the illegal informal settlements, for example in zone G, at Brazzaville and Siyahlalala, do not receive these services, but access them from neighbouring areas when required.

Those residents that can afford to use private hospitals/clinics in other areas and examples include Louis Pasteur Hospital in Pretoria, Akasia Clinic in Akasia and Legae Private Clinic in Mabopane. There are private medical centres available in various wards, which provide 24-hour medical services to people requiring medical attention. These centres provide services to rural and urban areas alike depending on their level of affordability. Private surgeries are mostly available in peri-urban and urban areas and are utilised by those who can afford services at the rates charged by those private centres. Therefore, the rural, peri-urban and urban communities are in constant interaction with each other as they access medical services at different centres.

The available mobile clinics reach out and make primary health care services more accessible to those communities who cannot afford to travel to areas where the health care centres are located. Respondents provided the following examples: mobile clinics in ward 74 in Temba; and ward 48 in Olivenhoutbosch; Malahleng Block B Mabopane; as well as the mobile X-ray service in ward 40, Nellmapius.

Respondents indicate that the national and provincial Departments of Health collaborate/form a partnership with the local council in the provision of health services and campaigns on HIV/Aids, TB and other communicable diseases. It is noted that events of this nature are held in the urban areas because they have better facilities than their rural counterparts for hosting such events. However, the organising officials invite the participation of local residents and people from the neighbouring rural and peri-urban areas, thereby bringing rural and urban residents into interaction with each other. HIV/Aids campaigns are aimed at educating people on the facts and prevention of HIV/Aids, as well as caring for people infected and affected by HIV/Aids; and these campaigns cover both rural and urban areas. Volunteers are also teaching people about the prevention of HIV/Aids and the care of people infected and affected by HIV/Aids. Some of these programmes are synchronised with provincial and national events, to the benefit of rural and urban people in the zone. Some zones, for example zone C, have an Aids centre that services residents from local and neighbouring areas. In addition, respondents state that there are community outreach programmes for terminally ill people, for example HOSPERSA in zone G, and they service the entire zone. HIV\Aids education and other health services are obtained from specific centres, for example health care centres and the multipurpose community centres/shopping malls, and these services are available to all. In some wards, HIV\Aids services are provided at clinics and hospitals, and are thus accessible to those who visit these centres. Residents from peri-urban/rural areas mostly access these services from their surrounding urban areas, therefore services of this nature need to be made more available to rural communities. Some respondents indicate that the local council has a strategy for dealing with HIV/Aids within the zones, while other did not know of such a strategy.

The CTMM has the Tshwane HIV/AIDS strategy that is aligned to the provincial and national strategies and it was updated based on the four pillars of HIV/AIDS management (CTMM 2004: 424). This strategy is linked to the HIV/AIDS programme that serves to respond to the pandemic successfully. The four pillars include the ‘effective management and financing structures, systems and processes; effective HIV/AIDS to the local communities; multi-sectoral solutions and co-ordinating and integrating responses to the epidemic by external parties; as well as managing the

impact of the epidemic on the Municipality itself in terms of employee support programmes, in order to minimise the impact of the epidemic (CTMM 2004: 424).

The CTMM is aware of the fact that more than 200 000 of its inhabitants are infected with HIV and that many more will become infected if the tide is not turned (CTMM 2004: 423). It indicates that the socio-economic and cultural life of the community will be severely damaged, through which the community as a whole will be subjected to sorrow and suffering. The Municipality is concerned with the distress the epidemic will cause the local communities, and thus, is committed to protecting and serving the local communities through entering into partnerships with non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and community structures in its quest to fight this pandemic.

The key deliverables identified include the following; 'capacity building and training sessions; annual HIV/AIDS calendar and awareness campaigns; prevention services such as condom distribution, treatment of sexually transmitted infections (STI's), and the roll-out of voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) and prevention of mother to child transmission (PMTCT) (CTMM 2004: 424). In addition care services provided include primary health care services, at Municipal and Provincial clinics and home-based care services through networks and partnerships with government departments and NGO's.

5.4.1.4. Environmental hygiene services

Chart 5.2 above indicate that 71.3 percent of respondents are generally satisfied with the provision of environmental hygiene services, 26.3 percent still expect an improvement, while 2.5 percent do not know if such services exist.

Training in environmental management services is mainly given to local council officials who are responsible for the cleaning and maintenance of the environment. People from both rural and urban areas are employed to service the zones. Interested community members are also trained in environmental management services, such as caring for the environment, disaster management, cleaning of streets, parks and so on and both rural, peri-urban and urban residents benefit from the services rendered. Respondents indicate that ward 2 (Pretoria North) residents have access to fire brigade training in Rosslyn, and people in ward 49 (Mandela Village) access their training in Moretele Gardens. In some areas, for example ward 53 (Gezina), there are community service groups that are trained to care for the environment, while in other areas local council officials care

for the environment especially in the urban wards. Some respondents assert that although training of this nature is given to people, most of the people (on completion of training) are posted to service urban environments, that is, city, towns and townships, and while a few are seen along the main roads that divide rural and urban areas, none are seen in the rural areas. The CTMM (2004: 449) has an air quality management strategy that serves to monitor air pollution, diesel vehicles, and smoking of tobacco products. It reflects that the municipality had already conducted air monitoring within the CTMM and about 68% samples were produced and recommendations for corrective measures issued, and the noise disturbances (about 60 percent) have been investigated and rectified CTMM (2004: 92).

Generally, respondents feel that there are no environmental management services, for example training in environmental awareness and disaster management in the wards that are predominantly rural. People in rural areas have to travel to urban centres to access this type of training. For instance, most areas in ward 4, for example Soshanguve Extensions 8, 9, 10 and 12, do not have access to these services. Therefore, this movement creates an interaction between rural and urban people as they attend training at the designated centres. It is however unclear whether these same people get employed by local or neighbouring industries/companies. Some of the branches of the University of Pretoria available within the selected zones give training in environmental management services to people from rural and urban areas alike.

The CTMM (2004: 448) indicates that seminars and congresses are organised for people to attend on environmental health. In addition, in terms of food and water, they enforce bi-laws on slaughtering of livestock outside a formal abattoir, conduct cholera sampling, food and water sampling, seizure of food, and selling of game. Thus far, about 40 percent of the food premises are issued with certificates of acceptability in terms of R918, and 71 percent of water related complaints investigated and rectified.

5.4.1.4. Counselling services

Chart 5.2 above reflects that 56.3 percent of the respondents are generally satisfied with the provision of counselling services, though 33.8 percent are not happy with the availability of these services within the zones. The remaining 10 percent says it is not aware of the availability of such services at all,

Counselling services are available in the selected zones and they service people in different wards in accordance with their needs and ability to pay. Counselling services, for example social workers and psychologists, psychiatrists and other practitioners, are mostly located in clinics and hospitals in some urban wards and cater for clients from rural and urban areas. Some of these professionals are located in private medical centres while others have their own private practices. People are assisted with a variety of services including social welfare grants for pensioners, child care, child maintenance and maintenance grants, disability grants, and counselling.

Social workers and psychologists see clients from all areas in the zone, although some of these services are less accessible to poor communities that reside far from their offices, as well as those residents who wish to but cannot afford the consultation fees charged by private practitioners. Thus people from rural/peri-urban areas are obliged to travel longer distances to access the services provided by government, thereby fostering interaction between rural and urban residents.

According to the respondents' views, the following bears witness: social workers, psychologists and other practitioners are located in Jubilee Hospital in Temba. However, there is still a lack of delivery of this service because these professionals service many areas and do not seem to be able to cope with their caseloads. In addition, respondents feel that there should be an increase in the number of social welfare officials, increased efficiency in the delivery of social security (pension and child care grants) and the removal of corrupt officials from these offices. In Soshanguve, the Jabulani Welfare Complex is used as a place of safety and some cases of child abuse are also referred there. Social workers and psychologists, and a trauma centre, are located in Soshanguve Block H and are open to all areas; however, the interaction between rural and urban residents takes place in the urban context since people from neighbouring rural areas travel to urban areas to access this service. Respondents contend that counselling services are not in place in some rural areas. For instance, in Nellmapius counselling services are only available at Extension 1, and a concern raised is that an enabling environment to accommodate these types of service has not been created by the local council. In Mamelodi, counselling services are available in Mini-Munitoria, Khulani in Mamelodi West, as well as private practices located in various wards. Counselling services, both government and privately owned, are available in Attridgeville and Saulsville, as well as in Tshwane East, and service those who can afford them, irrespective of the areas from which they come fostering interface between people from different zones.

According to the CTMM (2004: 117), the available service centres for social welfare are located in Pretoria, Centurion and Akasia. In Pretoria, there are three social welfare offices situated at Sanlam Plaza East, Mini-Munitoria in Atteridgeville and Mamelodi. The Atteridgeville Old Age Home is owned by the city council. In Centurion, there are two offices, one on the premises of the Centurion Town Council and the other in Olivenhoutbosch. In Akasia, the community developer falls under the Economic Development Department and is responsible for projects in small business and marketing. It should be noted that there are areas that do not have service centres for the delivery of social welfare services, and these include Winterveldt, Stinkwater, Temba, Pienaarsrivier, Ga-Rankuwa and Mabopane and such facilities need to be planned and budgeted for. These areas are serviced by the Gauteng Department of Welfare. According to the CTMM (2004: 118), developmental Social Work services were rendered in the former Pretoria area, comprising of care for the aged; old age homes, social clubs for the elderly; early childhood development; re-schools; outreach programmes; registration of the indigent and skills training projects. Some of the life skills projects funded by the Gauteng Department of Social Services include home-based care; candle making; sewing; feeding scheme; and vegetable gardens (CTMM 2004: 118). The North West Department of Social Services renders services to the cross boarder areas, and the services include poverty alleviation through flagship projects; encourage and support volunteerism; child and family care.

5.4.1.5. Multi-purpose community centres

Chart 5.2 reflects that 52.5 percent of respondents are satisfied with the existing multi-purpose community centres (MPCCs) within the selected zones. However, 43.8 percent still expect a concerted effort in various zones towards the development of MPCCs. 3.8 percent of respondents are not aware of the existence of MPCCs in the zones.

Respondents acknowledge the existence of MPCCs in all the selected zones, although most of them are located in the urban/peri-urban areas. Respondents reflect that wards 74 (Temba), 24 (Mabopane/Winterveldt) and 49 (Mandela Village) have existing MPCCs that service the neighbouring areas of wards 8, 13, 14, 74, 24, 73, 75, 76 and 49, which do not have the services at this stage. MPCCs in Ga-Rankuwa and Mabopane (zone B) serve as service centres for the neighbouring rural and urban areas. There are MPCCs that service people in and around zone C such as those in Montana, Akasia, Rosslyn, Hammanskraal, Pretoria North and Soshanguve. Zone G does not have an MPCC but there is a commercial centre located in Skhamorogo/Jimmy Centre in Saulsville/Attridgeville that draws many residents from within and outside the zone. The Mamelodi

MPCC located at Denneboom station (zone F) services the informal settlements such as the RDP zone, Ikageng, Extensions 6, 22, 12 and 4, Phase 1, SNS and adjacent urban areas such as Sun Valley, and Extensions D2, B1, and B3, although some rural and urban residents prefer to use the MPCC in neighbouring Silverton. Zone E has MPCCs in Gezina, Eersterus and Pretoria Gardens. Nelmapius (zone E) has no MPCC and as a result people travel and access these services from Mamelodi, while some residents also access required services from Pretoria. Thus interaction is observed between the city-town-township and rural areas. In zone H, both urban and rural residents have access to services at different MPCCs located in Olivenhoutbosch, The Reeds, Rooihuiskraal, Wierda Park, Centurion City, Midrand, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Heuweloord. There are MPCCs/shopping malls located in different areas, for example Menlyn, and they service areas such as Lynnwood, Garsfontein, Faerie Glen and surrounding areas. Actually, wards 42, 44, 45, 46, and 47 serve as service centres for the neighbouring urban and rural wards.

There is still a dire need for the development of these MPCCs in some peri-urban and rural areas as this would inject some economic vibrancy and draw people to these areas as well. People from some informal settlements and rural areas travel long distances to these centres to access services according to their needs.

There is much interaction observed at these MPCCs between residents from the urban, peri-urban\small town\township and rural areas. The observation made by respondents is that residents of both rural and urban areas interact at these centres for different reasons, for example shopping, social, business meetings and transactions at different institutions, fun and entertainment as well as restaurants. All these economic hubs serve as service centres for neighbouring urban and rural areas, thus drawing scores of rural and urban residents into constant interaction within their boundaries.

5.4.1.6. Sport and recreation

Chart 5.2 indicate that 56.3 percent of the respondents are generally satisfied with the available sport and recreation facilities, while 43.8 percent believe that there are zones that still lack basic sporting facilities.

Sporting and recreational facilities are available in all the selected zones. These include stadiums for various sporting codes, smaller soccer fields, parks, indoor sports centres, a man-made beach, hotels

and casinos, nature reserves, zoo, squash centres, gyms, ice-skating facilities, tennis courts, swimming pools and entertainment centres.

According to respondents, the following are available within the various wards. In zone A, wards 74, 24, 74, 75 have stadiums, smaller soccer fields, parks, a man-made beach at Temba and the Carousel Sun International and Casino hotel. Sport and recreational facilities are available in the form of parks, indoor sports centres and stadiums at Garankuwa and Mabopane Block D, M and U as well as in zones A, EW and CV. Responses indicate that there are soccer fields, a squash centre (i.e. in Orchards), a gym and ice-skating facilities (Montana) in zone D. Soccer stadiums and parks located in wards 15 (Mamelodi phase 1) and 67 (Sun Valley) draw more rural and urban residents to socialise and form some kind of relationships, and interact during practices and/or tournaments for different sporting codes. The Mbolekwa and Super stadiums, the neighbouring Iscor stadium, Makhaza sports grounds, although located in the urban and peri-urban areas of zone G, are key areas where people in and outside the zone meet to socialise as they enjoy events organised at these venues. At school level interaction between local and outside learners is mostly experienced at the sports grounds during interschool visits through participation in various sporting codes.

Most of these facilities are located in the urban areas and most informal settlements and rural areas still lack these services, and have to travel to access those in the neighbouring urban areas. For instance, sports and recreational facilities are still lacking in rural areas like Eersterus, Stinkwater, Temba, Suurman Majaneng, Dilopye, Lephengville, Marokolong and Ramotse. Thus communities in both rural and peri-urban areas establish parks and soccer grounds for use by the local people in interaction with those from within and outside their areas. These smaller community grounds serve as a place for socialisation and bring people from rural and neighbouring areas together during local soccer matches and other social activities. In addition, there are small soccer fields in some wards, established by community members particularly for the development of local talent and for hosting local matches. These mini-tournaments are organised for competition between the local rural and neighbouring urban areas. Much interaction at a social level is experienced. The community grounds available in the rural and peri-urban areas are never upgraded or maintained by the local council as they have been established by community members.

Sports and recreational facilities are available in urban, peri-urban and rural areas. They enable much interaction during matches/tournaments, practices and events organised for various sporting codes such as soccer, rugby, cricket, netball, softball, volleyball, and squash at these venues. Sports and

recreation facilities have been observed to be a major source of interaction between rural and urban residents as witnessed mostly during organised matches, fun practices of different sporting codes, and other functions or musical events organised by either the local council or residents at various venues, although some venues are said not to be properly maintained and thus not safe to use. However, much interaction happens in the urban areas to which rural people have to travel to gain access to the required sports facilities.

The entertainment centres located in different wards, for example Morula Sun International Hotel and Casino located in zone B, Mabopane, the Carousel Sun International Hotel and Casino entertainment world located in zone A, Temba, as well as various holiday resorts draw people from other areas or even provinces, creating much interaction at the local level, across the zones and at interprovincial levels. Thus people from within and outside the Tshwane Metropolitan area, from as far afield as other provinces and countries, use the casinos and hotels available in the zones , for fun and entertainment purposes.

Some residents (presumably beach lovers) prefer to visit the manmade Temba beach (in ward 74) which has been created along the banks of the Apies River and draws people from the local and neighbouring areas for picnics and socialising with friends. At the community level, there is a high level of interaction at functions organised by, for example jazz dubs, stokvels, parties, burial societies and kitchen parties, and other social clubs. In some areas, cultural events, including initiation schools, bring people from rural and other communities together. There is much interaction between residents from rural and urban areas during festivals/musical/cultural events organised at these venues, as one community member puts it “fun sees no boundary”.

5.4.1.7. Post offices

According to chart 5.2 above 65 percent of the respondents are happy with the available post offices. However, 33.8 percent still require the provision of this service, while 1.3 percent of respondents have not yet seen a post office in their areas (and use those in neighbouring areas) and thus do not know whether the service exists or not.

Respondents indicate that there are post offices in all the selected zones that are being regularly used by people from the local and neighbouring areas. Effective postal and telecommunication services, for example mail, public telephones and cellular phone outlets, are made available by various service

providers such as the post office, Telkom, Vodacom, MTN, and Cell C to people from the zones and these facilitate commutation between rural and urban areas. However, most post offices are located in the urban and peri-urban areas, thus people from the rural areas have to travel to utilise the services. Newspaper articles are distributed to residents' houses to keep them abreast of matters in their and other zones. Much interaction is experienced between rural and urban areas through postal and telecommunication services, such as letters, telephones, cellphones and faxes. The Moretele Community Radio Station available in zone A has been identified as a mouthpiece for the community in terms of events and updates on issues that affect communities within the zone. It also fosters interaction among communities that can access it in both rural and urban areas.

5.4.1.8. Safety and security services

Chart 5.2 shows that 61.3 percent of the respondents are satisfied with the safety and security services available in the zones, while 37.5 percent feel more services should be made available and 1.3 percent are not particularly aware of the provision of this service in their areas.

According to the City of Tshwane (2004: 100) the following services are rendered in all 76 Tshwane wards : policing of traffic matters, policing of municipal by-laws and prevention of crime. Some of the challenges and needs as identified by ward committees include increasing levels of crime, general safety of community members, lack of crime prevention measures, long reaction time, unsafe service points, general safety at schools, crime due to squatters, unregulated informal traders, domestic violence, un-maintained open spaces, lack of community involvement as well as investigations on council's properties (CTMM 2004: 100). The Crime Prevention Strategy of the Tshwane Metro Police Department is said to coincide with the National Crime Prevention Strategy, and serves to address the unacceptably high crime levels in the city in accordance with statutory obligations on a 24-hour basis across all 76 wards.

Respondents indicate that police stations are available mostly in urban and peri-urban areas and service local and neighbouring communities. However, there should be provision of safety and security services in the rural and some peri-urban areas. There are zones with fewer police stations, which are expected to cover many wards, and this makes service delivery a mammoth and risky task for police officers. In some instances, police officers are not able to keep up with the ever-soaring caseloads, and this contributes to, amongst other things, a delay in the finalisation of some cases that

seem to drag for a very long period, much to the disgust of community members. A general concern raised with regards to police stations is the proper training of police officers on the policies, regulations and procedures pertaining to their area of work to enable them to execute their duties effectively. Some respondents contend that police officers, especially in the rural and some peri-urban areas, cannot write and therefore cannot take statements properly. The officers also lack the spirit of *Batho Pele* as people on the coalface of service delivery owing to the appauling treatment they mete out to the general public. They are seen to be failing in protecting and serving communities properly because they always complain about the government cars allocated to their stations when cases are reported that require immediate attention. The cars are either insufficient or requiring maintenance and this hampers the process of curbing crime effectively in their areas of responsibility.

Respondents argue that the child protection units also need strengthening to enable police officers to deal with caseloads of child abuse and handle them properly. This service should be introduced in areas where they are lacking to militate against the escalating prevalence and effects of child abuse on communities. Perpetrators should also be apprehended and children protected appropriately.

To ensure the safety and security of learners at schools, there are signs and scholar patrol designated areas in urban and peri-urban areas, which control access to various schools at specific times. Both rural and urban learners attending these urban schools benefit from this service. The same facility should be made available to learners attending schools in the rural areas at specific designated crossing areas.

The CTMM (2004: 100) argues that several metro police departments/stations have been developed and or upgraded and service neighbouring areas as well. For instance, the regional offices in Hammanskraal, Region 2, have been completed and will meet the huge need of wards, 13, 14, 49, 73, 74, 75 and 76. These areas are composed of a combination of rural, peri-urban and urban areas and people from these areas are in constant interaction as they access services provided by the Tshwane Metro Police departments. The CTMM (2004: 101) acknowledges that there are challenges facing the effective delivery of services within the wards. It mentions, amongst other things, the following initiatives that Tshwane Metro Police departments should embark on to positively impact on service delivery. The acquisition of improved crime prevention and law enforcement equipment; and the closed circuit television project aimed at reducing crime in the central business district (CBD) and Sunnyside through the monitoring of crime hotspots in these areas. Furthermore, the police departments should, after the regionalisation process, deploy more personnel to the regions for visible policing, effective and efficient service delivery closer to communities, provide personnel

with training and utilise them optimally and effectively. Equipping them with the necessary skills would accelerate quality service delivery. Partnerships should be formed between police and business, tourism, resident associations and communities. In addition, representatives of metro police and the South African Police Service (SAPS) should serve on ward committees and ward councillors should be involved in Community Policing Forums (CPF).

5.4.1.9. Other social services (not mentioned in the questionnaire)

Provision was made for respondents to mention other social services (not mentioned in the questionnaire) that are available in the wards. Though 57.5 percent of the respondents felt that all the available services had been covered by the questionnaire, and 15 percent did not know of any service not mentioned, 27.5 percent felt that more delivery is still required particularly with respect to social welfare grants, old age homes, and shelters for pensioners. They argue that there are still long queues at unsafe pay points under unpleasant weather conditions that endanger the lives of the elderly.

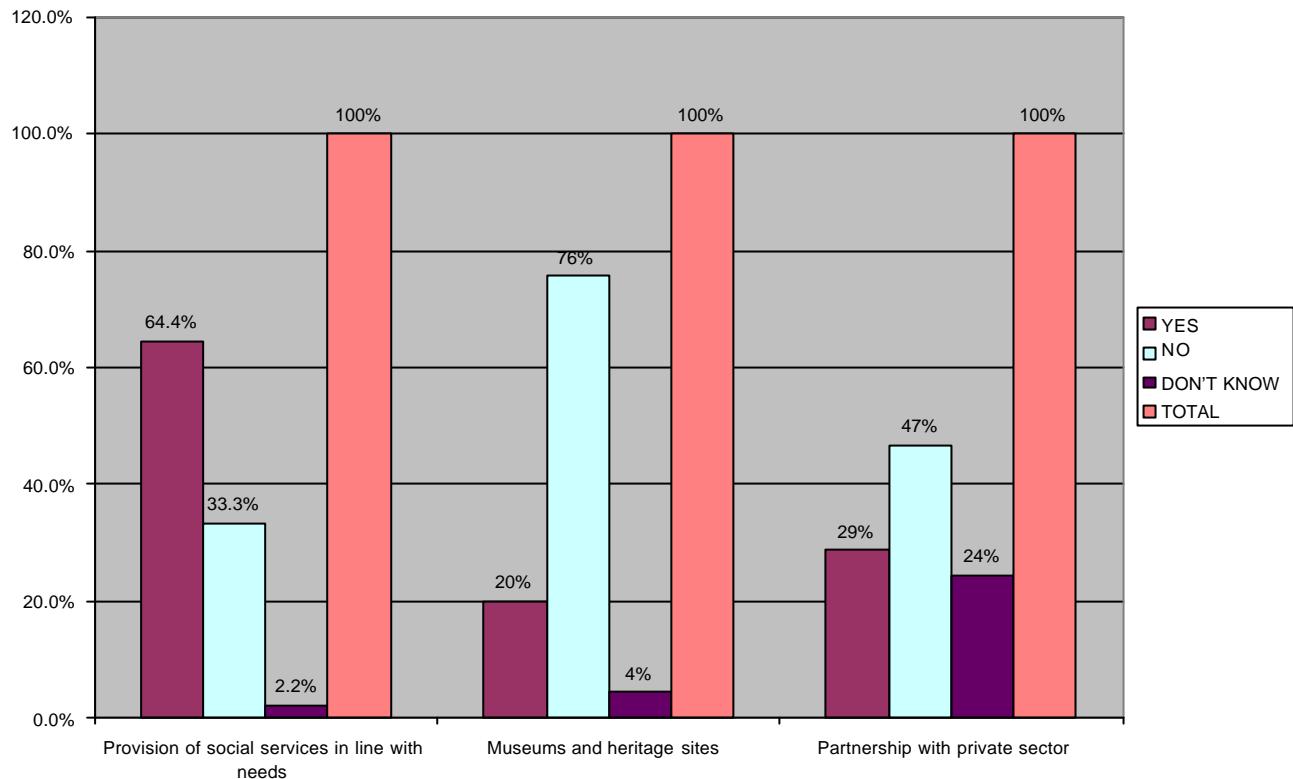
Overall, 61 percent regard the provision of social services within the Tshwane Metropolitan area as satisfactory; while a total of 35.5 percent believe these services are not adequate and hence expect more. Only 3.5 percent of respondents were not aware or were unsure of the availability/provision of services, especially in some of the rural areas and/or townships.

5.4.1.10. Social sector: ward member's responses only

Although the questionnaires were mostly uniform, there were questions that were intentionally directed at ward members to gather official information that an ordinary community member might not have. It was felt that they would be more reliable sources as officials representing the council within communities. However, other questions were directed at community members only to get a feel of the situation of the ground. The following section reflects this. Firstly, the perception of ward members on the general provision of services by the council in line with community needs, the available museums and heritage sites, and the partnerships the council has had with the private sector in the delivery of services to communities will be reflected. The question directed at community members was on the different tribal groups within their own residential areas. They are better placed to know who their neighbours and community members are and what languages they speak. Their responses are as follows:

CHART 5.3: SOCIAL FACTORS: WARD MEMBER'S RESPONSES ONLY

SOCIAL FACTORS: WARD MEMBERS ONLY



5.4.1.11. Services provided by the local council are in line with the needs

Chart 5.3 reflects that 64.4 percent of the respondents within selected zones feel that the services provided by the local council are in line with the needs felt and identified by communities. Reference to the integrated development plans (IDPs) is made and the fact that the council is expected to deliver in line with priority needs as identified by the communities themselves. However, 33.3 percent feel that some services are not delivered in line with community needs due to other constraints, and 2.2 percent do not know.

5.4.1.12. Museums and heritage sites

Chart 5.3 indicate that 20 percent of respondents are aware of the few museums and heritage sites available within the zones, however 76 percent assert that there is a shortage of this service, while 4 percent do not know of the availability of these services. There is a heritage site with a statue of the

former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, in Mandela Village (ward 49). The Mandela heritage site is a popular tourist attraction in ward 49 and contributes to the development of the local economy. Interested urban and rural residents access museums and heritage sites in Pretoria. There are two heritage sites, one in the Ga-Mothakga resort and another at the Blue strip heritage site located between Philip Nel and Lotus Gardens in zone G. Both are available for viewing by people within and outside of the zone. The CTMM (2004: 110) indicates that the cultural and heritage facilities include the following: Tshwane Art Museum, Centurion Art Gallery, Fort Klapperkop heritage site, Pretoria City Hall, Melrose House, Saulsville Arena and the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom Square. These facilities are tourist attractions for people within and outside of the zone, and generate revenue for the local council as well. The interaction between the local people and those from other areas is observed as they access services in the museums and heritage sites.

5.4.1.13. Partnerships

Respondents suggest that partnerships between the local council and NGOs with respect to leasing vacant land to them for the development of food gardens would benefit the local communities. Both rural and urban residents would benefit, as there are both rural and urban poor.

5.4.1.13. DIFFERENT TRIBAL GROUPS: COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES ONLY

CHART 5.4: DIFFERENT TRIBAL GROUPS

DIFFERENT TRIBAL GROUPS: COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES ONLY

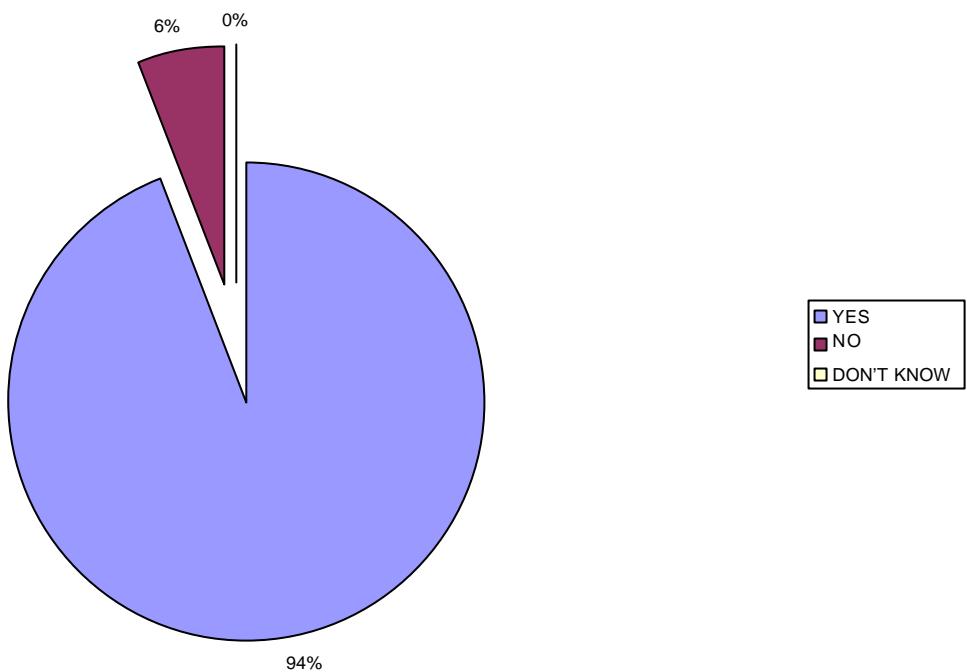


Chart 5.4 above shows that a total of 94 percent of respondents acknowledge the existence of different tribal groups, while 6 percent are not sure what tribal groups are resident in various zones. There are various tribal groups in the zones, and they represent all 11 official languages. However, there are a few dialects used mainly by black people that characterise a particular culture, people residing in a particular area, and those sharing the same interests, for example what is commonly known as “tsotsi taal”, “kofifi taal”, and “Pretoria taal”, which seem to be used to distinguish people from different areas. Wards have a mixture of tribal, gender and racial groups that interact at various levels within their respective areas. However, responses reveal an interesting pattern of interaction between different tribal groups in zone G. The following tribal groups are present in some wards in the zone: Tsongas, Vendas and a few Zulus reside on the Western side of Selbourne side; Southern and Northern Sothos, Ndebeles and Zulus in the centre of Attridgeville and Saulsville (commonly known as Black Rock); and Northern Sothos are found on the Northern side of Saulsville and Attridgeville (commonly known as Ghost Town). There is a “mixture cultures” section that is composed of people who were forcefully removed from Ladyselbourne, Marabastad and Mooiplas and resettled in the Eastern side of Attridgeville (commonly known as Oustad). This community has developed their own dialect and have a specific lifestyle that is different from the rest of the zones. In this zone different areas are easily identified according to nationalities that reside in different

sections, for example Matebeleng, Oustad, Black Rock and Ghost Town. There is much interaction within and across the boundaries of these sections between people from all these tribal groups.

This picture also reveals that most people came to this area as migrants and claimed portions of land as private property belonging to a particular group. For these people, the rural-urban interface seems to have been a part of normal life and survival strategy, because although most of them stayed in this area, they maintained linkages with their families and friends in the rural areas.

5.4.1.14 Level of satisfaction with the provision of services among all respondents

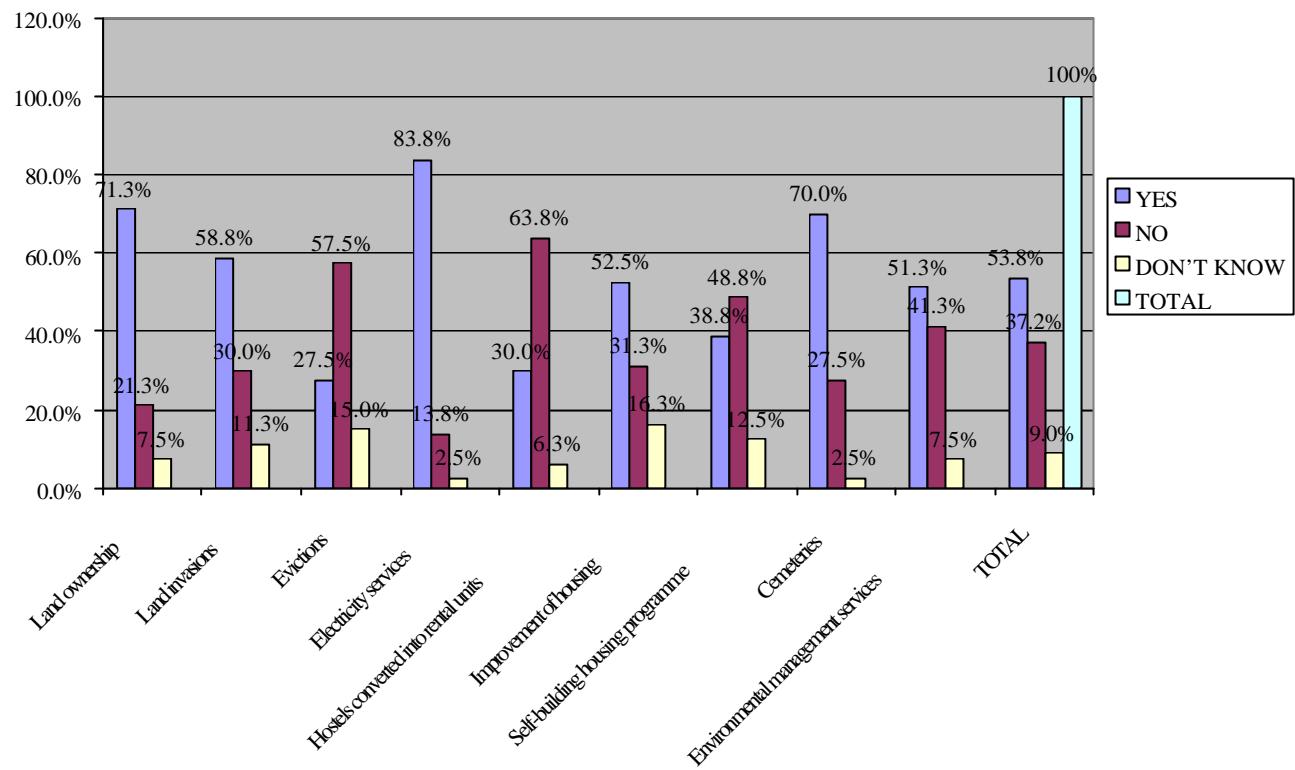
Satisfaction with the overall provision of social services within all the selected zones based on the 80 respondents is as follows: 61 percent is satisfied with the provision of social services, 35.5 percent expects more delivery of services especially in the rural and some peri-urban areas, while 3.5 percent is generally not aware of the provision of certain services.

5.4.2.1. PHYSICAL FACTORS

5.4.2.1. PHYSICAL FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES

CHART 5.5: PHYSICAL FACTORS

PHYSICAL FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES



5.4.2.1.1. Land tenure rights

Chart 5.5 indicates that 71 percent of respondents agree that people in all the selected zones have tenure rights and are thus title deed holders in the urban, peri-urban and rural areas, 21.3 percent argue that some people still do not own houses and therefore do not own land, while 7.5 percent do not know if people generally have rights to land ownership.

The female-headed households are also recognised and single women/parents and widowed women also have rights to ownership of houses in the wards, as women are title deed holders too. Some respondents believe that rural communities are of the opinion that the rights of women and children are not adequately addressed thus there is a need to revisit succession rights particularly in Nelmapius (zone 40).

Respondents indicate that residents of some informal settlement do not have title deeds yet, but the local council is in the process of formalising them. There is privately owned land in Majaneng (zone A) owned by the local tribal authority. Thus permission needs to be sought and negotiated with the tribal authority that owns the land. Some areas, for example Jeffsville in zone G, are controlled by prominent community leaders whose influence among communities enabled or disabled development.

Residents who occupy land illegally, for example those in illegal informal settlements, have no land tenure rights. For instance, some respondents state that residents of the transit camps in the Choba area in ward 48 do not have land tenure rights.

5.4.2.1.2. Land invasions

According to Chart 5.5 above, 58.8 percent of respondents admit that land invasions have been experienced, 30 percent have not yet witnessed any, while 11.3 percent are not aware of any such occurrences within the wards.

Land invasions are usually experienced on the borders of townships and small towns resulting in a high concentration of informal settlements in these areas. Residents from these areas interact closely with those in the neighbouring urban areas for access to services they do not have.

Respondents' examples of witnessed land invasions include the following. In zone A, land invasions have been experienced in Temba, Chris Hani, Winnie's Square, Rent View, Bridge View and Kanana; in zone B, zones EW, AS and Thusanang informal settlement; in zone D, Mandela Village in portion 9 (zone 49); in zone C wards 37, 39, and 35; Soutpan, and Soshanguve blocks L, extensions EE, JI extensions, HH and IA; in zone E, Nelmapius extension 4; in zone H, Choba, Laezonia and Timsrand; in zone F , in the Mamelodi informal settlement areas i.e. in extensions 6 as well as next to Waterkloof; in zone G, Brazzaville and Schurveberg where most people from within and outside the zone, including foreign immigrants, have illegally occupied these hazardous areas, as well as in the areas adjoining Denel and Hans Strijdom Streets. These land invasions lead to the mushrooming of informal settlements on the edges of urban areas. People in these informal settlements interact closely with their neighbouring urban/peri-urban areas as they access services such as health care centres, shops, spaza shops, water and electricity and some even commit crimes, carry on business and seek employment opportunities in the urban areas.

5.4.2.1.3. Evictions

According to Chart 5.5, 27.5 percent respondents have witnessed evictions in various zones, 57.5 percent have not seen any, while 15 percent have no knowledge of these incidences.

Responses from questionnaires reflect that all selected zone have experienced incidences of evictions. For instance, in zone A, evictions were experienced in wards 75, 24, and 74, and people were relocated to different areas such as Hospital View, Units 5 and 7, and the RDP houses in Suurman. The local council has, however, begun the process of formalising some of these informal settlements, such as those in Stinkwater 1 & 2. In zone B, residents who were evicted from zones EW, AS and Thusanang informal settlement were resettled in Boikhutsong in ward 20. Evictions appeared imminent in Nelmapius (zone 40) in erf. 4332, where Nedo ex-employees were supposed to be removed by force, but evictions were stalled as a result of the litigation process pending against Nedo employers. In zone F, forced removals took place only in Lulu Bar in ward 28. In zone I, there are areas where people have been evicted from their places of residence due to non-payment of rental. Respondents mention that where the people have been resettled, they interact closely with the neighbouring urban and peri-urban areas for access to all the services they do not have.

In other zones that experienced land invasions and people were evicted, some were resettled in other areas. The local council has plans to resettle some of the people who invaded land illegally in other areas.

5.4.2.1.4. Electricity services

Chart 5 shows that 83.8 percent of respondents are aware of electricity services (e.g. specialist engineering, energy distribution services) within the zones, 13.8 percent feel more of such services should be made available to needy communities, while 2.5 percent do not know of the provision of such services in various zones.

Responses indicate that electricity services are delivered in the urban and some peri-urban and rural areas across all the selected zones. Areas where these services are not yet delivered include some peri-urban and rural areas, as well as the illegal informal settlements. However, some areas prefer solar energy and this is used for either business or personal use. The City of Tshwane (2004: 110) indicates that electricity distribution areas include residential, informal, business/industrial and agricultural. However, in most informal settlements only high mast streetlights are used instead of streetlights, but most residents of these have access to electricity in their yards. The CTMM has a Tshwane Bulk Electricity Masterplan that is still being developed and would be available to the public once finalised.

5.4.2.1.5. Hostels converted into family units

According to Chart 5.5, 30 percent of respondents are aware of the hostels that have been converted into housing unit within the wards, 63.8 percent have not seen any conversions, while 6.3 percent do not know of any.

Respondents paint the following picture. The hostel in ward 74 has been converted into family units, while the existing governor's office located in Temba is now being used as a Department of Education office. The following hostels have also been converted into family units: hostels in zone 16 in Garankuwa (zone B); Soshanguve hostel in zone C; Mamelodi hostel in zone E; as well as Saulsville hostel in zone G. Evidence presented by respondents suggests that other buildings have also been converted for other uses as well, for example residential and business areas. Hostels are

used for purposes of socialisation and fun, especially after working hours. These buildings accommodate people from rural, peri-urban and urban areas.

5.4.2.1.6. Improvement of houses

Chart 5.5 above reflects that 52.5 percent of respondents acknowledge that the condition of houses in the rural areas and informal settlements has been improved, 31.3 percent do not think so, while 16.3 percent do not have any idea.

The development of houses has taken place in the following areas: zones EW, CV and Thusanong informal settlement are in the process of formalisation in zone B; some parts of Winterveldt; some informal settlements in zone C and the RDP houses in informal settlements in zone G. Residents from both rural and urban areas are accommodated in these houses, creating interaction between community members from the two areas. Some respondents believe that the development of rural areas can actually make them more attractive areas to reside in, especially to those residents who had intentions of leaving. This may result in limiting movements from rural to urban areas in search for improved services and facilities.

Development of houses is also taking place within urban areas, and this includes townhouses and gated community properties. For example, there is a gated community in the Blue Valley Golf Estate in Centurion, which is occupied by affluent residents and surrounded by several suburbs. RDP houses have been built in zone 40. Nelmapius has a combination of rural/peri-urban and urban sections, but there is no interaction between the rural/peri-urban (RDP) and the affluent urban section. Evidence therefore suggests that there may not be much interaction between the affluent areas and the poorer neighbouring areas.

5.4.2.1.7. Self-building housing programmes

Chart 5.5 indicates that 38.8 percent of respondents are aware of self-building housing programmes introduced in a number of wards in the selected zones, 48.8 percent thinks this programme does not exist, while 12.5 percent does not know of any.

Respondents indicate that self-building housing programmes were introduced in some wards, but were discontinued as a result of the poor quality of houses built. The local council has contracted

out the development of RDP houses and contractors are delivering this service on its behalf. This has introduced better control of the building of houses and most rural and urban areas are benefiting from this service. However, some respondents indicate that there are some people in the rural areas who are still building their own houses using private developers and paying for their services.

5.4.2.1.8. Cemeteries

Chart 5.5 above reflects that 70 percent of respondents acknowledge the existence of cemeteries within wards in all the selected zones, 27.5 percent says that there still areas without cemeteries, while 2.5 percent is not aware of the availability of this services.

Respondents indicate that cemeteries are available in rural, peri-urban and urban areas. Some of the cemeteries service neighbouring areas as well. Some respondents contend that though residents of the rural and urban\peri-urban have cemeteries in their areas, only those in the peri-urban and rural areas bury people from their neighbouring areas; others believe that urban areas do open the door to people from neighbouring areas to bury their deceased family members.

People from rural and urban areas interact in burial societies and at funerals. As one rural community members put it: "We associate with the people from townships in parties and functions when we are happy and well, but get even closer during times of bereavement, because it knows no boundaries." Thus at the end, though separated by artificial boundaries when alive, both rural and urban residents sleep next to each other at the gravesite. The rural-urban interface goes a long way.

The CTMM (2004: 108) mentions that cemeteries are available in the following areas: Pretoria West, Andeon, Pretoria North, Garsfontein, Mamelodi East, Mamelodi West, Atteridgeville, Saulsville, Eersterus, Silverton, Soshanguve, Klippan (Mabopane), Winterveld, New Eersterus, Laudium, Lotus Gardens, Olivenhoutbosch, 5 Acres, 12 Acres, Stinkwater, Centurion, Dilopye, Temba and Honingnestkrans. Most of these cemeteries have been in existence for periods of between five and seventy years. The following are in a bad state and need the attention of the local authority: Mamelodi East, Klippan (Mabopane), Winterveld, New Eersterus, 5 Acres, 12 Acres, Stinkwater, whilst Honingnestkrans is in the process of development. A crematorium is only available in Pretoria West. These facilities are accessible to local communities within and across all zones in the CTMM.

5.4.2.1.9. Environmental management services

Chart 5.5 indicates that 51.3 percent of respondents are aware of the provision of the environmental management services (i.e. disaster prevention, environmental awareness and training.) within the zones. However, 41.3 percent do not think this service is adequate if available at all, while 7.5 percent do not know where such services exist.

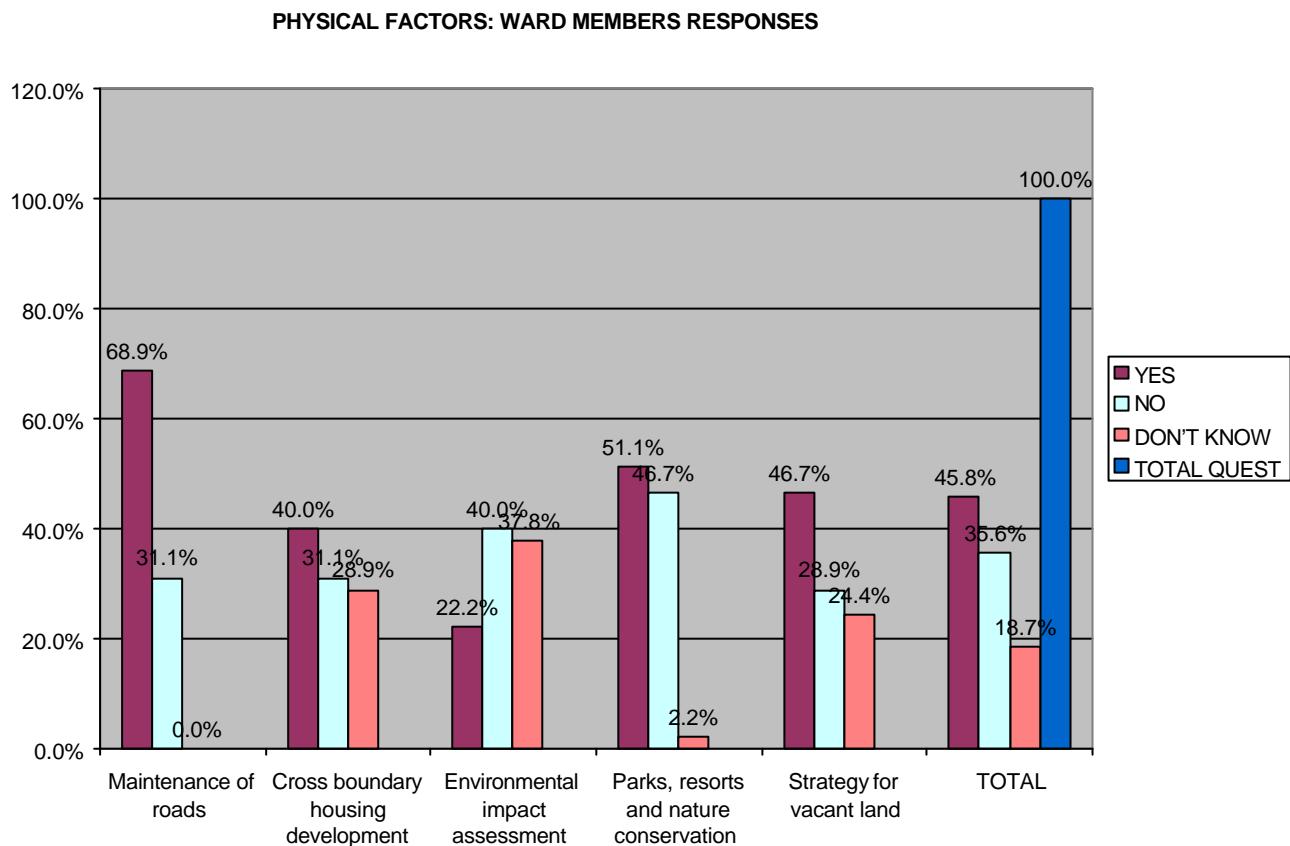
Respondents express the concern that these services are only available in urban areas, and state that some peri-urban and rural areas do not have this type of service. Since most areas lack environmental management services, they believe that the local council should develop disaster management/prevention strategies that entail awareness and training for residents as well. This type of training is already being given to ward members. The efforts of some communities that have taken the initiative on cleaning and keeping open spaces tidy, for example the Zivuseni project, which involves the participation of people from rural and urban areas in Zone C, are applauded. However, most such initiatives are only available in urban areas, but accessible to rural areas as well.

The CTMM (2004: 86) confirms that emergency management services (i.e. fire and rescue, fire safety emergency medical and ambulance and the disaster management services) are provided to approximately 2.2 million inhabitants covering an area of +-2200 square kilometres, extending 80km north to south and 60 km east to west on a 24-hour basis within the Tshwane jurisdictional area. These services are provided from 14 strategically located Emergency Service Stations in accordance with an approved Emergency Service Master Plan (ESMP) and a Disaster Management Master Plan (DMMP). The CTMM (2004: 87) acknowledges that response times to the incidents in the far northern, north west, south west and north east areas of the city of Tshwane are not within the prescribed norms owing to the remoteness of these areas. The IDP 2020 vision contains registered projects for the establishment of the emergency services facilities in the far northern, north west, south west and north east areas of the city, and the implementation of these projects is expected to alleviate the shortfalls experienced in these areas. The Disaster Management Act (Act 57 of 2002) was promulgated with the underlying principles of prevention, mitigating preparedness, relief and rehabilitation within a framework of sustainable development. However, in order for disaster management to fulfil its key role optimally, additional capacity should be employed to focus on vulnerable areas where communities are more at risk, specifically those in the northern parts of Tshwane where disaster management services do not exist.

Overall, a total of 53.8 percent respondents are generally satisfied with the provision of physical services. However, 37.2 percent believe more can still be done, while 9 percent are not aware of some services provided within the zones.

5.4.2.2. PHYSICAL FACTORS: WARD MEMBER'S RESPONSES ONLY

CHART 5.6: PHYSICAL FACTORS: WARD MEMBER'S RESPONSES ONLY



5.4.2.2.1. Maintenance of roads

Chart 5.6 indicates that 68.9 percent of respondents believe that there has been construction, upgrading, and maintenance of roads in the selected zones, while 31.1 percent feel that roads are still in a bad state and most of them still need upgrading

Respondents confirm that several roads have been constructed and existing ones upgraded in various areas within the zones. They indicate that, amongst others, the roads in Soshanguve block LL extension have been upgraded; major public transport roads across the cities, towns, townships, informal settlements and rural areas have been upgraded, and are therefore user-friendly for

commuters. However, some respondents believe that roads in many wards still need to be upgraded to enable easier movement between rural and urban areas.

5.4.2.2.2. Cross-border housing development

Chart 5.6 reflects that 40 percent of respondents are aware of the challenges pertaining to cross-border housing development, 31.1 percent has not experienced such problems within the zones while 28.9 percent does not know of any such challenges.

Respondents indicate that cross-border housing development has been prevalent in zones A, B, D, F, G and H, creating much interaction between these zones and neighbouring areas. However, the local council is working in collaboration with the demarcation board to address this challenge.

The CTMM (2004: 67) indicates that the proximity of the CTMM to the North West and Limpopo provinces results in a constant flux of unskilled and semi-skilled labour from these areas into Tshwane. These people tend to settle informally in the northern part of Tshwane, which acts as a “transitional zone” for the first wave of urbanisation. It argues that the migratory characteristics of the people in these areas influence the type of facilities that should be and are provided as well as the level of service that should be considered. The management of these areas is perceived to be problematic since they are affected by different sets of legislation and different approaches from the provincial governing bodies. Therefore, provincial coordination is crucial in the management of these cross-border areas.

5.4.2.2.3. Environmental impact assessments

Chart 5.6 reflects that 22.2 percent respondents are aware of the assessments conducted of the environmental impact that both rural and urban areas have on each other, 40 percent says it has not yet been done, while 37.8 percent does not know of such an assessment.

Responses indicate that though there are areas where an assessment of the environmental impact that rural and urban areas have on each other has been conducted, there is no evidence of such assessments in most wards in the selected zones. According to the CTMM (2004: 77), the State of Environment Report (SoER) was produced in 2002 with many shortcomings, but containing strategies to promote environmental sustainability. The State of Environment Report is regarded as

a globally accepted means of reporting on environmental issues and to measure progress towards sustainable development. Although the City of Tshwane used the Drivers/Pressure/State/Impact/Response (DPSIR) framework as a basis for developing the report, the extensive shortcomings in the data served as a limitation for the development of a full SoE report. The CTMM (2004: 77) indicates that a Environmental Management System (EMS) and a Risk Assessment Management System (RAMS) still need to be formulated for the CTMM premises in the north of Tshwane. In addition, with regard to the State of the Environment Report (SoER), data capturing is not yet in place for the north of Pretoria. However, environmental audits have already been conducted at the Ga-Rankuwa waste disposal site, environmental awareness training has been conducted in Winterveldt, and the food gardens projects, funded by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), have already been implemented at five schools in Winterveldt. It should be noted that all levels of services within the Environmental Resource Management section, are an integral part of the IDP environmental programme and would thus be implemented within the allocated budgets.

An evaluation survey was conducted and interviews held with designated personnel at the previous local authorities that currently constitute the CTMM, and the findings revealed the following. The major challenge existed within the Environmental Planning function as it was composed of insufficient staff with lack of understanding of environmental matters as well as its legal implications (CTMM 2004: 114). In addition, there were no formalised policies, ad hoc p[rocedures in dealing with environmental matters and very little recognition of environmental issues within the local government sphere. The Environmental Impact Assessment and/or the Environmental Planning Services were not conducted in, most wards in the following area; Akasia, Pretoria, Centurion, and the Crocodile River region.

5.4.2.2.4. Parks, resorts and nature conservation

Chart 5.6 above shows that 51.1 percent of respondents know that there are parks, resorts and nature conservation areas within the zones. However, 46.7 percent state that these are not yet in place in other areas, and 2.2 percent have no idea of such places.

Parks and holiday resorts are used as meeting places and are frequented by both rural and urban residents for socialisation purposes, for example the festivals organised in Moretele Park (zone F, Mamelodi) draw people from many areas even other provinces to come and interact with local

people during organised social events such as jazz music festivals. Magnolia, Centurion and Burgers' Parks, are (amongst others) popular social spots in the Tshwane Metropolitan area. There are smaller parks for children and bigger ones for events, for example Gamothakga and Morwe Parks in Attridgeville/Saulsville that accommodate people from within and outside zone G. The heritage sites located in the zone serve as tourist attraction areas and serve to generate revenue for the local council. Splash entertainment centre in Centurion (zone H) is open for people across the zone, including other areas and provinces. There is a nature conservation area, Moreletakloof Nature Reserve and hiking trail, which services all people who can afford to socialise there.

The City of Tshwane (2004: 119) specifies the following resorts within the CTMM: Rietvlei Dam, Wonderboom resort, Fountains Valley, Derdepoort resort, Moretele resort, Rooihuiskraal resort, Swartkops lapa as well as the Kwaggaspruit resort. Nature conservation areas are located in the following areas: Klapperkop mountain area, Moreletakloof nature area, Magaliesberg, Witwatersberge, Booyens Marsh area, Colbyn Valley, Eugene Marais Park, Moreletaspruit area, Apies River, Tweefontein Spruit, Hartebees Spruit, Waterkloof Spruit, Wolwe Spruit, Moot Spruit, Skinner Spruit, Hennops River, Renoster Spruit and Sand Spruit.

The bird sanctuaries include the Austen Roberts; Chamberlain; Meyers Park; Struben Dam as well as the Board Walk bird sanctuaries. Caravan parks are located in Fountains Valley resort, Joos Becker resort, Derdepoort resort, and Rietvlei nature reserve. Swimming pools are also located in various areas within the CTMM. These areas are frequented by people from local and neighbouring wards as well as other provinces and countries. They are key areas where people of different origins interact.

5.4.2.2.5. Strategy for vacant land/open spaces

Chart 5.6 reflects that 46.7 percent respondents know about the strategy to manage open spaces/vacant land within both rural and urban areas to ensure a tidy environment, 28.9 percent says such a strategy has yet to be developed, and 24.4 percent have never heard of such a strategy.

The local council has a strategy to manage vacant spaces in the zones and a spatial development policy is being implemented in the development of rural and urban areas. However, there is a suggestion that the council should consider leasing open spaces in certain zones to NGOs involved in food garden projects to boost the local economy.

The CTMM (2004: 295) indicates that currently the City of Tshwane provides a context for the implementation of the Metropolitan Open Space Framework, which is currently being developed. It believes that an effective and well-defined open-space system is an excellent way to integrate the city on a spatial level, and that the open space network will integrate open space into a clear system of linear space (linkage) and cluster space (nodes). According to the CTMM (2004: 73), the linkage of this network of open space to the Urban Development Lattice (interconnected system of corridors, activity spines and strategically placed nodes, serving as pull factors in the network of activity spines) is important as the former should support the functioning of the latter through the provision of ecological, social, recreational and economic functions and contribute to the preservation of the city's heritage. Open spaces should be adequately developed and maintained to promote proper utilisation of facilities such as sport and recreation, training, braai, picnic, play and ablution. The CTMM (2004: 73) maintains that the Metropolitan Open Space Framework will provide guidance on the conservation and enhancement of the natural heritage. It further acknowledges that with regards to the cultural heritage of the city, distinct/unique areas reflect continual changes in socio-economic status, value systems, lifestyles, habits, aesthetic criteria and social interactions of its inhabitants over decades and sometimes centuries.

5.4.2.2.6. Physical factors: community member's responses only

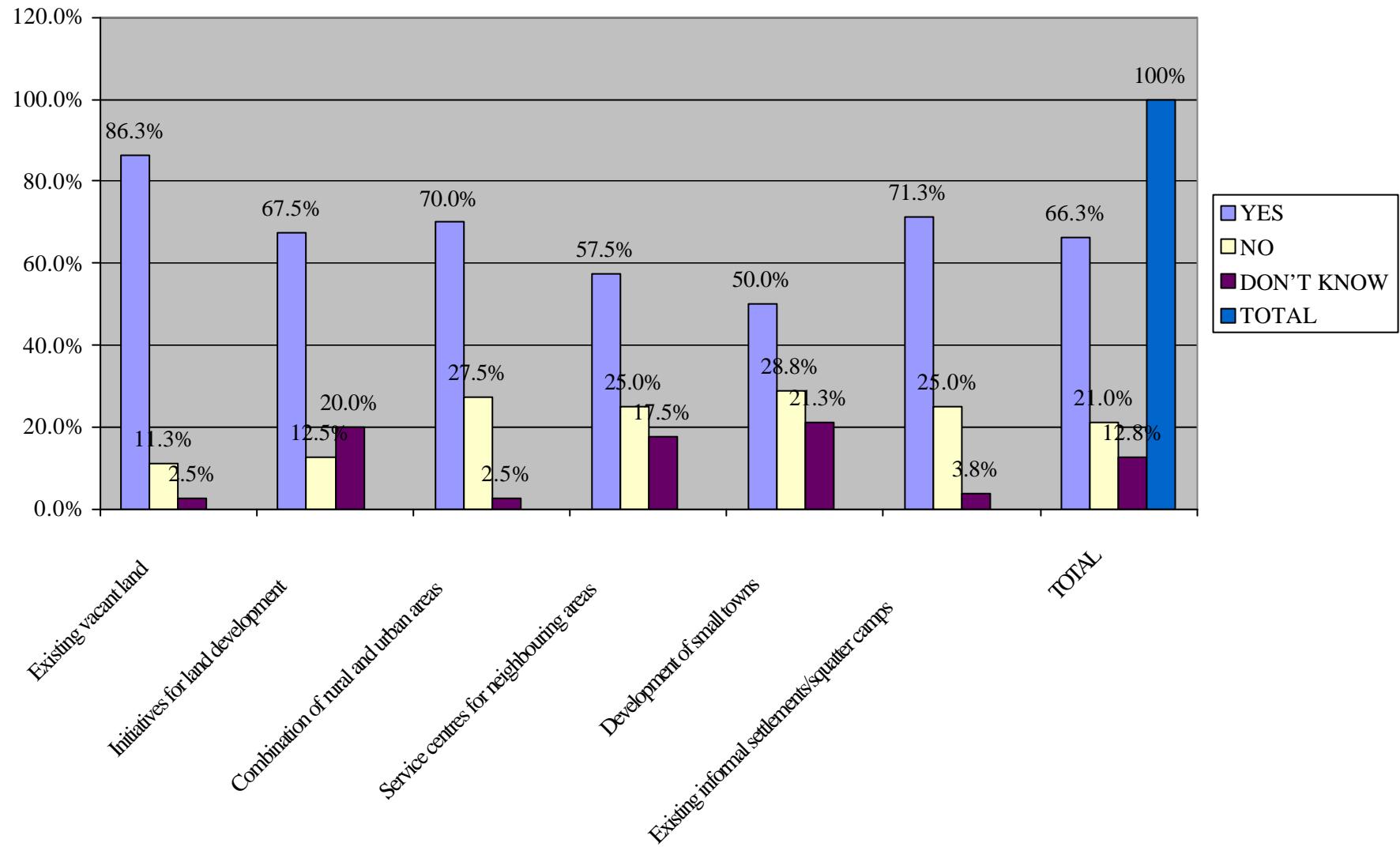
When the views of ordinary citizens were requested on the rights to land ownership by women, 68.6 percent agreed that most women were heading households and owned title deeds; and 22.9 percent still believed that the fight for women's rights is still very far from over. They contend that some women are still marginalised and treated as if they had no rights at all. This situation needs to be addressed by the local council and by the attitudes of community members who still believe that women are not capable of running homes without men. 8.6 percent did not want to commit themselves

5.4.3. SPATIAL FACTORS

5.4.3.1. SPATIAL FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S REONSES

CHART 5.7: SPATIAL FACTORS

SPATIAL FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES



5.4.3.1.1. Existing vacant land

Chart 5.7 above reflects that 86.3 percent of respondents admit that there is existing vacant land within various wards in the selected zones, 11.3 percent think all the vacant spaces have been filled, while 2.5 percent have not seen any vacant land in the wards.

Respondents indicate that there is vacant land in all the selected zones. However, some of it has been abused by illegal occupants who grab the land without official permission from the local council and by those who use the land as dumping sites in urban and rural areas. In some wards, existing vacant land in the zone is targeted for the development of houses, business areas, crèches, churches, cemeteries and sport and recreational facilities.

Vacant land (which may perhaps be targeted for other uses at a later stage) is currently available in (among others) the following areas: next to Helen May crèche area in section U and next to Ntsie Primary school in section C in zone B; area next to Garankuwa station, block X extension Mabopane next to Gatsebe in zone B; in Soshanguve in zone C; far Mamelodi East (zone F); western side of PMP, Lotus Gardens, as well as in extensions 6 and 7 in Jeffsville; the vacant land on the mountainous side of Attridgeville and Saulsville for example Schurveberg and Brazzaville, which have predominantly been occupied illegally by people from within and other areas (in zone G); and next to the quarry at The Reeds, Centurion (zone H).

5.4.3.1.2. Initiatives for land development

Chart 5.7 above indicates that 67.5 percent of respondents are aware of the initiatives for land development within the selected zones. However, 12.5 percent says that land development should still be seen as a priority in the previously disadvantaged communities to help improve their livelihoods, and 20 percent of respondents do not know of any initiatives for the development of land.

Vacant land within the respective wards is mostly used for the development of houses in both rural and urban areas. Some open spaces have been used for cemeteries. However, there are areas with a land crisis whose cemeteries are full to the extent that people are buried on top of other family members buried in the same graves. This practice is said to be encouraged in order to save land that is already scarce.

Common land use patterns in most zones include the development of houses, churches, schools, crèches, industrial sites, parks, shopping complexes, business centres and car parks, stations for buses and taxis, cemeteries, dumping sites, sports and recreational facilities, roads and railway lines, as well as for cattle grazing, though some spaces develop into crime spots owing to lack of proper maintenance. Other respondents feel that this may be the result of by-laws not being properly enforced in the zones.

The infiltration of vacant land by people who occupy land illegally, that is, “land grab”, from outside areas, has been experienced in different zones. The existence of these people in informal settlements activated the interaction between these areas and neighbouring urban areas. Environmental management initiatives, such as the Letsema project, have been introduced to ensure a tidy environment and involve the local communities in a spirit of volunteerism. The integrated development planning process is being used mainly for the purposes of rural and urban development within this zone.

In other areas open spaces are used for recreational facilities such as parks, and services are made available for the cleaning of parks, such as the Zivuseni Project in Mabopane in zone B. Much interaction at a social level has been observed in these areas, as both rural and urban people meet and have fun together. In the same zone, land that is targeted for development includes Mabopane Block L and Block X extension (development of a park), and Lebanon for a supermarket.

5.4.3.1.3. Combination of rural and urban areas

Chart 5.7 reflects that 70 percent of respondents acknowledge that wards in the selected zones have a combination of rural and urban areas, 27.5 percent state that some wards are predominantly urban, while 2.5 percent do not know.

Most zones are composed of both rural and urban wards, and these include particularly zones A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H. Thus much interface between rural and urban areas has been observed. In these zones, much interaction is observed in the urban context as mostly rural residents travel to urban areas to access required or improved services.

5.4.3.1.4. Service centres for neighbouring areas

According to Chart 5.7 above, 57.5 percent of respondents know that there are areas that serve as service centres for the neighbouring areas or wards, 25 percent say some areas service mostly local residents while 17.5 percent do not have any idea.

Respondents indicate that business and commercial sectors create much interaction between rural and urban areas. Most wards have MPCCs that serve as services centres for the surrounding rural and urban people as well, and examples include Wonderpark, Rosslyn, Ninapark, Theresa Park, Montana and Kopanong in Hammanskraal. Both rural and urban residents interact as they access services, for example various business transactions, shopping, transactions at financial institutions and meetings/sessions in restaurants. Most rural people travel to access these services, as some are located far from their places of residence. MPCCs , such as at the NAFCOC shopping centre in zone B, also serve as a service centre for wards 35, 34, 33, 29, 27, 26, 25 and 11. All these centres create a web of interaction between the urban, peri-urban\small town\township and rural areas.

5.4.3.1.5. Development of small towns

Chart 5.7 shows that 50 percent of respondents are aware of the concerted efforts by the local council to maximise the development potential of small towns in and around the wards in selected zones, though 28.8 percent feel the local council can still do better, and 21.3 percent do not know.

According to respondents, small towns have been developed in various zones and they serve the needs and interests of communities. Some of these towns, once developed, serve as service areas for the neighbouring rural areas, particularly for those residents who cannot afford to go to the city centres to access services. This fosters a high level of interaction between the local residents and those in rural areas and informal settlements. Responses indicate that there is a concerted effort to maximise the development of small towns such as Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane, and Hammanskraal. These towns have the potential for improved business opportunities that would be utilised by a mix of both urban and rural residents.

5.4.3.1.6. Existing informal settlements/squatter camps

Chart 5.7 above indicates that 71.3 percent of respondents admit that there are existing informal settlements/squatter camps within the zones, 25 percent state that there are areas that do not have them on their boundaries, while 3.8 percent do not know of informal settlements in their wards.

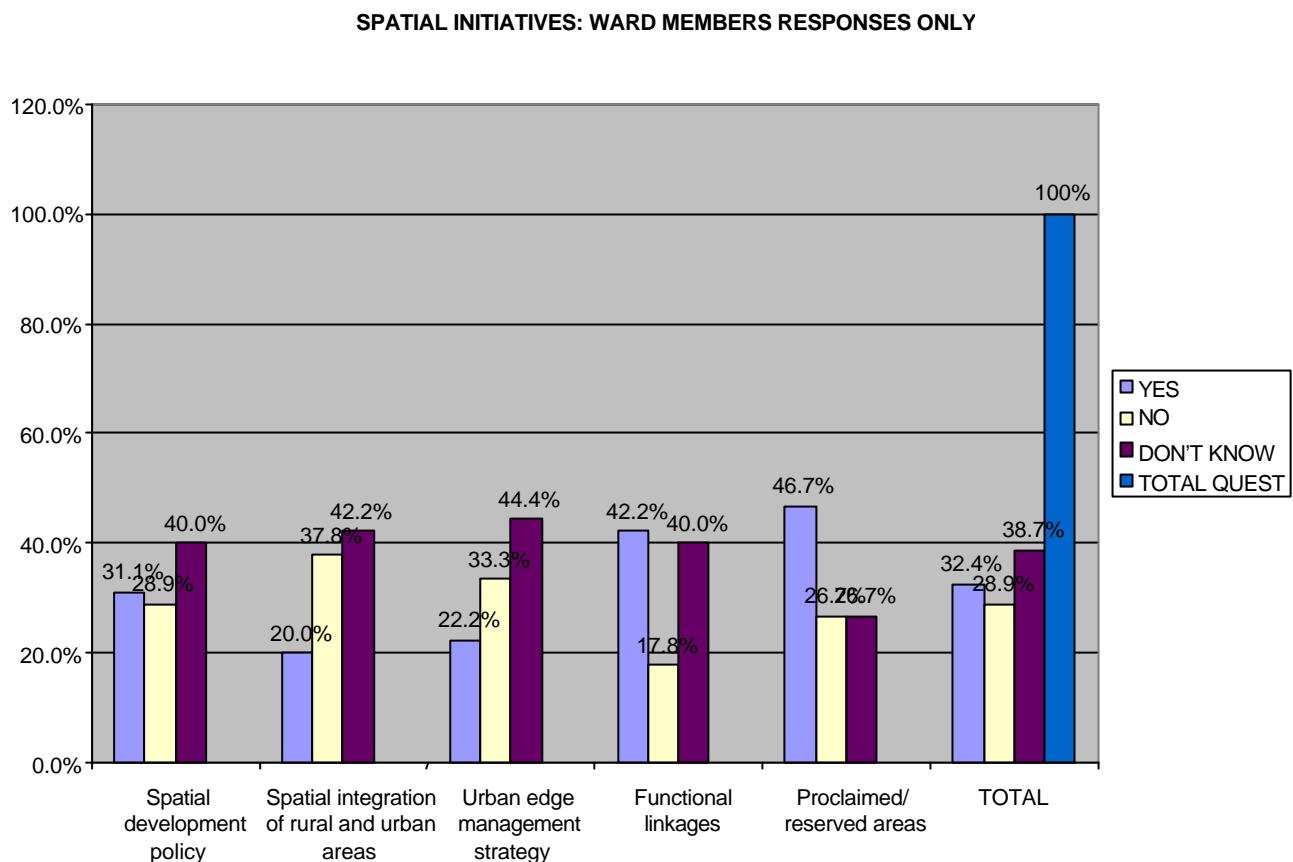
Most of the informal settlements mushroom along the borders of urban areas creating interaction between these residents and those in the adjacent urban areas. Respondents indicate the presence of, among others, the following informal settlements in the selected zones. In zone C, informal settlements are present on the edges of urban areas in wards 37, 39, 35; in Soutpan, and blocks L, extensions EE, JI extensions, HH and IA; in zone H in Olivenhoutbosch, Choba, Timsrand, Laezonia, Camps 1&2, Motshwane, Motloung, Mnandi, Mooiplaas, Itireleng and Gerardsville. In zone A, Chris Hani, Winnie's square, Rent View, Bridge View and Kanana; in zone B, zones EW, AS and Thusanang informal settlement; in zone D, Mandela Village in portion 9 (zone 49); in zone E, Nelmapius extension 4; in zone F, in the Mamelodi informal settlement areas, for example in extensions 6 as well as next to Waterkloof; and Brazzaville and Schurveberg in zone G. These informal settlements surrounding urban areas create an interaction between rural and urban residents as they access required services. These could just as well have been referred to as areas of urban sprawl.

Overall, 66.3 percent of respondents acknowledge the existence of spatial initiatives within the zones, 21 percent believe more can still be done, while 12.8 percent do not know whether there is a spatial development process or not

The following questions were only directed at ward members to obtain their view of the availability of the spatial initiatives mentioned.

5.4.3.2. SPATIAL INITIATIVES: WARD MEMBER'S RESPONSES ONLY

CHART 5.8: SPATIAL INITIATIVES: WARD MEMBER'S RESPONSES



5.4.3.2.1. Spatial development policy

Chart 5.8 indicates that 31.1 percent of respondents are aware of the existing spatial development policy framework that covers both rural and urban development within the wards. It is noted that 28.9 percent think there is no strategy while 40 percent does not know it exists at all.

Respondents reflect that those zones whose ward members are aware of the spatial development policy, the zones seem to be aligning themselves with the contents of the policy while those that do not know, rely on the IDP documents. It is also believed that the existing spatial development policy should ensure that the development in urban areas complements that of rural areas as the latter have been marginalised when plans are made. They appeal for the spatial framework to accommodate the development of adjacent rural areas, such that development should not just end along the urban boundary.

In addition, at the policy level, there is no strategy to deal with the spatial effects of HIV/Aids within the City of Tshwane. The CTMM (2004: 69) mentions that the spatial implications of HIV/Aids have thus far not been assessed, but it is clear that Tshwane must plan for the epidemic. This should entail provision of additional health services and other facilities, as well as cemeteries, particularly in areas where poor communities are living, as owing to their culture, they do not believe in cremation.

5.4.3.2.2. Spatial integration of rural and urban areas

Chart 5.8 shows that 20 percent of respondents are aware of the initiatives for the spatial integration of rural and urban areas to ensure that they complement and support each other within the respective zones. However, 37.8 percent say there are no such initiatives while 42.2 percent do not know.

Responses indicate that although a small percentage thinks that there are initiatives for the spatial integration of rural and urban areas in some wards to ensure that they complement and support each other, there are no such initiatives in other wards. It is hoped that the spatial integration of rural and urban areas will assist with the planning and implementation of the spatial integration of rural and urban areas within the zones. The CTMM (2004: 69) argues that the spatial integration of the city, together with ensuring the availability, accessibility and affordability of essential services and facilities, is imperative in order to make Tshwane more competitive and soften the negative impact of globalisation.

According to CTMM (2004: 65) the old metropolitan Pretoria evolved by design into a model apartheid city characterised by fragmented and divided urban development, which limited access to urban opportunities for the majority of people. This history of political exclusion has led to a city that is sprawls spatially with low average population densities and is marked by great municipal unevenness and inequality. The CTMM (2004: 65) argues that the basic infrastructure footprint that Tshwane inherited after a century of sunken investment is thus highly inefficient by international standards, suggesting a relatively high future recurrent cost structure of municipal service delivery.

5.4.3.2.3. Urban edge management strategy

According to Chart 5.8 above, 22.2 percent of respondents know about the urban edge management strategy, which is sensitive to the development of adjacent rural areas. However, 33.3 percent do not think so while 44.4 percent have absolutely no idea.

Some respondents are aware of the urban edge management strategy that is being implemented through development initiatives in the selected wards. For instance, there are initiatives/plans to build houses just outside the urban edges in some zones to improve the lives of marginalised people. However, ward members should deal with the challenge of the squatter areas mushrooming in and around the zones occupied by people who “grab the land”.

Some responses are aware of the existence the urban edge management strategy, is used for the management of areas on the edges of urban areas as well. Mixed responses were received as some responses state that this framework is sensitive, while others say it is not sensitive to the development of adjacent rural areas.

The CTMM (2004: 69) defines the “Urban Edge” as an institutional boundary within the metropolitan area with the sole purpose of containing physical development and sprawl, and redirecting growth towards a more integrated, compact and efficient urban form. The Urban Edge is one of the strategies used to manage the city’s growth in Tshwane. “The Urban Edge as indicated in the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework has been accepted, and the MSDF proposes criteria for development within the Urban Edge, and also for the areas outside of the Urban Edge” (City of Tshwane 2004: 70). A central focus area (CFA) has been identified within the CTMM, and it is defined as an area where the highest concentration of employment and social opportunities exist, as well as where market-driven development is most likely to occur in future. It is therefore imperative to bring residential development, that is, densities and typologies, in line with the opportunities that exist within the zones. The concept of a CFA is seen to be largely coinciding with the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework’s concept of the urban core, which is the primary growth focus area for Gauteng province.

The CTMM (2004: 70) mentions that in the northern areas of Tshwane, the more appropriate locations for intensification are around the proposed urban cores and potential nodes, including the potential corridor development around the PWV2. Furthermore housing typologies have to be

implemented, especially around the urban cores and potential nodes. The City of Tshwane (2004: 70) asserts that agricultural activities, conservation areas, tourism and recreational facilities, rural residential developments, and local rural service centres may be considered appropriate for rural areas outside the Urban Edge. The City of Tshwane (2004: 70) however, emphasises that land specifically identified as high potential farmland for productive and sustainable commercial agriculture, that is, the cultivation of crops, rearing of livestock, extensive game farming, and processing of agricultural products, should be protected from development and suburban encroachment. These areas are seen as highly suitable for agricultural use and must not be seen as mere vacant land waiting for development.

5.4.3.2.4. Functional linkages

Chart 5.8 reflects that 42.2 percent of respondents are aware of wards that are functionally linked to the others within the zones, but 17.8 percent say there are no functional linkages, while 40 percent do not know of any.

Evidence from respondents suggests that there are functional linkages between the rural, peri-urban, and urban areas particularly those that are closer to each other spatially. There is cross-pollination at various levels of interaction, for example business, education, goods, skills transfer, sharing of ideas and experiences, as well as social activities. Functional linkages are witnessed mainly between the rural and neighbouring towns; between the peri-urban and adjacent urban areas and between urban and other urban areas. The observed movement is mainly for scarce resources, job opportunities and social functions

The zones that are functionally linked to others are as follows. Zone A is functionally linked to zones B, C, D, and E; zone B to zones A, C, D and E and to Kopanong section 6 and 8 in Mabopane (ward 20); zone C to zones A, B, D, and E; zone D to zones A, B and C; zone G to zones I, D and E; zone E to zones F, D and I; and zone F to zones E and I. The urban areas provide services to the neighbouring rural areas, thus the observed movement is from the rural to urban areas where the actual interaction takes place.

5.4.3.2.5. Proclaimed/reserved areas

Chart 5.8 reflects that 46.7 percent of respondents are aware of specific sensitive areas that are proclaimed/reserved within the wards. However, 26.7 percent do not think there are any, while another 26.7 percent do not know of such areas.

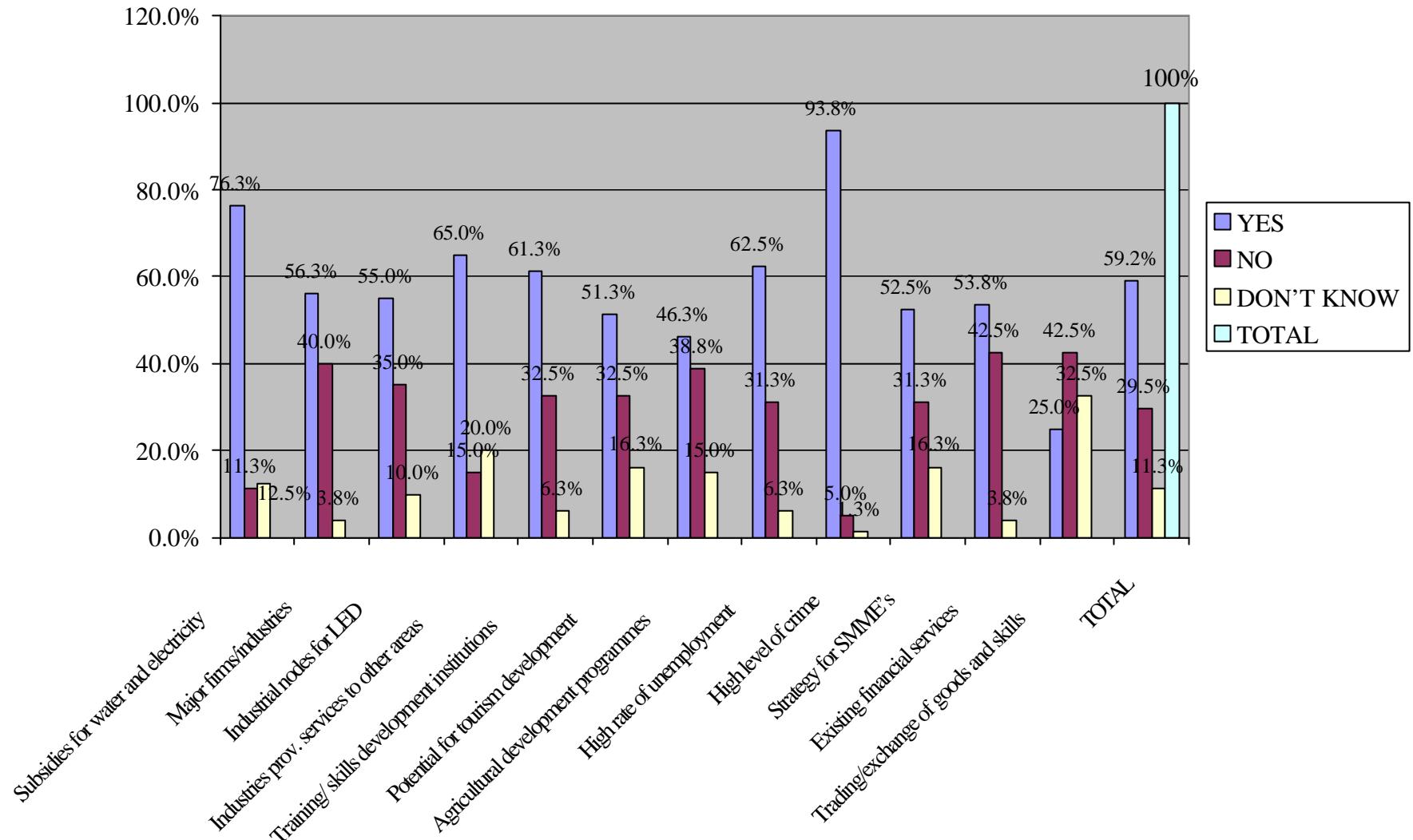
Respondents from selected zones indicate that there are areas in some zones that have been proclaimed preserved areas while others do not. Some areas have land that is reserved for agricultural use, business or nature conservation purposes.

The CTMM (2004: 119) specifies several nature reserves within the CTMM and these include those located in Rietvlei, Groenkloof, Wonderboom, Faerie Glen, Swartkops, Renosterspruit, Voortrekker Monument, the Frank Struben nature reserve as well as the Tswaing Crater.

5.4.4. ECONOMIC FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES

CHART 5.9: ECONOMIC FACTORS

ECONOMIC FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES



According to the Budget Review (2003), revised estimates show that the South African economy has grown by about 3.1 percent per year since 1999, and the sectors with good growth figures were the manufacturing, construction and services sectors. The Review states that the output growth appears to have contributed to employment creation in the formal sectors of the economy in the last couple of years. In 2001, Gauteng province contributed 50.4 percent of the total national exports as compared to 14.4 percent from KwaZulu-Natal, the second largest provincial exporter. Being a part of the Gauteng economy, the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CTMM) is also greatly affected by the economic activities in the surrounding areas. The CTMM (2004: 51) states that the CTMM also needs to take into account the broad economic and spatial strategies and goals of Gauteng province. These include the realignment of the manufacturing sector away from traditional heavy industry input markets and low value-added production towards sophisticated, high value-added production, as well as the development of other high value-added production activities in the agriculture and mineral sectors. According to the CTMM (2004: 51), the CTMM maintained an average economic growth rate of 5.1% per year from 1996 to 2002, compared to the national average of just over 2.5%. However, the CTMM (2004: 51) reveals that the CTMM economy is characterised by a high level of dualism, which complicates the development process. The sophisticated and industrially developed core economy that is linked to global markets is surrounded both socially and structurally by an economic periphery, which operates largely outside the core economy. “The difficulty in penetrating the core economy from the periphery (due to structural and historic reasons), alienated many people from effectively participating in the mainstream economy” (CTMM 2004: 51). To prevent this situation from negatively impacting on the growth and development of the total economy within the CTMM, these barriers must be removed and participation/inclusion speeded up, and emphasis placed on ways and means of clearing the labour market.

The CTMM (2004: 52) indicates that in 2002, the economically active population (EAP) (referring to working persons as well as those who are actively looking for work between the ages of 15 and 65) of the CTMM totalled 47.2 percent of the total population. This is higher than the national average of 38.3 percent but lower than the Gauteng average of 52.7 percent. Trends indicate that the EAP increased between 1996 and 2002 in all areas of the CTMM, which implies that more people are entering the labour force and searching for jobs, resulting in a concomitant impact on unemployment. The following represent people’s perceptions of the economic situation within the CTMM.

5.4.4.1. Subsidies for water and electricity

Chart 5.9 reflects that 76.3 percent of respondents acknowledge that the local council does provide subsidies for water and electricity to those residents that qualify; however 11.3 percent state that the indigent policy is not yet properly implemented, while 12.5 percent are not aware of such a policy/practice.

According to the CTMM (2004: 36) it is estimated that 93 percent of black households earn on or below the minimum household income (MHI) level. Since the majority of black people are concentrated on the northern periphery, it follows that almost all services expansion in the northern part requires indigent support. Furthermore, the income profile suggests that 60 percent of all households in Tshwane earn on or below the MHI level, and therefore require support in order to afford basic municipal services. The CTMM also needs to be sensitive to tariff affordability. Some respondents acknowledge that the local council is implementing the indigent policy with respect to the provision of water and electricity to deserving residents within the zones. Other respondents state that through the implementation of the indigent policy, deserving residents receive a 6-kilolitre rebate on water and 30-50 kilowatts on electricity. A suggestion from some respondents is that since costs for services are too high, a flat rate of R120.00 should be charged to cover both water and electricity services in the zones to accommodate those who cannot afford them. This suggestion will be tabled at public participation forums for the attention of the local council.

In the CTMM, the city treasurer prescribes basic tariffs for water and electricity and the affordability of services depends on the self-discipline of the communities. For water, the first 6 kl of water consumption is free, whereafter a five-point sliding is applied to determine the monthly water account. Electricity supply to individual stands is mostly through prepaid meters and is also determined by the affordability level of each household. The rates and taxes are based on the evaluation of stands, which are on average R15000-00 per stand in the lower income group areas.

5.4.4.2. Major firms/industries

Chart 5.9 indicates that 56.3 percent of the respondents have some knowledge of major firms/industries that employ local people from areas within the wards, 40 percent says some areas do not have these, while 3.8 percent have no idea of who those firms are.

Industrial sites are another key area of interface between rural and urban people. Respondents state that most people from rural and urban areas are employed in various industries in the zones. The City of Tshwane (2004: 51) indicates that the Pretoria and Wonderboom areas play a dominant role in economic growth and the provision of job opportunities in the CTMM. It argues that the less developed regions of Ga-Rankuwa, Temba and Soshanguve, though they still lack sufficient economic drivers, do provide formal employment opportunities for people in the CTMM. The respondents mention that the zones with major industrial sites include, amongst others; zone A (Temba in Babelegi), zone B (Soshanguve, Mabopane Blocks N and Block B, Rosslyn and Ga-Rankuwa zone 15), zone D (Akasia, Montana), zone E (Gezina), zone F (Denneboom, Mamelodi), zone H (Centurion) and zone I (Menlyn, Faerie Glen, Garsfontein). Those industrial sites located in East Lynne, Johannesburg, Brits, Pretoria and Gezina are economic hubs where much interaction is witnessed between people of different races, nationalities, cultures and rural and urban areas.

The commercial and business sectors located at Villeria, Queenswood, Gezina, East Lynne and Pretoria draw on a large number of people from the zone as well. The Ford Motor Corporation, Aventis, Newtra, SAB, and other businesses such as motor, chemical, food manufacturing, construction and nurseries, are located at Pyramid, Bon Accord, Vasfontein and industrial sites at Iscor, Pretoria West, and Centurion. Business and commercial sectors create much interaction between the rural and urban residents in and around the zones.

The industrial areas attract people from different zones and create much interaction between people from rural and urban areas, as they employ people from within and across the zones. The interaction is at the level of employer-employee across different races, tribal groups with different cultural and traditional beliefs, customs and values, classes and rural and urban residents. However, some community members expressed a concern that many companies have relocated/closed down, especially at the Babelegi industrial area, leading to a high level of unemployment among communities.

5.4.4.3. Industrial nodes for LED

Chart 5.9 indicates that 55 percent of respondents are aware of the industrial nodes that contribute to the local economic development in the wards. However, 35 percent say they do not exist, while 10 percent have no knowledge of such.

The City of Tshwane (2004: 53) notes that growth in formal employment in the Pretoria area exceeds that of its economically active population, meaning that a large percentage of the labour force commutes from the less developed regions to Pretoria. Therefore a lack of employment opportunities in the northern areas has led to an increase in informal activities not only in these areas, but also in Pretoria and Wonderboom. According to the City of Tshwane (2004: 53), the gap between the EAP and formal job opportunities is widening, because from 1996 to 2002, the EAP increased by approximately 220 000 while job opportunities increased by only 180 000. The available data reflects that informal employment almost doubled between 1996 and 2000. The situation with regards to informal employment shows that for the same period, it more than doubled from just more than 43 000 in 1996 to approximately 98 000 in 2002. However, it is interesting to note that the informal employment sector declined from 2001 to 2002, but the reasons behind this are still being investigated by the CTMM. The social development indicators used in the analysis of the economic situation within the CTMM indicate that income is highly unequally distributed, per capita income less, and the number of people living in poverty is much higher in the northern regions such as Ga-Rankuwa and Temba.

According to Khanya (2004: 88), since 1994, the promotion of LED has emerged as a central facet of policy and planning for both rural and urban reconstruction in South Africa. It argues that support for the LED is fragmented between the different spheres of government, and in practice, LED often tends to be equated with projects rather than an integrated approach that can be sustained and scaled up that supports economic processes. Therefore the existing LED planning is dominated by activities geared to achieving high growth rates in the formal economy, but there is an increasing focus on issues of “pro-poor LED”. However, the diverse strategies that are being implemented across a range of different localities should be acknowledged. The City of Tshwane (2004: 88) acknowledges the existence of LED strategy, which also serves to address the problem of unemployment in the CTMM. In summary, LED strategy specifies that the retention of businesses is critical because some firms are leaving Tshwane and relocating to other areas or simply closing down. Furthermore, the local authority must attract and develop new businesses and this should include the attraction of new investment locally and internationally as well as the creation of SMMEs.

Some respondents are of the opinion that LED projects help uplift the livelihoods of the rural and urban poor, and help to a certain degree in alleviating poverty caused by unemployment. The local council makes opportunities available for local people to get involved in small and medium scale

businesses to generate income. People in different wards are thus involved in LED projects such as selling chicken portions and “half skops” (pig head), spaza shops, hair salons, panel beaters, dressmaking, taxis, fruit and vegetable vendors, hawkers, surgeries, pharmacies, filling stations, cash loans, security companies, containers for food, supermarkets, goods and telephones, general dealers, taverns, bottle stores, butcheries, and bakeries. For instance in Mabopane block C, there is space reserved for growing vegetables to generate income for the local community. Zone G has a commercial centre located in Skhamorogo/Jimmy Centre in Saulsville/Attridgeville that draws many residents from within and outside the zone. In zone G, the Danville centre has facilities such as a library, bottle store, fruit and vegetable shop, clothing shops, butchery, post office, Spar, and residential flats. Much interaction is experienced as residents from rural, peri-urban and urban areas access services provided by community members across all the zones.

Within the economic sector, MPCCs, industries/firms, SMMEs and agricultural development initiatives draw much attention of rural and urban residents in and across the zone. Thus much interaction between rural and urban people is witnessed at the MPCC's where people interact as they access businesses, shops, social meetings, fun and entertainment.

Some economic nodes exist within the peri-urban/rural areas in the zones, for example motor companies, paint and peanut butter firms, etc., which are also used by people from urban areas. However, much movement is experienced between rural and urban areas such as small towns, townships and cities, and for employment opportunities, people go to, amongst others; Denneboom, Silverton, Mamelodi, Cullinan, Bronkhortspruit, Watloo, Eersterus and Pretoria. The IDP (2004) mentions that the challenge for the LED is to facilitate the development of a skills training process with a dynamic supportive mentoring programme implemented across all sectors of its operation.

5.4.4.4. Industries providing services to other areas

Chart 5.9 reflects that 65.0 percent of respondents know that there are industries providing services to other areas, 15.0 percent do not think so while 20 percent do not know.

Respondents indicate that the major firms mentioned above play a major role in providing services to other areas as well as employing people from other areas. These include (as stated above) the Babelegi industrial area in Temba; Rosslyn, Ga-Rankuwa zone 15 and Mabopane Blocks N and Block B; the industrial sites at Montana, Akasia, Brits, Soshanguve, Pretoria; those in East Lynne,

Pretoria and Gezina The commercial and business sectors located at Villeria, Queenswood, Gezina, Silvertondale, East Lynne and Pretoria draw on a large number on people from the zone as well. These are economic hubs, which serve as service centres for other areas across the zone and provincial borders. These industries create interaction between people from rural and urban areas of different educational background, race, nationality, culture, religion, custom, belief, class and sexual orientation. Most of these services are located in and around urban areas, thus rural people commute to and from their respective areas to complete their business transactions.

5.4.4.5. Training/skills development institutions

Chart 5.9 reflects that 61.3 percent of respondents are aware of the areas where training is provided to the local people to help develop skills in various areas. However, 32.5 percent think this service should still be made available to communities, while 6.3 percent do not know of the existence of such services.

There are training centres in various wards where people from both rural and urban areas are trained on various fields, for example financial management, computer literacy, woodwork and entrepreneurial skills. Some of the centres, for example the Hammanskraal job club, provide a service assisting people find jobs as well. People who are skilled/empowered by such centres may be employed anywhere within and outside the zone, thus there is an exchange of skills between one area and another creating much interaction between urban and rural residents at this level. In some wards there are initiatives to develop community projects that serve to train the rural and urban residents especially the youth (both literate and illiterate) to empower them, for example ward 49, Mandela Village. The council also provides training to interested people in tourism, farming and building, for example ward 49. The City of Tshwane (2004: 51) emphasises that there is still a great deal of room for the upgrading of skills, especially in areas such as Soshanguve, Temba and Ga-Rankuwa.

5.4.4.6. Potential for tourism development

According to Chart 5.9, 51.3 percent of respondents acknowledge that there are areas with potential for tourism development within the zones, but 32.5 percent do not think there are many such areas, while 16.3 percent do not know any area with such potential.

Respondents indicate that Mandela Village (ward 49) has potential for tourism development owing to the nature of development taking place there, as well as the presence of the statue of the former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela. The Mandela heritage site is among the popular tourist attractions for people visiting zone A. In addition, the Ga-Mothakga resort and the Blue Strip heritage sites located between Philip Nel and Lotus Gardens in zone G, are also tourist attraction for people within and outside of the zone. In zone B, the respondents indicated that the areas between Morula View and Block C (i.e. Morula Sun dam) once developed could draw people from local and other areas as tourist destinations.

According to the CTMM (2004: 126), tourism is often seen as one of the most effective and efficient tools for economic development, as it can provide, amongst other things, investment opportunities, employment and skills development. Owing to the nature of tourism, these benefits are not always clearly visible and evident. Tourism plays various other roles in addition to economic development. It ensures that poverty levels among communities can be reduced by allowing or creating equitable access to resources and services across all socio-economic classes thereby sharing the burden among communities. Tourism in the Tshwane Metropolitan area has potential for the creation of employment opportunities, and the development of entrepreneurial skills and investment opportunities. This implies that communities that host tourism resources actually benefit directly from the utilisation of these resources. However, the CTMM (2004: 126) argues that the levels of services should be improved in these areas owing to the fact that although facilities in the old Pretoria areas are generally in a good condition, others such as the Ga-Mothakga resort, are not in operation. Kwaggaspruit has poor services, the ones in Centurion have “under average” infrastructure while those on the northern side have very little infrastructure accompanied by a lack of personnel, funding and service delivery. This challenges the local authority to reinvest in these areas to ensure optimal utilisation of these facilities to the benefit of those communities that host the tourism facilities.

5.4.4.7. Agricultural development programmes

Chart 5.9 above reflects that 46.3 percent know about the existence of agricultural development programmes for both rural and urban areas in the wards. However, 38.8 percent believe that these should be made more accessible to both the rural and urban poor to improve their livelihoods, while 15 percent have not heard of such services.

Respondents assert that agricultural development projects and farming are in place in wards within the selected zones and that they help to uplift the livelihoods of both the rural and urban poor. Agricultural projects are encouraged and both rural and urban residents practise subsistence farming, therefore urban agriculture is also practised.

Subsistence farming is practised in zones in both rural and urban (urban agriculture) wards. Food gardens are established for either personal (i.e. feeding families) or business purposes (i.e. to generate income). Farming is also practised in the rural areas and people farm mostly in livestock, for example goats, sheep, cows and poultry. Products from these projects are sold at various locations and are accessible to rural and urban residents alike. Thus both rural and urban residents frequent markets where these products are sold. Those who buy in bulk for selling at the designated areas within the MPCCs purchase their fruit and vegetables from the Pretoria small and big markets (Pretoria fresh produce market in Marabastad). According to the CTMM (2004: 89) the Tshwane Market is at to date the only wholesale fresh produce market in the Tshwane metropolitan area. The Tshwane Market, which is an operational entity of the City of Tshwane, has identified the need to improve the access to fresh produce in disadvantaged areas of Greater Tshwane. Its mission is to provide unique trade centres where price forming and fresh produce trading take place to the mutual benefit of suppliers, buyers and consumers (i.e. community members) by providing efficient and cost-effective infrastructure and services that comply with international standards. The CTMM (2004: 89) states that the northern suburbs are the most critical core areas in terms of need, empowerment and capturing of potential customers. Previous legislation that regulated the establishment of markets has been repealed and this has removed barriers that protected the market. The Tshwane market has been operating in a deregulated environment and there are plans regularly coming to the fore of erecting markets within the Tshwane Metropolitan area. The plan is also to make these markets competitive and able to compete with other markets for market share. Therefore the need for additional services or infrastructure has been receiving the attention of the local authorities, while the market plans to extend existing processing facilities and other retail facilities further within the next five years.

There are many nurseries, including those established on a small scale consisting of people who sell at shopping complexes and along the main roads, within the selected zones. These provide people from both rural and urban areas with their nursery requirements, for example Malan Seuns next to Wonderboom in Pretoria. Respondents indicate that more agricultural projects are still required to help uplift the economic status of local communities, and since most people are unemployed, it is

believed that subsistence farming may help mitigate the effects of unemployment and alleviate poverty.

Agricultural development projects are available in homes, clinics, crèches and churches. People living in rural and urban areas implement agricultural projects in a form of vegetable gardens, tree planting, growing a variety of fruit, nurseries, experimental farming, livestock and poultry. There are unemployed people (individually or in organised groups) in rural, peri-urban and some urban areas who have plots of land (either in their backyards or in designated areas) in which they grow a variety of fruit and vegetables, and (if the products come out as anticipated) they are said to be very beneficial both for personal consumption and for business purposes in improving their livelihoods. For instance in Mabopane Block C, there is a plot of land reserved for growing vegetables, thus a form of urban agriculture is practised, as well as farming in Mabopane Block B, ward 21, both in zone B. In zone F, the Itireleng agricultural project assists people develop their skills in agriculture within available means. These initiatives help boost the economic status of both rural and urban people, as well as the unemployed. Danville in zone G has an organisation for unemployed women who are involved in fruit and vegetable gardening. There are schools in various wards that cultivate food gardens as well. These SMMEs help uplift the economic status of the urban and rural poor and contribute to local economic development. However, there are areas that have particularly expressed a lack of these services (e.g. Nelmapius in ward 40), thus agricultural products are required to help alleviate poverty created by unemployment amongst the urban and rural poor.

Some respondents suggest that there should be a partnership between the local council and NGOs particularly with respect to leasing vacant land to NGOs for the purposes of developing food gardens to benefit local communities. They believe that people living in both rural and urban areas are not a homogenous group, that is, there are those that are better off economically and the poorest of the poor. Therefore (urban) agricultural projects should be encouraged in both areas to improve the livelihoods of poor residents. These initiatives would benefit both the rural and urban poor. The CTMM (2003: 47) states that urban agriculture should be promoted throughout the metropolitan area, especially in high density residential areas and less affluent residential neighbourhoods.

5.4.4.8. High rate of unemployment

Chart 5.9 reflects that 62.5 percent of respondents agree that there is a high rate of unemployment within the zones, but 31.3 percent does not seem to think so, while 6.3 percent does not know.

Responses indicate that there is a high level of unemployment in all the selected zones within rural, peri-urban and urban areas. Some respondents think that this seems to be linked to a high level of crime due to the observation that there are many job seekers and some end up committing crimes. An observed movement of job seekers in some areas is from rural to urban while in others is from urban to urban to find jobs with higher wages to better their lives. Some respondents indicate that due to a high level of unemployment, most community members are forced to move out of their houses daily to queue for job offers at various “pick-up points” in Pretoria. These are places where unemployed people congregate, and prospective employers come and “pick them” in line with their skills or areas of interest, while others move from door to door asking for employment. Poverty forces people, even those with qualifications, to accept job offers that are not in line with their areas of study. Responses indicate that most women revert to being domestic employees or child minders, to beer brewing, and to hawking and vending fruit. In extreme cases, some respondents say they have witnessed some girls and women turning to prostitution on the streets of Pretoria in order to make ends meet.

A growing concern among respondents, particularly the townships within the CTMM is the escalating level of unemployment, resulting in most people loitering in the streets to try and make ends meet. This is closely associated to increasing cases of rape and abuse being experienced within these areas. There is also abuse of the elderly because in most cases, the entire extended family is reliant on their pension money. One respondent from ward 74 sadly indicated that on the day when the elderly get their pension money, one would actually see family members congregating in their homes “to get their slice of the budget” from the pension money, but when the money is finished, they seldom visit. She said that the childcare grant seems to have brought some relief, particularly to unemployed women who head families, as it helps them survive on a monthly basis.

On the one hand, responses indicate that research has already been conducted to assess employment patterns in the zones, while on the other they reflect that no research has been conducted by the local council to assess employment patterns within and across the zones, however, it is known that unemployment is escalating. Respondents have observed a high rate of unemployment in most zones, though the exact figures could not be obtained. Approximate figures given by a respondent with regards to Nelmapius reveal that 60 percent of the male and 40 percent of the female population in that ward (40) are unemployed in both urban and rural areas.

The CTMM (2004: 59) states that, in South Africa, unemployment has reached alarmingly high levels with the major share of the unemployed being unskilled, residing in the rural areas and being relatively young. The unemployment rate in South Africa has dramatically increased from less than 10 percent in 1980 to more than 40 percent in 2002. It further demonstrates that in Gauteng, unemployment was excessively high on 39.4 percent in 2001 (using the expanded definition) which was more than the Western Cape on 21.6 percent and far less than the Eastern Cape, which stood at 60.5 percent. The CTMM (2004: 59) reflects that most of the unemployed are found in the rural areas, are poorly educated and unskilled, and women are worse affected than men. An observation made in this regard is that the number of discouraged work seekers in the labour force is increasing. Most unemployment can be classified as structural as it results mainly from the low levels of labour absorption in the economy. The major causes of structural unemployment are embedded in the historical and present political, institutional, socio-economic and economic conditions. In addition, job market, education and training initiatives and labour mobility were influenced by biased apartheid policies. The benefits of globalisation seem to have been largely confined to the core modern economy and the expected “trickle-down” effects to the marginal economy have been limited. Unemployment places economic and social strain on the community and the unemployed are increasingly caught up in a vicious cycle of poverty, which further constrains their chances to be absorbed by the formal sector. This indicates that there is a close relationship between the economic and social costs of unemployment.

According to an analysis presented in the CTMM (2004: 25), only 33 percent of Tshwane inhabitants are employed, which implies that approximately 654 457 inhabitants are employed within the formal sector, while 20.4 percent (404 809) of people are still unemployed. The latter is composed of categories of people that are still actively looking for work but cannot find any, those that have given up on looking for work and those that choose not to work. The analysis also assumes that this group of people represents a large number of those involved in informal sector activities in pursuit of a livelihood. Approximately 3 percent of the Tshwane population is involved in other activities such as homemakers or housewives as well as seasonal workers who were not working at the time of the Census 2001 count. Furthermore, the CTMM (2004: 25) points out that 29.6 percent (587 200) of people cannot be employed because they are either younger than 15, older than 65 or are unable to work due to illness or disability. Therefore, unemployed people and those who cannot work in Tshwane account for half of the city’s population.

Some of the challenges confronting the CTMM include the fact that it is characterised as a highly fragmented mix of urbanised, peri-urban and rural areas, each with its own economic base and function (CTMM 2004: 63) states that there are vast vacant areas separating many settlement areas and this phenomenon has created many problems with respect to economic development because creating economies of scale has proved to be very difficult. This situation places tremendous burden on the provision of services and is being exacerbated by the current lack of infrastructure. Another challenge is the mountain ranges that cut through Pretoria, creating a divide between areas with resources and opportunities and those without proper services, and have a negative impact on creating proper economic development opportunities. For instance, within the CTMM, industrial areas located a few kilometres away from each other are not directly linked. The CTMM (2004: 63) contends that for proper or efficient economic development to take place, efficient spatial links need to be created so as to enhance the multiplier effects required to support economic growth.

The City of Tshwane (2004: 63) provides what seems to be a solution and argues that the City's vision of globalisation by its very nature has the potential to reinforce the inherited dual nature of the economy. In this light, the City needs to acknowledge that there are two economies operating side by side – the modern and the marginalised. This would enable the City to design a strategy that will integrate them both by suitably equipping and energising the marginalised economy. According to the City of Tshwane (2004: 63) this will not only alleviate the economic problems but also help to build a strong and integrated socio-economic environment.

5.4.4.9. High level of crime

Chart 5.9 reflect that 93.8 percent of respondents confirm that there is a high level of crime within the zones, while 5.0 percent does not think so and 1.3 percent seem not to be affected by crime at all.

The respondents confirm that there is a high level of crime, alongside a high level of unemployment in the zones, though the exact statistics could not be obtained from respondents themselves. The respondents identified the common crimes prevalent in both rural and urban areas across all zones as the following: rape, murder and robbery/bag snatching/mugging, housebreaking/burglary, theft, domestic violence, abuse of children, women and drug and substance abuse, and unfair labour practices; housebreaking, murder, car hijacking, vehicle theft,

gun running, pick pocketing and non-cooperation with the police. Some respondents complained that some areas such as Nelmapius (ward 40) are used as a safe haven for wanted criminals and gunshots are heard at night. Owing to a high level of unemployment and crime, there is an observed movement of people from rural to urban areas as well as from urban to urban areas, for example phase 1 (informal settlement) to Mamelodi or Mamelodi to Moreleta Park and/or Faerie Glen or Mamelodi to Pretoria.

There are police stations that service surrounding rural and urban areas in the zones, such as those in Temba, Soshanguve, Mabopane, Ga-Rankuwa, Mamelodi, Attridgeville/Saulsville and Centurion. Though some people from informal settlements do not have police stations and have to travel long distances to access this service, residents in some rural areas are closer to the service, for example the Phuthanang police station (in Soshanguve) is close to some rural areas. Some residents of Danville (zone G) also use the Pretoria West police station, which is more accessible to them.

There are traffic cops and several satellite police stations in some wards that serve the urban, peri-urban and rural areas. There are scholar patrol designated areas and visible roads signs, thus community safety is ensured in some urban and peri-urban areas. However, arterial roads in peri-urban areas do not have these signs and more still needs to be done to improve community safety.

Police stations are not available in amongst others, wards 48 and 64 (zone H), thus residents use the Wierdabrug police station located in the neighbouring area. However, offenders from both rural and urban areas are locked in similar cells. There is a dire need for more police stations within the urban, peri-urban and rural areas to help decrease the level of crime in the zones. This plea emanates particularly from those (rural) residents who live a long way from existing police stations. Respondents indicate that safety and security measures should be put in place to improve levels of safety in rural and urban communities where they are non-existent for example visible road signs, scholar patrol designated areas, pedestrian crossing lines. A concern raised with respect to the police stations that service both rural and urban residents is around the availability of police cars/vans when crimes are reported because police seldom show up until situations degenerate into worst case scenarios.

5.4.4.10. Strategy for SMMEs

Chart 5.9 indicates that 52.5 percent of respondents are aware of the strategy for the development of small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) in the wards. However, 31.3 percent say it is not in place and 16.3 percent do not know about it. Some respondents also have an idea of the types of business there are in the wards.

Respondents indicate that the SMMEs are another key area that draws many rural and urban residents to interact at common places. Though some responses indicate a lack of the strategy for the management of SMMEs, others believe the strategy is in place and is being implemented in various zones. Respondents indicate that available SMMEs in rural, peri-urban and urban areas include fruit and vegetable vendors, hawkers, tuck shops, hair salons, panel beaters and spray painting, containers for food and goods, telephone vendors, surgeries, printing, cash loans (matshonisa), taxis, spaza shops, bottle stores, security companies, dairies, taverns, shebeens, car wash outlets, estate agencies, dry cleaners, general dealers, plumbers, motor mechanic and appliances, repairs, vehicle repairs and electronics, dressmaking, butcheries, bakeries, production of candles and dolls located in Danville, funeral parlours and poverty alleviation programmes, and filling stations. SMMEs also draw scores of people from rural and urban areas within and outside of the zone together. Communities are involved in small businesses to counter the effects of unemployment and poverty, and some examples include the Agisanang SMME in Unit 7, Industrial Park in Saulsville; NAFCOC, as well as the industrial area in Soshanguve block F. These businesses create economic vibrancy in the zones, are accessed and supported by rural and urban people alike and improve the livelihood of poor community members. Respondents acknowledge that SMMEs contribute to the development of the local economy and to a certain extent alleviate poverty created by unemployment. The interface between people from the rural and urban areas happens when people buy goods in support of SMMEs. People from within and outside the zones flock to these small businesses to obtain services, some of which are regarded as cheaper than those of the big chain stores. Pamphlets are distributed to local rural and urban residents as a mechanism for marketing some of these SMMEs.

Zone C has SMME retailers, transport services and construction services. These centres are frequented by people from within and outside the zone and create economic viability as well within zone C. In zone D, there is an initiative to develop SMMEs in the zone and in some wards an association of local business people has been formed comprising people from the zone The CTMM

(2004: 89) states that Tshwane needs to pay attention to the development of SMMEs and pursue other strategies aimed at the creation of economic opportunities for the majority of its residents. However, SMMEs require training, access to advice and markets, for example local, international tender opportunities, access to finance and opportunities to network. According the CTMM (2004: 89), three service providers, that is, ESA-T, Trade Point and Cenbis, are being financially supported by the CTMM to provide these services. It should be acknowledged that a city as large as 60km by 40 km cannot be successfully managed by only three service providers, thus more capacity is needed to tap and nurture entrepreneurial talent within the city.

5.4.4.11. Existing financial institutions

Chart 5.9 shows that 53.8 percent of respondents know that there are existing financial services (i.e. banks/cash loans etc.) within the wards in the selected zones. However, 42.5 percent do believe that more of these institutions still need to be made available, while 3.8 percent do not know about the existence of financial institutions within their wards.

Another key area that brings people from both rural and urban areas to a common place is financial institutions, that is, banks. Both rural and urban residents interact at these institutions as they complete business transactions.

5.4.4.12. Exchange of skills and goods

According to Chart 5.9, 25 percent of respondents know that there is trading/exchange of goods and skills between the wards and neighbouring ones. However, 42.5 percent contend that no trading is openly seen, while 32.5 percent do not know if there is a trading of skills at all.

There is an acknowledged exchange of skills across the zones as skilled people from rural areas are employed in the urban areas and vice versa. Thus this cross-pollination benefits both rural and urban areas economically.

OVERALL RESULT

Overall, 59.2 percent of respondents are aware of the existing economic services, however 29.5 percent feel more still need to be delivered in this sector, while 11.3 percent do not know of the availability of certain economic services within their respective wards.

5.4.4.13. Strategy to manage the economic impact of HIV/Aids: ward members' responses only

Ward members were asked if the local council has developed a strategy to manage the economic impact of HIV/AIDS within the wards. Responses indicate that 37.8 percent are aware of the strategy, 26.7 percent are not aware while 35.6 percent do not know about it.

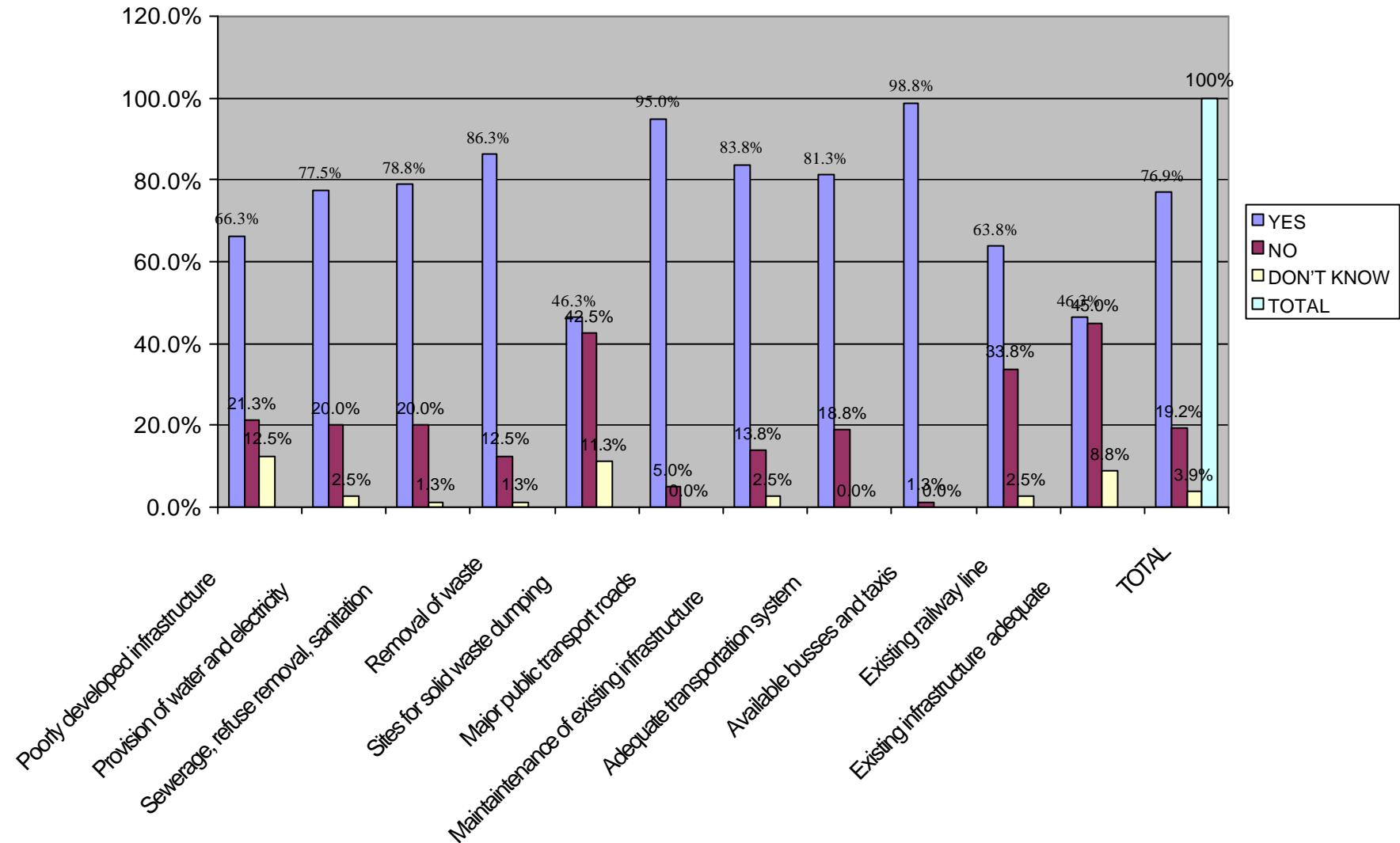
A small percentage of the responses reflect knowledge of the strategy to manage the economic impact of HIV/AIDS within the zones but most people do not really know about it. The CTMM (2004: 420) confirms that the coordinated HIV/AIDS strategy may, in principle, be regarded to be in place in the CTMM, but there are also various national and local attempts to deal with this acute peril that threatens to destroy community life though these efforts are not integrated.

AIDS has a significant impact on the economy of the CTMM as well. According to the CTMM (2004: 64), Aids has macroeconomic effects, as it will lead to a lower growth rate of the labour force, an increase in productivity and training costs as well as higher absenteeism. This situation will lead to more capital-intensive methods of production, and limited improvements in levels of savings, and lower capital inflows will hamper growth and employment. The CTMM (2004: 64) suggests that the LED should take cognisance of the impact that HIV/AIDS will have on the socio-economic environment and take an active role in prevention programmes. However, it acknowledges that the LED will play a supportive role in collaboration with other CTMM role players in the implementation of HIV/Aids awareness programmes alongside all its training and facilitation programmes.

5.4.5. INFRASTRUCTURE FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES

CHART 5.10: INFRASTRUCTURE FACTORS

INFRASTRUCTURAL FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES



5.4.5.1. Poorly developed infrastructure

According to Chart 5.10, 66.3 percent of respondents admit that there are areas with poorly developed infrastructure that restrict potential for growth/development. However, 21.3 percent do not think so, while 12.5 percent do not know.

Respondents indicate that the areas with poorly developed infrastructure, such as lack of clean water, electricity, sanitation and proper roads, storm water drains, include amongst others, the following: zones EW, CV, Thusanong and Letlotlo in zone B; Soshanguve extensions 8, 9, 10 and 12 in zone C; in zone A, Hammanskraal i.e. Marokolong, Ramotse, Majaneng, and Refilwe, as well as the transit camps in ward 48 in zone H. This status restricts potential for growth/development in the zones and thus requires attention by the local council.

According to the CTMM (2004: 38), the problems associated with poorly developed infrastructure should be understood against the development experience of the CTMM. It states that the dualistic tension in Tshwane between the north and south is one of the developmental characteristics of the city and thus virtually defines itself as a priority strategic issue. Greater Pretoria has for decades been criticised for its inability to incorporate the dense peri-urban dormitory settlements on its borders, a situation that was a consequence of past influx control policies. Some of these areas were located within the former Bophuthatswana bantustan. The CTMM (2004: 38) argues that the municipal demarcation process created the institutional basis for addressing the effects of past urban policies; therefore addressing the condition of the north is a priority political challenge and a legitimate electoral expectation. The development initiatives since 1994 focused on defining the strategy that deals with the condition of the north. The development of the RDP and the Municipal Infrastructure Framework (MIF) established a “basic needs” approach that aimed to direct government’s resources to the poorest households. The core tenet of this “basic needs” approach is said to have been that consumers should pay for services and where they cannot the municipality would implement some form of subsidy mechanism. This strategy assumes that the affordability of services is achieved through the moderation of service levels. However, this approach has not proved to be sustainable because experience has shown that the affordability of services is not moderated by service levels. It has been discovered that, despite the introduction of the indigent policy, which serves to provide support to poor households, only a few households can still afford to pay for services, resulting in deteriorating payment levels as well as a municipal cash crisis. On

this basis, it is clear that the development of the north is required to ensure that Tshwane as a municipality remains sustainable.

The CTMM (2004: 39) states that Tshwane municipality considered shifting towards a new approach that comes to terms with the financial constraints of infrastructure provision in their process of preparing the municipality's restructuring grant application. The new approach is "demand responsive" and based on the municipality having to take full responsibility for providing infrastructure in a sustainable manner. In line with this approach, some of the strategies being considered include introducing an incremental approach to infrastructure provision, starting with basic services and then incrementally increasing service levels over time. Another strategy involves providing a differentiated range of service level options, allowing communities to decide on a service level that is affordable to them. This option of differentiated service levels is believed to introduce additional choice as people can move to areas that meet their needs and ability to pay. Additional strategies include the implementation of tariff and rates policies that enables fair distribution of the payment burden and cross-subsidisation between rich and poor households. Owing to the existing state of non-payment of services across the zones, the CTMM (2004: 39) also suggests that the implementation of credit control policies may help restore a culture of payment. The key developmental challenge is therefore to address the needs of the north by, amongst other things, avoiding unsustainable provision of municipal services and encouraging visible public investment that generates efficiencies by concentrating developments in the emerging urban nodes.

5.4.5.2. Provision of water and electricity

Chart 5.10 reflects that 77.5 percent of respondents know the main service providers of bulk services such as water and electricity in the wards, and 20 percent say that there are areas where these services are not provided, while 2.5 percent do not know.

Respondents mention that the main service providers of water and electricity across the zones are the local council, Eskom (electricity) and Magalies water, Rand Water, and Odi water retail. Service providers such as Boikhutsong and Itsoseng are identified as providing electricity services in zone B only. The CTMM (2004: 98) states that the CTMM's water needs are supplied by Rand Water (82%), Magalies Water (4%), Rietvlei Dam (14%) and local sources such as springs and boreholes. It also reflects that the CTMM supplies bulk water (approximately 7 Ml/d) to Midrand (City of Johannesburg) and Bojanala Platinum (Moretele LM) and Metswedeng DM areas located

outside the municipal boundaries. This reflects the interface between Tshwane and its neighbouring areas/provinces with respect to the delivery of services.

The City's water supply assets include reservoirs, water towers, pumping stations and water pipelines (CTMM 2004: 99) According to the CTMM (2004: 100), a number of water resource augmentation schemes include the following within the CTMM: Roodeplaat Dam, Temba Water Supply Scheme, reclamation of Treated Sewage Effluent (TSE), Rietvlei Dam, as well as boreholes. The CTMM (2004: 27) shows that 80 percent of inhabitants have access to piped water in their yards/dwellings, 7.1 percent access water at sources located less than 200 metres away from their dwellings, 8.4 percent access water from pipes located more than 200 metres from their dwellings, and 4.5 percent get their water from other sources. Respondents indicate that water and electricity services are offered to residents in urban and some peri-urban and rural areas in the zones. Electricity and water services are not supplied to some rural residents. There is therefore an observed movement to urban areas/peri-urban areas in search for water in particular. Rural residents travel long distances to urban areas to queue and fetch water from taps located on the streets on some of their street corners, as well as on the main roads that divide urban and rural areas. Therefore, water tanks and taps on street corners in both urban and rural areas create an interaction between residents of urban, peri-urban and rural areas. Some respondents indicate that water tanks are provided in some areas in the zones where water is scarce. In some rural areas, water tanks are provided e.g. by Lebudi in ward 2), some urban people use trucks and rural people donkey carts to distribute water to people in the rural neighbourhood. Some residents use their own boreholes to access water, but others have been robbed by people who dig boreholes in areas where the underground stream is very deep and end up not accessing water at all. Provision of water taps in yards is mostly seen in urban and peri urban areas.

The CTMM (2004: 83) reflects that there are eight electricity in-feed stations, which serve as Eskom's supply points. These include the following: Njala 275k V (Moreleta Park); Kwagga 275k V (Pretoria West); Rietvlei 132k V (Centurion); Buffel 132k V (Klip and Kruisfontein); Hartebeespoort 33k V; Mabopane 33k V; Kosmos 11k V (Hartebeespoort-west); and Hammanskraal 11k V. There are sixty substations (60) that include 132k V/ 11k V and 33k V/ 11k V. These provide people in the urban, peri-urban and rural areas with electricity, though there are areas where electricity is not provided, particularly in some peri-urban and rural areas. However with the expansion of the electricity distribution network, the CTMM (2004: 153) mentions that many opportunities arise to incorporate greener electricity and the reduction of electricity use by

retrofitting and solar heating services. It suggests that sustainable energy for environment and development programmes can provide valuable inputs to this initiative to the benefit of both residents of the rural and the urban areas.

In some rural and peri-urban areas that do not have access to electricity in the CTMM, residents travel to shopping centres to purchase paraffin, paraffin lamps, paraffin stoves, gas stoves, gas lamps, candles and lanterns for household use. There are some informal settlements where the prepaid electricity system is available in houses (i.e. Extension 10 in Soshanguve), whereas in others only streetlights (apollo lights) are available. Some rural residents use solar electricity facilities amongst others.

Respondents indicate that residents in the illegal informal settlements do not receive these services. For instance, residents of the Brazzaville, Siyahlalala and the Schurveberg informal settlements (zone G) have no supply of these services, therefore some peri-urban residents use trucks to sell water to residents in the Brazzaville and Schurveberg areas. Thus they interact with the neighbouring areas for access to water and electricity. In this case, the taps located along the main roads that divide rural and urban areas are used as a water source. Some respondents reveal that the interaction created between these residents and those in adjacent urban areas involve access to services, as well as stealing from the peri-urban areas. They indicate that some community members from these informal settlements connect electricity illegally and distribute it to other residents in their areas. Some criminals steal from formal houses, while others steal live current from electrical poles from the streetlights in the neighbouring areas such as Extension 6 and 7 in Jeffsville (zone G). They believe that this type of interface really requires attention from the local council. In zone H, residents of transit camps in ward 48 are also not supplied with water and electricity services. They therefore obtain services such as water from the surrounding peri-urban areas.

Overall, the CTMM (2004: 27) indicates that 95 percent of households in Tshwane have access to piped water, though the level of service differs greatly from area to area. It reflects that 22.7 percent of inhabitants in zones A, B and F rely on water from community stand pipes, while 15.6 percent of households in zone A rely on water located more than 200 metres from their dwellings. However, in zones E and I nearly all households, that is, 90 percent, have access to piped water in their yards; 4.5 percent from boreholes and springs and 1 percent from natural and other sources including dams, rainwater, rivers and streams. The latter category is comprised of people mostly in the rural

areas. However, the water demand from especially the residential sector is ever increasing, as a 55.3 percent increase was recorded in 2004 and as a result water conservation measures must be addressed.

5.4.5.3. Sewerage, refuse removal and sanitation services

Chart 5.10 above indicates that 78.8 percent of respondents acknowledge that areas in the wards have some form of sewerage network, refuse removal and sanitation service providers. However, 20 percent feel this service should be made more available to those areas that do not have them, and 1.3 percent do not know if all areas in the wards have these services.

Sanitation, sewerage and refuse removal services are provided by the local council to residents in the urban and some peri-urban/rural areas in the zones. Sewerage, sanitation, disease control and refuse removals services are adequately provided in urban and peri-urban areas. Respondents assert that these services are still lacking in the rural areas. Samtech toilets are provided in some areas where these services are still lacking, while some rural residents use the pit latrine system for toilets. Respondents mentioned that there is cooperation between the local council and private service providers in the provision of a sewerage network, and refuse removal and sanitation services (i.e. zone C). The CTMM (2004: 28) indicates that 69.9 percent of Tshwane households, the majority of whom reside in the south of the city, that is, zones E, F, G, H and I, are being serviced by flush toilets. The inhabitants of the northern side of the city still use pit latrines including the ventilated pit latrine (VIP). For instance, nearly two thirds (74.7%) of the people in Zone A; 49.9 percent in zone C and 34.6 percent in zone B have access to pit latrines only. In its analysis, the CTMM (2004: 28) indicates that the septic tanks make up 5 percent and 6 percent of toilet facilities in agricultural areas included in zones D, G and H.

5.4.5.4. Removal of waste

Chart 5.10 reflects that 86.3 percent of respondents contend that there are areas where waste is removed and collected, while 12.5 percent registered a concern that there are many areas where this service is not yet available, and 1.3 percent do not know of the availability of such a service in their wards.

Respondents say that waste is removed and collected from all urban and some peri-urban areas across the zones. However, some express a concern that the rural areas have been marginalised with regards to the provision of this service as well as some peri-urban areas. Therefore, resources should be redirected to such areas to improve their state of health. According to the CTMM (2004: 29), refuse removal by the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is effective throughout most areas of the city because the local authority removes about 77.7 percent of the refuse in various wards at least once a week. However, an analysis indicates that zones F, G and I require an improvement of this service because there are areas where waste is removed less than once a week. In zones A, B and D many houses have their own rubbish disposal bins provided by the local council.

The CTMM (2004: 99) shows that Tshwane has a number of Waste Water Treatment Works and these are located in the following areas; Sunderland Ridge, Daspoort, Bavianspoort, Zeekoegat, Rooiwal, Sandspruit, Klipgat, Rietgat, Temba and Babelegi. These facilities provide services to all people in the zones with access to water provided by the local council.

5.4.5.5. Sites for solid waste dumping

According to Chart 5.10, 46.3 percent of respondents are aware of the sites identified for solid waste dumping within the wards, while 42.5 percent argue that there are no such services and 11.3 percent do not know whether they are available or not.

Respondents indicate that waste is collected from urban and some informal settlements and dumped at designated dumping sites. The urban and some peri-urban areas have areas that are designated as dumping sites and waste is normally collected from their yards by the local council trucks and dumped at these areas. Some examples of the designated dumping sites include, amongst others, those in Mabopane block A, ward 22; Iscor, Wierda Park and Elarduspark, which are open to the public at specified times. These dumping sites are used by the local council trucks, but are also available to community members who need to utilise the service. According to CTMM (2004: 29) community refuse dumps are available in zones B, C D and F. This helps keep the environment tidy.

Respondents state that people in rural areas collect their waste and dump it illegally either in the bushes or in areas designated for dumping in neighbouring townships. This service should therefore be made accessible to the residents in rural areas as well.

5.4.5.6. Major public transport roads

According to Chart 5.10 above, 95.0 percent of respondents know that there are major public transport roads passing through the ward, while 5 percent do not have major roads around their wards.

Respondents indicate that there are major public transport roads that adjoin urban and neighbouring rural areas. These include, amongst others, the NI north (Maputo development corridor/Bakwena Platinum highway) that connects Temba to Hammanskraal, and to Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces, as well as to Mozambique; the Pretoria “ou pad” and the NI that joins Temba/Hammanskraal to Pretoria; the R21 that connects zone A to the North West Province and Pretoria to the Johannesburg International Airport as well as the East Rand. More examples include the Lucas Mangope highway and the Mabopane highway connecting zone B to the North West Province; Tsamaya road connecting Mamelodi to Pretoria; Moloto road connecting Pretoria to KwaNdebele in Mpumalanga; Church Street connects Pretoria to Saulsville and Attridgeville, Mitchell Street connects Pretoria West to Maunde Street in Attridgeville; the R55 and the Ben Schoeman highways connect Centurion to Pretoria, Midrand, Johannesburg and surrounding areas; Jacqueline Drive, Manitoba, General Louis Botha and Hans Strijdom join Garsfontein to Faerie Glen and Pretoria. There are many other (smaller) roads that connect urban to rural areas, rural to urban areas and both these areas with peri-urban areas, creating a maze of interconnections between zones and their neighbouring ones.

The CTMM has identified a number of vehicular public transport routes that could possibly link the metropolitan activity nodes with those areas in the periphery. The CTMM (2004: 72) states that the refinement of these urban-rural linkages and the character of development along these routes is undertaken as a priority and would be included in the integrated transport plan that is being formulated for the City of Tshwane. The possible linkages identified include, amongst others; Church Street East and West, connecting the Eerste Fabriek Station, Hatfield, Inner City and the Atteridgeville nodes. Another linkage includes Paul Kruger/Rachel de Beer/Doreen Road and the proposed Doreen Road and Heinrich Road extensions connecting the inner city, Akasia, Klip-Kruisfontein and Mabopane nodes. These routes should become important activity spines to increase the viability of public transport and exploit the full potential of highly visible and accessible sites along them (CTMM 2004: 72).

All the major public transport routes are tarred and properly maintained by the local council. Some respondents confirm that there are smaller roads between rural and urban areas that are already tarred, facilitating movement between these areas. They are aware that the major/main roads join the urban areas to small towns, to township/peri-urban as well as rural areas. However, the easy movement into and out of rural areas is still hampered by gravel roads that are in bad condition, especially on rainy days. Respondents indicate that the local council has begun the process of upgrading roads within the urban and rural areas, and it is believed that this will facilitate access in and out of rural and urban areas. There are initiatives by the council to upgrade some gravel roads in the informal settlements as well. Roads that connect urban and rural areas are properly maintained, but those streets that connect rural to urban areas are not upgraded or maintained, especially in informal settlements/rural areas. Thus the local council needs to prioritise the upgrading of roads in rural areas, especially arterial roads that lead people into the rural areas, from the other urban and peri-urban areas. This would create easy access from urban to rural and from rural to urban areas and assist the interface between rural and urban areas at various levels, for example social and business.

5.4.5.7. Maintenance of existing infrastructure

Chart 5.10 reflects that 83.8 percent of respondents confirm that the local council maintains the existing infrastructure (roads, stations, storm water, water and electricity infrastructure) within the zones. However, 13.8 percent contend that the infrastructure needs maintenance while 2.5 percent do not know.

Some respondents state that (amongst others) the following infrastructure needs maintenance as it has been poorly developed and restricts potential for growth and development: zones EW, CV, Thusanong and Letlotlo in zone B; Soshanguve extensions 8, 9, 10 and 12; in Hammanskraal, for example Marokolong, Ramotse, Majaneng, and Refilwe, as well as other informal settlements in zone D that still lack clean water, electricity, sanitation and upgraded roads; in zone E some storm water drains in the rural areas need maintenance; and the Mamelodi peri-urban/rural areas requires clean water, electricity, sanitation and upgraded roads. The transit camps in ward 48 where, the land is owned by landlords, have poorly developed infrastructure and do not receive services from the local council. In zone H, the streets that connect these areas to urban areas still need upgrading. The access roads into and out of Garsfontein, Moreleta Park and Constantia Park need to be

upgraded. The unreliable electricity and water supply in some areas in this zone was also identified as an area that needs to be attended to by the local council.

Responses indicate that the interaction created by the road networks and transportation system is between cities (i.e. Pretoria and Johannesburg), small towns (Akasia, Montana, Rosslyn, Temba, Hammanskraal, Mabopane and Soshanguve), and rural areas (i.e. part of Winterveldt and Soshanguve ext 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, Mandela Village, Moretele Gardens, Marokolong, Ramotse etc.). However, to improve the level of interaction between these areas, respondents suggest that the local council should develop roads (tarred roads), stations (bus, trains and taxis), computer centres and RDP housing for those who cannot afford houses in the urban areas.

The CTMM (2004: 125) indicates that storm water master plans exist only in the former Pretoria, Centurion and Akasia/Soshanguve areas. They are essential in managing storm water drainage systems holistically and effectively, however, plans should also be drawn up for where development is imminent as well as in already developed areas where frequent flooding and storm water problems are experienced. A master drainage plan and spruit referencing system for the CTMM area should be drawn up. This would define all individual catchment areas within the total areas and holistically determine flood discharges in all warehouses through hydrological calculations. The flood lines would also be determined on a priority basis, that is, in areas where flooding occurs as well as in the urban areas. However, for all new township development, the natural drainage routes must be identified and the flood lines determined before the township layout is finalised. The CTMM (2004: 125) acknowledges that there is a huge backlog in storm water drainage systems in the Tshwane area, thus the provision of storm water drainage systems where they do not exist, as well as upgrading existing systems, is a prerequisite for the local authority.

Road traffic safety, including pedestrian safety and scholar patrol designated areas, has been identified as a national priority. According to the CTMM (2004: 125), the traffic safety conditions in the previously disadvantaged areas must receive priority, as there are serious service backlogs. These services are crucial for movements between the rural and urban areas, as community safety should always be ensured where they interact with each other. In terms of surfacing of roads, the CTMM (2004: 126) indicates that for providing roads with proper kerbing and storm water drainage system, the backlog is estimated at R3 800 million, the bulk of which is in the cross-boundary areas of Temba, Winterveldt, Mabopane, Ga-Rankuwa and Soshanguve. The CTMM (2004: 126) indicates that there are serious backlogs in the provision of road infrastructure,

especially in the developing nodes such as Olivenhoutbosch areas; the low-cost housing developments in Olivenhoutbosch; the Irene-Highveld area; Menlyn, Hatfield, Brooklyn, as well as the Zambezi Drive/Montana areas. The lack of provision of infrastructure in these areas limits further development in the areas and creates negative perceptions regarding development.

5.4.5.8. Adequate transportation system

According to Chart 5.10, 81.3 percent of respondents admit that the existing transportation system servicing people in and across the wards is adequate, while 18.8 percent say that it is not.

Responses indicate that the available transportation system is adequate and fulfils the needs of community members across the zones. It provides services to both rural and urban areas as it ferries people between their homes and various destinations as well as to places of employment. However, there is still a shortage of transport between the urban areas and the rural and informal settlements.

5.4.5.9. Available buses and taxis

Chart 5.10 shows that 98.8 percent of the respondents confirm that there are buses and taxis travelling between urban and neighbouring rural areas, and 1.3 percent say that the transportation system could still improve in some peri-urban and rural areas.

Respondents mention that the available land-based transportation system that people use includes buses, taxis, trains, bicycles, tricycles and private cars across the zones. Residents use these modes of transport to commute to and from various destinations as well as respective places of residence and employment daily. The existing public transportation system services both rural and urban areas creating much interaction at the stations, and as people commute to and from their respective destinations. Residents socialise, exchange ideas, share experiences and knowledge across different cultures, beliefs and customs, tribal and racial groups. Some buses travel between Tshwane, Mpumalanga and North West, which implies that the interaction is also interprovincial.

There are available designated bus, taxi, and train stations that provide access to the available transport system and they are generally accessible to people in rural and urban areas. In zone E, private cars are also heavily relied upon to ferry people from one area to another in and outside the zone. Nelmapius residents require fully built taxi ranks in all extensions, in addition to the one existing in extension 4.

5.4.5.10. Existing railway line

Chart 5.10 indicates that 63.8 percent of respondents admit that there are railway lines that interlink one area/ward to other neighbouring areas/wards. However, 33.8 percent say that most areas do not have this service, while 2.5 percent do not know if it exists or not.

Respondents indicate that railway lines are available within the zones as follows. A railway line exists in zone A although not fully operational. The train service is not fully operational at the Hammanskraal station because the station was closed in 1985. An appeal has been made to reopen up this station to relieve the pressure on the roads and accommodate those people who cannot afford the transport cost of the other available transport modes. The railway line at Mabopane links this area to Pretoria city. The railway line available at Centurion connects zone H to Pretoria and Johannesburg. The railway line at Mamelodi connects some urban to adjacent rural areas and has a fully operational train service. The railway line connects areas to areas in various zones such as wards 29, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39 and 4. Thus the interface is at the level of the city/small-town/township and rural areas. Socialisation between residents of rural and urban areas also happens at the stations and during commuting to and from various destinations.

5.4.5.11. Existing infrastructure adequate

Chart 5.10 reflects that 46.3 percent of the respondents acknowledge that the existing infrastructure is adequate for the needs of the local communities in the wards, while 45 percent strongly feel that much more still needs to be delivered, and 8.8 percent are unsure whether more is required or not.

Respondents indicate that the available infrastructure seems generally adequate for the needs of community members within the wards, however, much still needs to be done in the informal settlements and rural areas, for example more bus and taxi stations, railway lines, storm water pipes. In terms of transport, some respondents indicate that though the available transportation system seems adequate for community needs, alternative land-based transport (e.g. trains) is required. One respondent referred to the speedy availability of the expected Shilowa Express to help relieve pressure on the roads.

5.4.5.12. Investment in existing infrastructure

When asked about the investment in infrastructure, 31.1 percent of ward members indicate that there is some form of investment in the existing infrastructure in the wards by the local council, an equal 31.1 percent think that the infrastructure in the peri-urban and rural areas is either non-existent or poorly developed and that it restricts potential for development, and 37.8 percent do not know. The CTMM (2004: 67) indicates that facilitating investment in critical infrastructure is the role of the local authority. It states that certain critical infrastructure, such as the Maputo Centurion Development Corridor (MCDC) and the PWV9, needs to be put in place to stimulate economic development. It argues that foreign direct investment (FDI) and local investors also need assistance during the entire decision-making and implementation phase of their investment. The assistance should range from basic economic information on the city, to identifying suitable land or buildings and assistance in arranging work permits.

In Summary

Overall, 76.9 percent of respondents confirm that there is adequate provision of infrastructural services, while 19.2 percent are of the opinion that more infrastructural services are still required, especially in some peri-urban and rural areas, and 3.9 percent do not know.

5.4.6. GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

At the local level, the Tshwane Metropolitan Council has established ward committees as a system for providing a mechanism for “participative government”. According to the Department of Constitutional Development (1998b: 162), wards are geographic areas into which a municipality is divided for the purposes of an election. The Tshwane Metropolitan Council is therefore divided into three administrative regions (i.e. Regions 1, 2 and 3), which are further subdivided into nine zones (Zones A-I). Each region has the responsibility for coordinating three zones, and each of the latter has between seven to nine wards. The following table depicts this categorisation:

Table 5.3: The Tshwane Metropolitan Council’s three administrative regions and nine zones

REGION 1	REGION 2	REGION 3
Regional Coordinator coordinates the following	Regional Coordinator coordinates the following	Regional Coordinator coordinates the following

areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ga-Rankuwa• Mabopane• Temba• Soshanguve• Winterveldt	areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Northern part of Tshwane• Central and Eastern Moot	areas: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Centurion• Magaliesmoot• New East• Old East• Pretoria Central• West
ZONES (zone liaison officer coordinates activities within all wards in each zone) AND WARDS (ward committee members and councillors coordinate activities within each ward) IN REGION 1	ZONES (zone liaison officer coordinates activities within all wards in each zone) AND WARDS (ward committee members and councillors coordinate activities within each ward) IN REGION 2	ZONES (zone liaison officer coordinates activities within all wards in each zone) AND WARDS (ward committee members and councillors coordinate activities within each ward) IN REGION 3
Zone A has 8 wards	Zone D has 7 wards	Zone G has 9 wards
Zone B has 9 wards	Zone E has 9 wards	Zone H has 8 wards
Zone C has 9 wards	Zone F has 9 wards	Zone I has 8 wards
In total, there are 76 wards in the Tshwane Metropolitan area		

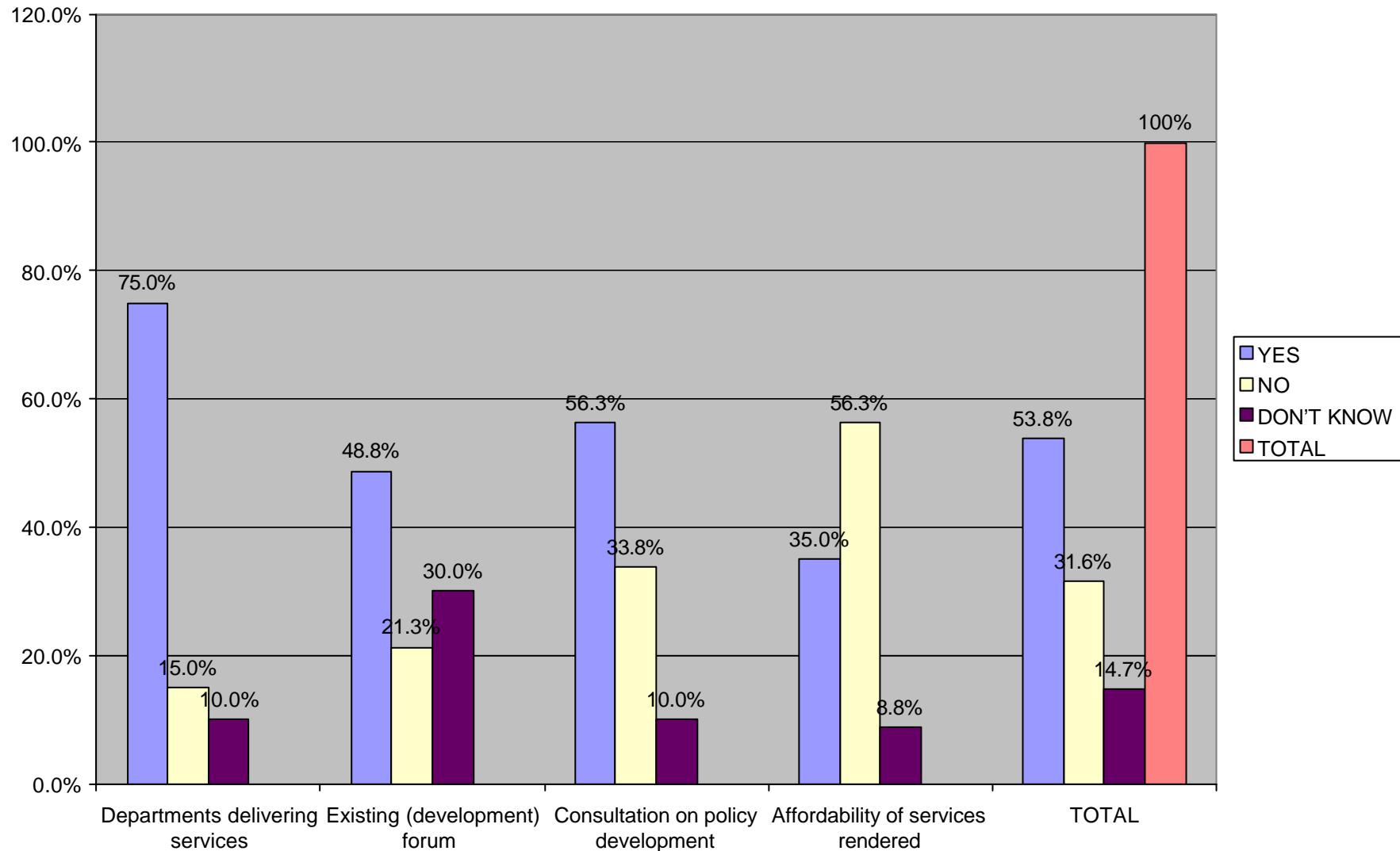
Source: Summarised from the Tshwane 2020 Plan: Revised IDP, July 2003.

The zones within the CTMM include a combination of rural and urban areas that, although they are spatially apart from each other, interact at various levels. Thus, issues pertaining to the rural and urban interface in this dissertation would be located at the ward level within the Tshwane Metropolitan area, as these are areas where an interaction between rural and urban areas can best be assessed.

5.4.6.1. GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS: WARD MEMBERS AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES

CHART 5.11: GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

GOVERNANCE & INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES



5.4.6.1.1.

Departments delivering services

Chart 5.11 above reflects that 75.0 percent of respondents are aware of the government departments that are delivering services to wards. However, 15.0 percent have not seen any, while 10 percent do not know.

Respondents are generally aware of the departments that are delivering services to various wards in accordance with their respective areas of competency/mandates. These include the following: the Departments of Health, Education, Social Development, Labour, Government Communication and Information Systems (GCIS), South African Police Services (SAPS) (and provincial Safety and Security), Housing, Public Works, Home Affairs, Communication, Justice, Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Correctional Services, Agriculture and Transport.

These departments are seen as interacting with both rural and urban residents at different times when there is a need for a specific service. These departments deliver services to both rural and urban residents, creating an interface between the residents as they access various services. However, there are community members who do not know the names of the departments that render services, but know the types of service available and those that are still lacking. These are identified in the above categories already.

5.4.6.1.2.

Existing development forum

Chart 5.11 reflects that 48.8 percent know about existing community structures/forums where people meet to discuss issues and share knowledge/information to help develop their wards. However, 21.3 percent feel there is still a dire need for the availability of these structures within the wards and 30 percent do not know of any structure in their wards.

Respondents indicate that there are existing community structures that are used for public participation purposes/to consult with communities on policy, development and other issues of mutual concern in zones H, G, F, E, D, C B, and A. These zones have a mixture of rural and urban wards, thus participation fosters interaction between rural and urban residents, because issues from both areas are addressed in these structures. There is consultation with key stakeholders for input into laws and on development matters in general within wards, but there is a ward member who is of the opinion that consultation is a sometimes a mockery because the ward committee is either not

consulted or overruled by the mayoral committees. However, responses from zone I reflect that there are no known community structures within that zone for consultation purposes as well as input to policies and/or development matters that concern communities.

Existing structures include, amongst others, community policing forums (CPFs), planning zone forums, ward committees, NGO forums, development structures meant for relocation of communities, the youth, health, tourism, safety and security structures, as well as the ratepayers associations. Both rural and urban people interact within these structures/forums and contribute to (further) development within their areas. Meetings are held between the local council and people from various wards to discuss developmental issues, resulting in interaction particularly between rural and peri-urban areas in the zones.

5.4.6.1.3. Consultation on policy development

Chart 5.11 reflects that 56.3 percent of respondents acknowledge that they have been involved/consulted by the members of the local council for participation or input into the development of (any of their) policies. However, 33.8 percent say they have never been consulted, while 10 percent do not know about the presence of any type of consultation.

Respondents admit that both rural and urban residents are generally invited to provide input to policies and other matters that concern the development of their wards. Some community members have been invited to comment on the process of the development of by-laws, provision of water and electricity in the informal settlements, as well as on emergency and environmental services. This process has engaged both rural and urban residents alike across all the zones.

Some responses reflect contrasting views with regards to zone E. On the one hand, some community members have been consulted for input into policymaking processes. Generally those people are satisfied with services rendered by the local council. However, on the other hand, especially within the rural areas of Nelmapius (ward 40), respondents indicate that there is no consultation of community members for comments about anything from the council's side. The ward members are said to work in isolation. In addition within the ward committee structures, some ward committee members are isolated and not consulted on matters that pertain to the development of the wards. These challenges are said to be hampering the course of public participation in the

zone. However, other wards have effective public participation sessions that integrate both rural and urban residents.

5.4.6.1.4. Affordability of services rendered

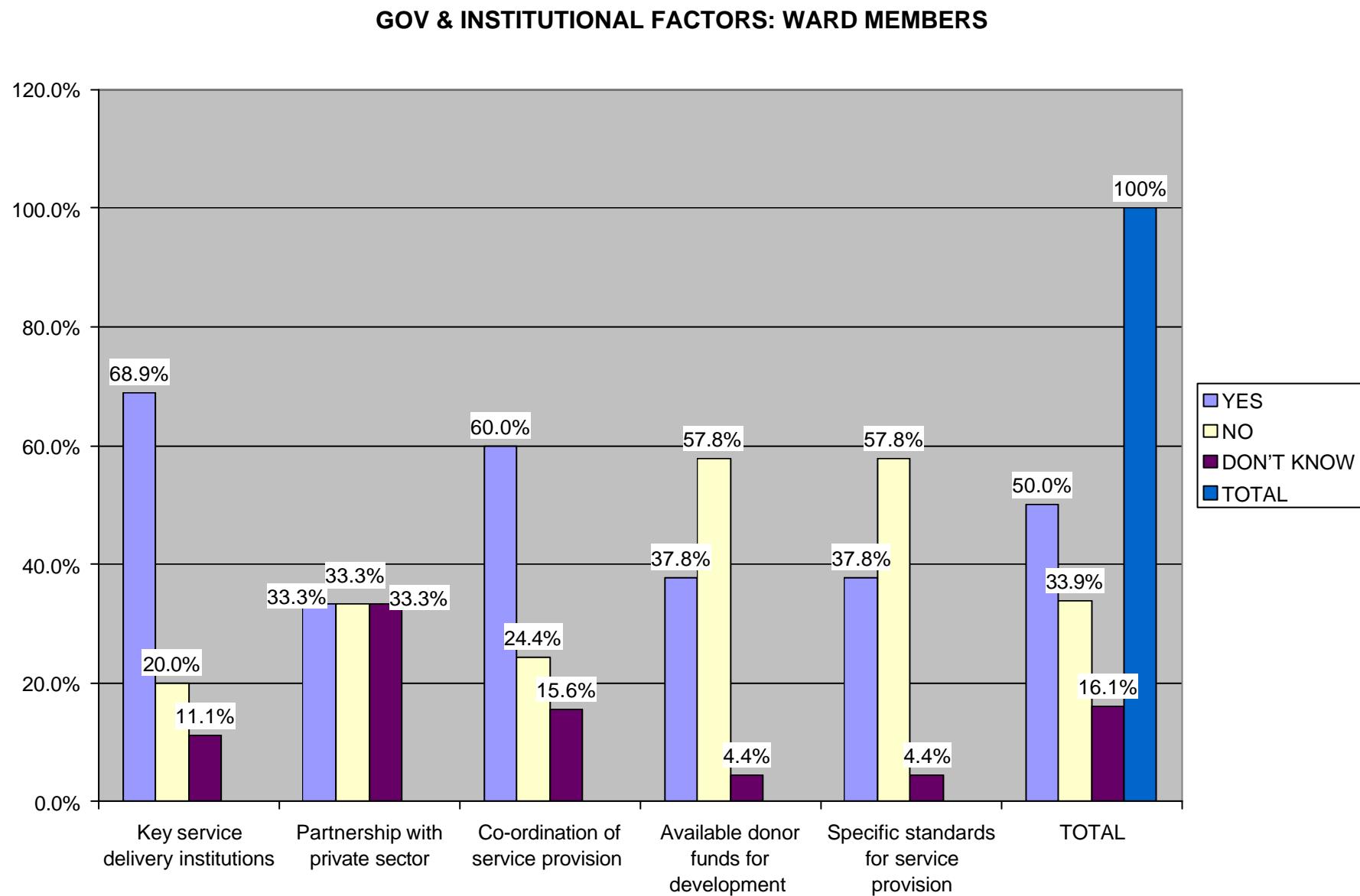
Chart 5.11 indicates that 35.0 percent of respondents believe that the local community is able to afford the services being provided by the local council in the wards, but a massive 56.3 percent contend that people cannot afford the costs charged by the local council, and 8.8 percent are not really aware whether people can afford them or not.

Some residents, especially those who are employed, can afford the services rendered, while others cannot because of their socio-economic status, for example the poor and unemployed, people earning lower salaries and pensioners. Improvements in service delivery as suggested by some respondents include: improvements in water services, especially the maintenance of meters and proper water purification; electricity; safety and security, for example decreasing the level of crime; refuse removals; street lighting; dealing with the problem of power cuts; cleaning filthy open spaces and mowing long grass. Responses raised the concern that there is generally a culture of non-payment for services especially in urban areas, resulting in a backlog in outstanding payments as well. This needs to be dealt with by the local council.

Overall, respondents indicate that communities in urban areas are satisfied with the state of governance within the wards, but those in the peri-urban and rural areas are generally still dissatisfied, as some areas are totally ungovernable. In total, 53.8 percent are generally satisfied with the state of governance within the wards, while 31.6 percent believe more is still expected and 14.7 percent do not know.

5.4.6.2. GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS: WARD MEMBERS' RESPONSES ONLY

CHART 5.12: GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS: WARD MEMBERS' RESPONSES



5.4.6.2.1. Key service delivery institutions

According to Chart 5.12 above, 68.9 percent of respondents know that there are (key) institutions responsible for the delivery of services within areas in the wards. However, 20 percent do not think there are any, while 11.1 percent have no idea

The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is the key institution responsible for the delivery of services in the zones. However, the local council renders services in collaboration with the provincial and national government departments already mentioned above. Services are rendered to both rural and urban areas.

The governance complexity has been mapped out in the CTMM (2004: 35). It argues that there is no other Category A metropolitan municipality that is a cross-border municipality, incorporating some of the most densely inhabited parts of the North-West Province and the northern part of Gauteng. In addition to this situation, Tshwane also has a strong urban influence on parts of Mpumalanga, thus the CTMM has an extraordinarily complex intergovernmental legislative, financial and service delivery situation to manage. Institutions delivering services therefore have the mammoth task of meeting the needs of people within and outside its boundaries.

5.4.6.2.2. Partnerships with private sector

Chart 5.12 indicates that 33.3 percent of respondents confirm that there is an existing partnership between private and public institutions for the purposes of developing areas in the wards. However, an equal 33.3 percent do not think there is and 33.3 percent of responses do not know of such partnerships.

It has already been mentioned that the local council is the key institution responsible for the delivery of services in the zones. However, partnerships are formed between local, provincial and national government as well as with private organisations (public-private partnerships) for purposes of development within the zones. Partnerships also exist between local contractors and ward committees in the delivery of services in some zones.

5.4.6.2.3. Coordination of service provision

Chart 5.12 indicates that 60 percent of respondents believe that there is proper coordination of service provision between the local authorities and other service providers within respective wards. However, 24.4 percent think that better coordination of services would really benefit the needy communities, while 15.6 percent do not know.

Respondents reflect that there is generally good coordination of services among all the institutions delivering services to various wards, with the local council usually being consulted by other service providers prior to implementing projects and programmes in the zones. However, some respondents contend that there are people who sneak into and rob communities by providing them with substandard services, and although some are apprehended, others disappear before they are caught. The zone liaison officers are responsible for monitoring the provision of services within their respective zones.

5.4.6.2.4. Available donor funds for development

Chart 5.12 above indicates that 37.8 percent of respondents are aware of the provision of donor funds, levies and development funds (intergovernmental grants) and argue that they are used for developing both rural and urban areas in the wards. However, a large percentage, 57.8 percent, believes they are not properly utilised, while 4.4 percent do not know of such funds.

Respondents indicate that budgets/funds are allocated properly and used for development purposes in both rural and urban areas. Thus there is generally no urban bias in the delivery of services.

However, some respondents reveal that some donor funds that have been received, which were meant for the development of the youth in Nelmapius (zone 40), have not served their purpose. They are even uncertain about whether the local council received a report giving an account of how the funds were utilised, as they believe that expected beneficiaries did not receive anything. They contend that the local council should investigate the utilisation of these funds and the guilty parties called to account.

5.4.6.2.5. Specific standards for service provision

According to Chart 5.12 above, 37.8 percent of respondents know that there are specific standards applied in the provision/delivery of services within the wards, while 57.8 percent contend that proper standards need to be set and properly communicated to communities, and 4.4 percent do not know of any standards set for service delivery in wards.

Respondents believe that standards have been set for the delivery of services, but there are zones where people feel aggrieved by the lack of implementation of the *Batho Pele* principles in the delivery of services to communities. Some respondents believe that alternative methods for service delivery in the zones, such as the principles of *Batho Pele*, moral regeneration and customer care, should form an integral part of service delivery by the local council. The implementation of these alternative methods may assist in changing people's perceptions and improving the level of satisfaction among communities with regards the manner in which services are rendered.

5.4.6.2.6. Existing development projects for marginalised groups

Respondents indicate that the planned or existing development projects/programmes initiated to improve the lives of marginalised groups (previously disadvantaged and rural people) in the wards, are discussed at these forums. Strategies are also in place to improve the livelihoods of marginalised people and these include the implementation of an indigent policy as well as a local economic development (LED) strategy and projects within the wards. There are poverty alleviation programmes designed to improve the lives of previously marginalised people and the local council makes funds available for this purpose.

5.4.6.2.7. Satisfaction with the type of services provided by the local council

Community members were asked if they are generally satisfied with the types of service rendered within the wards. Responses reflected that 34.3 percent are really satisfied, while 48.6 percent believe more delivery of services is expected and 17.1 percent do not actually know whether services are adequate or not.

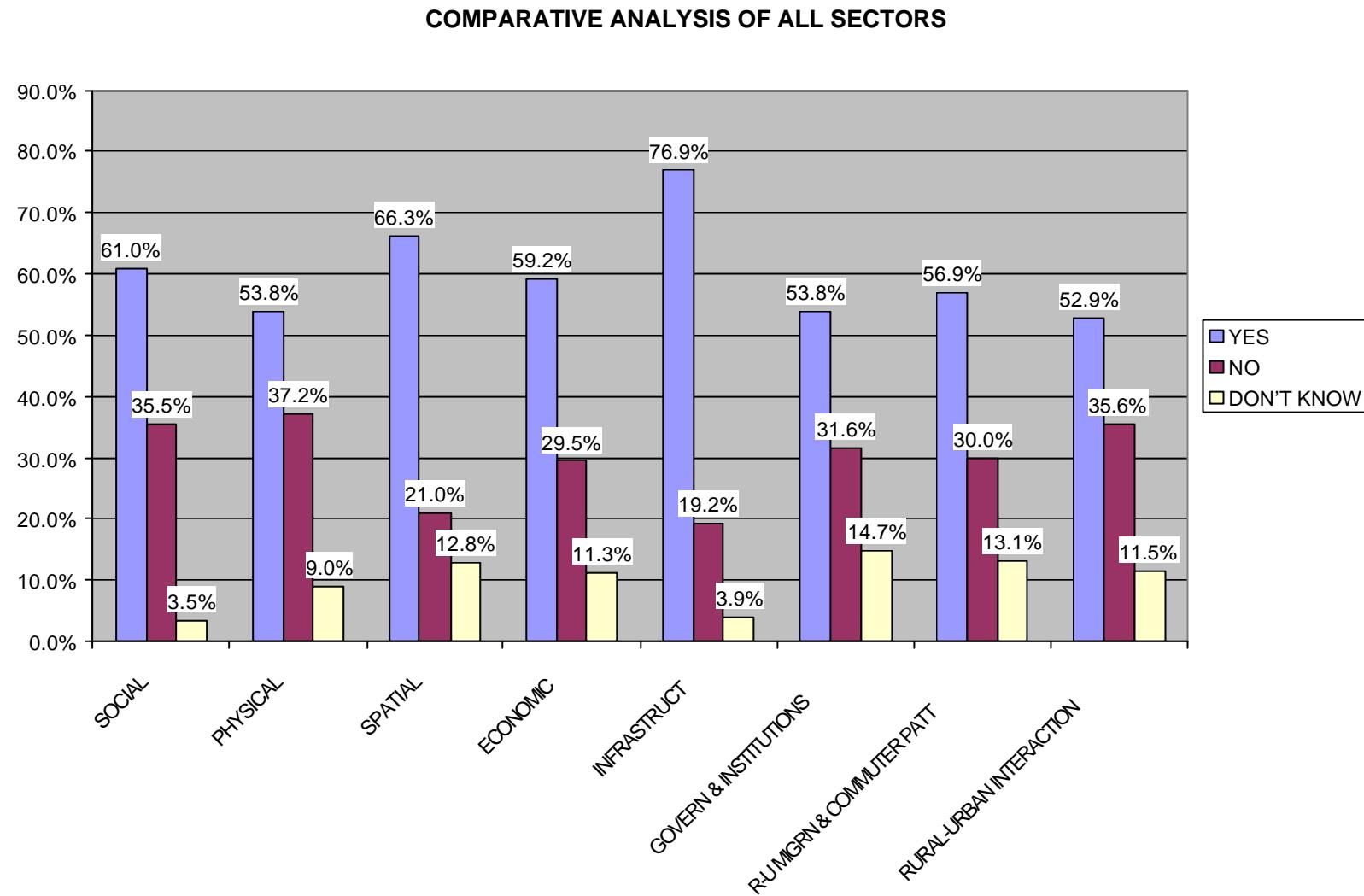
Respondents identify critical services they believe should be improved within the zones. They advocate for an improvement in social welfare services such as childcare grants, pensions and shelters for pensioners at paypoint stations to protect them from inclement weather. Furthermore, improvement in services such as the removal of waste (zones B [Garankuwa] and F [Mamelodi]) for example more than once a week in urban areas and the introduction of this service into peri-urban and rural areas. Upgrading of water and electricity infrastructure, housing, postal services (zones B and H in ward 48); street cleaning, water meters that are not checked regularly and water that is sometimes dirty (zone E ward 40); power cuts, unlit streetlights, filthy parks and long grass across the zones. Although the improvement of some of these services may foster positive interaction between rural and urban residents, respondents warn that leaving them unattended may be dangerous as dark spots, for example parks and streets with long grass in the wards become criminals hot spots.

Most respondents are not particularly satisfied with the social services available in the wards, as they are not adequate for community needs. Thus communities in both urban and rural areas expect much more delivery of social services. Some are not even aware of community structures where they can register their needs so that they can be addressed properly. There is also a dire need for these structures to be made available where they are lacking. However there are people in rural and urban areas who applaud the local council's consultation particularly in the development of by-laws and the LED strategy within their wards. They value their continued participation in matters that concern the improvement of livelihoods in the communities in which they live.

Generally, people in the urban areas are satisfied with the types of service rendered in their respective wards, but those in peri-urban and rural areas are dissatisfied and feel they still need more services such as water, electricity, houses and more visible policing across the zones, because most criminals are never apprehended.

5.4.7. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ALL THE SECTORS WITHIN SELECTED ZONES

CHART 5.13: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ALL THE SECTORS WITHIN SELECTED ZONES



The comparative analysis of all the sectors in the selected zones, presented above in Chart 5.13, is based only on similar variables, which ensures that apples are compared with apples. All the deviations have been captured above and will not be repeated here.

According to Chart 5.13, responses indicate the following level of satisfaction with delivery/availability of services across all zones. Ranked from highest to lowest, the infrastructure sector leads with 76.9 percent, followed by the spatial sector with 66.3 percent; the social sector with 61.0 percent; the economic sector with 59.2 percent; rural-urban migration and commuter patterns with 56.9 percent; the physical sector with 53.8 percent; governance and institutional factors with 53.8 percent as well; and rural-urban interface with 52.9 percent.

In summary, respondents across all the selected zones indicate a high level of satisfaction with regards to the delivery of infrastructure. Much visible effort is observed from the local council in the delivery of infrastructure, such as water, electricity, roads, public transport, refuse removal and sanitation services. It must be noted that much delivery is still expected from the local council, particularly with respect to the upgrading and or maintenance of the infrastructure. The existing spatial initiatives, for example land/housing development, are applauded by most local communities. In the economic sector, the support provided by the local council for the establishment of LED initiatives across all zones is boosting the socio-economic status of most poor rural and urban residents. However, most people are still travelling from their places of residence to work in the urban areas for improved living and job opportunities, thus the development of the rural areas is seen as a prerequisite to enable the interaction between the rural and urban residents within the rural context as well. Some are aware of key institutions delivering services in their wards though there is an indication of some not being able to afford these services because they are unemployed. Consultation on policy issues as well as community structures that afford community members the opportunity to register their needs are also available in some wards while they are lacking in others.

Chart 5.13 responses indicate the following level of dissatisfaction with the delivery/availability of services across all zones. Ranked from highest to lowest, the physical sector reflects that more services are still required by community members, at 37.2 percent; followed by the required rural-urban interface at 35.6 percent, then the social sector at 35.5 percent; the improvement in governance and institutional factors at 31.6 percent; the rural-urban migration and commuter patterns at 30.6 percent; economic sector at 29.5 percent; spatial sector at 21 percent; and finally,

the infrastructure sector at 19.2 percent.

A dire need of services is expressed in the physical sector. Although visible delivery is observed within the wards, there are still expectations for more service delivery in the areas of housing development and electricity supply, particularly in the peri-urban and the rural areas. Improvement in the number of power cuts in urban areas is also a major concern, as well as the challenge of illegal occupation of land accompanied by non-delivery of services in such areas. Social services generally need to be improved in both urban and rural areas. More residents from the rural and peri-urban areas are seen to be travelling long distances to (neighbouring wards) urban areas to access services such as libraries, health services, counselling services, MPCCs, sports and recreation facilities, post offices and telephones as well as police stations. Thus much interaction between residents from the rural and urban areas is still observed within the urban context.

Chart 5.13 indicates that respondents are either not aware or do not know of the delivery/availability of services across all zones. Ranked from highest to lowest, the governance and institutional factors leads with 14.7 percent; followed by the rural-urban migration and commuter patterns at 13.1 percent; the spatial sector at 12.8 percent; the rural-urban interface at 11.5 percent; the economic sector at 11.3 percent; the physical sector at 9 percent; the infrastructure sector at 3.9 percent, and the social sector at 3.5 percent.

Most respondents were generally not aware of certain services delivered in their wards, and these include, amongst others, the governance issues within their wards, the movement of migrants (including foreign) in and out of the wards, land development initiatives as well as some strategies/policies that should be implemented in the local government sphere to the benefit of local communities.

5.4.7.1. A maze of interactions within and across the zones

Respondents acknowledge that there is a shortage/lack of some social services, particularly in the rural areas. In such instances, community members interact with neighbouring wards to access those services that are not available or inadequate in their wards, for example people in zone A (i.e. Temba) interact closely with zones D (i.e. Pretoria North), E (i.e. Gezina), C (i.e. Soshanguve) and B (i.e. Mabopane and/or Garankuwa). Zone A interfaces with neighbouring zones B, D, E and C to access social welfare, health, community safety, for example emergency, educational and postal

services that are not available in the wards. Responses indicate that zone B interacts closely with zones A, D, and E. Zone B interacts with some areas in zones C, D, A and E for access to schools, health, library, and sports and recreation services.

Zone C reflects a great deal of interface between rural and urban areas within its boundaries. The cross-border interaction is observed between zone C and zones A, B and D and E to access social services particularly schools or skills/training centres, medical services, emergency services, libraries and postal services. The rural-urban interface is witnessed mostly at schools, ABET and tertiary institutions, libraries, health centres, social welfare services, sport and recreation centres and safety and security centres. For those services that are either unavailable or inadequate, residents travel to neighbouring zones B, D and I for access.

At the social level, zone D interacts closely with zones A, B, E, I as well as neighbouring areas such as Midrand, Sandton and Johannesburg. Much interaction between rural and urban residents is observed in schools, as well as ABET classes, tertiary institutions, hospitals, clinics and medical centres, including health campaigns, social welfare services, and sport and recreational centres. For entertainment and fun, people in the peri-urban/rural areas also meet at social gatherings such as stokvels, social clubs, parties and musical events. Thus the interaction between rural and urban residents is experienced at the city, town, township and peri-urban/rural level within this zone.

According to responses, zone E interacts closely with the neighbouring zones D, F and I to access social services such as schools, health centres, sport and recreation, libraries, counselling and postal services. Thus the rural-urban interface within zone E is experienced in the educational, health, sport and recreational, telecommunication and postal as well as safety and security services. Responses indicate that the urban areas have adequate provision of these social services while those in the rural areas are seen to be commuting to neighbouring urban areas to access the required services, thereby creating much interaction within the urban areas. An interesting pattern in this zone is that although there is a great deal of interaction between this zone and neighbouring ones, less interaction is observed between the local urban areas and adjacent peri-urban/rural, for example Nelmapius in zone E, ward 40.

Responses from zone F reflect much interaction between this zone and the neighbouring zones I and E for access to schools, libraries, health centres, counselling services, sport and recreation and postal services. Much interaction between rural and urban areas in the zone is experienced at

schools, health centres, libraries, sport and recreational facilities, postal and telecommunication and safety and security services. Both rural and urban residents use all the available services, however, those from the peri-urban/rural travel longer distances to access these services, thus much interaction also takes place in the urban than the rural context.

Responses indicate that zone G interacts closely with zones E, D, B and I for access to services such as schools, libraries, health centres, counselling services, sport and recreation, postal and communication as well as the safety and security services. Zone G experiences interaction between rural/peri-urban and urban areas including those from illegal informal settlements. The crossing of borders from one area to another, particularly from the rural to urban areas, for access to services is a bread-and-butter issue in this zone. Rural and peri-urban residents however travel long distances to access services in the urban areas, thus much interaction happens in the urban context, due to unavailability of most services in the rural areas.

Responses indicate that Zone H interacts closely with zones E and I, as well as areas such as Midrand, Randburg and Johannesburg. The interaction in zone H only takes place in certain areas such as sport and recreation, telecommunication and postal services, libraries, clinics, and counselling services. Some responses reflect less interaction between rural and urban areas at a social level within the boundaries of this zone. For instance, they assert that at the educational level although schools generally accept learners irrespective of colour or creed, schools in the urban areas admit learners that reside closer to their locations. However, schools in the peri-urban/rural areas are open to learners from all areas.

It should be noted that zone I is predominantly urban and thus does not have a combination of rural and urban areas, and hence interaction between rural and urban areas cannot really be assessed within this zone, except for interaction between urban and other urban areas. The observed interaction here is between this zone and those people from other zones that come for business, shopping and entertainment purposes. Zone I is perceived as a service centre for surrounding areas.

Based on all responses, evidence presented confirms the existence of the interface between rural and urban areas within and across the zones, and this is experienced through interactions in various sectors outlined above in selected zones of the Tshwane Metropolitan area.

5.5. CONCLUSION

The findings from the questionnaires reflect the perceptions of the ward and community members on the availability of specific services within the zones and the key areas where rural and urban areas interact. The key interventions that can be utilised to promote the interaction between the rural and urban areas have also been identified in each sector. In summary, the following can be identified:

- The model that was adopted by this research enabled an analysis of various factors that impact on the investigation of the relationship between the rural and urban areas. This research was not bound to the traditional approach of the two poles of the ‘rural-urban continuum’. This model analysed the rural and urban areas, with due consideration of the various other existing settlement types i.e. (small) towns and peri-urban areas. This enables the research to unearth real-life issues experienced by communities in their day-to-day interactions.
- The settlement pattern within the CTMM reveal that it has been shaped primarily by historical policies of apartheid/ separate development, which kept some areas developed while others remained undeveloped i.e. the Northern side. This distorted settlement pattern, stifles effective integration at various levels, and makes equitable provision of services difficult. Therefore, it is crucial for the City to devote much effort and allocate both financial and human resources to previously undeveloped areas in order to help uplift their status.
- The respondents reflect that there is functional interaction that is observed between the rural, peri-urban and urban areas across the zones within all selected sectors. This interface is observed mainly between the rural and neighbouring small towns; between towns and urban areas and between the urban and other urban areas. The pattern of interaction cuts across all sectors as people interact for business, social, economic and other sectors. The commuter and migration movements also reveal the similar pattern. There is much movement though, from rural to urban areas in pursuit of a better life, and educational, employment and business opportunities, because of the state of underdevelopment evident in the rural areas. The findings reveal an urgent need for the development of rural areas. Peri-urban areas also require development to limit movement from these areas to urban areas. There is very little observed movement to rural areas because they are seen to be lacking economic viability, resources and/or proper infrastructure to accommodate the

needs of communities living there. Hence the observed rural-urban interface in the urban context and to a very limited extent in the rural context.

- The results also reveal the emergence of the peri-urban areas, on the fringe, bordering larger towns, creating much interaction between the rural and urban areas. These are perceived to be areas of heightened activity as there has been an observed influx into the peri-urban areas by people from both the rural and urban areas. This belt seem to demarcate some rural and urban areas, and may easily be referred to as areas of sprawl, due to the development (legal/illegal) taking place in this area. This is challenge that the CTMM still needs to deal with, to avoid encroachment of this land into the rural land in particular. The peri-urban areas are mushrooming within the CTMM, although the City Council has introduced measures to control this type of movement. Some of the peri-urban areas have been formalised, others are in the process of formalisation. There are those that ‘spring-up’ overnight, and these type are those that the Council is trying to control. Nevertheless, they are identified as areas where the rural and urban residents interact. The lifestyle in these areas seem to be more attractive than that of the urban and rural areas, and there is a mixture of cultures and people find their own identities and adopt their own dialect. This life is not as costly as that of the urban areas.
- The role that small towns play as ‘meeting places’ for people from rural and urban areas, has also been identified. Small towns provide both rural and urban residents with facilities and resources, some of which may not be available in the rural areas and/or costly in the urban areas. There are many LED projects established within the small towns, creating economic vibrancy and serve to generate the required revenue. Though some theorists (Dewar: 1996) have indicated that the relationship that the small towns have with its rural hinterlands may be regarded as exploitative, it has been discovered that there is a positive relationship between the small towns and rural areas within the CTMM. In Tshwane, the small towns promote the cross-boarder interaction because with the amalgamation of some of the areas located in the northern side of the City to Gauteng and others to North-West, communities continue to interact across these boarders.

- An analysis of the results of the questionnaires reveal that most of the respondents came from the rural/ peri-urban or informal settlements and small towns, and few respondents came from the urban areas. This could be due to the composition of the areas in the wards that have been selected for purposes of this research. The history of Tshwane is one where some areas, particularly those in the Northern side, have been neglected and thus development was not taking place as much as that of the Eastern side of Pretoria. The responses clearly reflect this divide, because those from the more affluent side of Pretoria i.e. Menlyn, Centurion, Faerie Glen, reflect a general satisfaction with the services provided in their areas, and would just indicate a few areas of improvement. In contrast, the responses from the previously neglected areas indicate a lack of most required services and facilities, as well as a dire need for basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation, health and social welfare services.
- It should be mentioned however that there are contrasting responses that have been revealed by the analysis of the questionnaires. There has been a reflection of a general level of satisfaction with provision of certain services, while others indicated a serious lack of essential services, particularly those in the rural areas. An example that can be cited is on the provision of safety and security services within the respective wards. A total of 61 percent of respondents indicate that they are satisfied with the safety and security services available in their areas. However, a shocking 93 percent complain about the high level of crime within their areas and indicate that there are no police stations and scholar patrol security services to protect them and their children. Some justify this situation by referring to a high level of unemployment, (62.5 percent) which seem to lure people into committing crime as they do not have extra mural activities where they can entertain themselves. This situation indicates that the level of satisfaction with regards to provision of services, differ per sector as well as availability/ or non-availability of services within respective areas. Therefore, specific interventions are suggested in this regard, to improve the livelihood of people living in ‘under-serviced’ areas
- The development of rural areas should be prioritised and rigorous efforts and visible delivery should be observed in all spheres of government. Partnerships should be established with NGOs and parastatals to augment efforts by government in the development of rural areas. The Presidency has identified specific nodes for the

development of rural areas, and in addition to these, findings from this chapter may also assist in identifying some of the key areas where rural and urban areas interface for the purposes of further development, particularly since the Gauteng rural areas did not form part of the initial nodes targeted for development.

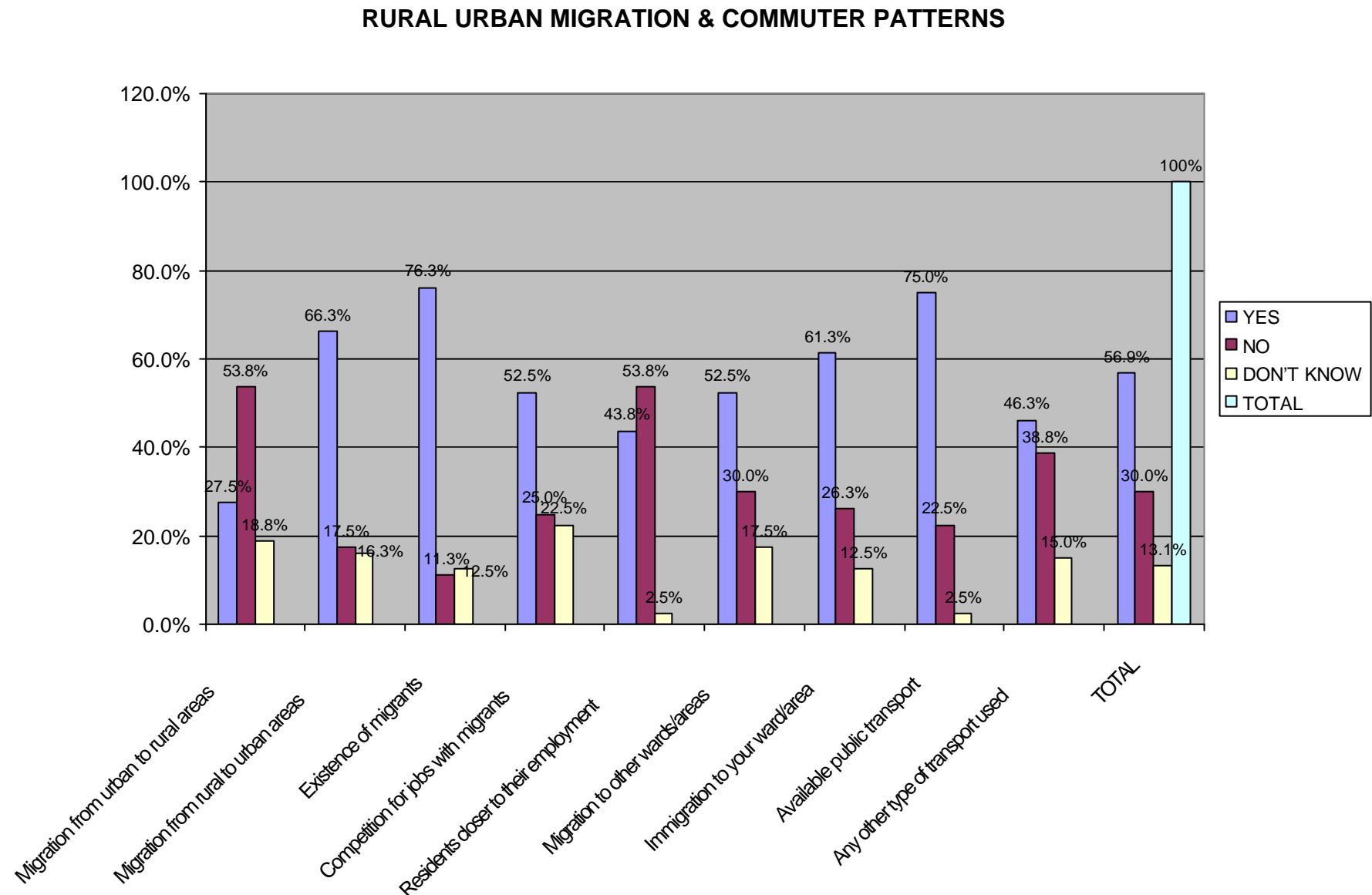
This chapter has thus been successful in identifying key areas where rural and urban areas interface within the Tshwane Metropolitan area. The next chapter would focus on the migration patterns and the nature of interface between residents of the rural and urban areas.

CHAPTER SIX

6.1. ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS: RURAL-URBAN (URBAN-RURAL) MIGRATION AND COMMUTER PATTERNS AND RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE IN THE SELECTED ZONES

This chapter reflects both ward and community members' perceptions of the selected sectors within their zones. It will initially highlight the availability and/or unavailability of specific services in each sector, and then specify the key areas of interface between rural and urban areas within and across the zones. An analysis of the results is based on the evidence presented on rural-urban/urban-rural migration and commuter patterns, as well as the nature of the rural-urban/urban-rural interface between the rural and urban areas in the selected zones. This chapter will also specify the policy instruments identified to manage the rural-urban interface within the Tshwane Metropolitan area.

CHART 6.1: THE RURAL-URBAN (URBAN-RURAL) MIGRATION AND COMMUTER PATTERNS



6.1.1. Migration from urban to rural areas/urban to other urban areas

Chart 6.1 indicates that 27.5 percent of respondents have witnessed that local communities from the urban areas migrate to (adjacent) rural areas. However, 53.8 percent have not experienced this, while 18.8 percent do not know if there is any movement.

Responses assert that there is a category of migrants that prefer to move (though on a small scale) from urban/peri-urban areas to plots for either personal or business reasons. They move from urban to rural areas due to anticipated business opportunities in the agricultural sector in rural areas. They sell their houses in the urban areas and use the money to buy plots and also as start-up capital for their businesses. However, there are those who migrate from urban to rural areas because they cannot afford the costs charged for services delivered in the urban areas.

The movement from urban to rural areas and informal settlements is also seen in those who reside in backyards in urban areas as well as those who need to be independent from their families and get their own places of residence.

In some zones backward and forward migration is observed. Some people migrate from urban to rural areas simply because they prefer a rural lifestyle while others move from rural to urban areas for improved living conditions, and business and employment opportunities. Some respondents indicate that people are compelled to move due to the high levels of crime experienced in some urban areas.

Respondents indicate that another pattern of migration observed is from small towns to cities, for example Mabopane to Pretoria, due to, amongst other reasons, the high levels of crime in the townships.

City to city migration is also experienced where people move from urban to urban areas, for example Pretoria to The Reeds, Rooihuiskraal and Wierda Park, for improved living conditions, business and employment opportunities.

6.1.2. Migration from rural to urban areas

According to Chart 6.1, 66.3 percent respondents are aware of local communities migrating from rural areas to (neighbouring) urban areas. However, 17.5 percent have not witnessed such movement, while 16.3 percent do not know of any movement between rural and urban areas.

There is an observed migration from rural to peri-urban, peri-urban to urban areas and from small towns to cities in pursuit of resources not available in the rural areas. Respondents reveal that there is a category of people who move out of their houses in the rural, informal settlements, township and town areas to relocate in other urban areas in the suburbs in pursuit of improved life, business and employment opportunities. This pattern has also been experienced amongst urban residents, as crime seems to be prevalent in both urban and rural areas. For instance the observed movement in zone B is from rural areas such as Mmakau, Kgabalatsane, Mothotlung, Moletsane, Fafung, to urban areas such as Garankuwa, Mabopane, Pretoria, Midrand, Johannesburg, Orchards, Chantelle, Centurion and Sinoville; as well as from, for example Olievenhoutbosch to Centurion/Midrand/Heuweloord for better opportunities.

Interprovincial migration is also experienced in some zones as people move from their rural areas in other provinces, either to stay permanently in the urban areas in selected zones or for business purposes. In some cases, men leave their wives and children in the rural areas to go and work in urban areas. Men find accommodation in urban areas and then their families joins them in pursuit of better employment and educational opportunities. Job creation projects in both rural and urban areas are also suggested to stop people from always travelling to the towns and cities for better opportunities, leaving families behind.

In other zones, much movement in and out of the wards is experienced during the festive season when people flock to different areas for holiday purposes. This type of migration is temporary since it ceases to exist at the end of the festive season. Interprovincial migration is also experienced, for example from Limpopo to Soshanguve extensions 8, 9, 10 and 12. There is also an observed movement into the zone over the festive season by people from other zones and provinces for holiday purposes.

In some zones the observed movement from rural to urban areas results in an infiltration of the urban area boundaries by informal settlements. Some end up settling in the informal settlements to get close to their places of employment or the urban areas. Although in some wards there is an observed movement from rural to urban areas, some respondents indicate that there are wards where no such migration has been observed.

6.1.3. Existence of migrants

Chart 6.1 indicates that 76.3 percent of the respondents are aware of the presence of migrants in their wards, while 11.3 percent do not think there are migrants and 12.5 percent do not know of existing migrants in the wards.

Respondents indicate that there are different categories of migrants in the zones, for example there are those in the formal employment sector and the informal employment sectors, but most are involved in the informal employment sector. Those who are employed in the formal sector possess the requisite skills and render the required services by day and then go back to their areas after completing the day's work or return to their countries when their contracts expire. There are those that are not skilled and come from other areas and even provinces by day to sell their goods and then return. There are also those that are in the zones as permanent residents to live constructive lives, and those that commit crimes, for example rape, murder, theft as well as fraud against the council/community. Thus their existence seems to have created discomfort for some residents.

Foreign migrants are also seen in the zones and are involved both in the formal and informal employment sectors. Some are seen on a seasonal basis and others on an annual basis when they some come for business purposes, while other come to stay permanently. Respondents indicate that although some foreign migrants bring rare skills to the zones others are involved in the informal sector and others open up their small businesses. There is a combination of migrants in the zones, that is, illegal migrants and migrants with residential permits.

The picture revealed by an analysis of the social factors pertaining to the different tribal groups within the selected zones in Chapter 5, indicates that some of the residents in the wards came in as migrants. The respondents indicated that some of the migrants who appear to be permanent residents

have been moving between the rural and urban areas for the better part of their lives, for social and work purposes. Thus they have maintained the networks with their families and friends in the rural areas.

Ward members were asked in particular about the presence of migrants in the zones. 42.2 percent of respondents confirm that migration is seasonal or annual, while 20 percent think the migrants just come in and out of the zones as they please, and 37.8 percent just see these people in their wards and do not even know when they come in or leave. Responses indicate that the movement of migrants is seasonal and/or annual.

A perception of 13.3 percent of the ward members reflects that the local council has an existing system/strategy in place to deal with migrants in the ward, while 40 percent do not think there is any strategy as their movement is quite fluid within the wards and they are too many for the local council to control, and 46.7 percent do not know if there is a system to deal with them. There are initiatives for dealing with migrants in the respective zones.

6.1.4. Competition for jobs with migrants

According to Chart 6.1, 52.5 percent of respondents admit that there is much competition for jobs particularly in the formal sector due to the arrival of migrants in the wards. However, 25 percent do not think so and 22.5 percent do not have an idea of the effect the migrants have on the wards.

Respondents indicate that the arrival of migrants in zones is received with mixed reactions. In some zones communities see their arrival as a threat as introduces competition for jobs both in the formal and informal employment sectors. The arrival of migrants is also interpreted negatively in some zones as it is seen as derailing initiatives to curb unemployment because the more migrants that arrive, the more the level of unemployment appears to be rising. However, some respondents in other zones do not see their arrival as either negative or introducing competition for jobs with the local communities. They argue that the market is competitive irrespective of whether migrants are involved or not. Others state that there is not much competition between local residents and migrants in the formal employment sector as they have different types of skills and employment sectors/businesses. However, much competition is experienced in the informal sector as many

foreigners sell goods, design clothes from their countries, open up clothing outlets and sell clothes locally as well as in hair salons.

There is a general perception that labour supplied by illegal migrants is preferred as they offer very cheap labour and are easier to exploit than the local people. This seems to pose a serious threat and is therefore a source of frustration for local communities. Some respondents indicate that there is an observed violation of the conditions of the Labour Relations Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act in these instances as most migrants accept any amount paid to them

6.1.5. Residents closer to their employment

Chart 6.1 reflects that 43.8 percent of the respondents are aware that most local people in the wards reside close to their places of employment although others travel to and from work. However, 53.8 percent know that most residents stay far from their places of employment, and 2.5 percent do not pay particular attention and thus do not know.

The emerging commuter patterns reveal a mixture of residents who travel to and from their respective work areas and those that stay closer and walk to and from work daily. The pattern of commuting is mainly to and from rural and urban, urban and rural, peri-urban and urban, urban and peri-urban areas, as well as within each type of area. Both urban and rural residents travel to and from their respective workplaces, but those from rural areas travel longer distances since they stay further from their places of employment. Commuting also takes place when people go to industries to look for work, go shopping at various centres, and visit family and friends in neighbouring areas. Much interaction between rural and urban residents takes place at the bus stations, during commuting and within their respective workplaces in urban areas.

Major vehicular transport roads and railways are used by the available transportation system to ferry people from one area to another, thus creating interconnections between the urban, peri-urban and adjacent rural areas. The upgrading of roads in the wards in rural and urban areas has made the movement in and out of these areas much easier, though more still needs to be done.

6.1.6. Migration to other wards/ areas

Chart 6.1 indicates that 52.5 percent respondents have witnessed local people from the ward migrating to other wards/areas for better job opportunities, while 30 percent seem to believe that people are happy where they are and are thus not moving, and 17.5 percent have not observed any movement at all.

Respondents indicate that some people from rural areas migrate to the informal settlements to have access to their respective work areas, as well as to shops and improved facilities. Some people are seen relocating to urban areas in pursuit of better employment, life and business opportunities. For instance, some urban wards are seen as economic hubs and thus some rural and urban people migrate to live closer to these areas, for example Akasia, Montana, Pretoria, and Johannesburg, and though some can afford to move, others end up in informal settlements and townships.

Generally, much movement is observed in some wards from rural to urban areas while much less movement is experienced from urban to rural areas. No movement is observed from the wards since the local residents are happy where they are and thus choose not to relocate to other areas.

6.1.7. Immigration to your ward/area

Chart 6.1 above reflects that 61.3 percent of respondents are aware of immigration to various wards in the zones for improved living conditions and better employment opportunities. However, 26.3 percent do not think there are immigrants, while 12.5 percent do not know of the existence of any.

Immigrants flock into and around urban areas in different zones to gain access to, amongst other things, shopping complexes, transport and fun and entertainment, hence the mushrooming of many informal settlements on the borders of urban areas, some of which are occupied illegally. For instance, in zone B, there are community members that immigrate to wards 20 from ward 21, 19 and 22 for safe accessibility to shopping complexes, transport and gambling.

Respondents indicate that the migrants found in zone E include foreign migrants most of whom are immigrants from Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, as well as some with the following origins:

German, Dutch and English, and those from neighbouring zones. Although some are involved in the informal sector, others stay permanently to offer their skills, (though on a limited scale). In zone B, foreign immigrants are mostly found in Morula View Phase 5. In zone G, most foreign migrants are resident in the Brazzaville\Schurveberg areas, while in zone H they are mostly found in the transit camps or other informal settlements particularly in ward 48. Some immigrants are seen as having come in for criminal purposes and thus the local communities frown on their existence. Some community members feel that the increased level of crime in the zone may be attributed to the arrival of immigrants as some of them come as asylum seekers.

There are various categories of immigrants; for example in the formal sector there are those who come for business purposes to either sell their goods or work and provide their expertise, and those in the informal sector who sell goods to residents. There is also a category of those that came with permits with the intention to stay as permanent residents in specific zones. In the formal sector, there are immigrants that came for business purposes to render required scarce skills, for example medical doctors, on an annual or seasonal basis and then go return their countries. Those involved in the informal sector sell their goods to people at home, or along the main roads and disappear after work. Some of these people reside in informal settlements. In some zones, for example zone G, there is observed immigration into the zone for better living opportunities, judging by the number of houses being built. Most of these are RDP houses located in the urban and peri-urban areas of the zone.

The CTMM (2004: 67) indicates that most people choose to reside in Tshwane because of its real and perceived advantages in terms of liveability and work in Johannesburg as it offers more economic opportunities. This is seen as part of a larger trend towards a more mobile urban economy. This movement has contributed to the expansion of residential areas in the southern and south-eastern parts of the metropolitan area, to the extent that development is now spreading beyond Tshwane's borders and the provincial development boundary into neighbouring Kungwini municipal area.

6.1.8. Available public transport

Chart 6.1 above indicates that 75 percent of respondents acknowledge the existence of public (buses and trains) and private (taxis) transport servicing areas in the wards. However, 22.5 percent think

more public transport should be made available and 2.5 percent do not know, as they have neither buses nor taxis in their wards.

Respondents indicate that the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality provides buses that service some rural, peri-urban and urban areas. Metro rail also provides trains that ferry people from their areas of residence to respective destinations. There are also private buses that people hire for specific occasions.

The movement between home, industries/shopping centres and other destinations is facilitated by the existence of available infrastructure, for example roads and railway lines, to ferry people from one area to another, thus creating interconnections between urban, peri-urban and adjacent rural areas in the zones. Much interaction between rural and urban residents takes place at the bus stations while commuting or in their respective workplaces in urban areas. Though the available transportation system is adequate in some wards, in others, especially rural areas, it is inadequate and therefore needs improvement.

6.1.9. Any other types of transport

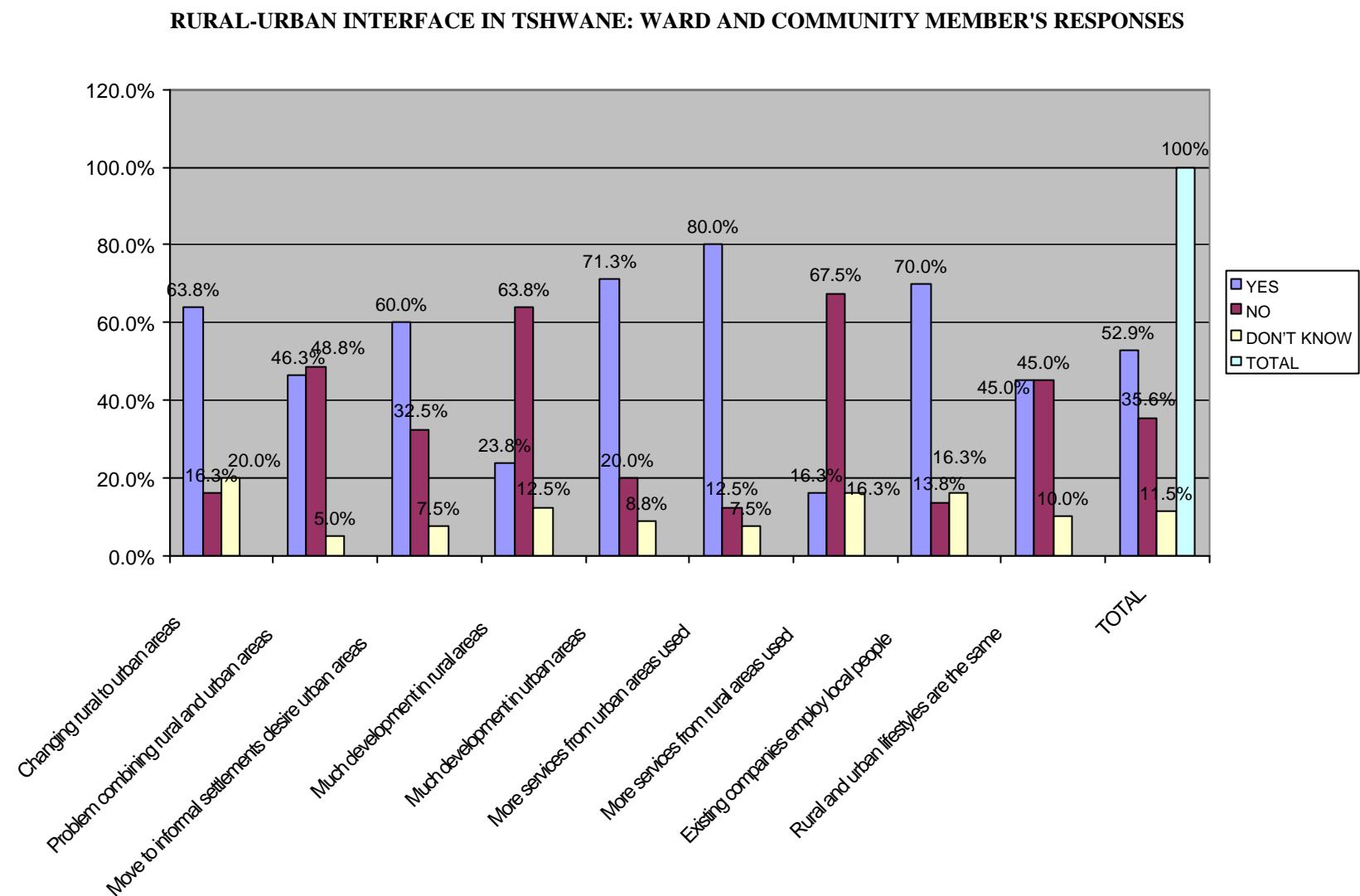
Chart 6.1 shows that 46.3 percent of respondents are aware the other types of land-based transport used for commuting, however, 38.8 percent do not think there is any, while 15 percent do not know of any other type of transport.

In the rural areas, other means of transportation such as donkey/horse carts, wheelbarrows and tractors are used for private and business purposes or to transport goods to and from places of residence. In both rural and urban areas, bicycles and tricycles are also used to commute between various destinations. The interaction between residents in the rural and urban areas is facilitated by these modes of transport.

6.2. RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE WITHIN THE ZONES

6.2.1. RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE WITHIN THE ZONES: WARD AND COMMUNITY MEMBER'S RESPONSES

CHART 6.2: RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE WITHIN THE ZONES



6.2.1.1. Changing rural to urban areas

According to Chart 6.2 above, 63.8 percent of respondents think that the local rural areas will be changed into towns or even urban areas in future. However, 16.3 percent do not think so, while 20 percent do not know.

The responses reflect two contrasting views of the future of rural areas in the zones. On the one hand, there are respondents that are of the opinion that current initiatives towards the development of rural areas appear to be geared towards changing them into urban areas in future, though this can only happen to a certain degree. A similar view expressed indicates that the nature of development initiatives for rural areas seems to want to change them into small towns in future. Another view held shows that the development of informal settlements is geared towards converting them into urban areas.

On the other hand, some respondents indicate that the rural areas will not be changed to urban areas due to the nature of the rural areas themselves. They contend that it will not be possible for rural areas to be transformed, as this would take a very long period of fruitless effort.

Some respondents expressed the opinion that rural areas should not be changed to urban areas, because this could lead to payment for services such as water, electricity and sanitation by rural residents. Respondents believe that development in urban areas should take into consideration development processes in rural areas, and never try to change them into urban areas.

6.2.1.2. Problem combining rural and urban areas

Chart 6.2 indicates that 46.3 percent think that there will be problems when rural and urban areas are combined into one area. However, 48.8 percent do not think so, while 5 percent do not know.

Some respondents are of the opinion that there are neither adequate services nor resources available to accommodate the conversion of rural into urban areas. They believe that development initiatives should serve to develop both rural and urban areas in an integrated fashion, instead of combining rural and urban areas.

6.2.1.3. Move to informal settlements shows desire to live close to urban areas

According to Chart 6.2, 60 percent of respondents think that people who move to informal settlements do so because they want to stay next to or in urban areas, but 32.5 percent do not think so, while 7.5 percent do not know.

Respondents indicate that imbalanced development in some zones has led to the movement of people from rural to urban areas. This movement is triggered by a lack of development in the rural areas, a need to be closer to workplaces, as well as to gain access to services such as housing, water, electricity, sanitation and tarred roads. Another view held is that the imbalance brought about by urban bias in some zones has led to the movement from rural to informal settlements in pursuit of better living conditions, because of the state of underdevelopment experienced in rural areas. One respondent expressed the belief that people relocate to informal settlements because they are defying the policies of the past that separated people along racial lines. Although some believe that people move to informal settlements with the perception that living conditions and job opportunities are better there than in rural areas, others are of the opinion that this is caused by a dependency syndrome that has not been adequately addressed by the new government since it took power in 1994. Most respondents assert that some community members stay in informal settlements areas for improved access to places of employment because they cannot afford the high transport costs involved in travelling long distances.

Some informal settlements are in the process of formalisation and this is accompanied by the development of houses and shopping complexes in urban areas. This is a positive sign of efforts towards integrated rural-urban planning and development. However, development in rural areas is still perceived to be very slow, whilst urban areas enjoy more benefits with respect to delivery of services. Some respondents believe that agricultural development is promoted in the rural and urban areas (urban agriculture) to boost the local economy. Thus planning by the local council should be in accordance with needs and should be within the means of rural and urban communities.

Respondents contend that integrated rural-urban development should serve to reduce this movement by ploughing back more services and resources into the rural areas in particular. Therefore planning for integrated rural-urban development should consider the interaction that exists between the rural-informal settlement, small towns and urban areas.

6.2.1.4. Much development in rural areas

Chart 6.2 indicates that only 23.8 percent of respondents believe that the local rural areas are being improved as much as the urban areas, but a massive 63.8 percent think much still needs to be done to develop rural areas, while 12.5 percent do not know.

Respondents acknowledge that there is a visible improvement in living conditions in some rural areas because some of them are already being provided with services such as water, electricity, sanitation, sewerage, refuse removal, as well as facilities such as libraries, clinics, community halls, police stations and skills centres. However, more delivery of services is still expected for the development of rural areas, because much less is being done than in urban areas. This is proven by the movement by people from rural and informal settlements to urban areas to access services and facilities such as improved living conditions as well as access to job opportunities. This implies that there is still an observed urban bias with respect to the actual implementation of development initiatives. There is thus an observed interaction between residents of rural areas and their (neighbouring) urban areas as they gain access to services such as roads, water, medical centres, shopping complexes and schools. There is also a large number of domestic employees and employees in local firms or industries working in the wards most of whom are from outside rural-urban areas.

A view held by some respondents is that though visible development has been witnessed in the rural areas, development should rather serve to transform these disadvantaged areas into urban areas as it might help to improve their economic status or viability. They think that development should be confined to each type of area first, in a manner that would address the peculiar needs of each area with its unique characteristics adequately.

Respondents are of the opinion that though development should take place, it should serve to preserve the rural character and social fabric. They contend that rural and urban areas are different in nature, and therefore have different characteristics, needs and lifestyles. Development should be focused on developing rural areas in accordance with identified and felt needs by the rural communities themselves in such a way that it would preserve their cultural norms, beliefs, customs, culture and unique resources, (i.e. agricultural produce). The latter is perceived as fostering much interaction between the rural and urban residents, as some of the products are purchased by people in the urban areas for either personal or business purposes. Therefore much effort should be

directed towards the development of rural areas and equip them with the necessary facilities and services to ensure their sustainability.

Some zones have prioritised the development of rural areas. For instance, the local council has actually resolved to spend 80 percent of its budget on rural development in zone A. This may help to improve the state of underdevelopment of rural areas and improve the livelihoods of people living in these areas. There is visible development in some rural areas; for example in zone C, part of Winterveldt and Block HH; in zone D, the rural part of Pretoria North as well as in Mandela Village, but more is still expected particularly with respect to delivery of services such as water, electricity and sanitation in rural areas.

A view expressed by some respondents is that not all people from rural areas go to urban areas in pursuit of services. There are those that do not go because what exists in the urban areas is not what they necessarily need. This is a section of the rural community that cherish the rural character and lifestyle and would like to benefit from development initiatives in a manner that improves their livelihoods. They instead require services that would better their lives within the rural setting (i.e. their own locations), thus the local council should ensure that the needs identified by this community are prioritised and addressed accordingly. This implies that there must be a rural bias in the development and implementation of their integrated development plans.

6.2.1.5. Much development in urban areas

According to Chart 6.2 above, 71.3 percent of respondents confirm that the local urban areas are being developed more than rural areas, while 20 percent believe there is a balance between development in rural and urban areas and 8.8 percent do not know.

Respondents indicate that the local council is seen to be supportive to the development initiatives of urban areas within the zones. Policies and the relevant budgets are in place to promote the development of urban areas. However, much attention is still directed towards urban areas, particularly with respect to development and delivery of other services, promoting the view that there is still an urban bias within the zones. The unbalanced nature of the development between rural and urban areas has resulted in the movement of people to urban areas to access those services they do not have.

Some respondents are of the opinion that those development initiatives that are geared towards changing rural into urban areas in future are indicative of the fact that urbanisation has barely started in South Africa and also caution that it will increase in future.

On the one hand, some respondents perceive some informal settlements, small towns and urban areas as having better living conditions than rural areas. On the other, they believe that this situation is caused by the fact that there is much economic activity taking place in the urban areas that dictates the development of infrastructure and increased delivery of services as opposed to rural areas, hence the attention received by urban areas. In this regard, development initiatives are seen to have benefited those in the urban areas more, which triggers the sentiments expressed by some respondents that there is a need to redirect services to disadvantaged areas in a rigorous manner to, amongst other things, limit the congestion experienced in urban areas. Another view held is that the latter situation may not be negative as such since it enables much interaction between rural and urban residents within the urban areas as they utilise available resources, facilities and services.

6.2.1.6. More services from urban areas used

Chart 6.2 indicates that 80 percent of respondents acknowledge that local people prefer to use services from urban rather than rural areas, and 12.5 percent contend that both natural and agricultural resources are obtained from rural areas, while 7.5 percent do not know.

Respondents hold an opinion that people from rural and urban areas use more services located in the urban areas. Since urban areas receive much attention with respect to development, most people from the rural and informal settlements flock to urban areas to access services such as water, MPCCs, post offices, schools, entertainment areas, and businesses. Therefore much interaction between people from rural and urban areas is experienced within the urban areas.

6.2.1.7. More services from rural areas used

According to Chart 6.2, 16.3 percent of respondents think that local people use more services from rural than urban areas, while 67.5 percent know that most services are located in the urban areas, and 16.3 percent are not actually certain because they see people using services in both rural and urban areas depending on what type of service they need at different times.

Responses indicate that fewer services are available within the rural areas due to their nature and state of underdevelopment, thus those community members that can afford to, prefer to use services located in urban areas because they are perceived to be of better quality. Therefore less interaction is experienced in rural areas.

6.2.1.8. Existing companies employ local people

Chart 6.2 shows that 70 percent of the respondents think that companies within their wards employ people from both rural and urban areas, while 13.8 percent do not think so and 16.3 percent have no idea.

Responses reflect that most companies located in the selected zones are seen to be employing local people irrespective of the areas from which they come. Labour from local communities is utilised, supporting initiatives to curb unemployment within the zones by the local council. They contend that though rural areas are not as developed as strenuously as their urban counterparts, they are home to some of the most educated and skilled people whose labour is in demand in the market. Thus local companies also foster interaction between employed residents from both rural and urban areas resulting in the sharing of knowledge and skills as they interact within their respective working areas.

6.2.1.9. Rural and urban lifestyles are the same

Chart 6.2 indicates that 45 percent are of the opinion that people from local rural and urban areas live the same type of lifestyles, but 45 percent think that they live very different lifestyles and 10 percent do not know because they hardly ever pay attention.

Respondents argue that although rural and urban areas may be different in character, there are similarities in their lifestyles particularly in those rural areas where development is in process. Improved services result in changes to life style and standard of living, for example access to resources and some services, instead of travelling long distances to urban areas to access them.

Respondents say that since rural and urban areas are different, they are bound to have different lifestyles, characters and needs. An opinion expressed by some respondents is that rural and urban areas do not have equal access to opportunities and services, but influence each other when they interact from time to time. Thus development initiatives should be cognisant of the fact that the

lifestyles of people living in rural and urban areas are not the same and be accommodative of the peculiar needs of people from these areas.

Responses indicate that the lifestyle of people residing in rural areas is perceived to be slower, backward and disadvantaged, whilst that of people in urban areas is faster, advanced and progressive. Urban life is independent, individualistic, and harsh and depends mostly on the availability of money to survive. Rural areas are bound by strict norms, customs, and values, which are set within particular communities (by tribal authorities) and people are expected to adhere to them. The lifestyle of people living in rural areas is perceived as communal; more relaxed, slower and more affordable than that of the urban areas. Traditional norms, values and customs are still held dear by people living in rural areas, thus proper consultation with key stakeholders is crucial to ensure that development is in accordance with their needs.

On the one hand, the lifestyle of most people residing in urban areas is perceived to be associated with the massive daily movement to respective workplaces in various zones where people are actively involved in the labour force. On the other hand, the lifestyle in rural areas comprises a combination of that of people who travel long distances to access job opportunities in other wards and a proportion that remains at home and works on the farms.

Respondents indicate that the attitudes of rural and urban people towards the payments of services also differ. People in urban areas know that they should be paying for services rendered while those in rural areas have not been used to paying for certain services as most services are not yet available. Respondents contend that the latter category should be educated on relevant policies, practices and new ways of doing things to enable them to cope with expected changes.

Therefore the local council has a major responsibility to prepare community members for the anticipated changes brought about by integrated rural-urban development, as well as the impact of such development on each area, so as to enable them to adjust their lifestyles accordingly, for example the affordability of services. This may assist integrated rural-urban development to bear fruit in rural and urban areas respectively.

The local council should involve all the key stakeholders in public participation meetings/sessions to ensure that they are involved from planning to implementation level. A view expressed by some respondents is that public participation workshops should help to change mindsets in a way that creates an environment that is conducive to change. Consultation with stakeholders is regarded as

crucial hasty changes that might not be welcomed by the prospective beneficiaries are to be avoided. It should furthermore make people, particularly those in rural areas, understand that development initiatives do not intend to tamper with the characteristics/nature of their areas or the social fabric. Respondents say that the local council should develop a proper communication strategy and widely popularise the anticipated changes with both rural and urban areas, and also appeal to people to participate in the process through the public participation processes. They argue that proper consultation with stakeholders would help to direct the course of integrated rural and urban development in such a way that is complementary and also in accordance with both identified and felt needs of people living in rural urban areas. This will assist in the identification of needs that inform planning at the local, provincial and national government levels, and are geared towards addressing them properly within a defined budget as well.

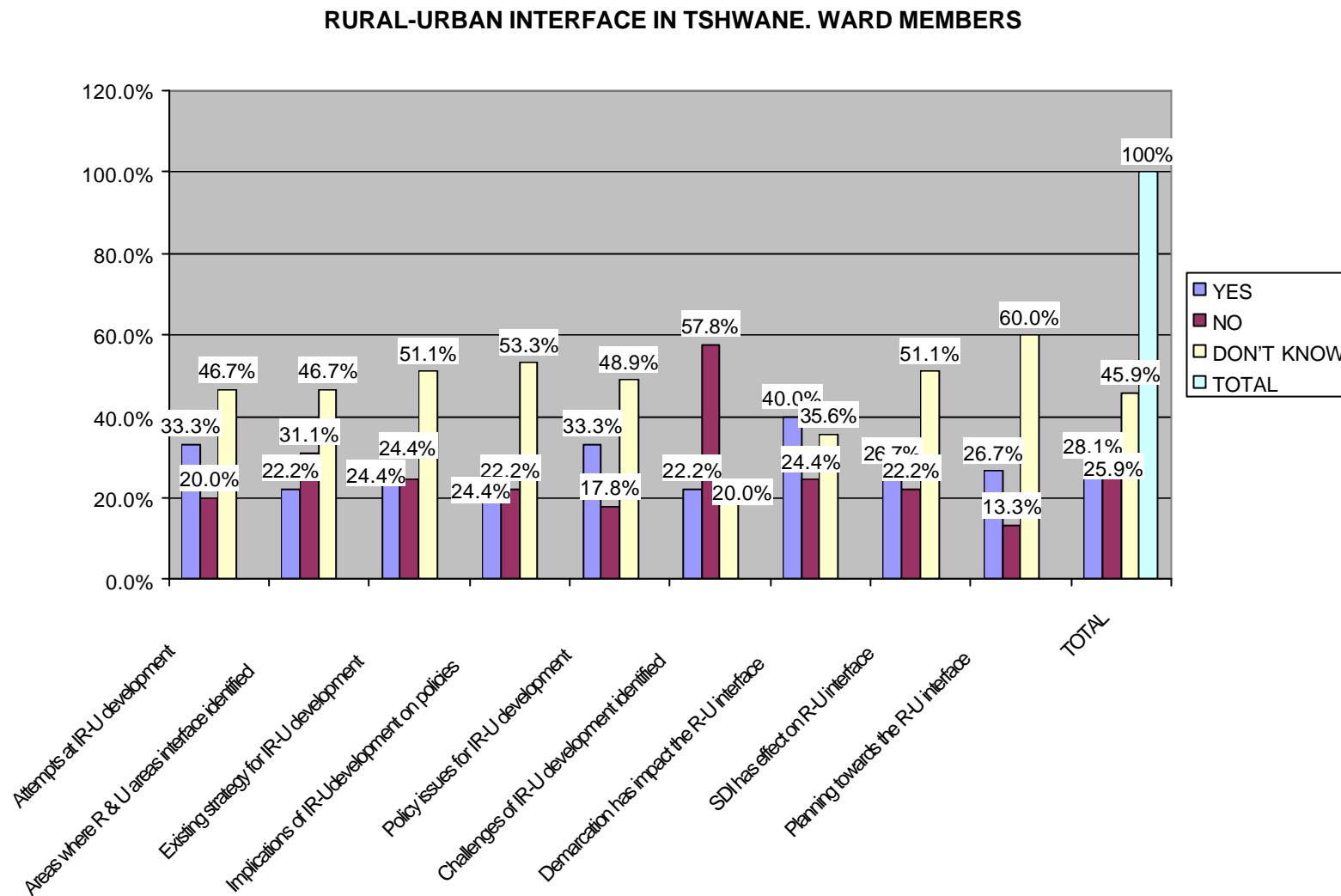
Overall, 52.9 percent of the respondents confirm that there is an interface between rural and urban areas in the selected zones of the Tshwane Metropolitan area, while 35.6 percent think the availability of services, particularly in the rural areas, would foster interaction within rural areas as well, and 11.5 percent have not yet paid attention to issues related to the interface between the rural and urban areas.

The following is a reflection of the opinions of ward members within all the selected zones.

6.3. RURAL URBAN INTERFACE IN TSHWANE: WARD MEMBERS RESPONSES

6.3.1: RURAL URBAN INTERFACE IN TSHWANE: WARD MEMBERS RESPONSES

CHART 6.3: RURAL URBAN INTERFACE IN TSHWANE: WARD MEMBERS RESPONSES



6.3.1.1. Attempts at integrated rural-urban development

Chart 6.3 above indicates that 33.3 percent of respondents confirm that there are current attempts to integrate rural-urban development within the wards. However, 20 percent do not think so, while 46.7 percent do not know.

Responses indicate that the development and implementation of integrated development plans (IDPs) is an attempt by the local council to move towards integrated rural-urban development within the wards. They believe that there are several visible initiatives that have already been implemented to the benefit of both rural and urban residents in the zones.

Some respondents contend that rural and urban areas are already interacting at this stage, thus integrated planning is bearing fruit in some wards. Specific areas where visible integrated rural-urban development is visible include housing, road networks, and the development of informal settlement and former townships. Others are of the opinion that the current interaction is minimal/inadequate and therefore rural areas should be developed as much as urban areas to achieve a balanced allocation of resources and delivery of services to these areas. As they put it, “development will then be equal” and only then can the local council engage in a particular level of interaction between rural and urban areas within the zones. They believe that for rural and urban areas to interact properly, development should first be focused on each area separately, such that there is a balance in the development process in rural and urban areas. This opinion is criticised by others who feel strongly that integrated rural-urban development should be implemented with caution since some people, especially those who cherish living in the rural areas, might have fears of losing their own identities and cultures.

Several concerns were raised by respondents with regards to integrated development within the zones. On the one hand, respondents express the opinion that integrated rural-urban development should ensure that development initiatives at the planning and implementation levels are equally spread between the rural and urban areas in accordance with the nature, characteristic and needs of each area. On the other hand, it is felt that this process should not adversely affect farming or tamper with the social fabric that characterises rural areas. Another opinion suggests that integrated development should first look into the “traditional/tribal authority system” that is practised in some rural areas against the municipal system that exists in some rural, peri-urban and urban areas. The

two systems should promote constructive linkages between rural and urban areas to enable proper implementation of development initiatives at local level.

The opinion expressed by respondents is that the impact of globalisation on the development of rural and urban areas in South Africa should not be undermined, thus the local council should consider development initiatives taking place at the global, regional and national levels in their efforts to develop local rural and urban areas in an integrated fashion. A suggestion is made that *imbizos* (public participation forums) should particularly give direction to the nature of development that should take place within rural and urban areas in a manner that enables them to coexist. Thus integrated development should balance the development of rural and urban areas and informal settlements, involving stakeholders from these areas. According to the CTMM (2004: 68), the costs and benefits of globalisation are unevenly distributed both within and between countries and cities. The rich benefit from globalisation more than the poor and South African cities, including Tshwane, are particularly vulnerable to the negative effects owing to inherited social inequality and structural flaws.

Some respondents feel that the process of integrated development planning will score some victories if properly coordinated and implemented. They indicate that it might lead to the (successful) implementation of the cross-subsidisation principle by the local council. For instance, certain less/poorly developed areas may be paired with those that are better developed in a manner that will develop the growth potential of those less developed areas. This might lead to increased levels of service delivery particularly in the rural areas, and they would be enabled to gain access to some services and facilities that never existed before. Another opinion expressed is that the rural communities will as a result have access to adequate information as well particularly in critical areas such as HIV/AIDS to educate and create awareness amongst the rural communities.

6.3.1.2. Areas where rural and urban areas interface is identified

Chart 15 reflects that 22.2 percent of respondents know that there are wards that have already identified as specific areas where rural and urban areas interface/interlink, while 31.1 percent do not think this process has already taken shape, and 46.7 percent have absolutely no idea of such areas.

Respondents reflect that some zones have already identified specific areas where rural and urban areas interface/interlink, for instance, there are specific areas in zone B, in Hebron, Garankuwa and Mabopane. These are perceived as being areas where much interaction between people from rural and urban areas is experienced. The IDPs are used to guide integrated rural-urban development in this zone. However, respondents confirm that though community members are aware of areas where the rural and urban areas interface/interlink, they have not yet been formally identified by the local council.

6.3.1.3. Existing strategy for integrated rural-urban development

Chart 6.3 reflects that 24.4 percent of respondents know that the council has a policy/strategy that governs integrated rural-urban development within the wards. However, 24.4 percent think it does not exist, while 51.1 percent say they have never heard of it.

Respondents generally indicate that policies/strategies used for integrated rural development include the IDPs, by-laws and other programmes aimed at developing urban and rural areas within the wards. These have assisted the local council embark on planning geared to addressing the future of these areas as well as with the identification of strategic areas where the rural and urban areas interface in various zones. However, some respondents confirm that they are not aware of the strategy/policy to manage the process of integrated rural and urban development within the wards.

According to the CTMM (2004: 32), Tshwane does not yet have a well-defined competitive strategy that outlines how it sees the development of a region over the next few decades, nor has it created processes that would build the confidence and common purpose between stakeholders that would enable the unleashing of creative energy and innovation that could deliver Tshwane's golden age. However, Tshwane has completed a Restructuring Grant Application to National Treasury, which begins to outline an appropriate city strategy (CTMM 2004: 32). The city has also completed an IDP that articulates the aspirations and expectations of the broader community. These documents are seen as the cornerstones of a process that requires wider public discourse to endorse a fully-fledged city strategy that outlines the future course of action for the next decade.

The CTMM (2004: 32) defines a city strategy as an instrument to develop pro-poor urban governance in cities, and it is about participatory decision making to address the challenges of urban poverty, increasing competitiveness and emerging pressures on economic and environmental

sustainability. This strategy should not be biased but should apply to more than just a selected minority of the total Tshwane population, in order for it to qualify as an urban success story. The CTMM (2004: 33) argues that the reality of Tshwane is defined by a duality of poverty and prosperity within a spatial economy reflecting high levels of inequality. Furthermore, creating an urban success story in Tshwane is inextricably linked to resolving the gross municipal service and transport inefficiencies of a large peripherally located urban poor population to the north of Pretoria, while sustaining the dynamism and vibrancy of economic activity towards the south.

6.3.1.4. Implications of integrated rural-urban development on policies

Chart 6.3 shows that 24.4 percent of respondents confirm that integrated rural-urban development has implications for the implementation of policies within the ward(s), while 22.2 percent do not think so and 53.3 percent do not know.

Some respondents believe that integrated rural-urban development has implications for the implementation of policies within the wards and therefore regard as crucial, the identification of those policies for proper implementation. They assert that better coordination of planning and implementation may help save the scarce resources allocated for the development of rural and urban areas within the zones.

6.3.1.5. Policy issues for integrated rural-urban development

According to Chart 6.3 above, 33.3 percent of the respondents are aware of the policy issues identified to manage the process of integrated rural-urban development within wards, while 17.8 percent do not think these issues have already been identified and 48.9 percent do not know.

Some respondents confirm that there are policy instruments identified by the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality to manage the process of integrated rural-urban development within the zones. The IDPs are a crucial tool for integrated rural-urban development and are currently being implemented. The IDP's public participation processes and communication strategies between the local council and stakeholders are critical instruments used the implementation of integrated rural-urban development.

Some of the policy issues identified to manage the process of integrated rural-urban development within the wards include training of ward members in amongst other things, the process of integrated development planning; budgeting, performance management; programme and project management; consultation; participation of local communities as well as other policy-related matters that are proposed by different structures within the wards and taken up with the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality for proper coordination.

Some respondents indicate that in addition to the IDPs, there are policies developed at the local, provincial and national levels that guide the development of rural and urban areas. These are also implemented within the zones in a properly coordinated manner and in line with the allocated budgets.

6.3.1.6. Challenges associated with integrated rural-urban development identified

Chart 6.3 shows that 22.2 percent of the respondents are aware of the key challenges associated with integrated rural-urban development that have been identified within the wards. However, 57.8 percent do not think there has been a concerted effort in this matter, while 20 percent do not know.

Respondents reflect that wards have varying challenges that are unique to the nature and characteristics of the different areas. Some of the key challenges associated with integrated rural-urban development identified by respondents include, amongst other things, the status of both rural and urban areas; land use patterns; limited consultation; inequitable allocation of resources and delivery of services as well as racism that still exists in some zones. Some respondents are of the opinion that the underdevelopment of rural areas is very problematic as these areas still lack facilities and required services, in contrast to their urban counterparts. In some wards, there are areas that are still owned by tribal authorities and permission needs to be sought before any type of development can take place. Respondents complain that this process sometimes takes a long time thereby delaying the implementation of development initiatives. A concern raised is that at times development initiatives are rejected and this stifles development in the affected areas. Some respondents are of the opinion that since the needs of rural and urban areas are different, it is costly to maintain the wards with both rural and urban areas, hence the need for properly coordinated rural-urban development planning.

Another view held is that the local council may need to consider the land use patterns/utilisation of vacant land within some wards. Respondents are of the opinion that some of the vacant spaces/land in the wards may need to be converted for other uses. For instance, very large portions of land reserved for livestock grazing as well as for growing vegetables may need to be reduced and parts of it used for either residential, sporting, entertainment or even for business purposes. The formalisation of some informal settlements is also regarded as urgent as well as dealing with challenges related to land that is occupied illegally in affected wards.

Limited consultation of key stakeholders in the process of integrated development planning has been raised as a key concern. Respondents contend that proper consultation should be in place to involve stakeholders in development processes. This would enable the local council to look into all aspects of development that will impact on the lives of both rural and urban residents in a manner that complements rather than disadvantage others, especially in rural/informal settlement areas.

Some respondents state that the inequitable allocation of resources and delivery of services between rural and urban areas is disconcerting. They argue that the local council should plough back resources into the rural areas and increase the level of service delivery, as this would improve the livelihood of people living in rural areas and some informal settlements. Proper consultation with actual community members is seen as a prerequisite to assist the local council to “put the food where the mouth is”.

An opinion expressed by a respondent in zone H indicates that there is a lack of integrated rural urban development because “whites don’t want blacks near their houses” thus the key challenge in the actual implementation of integrated rural-urban development is the existing racism within this zone. The respondent believes that the local council should seriously consider and address some of the key challenges in this zone to enable the successful implementation of the IDPs.

6.3.1.7. Demarcation has impact the rural-urban interface

Chart 6.3 reflects that 40 percent of the respondents acknowledge that the demarcation process has an impact on areas where rural and urban area interface/interlink within the wards. However, 24.4 percent do not think so, while 35.6 percent do not know.

Some respondents believe that the demarcation process has had no impact on the development of rural and urban areas in the wards, while others think it actually assisted with the improvement of those less developed areas.

Most respondents are of the opinion that the demarcation process has had an impact on the areas where rural and urban areas interface. While on the one hand some areas were combined into one new region comprising both rural and urban areas, other areas witnessed a division amongst residents who regarded others as still rural/belonging to a tribal authority and others as urbanised. This has been exacerbated by the fact that those in tribally owned land found themselves in less developed areas due to the control by tribal authorities that at times limits the extent to which development can take place.

According to the CTMM (2004: 35), at the time of demarcation, Tshwane inherited an estimated 72 500 additional households requiring basic municipal services that reflect a municipal access profile that is more in common with Polokwane and Mafikeng than the rest of urban Gauteng. Respondents indicate that the demarcation process has resulted in certain areas falling within a different provincial boundary, thus affecting development and service provision to areas lying on the border areas. Respondents complain that this type of change involves the transfer of all administrative services to the new province, which is regarded as a hassle that has left some residents stranded in other parts of the country. Although some fear that they may also be victims of such changes as well, others have grown to like their own province, as the local council offices are closer to their areas and thus do not have to travel long distances just to pay for services rendered to them. In some wards, community members refused to be integrated into new regions, for example in zone B there are communities that did not want to be integrated into Tshwane and wanted to remain as part of North-West for various reasons.

6.3.1.8. Spatial development initiatives (SDI) have an effect on areas where rural-urban interface

Chart 6.3 shows that 26.7 percent of the respondents believe that the spatial development initiatives (SDIs) have an effect on areas where rural and urban areas meet/interlink within the wards. However, 22.2 percent do not think they do, and 51.1 percent have no idea.

Respondents believe that the SDIs have had a positive impact on the lives of the communities living alongside areas where development is taking place. They state that the SDIs cut across rural and urban areas introducing changes that benefit the developing areas in particular. They have created job opportunities for both rural and urban people leading to the improvement of the local economy.

While there are respondents who do not know of effect SDIs have on rural and urban development, others acknowledge that the SDIs create an interface between the rural and urban areas.

6.3.1.9. Planning towards the rural-urban interface

According to Chart 6.3, 26.7 percent of respondents acknowledge that there is planning geared towards addressing the future of areas where rural and urban areas interface within the wards, while 13.3 percent says there is none and 60 percent do not know of such initiatives.

Respondents contend that the local council has plans that are integrated in the IDP document to address the areas where rural and urban interface. This implies that the local council should embark on a rigorous process of identifying specific areas within the zones where residents from rural and urban areas interface, and plan around them. Although most of the areas identified by respondents are located in the urban areas, a few are in the peri-urban and rural areas as well. Respondents argue that some nodes with economic activities, which are also inhabited by people from urban areas, have been identified in some rural areas. They assert that the local council should take advantage of these “economic nodes” and plan around them, as they would help to inject life into the rural areas, thereby contributing to the development of these areas. Some respondents argue that this may have “unintended consequences” as this process might make these rural areas more attractive to some people from outside the areas, resulting in more people moving into the rural areas.

Some respondents argue that some SDIs are flanked by residential areas with low cost houses that are not attractive. They are of the opinion that integrated development should not only focus on the roads but also the housing infrastructure. RDP houses should be built along these roads and better facilities and services made available, to improve the livelihood of people living alongside these areas. Respondents argue that most of the areas where rural and urban areas interface in the urban areas are developed for and accommodate the needs of those who can afford them. However, some

of the areas of interface in the peri-urban/informal settlements, townships and small towns also need attention from the local council, so that proper plans can be developed to address the needs of people from neighbouring areas who do not have these services at all.

6.4. IDENTIFICATION OF POLICY INSTRUMENTS TO MANAGE THE RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE WITHIN THE TSHWANE METROPOLITAN AREA

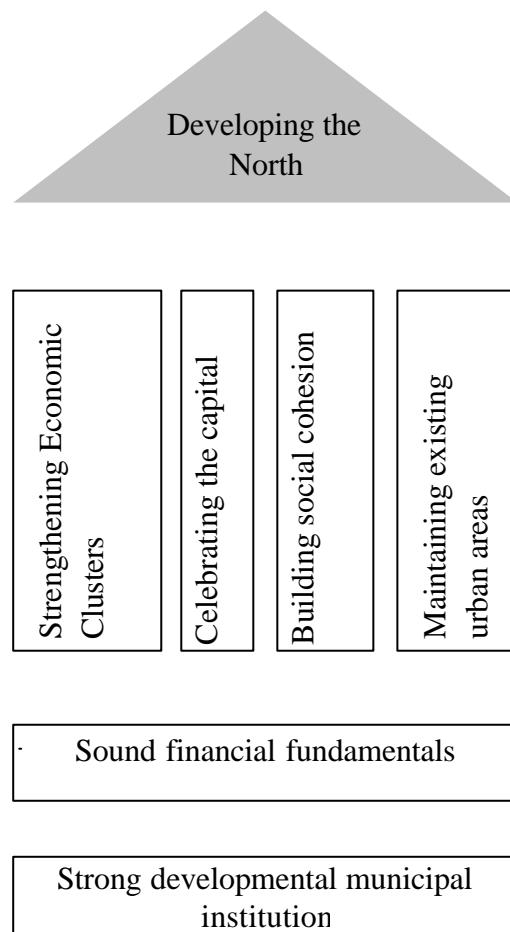
The Tshwane Metropolitan Council has developed some policy instruments that serve to address the concept of integrated development. The policies and strategies are aligned in the national, provincial and local government policies and legislation such as the rural and urban development policies, integrated development planning framework, spatial development frameworks as well as the Constitution. Some of the policy instruments developed include the Tshwane Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (2003), the draft Rural Development Strategy, as well as the economic development strategy. It has already been mentioned that the CTMM is divided into eight planning regions that provides guidelines and directives pertaining to the management of the urban edge. These guidelines also apply to the rural areas that are located outside the urban edge, and specify *that rural settlements must be resource based and closely linked to agriculture, natural resources and eco-tourism*. These instruments reflect the policy options available to the local council by addressing the situation within the rural and urban areas as well as the implementation guidelines.

The council has been involved in the formulation of the IDPs and this process culminated in the development of the Integrated Development Plan for the CTMM. The specific plans, strategies, needs and projects aimed at addressing the situation within the wards are outlined in the IDP document. Thus there are clear guidelines for processes to be followed in the identification of local needs as well as plans and strategies to intervene during implementation. The strategic focus area in the delivery of the IDP as outlined in the CTMM (2004: 40) include, amongst others, *the management of the physical integration of the city and the improvement of the quality and liveability of the urban and rural environment*. Implementation of the IDPs would also ensure the community's wellbeing by addressing poverty and making essential services and facilities available, accessible and affordable.

The CTMM is developing the City Development Strategy, which serves to support integrated development. Its first priority lies in the north of Pretoria, an area with major potential despite years

of neglect. It believes that an underdeveloped and disadvantaged North will leave Tshwane incomplete and unsustainable. The Strategy rests on four key and complimentary pillars, which are: *strengthening economic sectors, celebrating the capital, building social cohesion and maintaining the existing urban areas* (CTMM 2004: 42). These pillars are supported by a solid foundation of institutional and municipal capacity. Below is a diagrammatic representation of the Tshwane City Development Strategy.

Diagram 6.1: Tshwane City Development Strategy



Source: IDP (2004:42)

According to the CTMM (2004: 42) the key drivers of the strategy include the extension of rudimentary services to households that currently do not have access to basic services through the incremental upgrading of services to full service levels. Job creation and community initiatives will be maximised in service extension programmes. The strategy intends to maximise the focus on the provision of public facilities and high quality spaces in clusters at strategic nodes where people

interact. The CTMM (2004: 42) indicates that the strategy would establish investment incentives to assist in the sustainability, stability and further development of existing and new industrial areas, including Babelegi and Rosslyn. It also serves to facilitate increased access of the north of the rest of Tshwane by integrating different modes of transport, completing critical gaps in the public transport network, and exploring the full potential of Wonderboom Airport. The strategy aims to provide increased SMME support as well as give support to major job creation initiatives and investments. According to the CTMM (2004: 42), the City Strategy supports the Blue IQ initiatives, including the Dinokeng and the Gauteng Automotive Cluster to ensure that the developmental benefits and job creation opportunities of these initiatives are maximised. The strategy is also driven by its active support and assistance to ensure the viability and further growth of urban agriculture.

Another key area of focus is the continued development of the established urban area, for example Pretoria central, Centurion, south eastern Pretoria, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Laudium, by maintaining services and expediting market-driven initiatives to support the overall development of Tshwane. This would be done by utilising the remaining developable public land in the south to increase housing choice and opportunities for social and spatial integration, as well as supporting the Blue IQ initiatives and the Gautrain Innovation Hub/ICT initiatives. The strategy would also focus on strengthening key economic clusters to gain leverage from growth trends in manufacturing, government and the business sectors. However, support for key clusters would require continuous awareness and building of an entrepreneurial culture and supporting processes. In addition, the CTMM plans to extend existing indigent policy to areas that are not benefiting from free access to basic services. Tshwane is facing the difficult dual task of building a new institution while having to restructure the city and rolling out services to areas largely neglected in the past just like other metropolitan areas and secondary cities. The process of modernising the administration will require high levels of change management and communication to ensure change readiness, buy-in and commitment at all levels. Community members within the rural and urban areas will need to be prepared for such changes to enable them to be receptive to them.

The researcher admits upfront that the study on the rural-urban relations is potentially vast, hence the focus has been specifically be on the identified sector(s) as well as the movements between the rural and urban areas. An analysis of the rural-urban interface was located within the CTMM so as to be enabled to assess the dynamics and observe the interplay of the interface within various sectors. Based on the analysis of the situation within the CTMM, the responses from the

questionnaires and input from key stakeholders; the following instruments/ interventions are amongst those identified to facilitate/manage the interface between the rural and urban areas within the Tshwane Metropolitan area:

- Gauteng province should develop an *Integrated Rural urban development and planning policy* that begins to advocate for the development of rural and urban areas side-by side. There seem to be no cross-pollination of plans between the two existing rural (Green Paper on Rural Development for Gauteng, 1998) and urban (White Paper on Urban Regeneration and Integration Plan for City, Town and Township Centres, 1997) development policy documents or indications of how they can begin to foster the complementary relationship between the Gauteng rural and urban areas. This type of approach gives the impression that the Gauteng rural and urban areas share the “core” and “periphery” nature of relationship.
- The planning cycle for government should be aligned to local government to allow synergy in the development and planning agenda of the three spheres of government. This should assist streamline programmes and plans and avoid duplication of services. This would enable the prioritisation of urban and rural plans and programmes in an equitable manner. The integrated development planning process is regarded as a proper mechanism for use by officials to address this situation in Gauteng province.
- The establishment of an intergovernmental planning committee/forum should assist in coordinating issues of integrated rural-urban planning at the provincial and local government levels.
- Development and implementation of a policy to manage the urban edge and avoid encroachment of the rural land by development in the urban areas
- Development and implementation of policy on urban sprawl and control measures to enforce compliance
- Identification of areas where the urban and rural interface/ interlink and introduce specific interventions to manage the development initiatives in such areas
- Development and management of small /rural towns and create a mutually beneficial or complementary relationship between the small towns and the surrounding rural areas
- Improvement of the governance system within the rural areas
- Management of the impact of HIV/AIDS, particularly among the poor and most vulnerable households

- Nodal development focusing on both the rural and urban poor. More nodes should be identified as suggested in the ISRDS, but with a bias to those rural areas whose people still live in abject poverty with no resources to sustain their livelihood. Specific projects should be budgeted for to enable implementation within the given MTEF cycles
- Infrastructure development and promotion of Multi Purpose Community Centres, particularly in the rural areas and small towns
- Addressing historical service backlogs related to the development of the rural and urban areas, such as housing, water and sanitation, sewerage system, electricity, schools, SRAC facilities, horticultural services and safety and security facilities
- The introduction of poverty alleviation strategies and programmes with a concerted effort on the community based projects such they Vukuzakhe & Zibambele discussed in chapter 2 of this dissertation. These projects should be government subsidised, monitored and evaluated on a regular basis to ensure sustainability
- The development of human capital and provision of financial resources particularly within the rural areas to capacitate local authorities and prepare them for official responsibilities as well as interaction with members of the public
- Introduction of policy/mechanisms for proper management of the migrant labour system and joblessness. This may contribute towards dealing with the legacy of the migrant labour system that has disintegrated and left scars on many family units, particularly those in the rural areas, as most men were forced by poverty out of their homes and flocked to the urban areas to seek employment
- Enhancing gender relations through empowerment and emancipation of women i.e. organising and utilising the skills of women in development initiatives/ projects, particularly those who remain household heads, while men are migrants in the cities. Projects such as Letsema and Vukuzenzele have seen the participation of women who took the initiative to break the circle of poverty and initiated development projects within their local communities. These initiatives have the potential to generate income, revenue, jobs for local communities and attract skills from other areas
- Development of the rural areas that entails the establishment of multi-faceted income-generating strategies to boost the rural economy and improve the livelihood of people living in the rural areas, in order to improve their competitiveness. The LED strategy and the development of SMME's (discussed in chapter 5) within both the rural and urban areas would boost the economic situation of the locality and foster cross-pollination of resources between the rural and urban areas

- Increasing access to land reform projects in the rural areas to promote economic viability and encourage local economic development projects
- Promotion of agricultural projects in the urban and rural areas. Rural and urban agricultural projects at the micro and macro scale, i.e. subsistence and commercial farming may alleviate poverty and generate income
- Formation of partnerships and/ or collaboration between local authorities and communities for proper coordination and implementation of development initiatives to fulfil both the felt and identified community needs both in the rural and urban areas

All the above-mentioned are amongst the instruments/ interventions that can be used to foster integrated rural-urban development. Chapter five (5) and six (6) covered much ground in as far as identifying the key interventions that can promote the interaction between the rural and urban areas. This summary only singles out a few.

6.5. CONCLUSION

The results of this research confirm that there is an observed interaction between the rural and urban areas within the CTMM. However, the emerging picture is that most movement is experienced from the rural to the urban areas for improved living conditions. The evils of the migrant labour system also confront the CTMM as there are female headed households due to men being part of the migrant labour system. There are different types of migrants within the CTMM, some of which are frowned at by the local communities, as they are regarded as ‘cheap labour’ that threatens their own employment opportunities. However, there is an acknowledgement of those migrants that bring scarce skills to the City on a seasonal or annual basis, and their presence is appreciated.

There is movement out of rural to urban areas, from rural to peri-urban as well as from urban to rural areas, though the latter is limited. There is a general perception that people who reside in the informal settlements actually do so because they aspire to be next to the cities, while on the other hand others reside there for purposes of close proximity to their respective workplaces.

A disconcerting picture painted by these findings is the possibility of rural areas being left to the poorest of the poor, the elderly and children, who may not have a voice to state their needs due to the observed movement by the economically active to the urban areas and who only return to their

rural homes as migrants. Respondents believe that reverse development strategies, which focus more on the development of rural areas, should urgently be put in place to make rural areas more attractive. Therefore the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality should develop more strategies for developing the rural areas, such as giving incentives to anyone establishing businesses or other employment opportunities in rural areas. A centrally coordinated budget should also be made available to support initiatives for the development of rural areas, and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms should be put in place to ensure proper utilisation of funds in rural areas.

CHAPTER 7

7.1. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research set out to investigate some of the key intervention areas that could foster interaction between rural and urban areas. In so doing, it has argued that the historical background of the apartheid state in South Africa has had a negative effect on development and planning. In this final chapter, the results obtained in the research will be viewed against the problem statement and research aims and objectives. The conclusions will be based on the success and key findings of the research and then the recommendations on the way forward will be presented.

7.1.1. OVERVIEW OF ASSUMPTIONS, PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The problem as stated in section 1.4 in Chapter 1 is:

There is a lack of research-based knowledge on areas of intervention to facilitate the interaction between the Gauteng rural and urban areas, as well as a lack of policy instruments to manage rural-urban interface.

During the research this problem was explored and the researcher discovered that there is no recorded research on the topic in Gauteng province. However, there are various research studies that focus on the rural-urban interface in South Africa, some of which have been utilised for purposes of this study, for example case studies on the Transkei (Eastern Cape Province) and Qwaqwa (Free State Province), discussed in Chapter 2.

This research started by making assumptions, stated under 1.3 in Chapter 1, which the researcher revisits against the results of the research.

Firstly, the research assumed that historically Gauteng rural areas did not receive adequate resources for the purposes of development and thus are underdeveloped. An analysis of the history of South Africa, with its segregationist and apartheid policies, has proven that the rural areas, most

of which were referred to as homelands or black spots and occupied mainly by black people, were underdeveloped, as no resources, facilities or services were provided, and they were therefore unsustainable. It has already been mentioned that the service needs of the vast majority of South Africa's non-metropolitan, including labour reserve populations in small dormitory townships attached to white towns, farm workers and people forcibly settled in bantustans, went largely unheeded. This is one of the critical challenges for the new system of local government . This status quo was entrenched and legitimised through apartheid policies that were forcefully implemented. The local government system served to ensure separate development and local government structures and institutions established within the homelands lacked real power and were therefore merely tokens of the apartheid state. On the other hand, whites occupied mainly urban areas, which were designated "whites only" areas with black people coming in only as labourers. Those black people who remained in the rural areas, worked mainly on the farms and were highly exploited by the farm owners as a result of their dependence on their employees for wages, housing, electricity, schooling, access to medical facilities, water and transport. Most of the farm workers are not educated, or their educational qualifications are low, thus they are easily exploited.

Many black people that stayed in the urban areas where they were dumped in mine hostels and only stayed there for work purposes and returned to their families in the rural areas when necessary. Other stayed in the locations in the houses. This entrenched the migrant labour system that has left some permanent scars on the minds of some black people and had negative effects on the socio-economic status of the country. The trend has therefore been to improve competitiveness in the migration process through education, rather focusing efforts on investment in agriculture because migrancy was seen as a more attractive option than farming. The migrant labour system had negative effects on family lives and ties of black people, as the household heads (men) were separated from their families, who were isolated and "kept out" of the urban areas by apartheid laws. This system left many female-headed households to care for the children and hold the fort whilst their partners worked in the mines located in the urban areas.

Most rural women are known to adhere to traditional norms, values and customs thus, however strong they might have been in other aspects of life, they lacked the consciousness to organise themselves into a voice that could have challenged the status quo. The apartheid state therefore managed to destabilise the family lives of black people living in rural areas. Rural areas were characterised by high levels of overcrowding, poverty, landlessness, lack of education, disease, lack of mobility, inadequate infrastructure and basic services and amenities to sustain them. There was

in effect “backwards development” in the homelands or nation states as opposed to a more rigorous programme of development in the urban areas, which were commonly known to belong to white people. The effects of this system are still evident in South Africa. Owing to the fact that rural areas are located far from the cities where employment opportunities are located, rural people need to travel longer distances than their urban counterparts to their workplaces and to access job opportunities.

It should be acknowledged though that resistance from black people that was evidenced since in the 1980s and some of the practices of the apartheid era have actually diminished. The situation has improved drastically, with the movement of blacks to urban areas and to new black urban areas, and the development initiatives by the new government in rural areas, though much is still expected by people living in the rural areas.

Secondly, *this research assumed that there is an urban bias in Gauteng province*. This view has been confirmed by a number of sources, amongst others, the GDDPLG (1998: 1) mentions that the idea of a rural development policy has been met with a spectrum of responses ranging from disbelief and scepticism to whole-hearted support. The former view comes from an urban bias position based on the fact that Gauteng is predominantly urban, and the latter view is based on the view that Gauteng rural areas are distinct and unique and therefore require special attention. However, the need for a focus on rural development should derive from an identification of the developmental role of such a policy in Gauteng. This policy has attempted to fulfil this role. However, the fact that this policy is still at the Green Paper stage, as opposed to the White Paper on Urban Regeneration and Integration Plan for City, Town and Township Centres (1997), reflects that no further efforts have been made to improve its status of to give it the policy status that would challenge municipalities to carry forward its recommendations. The national Urban Development Framework: living cities (1997) and the Rural Development Framework: thriving rural areas (1997), are recognised and obviously guide the development of rural and urban areas nationally. However, provinces need to customise the principles within their local contexts, and the same goes for Gauteng.

Thirdly, *the research assumed that* there is a need for this type of research that begins to investigate the assertion that there is unequal development of the rural and urban areas and identify elements and interventions that could foster interaction between the rural and urban areas in the Tshwane Metropolitan area. The results of this research reveal that there is very little research-based

knowledge on the topic, as the researcher could not find any specific literature on the topic in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. There are documents that focus on various sectors discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation, but there is no evidence of a consolidated effort to tie the issues raised therein to the key interventions that could foster relations between rural and urban areas. The IDP document is very comprehensive and covers all the key service delivery areas as well as the provision of services to communities, but also lacks this component. Therefore, it is the submission of the researcher that a broader research study should be conducted in the Tshwane Metropolitan area to investigate the elements and interventions that could foster interaction between rural and urban areas. The introduction of development initiatives at areas where the rural and urban areas interface, should therefore be amongst the key priorities of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

Fourthly, the research assumed that participation by stakeholders would add value to this dissertation. Conducting a survey through questionnaires solicited the perceptions of both community and ward members on the status of development of their respective rural and urban areas and indicated whether there is actually an interface between the two areas or not.. The results of this research have proven this assumption to be true, because through the research process, the perceptions of various stakeholders were obtained pertaining to specific service delivery areas and their level of satisfaction with the delivery of services by the local municipality. The results also indicated that there is actually an interaction between the rural and urban areas in their respective areas. The results of this research are presented in detail in Chapter 5.

Fifthly, the research assumed that the nature of cross-pollination between the Tshwane Metropolitan area's rural and urban areas and attitudes/perceptions of people towards development in rural and urban areas might be evident. The results indicate that there are varying perspectives on the type of cross-pollination witnessed between rural and urban areas. Within the various sectors, the observed interaction is at different levels, but the results confirm that there is indeed much cross-pollination/interaction between rural and urban areas. People's attitudes towards/perceptions of the development of rural and urban areas were also obtained. The results confirm that there are respondents who feel that development is still concentrated more in the urban areas, while others have witnessed some progress with respect to the development of rural areas. The existence of rural rich and urban poor has also been identified and the fact that there may not be much difference between the lifestyles of poor people living in rural and urban areas. The results captured in Chapter 5 under the sectoral analysis, reflect a maze of interactions observed by

respondents within the Tshwane Metropolitan area's rural and urban areas. The detailed analysis is presented in Chapter 5.

Sixthly, *the research assumed that the results* of this dissertation may trigger further research into policy instruments and other types of interventions that could foster interaction between the rural and urban areas in the Tshwane Metropolitan area *of this dissertation might trigger further research into key aspects and interventions to foster interaction between rural and urban areas in the Tshwane Metropolitan area.* Indeed, in Chapter 1, the researcher indicated that one case study within Gauteng or, even more so, in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is not adequate to get the broadly representative results on the rural-urban interface. This implies that further research needs to be undertaken to determine the key interventions needed to foster interaction between rural and urban areas, and the recommendations carried forward to inform planning and policy decision making.

Seventh, *the research assumed that there might be existing attempts by the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality towards integrated rural-urban development.* It was discovered that the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has already made some inroads towards the integrated development of rural and urban areas. These are in the form of policies/strategies, programmes and plans. Chapter 6 of this dissertation discusses this matter in detail.

7.2. AN ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS ASSESSED AGAINST THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THIS RESEARCH

This research set out to conduct an investigation into key interventions to promote rural-urban interface in Gauteng using the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality as a case study. The results of the research are assessed against the aims and objectives.

Firstly the research aimed to explore *various theoretical perspectives on rural-urban interface in the context of development planning theory.* Based on the analysis presented in Chapter 2, this research has achieved its objective. It is the opinion of the researcher that the separate development of rural and urban areas as it has been carried out in the past leads not only to perpetuating the notion of separate development, but also limits the benefits that can be reaped from an integrated approach to development. In Chapter 2, various theoretical perspectives on rural-urban interface

were presented and case studies were used to illustrate the nature of rural-urban linkages within the South African context, and the regional perspective was represented by a case from Zimbabwe. The critical role played by areas in the peripheral regions of the cities including the small towns and secondary cities has been presented. The theoretical perspectives basically confirm the importance of integrated development and the criticality of linkages between the rural and urban areas.

Secondly, the research aimed to discuss the *characteristics, trends and challenges of rural and urban development in South Africa*. The detailed presentation of the characteristics, trends and challenges of rural and urban areas and their development in general leads the researcher to confirm that Chapter 3 has managed to achieve the set objective. The historical background of the development of South Africa's urban and rural areas provided the context in which the development planning system should be viewed. A regional perspective assisted in locating the trends within the global context as well. The challenges reflect the complexities confronting both public and private institutions pertaining to the development of rural and urban areas. Case studies were utilised to indicate the realities in the South African context, which revolves around the characteristics, challenges and dynamics of rural and urban development.

Thirdly, the research aimed to *present various perspectives of a broader legislative and policy framework that guides development and planning in South Africa*. This objective was achieved by a detailed presentation of the policy perspectives in Chapter 4. The origins of development planning served as a backdrop to the perspectives provided by local policies and laws. The impact of globalisation on economic and development planning and management raises a red flag over development without consideration of the global context. The perspectives of South African policy and legislative frameworks in the pre- and post apartheid periods, as well as the planning system that prevailed during these periods, locates the discussion within the South African context. The challenges faced by municipalities indicate that the road ahead still awaits their interventions in collaboration with the local communities on issues of integrated development planning.

Fourthly, the research served to *reflect both ward and community members' perceptions on the status of development and planning and identify areas of interface between their respective rural and urban areas based on various sectors*. Chapter 5 of this research details the results based on perceptions of both the ward and community members on the status of development and planning as well as the areas of interface between the rural and urban areas within the Tshwane Metropolitan area. The findings reveal that there is interaction between the rural and urban areas, the only

challenge for the CTMM is to develop instruments to manage it properly. Interaction between the residents from rural and urban areas happens mainly in the urban and peri-urban contexts, and less in the rural setting. The objective has therefore been achieved.

Finally, the research aimed to *reflect the current and planned attempts towards integrated rural-urban development within the Tshwane Metropolitan area*. This section, read together with assumption number seven above, reflects that this research has achieved this objective. In addition, the incorporation and prioritisation of the northern side of Tshwane in the City Strategy, an area that contains obvious casualties of the apartheid era, but with major potential despite all the years of neglect is a major step towards this.

7.3. CONCLUSIONS

The researcher submits that the above discussion on the assumptions, aims and objectives, assessed against the results of this research, present some of the key findings and successes of the research. Linking the results of the research to the stated problem, assumptions, aims and objectives, it can be concluded that this research managed to provide insight into key intervention areas that could foster interaction between rural and urban areas in the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

In conclusion, the following findings are made:

- There is adequate policy and legislative framework to address the development of rural and urban areas at all levels of government. The policies should also reflect the impact of development in the interface areas.
- There are international best practices, experiences and benchmarks available for South Africa to learn from, with respect to rural and urban development, but the historical background and local context should be taken into consideration to avoid importing foreign models based on situations that are different from those in South Africa.
- An investigation into the status of development and planning and the interface between the rural and urban areas should not only focus on these areas as two poles on a continuum without much consideration on other types of settlement impacting on the relationship between these two areas. An investigation that focus on the interrelated parts of the interface involving people within the real life situation, assists in unearthing the interplay

between these two areas as well as with the identification of key interventions to foster a complementary relationship between the two areas. This study succeeded in achieving this.

- Integrated development planning is the current paradigm and it is used for planning and implementation of plans and projects at the local level in South Africa. There is a need for refined focus on the development at interface areas.

The concept of integrated rural-urban development seems to be in its inception stage particularly at implementation level. Though people are familiar with integrated development planning in general, a difficulty seems to be raised when issues concerning interface/complementarity between rural and urban areas are raised. There seem to be less planning in this area, except for the literature available in the Tshwane Spatial Framework on planning around the urban edge.

- There is very little available literature on the subject in the Tshwane Metropolitan area. Key interventions on the rural-urban interface are documented mainly on the basis of people's perceptions (with the realities on the ground obtained from the IDP document). Therefore people's perceptions have been useful in unearthing key service delivery areas, development initiatives and key areas of interface between their respective rural and urban areas.
- A sectoral analysis enabled a very comprehensive analysis of the situation within rural and urban areas.
- There has been an urban bias with respect to the development of rural and urban areas in the country, and in the Tshwane Metropolitan area in particular.
- The government is expending more and more efforts on the development of rural areas and budget allocations are also redirected to spending on the development of rural areas.
- There are still huge gaps in terms of service delivery needs from the rural areas, and the local council is being challenged to address them.
- Migration/immigration issues confront the Tshwane Metropolitan area and there are no proper measures/strategies for dealing with this situation.
- Informal settlements, small towns, rural and urban areas are in constant interaction with each other, creating a maze of interaction amongst people living in these areas. It is the people who create these interactions rather than the actual areas themselves.

7.4. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the study, it is recommended that the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality:

- Conduct a more complex study that investigates all the Tshwane rural and urban areas in order to obtain a more representative view of the development status, the interface between these areas as well as the specific interventions. Due to time constraints, this type of study could not be conducted by the researcher. Alternatively, a number of studies may be conducted, each focusing on the development initiatives within a specific sector and identify specific interventions based on the findings pertaining to the interface between rural and urban areas within that particular sector.

The above mentioned investigation could even be strategically factored into the IDP process, since communities are better able to identify key areas of interface and ways in which the local council can assist them with those most wanted resources that are scarce in some areas, causing people to move to neighbouring areas.

Furthermore, the study that serves to foster a complementary relationship between the northern side and the previously white areas of the Metropolitan area could be another angle this research could take. This would really depend on the resources available.

The conclusions drawn from the results of an investigation based on the sectors at the end of chapter five (5) should be taken into consideration when a further study is conducted.

- The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality should, in its spatial development framework, rural and urban development strategies begin to address the interface/interaction between rural and urban areas. A discussion on the urban edge is simply not adequate on its own and should further address the nature of the relationship that the areas on the boundaries/edges have with the urban core. Planning and resource allocation should also be specified. The pros and cons of the interaction between rural and urban areas as well as the effect this interaction has on delivery of services should also be further investigated.

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ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE A: PRINCIPLES OF THE DEVELOPMENT FACILITATION ACT. (Act no. 67 of 1995, the Development Facilitation Act, (South Africa 1995)

South Africa (1995) is a guiding piece of legislation in place to guide planning processes in the Republic. Chapter one (1) of this Act stipulates the principles that would form the integral to the development of rural and urban areas in this research. These are as follows:

Principles of the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) (South Africa (1995)

Under apartheid, land development planning in the four provinces, the ten homelands and the "group areas" racial zones fell under many different laws, ordinances, procedures and regulations. This caused lack of coordination as well as unequal distribution of resources. Act no.67 of 1995: Legislation such as the DFA was developed for purposes of achieving the following three key objectives:

- ⇒ To provide a coherent policy framework for land development, land registration and planning in South Africa according to the 'general principles for decision making and conflict resolution' in Chapter 1 of the Act
- ⇒ To speed up and facilitate the approval of land development applications
- ⇒ To provide for the overhaul of the existing planning and land development framework

Subsequent to this, the Development Planning Commission was established in terms of the DFA to, amongst others, review the principles and produce a manual explaining them as well as reviewing current legislation, particularly provincial legislation, and suggest changes in this regard.

The following are the principles as quoted directly from chapter one of the DFA. They are divided into two categories, the first set is for guiding land development whilst the second category are those that inform decision-making and conflict resolution:

GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR LAND DEVELOPMENT

3. (1) (a) Policy administrative practice and laws should provide for urban and rural land development and should facilitate the development of formal and informal, existing and new settlements
- (b) Policy, administrative practice and laws should discourage the illegal occupation of land, with due recognition of informal land development processes
- (c) Policy, administrative practice and laws should promote efficient and integrated land development in that they- (only a few would be mentioned here)
 - (i) promote the integration of the social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development
 - (ii) promote integrated land development in rural and urban areas in support of each other.
 - (vi) discourage the phenomenon of "urban sprawl" in urban areas and contribute to the development of more compact towns and cities
- (d) Members of communities affected by land development should actively participate in the process of land development
- (e) The skills and capacities of disadvantaged persons involved in land development should be developed
- (f) Policy, administrative practice and laws should encourage and optimise the contributions of all sectors of the economy (government and non-government) to land development so as to maximise the Republic's capacity to undertake land development, and to this end and without derogating from the generality of this principle
- (g). Laws, procedures and administrative practice relating to land development should be clear and generally available to those likely to be affected thereby
- (h). Policy administrative practice and laws should promote sustainable land development at the required scale in that they should promote the establishment of viable communities
- (i). Policy, administrative practice and laws should promote speedy land development
- (j). Each proposed land development area should be judged on its own merits and no particular use of land, such as residential, commercial, conservational, industrial, community facility, mining, agricultural or public use should in advance or in general be regarded as being less important or desirable than any other use of land
- (k). Land development should result in security of tenure, provide for the widest possible range of tenure alternatives, including individual and communal tenure.

- (l). A competent authority at the national, provincial and local government level should co-ordinate the interests of the various sectors involved in or affected by land development so as to minimise conflicting demands on scarce resources
- (m). Policy, administrative practice and laws relating to land development should stimulate the effective functioning of a land development market based on open competition between suppliers of goods and services
- (2). (a). The minister may by notice in the Gazette prescribe any principle for land development in addition to, but not inconsistent with, principles set out in subsection (1)
- (3). (a). The Premier of a province may by proclamation in the provincial gazette prescribe any principle for land development in addition, but not inconsistent with, the principles set out in subsection (1) or prescribed by the minister under subsection (2)
- (4). (a) The Minister shall, before prescribing any principle under subsection (2), cause a draft of such principle to be published in the gazette and shall consider any comment on such draft principle received from any person during the period 30 days after such publication
- (5). (a). The Premier shall, before prescribing any principle or policy under subsection (3), cause a draft of such principle or policy to be published in the provincial Gazette and shall consider any comment on such draft principle or policy received from any person during the period thirty days after such publication

GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR DECISION-MAKING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

- 4. (1). (a). The general principles as set out in subsection (2) apply to any decision which a competent authority, including a tribunal, may take in respect of land development which affects the rights, obligations or freedoms of any person or body whether the application is made or the development undertaken in terms of this Act, subject to paragraph (c) in terms of any other law.
- (b) & (c). (left out purposely in this proposal, see Ch. 1 of the DFA)
- 2. The decisions contemplated in subsection (1) shall be taken in accordance with the following general principles"
 - (a) The decisions shall be consistent with the principles or a policy set out in or prescribed under section 3
 - (b) The decisions shall be made by at least one appropriate officer in the service of a provincial administration or local government body, and experts in the field of agriculture, planning, engineering, geology, mining, environmental management, law,

survey or such other field as may be determined by the Premier

- (c) The officer and experts shall, before conducting a hearing or reaching a decision, enquire into and consider the desirability of first referring any dispute between two or more parties in relation to land development to mediation and if they (i) consider mediation appropriate, they shall refer the dispute to mediation
- (d) The hearing conducted by the officer and experts is open to the public and any other person entitled to appear at the hearing may be represented by any other person
- (e) The officer and experts shall upon request provide written reasons for any decisions reached by them
- (f) The Director-General of a provincial administration shall keep a record of reasons provided in terms of paragraph (e), make such record available for inspection by members of the public and permit the publication of such reasons by any person or body
- (g) A decision made by the officer and experts shall be subject to review by any division Supreme Court of South Africa having jurisdiction.

ANNEXURE B QUESTIONNAIRE: WARD MEMBERS

**STATUS QUO ANALYSIS FOR RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE IN THE TSHWANE
METROPOLITAN AREA**

WARD MEMBERS

SECTION 1: PURPOSE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

1. As part of the requirements of the Masters Course on Development Studies at UNISA, this questionnaire serves to gather relevant information for purposes of completion of the dissertation on the Rural-Urban Interaction within the Tshwane Metropolitan area.
2. This questionnaire forms part of the research process on the sectoral and spatial investigation and analysis of the people's perceptions on the key areas of interface and intervention within and across the borders of the Tshwane Metropolitan areas' rural and urban areas.
3. In cases where information required exceeds the space provided, please attach the relevant documents to the questionnaire and indicate the section to which the information belong.
4. Please answer all questions with the relevant information that pertains to areas in the ward within which you operate. Cross-ward issues are also included to assist with the assessment of the rural-urban interface.
5. Data gathered from this questionnaire will thus be analysed and documented for purposes of submission to UNISA. A final copy will also be given to the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

Your co-operation in this regard will be highly appreciated. Please fill in the required information by simply ticking yes, no, or do not know where required and specify/provide remarks where necessary. Thanking you in advance for your co-operation.

SECTION 2: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Name of Office:			
2. Name of Local Authority:			
3. Category of Municipality: (please tick)		A	B:
4. Type of Municipality (specify)			
5. Name of respondent (optional)		Tel:	Fax:
6. Position of respondent			

SECTION 3: SOCIAL FACTORS

Social Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Please specify/provide remarks
1. Is the local council providing social services in accordance with specific community needs?				
Are the wards provided with the following social services:				
2. Educational services (i.e. schools, including mobile schools, provided either by the local council or other tiers of government?) ✓ If not, specify the area (s) where children from the ward attend school				Specify names of areas and type of schools
3. Community libraries and information services?				Specify names of areas and

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Are there areas without these services? 			type of service provided/ not provided below.
<p>4. Health services (i.e. community health centres or hospitals, clinics, including mobile and satellite clinics)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Are these servicing people from neighbouring wards/areas? 			Specify names of areas/ wards and type of service provided/ not provided
<p>5. Environmental hygiene services (i.e. access to safe water and sanitation, refuse removal, diseases control, etc.) provided to the areas?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Are there areas without these services? 			Specify names of areas and type of service provided/ not provided
<p>6. Counselling services (social work, psychologists, etc.)?</p>			Specify names of areas and type of service

✓ Are there areas that still lack these counselling services?			provided/ lacking
7. Existing service areas/one-stop shops/multi-purpose centres?			Specify names of areas where these centres are located
✓ Are there areas that do not have existing service areas/one-stop shops/multi-purpose centres ✓ Where they exist, are these servicing neighbouring wards/areas as well?			Name of wards/areas serviced
8. Sport and community recreation facilities?			Specify names of areas and facilities available/ not available
9. Museums and heritage sites?			Specify names of areas where these exist
10. A post office that is easily accessible to the community?			Specify name of area where

✓ If not, what other postal services are available to the local people?			it is located
11. Safety and security services (i.e. police stations, traffic safety, unsafe service points, etc.) to ensure the safety of communities? ✓ Are there areas without these services?			Specify names of areas and type of service
12. Is there a partnership with private service providers to assist with service delivery (of any nature) in areas within the ward?			Specify names of areas and partnerships available
13. Do areas receive any other type of services not mentioned above?			Specify names of areas and type of service

SECTION 4: PHYSICAL (ENVIRONMENTAL) FACTORS

Physical (Environmental) Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Are there areas where the local people own land?				Specify names of areas

✓ Are there areas where people still do not have rights to land ownership?				
2. Are there areas that have experienced land invasions?				Specify names of areas
3. Are there areas where people have experienced evictions (legal/illegal) from their places of residence? ✓ If yes, where were these people relocated?				Specify names of areas
4. Are there areas where there currently is a delivery of electricity services (i.e. specialist engineering, energy, distribution services, etc.)? ✓ If not why?				Specify names of areas and type of service provided
5. Has there been a construction, upgrading, and maintenance of roads in the areas? ✓ If not, which areas still lack these services?				Specify names of areas and type of service provided/not provided
6. Are there areas that experience challenges with regards to				Specify names of

cross boundary housing development?				areas
7. Are there areas where existing hostels have been converted into family rental units? ✓ Have certain buildings in the areas been converted for other uses?				Specify names of areas Specify names of areas and types of use
8. Are there areas where conditions of housing in the rural areas and informal settlements have been improved? ✓ If development has not taken place, why?				Specify names of areas
9. Are there areas where the self-building housing programme was introduced?				Specify names of areas
10. Are there areas with cemeteries? ✓ If yes, are they servicing neighbouring areas? ✓ If not, where are people buried?				Specify names of areas

<p>11. Are there environmental management services (i.e. disaster prevention, environmental awareness and training etc.) that are provided to the areas?</p> <p>✓ Are there areas where these services are still lacking?</p>				Specify names of areas
<p>12. Are there areas where an assessment of the environmental impact that both rural and urban areas have on each other, was conducted?</p>				Specify names of areas
<p>13. Are there existing parks, resorts and nature conservation in areas within the ward?</p> <p>✓ Are these servicing neighbouring areas/wards?</p>				Specify names of areas
<p>14. Is there a strategy to manage open spaces/ vacant land within both rural and urban areas, to ensure a tidy environment?</p> <p>✓ If not, why?</p>				Provide remarks

SECTION 5: SPATIAL FACTORS

Spatial Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
<p>1. Is there an existing spatial development policy/ framework that covers both rural and urban development within the ward?</p>				Provide remarks

✓ If not, specify why?			
2. Are there initiatives towards the spatial integration of rural and urban areas to ensure that they complement and support each other? ✓ If not, why?			Provide remarks
3. Are there areas with open spaces/vacant land within the ward at this stage? ✓ What is land mostly used for?			Specify names of areas Specify type of land use pattern
4. Is the urban edge management strategy sensitive to the development of adjacent rural areas?			Provide remarks
5. Are there current/planned and future initiatives for the development of land in the ward?			Provide remarks
6. Does your ward consist of both rural and urban areas?			Specify names of areas and indicate which is rural and which is urban

7. Is there an area in the ward that is functionally linked to another?			Specify names of areas
8. Are there areas that serve as service centres for the neighbouring areas or wards?			Specify names of areas and ward
9. Is there a concerted effort by the local council to maximise the development potential of small towns in and around the ward?			Provide remarks
10. Are there specific sensitive areas proclaimed/reserved within the ward at this stage?			Provide remarks
11. Are there informal settlements/squatter camps in and around the ward?			Specify names of areas

SECTION 6: ECONOMIC FACTORS

Economic Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Is the local council providing subsidies to services such as water, electricity, etc. to the areas /ward?				Specify names of areas and type of service provided/ not provided
2. Are there major firms/industries that employ local people from areas within the ward? Are there other primary industrial/ economic activities (i.e. farming, etc.) used as sources of income by the communities?				Specify type
3. Are there industrial nodes that contribute to the local economic development in the ward? ✓ If not, are there initiatives geared towards the development of the local economy?				Specify names Specify initiatives
4. Do industries in your ward provide services to the neighbouring areas/ wards?				Specify name of area/ward and service provided

5. Are there areas where training is provided to the local people to help develop skills in various areas, i.e. adult education (ABET), entrepreneurial skills etc.?			Specify names of areas and type of training provided
6. Are there areas with potential for tourism development?			Specify names of areas
7. Has the local council developed the strategy to manage the economic impact of HIV/Aids within the ward(s)?			Provide remarks
8. Are there agricultural development programmes for both rural and urban areas in the ward?			Provide remarks
9. Has the local council assessed the employment patterns of people within and across the wards (for both rural and urban areas)? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Is there a high rate of unemployment within the ward? 			Provide remarks

10. Is there a high level of crime in the ward?			Specify types of crime known to you, that are committed in the ward
11. Is there a strategy for the development of the Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) in the ward? ✓ Which types of businesses are there in the ward?			Provide remarks
12. Are there any existing financial services (i.e. banks/ cash loans etc.) within the ward? ✓ If not, in which areas (and wards) do local people get these services			Specify names of areas and wards
13. Is there trading/exchange in goods and skills between the ward and neighbouring one's?			Specify names of wards and types of exchanges

SECTION 7: INFRASTRUCTURAL FACTORS

Infrastructural Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Are there areas with poorly developed infrastructure that restricts potential for growth/development?				Specify names of areas
2. Is there any form of investment in the existing infrastructure in the ward by the local council?				Provide remarks
3. Does the ward have the main service providers of bulk services such as water and electricity? ✓ Are there other water/electricity supply systems used in ward, in areas where these services are not supplied?				Specify supplier
4. Do areas in the ward have any form of sewerage network, refuse removal and sanitation service providers? ✓ If not, why?				Specify supplier
5. Are there areas where waste is removed and collected?				Specify names of areas where service is provided or not

✓ If not, why?			
6. Do areas have sites identified for solid waste dumping?			Specify
✓ If not, are there neighbouring ones used for this purpose?			
7. Are there major public transport roads passing through the ward?			Specify names of areas and roads
✓ Are these tarred or gravel roads?			
✓ Does the local council maintain these roads?			
8. Does the local council maintain the existing infrastructure (roads, stations, stormwater, water and electricity infrastructure, etc.)?			Provide remarks and specify areas that need to be maintained/ fixed
✓ If not, why?			
✓ Is there available infrastructure within the ward that the local council owns in partnership with the private company? (or is purely privately owned)			
9. Is the existing transportation system servicing people in and across the ward adequate?			Provide remarks
✓ Are there stations within the ward that provide access to the available transport system?			Specify names of stations
10. Are there busses and taxis travelling between urban and neighbouring rural areas?			Specify names of areas

11. Is there a railway line that interlinks one area / ward to other neighbouring areas/wards?			Specify names of areas
12. Is the existing infrastructure adequate for the needs of the local community in the ward?			If not adequate, specify community needs

SECTION 8: GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Governance and institutional factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Are there (key) institutions responsible for the delivery of services within areas in the ward?				Specify names
2. Are there government (national/provincial) departments delivering services to areas in the ward?				Specify name of department and nature of service

3. Is there an existing (development) forum where officials meet to share knowledge/ best practices with external stakeholders?			Provide remarks
4. Is there an existing partnership between the private and public institutions for purposes of development of areas in the ward?			Specify key partners
5. Is there proper co-ordination of service provision between the local authorities and other service providers?			Provide remarks
6. Are there (planned or existing) development services/ projects initiated to improve the lives of marginalised groups (previously disadvantaged and rural people) in the ward?			Provide remarks

7. Does the local council (ward committee members) consult and/or invite comments from most members of the community in the process of developing policies?			Provide remarks
8. Are donor funds, levies and development funds (inter-governmental grants) used for purposes of both rural and urban development in the ward?			Provide remarks
9. Are there specific standards applied in the provision/ delivery of services?			Specify

<p>10. Do local communities within the ward afford services being rendered?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ If not, what methods of alternative service delivery have you got in place? ✓ Do both rural and urban communities derive value for money from services provided? 			<p>Provide remarks</p> <p>Specify other ways of delivering services to the people</p> <p>How</p>
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SECTION 9: RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND COMMUTER PATTERNS

Rural-urban migration and commuter patterns	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
<p>1. Do local communities from the urban areas migrate to (adjacent) rural areas?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Why? 				Names of areas

2. Do local communities from the rural areas migrate to (neighbouring) urban areas? ✓ Why?			Names of areas
3. Are there migrants in the ward? ✓ Are migrants involved in the informal employment sector? ✓ Are there foreign migrants as well?			Provide remarks
4. Is the observed migration within the ward (if any) on a seasonal or annual basis?			Specify
5. Does the local council have an existing system used to deal with migrants in the ward?			Specify
6. Is there much competition for jobs in the formal sector due to arrival of migrants in the ward?			Provide remarks

7. Do most local people in the ward reside closer to their employment? (or they travel to and from work)			Specify
8. Are local people from the ward migrating to other wards/areas for better job opportunities? ✓ Is this move towards the rural or towards the urban areas?			Names of areas Specify name and type of areas where most people move to
9. Do communities from other wards immigrate to your ward for improved life conditions and better employment opportunities? ✓ If immigrants exist, are they permanent residents? ✓ Are they settling in the rural or urban areas?			Remarks

<p>10. Is there public (busses and trains) and private (taxis) transport servicing areas in the ward?</p> <p>✓ Are there areas that do not have access to these services?</p>			<p>Specify type</p> <p>Specify names of areas</p>
<p>11. Are there any other types of land based transport modes that are used by the communities for commuting?</p>			<p>Specify</p>

SECTION 10: RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE AREAS WITHIN TSHWANE METROPOLITAN AREA

Rural-Urban Interface areas within Tshwane Metropolitan area	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
<p>1. Are there current attempts towards integrated rural-urban development within the ward?</p>				<p>Provide remarks</p>

2. Has the ward already identified specific areas where rural and urban areas interface/ interlink?			Specify names
3. Does the council have a policy / strategy that governs integrated rural-urban development within the wards?			Provide remarks
4. Does integrated rural-urban development have implications on the implementation of policies within the ward(s)?			Specify how?
5. Are there policy issues identified to manage the process of integrated rural-urban development within ward/ council?			Specify
6. Have you identified key challenges associated with integrated rural-urban development within the ward?			Specify key challenges

7. Does the demarcation process have an impact on areas where rural and urban area interface/interlink within the ward?			Provide remarks
8. Do the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI) have an effect on the areas where rural-urban areas meet / interlink within the ward?			Provide remarks
9. Is there planning geared towards addressing the future of areas where rural and urban areas interlink within the ward?			Provide remarks
10. Do you think the local rural areas will be changed into towns or even urban areas in future?			Remarks
11. Do you think there will be problems when rural and urban areas are combined into one area?			Remarks

12. Do you think that people who move to stay in the informal settlements do so because they want to stay next to or in the urban areas?			Remarks
13. Are the local rural areas being improved as much as the urban areas?			Remarks
14. Are the local urban areas being more developed than the rural areas?			Remarks
15. Do local people use more services from the urban area than the rural areas?			What kind of services
16. Do local people use more services from the rural than the urban areas?			What kind of services

17. Do you think that companies within your ward are employing people from both the rural and urban areas?			Remarks
18. Do you think that people from the local rural and urban areas live the same type or they live very different types of lifestyles?			Remarks

PS: You are requested to fill this questionnaire and return it to the person who gave it to you before the (due date)

Thanking You

Ms T A Manganyi

ANNEXURE C: QUESTIONNAIRE: COMMUNITY MEMBERS

STATUS QUO ANALYSIS FOR RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE IN THE TSHWANE METROPOLITAN AREA

COMMUNITY MEMBERS

SECTION 1: PURPOSE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

1. As part of the requirements of the Masters Course on Development Studies at UNISA, this questionnaire serves to gather relevant information for purposes of completion of the dissertation on the Rural-Urban Interaction within the Tshwane Metropolitan area.
2. This questionnaire forms part of the research process on the sectoral and spatial investigation and analysis of the people's perceptions on the key areas of interface and intervention within and across the borders of the Tshwane Metropolitan areas' rural and urban areas.
3. In cases where information required exceed the space provided, please attach the relevant documents to the questionnaire and indicate the section to which the information belongs.
4. Data gathered from this questionnaire will thus be analysed and documented for purposes of submission to UNISA. A final copy will also be given to the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

Your co-operation in this regard will be highly appreciated. Please fill in the required information by simply ticking yes, no, or do not know where required and specify/provide remarks where necessary. Thanking you in advance for your co-operation.

SECTION 2: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Name of Office:			
2. Name of Local Authority:			
3. Category of Municipality: (please tick)	A	B:	C
4. Type of Municipality (specify)			
5. Name of respondent (optional)	Tel:	Fax:	E-mail:
6. Position of respondent			

SECTION 3: SOCIAL FACTORS

Social Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Please specify/ provide remarks
1. Does your area have a service area/one-stop shop/ or a multi-purpose centre?				Specify name of area
2. Does your area have a school (s) (including mobile schools)?				Type of school: Area: ✓ If not, specify the area where the children go to school
3. Does your area have a community health centre/ hospital, or clinic (including mobile and satellite clinics)?				Specify name of area and type of service
4. Does your area have community recreation facilities such as sports complex, stadium, and grounds for any sporting code? Does the local council maintain (fix) them properly?				Specify type
5. Does your area have a community library or any type of information service?				Specify type and area where it is located
6. Does your area receive the following services: clean water and sanitation, removal of refuse and control of diseases? ✓ Are the water taps (or boreholes) within the yards of				Specify type of service

people's houses or people queue in the streets to get water from those taps?			
7. Does your area have a post office that is easily accessible to the community? ✓ If not, which post office do you use?			Specify name of area
8. Are the social workers/psychologists' offices in your area? ✓ If not, which areas do you use?			Specify
9. Are there different tribal groups in your area?			Specify names of tribes
10. Does your area have a police station, or any type of security service? ✓ If not, which police station or security service do you use?			Specify type of service
11. Does your area have the safety and security services such as scholar patrols, traffic signs indicating unsafe areas, etc. to ensure community safety?			Specify type
12. Does your local council provide any other type of community facilities/services not mentioned above?			Specify type of service and area where it is provided

SECTION 4: PHYSICAL (ENVIRONMENTAL) FACTORS

Physical (Environmental) Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Do people in your area own pieces/portions of land?				
2. Do women, in particular, have the rights to land ownership in your area?				
3. Does your area experience land invasions (occupation of land by people without the permission of the local council/ Baipei)?				Specify name of area
4. Have people in the area experienced forced removals from their places of residence?				Specify name of area
5. Is the local council providing your area with electricity?				Specify type of service you use (i.e. pre-paid/ card system, solar etc.)
6. Does your area have an existing self-building housing programme or a housing development scheme? ✓ Are there local people involved in the building of houses or construction is done by outside builders?				Specify type of scheme/ programme

7. Has the condition of houses, particularly within the rural areas and informal settlements, been improved (i.e. RDP houses, self-development/ extensions of properties etc.)?				Specify type
8. Does your area have a cemetery? ✓ If not, where do you bury people from your community? ✓ If yes, are people from neighbouring areas buried in your cemetery as well?				Specify
9. Are there people who take care of the environment in your area (i.e. disaster management, cleaning of parks and streets, etc.)?				Specify
10. Are there hostels or any buildings in your area, which have been changed into family units? ✓ Are there buildings which have been changed for other uses?				Specify

SECTION 5: SPATIAL FACTORS

Spatial Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Does your area have land that is empty/ not utilised at this stage?				Specify area where land is situated

2. Does your area have land that is currently being developed for any type of use?				Specify area and type of development taking place
3. Is your area a rural, informal settlement, small town or urban?				Specify name and type
4. Are there informal settlements/squatter camps in and around your area?				Specify names
5. Is there a small town(s) next to your area? ✓ Are these areas from which you get or to which you provide some of your services?				Specify name of town and type of service
6. Does your area provide services (jobs, schools, clinics, hospitals, etc.) to other neighbouring areas?				Specify name of area and type of service

SECTION 6: ECONOMIC FACTORS

Economic Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Does your area have major firms/industries that employ many local people?				Specify type

✓ Do these firms employ many people from outside of your community?			
2. Are there industries in the neighbouring areas where people from your area go and work?			Specify name of area and industries
3. Are there small, medium and big business enterprises in your area?			Specify type of businesses available
4. Is there any type of farming practised in your area?			Specify type
5. Is the local council providing subsidies to services such as water and electricity to local communities?			Specify type of service
6. Do people move out of your area into other areas, to find jobs with higher wages and/or a better life? ✓ Is the move from rural to urban areas or from urban to rural areas?			Specify names of areas Specify
7. Does the local council provide training to people to help develop skills in various areas, i.e. adult education (ABET), entrepreneurial skills etc.?			Specify type of training provided

<p>8. Are most people in your area working/ employed in firms / industries or actively looking for employment?</p> <p>If people are not employed in the firms and industries, what else do people do to get the money to support their families?</p>			Specify name of area and type of employment
<p>9. Do you see many people who could be working, sitting around your area without jobs?</p> <p>✓ Is there a high level of crime in your area?</p>			Specify types of crime known to you, that are committed in your area
<p>10. Does your area have existing financial services (i.e. banks/ cash loans etc.)?</p> <p>If not, in which areas do you get them?</p>			Specify names
<p>11. Is there any trading/exchange in goods and skills between your area and neighbouring one's?</p>			Specify type of exchange
<p>12. Do people or even tourists from other areas come into your area for entertainment purposes?</p>			Specify type of entertainment that is available in your area

SECTION 7: INFRASTRUCTURAL FACTORS

Infrastructural Factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Are there companies that provide water and electricity services to your area?				Specify name of supplier
2. Are there other sources of water/electricity in areas where these services are not supplied?				Specify type
3. Are there companies that provide services such as sewerage, refuse removal and sanitation in your area?				Specify name of supplier and type of service
4. Are there people who remove waste (ash, rubbish bins, etc.) in your area?				Specify who removes it
5. Are there sites identified for solid waste dumping in your area?				Specify areas
6. Are there major public transport roads passing through your area? ✓ Are these tarred or gravel roads? ✓ Does the local council maintain (fix) these roads properly?				Specify names of these roads
7. Are there properly constructed (or even tarred)				

smaller roads that are used by people within and across your area?			
8. Are there busses and taxis travelling between urban and neighbouring rural areas?			Specify names of areas
9. Does your area have bus and train stations that provide access to the available transport system?			Specify names of stations
10. Is there a railway line that passes through your area to other neighbouring areas?			
11. Is there available infrastructure (roads, stations, water pipes and electricity poles/ wires, stormwater, etc) that need to be maintained/ upgraded so as to service the needs of the local community better?			Specify areas that need to be maintained/ fixed
12. Is the existing infrastructure adequate for the needs of the local community in your area?			If not adequate, specify community needs

SECTION 8: GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Governance and institutional factors	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Are there government departments that are currently delivering services to your area?				Specify names and type of service

2. Is there an existing community forum where people meet to discuss issues and share knowledge/ information to help develop your area?			Specify type
3. Have you ever been involved/ consulted by the members of the local council for participation or input into the development of any of their policies?			Specify (if any)
4. Can you and/or the local community afford services being provided by the local council in your area?			Reasons why
5. Are you/ the local community generally satisfied with the type and amount of service provided by the local council? ✓ Are there services that do not satisfy you?			Specify services that satisfy you Name these services

SECTION 9: RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION AND COMMUTER PATTERNS

Rural-urban migration and commuter patterns	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks

<p>1. Are there migrants in your area?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ In cases where you have immigrants in your area (people who come into your area from outside areas), are they permanent residents or they come during the day and go back to their areas? ✓ Are migrants involved in the informal employment sector (selling goods, etc)? ✓ Are there foreign migrants as well? 			
<p>2. Does the local community compete for jobs or selling of goods with people from outside your area?</p>			Specify
<p>3. Do local communities from the urban areas move to stay in the (adjacent) rural areas?</p>			
<p>4. Do local communities from the rural areas move to stay in the (neighbouring) urban areas?</p>			
<p>5. Do most people reside closer to their employment? (or they travel to and from work)</p>			
<p>6. Are people in your area relocating to other areas for better job opportunities?</p>			Specify names of areas

7. Do people move into your area for improved life conditions and better employment opportunities?			If you know which areas they come from, specify
8. Is there a train service that the local community uses to commute from their rural to adjacent urban areas (and vice versa)?			Please specify
9. Are there any other types of land based transport modes that people in your area use for commuting?			Specify

SECTION 10: RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE AREAS WITHIN TSHWANE METROPOLITAN AREA

Rural-Urban Interface areas within Tshwane Metropolitan area	Yes	No	Do not know	Specify/Remarks
1. Do you think the local rural areas will be changed into towns or even urban areas in future?				What makes you say so?
2. Do you think there will be problems when rural and urban areas are combined into one area?				Why?

3. Do you think that people who move to stay in the informal settlements do so because they want to stay next to or in the urban areas?			What makes you say so?
4. Are the local rural areas being improved as much as the urban areas?			Specify
5. Are the local urban areas being more developed than the rural areas?			Specify
6. Do you use more services from the urban area than the rural areas?			What kind of services
7. Do local people use more services from the rural than the urban areas?			What kind of services
8. Do you think that companies within your area are employing people from both the rural and urban areas?			What makes you say so?
9. Do you think that people from the local rural and urban areas live the same type or they live very different types of lifestyles?			What makes you say so?

PS: You are requested to fill this questionnaire and return it to the person who gave it to you before the (due date)

Thanking You

Ms T A Manganyi

ANNEXURE D: A MAP OF THE TSHWANE WARD REGIONS AND ZONES