

**EFFECTS OF MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY DEMARCATON ON  
SERVICE DELIVERY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN  
COLLINS CHABANE AND JB MARKS LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES**

by

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for  
the degree of

**DOCTOR OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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**JUNE 2018**

## **DECLARATION**

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I, Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera, declare that the thesis entitled THE EFFECTS OF MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY DEMARCATON ON SERVICE DELIVERY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN COLLINS CHABANE AND JB MARKS LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



**Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera**

**06 June 2018**

**Date**

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I sincerely wish to acknowledge the invaluable contributions made by the following individuals and institutions toward the completion of this research:

- a) My promoter, Prof E.J. Nealer, and co-promoter, Prof V.A. Clapper, for their guidance and encouragement during the course of my studies.
- b) The Graduate Development Fellowship Programme at the University of South Africa's College of Economics and Management Sciences for the financial support and training opportunities.
- c) Management at the Municipal Demarcation Board, the Vhembe District Municipality, and the Collins Chabane Local Municipality for giving me permission to conduct this research at their entities.
- d) NEPA Research Core for assistance with statistical analysis.
- e) My husband, Prof Fulufhelo Netswera for proofreading my chapters.
- f) My former colleagues, especially my mentor, Mr Ando Donkers, and Mr. Johan Beukman, for advice and guidance in the subject field.
- g) All the participants for their invaluable contributions towards this research.
- h) Field workers for their assistance with data collection in both local municipalities.
- i) Prof M.S. Tshehla for editing this work.

## **ABSTRACT**

Geographical boundaries have important environmental, political, financial, developmental and social implications. This study seeks to illustrate this claim through a comparative look at two cases in point, the Collins Chabane and the JB Marks local municipalities. The former resulted from a merger of two *rural* areas, viz., Malamulele and Vuwani, while the latter followed amalgamation of the relatively more *urban* Tlokwe and Ventersdorp.

How have these mergers affected the delivery of basic services, the promotion of public participation in local government decision-making processes, as well as the promotion of social integration between the different groups now enclosed within new boundaries? Furthermore, what were the reasons behind communities' objections to demarcations, objections characterised by violent protests and the destruction of public infrastructure?

Empirical findings were sought through administration of a questionnaire, personal interviews with municipal officials, focus group discussions with Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) officials, in addition to document analysis. Purposeful sampling facilitated the selection of officials, while systematic random sampling expedited the selection of representatives of the 200 households who filled out questionnaires.

Contrary to the notion that changes in municipal boundaries enhance service delivery, the majority of research participants perceived no difference in the way municipal services continue to be delivered. Evidence further showed that the MDB failed to consult adequately those most affected by the demarcation changes. Apparent gerrymandering in both case studies has serious implications regarding MDB's credibility as well as its independence from political interference. In light of its grave findings, this research thus goes on to make several recommendations around municipal demarcation legislation in a number of areas.

**Key words:** amalgamation, decentralisation, demarcation, local government, merger, municipal boundary, public participation, reconfiguration, service delivery, social integration.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ACRONYM / ABBREVIATION</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION / DEFINITION</b>
ANC	African National Congress
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
BAABs	Black Affairs Administration Boards
BLAs	Black Local Authorities
CAU	Commission of the African Union
CBOs	Community-Based Organisations
CFO	Chief Financial Officer
COGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CMTP	Consolidated Municipal Transformation Programme
COPE	Congress of the People
CRCM	Citizens Research Council of Michigan
CSOs	Civic Society Organisations
CWP	Community Works Programme
DA	Democratic Alliance
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DM	District Municipality
DMAs	District Management Areas
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
DPME	Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation
DPSA	Department of Public Service and Administration
ECSA	Electoral Commission of South Africa
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters

<b>ACRONYM / ABBREVIATION</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION / DEFINITION</b>
EU	European Union
FFC	Financial and Fiscal Commission
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System
HRCAC	Human Rights Council Advisory Committee
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
ISRDP	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development programme
LED	Local Economic Development
LGCCs	Local Government Co-ordinating Committees
LGTA	Local Government Transition Act
LM	Local Municipality
MDB	Municipal Demarcation Board
MEC	Member of Executive Council
MPACD	Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development
MFIP	Municipal Finance Improvement Programme
MFMA	Municipal Finance Management Act
MRRC	Maryland Redistricting Reform Commission
MISA	Municipal Infrastructure Support Agent
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PIMS	Planning and Implementation Management Support
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSCs	Regional Services Councils
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANT	South African National Treasury
SDFs	Service Delivery Facilitators

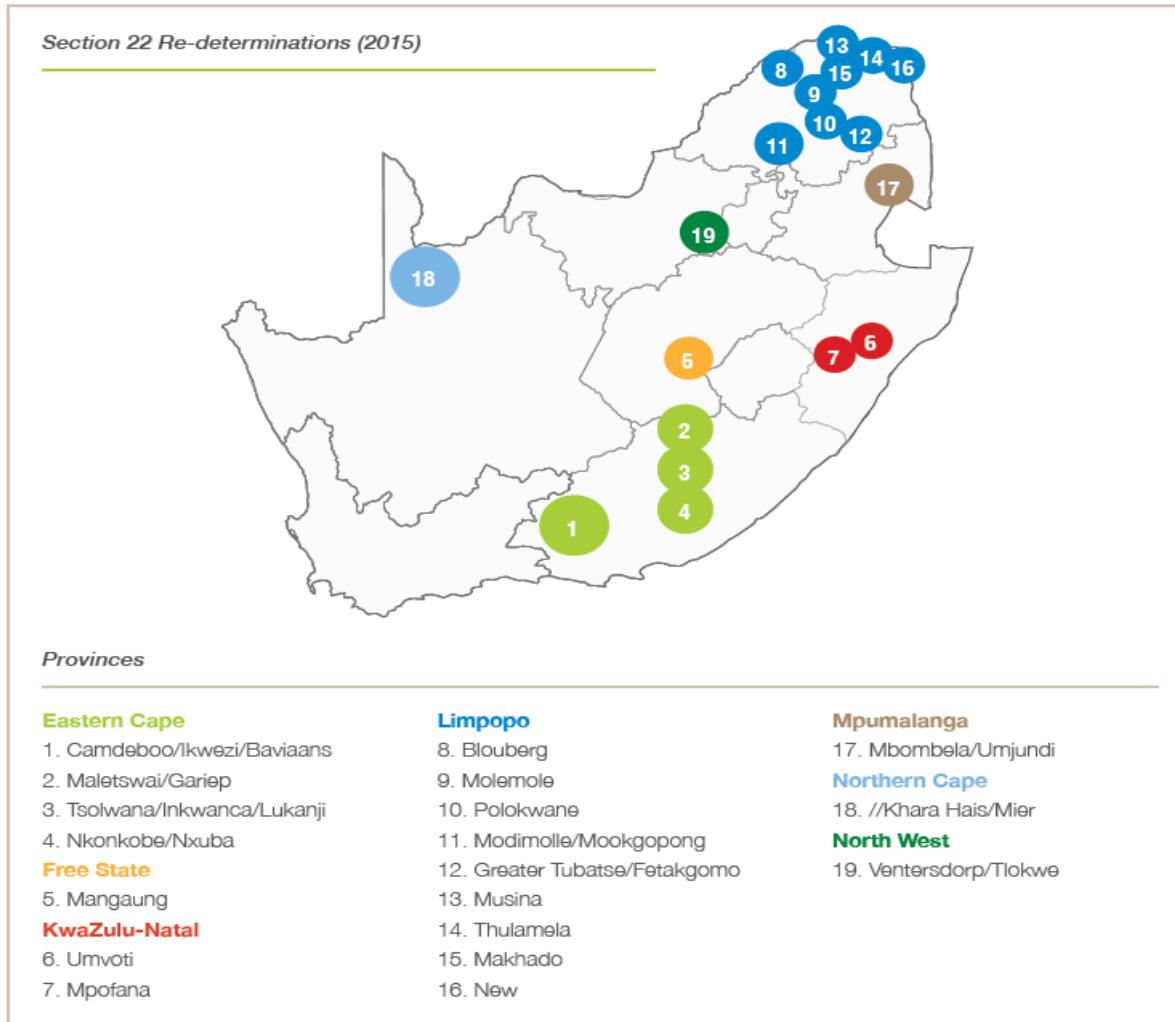
<b>ACRONYM / ABBREVIATION</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION / DEFINITION</b>
SLSA	Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TLC	Transitional Local Council
TMC	Transitional Metropolitan Council
UBCs	Urban Bantu Councils
ULAs	Urban Local Authorities
UN	United Nations
UNISA	University of South Africa
URP	Urban and Regional Planning
USA	United States of America
WLAs	White Local Authorities
WSSD	World Summit for Social Development
X <sup>2</sup>	Chi-Squared Tests

# CHAPTER ONE:

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research utilised a multiple case study approach to examine the effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration as actualised in the Collins Chabane Local Municipality (LM) in the Limpopo Province (16 on Map 1.1) and the JB Marks LM in the North West Province (19 on Map 1.1).



Map 1.1: Final reconfiguration of municipal boundaries in 2015 (MDB, 2016:30)

The phenomenon of redeterminations just before elections on the one hand, and violent objections to such adjustments by affected communities on the other, represents a national problem. Vuwani residents along with some other TshiVenda-speaking traditional leaders objected to the MDB's decision to merge their area with the predominantly XiTsonga-speaking Malamulele. Likewise, residents and political parties on either side of the fence opposed the merger between Ventersdorp and Tlokwe local municipalities. Both mergers went ahead just before the 2016 local government elections. Beyond popular perceptions and suspicions of gerrymandering on the one hand, and official arguments concerning the benefits of such mergers on the other (Kanyane, 2016:Online; Mdumela, 2016:65), it thus seemed important to study the actual consequences of municipal boundary demarcations on service delivery and social integration in the abovementioned instances.

This introductory chapter presents the study's background and rationale, problem statement, research aims, objectives and questions, definitions of key terms used in the thesis, as well as an overall outline of chapters. The background reviews trends in international border determinations as well as in South Africa's municipal boundary demarcations.

## **1.2 BACKGROUND**

Territorial borders play a significant role in shaping societies. They do so primarily by facilitating the management of such aspects of human life as identity, solidarity and belonging. Borders also are enablers of economic opportunities for states (Chang, 2010:1). For instance, the internalisation of borders through the formation of the European Union (EU) resulted in the creation of a single market. However, for countries that are still on the road to freedom from outside control by other nations, borders retain their role as primary indicators of nation's sovereignty (Polner, 2011:49). Borders are also closely associated with wars and conflicts all around the world. Kocs (1995:159) successfully established, for example, that territorial disputes have played a major role in modern international wars.

In the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America in particular, the determination of state borders remains a fiercely contested question (Meha & Selimi, 2010:1). African national borders drawn during the period of colonisation have been the most consistent source of conflict and political instability (Weber, 2012:2). Subsequently, there are calls for the redetermination of Africa's borders by African communities themselves. Such self-determination should facilitate peace and security on the continent, while also serving as a catalyst for the regional and continental integration agenda (Ikome, 2012:1).

Case in point, internal conflict plagued northern and southern parts of Sudan for decades due to colonial boundaries that were drawn without due consideration of the inhabitants' religious and ethnic sensibilities. Clashes have continued even after South Sudan gained independence from the north in 2011. The ruling elite in the north managed for decades to exclude the southerners and other Sudanese groups from the country's oil export earnings based on supposed differences in religion and ethnicity. The government's failure to provide even the most basic services to southerners illustrates how factors such as religion and culture can create conditions of instability and conflict when mismanaged (Thompson Reuters Foundation, 2013:Online; Blanchard, 2016:3).

It is clear from the above assertion that demarcation issues are both inter- and intra-national. In the latter instance, sovereign states subdivide their vast territories into smaller and more manageable provincial and local government strata (Amis, 2009:3; Mapuva, 2014:5-6). Reasons given for such internal boundaries include redistribution of political power, geopolitical accommodation of regionally distinct ethnic communities, social control, expansion of public participation, efficient and effective delivery of public services, and facilitation of national development of the state (Ramutsindela & Simon, 1999:479; Fox & Gurley, 2006:1; Cameron, 2006:76; Idelman, 2010:Online). These smaller zones can then formulate, approve and execute development plans that are appropriate to their specific regional needs (Shale, 2005:1).

It is not surprising then, that demarcation studies have generated significant interest within the fields of political science, international relations, economics, and geography.

Such interest leads, for example, to studies focusing on the effects of intra-national borders on political, cultural and economic performance of a nation, along with studies concentrating on the relationship between local government boundary reorganisation, on the one hand, and financial savings, deepening democracy and improving service delivery on the other. Such recent studies have challenged the dominant supposition that international boundaries have more substantial effects on political, cultural, and economic outcomes than the more purely administrative sub-national borders (Chang, 2010:3).

On the question of whether decentralisation improves sub-national governments, studies have found that no single blanket policy is feasible because the outcome depends on many factors that vary from place to place. Such factors include existing structures, responsibilities and revenue sources, service delivery conditions, which include geography and topography, availability of skilled municipal workers, and the existing variability in service delivery across the country and the political strength of local leaders (Fox & Gurley, 2006:2,35). Several trends have emerged vis-à-vis the effects of boundary demarcations in South Africa along with its neighbouring countries. These trends confirm the notion that the determination of municipal boundaries is not to be taken lightly, for it has an effect on the way municipalities perform their functions as well as on people's social lives and livelihoods. Predictably, the local boundary demarcation process remains a very heated debate in South Africa as reflected below:

### **1.2.1 The effect of local boundaries on governance in traditional rural areas**

The publication *Reflections on the first term of the MDB 1999-2004* observed, among other things, that serious tensions resulted whenever boundaries were first introduced in traditional lands (Hornby, 2004:27). The MDB's first chairperson recalled one of the meetings at which traditional leaders accused him of visiting the area at night in helicopters and drawing up maps by means of which he sought to steal the people's land (Hornby, 2004:28). In other instances, traditional leaders even took the MDB to court because they believed that the new boundaries were going to undermine their authority and power-base. In KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape Provinces in

particular, organised groupings of traditional leaders openly opposed being integrated into municipalities covering areas under their control (Matemba, 2000:4).

Tensions are common in cases where, for instance, newly established local administrative units are imposed on already existing administrative bodies such as traditional councils. As a result, one of the major rural land management challenges has been to strike a balance between the capacities transferred to the newly established municipal authorities and the historical functions of already existing traditional institutions (Idelman, 2010:Online; Chikulo, 2010). A recent study concerning disputes over municipal boundary demarcations in traditional rural areas in South Africa found largely that a significant number of municipal demarcations undertaken during the early 2000s did in fact threaten the role of traditional leaders. The study observed how municipal demarcation processes were often disruptive and failed to meet the ideals of best practice for governance in rural land administration (Nxumalo, 2013:xi). Nxumalo's study concluded by suggesting several improvements to demarcation processes in order to avert boundary demarcation disputes in the future.

### **1.2.2 Effect of boundary changes on social activities of affected communities**

Another key observation is that boundary determinations at local government sphere in South Africa do adversely affect people's social lives. The process of setting up municipal boundaries, which must be done in a manner that accommodates regional ethnic groupings, seems to compromise the very social boundaries that communities set for themselves. The process appears to disregard their sense of attachment to their ethnic group, language and culture. Research conducted in Lesotho into the demarcation of local authorities' boundaries in the late 1990s found untoward effects of the redetermination of local authorities' boundaries on the cohesiveness of communities and on people's livelihoods. This was the case especially where "their peace and stability" were "interfered with by the demarcation exercise penetrating their culture and values" (Shale, 2005:2,7).

Another classical example is from the Limpopo Province. Community members who belong to different ethnic groups have often been at loggerheads with the provincial and national government since the beginning of non-racial democracy. Confrontations revolve around their inclusion under a local municipality dominated for some reason by a certain ethnic group; such dominance evokes fears of being discriminated against or simply overlooked in relation to services and other developmental opportunities (Hornby, 2004:31; Mukwevho, 2016:Online).

### **1.2.3 The effect of boundary reconfigurations on the capacity of municipalities**

In the area of local government performance, one investigation that looked at the impact of amalgamation on human resources revealed that employees generally held a positive view regarding the process. Nevertheless, perceptions were not necessarily identical between the employees from the various pre-merger entities (Madondo, 2008:v). Another investigation conducted by the *Financial and Fiscal Commission (FFC)* of South Africa in 2014 on the impact of demarcations on municipal finance revealed that amalgamations have fiscal implications due to, among other factors, transitional costs and the debts inherited from incorporated municipalities that do not contribute to an increase in the tax base on the new entity (FFC, 2014:135).

For instance, the incorporation of Metsweding District Municipality (DM) and its two local municipalities (*Nokeng tsa Taemane* and *Kungwini*) into the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in 2011 for instance, had serious fiscal implications. While the transitional costs were estimated at R1 billion, it was reported that the Gauteng Province only provided the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality with a once-off grant of approximately R20 million. The City also inherited huge debts from the incorporated municipalities that were relatively poor and had high indigent populations that did not contribute to the tax base. The City found itself with a huge deficit and could not see the cause to celebrate the amalgamation (FFC, 2014:135; Municipal IQ, 2011:3).

#### **1.2.4 The influence of municipal borders on communities' access to services**

Municipal boundaries do significantly influence communities' access to services. According to Shale (2005:2), local boundaries serve to ensure that local authorities can operate within clearly and legally defined parameters in the interest of adequate delivery of services. Informing this practice is the notion that delivery of public services is important for the community's well-being, and failure by local authorities to deliver services amounts to a violation of the social contract (Hlophe, 2011:1-2). However, the size of the incorporating municipality, and whether it is poorer or richer than those being incorporated, can lead to inadequate or improved service standards respectively (Cameron, 2006:76).

Numerous disapprovals emerged during the first post-apartheid municipal demarcations in preparation for the first 1995 non-racial local government elections in South Africa. There was discontent among (formerly whites-only) wealthier and urbanised residents who were feeling forced to merge with surrounding poorer areas such as (formerly Blacks-only) informal settlements and townships (Matemba, 2000:4; Hornby, 2004:30-31). Proposed amalgamations went ahead however, all in the spirit of reconciliation and nation-building following the country's miraculous transition from apartheid to democracy.

Similar re-demarcation rejections followed the abolition of the provincial cross-border municipalities in 2005. Some sixteen (16) municipalities straddled provincial boundaries just after 2000 municipal elections. These were established in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) as well as the Local Government Cross-Boundary Municipalities Act (Act 15 of 2000a). Because each province was fairly autonomous in its administration mandate, the Cross-Boundary Municipalities Repeal and Related Matters Act (Act 23 of 2005a) as well as the Twelfth Amendment to the 1996 Constitution (2005b) were passed in order to review the boundaries of provinces thereby ensuring that each municipality falls within the confines of a single province (Jafta, 2011:4,5,6).

Not surprisingly, communities in cross-border areas such as Khutsong, Moutse and Matatiele protested against their incorporation into provinces that they thought would severely diminish their access to service delivery. Because of the extent of its violence, the Khutsong boundary protest was the most publicised and most disruptive of them all (Mavungu, 2012:60-61; Municipal IQ, 2008:1). Expectedly, Khutsong remained in the province of its choice, Gauteng. The majority of Matatiele residents feel short-changed by being incorporated into the Eastern Cape Province instead of remaining in their preferred KwaZulu-Natal Province. As with Matatiele and Moutse, the boundary question is still unresolved (Mavungu, 2012:61).

Recently, the MDB announced looming re-demarcations ahead of the 2016 local government elections. The said re-demarcation proposals were opposed in a number of areas across the country. In the case of the then proposed Free State Province merger of Metsimaholo with Ngwathe, the residents of Zamdela community go on a rampage. Four lives were alleged to have been lost during these protest activities. Thankfully, the MDB did not go through with this merger. Residents believed that the neighbouring Ngwathe was poorer, suffered from maladministration, and would benefit from their municipal resources without contributing anything whatsoever. (Mokgosi, 2013:Online; Municipal IQ, 2013:1). Hence, one doctoral study found that disputants saw boundaries as proxies for socio-economic prosperity and political power. In other words, residents' poor material conditions influenced them to resist changes that threatened to worsen their already precarious socio-economic situations (Mavungu, 2011:173,174).

### **1.2.5 The lack of community involvement in the demarcation processes**

While the involvement and participation of the citizens in the local government affairs is provided for in the legislation, an array of authors concur that there is a lack of community involvement in the demarcation process (Matemba, 2000:4; Shale, 2005:9; Nxumalo, 2013:25). It had subsequently emerged, for example, that the 2013 violent protests in Zamdela might have been prevented if residents had been consulted about the proposed merger and avenues for community engagement (Municipal IQ, 2013:2).

In its 2013 briefing on the demarcation process and challenges to the select committee on Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) in Parliament, the MDB emphasised the need to maintain and improve public participation in demarcation processes. This includes extending the net of stakeholders much wider than just the directly affected municipalities and communities (MDB, 2013:51).

Overall, the foregoing background has served two purposes. Firstly, it confirmed that the subject matter under critical review in this research is so important that several researchers have already looked into it. Secondly, the background has shown that given its multiple effects, the determination of municipal boundaries is a matter of concern. What then is the present researcher's own justification for venturing into this already charted territory?

### **1.3 RATIONALE**

Immediately following the historic 1994 national and provincial elections that ushered in the non-racial democratic dispensation South Africa now enjoys, the need for an effective public service made local municipalities obligatory as a third sphere of government. Redressing the inequalities of the past in apartheid's aftermath further demanded, among other things, the dismantling of former homelands (Department of Provincial and Local Government [DPLG], 2006:17). The incorporation of so-called homelands thus became one of the earliest exercises in redetermination of post-apartheid South Africa's borders.

No single, uniform system of local government had existed under apartheid because of racial discrimination. Non-racial municipalities had to be established across the whole country in order for all citizens to derive equal benefit from the nation's resources. It was necessary to determine fresh boundaries, and in some cases to re-determine the existing boundaries. Disparate local authorities in close proximity had to be merged, and non-racial democratic municipalities created, all in the interest of equitable resource distribution and also to promote equality, reconciliation and nation-building (Tsatsire, Raga, Taylor & Nealer, 2009:76; Matemba, 2000:1; de Visser, 2009:8).

The 1996 Constitution and the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act (Act 27 of 1998) set out the basic framework for the determination of municipalities. The earliest demarcation processes that led to the first non-racial local government elections in 1995 facilitated a significant reduction of apartheid's over 1200 racially based local authorities. This number has been decreasing over the years, such that during the 2016 local government elections there existed a total number of 257 municipalities (FFC, 2014:134; MDB, 2016:31; Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation [DPME], 2014:17). Table 1 portrays how this process unfolded in the two decades between 1995 and 2016.

**Table 1.1: Non-racial democratic local government structures in South Africa**

TYPE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE	1995	2000	2006	2011	2016
Transitional Metro Council	6				
Transitional Metro Sub Structure	24				
Transitional Local Council	494				
Districts	52				
Local Council	58				
Representative Council	196				
Category A: Metropolitan Municipalities		6	6	8	8
Category B: Local Municipalities		232	231	226	205
Category C: District Municipalities		46	46	44	44
<b>Total</b>	<b>830</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>283</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>257</b>

(Source: Presidency, 2008:14; MDB, 2013:2; FFC, 2014:134; Statistics South Africa, 2016a:v; MDB, 2016:31)

Changes in municipal boundaries range from minor technical alignments of the boundaries between municipalities to major changes which could include amalgamating some municipalities and establishing new municipal jurisdictions (Mahlangu, 2011a:Online). According to the municipal demarcation prescriptions, boundaries are reviewed every five-years in anticipation of the municipal electoral period. Considerations like redressing the imbalances of the past, assigning enough voters to

various geographic areas, integration of economic and social development, and improvement in service delivery could all necessitate the adjustment of boundaries. Changes to boundaries arise essentially in response to population shifts across boundaries and uneven population growth in contiguous areas (Napier, 2007:180; Matemba, 2000:2).

Much of the literature consulted in this research has either addressed the effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in its entirety in South Africa or attempted to link the phenomenon to the crisis of local government. Recurring episodes of community protests, including demarcation objections that are usually accompanied by violence, reflect the numerous problems that the country faces in the area of municipal governance. The national Department of COGTA, whose constitutional mandate is to develop national policies and legislation on local and provincial governance, as well as to monitor the implementation of said laws, submits that only a third of all the municipalities in South Africa are adequately performing their main functions. Further, it acknowledges that community protests are a reflection of community frustrations with municipal inefficiencies (COGTA, 2014:5-6; Mavungu, 2011:17).

Present research entails an attempt to complement key trends that have been observed by earlier studies. Local government transformation has been a complex and challenging process, and this research makes an effort to evaluate how municipalities have assumed their current form and function. Matters that require further consideration are drawn together for public policy and practice recommendations.

#### **1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The central problem of this investigation is that the demarcation of municipal boundaries in post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by objections from affected communities. Beyond polarising affected communities, proposed redetermination regularly elicits destruction of public infrastructure and even loss of life. At the beginning of 2015, the Minister of COGTA requested the MDB to re-open the determination of outer boundaries of specific municipalities that were deemed dysfunctional and financially

unviable. Although this request came about two years after the finalisation of the redemarcation processes for the 2016 local government elections. Accordingly, the MDB proceeded with the redetermination of 19 local municipalities in seven provinces, including the two case studies covered by this research (Khumalo & Ncube, 2016:1; COGTA, 2015:25).

#### **1.4.1 The Collins Chabane LM demarcation boundary objection**

In the case of the Collins Chabane LM, the MDB took a decision to merge two areas, namely, Malamulele (a portion of the Thulamela LM dominated by the Xitsonga people) and Vuwani (a portion of the Makhado LM dominated by the Tshivenda people) to form a new municipality. This decision sparked violent protests by Vuwani residents who did not want to be part of the Xitsonga dominated municipality. Demonstrations degenerated into damage of public property, especially public schools in 2016. Vuwani residents did not understand why the government was forcing them to form a new municipality with Tsonga people who, in the first place, had not wanted to be part of the Venda controlled Thulamela LM. The new municipality with an MDB code LIM345 has recently been named after the late Mr Collins Chabane, who at the time of his untimely demise was the Minister of the national Department of Public Service and Administration [DPSA] (Mukwevho, 2016:Online; Rasila & Musitha, 2017:4).

Vuwani residents reiterated throughout their public demonstrations that they had not asked for a municipality. Since 2000, Malamulele residents have been demanding a separate municipality from the Thulamela LM. Fuelling the demand was the claim that Thulamela LM was channelling services to TshiVenda-speaking areas (especially Thohoyandou where the municipal council seats) to the detriment of the Malamulele community. These perceptions appear in the research carried out in the Malamulele area (Mdumela, 2016:65-68).

Nonetheless, the MDB rejected the Malamulele demand and closed the matter in February 2013 after a feasibility study revealed that Malamulele did not meet the criteria to be a standalone municipality (MDB, 2015a:9,13). After the August 2016 local government elections, the area of Vuwani was incorporated into the Collins Chabane

LM. In early 2017, some residents demanded that the new municipality should stop providing them with municipal services because, they said, they did not recognise the new entity. They appealed to the MDB to reverse its decision or they would continue with protests until they were incorporated back to the Makhado LM under which they previously fell (Tiva, 2017:Online).

#### **1.4.2 The JB Marks LM demarcation boundary objection**

The JB Marks LM exists following the amalgamation of the erstwhile municipalities of Tlokwe and Ventersdorp after the 2016 local government elections. It was temporarily known by its MDB code NW405 pending the adoption of a permanent name, JB Marks (JB Marks LM, 2017a:i). Objection to this merger was widespread across political parties, civil society and communities at large. Thousands of community members participated in violent protests against the merger.

Ventersdorp residents feared losing jobs and business opportunities under the new administration with its headquarters in Tlokwe. On the other hand, residents of Tlokwe felt that they would be disadvantaged when it came to provision of municipal services. They described Ventersdorp as poor and rural with little to offer (McGluwa, 2015:Online; Africa News Agency, 2015:Online). The Democratic Alliance (DA) fought the merger in Court but failed. In an urgent court application, the political party alleged that the MDB was biased and was being used to target municipalities falling under the DA's control and those that the party was likely to control in the near future (MDB, 2015b:2).

Objections over changes in municipal boundaries in both Collins Chabane and JB Marks appear to present the common thread that there are significant administrative, social, political and financial implications to demarcation changes. Stakes are high, it would seem, otherwise there would be no objections and protests of this magnitude.

## **1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

In order to answer the main research problem, the study attempted to answer the following research questions:

- a) How satisfied are the communities with the provision of municipal services such as water, electricity, refuse removal and sanitation?
- b) Do communities participate in those local government decision-making processes that affect them directly, such as demarcation processes, elections of representatives, and prioritisation of municipal services?
- c) Are affected communities getting along given the cultural and language diversity of their area, do they share a common vision and a sense of belonging? This is critical for understanding social integration.
- d) What are the main reasons behind the affected communities' objections to demarcations?

## **1.6 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH**

By answering the above questions, the study aimed at achieving the following objectives:

- a) To determine if the MDB is creating municipalities that are able to provide efficient service delivery. From the perspective of the administration of public services, the shape that a local government takes should largely be influenced by its basic function of administering public services.
- b) To ascertain whether communities who are affected are involved in the demarcation processes in their areas, and how does the MDB bring them on board vis-à-vis its planned demarcation changes.
- c) To find out whether there is promotion of social integration in the redistribution of socio-economic resources. There is need to ascertain if municipalities do take cognisance of diverse ethnic groups, religions and cultural traits in their efforts to reduce disparities within their own jurisdictions.
- d) To establish the main reasons behind demarcation objections.

## **1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

In brief, this study adopted a mixed method approach. The target population consisted of household representatives representing each geographical case, municipal officials, and officials from the MDB. A questionnaire, personal interviews, focus group and document analysis were brought to bear on the process of getting at empirical findings. Two types of sampling methods proved applicable to this research, namely, purposeful sampling for the selection of the officials, and systematic random sampling for the selection of household representatives. Chapter 5 explains fully the various aspects of the study's chosen methodology, while also providing the reasons why the study followed the chosen methodology.

## **1.8 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

To circumvent vagueness, several concepts need to be clearly defined in order to attain a common understanding. Not only are these concepts critical to understanding the ensuing argumentation, they are also used repeatedly throughout the thesis. Deserving precise description, therefore, are 'local government', 'decentralisation', 'boundary demarcation', 'municipal service delivery', and 'social integration'.

### **1.8.1 Local government**

While local governments possess different characteristics around the world, they essentially entail the ground level of public administration vested with managing local affairs and providing services to a manageable geographical area. Local government involves the tier of governance that interfaces with the local populace thereby affording the latter a sense of involvement in the political process that affects their daily lives. In the execution of its mandate, local government remains an envoy of national government (Domingos, 2014:18; Mapuva, 2014:3; Reddy, 1999:9-10; Bratton, 2010:3). However, South Africa regards local government as a sphere of government in its own right (see *infra* 4.2.1).

Regardless of whether they are considered an extension of national government or entities entirely independent from it, local councils are responsible for the day-to-day management of parochial affairs (Bratton, 2010:3; Mapuva, 2014:2). Unlike national legislature where politicians dominate, both urban and rural municipalities can only thrive through competent and dedicated professional staff. To qualify for consideration as a local government, a municipal council must have (Nyalunga, 2006:1):

- a) A separate autonomy and a legal status distinct from that of the central government.
- b) Power to raise its own revenue as well as to spend it in the discharge of its statutory functions.
- c) Authority to take decisions as a responsible organ that is responsive to circumstances prevailing within its jurisdiction and regardless of national government's sentiment.

Local government thus signifies decentralisation or the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from national to intermediate and local governments or quasi-independent government organisations or the private sector (Neven, 2002:1). In this connection, three different understandings of decentralisation are distinguishable:

*Fiscal decentralisation* in the first instance entails the transfer of financial resources and sometimes revenue-raising powers from central government to lower levels of government (Rao, Scott & Alam, 2014:1). If local governments are to carry out decentralised functions effectively, they must have adequate revenue, either raised internally or transferred from the central government, as Nyalunga (2006:1) averred above.

*Administrative decentralisation* is concerned with redistribute authority, responsibility and financial resources for provision of actual public services among different levels of government, government agencies and subordinate units (Rao, Scott & Alam, 2014:1; Neven, 2002:3).

*Political decentralisation*, sometimes also referred to as democratic decentralisation, is the transfer of power to lower levels or (spheres in the case of South Africa) of

government which are elected by citizens and which have some degree of local autonomy. Such lower levels are therefore downwardly accountable to citizens rather than to central government (Rao, Scott & Alam, 2014:1). This type of decentralisation is often associated with pluralistic politics and representative governments, where citizens and their representatives influence the formulation and implementation of public policies (Neven, 2002:3).

The notion of local governance is occasioned by the combined sets of institutions, systems and processes through which local authorities interact with local citizens, groups as they articulate their interests and needs (Pillay, Reddy & Sayeed, 2015:42). *Local governance* thus concerns the formulation and execution of collective action at the local level. It encompasses the direct and indirect roles of formal institutions of local government and government hierarchies, as well as the roles of informal norms, networks and community organisations, all of which are geared towards collective action. This is done by defining the framework for citizen-citizen and citizen-state interactions, collective decision-making and delivery of local public services (Shah & Shah, 2006:1-2).

It is often assumed that a strong and efficient local government is built through the move away from government to governance paradigm. Local governance, it is supposed, brings with it new thinking, which emphasises building a new sense of community that promotes shared networks, social capital and collaboration among the citizens, social groups, and government for the re-engineering of local government (Liao, 2005:2,3). According to Shah and Shah (2006:2), good local governance facilitates the outcomes that enrich the quality of life of residents, most significantly through creating spaces for democratic participation and civic dialogue.

In sum, local government brings governance down to the people. As the level closest to the citizens, local government reduces the role of traditional hierarchical control of public organisations and it is in a much better position to promote accountability than central government. South Africa's 1996 Constitution provides for the above-mentioned conceptualisations of local government in section 152(1) (see *infra* 4.2.1). In turn, section 152(2) urges municipalities to strive to achieve the objectives enumerated

above, and to do so within the confines of their own financial and administrative capacities. Local government capacity comprises the following interlinked areas (Reddy, Nemec & de Vries, 2015:164-165):

- a) Institutional capacity relates to the local government's ability to uphold authority to regulate effective economic and political interactions. This capacity derives mainly from local governments' relationship with higher tiers of government.
- b) Technical capacity concerns strategic direction and effective leadership of local structures that can facilitate meaningful socio-economic development.
- c) Administrative capacity is reflected through competent administering of local infrastructure in addition to a proven record of accomplishment in relation to the local provision of public goods and services.
- d) Political capacity involves the ability to engage different groupings in governance processes in order to facilitate telling government activities that efficiently direct services in response to local needs.

Because local government is a collective term for local council or local authority or municipality, this research thus utilises these four terms interchangeably.

### **1.8.2 Boundary demarcation**

Borders are boundaries between states. They are essential since they describe a territory created because multiple powers contest a finite global space, whereby each power seeks monopoly, exclusive control or sovereignty. Boundaries also serve as markers within existing states (Weber, 2012:1). A boundary can be something such as a river, a fence, or an imaginary line that shows where one area ends and another area begins (Merriam Webster Dictionary, n.d.:Online).

The *Commission of the African Union* (CAU) has listed the following categorisations that have been used to identify international boundaries:

- a) Physical or natural boundaries follow a particular natural feature such as a river or a mountain range.

- b) Geometric boundaries follow straight lines, arcs of a circle such as longitude and latitude.
- c) Anthropo-geographical boundaries relate to various human settlements, culture and language.
- d) Compounded boundaries comprise various basic elements mentioned above (CAU, 2014:43).

For the CAU (2014:25), demarcation is a field operation whose purpose is to place markers or to identify physical features that accurately represent the location of a delimited boundary. An extended definition of demarcation describes the phenomenon as an instrument used to create the spatial definition within which government performs certain functions. Because there is a functional governance component to demarcation, the size of the space being created is a key determinant. Also important is the number of people occupying a particular space. These governance boundaries may overlap with political boundaries that circumscribe a segment of the electorate (Hornby, 2004:1; Napier, 2007:180).

The concepts demarcation and determination are often used interchangeably. In South Africa, the demarcation of municipal boundaries is referred to as determination, and for voting purposes, wards are delimitated.

### **1.8.3 Service delivery**

Within the context of public administration, “Service delivery is concerned with the provision of a product or service, by a government or government body to a community that it was promised to, or which is expected by that community” (Crous, 2002:19). In this research, and within the context of local government in South Africa, service delivery refers to the provision of municipal services such as energy, water, sanitation and refuse removal, which is a constitutional mandate for municipalities and prescribed for in Section 156 of the 1996 Constitution. Section 152 of the 1996 Constitution further requires local governments to ensure provision of these services to communities in a sustainable manner. Conversely, failure of municipalities to deliver said services to their communities is a violation of the social contract set out in the Constitution.

#### **1.8.4 Social integration**

Social integration is a term used widely in contemporary policy development to describe conceptions whose aim is to foster societies that are stable, safe and just. Just societies are based on the promotion and protection of all human rights, tolerance, respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, solidarity, security and participation of all people, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons (Ferguson, 2008:21; Jeannotte, 2008:1). Terms often used interchangeably with social integration, in support of making societies more equitable (Jeannotte, 2008:4,5; Silver, 2015:3), are:

- a) Social cohesion – willingness of individuals to cooperate and work together at all levels of society to achieve collective goals.
- b) Social inclusion – a process encouraging social interaction between people with different socially relevant attributes, or an impersonal institutional mechanism of opening up access to participation in all spheres of social life.
- c) Social capital – networks of social relations that may provide individuals and groups with access to resources and supports.

At its March 1995 World Summit for Social Development (WSSD), the United Nations (UN) urged the enhancement of social integration, a broad concept conceived as being synonymous with social justice, equality, material well-being and democratic freedom. The call for enhancement grew out of a generalised feeling that some people in the world do not enjoy these precious benefits. In addition, the WSSD identified key principles that must apply to all sectors in order to promote social integration. These principles involve redistribution of socio-economic resources, representation of political voice, and recognition of cultural and social identities (Ferguson, 2008:3; de Alcántara, 1994:5).

#### **1.9 RESEARCH SEQUENCE**

Including this introductory chapter, this thesis consists of seven chapters. **Chapter 1** provided reasons for undertaking this research, i.e. it presented a general introduction to the research, the background, rationale, the problem statement, research objectives

and questions. It also contained clarifications of concepts and concludes with brief sketches of the remaining chapters in this thesis. The chapter noted that state borders are essential not only because they demarcate a state's territory, but also because they play a significant role in shaping societies. In other words, the role of boundaries transcends the purely administrative considerations that necessitated drawing them in the first place.

**Chapter 2** presents a critical summary of the literature that bears possible answers to the research objectives. The chapter reviews different theoretical arguments that provide justifications for the existence of local government and the necessity of boundary demarcation. Three different schools of thought in favour of local government as a service delivery agency, as an organised social entity, and as an instrument for local democracy are examined. Constraints such as local government's lack of human and financial resources that prevent it from administering public services efficiently, promoting democratic ideals, and advancing the social capabilities of individuals, are outlined. Lastly, different local government reform strategies are enumerated.

**Chapter 3** gives reasons why the transformation of local government in South Africa from apartheid to non-racial democracy required municipal boundary redeterminations in terms of legislative framework and structural reforms. This review is crucial as it provides a better understanding of past systems of local government and the reasons why a radical change in local government structures was required on the demise of apartheid. The legal process of determining municipal boundaries and the strategic trajectory that has guided local government demarcation since 1995 in South Africa are thus reflected upon at some length.

In its turn, **Chapter 4** reviews the policy and legislative frameworks for the current local government demarcation system in South Africa. Secondly, it reflects on the strategic trajectory that has guided local government structural transformation from apartheid to non-racial dispensation in South Africa. The review of legislative framework is a good source of reference to the empirical findings in the two case studies covered by this research, particularly around the configuration of municipalities since 2000, their performance as well as current challenges.

The methodological and philosophical underpinnings on which this research unfolds make up the opening sections of **Chapter 5**. A discussion of research philosophical assumptions, research method, research design, characteristics of the sample and its sampling size, data collection and analysis precedes considerations regarding data credibility, limitations of the research as well as research ethics.

**Chapter 6** presents and discusses the study's empirical findings vis-à-vis the effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in the two case studies. The presentation of findings follows the order of research questions rather closely. The questions relate to the provision of municipal services, the involvement of communities in the demarcation processes, and the level of social integration of diverse communities in the municipal area. The research's findings are then subjected to interrogation by the existing body of knowledge on municipal boundaries and local government in general.

**Chapter 7** concludes the study. It does so by summing up the key findings in relation to the research objectives. Once logical and informed conclusions are drawn, recommendations for policy and practice in the field of municipal boundary demarcation are then made.

## 1.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter introduced the focus areas of this research alongside key concepts required in order to appreciate this study. Perceptions around political, cultural and economic outcomes of boundary determinations were also introduced, counterbalanced by affirmation of the necessity and inevitability of external and internal borders. Reasons for undertaking this research such as the objectives and rationale were provided, accompanied by preliminary takes on aspects of the research methodology utilised in this research. Lastly, key concepts from the title of the research were elaborated in order to provide a common understanding, followed by brief outlines of the rest of the chapters.

The chapter that follows interrogates scholarly literature for the different assumptions and theoretical arguments in favour of the existence of local government boundaries and structural reform strategies.

## **CHAPTER TWO:**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

Critical consensus appears to be that local government is vital for meeting the citizens' basic needs. Do this research's participants concur with this basic assumption? What do they understand local government's role to be? In addition, do they identify with the municipalities to which they belong? This chapter seeks to ascertain whether experiences on the ground confirm the assertions of scholarly literature in relation to the value of local government. Further, the chapter also explores the relationship between demarcations of municipal boundaries on the one hand, and efficient administration of public services, participatory democracy as well as social integration on the other. This is in keeping with the research objectives, namely, to ascertain (a) if municipalities can deliver services efficiently to the citizenry, (b) whether communities affected by demarcations do participate actively in local demarcation processes, and (c) whether there is intentional promotion of social integration at the local government sphere.

Selected international experiences around frameworks for local government reform are brought to bear on prospects of a South African local government reform. As a specific category of manipulation of the political system by those in power, gerrymandering is looked into with a view to ascertaining how it applies on the South African local political landscape, if at all. It is vital that a solid conceptual framework informs the findings made later on in this study. This chapter thus seeks reliable answers to the many questions that arise in relation to the present subject matter.

#### **2.2 RATIONALE FOR THE EXISTENCE AND ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

Ample literature provides strong justification for the value of local government. The transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from the central government appears to require the geographical delineation of a country into several manageable spheres of operation (Shale, 2005:1). Factors such as the size of the country affect the

demarcation process, along with the potential economic, demographic and geographical features of resultant local governments. It would simply be impossible for a local administrative unit to formulate relevant development policies for its jurisdiction if its jurisdiction were not clearly delimited. Demarcation of local government jurisdictions also determines the people who may contest local government elections, namely, people residing within such local municipal area (Idelman, 2010:Online; Napier, 2007:180).

At least five pre-conditions must be satisfied during the process of determining a local government area. First, decentralisation requires the establishment of easily identifiable geographic boundaries; these boundaries enable the population to identify with its local government while also being able to assess its performance. Secondly, decentralisation needs a demographic and financial base appropriate for carrying out its assigned responsibilities. Thirdly, there should be a relatively clear and complete distinction in the attribution of municipal and provincial responsibilities. Fourth, local government's internal organisation ought to allocate clear responsibilities between elected and appointed officials. Lastly, the internal relationship between elected and appointed officials must be such that it contributes to the exercise of local leadership, sound decision-making and good coordination of activities (Finn, 2008:14-15).

Local government forms part of the formal government institutions in both developed and developing countries. It usually makes up the second or third tier of government in unitary states, and in federal states the third or sometimes fourth tier of government (Human Rights Council Advisory Committee [HRCAC], 2015:3). The HRCAC further submits that local governments possess certain powers conferred upon them by legislation emanating from higher levels of government. These powers involve regulating and managing certain public affairs related to the local surroundings and to the delivery of certain public services. In a unitary state, central governments tend to shoulder the responsibility for the planning, programming, regulating and funding of houses, while local governments manage implementation with varying degrees of autonomy. In federal systems, local governments tend to have more autonomy regarding the implementation of programmes and policies (HRCAC, 2015:4).

Just like any formal institution, local government forms when people realise that they can do things acting together which they cannot do effectively, efficiently and economically as individuals. In other words, local government is formed when the benefits of cooperative action outweigh the enjoyments and freedom of individuals, and when societal goals are viewed as being mutually beneficial (Eremenko, 2014:Online, Finn, 2008:13). This accession justifies the relevance of the public good theory, which Ostrom and Ostrom (2012:Online) contend is the basis for collective responsibility; that is to say, the provision of public goods is not subject to exclusion but subject to jointness in its consumption.

As the arm of state closest to the people, local government has the most direct relevance to people's daily lives. In fact, many citizens understand the concept "government" instinctively in relation to local rather than central government. In light of this understanding, some governments have been constructed from the bottom up, beginning with a meticulous focus on local government before tackling national offices (Amis, 2009:3).

According to the *holistic-integrationist* school of thought, a well-oiled local government is better equipped than any central government to inspire the drive and participation of local communities towards their own development. When local government implements home-grown programmes to foster social and economic development, this in turn boosts the state's need for legitimacy. Local government thus exists to reduce the congestion often encountered at the centre (Pillay, Reddy & Sayeed, 2015:44). Chief among the shortcomings of the decentralisation thesis is the reality that, in certain situations, central governments use local governments as scapegoats on which to lay blame for some of the state's failures (Parnell, Pieterse, Swilling & Wooldridge, 2002:18).

The one common international denominator in the practice of local government is that it varies widely worldwide in terms of its relative importance within the entire public sector, its autonomy, and its responsibilities (Dollery & Robotti, 2008:40). While there is not one universal way to structure local government, options seem to depend on the history of development within a country. A country's socio-demographic, cultural and economic

characteristics thus seem to dictate which local government system to follow (Finn, 2008:19). The structure that may work best in large urbanised areas where there are a number of contiguous municipalities providing a wide range of services will differ from the structure that may work best in municipalities which are far apart and delivering fewer services (Ezekiel & Oriakhogba, 2015:205). Tags used to characterise local governments also vary considerably, and include state, province, region, department, county, prefecture, district, city, town, borough, parish, municipality, and village (Ramkishan, 2013:2).

In terms of population size, the average population of the most first tier authorities in the Western European countries ranges between 2000 in smaller countries to 57 000 thousand people in large countries. The scale of local government in some of the non-*European Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development* (OECD) countries ranges from the geographically large and sparsely populated to small and densely populated. Compared to West European and OECD countries, the average population of African countries is large. Hence, municipalities in South Africa are well over twice the size of the largest municipalities in the Western European countries. It follows that the larger sizes of South African municipalities present a considerable challenge for effective public participation (Cameron & Milne, 2013:5-8; de Visser, 2009:15).

There is overwhelming consensus that local government is necessary for the delivery of an extensive range of public services that citizens require every day. These services are required to ensure an acceptable and reasonable quality of life; in other words, the absence of such services would endanger public health, public safety as well as the environment. Public services that are universally accepted as municipal responsibilities include water, electricity, housing, roads and storm water drainage, solid waste disposal and general municipal infrastructure (Bekink, 2006:304). Other social services that municipalities provide include transport, recreational facilities, public safety and security, information and registration of births, deaths, marriages and motor vehicles. The provision of all these services in an effective and efficient manner contributes to sustainable livelihoods, quality of life and human dignity (Reddy, Nemec & de Vries, 2015:166).

It follows that state bureaucracy should support the decentralisation of those functions that can be administered more efficiently at local level and with lesser effort. As to whether there is a need to preserve local government, Craythorne (1990:55-56) responds in the affirmative based on the following reasons:

- a) In a free society, people should be able, via democratically elected representatives, to exercise maximum choice about the way their local or civic affairs are managed.
- b) Local communities differ in size, distribution or density, wealth, culture, religion and ethnicity. This means that needs and expectations will also differ between various areas. A country with centrally provided services will lean heavily towards uniformity, thus denying local or regional needs or differences to which local governments are better able to respond.
- c) Service standards will tend to decline and the central bureaucracy, not being subject to a wider span of democratic control, will tend to become meddlesome but also less efficient.
- d) Problem solving will tend to be both sluggish and rigid, decision-making constrained by set patterns, and innovation and flexibility excluded.
- e) Public accountability will wither, citizens will become apathetic, and a general malaise or lack of concern about local matters will set in.
- f) As a rule, people tend to value that for which they themselves have worked, and a democratic local self-government meets this human need for creativity.

Moreover, municipalities play an important role not only in the provision of public goods but also in the promotion of the economic well-being of the citizens. It is at local government sphere where partnerships are formed between municipalities, communities and the private sector to manage existing resources, to create jobs, distribute national wealth, and stimulate the economy of a well-defined area (Chukwuemeka, Ugwuanyi, Ndubuisi-Okolo & Onuoha, 2014:314; Koma, 2012:109). The economic dimension of local government relates to its economic viability. Therefore, revenue generation becomes a primary function of local government.

Municipalities that are not economically viable cannot do much to improve the economic conditions of the people in the locality (Tonwe, 2011:68).

By virtue of focusing on local issues, local government is favoured because of the number of functions it performs within the system of cooperative governance. This crucial level of government is essential because of the need to develop local democracy, to facilitate local economic development, and to make the best use of state resources. Below are theoretical arguments in support of local government boundaries.

## **2.3 A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL TAKE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOUNDARIES**

A useful framework for discussing local government boundaries stands on three legs: efficient administration of public services, participatory democracy, and social integration. It is to these that the study now turns.

### **2.3.1 Efficient public service delivery perspective**

Proponents claim that the basic function of local government, generally accepted as the administration of public services, is the force behind the diverse shapes of local governments. Because of greater closeness to voters, local government is more responsive to local tastes and preferences than a national body could be. More importantly is the fact that local communities differ in size, distribution or density, wealth, culture, religion and ethnicity. An efficient way of managing local affairs and providing local services is the desirable result. Moreover, the physical proximity of local governments makes it easier for citizens to hold officials accountable for their performance (Cameron, 1999:34,39-40; Finn, 2008:14; Sikander, 2015:176).

Decentralisation, as advanced by Oates (1972), cited in Shah & Shah (2006:4), thus demands that the jurisdiction having control over the minimum geographic area ought to be the one that provides public services. Therefore, multiple jurisdictions are the practical implications of this theorem (Craythorne, 1990:55-56). The need for a viable geographical financial base curbs local governments becoming too small or too homogenous to can make any meaningful contributions. That is to say, the geography and population that municipalities serve must be sufficient to allow for cost effective

service organisation and delivery. Municipalities should also be able to provide services largely within municipalities' own tax capacity.

In theory, the central government willingly devolves full power and responsibility for services to each local government, thereby ensuring that municipalities have adequate financial and human resources for service provision. However, this expectation tends to violate a very basic principle of public finances, which holds that the government that spends funds must also raise them (Finn, 2008:15; Rao, Scott & Alam, 2014:11).

In his *Theory of Public Finance* (1959), Richard Musgrave makes a seminal contribution to the theory of the intergovernmental assignment of functions. The theory identified the efficient allocation of resources as one of the functions of the public sector. At a general level, the central government should have the responsibility to allocate public funds and sometimes revenue-raising powers on behalf of lower levels of government. Allocations are then negotiated based on various factors such as interregional equity, availability of resources as well as local financial management capacity. The efficient allocation of resources is not solely about the transference of financial resources from one layer of government to another. It also concerns the extent to which local authorities are able to make decisions themselves over the management and use of devolved resources and local revenues, in addition to how they may account for those resources. It is the citizens who hold local officials to account over breaches in services; therefore citizens need to ensure that effective accountability mechanisms are in place (Rao, Scott & Alam, 2014:1,10,17; Yilmaz, Vaillancourt & Dafflon, 2012:106).

Opponents note that there is often a vast gap between the expected and the realised benefits brought by local government. Empirical research on the impact of decentralisation on service delivery found very few cases where efficiency outcomes had improved. In states where high degrees of political and administrative centralisation serve the interests of the ruling elite, local governments tend to be weakly developed and poorly resourced (Mapuva, 2014:2; Scott, 2009:21; Reddy & Kauzya, 2015:220). Assessments conducted in Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa, for instance, have revealed how municipalities in these countries have not been significantly performing their developmental roles or functions due to financial constraints, corruption and

inadequate constitutional provisions (Mohammed, 2015:177,180,189; Chukwuemeka *et al.*, 2014:317-319; COGTA, 2014:5-6).

The number of obstacles preventing local governments from providing efficient public services include non-viable territorial divisions and contested boundaries. There tends also to be limited human resource capacity, which impairs local government's ability to use additional resources effectively. Consequently, there is always tension between a national government anxious to control spending on the one hand, and local authorities under pressure to maintain and improve services on the other. Furthermore, the potential benefits of decentralisation are often not realised because of the risks related to elite capture which occurs when local political elites (powerful, wealthy groups who dominate local political life) are able to take advantage of new opportunities to enhance their existing power and wealth (Parnell, Pieterse, Swilling & Wooldridge, 2002:23-24; Scott, 2009:2; Buis & Boex, 2015:7-8).

In contrast to developing countries where political elitism holds efficient service delivery hostage, Nemec and de Vries (2015:264) found local government capacities and performance rankings very high in the European states that belong to the Council of Europe. Strong and consolidated local government systems capable of delivering high quality municipal services coupled by significant levels of trust by local residents are main contributors (Nemec & de Vries, 2015:262). However, the strong development of local democracy in Europe does not mean that all is well. Currently, the main local government challenges in these countries relate to structural challenges in terms of horizontal and vertical intergovernmental relations as well as to decreases levels of financial resources (Nemec & de Vries, 2015:251,264).

A fundamental challenge, which has afflicted local government reform in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region since the 1990s, has been the inability of local authorities to collect adequate revenue from their own local sources to meet their mandates. Consequently, dependency on central government grants is a common feature of local government in the region. This inability to generate enough revenue is due, among other things, to a culture of non-payment for services by consumers. Poor financial management, which often results in the mismanagement of scarce financial

resources, is also to blame for the financial crisis at local government level. Furthermore, local governments suffer from increasing unfunded mandates whereby responsibilities are devolved to local government without appropriate funding. Without financial viability, local governments will simply not be able to promote good governance and efficient delivery of public services to their citizens (Chikulo, 2010:151-152; Reddy & Kauzya, 2015:220).

Based on years of practical experience in supporting local capacity development efforts, Buis and Boex (2015:24) propose a five capabilities framework to improve local government capacity and performance. Their framework entails: (a) the capability to act and commit, (b) the capability to deliver on development objectives, (c) the capability to adapt and self-renew, (d) the capability to relate to external stakeholders, as well as (e) the capability to achieve. It is incumbent on each particular context of local government to fine-tune this capacity development framework with local needs in mind.

### **2.3.2 Social integration perspective**

From the social theory point of view, municipalities are social entities organised around collective solidarity and collective consciousness. This collective sentiment relies on social norms, beliefs and values that undergird community. For the founding sociologist, Emile Durkheim, collective consciousness is crucial in explaining how individuals are bound together into collectives that work together to achieve functional societies. He argues that societies exist because individuals feel a sense of oneness and solidarity with each other (Cole, 2018:Online).

The notion of feeling of oneness, also referred to as community of interest, is a major consideration in defining local government boundaries. The promotion of community of interest rests upon a subjective feeling of togetherness and of belonging to a community. In the context of local government, a working definition of the notion of community of interest needs to include one or more of the following three dimensions (Finn, 2008:18):

- a) A sense of belonging to a locality, one that is clearly defined.
- b) The ability to meet with reasonable economy the community's requirements for comprehensive physical and human services.
- c) The ability of the elected body to represent the interests and reconcile the conflicts of all its members.

What is more, contemporary social theorists argue that societies are better off if there is promotion of social integration through inclusive policies. Such integration should enable persons, regardless of their attributes (socio-economic class, age, gender, sexual preference, political ideas, ethnicity and cultural traits, religion, citizenship and geographical region of origin), to enjoy equal opportunities, rights and services that are available through economic, social and political relationships (Cruz-Saco, 2008:1-2; Jeannotte, 2008:8).

To promote an equal society requires attention to three different but inter-linked processes, which shape the extent to which people are able to live and work together on an equal basis (Ferguson (2008:6):

- a) Recognition of diverse social and ethnic groups, cultural traits and identity in order to promote respect, dignity and co-operation.
- b) Representation of political voice in order to ensure that the interests of different groups are taken into account in decision-making and resource allocation.
- c) Redistribution of socio-economic resources between individuals and groups in order to prevent deep disparities and fragmentation on the basis of wealth, ethnicity, region, gender, age, or any other aspect of social identity.

It is critical, therefore, that municipalities develop robust quality indicators for measuring whether people get on well together, share a common vision and sense of belonging, appreciate diversity, and have strong, positive relationships. In Australia, for instance, social integration indicators at local government encompass various elements of community wellbeing such as a feeling of a sense of pride in the cultural diversity of the area, feeling safe and valued, a sense of trust and meaningful involvement in broader community affairs (Holdsworth & Hartman, 2009:81).

Jeannotte (2008:14-15) has put forward a systemic and multidimensional social integration model, which blends the role of democratic, economic, social and cultural factors with Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory. The latter concerns the view that individuals' needs range from basic to higher needs, and that fulfilment of lower needs enables meeting of higher needs.

**Table 2.1: Elements of a model of social integration (with examples)**

DIMENSION	LEVEL OF NEED	FORMAL INVESTMENT	SUBSTANTIVE OUTCOME
<b>Physical</b>	Basic – food, personal security	Agricultural investments, military and justice systems	Adequate nourishment, freedom from fear, lower crime rate
	Enhanced – physical infrastructure	Water and sewer systems, transportation systems, electrical grids, hospitals, public health measures	Clean and functioning communities, healthier populations, easier trade and travel
<b>Natural</b>	Basic – clean air and water	Waste management systems, basic environmental standards	Healthier populations, lower pollution levels
	Enhanced – liveable cities, diverse habitats, beautiful scenery	Waste treatment systems, pollution control and conservation measures, parks, wildlife sanctuaries	Aesthetic enjoyment, robust ecosystems, improved quality of life
<b>Democratic</b>	Basic – human and civil rights	Functioning legislature, impartial judiciary, free press	Equity before the law, voter participation
	Enhanced – economic, social and cultural rights	Social safety net, collective bargaining, education in mother tongue	Social support for the disadvantaged, fair wages, sense of identity
<b>Economic</b>	Basic – employment, adequate Income	Labour market standards, minimum wage laws, anti-discrimination laws, access to micro-credit	Lower poverty rates, increased employment
	Enhanced – meaningful work, pensions, savings and investments	Job retraining, employment insurance, accessible banking and investment systems	Labour mobility, high home ownership rates, equitable income distribution

<b>DIMENSION</b>	<b>LEVEL OF NEED</b>	<b>FORMAL INVESTMENT</b>	<b>SUBSTANTIVE OUTCOME</b>
<b>Human</b>	Basic – primary education	Primary schools, incentives for female education	Increased literacy, high female education rates
	Enhanced – secondary and post-secondary education	High schools, colleges and universities, advanced research institutes, scholarships for disadvantaged students	Increased number of high school and university graduates, increased innovation and productivity
<b>Social</b>	Basic – family connections	Family policies, adequate housing	Healthier children, fewer single mothers without support
	Enhanced – community connections, civic engagement, volunteering	Social capital investments (e.g. in clubs, professional organisations, sports teams, charities), community development initiatives	Higher volunteer rates, healthier civil society, increased mobility across social groups
<b>Cultural</b>	Basic – recognition and respect for identity and culture, basic cultural infrastructure	Employment equity policies, anti-racism policies, language rights, libraries, community centres, broadcasting facilities	Diverse labour force, linguistic diversity, access to information
	Enhanced – creativity, acceptance and celebration of cultural diversity	Multiculturalism and inter-culturalism policies, museums, galleries, theatres, recreation facilities, investment in artists and creative industries / districts	Diversity of cultural content supply, high level of intercultural exchange, high level of cultural participation, high number of “creatives” in population, vibrant community cultural life

(Source: Jeannotte, 2008:14-15)

Table 2.1 brings together so succinctly all the elements that are invested in social integration, and it seems that the sum total of the substantive outcomes of each element contributes to overall wellbeing and sustainable communities (Jeannotte, 2008:10).

In practice, however, there are still people who are excluded from social, economic, cultural and political mainstream systems. The intensity of the exclusion produced by systematic and institutional discrimination and other forms of rejection often creates emotional and physical harm to excluded persons (Cruz-Saco, 2008:2). Considering problems of different vulnerable groups such as the disabled, ethnic groups, women, migrants and the unemployed, UN member states now place a greater emphasis on the formation of general integration policies. Such policies ought to foster the economic, social, political and cultural capabilities of still excluded persons (Ferguson, 2008:3; de Alcántara, 1994:5). The first step towards building inclusive communities at local government levels involves engaging citizens to identify their own key concerns as well as to contribute to policy processes (Torjman & Leviten-Reid, 2003:19).

### **2.3.3 Local democratic participatory perspective**

It is widely accepted that local government brings local political leaders closer to their constituents. Being closest to the people, local government provides a platform for citizens to involve themselves in local decisions that affect their lives (Finn, 2008:13-14; Pillay, Reddy & Sayeed, 2015:46-48). This viewpoint has been corroborated by democratic theorists who assert that local government exists to promote local democracy, which is a political system based on representative government, citizen participation in the political process, basic freedoms of citizens, and transparency of political processes in general (Eremenko, 2014:Online). The roots of this view go back to philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, who laid the foundation for theories on participatory democracy by insisting that the participation of each citizen in political decision-making is vital to the functioning of the state (Michels & de Graaf, 2010:479).

Concurring with the perspective that local government exists in order to allow the local populace to actively participate in affairs directly affecting them, Reddy (1999:13) goes on to list the functions of local government as:

- a) Involving citizens in the performance of local public duties.
- b) Strengthening the restrictions and controls of political power, which are indispensable to a democracy.

- c) Widening the basis of political participation.
- d) Safeguarding pluralism at various levels and different local administrative units.
- e) Facilitating problem-oriented grassroots approaches which citizens appreciate.

Over and above political decision-making, participatory democracy involves several other functions, such as training in the art of self-government, political education, and civic skills (Michels & de Graaf, 2010:479-480; Finn, 2008:14). Local government is also an excellent school of training for the wider affairs of central government. That is to say, having proven themselves as local levels, leaders then have every opportunity to take up responsibilities at national level. Well-functioning democracies facilitate movement of citizens from local politics to national politics (Sikander, 2015:175; Chukwuemeka *et al.*, 2014:309).

Through their involvement in the political process, citizens feel they are part of their communities. They also feel more directly responsible for public decisions (Michels & de Graaf, 2010:480). Active participation in government affairs amounts to sharing of power (Sikander, 2015:175). Moreover, citizen participation forms the basic feature of a functional and effective civil society. In this light, civil society is a product of democracy because democracy is the system that provides all the necessary terms and conditions for civil society to prosper (Eremenko, 2014:Online).

Effective accountability mechanisms ought to be in place to ensure that elected officials heed the voices of those who are encouraged to participate instead of easily sweeping such under the carpet. Democratic elections amount to the most obvious form of ensuring accountability as local government representatives have to be responsive to local pressures or risk not getting re-elected. Other accountability mechanisms include participatory performance assessments, participatory budget expenditure tracking, report cards for service delivery, and regular public meetings between representatives and their electorate. A free press is also considered essential in holding decision-makers accountable (Rao, Scott & Alam, 2014:17; Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa [SLSA], 2003:3).

Winner of the 1998 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science, Amartya Sen, submits that democracy is pivotal to a country's national development. Development in this framework means all the factors that help individuals to fulfil themselves, factors such as economic, social and cultural progress (Scott, 2004:289). The argument is that the promotion of democracy results in a better distribution of resources and the achievement of sustainable development. After scrutinising a number of famines around the world, the Nobel Laureate found that there had never been a famine in a country with a fully functioning democracy. It was found that famines were not a result of a general shortage of food, but rather that people starved because they were not able to gain access to food. His analysis places political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security all at the centre of development (Scott, 2004:287).

Other democratic theorists support this view. They contend that local democracy is pivotal to a better distribution of resources, as well as to the acceleration of social and economic development in general (Scott, 2004:287,303; Chukwuemeka *et al.*, 2014:307; Sikander, 2015:171). Fairly recent research by Tommasoli (2013:13) revealed that development goals are most often achieved under two conditions: (a) where democratic institutions provide opportunities for all citizens to express their demands and to hold elected officials to account for their actions, and (b) where the capacity of government is so strengthened that the state can manage the provision of public services. Poverty, hunger and disease do limit people's ability to exercise their political and civil rights effectively. Likewise, lack of development presenting as economic stagnation and persistent inequalities can also undermine people's faith in formal democratic systems of government. It is quite unfortunate that democracy does not generally deliver development at the level and pace expected by citizens (Tommasoli, 2013:32).

Celebration of local government as a political institution and an instrument for democracy is unfortunately not a universal phenomenon. Some analysts find it too abstract and even point to the relatively low level of interest in municipal politics, which manifest in low voter participation, as proof of local government unpopularity. Current

evidence suggests that in many democracies voter turnout at local government elections has been much lower than at national elections, and further that it is on the decline. Main causes appear to be citizens' lack of interest and/or trust in local government. Critics thus urge the removal of politics from local government in the name of efficiency and effectiveness. Rather, they insist, on placing emphasis on local administrations than on elected local governments (Finn, 2008:14; de Visser, 2009:12; Hajnal & Lewis, 2003:645-646). The separation of politics and policy administration in government i.e., the politics-administration dichotomy, is at the center of the practice of public administration (Uwizeyimana, 2013:165).

Another impediment associated with participatory democracy relates to local government being inundated with political interference to the extent that citizens are not consulted adequately or central government simply hands down laws and regulations without consulting the general populace. What has resulted from this scenario is a high level of dissatisfaction among people as the quality of service delivery continues to plummet. In the end, communities feel insecure and find solace in the formation of Civic Society Organisations (CSOs) (Mapuva, 2014:10-12).

Desired citizen participation is further constrained by lack of good living conditions, accountable and trustworthy leadership, political awareness, vibrant community institutions and organisations, regular free and fair elections for local politicians, and involvement of disadvantaged groups. Citizen participation within developing countries has also been criticised for being about trivial issues (e.g. village politics) instead of being about vital issues such as developmental priorities (Daemane, 2012:208).

In sum, key factors for the successful implementation of local participatory democracy have emerged. They revolve around the need (Olum, 2014:33-34):

- (a) For a constitutional mandate devolving power to both local governments and local communities.
- (b) To afford all citizens opportunities and incentives for participation.
- (c) For citizen participation that actually influences policy decisions as opposed to one where citizens' views are bulldozed by pre-determined agendas.

- (d) For the enhancement of civil society's role at all levels through the practice known as horizontal decentralisation.
- (e) For regular and sustained citizen participation programmes.

Given the perspectives examined above, it is reasonable to conclude that the role of local government goes beyond its two main basic functions, which are to serve as an instrument of democracy and as a service delivery agency. In this light, several theoretical concepts seeking to facilitate a broader understanding of local government reform have emerged.

## **2.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM**

Local government reform builds on three basic principles of citizen-centred local governance. First is responsive governance where reform aims at delivering services that best meet local preferences. Second, the principle of responsible governance focuses on the prudent use of scarce resources. The third principle concerns accountable governance where government is accountable to its electorate. Garcea and LeSage (2005), cited in Dollery and Robotti (2008:15), formulated an analytical conceptual framework of local government reform that comprises the following five elements:

- a) Jurisdictional reform, which entails revision of municipality's authority relative to other tiers of government.
- b) Functional reform, which seeks changes in the municipalities' actual functions.
- c) Financial reform, where attempts to modify the revenue base of municipalities embrace measures to improve income e.g. tax-sharing arrangement.
- d) Internal governance and management reform, which aims at revision of structure and functions of administration units as well as resource management.
- e) Structural reform, which involves the reconfiguration of local government in terms of the number, types and size of municipalities.

Interestingly, structural reform appears to be the most globally visible strategy. There is a general trend in both developed and developing countries towards the creation of larger municipalities as opposed to supporting the low-capacity administrations of smaller municipalities (Dollery & Robotti, 2008:2). Therefore, the remainder of this chapter focuses specifically on local government structural reform.

### **2.4.1 Structural reform strategy**

Here the underlying assumption is the notion that changes to structure do affect the operational efficiency of municipal governance without diminishing the efficacy of local democracy. Structural reform theory posits that the size of units of local government can have a significant impact on the efficiency with which public services are provided. The structural reform strategies that are available for local government reform include amalgamation, fragmentation, voluntary cooperation, and special purpose districts (Dollery & Robotti, 2008:2; Mohammed, 2015:170).

#### **2.4.1.1 *Amalgamation***

For this strategy, the reform aims at enhancing administrative capacity and efficiency by enlarging the territorial base of local authorities by merging them, thereby creating larger local government units (Boyle, 2016:9). The main reason put forward in favour of amalgamation is that bigger is better, as larger units are able to capitalise on economies of scale. The thesis is that larger demographic bases allow municipalities to achieve what smaller authorities cannot. Bigger is associated with more efficient public service as well as a broader range of specialised and better services in quantitative and qualitative terms. Ultimately, citizen satisfaction is expected to increase with an increase in the size of local government (Hansen, 2015:374-375; Cameron & Milne, 2013:3).

Proponents further argue that large municipal areas bring benefits such effective local problem-solving, greater opportunities to raise revenue, and increased capacity for effective exercise of political responsibility due to a greater capacity to balance local needs and resources (Mohammed, 2015:173). In the past 70 years, most European countries have reduced the number of local public administrations by amalgamating

municipal units into enlarged municipalities with the main purpose of increasing cost-efficiency in the provision of public services. Municipal amalgamations have also taken place in South Africa, Israel, Australia, Canada and Japan (Devkota, 2013:Online).

Under a large-scale one-tier system, a single local authority is responsible for providing the full range of local services and has a geographic boundary that demarcates the entire geographical area of responsibility. Since there is only one level of government providing all services, there is no need to allocate expenditures for different tiers of local government. There is also only one political body to make taxing and spending decisions. Advantages of one-tier governments include better service coordination, clearer accountability, more streamlined decision-making, and greater efficiency.

The one-tier system is commonly used in Scotland and Wales in the United Kingdom. In England, there are three single-tier types: Metropolitan authorities covering the densely populated urban areas, London Boroughs and English Shire local authorities (Domingos, 2014:23; Ezekiel & Oriakhogba, 2015:207). Broadly speaking, most of the former British colonial territories and others that have come under its influence regard the British system quite highly. Among others, local authorities' functions in England include road construction, provision and maintenance of street lights, water supplies, recreation grounds, street cleaning and refuse disposal, police and fire services, housing, education, libraries and museums, school and health services (Olalekan-Olayiwola, 2013:51; Dollery & Robotti, 2008:40; Sikander, 2015:173).

Critics, however, draw attention to the significant transition costs and time spent in moving from the existing government structure to a new larger government. Furthermore, there are significant instances of poor service delivery and citizen dissatisfaction following amalgamations (Fox & Gurley, 2006:35). Denmark is an interesting case in point, where citizen satisfaction with local services decreases slightly with increases in population size. Overall, studies suggest that citizen satisfaction is lower in larger population authorities for person-based services but not for facilities-based services or problem-solving capacity (Boyle, 2016:6).

In addition, bigger municipalities are not easily able to recognise what people want and are unable to provide the differentiated package of services that people seek (Mohammed, 2015:173,174). There may even be political implications because of fewer council seats (Lago-Peñas & Martinez-Vazquez, 2013:264). Consequently, as Ezekiel and Oriakhogba (2015:207) insist, a large-scale one-tier government reduces access and accountability because the jurisdiction becomes too large and bureaucratic. Participatory democrats criticize amalgamations on grounds that higher participation in small-demarcated units leads to greater interest and knowledge, which make it easier to represent everybody's interests (Kiveste, 2008:20-21).

In Australia and New Zealand, for instance, major consolidation efforts over the past few years led to mixed effects. While larger municipalities gained the ability to plan and coordinate service delivery on a larger scale (to address environmental concerns like watersheds, and urban concerns like transportation management), they faced a governance challenge of rebuilding citizen identity and participation in the new larger units of local government. Consolidation in these two countries has indeed enhanced strategic capacity, but revenue and service delivery are still a challenge (Lago-Peñas & Martinez-Vazquez, 2013:265). Amalgamations thus present a mixed bag of results, and their effectiveness remains unconvincing. Unsurprisingly therefore, other theorists urge the adoption of the practice of fragmentation.

#### **2.4.1.2      *Fragmentation***

The opposite of amalgamation, fragmentation entails dividing the political and geographical divisions of the local authority into smaller jurisdictions. This element of local government reform is an instrument for decentralising government power in many countries. Under the fragmentation model, small-scale two-tier system comprises an upper-tier governing body (usually region, district, or metropolitan area) and lower-tier or area municipalities including cities, towns and villages. The upper-tier provides region-wide services amenable to economies of scale and externalities, whereas the lower-tiers are responsible for services of a local nature. While the two tiers' roles are distinct, they also do overlap in some matters. The system in this way helps to resolve conflict

among the various criteria for designing government structure and redistribution on the one hand and access and accountability on the other hand. Nevertheless, critics argue that costs are higher because of waste and duplication in the provision of services by two levels of government (Ezekiel & Oriakhogba, 2015:207; Mohammed, 2015:172).

Germany supplies a fascinating instance of the two-tier model. The German local government consists of counties (*Kreise*) as the upper layer, and municipalities (*Gemeinden*) as the lower layer. The county-free towns (*Kreisfreie Städte*) have the right to attend to all matters relevant to the local community in their own responsibility area outside county boundaries. However, there are some contradictory features. In constitutional terms, German's federal system consists of two layers: the federal level (national) and the *Lander* (provinces). The municipalities and the counties belong to the organisational body of the *Lander*, but constitute a third layer by which the bulk of public tasks are carried out (Kuhlmann, 2016:51). Each state is responsible for the structuring of its own local government system. The multi-function profile of the German local government system is a politically strong model, a reality reflected *inter alia* by the relatively high and stable turnouts at local elections (Ezekiel & Oriakhogba, 2015:213; Kuhlmann, 2009:227,243).

Public choice theorists claim that fragmentation improves local public service delivery and brings local political leaders closer to their constituents. Smaller municipalities are associated with equitable distribution of national resources and accelerated development. It is argued that the system allows for local difference, diversity and democratic choice, and it serves as a laboratory for democracy.

One of the main concerns of fragmentation is its significant spillover problems. It seems that the smaller the basic unit of local governance, the more likely are there to be residents living outside that unit's boundaries. Spillovers can be positive when residents benefit from exclusively locally funded services such as recreation facilities or transportation infrastructure. However, failure to eliminate spillovers either forces some units of government to spend too much for service, or it causes underproduction of a service which is genuinely desired by its citizens (Finn, 2008:21).

Ghana is one of the countries that opted for fragmentation with the aim of improving administration, deepening democracy and governance, as well as accelerating the equitable distribution of the national wealth and overall national development. Since independence, the country created new local government areas with a consequent increase in the number of councils from 65 in 1988 to 215 by 2012. While one of the main objectives of decentralisation was to reduce central public spending inefficiencies and free up funds for transfer to local governments so that they can be prudently used to speed up service delivery, Ghana's fragmentation exercise has done the opposite. Inefficient public spending prevails due to weak local administrative capacity, local corruption, and capture by local elites. In addition, the country's ruling party has been accused by opposition parties of manipulating geographic boundaries to create partisan political districts, i.e., gerrymandering (Mohammed, 2015:177-180,189; Napier, 2007:180).

Public choice theorists favour retaining smaller municipalities as a base and arena of local democracy and local identity, while strengthening them by establishing a new layer of inter-municipal bodies (Boyle, 2016:9). This notion veers into the arena of voluntary cooperation system, collaborative arrangements, and special purpose districts.

#### **2.4.1.3        *Voluntary cooperation system***

A voluntary cooperation alternative is an approach that sees several local governments cooperating in the joint production of public services. Somerville and Gibbs (2012:6) describe voluntary cooperation as a voluntary arrangement between geographically adjacent councils sharing resources on an ad-hoc basis and operating on a needs-basis whenever and wherever need for voluntary arrangements arises. The system consists of an area-wide body based on voluntary cooperation between existing units of local government with no permanent, independent institutional status. They are very common in the United States of America (USA) and France. These area-wide bodies are easy to create politically and equally easy to disband. Voluntary co-operations are also common where local autonomy is highly valued. Essentially, municipalities can retain

independence from each other while reaping the benefits of cooperation (Ezekiel & Oriakhogba, 2015:205).

#### **2.4.1.4      *Collaborative arrangements***

Collaborative arrangements encourage existing smaller local councils to collaborate in the provision of services. Table 2.2 depicts a list of possible collaborative arrangements of local government.

**Table 2.2: Other alternative models of local government**

<b>MODEL TYPE</b>	<b>CHARACTERISTICS</b>
Regional Organisations of Councils	Constitute a formalisation of the ad-hoc resource sharing model, typically financed by a fee levied on each member council as well as a pro rata contribution based on rates income, population, or some other proxy for size, which provides shared services to member councils.
Area integration or joint board	Retain autonomous existing councils with their current boundaries, but create a shared administration overseen by a joint board of elected councillors.
Virtual local government	Consists of several small adjacent ‘virtual’ councils with a common administrative structure or ‘shared service centre’ that provides the necessary administrative capacity to implement the policies decided upon by individual councils, with service delivery contracted out to private companies or to the shared service centre.
Agency	All service functions are run by state government agencies with state government funds and state government employees in the same way as state police forces or state emergency services presently operate. Elected councils act as advisory bodies.

(Source: Somerville & Gibbs, 2012:6-7)

Benefits of collaborative arrangements include increased opportunities for regional and sub-regional strategic development, increased cost savings, access to a service not otherwise available, improved access to technical expertise and higher quality work. However, such municipal joint production may result in a loss of accountability. Other challenges associated with alternative models include the time costs of engaging in collaborative arrangements in addition to normal responsibilities, the lack of start-up and ongoing funds to support collaborative arrangements, and the need for leadership and commitment at the top level. There are other governance challenges associated with arrangement design, membership, size and decision-making. There is a need for an organisational culture that is willing to embrace and see the benefit of shared activities between councils (Somerville & Gibbs, 2012:8; Kiveste, 2008:15).

#### **2.4.1.5        *Special purpose district system***

Special purpose districts present an opportunity to deliver services that spill over municipal boundaries. Single-purpose special districts provide similar municipal services for several municipalities or manage regional services with externalities. This form of cooperation among municipalities for region-wide services occurs in countries with a history of strong and autonomous local governments (Ezekiel & Oriakhogba, 2015:205; Finn, 2008:23).

In the USA context, about one third of local governments are special districts providing education, transportation, water and waste management, economic development, and other services. These districts are indirectly controlled by the individual municipal councils. One of the advantages of special purpose districts is that each service spill over can be addressed on an individual basis. Other advantages include the delivery of services by professionals with public decision-making that is somewhat removed from political influence. The local government system of Canada also includes a variety of local special purpose bodies such as agencies, boards and commissions. Collectively, these institutions do not operate from a common set of geographical boundaries, but operate largely in isolation of each other (Ezekiel & Oriakhogba, 2015:205; Finn, 2008:13,17).

## 2.4.2 Redistricting

As one of the strategies for local government reform, redistricting relates to the political process of redrawing electoral boundaries within which people contest local government elections. Fundamental to the election of representatives is the spatial division of geographic areas to determine who votes where. Therefore, the ways through which redistricting bodies may bias district boundaries to advantage specific individuals is of great concern (Napier, 2007:180). In practice, it has become common for the political party currently in power to gerrymander or to redraw electoral boundaries in their favour. The redrawing of electoral districts in Massachusetts by Governor Elbridge Gerry before the 1812 elections with the intent of foiling the election of his opponent, James Madison, led observers to compare the shape of one district to that of a salamander. The name “Gerry” subsequently merged with “salamander” to give gerrymander (Citizens Research Council of Michigan [CRCM], 2011:23).

		
The original gerrymander cartoon.	Actual original gerrymander, a Massachusetts State Senate District drawn in 1812.	Current Massachusetts 2 <sup>nd</sup> Congressional District, 13 <sup>th</sup> Congress.

**Figure 2.1: The original gerrymander (Anscombe & Palmer, 2015:9)**

Figure 2.1 shows the infamous gerrymander cartoon, the actual Massachusetts Senate District, and the Second Congressional District, which is often confused with the original gerrymander. The only difference between the original gerrymander and the congressional district is the town of Salisbury, the head of the gerrymander. In all fairness, the abovementioned instance was not really the first political gerrymander in

the United States. In fact, several congressional and state legislative districts were gerrymandered during colonial times (Anscombe & Palmer, 2015:8-9). Nevertheless, the 1812 gerrymander offers a useful and interpretable standard across some set of compactness measures by which researchers assess changes in geographic gerrymandering over time. This means that any district worse than the original gerrymander in terms of resultant shape, may be considered gerrymandered (Anscombe & Palmer, 2015:9-10; CRCM, 2011:23).

In reality, there appears to be no singular measure to prove that a district has been gerrymandered, neither to estimate the extent of gerrymandering. Characteristics such as irregular district shape, political boundary breaks and skewed election results are merely helpful indicators. It is, however, necessary to be cautious when using these indicators as a basis for a gerrymandering accusation. Just because the district has odd boundaries does not necessarily mean that it is a result of gerrymandering. Natural features such as mountains and rivers have coiled shapes as the boundaries of cities that follow these features. Some states require that district boundaries follow geographic boundaries. This is an impartial redistricting requirement that states can use because they do not set the location of natural features. Requiring district boundaries to align with geographic boundaries results in districts that comprise of communities who live near, in, or on a common natural feature, share a common interest (Lawrence, 2016:125; CRCM, 2011:15,19,24).

#### **2.4.2.1      *Gerrymandering tactics***

While the original gerrymander was part of a redistricting plan seeking to acquire as many seats as possible for a political party, a variety of other gerrymandering tactics are utilised to protect incumbent legislatures as well as to advance or hinder the interests of particular racial groups (Lawrence, 2016:126).

##### *a) Packing*

This form of racial gerrymandering seeks to advance or hinder the interests of a particular racial group or class. Practically, the approach involves designing districting plans that dilute the voting strength of minorities by dividing their

population to ensure that they are perpetually outnumbered in most or all districts. To that end, same race voters could be packed into small number of districts (Brunell, 2006:82; Lawrence, 2016:126). In some cases, packing is done to obtain representation for a community of common interest (see *supra* 2.3.2). A redistricting plan preserves communities of interest by placing individuals who share cultural, economic, ethnic, political, religious, or social ties within close proximity of one another. Some suggest that to preserve communities of interest is to preserve census tracts, which generally have populations that share meaningful characteristics. Others suggest communities should be allowed to identify themselves (CRCM, 2011:23; Cooper, 2010:Online).

b) *Cracking*

Cracking involves spreading voters of one type over many districts where they will become minorities that are unable to influence elections. The party in control of redistricting can weaken the opposition party by cracking opposition voters among numerous safe districts where the opposition is in the minority. Spreading opposition party supporters across districts favouring the gerrymandering party conveniently assigns opposition votes to districts that they cannot win. The gerrymandering party's goal is to protect the incumbent legislatures by diluting the opposition's strength, thereby ensuring that their own candidates win comfortably. This approach aims to create safe seats for long serving incumbents. Supporters of this approach argue that it preserves the power and influence of incumbents who possess political experience and knowledge in the law making process, instead of handing power over to newly elected novices (Maryland Redistricting Reform Commission [MRRC], 2015:19; CRCM, 2011:23; Iyer & Reddy, 2013:2; Mackenzie, 2010:2; Lawrence, 2016:126).

c) *Tacking*

Tacking involves reaching out and grabbing an area outside one's district because of its desirable demographics. Here a ruling party prospects for voters at the expense of other redistricting objectives. Depending on where a party's supporters live, drawing lines that follow party preference may lead to districts

that are not compact, that cross political boundaries, or that carve out chunks of social or economic communities of interest (CRCM, 2011:23).

*d) Hijacking, kidnapping and elimination of competitors*

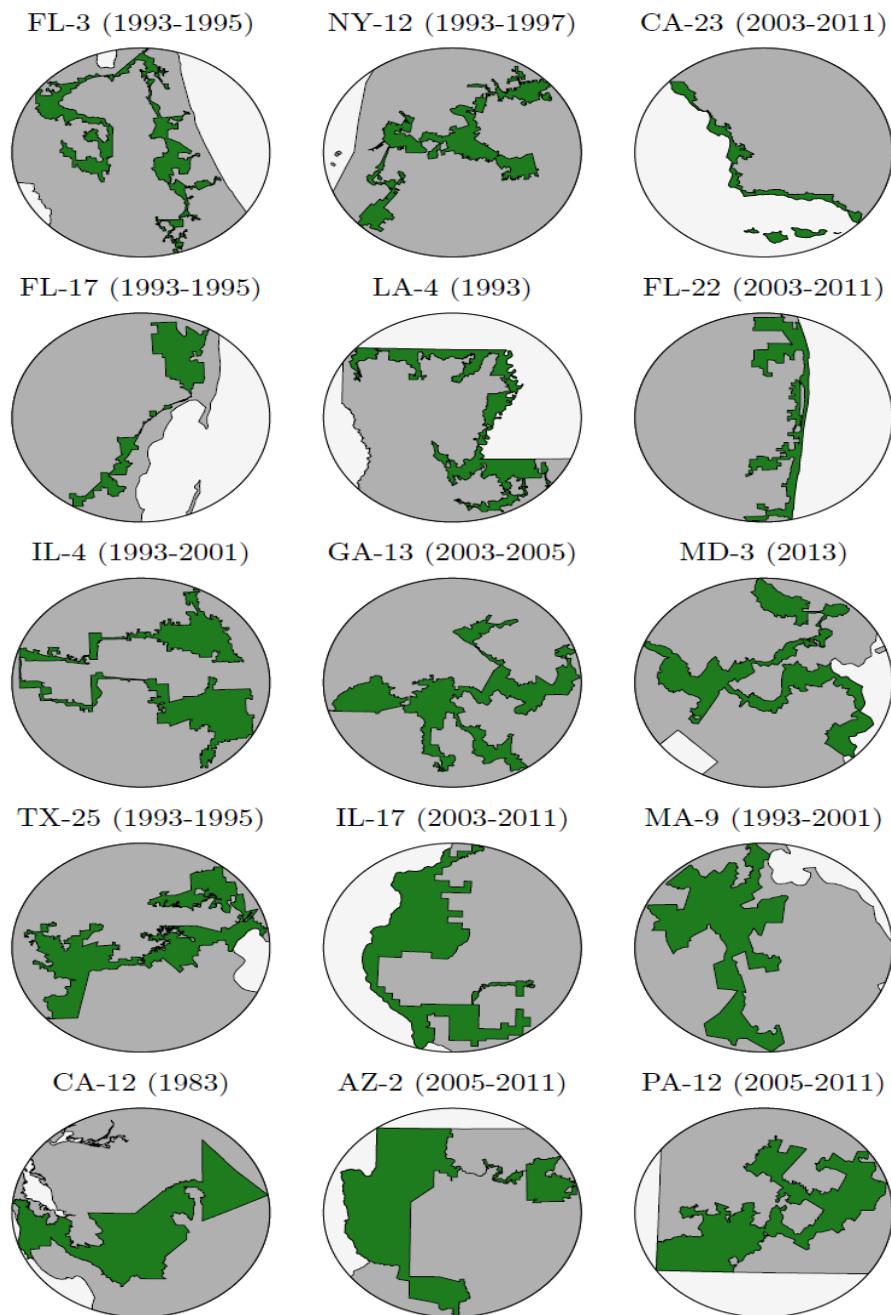
The political party in charge of redrawing the district boundaries can also hijack the opposition incumbent candidates by separating them from their constituents and creating a district in which the candidates have no name recognition. If representatives are required to be residents of their districts, redistricting may also involve hijacking a district from an incumbent by redrawing the boundary to exclude his house, thereby kidnapping him into a district where he or she will surely lose the election. In this way, competitors are eliminated as district boundaries are shifted to move the incumbent's rival to another district (Brunell, 2006:79; CRCM, 2011:15,23; Mackenzie, 2010:2).

#### **2.4.2.2 Practice of Gerrymandering**

Several studies have investigated the problems caused by gerrymandering and its implications for political power. While some studies have shown that partisan redistricting produces substantial partisan biases in the outcomes of legislative elections, others have found that this type of redistricting produces minor, mixed or nil partisan effects. This lack of consensus is indicative of the challenge that researchers face in isolating and measuring gerrymandering effect on election outcomes.

Even so, general agreement is that, in general, gerrymandering increases the margin of victory for incumbents. Successful gerrymandering affects political representation by altering who gets elected and who does not. At the same time, the practice seems to deprive voters, especially minorities, of their voting rights. Gerrymandering has a substantial effect on voter turnout as well. Districts which are designed to favour the re-election of incumbents threaten vigorous election campaigns, thereby also discouraging voter participation (Chen & Cottrell, 2016:331; Napier, 2007:181; Lawrence, 2016:132).

Gerrymandering is a common practice in the USA. In fact, it appears that the geographic integrity of congressional districts has worsened since the original gerrymander.



**Figure 2.2: Examples of highly gerrymandered districts in the USA (Source: Ansolabehere & Palmer, 2015:18)**

Figure 2.2 displays some of the USA's most recently gerrymandered districts. It includes some well-known examples of gerrymandering, such as the Illinois 4<sup>th</sup> earmuffs and the

Maryland 3<sup>rd</sup> pinwheel, as well as some lesser-recognised gerrymanders like the Massachusetts 9<sup>th</sup> district (Anscombe & Palmer, 2015:17).

#### **2.4.2.3      *Ways to curb Gerrymandering***

Governor of Maryland State, Larry Hogan, concedes that gerrymandering has stifled real political debate and deprived citizens of meaningful choices with the result that Maryland has some of the most gerrymandered districts in the country. In August 2015, he set up the MRRC to conduct a comprehensive examination of ideas that, without input from politicians, could enhance the integrity of Maryland's congressional and legislative redistricting process (MRRC, 2015:1-3).

Under the Maryland independent and bipartisan commission, congressional and legislative districts must be of equal population as required by the USA Constitution and federal law. At the same time, districts must comply with the USA Voting Rights Act. Having satisfied the preceding criteria, redistricting plans must meet the following conditions when setting up county and municipal boundaries (MRRC, 2015:4):

- a) Congruence – district lines must pay due regard to county and municipal boundaries.
- b) Contiguity – districts must comprise adjoining territory conveniently connected for purposes of travel and communication.
- c) Compactness – districts must be as compact in form as possible.

To ensure that the redistricting process unfolds in a way that minimises bias, an independent, non-partisan and objective redistricting commission needs to draw the boundaries of electoral districts; this task is too important to be left to incumbents. Even as members of advisory committees for the redistricting, incumbent politicians have been known to influence the process in their favour. Stricter legal constraints on any redistricting plans adopted will also help minimise the occurrence of gerrymandering. Voluminous pressure on politicians from the citizens cannot be overstated. Incontestably, a transparent redistricting process, one which offers opportunities for public engagement while also minimising political control, can go a long way towards deterring

gerrymandering, thereby upholding the integrity of the political system (Iyer & Reddy, 2013:2; Lawrence, 2016:132; CRCM, 2011:vi).

To curb gerrymandering even further, some political scientists have developed sophisticated computer programmes that can disaffectedly create electoral districts. One example is the shortest split line algorithm, which uses a computer to divide a state into the appropriate number of evenly populated districts using the shortest possible straight lines. Another example is a program that places voters in districts such that the average distance from a voter's residence to the centre of his or her district is minimal. Since algorithmic solutions have no notion of communities of interest, they get criticised for splitting a single city into multiple districts or lumping together communities with very different interests (Politics and Policy, n.d:Online).

## **2.5 CONCLUSION**

This chapter reviewed literature explaining the dynamics surrounding the establishment of local geographic boundaries. Different theoretical dimensions emerged in connection with the significance of local boundaries for affected communities. That local boundaries allow for efficient administration of public services, promote democratic ideals, and advance the social capabilities of individuals is hardly contestable. Notwithstanding their respective emphases, the significance of local government for entrenching democracy as well as delivering public services echoes in both the efficient-service and the democratic participatory schools of thought. Opponents of these two theories are, however, in favour of the removal of politics from local government. They believe that the promotion of democracy often prevents local government from providing appropriate public services. From the social theory point of view, societies are better off if they promote social integration through inclusive policies that enables individuals to enjoy equal opportunities regardless of their attributes.

In terms of local government structural reform, the assumption that bigger is better fuels the trend where larger municipalities are created through amalgamations. On the other hand, critics argue that large-scale municipalities reduce accountability because the jurisdiction becomes too large and bureaucratic. Therefore, they advocate, smaller

municipalities allow for local diversity and democratic choice. Proponents of both amalgamation and fragmentation have offered frameworks for local government reform, with each camp stressing its own theoretical advantages. The latter section of the chapter discussed redistricting in some detail as one of the strategies for local government reform. Unfortunately, to favour their own side, those who are in charge of redrawing district boundaries use different gerrymandering tactics such as packing, hijacking, kidnapping and elimination of competitors. With this theoretical framework in mind, the study can now proceed to a deeper discussion of its research questions.

Focussing squarely on South Africa, the next chapter discusses the historical development of local government and the strategic trajectory that has guided local government structural transformation from apartheid-inspired to non-racial democratic local governance. This historical analysis is crucial for a better understanding of the different systems of local government that existed in the past and the reason why a radical change in local government structures was required at apartheid's demise.

# **CHAPTER THREE:**

## **THE DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF**

### **LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter undertakes a historical overview of the evolution of local government in South Africa, tracing it from all the way back with the first European settlements in the Cape. Deserving of greater attention is the strategic trajectory that guided local government structural transformation from the time of the apartheid regime to non-racial democratic dispensation. Rationale for including this historical analysis is that it affords a better understanding of the different systems of local government that were brought about by racial gerrymandering, wherein several types of local authorities that bore no resemblance to one another existed for each racial group. How a single system of local government system eventually emerged out of all that diversity deserves full attention. Therefore, the chapter concludes by giving reasons why a radical change in municipal boundary demarcation was necessary at the dawn of the democratic dispensation.

#### **3.2 THE ORIGINS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

South Africa's national political phases include the pre-union period, the union period, the republic period, the own affairs constitutional dispensation, the 1993 constitutional regime, and the current period. Each phase influenced how local government evolved (de Beer & Lourens, 1995:22). In fact, the earliest attestable establishment of local government is that of the Cape Colony, mainly from Dutch and British influences. However, it stands to reason that before the arrival of Europeans in the Cape, traditional local authorities existed amongst the Khoi, the San, and other Black residents of the territories that eventually came to make up south Africa. They lived in groups and communities under chieftaincy institutions (Matloa, 2008:25,92-98; Amtaika, 2013:59-60). A lack of written sources hamper modern students' capacity to establish with reasonable confidence the precise nature and functioning of local governance at the time.

Dutch East India Company envoy, Jan van Riebeeck, arrived and settled at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. The first permanent settlement of Europeans or Whites in South Africa ensued, and some form of local government became necessary to manage it (Tsatsire *et al.*, 2009:130). A local administration comprising a magistrate (*landdrost*) and councillors (*heemrade*) arose during this settlement period. Whereas the *heemrade* comprised civilians designated by the governor, the *landdrost* was an official with legal, policy, civil and military powers. These two structures concluded matters by way of majority decisions. It is from this practice that the system of divisional councils emerged in the Cape (de Beer & Lourens, 1995:24).

When the Voortrekkers expanded their settlements by moving inland, it became necessary to appoint magistrates and councillors of districts outside the Cape peninsula such as Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet. These structures had to resolve the perennial problems associated with local governance that the increase in population usually exacerbates their varied responsibilities included levying taxes to improve and sustain service delivery, employing local residents, and creating conducive conditions for investments into the local economy (Binza, 2005:72; Tsatsire *et al.*, 2009:130).

When the Municipal Ordinance No. 9 for the Cape Colony took effect on 15 August 1836, it laid down a system of local government with an elected council, comparable to present-day city and town councils. The Cape Municipal Ordinance provided a framework within which to draw up municipal regulations meant to cater for the diverse needs of municipalities. It provided scope for the local residents to use their initiative in terms of public participation. In due course, the Cape Municipal Ordinance's ramifications extended well beyond the borders of the Cape Colony (Tsatsire *et al.*, 2009:131). The Cape Ordinance also served as a basis for the legislation establishing local authorities in the other three remaining colonies of the country, namely the Natal in 1847, the Transvaal in 1853, and the Orange Free State in 1856. Goaded by the ordinance, the major cities established during this period were Port Elizabeth in 1820, Durban in 1828, Pietermaritzburg in 1839, Bloemfontein in 1846, Pretoria in 1855, and Johannesburg in 1886 (Binza, 2005:73-74; Netswera, 2005:49).

By the time the four colonies united in 1910 to form the Union of South Africa under the Union of South Africa Act of 1909, they had already developed their own distinctive systems of local government. Municipal affairs became the responsibility of the provincial authorities from that date, while the distinctive characteristics of the four systems were retained and developed further. Nevertheless, the Cape foundations persisted across the board, such as popular participation through councils with elected members on the one hand, and financial independence on the other (Tsatsire *et al.*, 2009:133; Bekink, 2006:44).

Because the Union of South Africa Act of 1909 accorded voting powers only to the Whites, the so-called non-Whites were legally barred from participating in the decision-making process at any government level. Advisory Committees for Black townships served merely to advise white local authorities on matters pertaining to the administration of black residential areas (Binza, 2005:74). This resulted in the exclusion of Black people from government structures. At the time the National Party came to power in 1948, the South African local government system had already mastered racial segregation (Amtaika, 2013:70). However, that did not stop the National Party from taking matters further, as the next section demonstrates.

### **3.3 LOCAL GOVERNMENT DURING THE APARTHEID ERA**

Under National Party rule, also known as the apartheid regime, racial segregation became the philosophy of life through the agency of a number of edicts. The Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, for instance, provided for the demarcation of towns into different racial groups. This most notorious centrepiece of apartheid legislation authorised residential segregation as well as the compulsory removal of Africans out of the town centres to their own group areas (Nyalunga, 2006:1). District Six and Sophiatown are famous examples of such forced removals. Up until 1982, the Act restricted permanent Black presence in urban areas through the notorious pass system. Dormitory townships outside white areas accommodated Coloured and Asian peoples, e.g. Atlantis and Phoenix. Townships for Africans, like Soweto, were even further away from industrial and commercial centres (Tsatsire *et al.*, 2009:133-134; Cameron, 1999:77).

In line with gerrymandering theory, the apartheid regime had opted for the packing tactic wherein dissimilar types of local authorities existed for each racial group. Each racial group had its own local government, even if such local authorities differed in size, area of jurisdiction, functions, powers, and sources of revenue. Some were fully-fledged local authorities for Whites, others were token local authorities for Black people, and the rest were advisory structures for Coloured and Indian communities. In the rural areas, so-called homeland governments oversaw Black communities (Thornhill, 2008:493; Cameron, 1999:77).

### **3.3.1 White local authorities (WLAs)**

WLAs characterised all urban areas. Only whites participated in electing them. They fell under the supervision of their respective provincial administrations. WLAs were fully-fledged structures with a political council and administration to carry out the functions of council as well as taxation powers. As a result, the white population lived in well-developed and adequately serviced areas maintained by their privileged revenue base; this was in stark contrast to the ‘non-white’ population (Craythorne, 1990:6; Nyalunga, 2006:1-2; Amtaika, 2013:73; Fast & Kallis, n.d.:5). The WLAs’ technical designation was Urban Local Authorities (ULAs). Because their jurisdiction covered both white and ‘non-white’ areas, ULAs were the largest local authorities in South Africa. A variety of designations applied to ULAs in the country’s four provinces, namely,

- a) Municipal Councils and Village Management Boards in the Cape.
- b) Municipalities, Village Committees, and Health Committees in Natal.
- c) Greater City Council, City Council, Town Councils, and Health Committees in Transvaal.
- d) Municipalities in the Orange Free State (Amtaika, 2013:79; Craythorne, 1990:6).

Concerning ULAs’ relationship with higher tiers of government, hierarchy was the order of the day. For instance, the structure and legislative powers of local government were prescribed by provincial legislation, while local government finance as well as personnel administration were subject to external controls. In their daily operations, they had to

observe certain procedures prescribed by the higher authorities. Failure to carry out policies of a higher authority was a chargeable offense (Amtaika, 2013:81).

ULAs rendered a variety of services and carried out various functions depending on their size and resources. Services included electricity and water supply, refuse removal, housing, sanitation, some health services, traffic control, roads and streets, libraries, building control, town planning, urban renewal, revenue collection, and property valuations. Revenue generation streams incorporated property taxes, letting of municipal houses, traffic fines, subsidies from central and provincial government, in addition to services delivered to residents and businesses for which payment was receivable. Relief in the form of grants or transfers from central and provincial governments was available to assist when it came to major infrastructure projects such as roads (Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development [MPACD], 1997:5; Nyalunga, 2006:1; Amtaika, 2013:80).

### **3.3.2 Coloured and Indian/Asian local authorities**

Coloureds and Indians were excluded from formal political participation. They were also subjected to various restrictions in respect of the ownership and occupation of property. It was only in the 1960s that local government institutions appeared to govern them in the form of Local Affairs Committees, which were advisory bodies to the WLAs. They relied on the administration of WLAs and provincial administration to provide services on its behalf. There are claims, however, that the intention was for these Committees to evolve into independent local authorities (Cameron, 1999:77-78; Nyalunga, 2006:2).

Areas of jurisdiction for the Local Affairs Committees were characterised by low rates-generating commercial, industrial and mining areas. Coupled with this shortfall was the low rateable, low-cost housing and a shortage of trained staff. Elections of these structures also saw low levels of voter participation, which ultimately rendered them illegitimate. The lack of financial viability along with widespread community resistance rendered these Committees unworkable, and very few Indian and Coloured areas progressed to become fully-fledged local authorities. At a later stage, the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act 110 of 1983 made provision for Coloured and Indian local

authorities to be created throughout the country subject to effective financial arrangements to ensure their viability (Tsatsire *et al.*, 2009:138-139; Cameron, 1999:78; Amtaika, 2013:76; Nyalunga, 2006:2).

### **3.3.3 Rural local authorities**

In the rural areas, limited local governance existed in both jurisdictions of the Republic of South Africa and of the Homelands. The Homelands, established by the apartheid government were areas that circumscribed the country's Black populations. By allowing them a sense of self-rule, these rural territories could follow a mixture of traditional and urban patterns of life that were denied them in the urban areas of South Africa. That each ethnic group governed its own territory enhanced their sense of self-rule along with various possibilities for those with political ambition. Ciskei and Transkei were for Amaxhosa, Bophuthatswana for Batswana, KwaZulu for Amazulu, Lebowa for Bapedi, KwaNdebele for Amandebele, Venda for Vhavenda, Gazankulu for Shangaan and Tsonga people, and QwaQwa for Basotho (MPACD, 1998:1; South African History, 2011:Online). While semi-independence boosted these tribal authorities' self-worth, it also played into the hands of the white government. The latter thrived on all these Homelands competing to be the most loyal servants.

Traditional authorities performed local government functions in the Bantustans, which is the uncomplimentary designation of the so-called Homelands (de Visser, 2009:8). In the main, hereditary Chiefs governed these areas under the ultimate authority of the central white government. The local tax base in rural areas was insignificant owing to the lack of economic activity, and they relied almost entirely on subsidies from the central government. People kept their self-respect and independence by constructing their own houses regardless of non-provision of essential services such as water, electricity, and sanitation (Cloete, 1997:9). Outside the Bantustans, rural and peri-urban local authorities called R293 towns had jurisdiction over both whites and non-whites in their respective areas (Presidency, 2008:6; Fast & Kallis, n.d.: 7,10-11).

### **3.3.4 Urban Black Local Authorities**

The story of the urban areas inhabited by Blacks predates official apartheid, and all of it was governed by national legislation. Urban Bantu Councils (UBCs) in the 1960s replaced the Advisory Boards that had been in place from the early 1900s. Then in the 1970s, Community Councils took the place of UBCs, but only until Black Local Authorities (BLAs) emerged in the 1980s.

#### **3.3.4.1 *Black Advisory Boards***

Blacks (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1923 established the Black Advisory Boards to advise the WLAs around the administration of the Black Townships. This allowed Black people under WLAs' jurisdictions some form of participation in their own affairs (Cloete, 1997:17; Vosloo, Kotze & Jeppe, 1974:42-43). As stated by Nieftagodien (2013:38-39) in his paper entitled "High apartheid and the erosion of official local politics in Daveyton in the 1960s," these Boards were explicitly denied any real power and their overall functions were limited to an advisory capacity. That is to say, WLAs were under no obligation to consult or to take into account any Black Advisory Boards' recommendations.

Not surprisingly, the Advisory Boards were used by the township elite for their own advancement, in particular to secure trading rights for themselves and their friends (Maylam, 1995:32-33). At the same time, political organisations regarded them as platforms for political space that could perhaps be exploited to the advantage of extra parliamentary opposition. Pervasiveness of malpractices was alleged, including unfulfilled pre-election promises. Consequently, Black people regarded the Advisory Boards as inadequate and ineffective vehicles for their political aspirations. The Communist Party, for instance, fielded candidates and won seats in Advisory Board elections as far afield as the East Rand, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. A call was made to give them more powers to counter the grievance among the Black people that they were not always consulted on matters affecting their interest (Nieftagodien, 2013:39-40).

### **3.3.4.2        *Urban Bantu Councils***

Urban Bantu Councils came about in place of the Black Advisory Boards following the promulgation of the Urban Bantu Councils Act 79 of 1961. The parent body could establish a UBC for any Black residential area in consultation with the existing Advisory Board or according to the desire of the Black community (Vosloo, Kotze & Jeppe, 1974: 44-45). Among others, the main functional categories of the UBC were:

- a) To lay-out Black residential areas.
- b) To control the building and use of dwellings.
- c) To provide sanitary, health and medical services.
- d) To remove unlawful residents or occupants of land and buildings.
- e) To render protective services, including the maintenance of law and order.

At first, the UBCs consisted of elected and nominated members. However, by 1970, they consisted entirely of representative members. As their predecessors, the UBCs, were universally dubbed a Useless Boys' Club; consequently they never significantly influenced the decisions of the parent body. The system failed for several reasons. First, they were powerless, thanks to WLAs reluctance to transfer powers to them. Second, Black people saw them as collaborators in the implementation of apartheid and thus worthy of unequivocal rejection. Third, UBCs failed because their administrative and executive powers were useless with the key areas of taxation and finance still reserved for only the WLAs (Cameron, 1991:143; Tsatsire *et al.*, 2009:135).

### **3.3.4.3        *Black Affairs Administration Boards***

In the early 1970s, the Black Affairs Administration Act 45 established Black Affairs Administration Boards (BAABs) to operate alongside the UBCs. For the first time in South Africa's history, the BAABs would take over the administration of Black urban areas from the WLAs. BAABs were also to create a link and better liaison between the various rural authorities and the urban counterparts, the UBCs. Their main functions were to preserve traditional cultural ties, to resolve disputes, and to help settle urban Blacks in the homelands (MPACD, 1998:2; Vosloo, Kotze & Jeppe, 1974:45-46).

As Craythorne (1990:6-7) puts it: "the essential idea was that under the umbrella control of the government department for Black Affairs, those Boards would supply local services and undertake development in Black areas outside national states and in the self-governing territories." The Administrative Boards thus took over the functions of the WLAs with limited policymaking powers and derived their income from rents, provision of services, in addition to profits from liquor sales in the townships (Amtaika, 2013:76). While the WLAs continued to deliver certain services on an agency basis for Black areas, in particular health and transport, the main functions of these Administrative Boards were in the fields of labour, influx control, trading services, housing and recreational facilities (Cameron, 1999:145-146).

In this light, the creation of the Administration Boards meant increasingly stringent influx control measures for Black people. As corruption fuelled by tribalism set in, services became inadequate and at times non-existent for Black people under the Administration Board system. Daily living conditions in the townships deteriorated as housing shortages grew. The failure of the system was blamed on the diversion of state resources into developing the Bantustan programme in which the Administration Boards played an important role. All these developments became the preconditions for township uprisings. The violence that ensued in the townships targeted Black Administration Boards, which had become a convenient buffer for WLAs (Cameron, 1999:147).

#### **3.3.4.4      *Community Councils***

Towards the end of the seventies, government then opted for the Community Council model through the promulgation of the Community Councils Act 125 of 1977. These Councils, according to Cameron (1991:148), were supposed to constitute the first proper form of local self-government in Black urban communities. Community Councils thus replaced the largely defunct UBCs and the Administrative Boards in the townships. By March 1980, about 224 Community Councils were reported to have been established across the country. In practice, Community Councils did not enjoy a great deal of municipal independence. Through the National Minister's total control of

Community Councils, the government had far greater control over general policy towards urban Blacks, which resulted in greater centralisation of powers (Block, 1982:2; Cameron, 1999:147).

In certain ways, Community Councils had greater powers than Administrative Boards and UBCs. However, they lacked certain typical WLAs functions such as health, traffic and transport. Their powers and functions in addition to roles they inherited from their predecessors were, *inter alia* (Block, 1982:4-5):

- a) The promotion of the moral and social welfare of persons living in its area.
- b) Promotion of sound community development in its area.
- c) Beautifying of and the tidiness of the area.
- d) Administration of recreational facilities.
- e) Advise and assist Bantustan representatives in townships, and impose levies.

In terms of finance, Community Councils relied on the same inadequate sources that the previous structures received such as rents, fines, and liquor and beer sales. Cameron (1991:157) believes that Community Council system was the most advanced form of local government at the time, which, at least in theory, made provision for a certain amount of devolution. In practice, however, they did not have the same degree of municipal independence as their White counterparts; neither could they hope to attain a comparable finance base. Without powers and resources, Community Councils never gained political credibility in the eyes of those they sought to serve (MPACD, 1998:2).

### **3.3.4.5      *Black Local Authorities (BLAs)***

Community Councils gave way to BLAs in the early 1980s following the promulgation of the Black Local Authorities Act 102 of 1982. The republic's four provincial administrators held the responsibility of administering and controlling the BLAs. However, policy directives still came from the central government in the form of legislation (Tsatsire et al., 2009:136). These newly created bodies were supposed to be fully-fledged local authorities for the urban Black residential areas, so they had more extensive powers than their predecessors did.

It is widely known, however, that the BLAs were compensation for the exclusion of urban Blacks from the tri-cameral system ushered in by the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 110 of 1983. In terms of the latter, Coloured and Indian local authorities throughout the country were incorporated into the ruling White minority's parliament. The chief motivation seems to have been to lure Indians and Coloureds away from possible future alliances with Blacks (Cameron, 1999:78; Amtaika, 2013:76; Netswera, 2005:52).

BLAs were conferred certain powers, but their lack of political legitimacy among their constituencies was a handicap exacerbated by an inadequate tax base and a large degree of control remaining in the hands of central government. The period between the mid-1980s and the beginnings of a process that ended with the dismantling of apartheid saw increasing volatility at local government level as Blacks rejected the BLAs (Seekings, 1988:11). The period also saw large vacancies amongst Black local authority councillors prompted by resignations, which in one case saw over a third of the seats in the Transvaal province's eighty-two councils left vacant because of the intimidation levelled at them by their constituencies (Presidency, 2008:7).

Without a proper tax base, fiscal inadequacy problems plagued the BLAs. This reality meant that they could only render inferior and substandard services. As a result, BLAs felt compelled to raise revenue through increasing rent, transport, and service charges. Extensive rent boycotts resulted, along with other forms of civil disobedience within townships countrywide. These most-widespread popular uprisings South Africa had ever seen began in the townships of the Vaal triangle. The country became ungovernable, which catalysed successive states of emergency as responses from the ruling class. In the end, negotiations to end apartheid were inescapable (Fast & Callis, n.d., 9; Tsatsire *et al.*, 2009:136-137).

Community Based Organisations (CBOs), which started out as street committees, were communities' quintessential response to the introduction of the BLAs in the townships. CBOs characteristically mobilised around local political issues such as housing grievances. In the eyes of the majority, the BLAs were illegitimate and a proxy for national political representation because a large degree of control remained in the

hands of the central government (Seekings, 1988:12; Tsatsire *et al.*, 2009:146; Cameron, 1999:79).

In response, government decided to introduce Regional Services Councils (RSCs) and Joint Services Boards to liberalise the functioning of separate race-based local authorities as well as to address their infrastructural needs. The RSCs were designed as multi-racial bodies comprising participating local authorities from all racial groups within a particular region. These structures promised to redirect infrastructural resources to areas in need, but the manner of its decision-making process made a lie of this promise. Local authorities whose service consumption levels were highest, and which happened to be White, had more voting powers and used them to maintain their privileged status. Thus, the RSCs failed to establish financial viability in the BLAs (Presidency, 2008:6-7; Cameron, 1999:79).

By the late 1980s, there was no effective government in most townships and many homeland rural areas, and it was clear that the BLAs or any similar structures would not be viable. The RSCs' intervention was rather too little too late, as the resources they channelled did not make any real difference to the quality of Black lives. The crisis in local government was a major force leading to the national political transition process that started in 1990. Formal debate around the future of local government took place at the Local Government Negotiating Forum. The Forum put together the Agreement on Finance and Services that wrote off arrears of the BLAs and sketched a locally negotiated transition process for change. Non-racial democratic South Africa's first President, Nelson Mandela, and apartheid South Africa's last President, F.W. de Klerk, signed the agreement (MPACD, 1997:5).

By 1990, it was not clear how many types of Black local authorities existed. Estimates are that there were over 1000 different local government bodies in existence across South Africa's racial groups at the time the post-apartheid political transition commenced (Presidency, 2008:13). How then did the structural transformation to a non-racial local government dispensation in South Africa unfold?

### **3.4 TRANSFORMATION FROM APARTHEID TO NON-RACIAL DEMOCRATIC LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

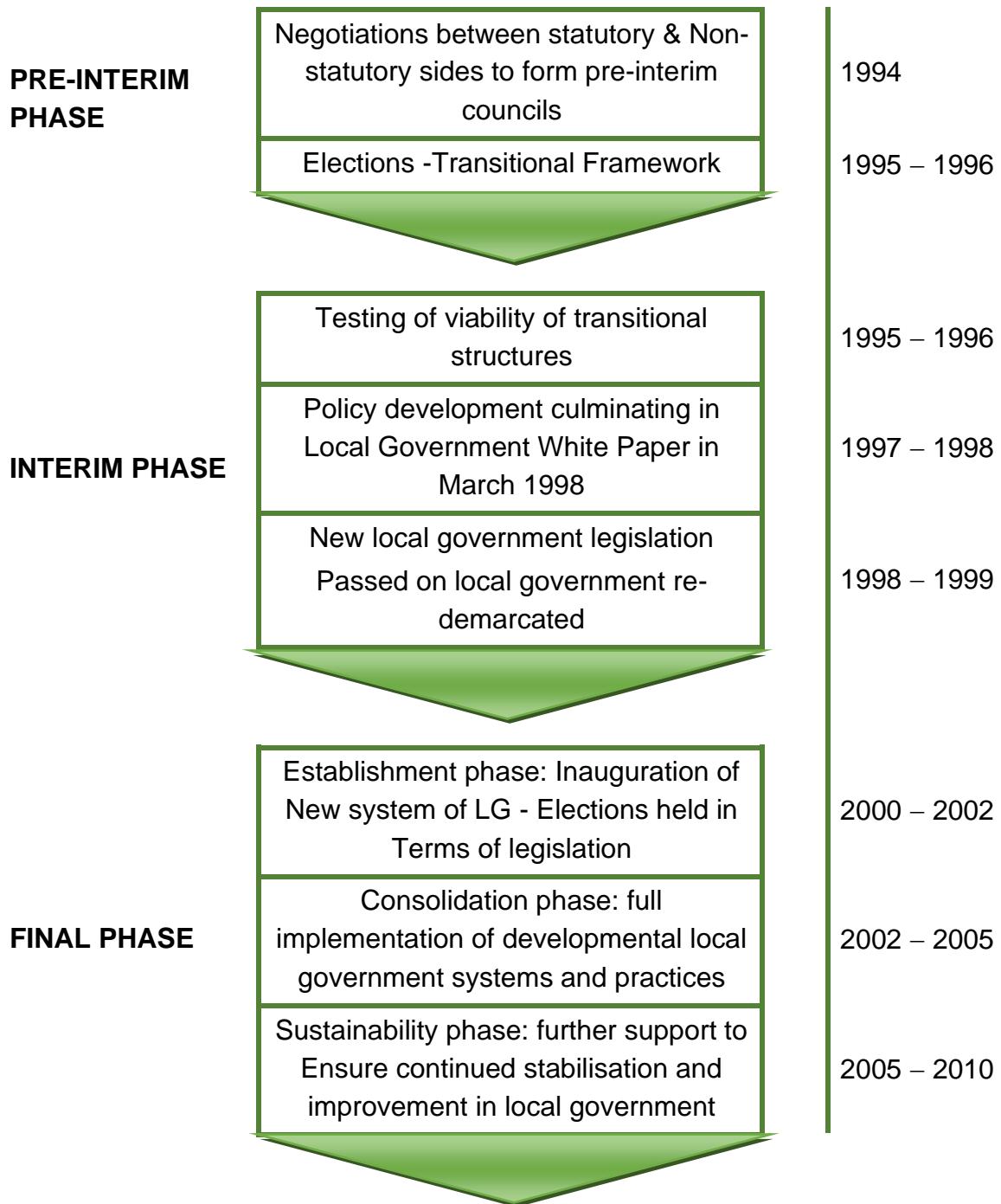
The journey taken to design and establish a single, unified system of local government system from the inherited fragmented, undemocratic, unaccountable and racially divided system has gone smoothly in some respects, but a bumpy ride in others (DPME, 2014:7). Prior to the first non-racial democratic local government elections in the years 1995 and 1996, no single uniform system of local government existed across the country.

Those entrusted with establishing the new system of local government had the daunting task of integrating different systems of local government together. They also had to integrate the disparate urban local government locales, as well as to introduce local government systems in the rural areas that were virgin in this regard (de Visser, 2009:8; Khumalo & Ncube, 2016:4).

Local government was formally democratised through the provisions of Chapter 10 of the 1993a Interim Constitution, which repealed the 1983 Constitution of South Africa. The Interim Constitution made provision for a three-tier system of government, namely central, provincial and local governments. Apartheid South Africa's four provinces were reconfigured into nine provinces. Most important among these changes, was the dismantling of former homeland governments and their consequent incorporation into a uniform countrywide system of cooperative governance (Amtaika, 2013:88; Cameron, 1999:83).

#### **3.4.1 Phases of municipal reform**

The transformation of local government occurred in three phases that were associated with key tasks that needed attention, namely, the pre-interim, the interim, and the final phases. Figure 3.1 illustrates these phases in schematic form.



**Figure 3.1: Different phases of municipal reform (Source: DPLG, 2006:17)**

### **3.4.1.1      *Pre-interim phase***

As depicted in Figure 3.1, the pre-interim phase set off the transformation of local government system in South Africa. A key milestone in the transformation of local government was the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) of 1993. The LGTA provided for the removal of the apartheid's BLAs and the establishment of local forums to be in charge of local authorities until the election in 1995. In addition, WLAs were enlarged to include non-White areas. For the first time, municipalities were governed by a combination of existing elected councillors (for erstwhile WLAs or Coloured and Indian areas) and non-elected representatives from resistance forces in Black areas such as CBOs and political parties; all these had a stake in the restructuring of local government. The broader representation sought to facilitate participation by sectors of society once excluded from the local government process as well as to safeguard continuity of knowledge and experience (Bekink, 2006:117; Hornby, 2004:4; Amtaika, 2013:88).

Provision was made by the LGTA for Provincial Demarcation Boards to be set up in all nine provinces to demarcate the new municipal boundaries ahead of the 1995/1996 local government elections. In addition to integrating local communities and local government personnel into the new local authorities, the voters roll had to be drawn up, wards had to be delimited, and agreement was to be reached at a national level on the electoral system to be followed (Amtaika, 2013:87; Cameron, 1999:86-87). At the request of Administrator of the Province concerned, Provincial Demarcation Board were to investigate and make recommendations in writing regarding any demarcation, re-demarcation or withdrawal of the demarcation of any areas pertaining to local government affairs (Cameron, 1999:90). When making recommendations, a Provincial Demarcation Board should carefully consider the following:

- a) Topographical and physical characteristics of the area concerned.
- b) Population distribution within the area concerned.

- c) Existing demarcations of the area pertaining to local government affairs and services, including existing local government bodies and/or regional services councils and joint service boards.
- d) Existing and potential land usage, town and transport planning, including industrial, business, commercial and residential usage and planning.
- e) Economy, functionality, efficiency and financial viability with regard to the administration and rendering of services within the area concerned.
- f) Development potential in relation to the availability of sufficient land for a reasonably foreseeable period to meet the spatial needs of existing and potential residents of the proposed area for their residential, business, recreational and amenity use.
- g) Interdependence and community of interest between residents in respect of residency, work, commuting and recreation.
- h) The integrated urban economy as dictated by commercial, industrial and residential linkages (Republic of South Africa, 1993b:14,28-29).

Provinces saw Provincial Committees for Local Government established whose members were representatives of major stakeholders in the Province and had knowledge of matters concerning local government. Committees were there to supervise and implement the new local government system in conjunction with the Administrator who was the provincial Member of Executive Council (MEC) for Local Government. Provincial Committees were operational during the pre-interim and the interim phases, until their abolishment in 1996 (Bekink, 2006:124-125).

The LGTA also made provision for three categories of local government, namely Metropolitan, Urban and Rural. This phase thus resulted in the proposal and adoption of three transitional models, i.e. a Transitional Local Council (TLC) for non-metropolitan areas, a Transitional Metropolitan Council (TMC) with Transitional Metropolitan Substructures (TMSs) for metropolitan areas, and Local Government Co-ordinating Committees (LGCCs), which could be negotiated for non-metropolitan areas, except for

the Western Cape province. TLC's and TMS's replaced existing local authorities and assumed all of their functions. As for LGCCs, their powers and functions included:

- a) Ensuring citizen access to basic services such as water, refuse removal, health services, roads, and storm-water drainage.
- b) Receipt of not less than 10% of the rates due to the individual local government body for the improvement and restoration of services.
- c) Determination of the total number of seats in such a LGCC.
- d) Nomination of persons to serve as members of LGCCs (Cameron, 1999:87).

According to Bekink (2006:123), the statutory and non-statutory divide polarised many local authorities, making effective action impossible. Because pre-interim councils were established largely based on existing local boundaries, many WLAs remained WLAs and many BLAs remained BLAs in their respective areas of jurisdiction. The pre-interim phase resulted in the amalgamation of South African local authorities from over 1 200 local authorities during apartheid to over 800 municipalities that formed the basis for electing transitional structures in the first non-racial local government election of 1995 (DPME, 2014:17).

### **3.4.1.2        *Interim phase***

The interim phase commenced with the first non-racial local government election in 1995 and 1996, which facilitated the appointment of democratic local government representatives to transitional local government structures. This phase witnessed the coming together of local authorities previously divided along racial lines. Appointed members of the transitional authorities gave way to elected members, and the following structures resulted (Hornby, 2004:4-5):

- a) TMCs with substructures in metropolitan areas.
- b) TLCs for urban areas.
- c) District Councils for rural areas accompanied by a network of Transitional Representative Councils and Rural Local Councils.

It was during this phase that a suit of legislation that would regulate local government after the transition was passed. Following adoption of the Constitution in 1996 along with the White Paper on Local Government in 1998, several other laws were enacted to implement the constitutional framework for the new system of local government (see *infra* 4.2).

### **3.4.1.3      *Final phase***

The final and current system of local government came into being in 2000, even though that year's elections were by no means the end of local government transformation. Municipalities were settling in on their new boundaries and arrangements, with administrative staff transferred from old to new. Newly elected councillors underwent orientation training in order to take up their new constitutional mandate of realising the vision of developmental local government. Nevertheless, significant legislation such as that relating to fiscal and intergovernmental framework remained outstanding (Ndlela, 2001:14). To manage this reality, the trajectory for the final phase followed three sub-phases (COGTA, 2012:13-14):

- a) Establishment (2000–2002): the establishment of new local structures and systems, characterised by a high degree of reliance on support from the other two spheres. One of the first interventions was the Municipal Support Programme aimed at supporting municipalities with establishment challenges.
- b) Consolidation (2002–2005): when local government would begin to take on its new constitutional mandate in full.
- c) Sustainability (2005–beyond): the Municipal Support Programme would be accelerated in the context of an intergovernmental effort to further build the capacity of municipalities.

Meeting the final phase's pre-determined milestones has been a very complex task. The amalgamation of apartheid municipalities into newly demarcated municipal boundaries covering the entire country was comprehensive. Municipalities had to manage this complex restructuring in tandem with taking up their new constitutional developmental

mandate functions (DPLG, 2006:18). This phase of local government paved the way for the present local government system, but it was not without challenges.

Problems emanating from the transition process included costly and complex administrative reorganisation as well as prolonged uncertainty over new boundary demarcations and allocations of powers and functions (MPACD, 1998:11). Demarcations went smoothly in most areas, while formal objections led to a series of court hearings in others. In the main, objections came from residents of wealthy areas who were essentially opposed to amalgamating with surrounding poor areas. Many traditional leaders also were displeased with the demarcation process because they thought that new boundaries would undermine their authority (Matemba, 2000:4).

### **3.5 CONCLUSION**

South Africa's local government system is relatively young. This chapter narrated its history, from periods when racial segregation was the determining factor of local government boundary demarcations, all the way to the present. It also noted how revenue bases followed municipalities serving the privileged few, leaving the rest of local authorities unable to survive despite their catering for the majority of the nation. In response to this history, the overall objectives of the amalgamation of municipalities in post-apartheid South Africa were the integration of public services and the democratisation of representation of citizens.

The process of local government transition from apartheid to non-racial dispensation analysed in this chapter unfolded and was implemented in three phases, namely the pre-interim, interim and final phases. The pre-interim phase prescribed for the establishment of temporary structures to govern until the first non-racial local government elections in 1995. The interim phase began after the 1995 elections and lasted until the 2000 elections, while the final stage established the current status quo. This attempt to restructure municipalities in such a way that they are able to work with all citizens and groups within communities to find sustainable ways to meet social, economic and material needs is ongoing.

The ensuing chapter reviews the legislative framework that guided local government boundary demarcation post the transitional phase. Of particular interest will be the role played by the 1996 Constitution and the 1998 White Paper on Local Government towards the overall local government regulatory framework beyond the transition.

## **CHAPTER FOUR:**

# **THE LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT DEMARCTION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter reviews the policy and legislative framework within which the current local government demarcation system in South Africa is located. Adoption of the 1998 White Paper on Local Government in addition to the 1996 Constitution necessitated the enactment of new laws able to implement this newly established local government framework. What then is the re-demarcation journey that municipalities have taken from 2000 to the present? How are municipalities configured, and how they are performing their new developmental mandate? Attempting these questions in the present chapter affords a credible backdrop against which to cast the two cases studied covered by this research.

### **4.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT DEMARCTION POLICY AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK**

The establishment of a non-racial democratic local government required both the drafting of extensive legislation and the repealing or amendment of prior legislation regarding the demarcation of boundaries, establishment structures, systems as well as financial management. Principal among a handful of legislative prescripts meant to achieve those goals are the 1996 Constitution and the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998. These two provide for the establishment of an independent municipal demarcation body, along with the criteria and procedure to be followed in the demarcation of municipal boundaries.

#### **4.2.1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996**

Section 40 of the 1996 Constitution on cooperative governance provides for three elected spheres of government, which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated.

They are national, provincial as well as local government (Republic of South Africa, 1996:21). Unlike levels of government, spheres of government connote self-reliance (Reddy, 1999:204). Section 151 of the 1996 Constitution stipulates that each municipality enjoys the right to govern on its own initiative the local affairs of its community, subject to national and provincial legislation. National or provincial government may not compromise a municipality's ability to perform its functions (Republic of South Africa, 1996:74). South Africa's intergovernmental system requires cooperation between the three spheres of government. A cooperative relationship depends on a clear understanding of each sphere of government's powers and functions to ensure that a sphere of government or organ of state does not intrude on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of government in another sphere (South African National Treasury [SANT], 2011:28).

Notwithstanding the above concession, local government is subject to supervision. Section 139 of the Constitution states: "When a municipality cannot or does not fulfil an executive obligation in terms of the Constitution or legislation, the relevant provincial executive may intervene by taking any appropriate steps to ensure fulfilment of that obligation" (Republic of South Africa, 1996:68-69). Envisaged here is a system of cooperative governance where national and provincial government support and strengthen the capacity of municipalities to manage their own affairs. The nature of this cooperation is described in Chapter 3 of the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act 13 of 2005. The objective of this framework is to provide a guideline for the three spheres of government and all other organs of state to facilitate co-ordination in the implementation of policy and legislation. The results anticipated include (Republic of South Africa, 2005c:12):

- a) Coherent government.
- b) Effective provision of services.
- c) Monitoring implementation of policy and legislation.
- d) Realisation of national priorities.

In terms of intergovernmental fiscal transfers, the Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations Act No 97 of 1997 sets out the process for dividing nationally raised revenues between the three spheres of government. The Act establishes the Budget Forum, in which local government issues are discussed as part of the national budget process. It also requires that a Division of Revenue Bill be tabled annually, setting out the actual amounts that are to be transferred to each municipality (SANT, 2011:28).

Section 152 of the 1996 Constitution discloses where local government belongs within the different schools of thought already examined in Chapter 2. The constitutional objectives of local government are to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities and to ensure the provision of sustainable services to communities. As agents of development and participatory democracy, they are also obliged to promote the social and economic development of communities, to promote safe and healthy environments and to encourage the involvement of communities in matters of local government (Republic of South Africa, 1996:74).

In addition to defining the responsibilities of local government, the 1996 Constitution also makes provision for the establishment of municipalities in the whole of the territory of South Africa in three different categories:

**Table 4.1: Categories of municipalities in South Africa**

MUNICIPAL CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION OF CATEGORY
Category A	A municipality that has exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in its area
Category B	A municipality that shares municipal executive and legislative authority in its area with a category C municipality within whose area it falls
Category C	A municipality that has municipal executive and legislative authority in an area that includes more than one municipality

(Source: Republic of South Africa, 1996:75)

The 1996 Constitution further requires national legislation to define the different types of municipality in each category, to establish the criteria and procedures for the demarcation of municipal boundaries by an independent body, and to make appropriate division of functions between categories B and C. The legislation referred to in this context should take into account the need to provide basic services in an equitable and sustainable manner. Provinces should establish municipalities within their area in terms of this legislation as well. In all three categories, Municipal Councils are elected every 5 years in a system of proportional representation of political parties combined with a system of ward representation (Republic of South Africa, 1996:79).

Municipalities in South Africa are constitutionally responsible for the delivery of a range of services to their constituencies. Schedule 4 Part B and Schedule 5 Part B of the Constitution list the functions of local government that are regulatory and service-oriented in nature. These functional areas are significant, since they constitute the core responsibilities of local government and their provision improves the general welfare of the citizens. Table 4.2 lists all matters that fall under the jurisdiction of local government:

**Table 4.2: Schedule 4 (Part B) and Schedule 5 (Part B) – local government matters**

SCHEDULE 4 (PART B)	SCHEDULE 5 (PART B)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Air pollution</li> <li>• Building regulations</li> <li>• Child-care facilities</li> <li>• Electricity and gas reticulation</li> <li>• Fire-fighting services</li> <li>• Local tourism</li> <li>• Municipal airports</li> <li>• Municipal planning</li> <li>• Municipal health services</li> <li>• Municipal public transport</li> <li>• Municipal public works only in respect of the needs of municipalities in the discharge of their responsibilities to</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Beaches and amusement facilities</li> <li>• Billboards and the display of advertisements in public places</li> <li>• Cemeteries, funeral parlours and crematoria</li> <li>• Cleansing</li> <li>• Control of public nuisances</li> <li>• Control of undertakings that sell liquor to the public</li> <li>• Facilities for the accommodation, care and burial of animals</li> <li>• Fencing and fences</li> <li>• Licensing of dogs</li> <li>• Licensing and control of undertakings that sell food to the public</li> </ul>

SCHEDULE 4 (PART B)	SCHEDULE 5 (PART B)
<p>administer functions specifically assigned to them under this Constitution or any other law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pontoons, ferries, jetties, piers and harbours, excluding the regulation of international and national shipping and matters related thereto</li> <li>• Storm-water management systems in built-up areas</li> <li>• Water and sanitation services limited to potable water supply systems and domestic waste water and sewage disposal systems</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local amenities</li> <li>• Local sports facilities</li> <li>• Markets</li> <li>• Municipal abattoirs</li> <li>• Municipal parks and recreation</li> <li>• Municipal roads</li> <li>• Noise pollution</li> <li>• Pounds</li> <li>• Public places</li> <li>• Refuse removal, refuse dumps and solid waste disposal</li> <li>• Street trading</li> <li>• Street lighting</li> <li>• Traffic and parking</li> </ul>

(Source: Republic of South Africa, 1996:136-139)

The 1996 Constitution clearly places municipalities at the centre of service delivery, democracy and development, which is critical considering that every part of the country now falls under the jurisdiction of some or other municipality. A municipality is considered a well-capacitated and functional entity, therefore, if it is able to fulfil its constitutional responsibilities within its financial and administrative capacity.

#### 4.2.2 The White Paper on Local Government, 1998

The foreword to the White Paper on Local Government refers to it as a “mini-Constitution” for local government as it deals with that entire sphere of government. Within the framework of the 1996 Constitution, the White Paper seeks to establish the process of local government transformation and to provide a framework for the enactment and repeal or amendment of prior legislation. One of the foundations of the new system of local government outlined in the White Paper was the introduction of the concept of developmental local government. This overarching vision remains, to date, an ideal that local government aspires to and seeks to achieve.

Developmental local government is one that is committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways of meeting their social, economic and material needs, thereby improving the quality of their lives. The White Paper further outlines the four interrelated characteristics of developmental local government. These are the maximising social development and economic growth, integration and co-ordination, democratising development, and leading and learning. While the developmental local government's outcomes may differ over time, the White Paper stipulates the following:

- a) Provision of household infrastructure and services.
- b) Creation of liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas.
- c) Local economic development.
- d) Community empowerment and redistribution (MPACD, 1998:17).

Within the context of national development, the principles and values of social justice, gender and racial equity, nation building, and the protection and regeneration of the environment, municipalities are required to engage in three interrelated approaches if they are to achieve the above outcomes. The approaches in question are Integrated Development Planning (IDP), budgeting, performance management and working together with local citizens and partners (MPACD, 1998:17). In sum, the White Paper outlines institutional, political, administrative and financial systems that will make the developmental local government a reality. The White Paper naturally evolved into the current local government legislation to which discussion now turns.

#### **4.2.3 Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998**

The Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act is an important piece of legislation that dismantled the racially segregated local government system and facilitated transformed local government structures in South Africa (Cameron, 2006:84). As per the Constitutional prescriptions, its main objective is to establish criteria and procedures for the determination of municipal boundaries and other related matters via an independent authority with its own powers and functions. That independent authority, the MDB, came

into existence in February 1999. Its term of office is five years, after which the Board is reconstituted. Therefore, the current MDB was constituted in 2014, following those that assumed office in 2004 and 2009 respectively. The Board consists of no fewer than seven and no more than 10 members holding qualifications or experience in local government. The Act sets out factors that the MDB must take into account when determining municipal boundaries.

#### **4.2.3.1      *Demarcation objectives***

Section 24 of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act lists demarcation objectives. These demarcation objectives are in line with Section 152 of the 1996 Constitution. When the MDB considers determining or re-determining a municipal boundary, its objective must be to establish an area that will (Republic of South Africa, 1998a:18):

- a) Enable the municipality for that area to fulfil its constitutional obligations.
- b) Enable effective local governance.
- c) Enable integrated development.
- d) Have as inclusive as possible a tax base of users of municipal services.

#### **4.2.3.2      *Demarcation criteria***

In order for the MDB to demarcate an area that will enable the municipality to fulfil its constitutional obligations, Section 25 of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act further requires careful consideration of the following factors (Republic of South Africa, 1998a:18):

- a) The interdependence of people, communities and economics as indicated by existing and expected patterns of human settlement and migration, employment, commuting and dominant transport movements, spending, the use of amenities, recreational facilities and infrastructure, and commercial and industrial linkages.
- b) The need for cohesive, integrated and un-fragmented areas, including metropolitan areas.

- c) The financial viability and administrative capacity of the municipality to perform municipal functions efficiently and effectively.
- d) The need to share and redistribute financial and administrative resources.
- e) Provincial and municipal boundaries.
- f) Areas of traditional rural communities.
- g) Existing and proposed functional boundaries, including magisterial districts, health, transport, police and census enumerator boundaries.
- h) Existing and expected land use, social, economic and transport planning.
- i) The need for coordinated municipal, provincial and national programmes and services, including the needs for the administration of justice and health care.
- j) Topographical, environmental and physical characteristics of the area.
- k) The administrative consequences of its boundary demarcation on municipal creditworthiness, existing municipalities, their council members and staff, and any other relevant matter.
- l) The need to rationalise the total number of municipalities within different categories, and of different types, to achieve the objectives of effective and sustainable service delivery, financial viability and macro-economic stability.

An unfortunate lacuna in the Act appears to be its silence on how the MDB should go about ensuring that all of the factors are indeed complied with (Bekink, 2006:220). In preparation for the 2016 municipal elections, the re-demarcation of municipal boundaries was driven by dysfunctionality and non-viability. The latter notions are among neither the criteria nor the objectives of demarcation, even if financial non-viability correlates quite strongly with municipalities' inability to provide services to their communities. The distinction between criteria, objectives and other factors is therefore vital, and failure to distinguish between these concepts may lead to disastrous backlashes (Mzakwe, 2016:1-2; Khumalo & Ncube, 2016:1).

#### **4.2.3.3      *The legal process of determining and re-determining municipal boundaries***

Prior to requesting the MDB to change any municipal boundary, the person, institution, municipality, Minister for COGTA, or MEC responsible for local government, needs to consult the affected municipalities and communities. Consultations must extend to traditional authorities and magisterial districts too. Once consensus has been reached the affected municipalities and the MEC responsible for local government can submit a request to the MDB to re-determine the boundary. Such a request should be submitted in terms of Section 22 of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act and should include the names of affected municipalities, a proper description of the affected area, and a motivation for the proposed boundary change. Generally, the motivation should speak to the criteria outlined in Sections 24 and 25 of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act. Where a boundary of a metropolitan municipality is affected, Section 2 of the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 also needs to be heeded (Mahlangu, 2011b:4; MDB, 2017:10-13).

Upon receipt of the request, the MDB will consider it, and, where feasible, initiate the following consultative and legal process:

a) *First step: Publication of Section 26 Notice*

Before the MDB might consider any determination or redetermination of a boundary, it must publish a Section 26 notice by circular, newspapers circulating in the affected municipal areas, and any other reasonable means of communication. Section 26 notice merely reflects the MDB's intention to consider the proposed boundary changes. Contents of Section 26 notices must reach the following stakeholders (MDB, 2013:34):

- i.      MEC for local government in the Province.
- ii.     Each municipality that will be affected by the proposed redetermination.
- iii.    The magistrate concerned if any magisterial district is affected.

- iv. Provincial Houses of Traditional Leaders concerned if the boundary of a traditional authority is affected.

Stakeholders may then submit written representations on the matter to the MDB within 21 days. Comments from the stakeholders on the proposed redeterminations should be motivated in keeping with Sections 24 and 25 of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act and, in the case of metropolitan areas, also with Section 2 of the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act (MDB, 2013:34).

*b) Second step: Publication of Section 27 Notice*

When the period for written representations and views in terms of Section 26 has expired, the MDB considers all representations and opinions submitted to it and may then take a decision regarding the determination. Before taking such a decision, the MDB may hold public meetings in terms of Section 28 of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act, or conduct a formal investigation in terms of Section 29 of the same Act, or do both. These investigations and public meetings discuss stakeholder views vis-à-vis the proposed boundary changes. Public meetings are an essential opportunity for the MDB to advance the democratic principles of transparency in the process of boundary demarcation (MDB, 2013:35; 2014:20).

*c) Third step: Publication of Section 21 Notice*

Should the MDB take a decision on some determination or redetermination, Section 21 Notice automatically kicks in. This step involves publication of the determination or redetermination in the relevant Provincial Gazette. The onus then falls on any aggrieved person to submit written objections to the MDB within 30 days; no extension of this period is legally permissible. Objections received after the closing date are ignored. Following such duly submitted objections, the MDB proceeds to confirm, vary or withdraw its determination or redetermination, and publishes its decision in the relevant Provincial Gazette (MDB, 2013:36).

*d) Fourth step: Publication of Section 23 Notice*

Finally, the MDB provides particulars of its determination or redetermination to the Electoral Commission of South Africa (ECSA), whose responsibility is to delimitate voting district boundaries. If the redetermination affects the representation of voters in any of the affected municipalities, the redetermination takes effect on the date of next election. If the redetermination does not affect the representation of voters in any of the affected municipalities, the redetermination takes effect on the commencement date of the municipal financial year following the date of publication of the notice effecting such redetermination. In this final step, the Minister of Finance is informed of the redetermination six months before the commencement date of the financial year and the MEC for local government in the Province publishes the date in the Provincial Gazette (MDB, 2013:35).

From the aforementioned demarcation process, it is clear that the determination process ought to be a very comprehensive and consultative process. A local consultative process is of fundamental importance when boundaries are re-drawn because it allows affected municipalities properly to consider the implications of the proposed boundary change. In addition, Cabinet resolved back in 1998 that departmental service delivery boundaries be aligned to national, provincial and local boundaries; this should be finalised by departments in consultation with the MDB (MDB, 2014:6). It is this study's contention that wherever adequate consultations about proposed mergers take place, violent objections are unlikely to occur.

#### **4.2.3.4      *Types of restructuring***

Changes to municipal boundaries range from minor technical alignments of the boundaries between municipalities to major changes such as amalgamating a couple of municipalities. Whatever other reason for demarcation, its primary political purpose is to define areas in which people can contest local government elections. Its obvious administrative reason is to ensure efficient delivery of services within a clearly and legally defined boundary (Shale, 2005:1-2; Mahlangu, 2011b:14). In order to

accommodate the range of possible redetermination requests expeditiously, the MDB thus developed a classification system for various boundary restructurings.

Type A involves small-scale boundary adjustments with a minor impact on the geographical area, a negligible or no impact on the number of voters, and no impact on the capacity of the affected municipalities. This redetermination's goals tend to be the correction and alignment of a municipal boundary with physical or natural features. Such features include roads, rivers and mountains, and cadastral boundaries (parent farm boundaries). Alignment to cadastral boundaries may be necessary where, for purposes of property valuations and rates, a property has to be under the jurisdiction of one municipality instead of splitting it between two or more municipal areas (MDB, 2014:18-19).

Unfortunately, the demarcation process of municipalities' geographical areas does not seem to take into consideration South Africa's surface water catchment (watershed) areas. For effective, efficient and economical management of basic services, the identification and demarcation of catchments is the competency of the national Department of Water and Sanitation. Consequently, as in the case of the West and Far West Rand regions of the Gauteng Province, the natural environment features are land-locked between municipal and provincial boundaries. This situation renders impossible the efficient management of water, sanitation and environmental services in the region (Nealer, 2016:4,51).

Type B concerns medium-scale boundary redeterminations that may affect a sizeable geographical area, as well as the number of voters in one or all of the municipalities concerned. While affecting ward arrangements, Type B restructurings do not materially disrupt affected municipalities' capacity to deliver services to their communities. The goal of this type of boundary adjustment is twofold, the correction of boundary anomalies that affect service delivery on the one hand, and the promotion of integrated communities and economies on the other (MDB, 2014:19).

Major or large-scale municipal boundary redeterminations typify Type C restructurings. These significantly affect the geographic landscape, the number of voters, as well as

the capacities of affected municipalities. Here adjacent municipalities are either merged or split in order to create new municipal areas. Also included are declarations of new metropolitan municipalities with or without boundary changes. Type C redeterminations require the MEC responsible for local government to disestablish an existing municipality or municipalities, and to establish a new municipality or municipalities. Proposals for this type of redetermination require extensive motivation and significant supporting evidence (MDB, 2014:19).

#### **4.2.4 Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998**

The Local Government: Municipal Structures Act serves to expand on the provisions of the 1996 Constitution as far as institutional arrangements of local government are concerned. The Act provides for the establishment of municipalities in accordance with the requirements relating to municipality categories and types, to establish the criteria for determining the category of municipality to be established in an area, and to define the types of municipality that may be established within each category. For instance, an area must have a Category A municipality if it can be regarded as a centre of economic activity with a complex and diverse economy. An area that does not comply with this criterion may only have municipalities of both category C and B. This Act further provides for the internal regulatory systems, structures and office-bearers of municipalities (Republic of South Africa, 1998b:2,16).

Section 84 of the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act provides for a division of functions and powers between district and local municipalities. It assigns to district municipalities functions such as bulk supply of water, electricity, sanitation services, framework for local municipalities IDPs, municipal roads, firefighting, promotion of local tourism, and health care. As far as the local government electoral system is concerned, the Act further provides for the delimitation of wards by the MDB in consultation with the ECSA for purposes of an election, as well as the establishment of ward committees to enhance participatory democracy in local government (Republic of South Africa, 1998b:52,58,66).

Notably, the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act instructs the MDB to delimit a municipality into wards each one of which should have approximately the same number of voters. The Act stipulates the following delimitation criteria for the MDB's consideration (Republic of South Africa, 1998b:66):

- a) The number of registered voters in each ward may not vary by more than fifteen per cent from the norm, where the norm is determined by dividing the total number of registered voters on the municipality's segment of the national common voters roll by the number of wards in the municipality.
- b) The need to avoid as far as possible the fragmentation of communities.
- c) The ward committee's objective to enhance participatory democracy.
- d) The availability and location of a suitable place or places for voting and vote-counting if appropriate, taking into consideration, (i) communication and accessibility, (ii) density of population, (iii) topography and physical characteristics, and (iv) the number of voters entitled to vote within the required time-frame.
- e) The safety and security of voters and election material.
- f) Identifiable ward boundaries.

From the above delimitation criteria, we may conclude that the key purpose of ward delimitation is to enhance participatory democracy through elections and through a ward committee system. A ward committee represents a formal communication channel between the community and the Municipal Council. Ward committees also act as advisory bodies for a range of service delivery issues affecting their wards. When the MDB has delimited the wards of a Municipality, it must publish its delimitation in the relevant Provincial Gazette. Any person aggrieved by the delimitation outcome may submit objections in writing to the MDB within 14 days of publication of the delimitation. The MDB is then obliged to consider such objections and to confirm, vary or withdraw its determination (Bekink, 2006:238; Nkhahle, 2015:96).

The Local Government: Municipal Structures Act was amended through the Municipal Structures Amendment Act 33 of 2000b in order, among other objectives, to make

necessary adjustments to the division of functions and powers between district and local municipalities.

#### **4.2.5 The Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000**

As amended, the main thrust of the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act is to provide for systems (core principles, mechanisms and processes) needed to enable municipalities to move progressively towards the social and economic upliftment of local communities, and ensure universal access to essential services that are affordable to all. In fulfilling their mandate, municipalities must establish and organise their administrations in a manner that would enable them to fulfil the following (Republic of South Africa, 2000c:54):

- a) Be responsive to the needs of the local community.
- b) Facilitate a culture of public service and accountability amongst its staff.
- c) Be performance-orientated while also focussed on the local government objectives set out in Section 152 and developmental duties required by Section 153 of the 1996 Constitution.
- d) Ensure that its political structures, political office-bearers, managers, and other staff members align their roles and responsibilities with the priorities and objectives set out in the municipality's IDP.
- e) Establish clear relationships, and facilitate co-operation, co-ordination and communication between its political structures, political office-bearers and its administration and the local community.
- f) Organise its political structures, political office-bearers and administration in a flexible way in order to respond to ever-changing priorities and circumstances.
- g) Perform its functions through operationally effective and appropriate administrative units and mechanisms, including departments and other functional or business units, and when necessary on a decentralised basis.
- h) Assign clear responsibilities for the management and co-ordination of these administrative units and mechanisms.

- i) Hold the municipal manager accountable for the overall performance of the administration.
- j) Maximise efficiency of communication and decision making within the administration.
- k) Delegate responsibility to the most effective level within the administration.
- l) Involve staff in management decisions as far as is practicable.
- m) Provide an equitable, fair, open and non-discriminatory working environment.

According to the national Department of COGTA (2009:9), any optimally functional municipality will measure up to the above Constitutional prescripts in addition to the core principles of local government.

The practical application of the *holistic-integrationist school of thought* happens at the IDP of the municipalities, for which Section 3 of this Act legislates. This Section specifically advocates for participative development planning through which municipalities in consultation with their communities develop their local development plans.

As an overall framework, the IDP seeks to guide municipalities' efforts to fulfil their developmental mandate. It aims to align the development plans and strategies undertaken by affected municipalities and other spheres of government in a coherent plan to give effect to the principles of co-operative governance (Republic of South Africa, 2000c:36).

#### **4.2.6 The Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act 56 of 2003**

Government passed the Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) in 2003 with the goal of securing a sound and sustainable management of the financial affairs of municipalities and other institutions in the local sphere of government. The Act established treasury norms and standards for sound financial management in the local sphere of government. This encompasses the management of their revenues, expenditures, assets and liabilities, the handling of their financial dealings, budgetary

and financial planning processes, the local government borrowing framework, the handling of financial problems in municipalities, and supply chain management (Republic of South Africa, 2003:2,22).

#### **4.2.7 The Local Government: Municipal Property Rates Act 6 of 2004**

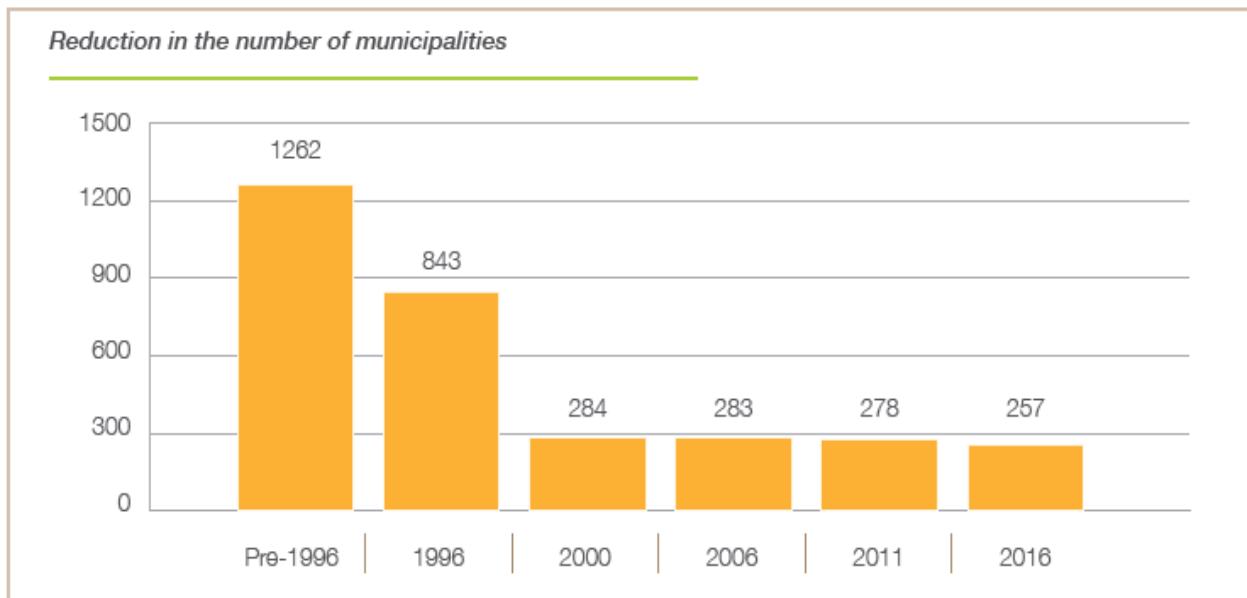
Property rates are a critical source of revenue for government, and Section 229 of the 1996 Constitution empowers municipalities to impose rates on properties under their jurisdictions. Hence, the Local Government: Municipal Property Rates Act appeared within a year of the adoption of the MFMA (Vale, 2013:464). The Act provides a framework regulating the power of a municipality to impose rates on property, to exclude certain properties from rating in the national interest, and to make provision for municipalities to implement a transparent and fair system of exemptions, reductions and rebates. It further makes provision for objections and appeals processes on imposed rates (Republic of South Africa, 2004:2). As far as fiscal transfers from the national government are concerned, there are equitable shares, the main source of transferred revenue to local governments and conditional grants. The former type of transfer is the main source of transferred revenue to local governments (Vale, 2013:458).

The MFMA and the Property Rates Act lay a solid foundation for the local government financial system. Financial resources are the oil that keeps the engine of government running. Without adequate financial resources, there can be no effective and sustainable provision of basic services. All municipalities need to master the balancing of maximising their sources of financial income on the one hand with the prudent utilisation of such resources on the other hand (Bekink, 2006:427).

### **4.3 MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY DEMARCATIONS: ENACTMENTS AND CHALLENGES SINCE 2000**

The configuration of municipalities since the dawn of non-racial democracy in South Africa reflects a belief that smaller municipalities are inefficient and not financially viable. Table 4.1 confirms the general trend towards the creation of larger municipalities, based on the assumption that bigger is better for South Africa. The number of local authorities

has reduced tremendously from well over a thousand in pre-1996 to less than 300 currently.



**Figure 4.1: Trend in the reduction in the number of municipalities from the period before 1996 to date (MDB, 2016:31)**

#### 4.3.1 Configuration of municipal boundaries in 2000

In preparation for the 2000 local government elections, the MDB successfully reduced the total number of municipalities from 843 to 284. The 2000 election, which inaugurated the new system of local government, was the founding elections for South Africa's first truly democratic and fully representative local government. It had the same historical significance for local government as the 1994 election had had for national and provincial government spheres (MDB, 2013:7).

The restructuring of municipalities in South Africa in 2000 was necessary for a number of reasons. First, it was an opportunity for South Africans to reverse the apartheid spatial planning by making the municipalities inclusive of the communities that were previously disadvantaged. Another motivation was to share resources in addition to promoting equitable and sustainable service delivery to all communities. Third, it was necessary to enhance integration through wall-to-wall municipalities, thus ensuring that

all communities are part of a municipality and can thus benefit through access to services and representation offered by its council (MDB, 2014:16). Below is an example of the amalgamation that gave rise to the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality.

**Table 4.3: An amalgamation success story: Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality**

In December 2000, nine towns (Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Edenvale, Germiston, Kempton Park, Nigel and Springs) and two administrations in the eastern region of Gauteng Province merged and acquired a metropolitan status. Ekurhuleni is now a sprawling 1 889 sq. km area of more than 3 million people.

Formerly the towns were in fierce competition with each other to access resources and to promote Local Economic Development (LED). They all exhibited the classic legacy of spatial fault lines based on race and class, with densely populated and under-serviced dormitory townships on their outskirts. One of the main challenges of this merger was the integration of the disparate and rival economic strategies and planning policies.

***From 2000 to 2005 the following key process outputs were achieved:***

- a) The rates and taxes of the nine towns were integrated and a uniform rates and tariff structure adopted. Built into the tariff structure is a percentage for infrastructure refurbishment.
- b) One common billing and metering system was implemented.
- c) The ward committee system was set up in 88 wards during 2001 and participatory approaches to governance put into place.
- d) All informal settlements tagged and recorded came 112, and eight have been eradicated with flagship projects around the People's Housing Project.
- e) About 13 650 staff from the 11 entities were placed in jobs via a structure adopted in July 2002. By December 2003, the placement process was completed. Of the 1500 disputes recorded in this process, 90% had been resolved by 2004.

***Some persistent challenges include:***

- a) Acquisition of land for human settlements and infrastructure development for

public housing programmes.

- b) Public transport planning and implementation to facilitate mobility of people.
- c) Project management of capital projects linked to infrastructure development.
- d) Development of a centre for administration.
- e) Accessible services near to communities.

**(Source:** DPLG, 2006:18)

Special outcomes of preparations for the 2000 elections were the demarcation of so-called cross-boundary municipalities and the District Management Areas (DMAs). The latter comprised largely unpopulated areas like national parks. Sixteen municipalities straddled provincial boundaries across the country. Table 4.4 captures the final determination results per municipal category.

**Table 4.4: Total number of municipalities in 2000**

CATEGORY	NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
Category A	6 (Johannesburg, Pretoria, East Rand, Durban, Port Elizabeth & Cape Town)	Pretoria and East Rand boundaries extended across the provincial boundary between Gauteng and North West.
Category B	232	Eight were cross-boundary local municipalities
Category C	46	Seven were cross-boundary district municipalities
<b>Total</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>6 Metropolitans, 232 locals, 46 districts</b>

**(Source:** MDB, 2001:20)

Of the six metropolitan municipalities, two were cross-boundary municipalities. In non-metropolitan areas where jurisdictions are shared, seven of the 47 district municipalities and eight of the 231 local municipalities had cross-boundary status. A total of 26 DMAs were also determined.

### **4.3.2 Configuration of municipal boundaries in 2006**

The 2006 municipal election represented an important milestone in the development of South Africa's constitutional democracy. First, it took place during the year in which South Africa celebrated the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1996 Constitution. Secondly, it marked the end of the first term of municipal councils within the framework of the new local government dispensation; it was thus the first election held in the context of a complete legislative and institutional framework. Third, it took place after the abolition in 2005 of cross-boundary municipalities, which posed a difficulty when applying the joint provincial administration system. Consequently, the Bohlabela DM was disestablished and the number of municipalities was further reduced to 283 (ECSA, 2006:2,9; FFC, 2014:134,139; Naidu & Narsiah, 2009:17,21).

As indicated in the opening chapter (see *supra* 1.2), the end of the era for cross-boundary municipalities created uncertainty and discontent within affected communities. The process of reviewing provincial boundaries to eliminate straddling municipalities was marked by violent protests and widespread community anger in areas such as Khutsong, Matatiele, Moutse and Bushbuckridge.

### **4.3.3 Configuration of municipal boundaries in 2011**

In the run up to the 2011 local government elections, the MDB decided to re-determine the boundaries of a number of municipalities, to disestablish others, as well as to incorporate parts of certain municipalities. This move further reduced the number of municipalities from 283 to 278 in keeping with the MDB mandate to reduce the number of municipalities in order to increase integration and efficiency across the country. In this connection, the MDB first determined two additional metropolitan municipalities. Mangaung in the Free State Province along with the Buffalo City in the Eastern Cape Province were re-categorised as Category A municipalities. This resulted in 8 metropolitan areas, 44 district municipalities, and 226 local municipalities. The MDB further removed all the declarations of DMAs and the latter were incorporated into neighbouring local councils (MDB, 2013:7,36; 2014:19; ECSA, 2011:10).

#### 4.3.4 Configuration of municipal boundaries in 2016

During the most recent local government election held in August 2016, the MDB had reduced the number of local municipalities from 226 to 205. This rendered the total number of municipalities to be 257. Table 4.5 captures the status quo that resulted from these latest MDB interventions.

**Table 4.5: Total number of municipalities per Province in 2016 per category**

PROVINCE	CATEGORY A	CATEGORY B	CATEGORY C	TOTAL
Eastern Cape	2	31	6	39
Free State	1	18	4	23
Gauteng	3	6	2	11
KwaZulu-Natal	1	43	10	54
Limpopo	0	22	5	27
Mpumalanga	0	17	3	20
North West	0	26	5	31
Northern Cape	0	18	4	22
Western Cape	1	24	5	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>257</b>

(Source: MDB, 2016:31)

The demarcation process leading up to the 2016 local government elections was not without problems. For the first time since the inception of the MDB, the Minister of COGTA had to invoke Section 22(2) of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998. That was in order to request the MDB to re-open the determination of outer boundaries of specific municipalities in 2015. It is fascinating that this request came about some two years after the finalisation of the re-demarcations for the 2016 local government elections. In addition, municipal financial viability and functionality were key drivers of these redeterminations. This was a significant departure from the usual

criteria for local government demarcations. The request affected the boundaries of municipalities in seven provinces, namely Eastern Cape, KwaZulu Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, North West and Free State. The municipalities in question were declared dysfunctional and financially unviable. According to the national Department of COGTA, the request for boundary changes in those municipalities was thus to ensure their financial viability and sustainability (Khumalo & Ncube, 2016:1; COGTA, 2015:25). Even more interesting, the MDB decided to proceed with the redetermination of 19 local municipalities in 2015 even after engaging the proposals made by the national Department of COGTA (see *supra* Map 1.1).

#### **4.4 MUNICIPAL PERFORMANCE AND CHALLENGES**

In theory, the efficiency of local government is a function of the perceived quality of services rendered to the community. In the South African context, the effectiveness of municipal performance is assessed primarily against the legislative framework discussed in this chapter. The ideal municipality is one that fares excellently vis-à-vis the constitutional objectives of local government.

Government's comprehensive legislative and policy framework for local government has provided a sound platform from which municipalities have established functional structures, systems and processes of governance. Achievements in accountable, transparent and participatory local government have been noteworthy. The electoral system introduced in the 2000 local government elections ensured a system of non-racial democratic local government. Since then, a general acceptance of electoral outcomes has been the norm, a reality that indicates their legitimacy among citizens (DPME, 2014:7).

Municipalities have made remarkable progress regarding accelerating the people's access to basic services. Provision of municipal basic services in the years between 2001 and 2014 confirms this. Nationally, at 86% and 81% respectively, piped water inside dwellings and yards along with electricity connections to households demonstrate the largest average increases in basic municipal services. Household sanitation and weekly refuse removal services average 71% and 60% over the same period.

Nevertheless, progress has been uneven across the country, with different areas facing dissimilar challenges, all reflecting variable socio-economic conditions and/or municipal competence. There is an urgent need to deal with disparities of capacities between municipalities. For instance, more responsibilities could devolve where capacity exists while weaker municipalities focus only on core functions alongside capacity building (DPME, 2014:5; Nkhahle, 2015:65).

Within the framework of cooperative governance, national and provincial spheres of government support municipalities through, *inter alia*, the following capacity-building initiatives:

- a) A number of government initiatives and programmes focusing on advancing service delivery and institutional support to local government. These include the Planning and Implementation Management Support (PIMS) centres, the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP), the Urban and Regional Planning (URP) Presidential nodal programmes, the Old Mutual supported Ilima Project, the donor-supported Consolidated Municipal Transformation Programme (CMTP), and the Municipal Finance Improvement Programme (MFIP). These initiatives all focus on strengthening local governance through ensuring financial reforms (DPME, 2014:21; COGTA, 2012:32).
- b) In 2004, Project Consolidate was the first prominent public initiative launched to provide hands-on assistance to some 136 identified municipalities that could not provide essential services. Its implementation involved the appointment and deployment of experts, dubbed Service Delivery Facilitators (SDFs), that brought a range of skills, including managerial, technical and financial skills, to bear on local government (COGTA, 2012:13-14; Presidency, 2008:25).
- c) Several State Departments and entities and the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) jointly launched Siyenza Manje, “we do it now”, during the sustainability phase. This involved hiring retired individuals with skills to assist targeted municipalities; prized skills were those in engineering, project and financial management, as well as town planning. The first batch of about 67 retired experts, recruited between May and November 2006, provided both hands-on interventions and mentoring to young graduates. Estimates are that

Siyenza Manje spent some R933 million in the period 2006/7 to 2009/10 to build municipal capacity (DPME, 2014:21; Presidency, 2008:26).

- d) The then DPLG adopted a Five Year Local Government Strategic Agenda (2006 – 2011) to accelerate the work started by Project Consolidate. This strategic agenda focused on mainstreaming hands-on support to municipalities to improve municipal governance, performance and accountability (DPLG, 2008:7).
- e) The Local Government Turn-Around Strategy succeeded the Five Year Local Government Strategic Agenda. This strategic shift came about after a comprehensive assessment of the State of Local Government in 2008 had found that most of the municipalities were not adequately functional, accountable, responsive and efficient (COGTA, 2012:14-15). The Turn-Around Strategy identified role-players whose mobilisation would facilitate the realisation of functional, accountable, responsive, effective, and efficient developmental local government structures. To this end, five broad objectives were identified, namely to: (i) ensure that municipalities meet the basic service needs of communities, (ii) build clean, effective, efficient, responsive and accountable local government, (iii) improve performance and professionalism in municipalities, (iv) improve national and provincial policy, oversight and support, and (v) strengthen partnerships between local government, communities and civil society (COGTA, 2012:15).
- f) In 2012, the national Department of COGTA established the Municipal Infrastructure Support Agent (MISA) to assist municipalities in the delivery of services. This programme is one of the measures implemented by the Department to deal with the infrastructure challenges facing municipalities. MISA is a government component whose primary focus is the provision of technical support and the building of sustainable technical capacity within municipalities for better delivery and management of municipal infrastructure (COGTA, 2012:56). At the end of March 2013, MISA had deployed 68 technical consultants and 24 service providers to support 100 priority municipalities (Government Communication and Information System [GCIS], 2016:231).
- g) Recent demarcation proposals by the national Department of COGTA ahead of the 2016 elections formed part of the new policy agenda for local government

aimed at ensuring that municipalities serve the communities better. In September 2014, the entire local government sector came together at a Presidential Local Government Summit convened to take stock of the state of local government and to adopt the Back-to-Basics Strategy. This latest strategy is a plan of action to ensure that local government realises its constitutional mandate by putting people first, ensuring delivery of basic services, good governance, and sound financial management (COGTA, 2015:11).

All these interventions were supposed to provide multi-dimensional solutions to municipal capacity challenges in addition to enhancing local government performance. However, assessments reveal that South African municipalities still have a long way to go to reach the ideals envisaged by the 1996 Constitution. The 2014/15 financial year COGTA assessment of the state of local government found that while much was achieved over the 15-year existence of the local government system, some serious challenges persist. It grouped the country's municipalities into a top third, a middle third, as well as a bottom third, each level corresponding with how adequately the municipalities are performing their functions. The middle third were functional and their overall performance was average, while the bottom third were frankly dysfunctional and required significant work to get them to function properly. Among exacerbating factors, the assessment found endemic corruption, dysfunctional councils, poor service delivery records, absence of structured community engagement, and poor financial management (COGTA, 2014:5-6; 2015:9).

The inability of the municipalities to deliver services, to manage their institutions, and to engage in empowering public engagement with communities, have been publicly confirmed by the spate of community protests. The latter are a symptom of the alienation of citizens from local government, and a reflection of communities' frustration with municipal inefficiencies (COGTA, 2014:6-7; DPME, 2012:31). The Back-to-Basics intervention thus represents an effort to address the weaknesses diagnosed, with the intention to improve the performance of municipalities that are dysfunctional. The immediate goal is to provide hands-on support and any other necessary interventions to help migrate dysfunctional municipalities to better performing levels (COGTA, 2015:9).

The effective, efficient and economic functioning of a municipality depends on the capability and integrity of the local political leadership. Local government assessments so far reveal that party politics have contributed to the deterioration of municipal functionality in South Africa. Councillors stand accused of being unresponsive to the needs of their communities. The functionality and effectiveness of ward committees is a matter of serious concern. In fact, the ward committees system is grossly dysfunctional and poorly resourced (COGTA, 2009:10-13).

One of the basic principles governing municipal finances is the provision that local government should substantially raise its own financial resources. This is an important feature of any democratic local government system. However, the majority of South Africa's rural municipalities rely for more than 50% of their operational expenses on transfers from national government. This dependency syndrome is unsustainable. It is unlikely that such municipalities will become self-reliant. As if that were not bad enough, the Auditor-General keeps finding a number of weaknesses in the local government financial management; poor audit outcomes characterize the majority of municipalities (DPME, 2012:31; COGTA, 2009:8; Khumalo & Ncube, 2016:15).

Sizes of South Africa municipality must also be considered impediments to effective community participation, especially in rural areas. As a norm, rural hinterlands are deliberately paired with urban areas in order to ensure viability of resultant municipalities. However, rural areas tend to be very extensive, which means that people have to travel long distances to, for example, attend ward committee meetings. Furthermore, local political representatives tend to live in the cities. Self-evidently, citizen participation is weaker when local government structures are large and when access to local authorities through public meetings, elections or direct contact is difficult (de Visser, 2009:15; Mzakwe, 2016:5).

In addition to the abovementioned challenges, some municipalities have not advanced sufficiently to meet the expectations of developmental local government because of the failure of capacity-building initiatives. The latter, some argue, have lacked a structured and coherent approach to developing municipal capacity, and they have often fell into

the temptation of producing action shopping lists. Consequently, their overall impact is minimal because too much effort and energy gets expended far too broadly.

Another reason for the dismal performance of local government is the fact that all municipalities are treated equally. It is now recognised that municipalities have different capacities and their social and economic contexts vary. Turning local government around should thus be tailored to the different municipalities' unique contexts. That calls for coordination and alignment of interventions. Therefore, the success of local government depends on effective coordination between the three spheres of government. There should also exist a more dynamic and demand-driven relationship between decentralisation and capacity building (COGTA, 2012:41).

Local government capacity is a complicated issue and the proper way to improve it may not always be through increased training of municipal officials. In policy terms, local capacity building should actually precede decentralisation. If decentralisation is to work, local administrative capacity should be such that bureaucratic requirements imposed by the central government are appropriate for local government decision-makers. This also means that central government should have the capacity to manage local affairs. The design of intergovernmental relations should also provide guidelines, resources and incentives that would lead to strong local capacity (Olum, 2014:31).

#### **4.5 CONCLUSION**

Focusing squarely on the current legislative framework, their rationalisation in terms of numbers, as well as their performance and challenges, this chapter reflected on the journey travelled by South African municipalities since 2000. The chapter reviewed the pieces of local government legislation that facilitated the establishment of a non-racial democratic local government and a plethora of efforts to reverse the apartheid local government system marked by racial segregation and an uneven revenue base. Reversal of apartheid's legacies required among other things the revision of municipal demarcations across the entire country.

The raison d'etre of municipalities is to deliver basic services efficiently, have sustainable financial systems, and promote participatory governance. Notwithstanding the significant gains made over the past two decades, many challenges persist. Some municipalities are failing to manage resources efficiently, while others are unable to promote good governance. Unless municipalities are adequately supported and their performance monitored by the other two spheres of government, the local sphere of government is unlikely to meet the citizens' reasonable expectations. Having articulated the realities that form the backdrop of this study, the next chapter looks at the research methodology used in this research. It answers the question how did the research process go about establishing useful data on which to base the study's findings.

## **CHAPTER FIVE:** **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

The preceding chapters provided a theoretical framework within which an examination of the effect of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration may proceed. Such a foundation outlined important theoretical trajectories that require study methods that the current chapter must develop. The present chapter articulates the methodological and philosophical underpinnings of this research. A clear understanding of the underpinnings of any research is important; it represents the cornerstone on which sound theory transforms into practice, and practice illuminates theory (McGregor & Murnane, 2010:9). Table 5.1 depicts in summary form the factors that guided the overall research process, on which the rest of the chapter expands:

**Table 5.1: Summary of the overall research process**

<b>SECTION</b>	<b>DECISION</b>	<b>CHOICE</b>
5.2, 5.3, 5.4	Paradigm, method, approach	Pragmatism, mixed method, case study
5.5	Population and sampling	Purposeful and systematic random sampling
5.6	Data gathering instruments	Personal interviews, focus group, questionnaire, document analysis
5.7	Data analysis	Constant comparative and descriptive data analysis
5.8	Validity and reliability of the research	Internal and external validity measures
5.9	Measures to ensure trustworthiness	Punch's model for trustworthiness Scientific methodological principles
5.10	Limitations of the research	Case study approach leaves other cases unexplored Researcher could not control participants selection
5.11	Ethical considerations	University of South Africa (UNISA) Research Ethics Policy and international basic principles of ethical treatment of human subjects in research studies

## 5.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM

The entire “general organising framework for theory and research that includes basic assumptions, key issues and models of quality research as well as methods for seeking answers” make up a study’s research paradigm (Newman, 2014:96). Chilisa and Kawulich (2012:1-2) further describe a research paradigm as a worldview informed by philosophical assumptions about the following:

- The nature of social reality, also known as *ontology*. Here researchers take a position whether there is one verifiable reality or there exist multiple socially constructed realities.
- Ways of knowing, to which *epistemology* refers. The nature of knowledge and truth take centre stage as researchers explore how they know what they know.
- Ethics and value systems are referred to as *axiology*.
- *Methodology* concerns how a study is systematised; it explores applicable questions as well as appropriate approaches to systematic inquiry.

These paradigmatic aspects determine the assumptions and beliefs that frame a researcher’s assessment of a research problem, how a researcher goes about investigating it, and the methods chosen to answer the research questions (Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012:1-2). However, as Table 5.2 illustrates, each of these factors brings different academic disciplines to bear on research.

Of the four research frameworks outlined in Table 5.2, interpretative and positivism were for a long time the dominant research paradigms, but pragmatism is gaining popularity. There is consensus amongst researchers that factors such as the aims and research questions do influence the choice of one particular method or another. Nonetheless, other factors like sustaining personal interest and developing new knowledge in the scholar literature are just as important (Ihuah & Eaton, 2013:937).

**Table 5.2: Comparative summary of different frameworks**

FRAMEWORK	INTERPRETATIVE	POSITIVISM	PRAGMATISM	REALISM
Ontology	Things are socially constructed leading to subjective reasoning which may change with multiple realities	Researcher is external, objective and independent of that research	Researcher is external, multiple, and the view is that chosen to best answer the research questions	Researcher is objective and exists independently of human mind but interpreted out of social situation
Epistemology	Toward subjective meanings of social phenomena, looking at details and realities behind it with motivating actions	Things are observed to prove credibility to facts, focusing on causality and law generalisations thereby reducing phenomena to simplest elements	Either subjective or objective meanings can provide facts to a research question; focus on practical application to issues by merging views to help interpret data	Belief that observing an event proves credibility of facts; scarce data, facts creates imprecision and misinterpretations; focus only within context or contexts for explanations
Axiology	The research is value bound, the researcher is part of what is being studied and will be subjective	The research is value free, hence independent of the data and objective in the analysis of the data	Values play a vital role to interpret results using subjective and objective reasoning	The research is value laden, hence, the researcher is biased by world views, culture, values, experiences and will affect the results/research
Approach	Qualitative	Quantitative but can still use qualitative	Uses both qualitative and quantitative	Approach adopted depends on the research matter
Method	Mixed or multiple methods	Mono-method but can use mixed in certain cases	Mixed or multiple methods	Method to use is based on the research problem or situation

(Source: Ihuah & Eaton, 2013:938)

The research philosophy guiding this research is pragmatism. Two reasons rendered pragmatism most appealing. First, pragmatism has gained considerable support among mixed methods researchers. It is oriented towards solving practical problems in the real world rather than towards assumptions about the nature of knowledge (Tran, 2016:15). Secondly, because pragmatism is not a priori committed to any system of philosophy and reality, it allows researchers to ask questions that do not sit comfortably within an exclusively quantitative or qualitative approach (Ihuah & Eaton, 2013:941).

Pragmatic researchers utilise any accessible approach to understand the research problem instead of focusing on methods. One of the advantages of pragmatism is that researchers are free to choose the methods and procedures of research that best meet their needs and purposes. Thus, pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis (Cresswell, 2009:10-11).

According to Denscombe (2010:129), pragmatism tends to revolve around the following epistemological assumptions:

- There is no single approach to research.
- Knowledge is based on practical outcome and what works.
- Knowledge is provisional because what is understood as truth today may not be seen as such in the future.
- The traditional dualism between quantitative and qualitative research is not helpful, therefore, good research should focus on the possibilities of integrating the two rather than separating them.
- Research should test what works through actual enquiry.

While not blindly committed to any prior philosophical system, pragmatic researchers may not side step the need to engage with matters pertaining to philosophical assumptions (Denscombe, 2010:130). Pragmatism tends to bridge the divide between the quantitative and qualitative divide, hence it does not consider either of the two as adequate to solve any research problem (Plano-Clark & Ivankova, 2016:199). The ensuing sections will illustrate the practical implementation of the pragmatic approach.

### **5.3 MIXED METHODS DESIGN**

This research follows a mixed methods design in its attempt to examine the upshot of municipal boundary demarcations on service delivery and social integration within South African local municipalities. The preponderance of affected communities' objections to demarcations of municipal boundaries is this study's central problem. Reasons for such protestations are complex, necessitating more than one method of inquiry. Using either a quantitative or a qualitative design would have left many research questions inadequately answered if at all (*see supra* 1.5).

In social science research, the mixed method brings together the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The main difference between the three is the extent of flexibility permitted to a researcher in the research process. In the quantitative or structured approach of enquiry, everything that forms the research process, i.e. objectives, design, sampling and questions is pre-determined. By contrast, the qualitative or unstructured approach allows researchers ample flexibility in all the aspects of research process. The mixed methods approach has attributes from the aforementioned two approaches (Kumar, 2014:14).

That is to say, within a mixed methods design, some aspects will be rigid while others will retain elasticity. Further, mixed methods research is about more than merely collecting and analysing qualitative and quantitative data. More importantly, it involves the utilisation of both qualitative and quantitative approaches alongside each other to ensure that the strength of the research is greater than if either of the two approaches were pursued on its own (Cresswell, 2009:4). Table 5.3 encapsulates the relationship between quantitative and qualitative methods and the present study.

Therefore, the use of a questionnaire, personal interviews, and other data gathering instruments in this research was essential towards balancing the results of the research. As Gray (2014:196) points out: "The use of multiple methods ensures that the inherent bias of one measure is counterbalanced by the strength of the other. Hence, using multiple methods, the results converge or corroborate one another, strengthening the validity of the findings".

**Table 5.3: Differences between qualitative and quantitative designs**

CRITERIA	QUALITATIVE	QUANTITATIVE	RELEVANCE TO THIS RESEARCH
Purpose	Understand and interpret social interactions	Test hypotheses, look at cause and effect and make predictions	The purpose of this research is both explorative (qualitative) and hypothesis testing (quantitative)
Most common research objectives	Explore, discover and construct	Describe, explain and predict	The research fulfils both the qualitative and quantitative requirements which are to explore, discover, describe and predict
Group studied	Smaller and not randomly selected	Larger and randomly selected	Small samples of municipal representatives and MDB Large groups of households randomly sampled
Variables	Study of the whole, not variables	Specific variables studied	A mix of exploratory (qualitative) data gathering and specific variables reflected in the appended questionnaire
Types of data collected	Words, images, or objects	Numbers and statistics	Testing for differences in perceptions between municipalities
Form of data collected	Open-ended responses, interviews, observations, field notes, reflections	Precisely measured data using structured and validated data collection instruments	Interview data through individual face to face and focus group discussions as well as survey questionnaire data administered at face to face encounter
Type of data analysis	Identify patterns, features, themes	Identify statistical relationships	Text data (qualitative) analysed to identify themes; Quantitative data analysed at descriptive and inferential statistical levels
Final report	Narrative report with contextual description and direct quotations from research participants	Statistical report with correlations, comparisons of means and statistical significance of findings	Report is a mix of both narrative-rich text data and statistical data in the form of Person Chi-Squared tests

(Source: Mathipa, 2017:3-5)

Qualitative research's weaknesses include its inability to study relationships between variables. Further, it does not produce representative results, it is time consuming and its findings cannot be generalised. In contrast, quantitative research relies on numerical data collected through questionnaires to test the relationship between variables. This approach leans towards documenting subject attributes expressed in quantities. Unlike qualitative research, quantitative research, among other things, guarantees objectivity, accuracy, validity and reliability, representativeness and generalisation (Sarantakos, 2005:33,46,50; Maree, 2007:263).

Bringing together the best of quantitative and qualitative methods, three main types of mixed methods designs have emerged. They are (i) the concurrent embedded, (ii) the explanatory sequential, and (ii) the exploratory sequential. In the exploratory sequential design, qualitative data collection and analysis pave the way for the second phase of quantitative data collection and analysis that builds on the findings of the first phase. Phases are in reverse order in the explanatory sequential design where quantitative data collection and analysis precede the qualitative (Cresswell, 2009:211,214). Of the three types of mixed methods designs, this research adopted the concurrent embedded design because it allows for the concurrent collection of both quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide an overall composite assessment of the research problem (see Chapter 7).

#### **5.4 CASE STUDY METHOD**

Using a multiple embedded case study design, this study focused on examining the effect of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in the Collins Chabane LM and the JB Marks LM. A multiple embedded design, unlike single holistic designs requires multiple units of analysis. Here researchers select the design that provides them with the maximum instrumentality possible to answer their research questions, as well as to consider the advantages and disadvantages of each design and the certain pitfalls to be avoided while implementing them (Yazan, 2015:140).

An individual, a group, a community, an event or a subgroup of a population can make up a case for study. It is important to treat the research population considered a case study as one entity. The case being studied is regarded to be typical of cases of a certain type. As a result, and if effectively studied, a single case can provide inestimable insights into the situations that prevail within the larger group out of which the case was selected. Case studies are very useful strategies when exploring an area where little is known or where a holistic understanding of a phenomenon is desirable. As already observed in Chapter 1, much of the reviewed literature addressed the problem of this research in some or other way. The use of case study in the present research then tests the validity of claims about municipalities made in those earlier studies by applying them to selected cases (Kumar, 2014:155).

As entities without fixed ontological, epistemological or methodological positions, case studies' philosophical versatility provides the researcher with the opportunity to decide the methodological orientation used in the conduct of the case study. As a result, case study researches are either quantitatively or qualitatively oriented, while others encompass both qualitative and quantitative aims and methods. This philosophical position is an advantage as it enables the opportunity to design a research specifically tailored to the inherent complexity of the research problem (Harrison, Birks, Franklin & Mills, 2017:5). However, because of a lack of a specific inherent design, case study research is subject to criticism on the ground that it is more difficult and often impossible to generalise its results (Yazan, 2015:140).

## **5.5. POPULATION AND SAMPLING**

The target population of this research consisted of three different groups, namely:

- a) Residents (household representatives) from the two local municipalities.
- b) Officials from the Collins Chabane and the JB Marks local municipalities.
- c) Officials from the Vhembe DM responsible for providing support to the newly established Collins Chabane LM.
- d) Officials from the MDB.

Two types of sampling methods applied in this research, namely, purposeful sampling method and systematic random sampling method. A sample is “a small set of cases a researcher selects from a large pool and generalises to the population” (Neuman, 2014:246). Sampling methods that researchers differ depending on the nature and goals of a research. However, the goal is constant, i.e. to create a representative small collection of cases or units that closely represents features of interest within a larger collection of cases, called the population (Neuman, 2014:247).

A sampling method should be appropriate for a specific research’s purpose (Teddlie & Yu, 2007:77; Neuman, 2014:277). Purposeful sampling method applies in the selection of municipal and MDB officials because only certain individuals possess knowledge and experience that qualify them to answer the research’s pointed questions. In any community, certain important information is obtainable only from a select group of aptly placed individuals. This research thus targeted specific people who have knowledge of the topic under investigation, and whose involvement enhances the quality and legitimacy of the research data.

With regard to municipal officials, the initial intention was that the size of the sample was to remain open until data saturation is reached or to a minimum of four officials. Targeted officials included the Municipal Manager, the Director responsible for Planning, the Director responsible for Infrastructure and Services, the Director responsible for Social Development in each of the two municipalities of interest.

The method of sampling used for the selection of household representatives was systematic random sampling. This method involves randomly selecting a relatively large number of units from a population such that the probability of inclusion for every member of the population is determinable. The aim is to achieve representativeness, which is the degree to which the sample accurately reflects the entire population (Teddlie & Yu, 2007:77). The total number of households in Collins Chabane LM and JB Marks LM stand at 91 936 and 80 572 respectively (Collins Chabane LM, 2017:32; JB Marks LM, 2017a:49). This study targeted 100 households within each of the two local municipalities, i.e. 200 households in total.

A major principle of sample size is that the smaller the population, the larger the sampling ratio has to be for a sample that has a high probability of yielding the same results as the entire population. Larger populations permit smaller sampling ratios for equally good samples because as the population size grows the returns in accuracy for sample size decrease. In practical terms, this means that for small populations under 500, a large sampling ratio of about 30% or 150 people is required, while for large populations of over 150,000, good accuracy can be obtained equally with a smaller sampling ratio of 1% or a sample of about 1,500 (Neuman, 2014:269-270).

## **5.6 DATA GATHERING INSTRUMENTS**

Because of the adoption of a mixed methods research design, four data gathering instruments were utilised. They are a questionnaire, guided interviews, focus group discussion, as well as document analysis to enhance the quality of the data. Data collection via these instruments proceeded simultaneously. The use of multiple methods to collect and analyse data is encouraged and found to be mutually informative in case study research where data multiplicity is believed to provide a more comprehensive view (Harrison *et al*, 2017:8).

### **5.6.1 Questionnaire**

A questionnaire assists the gathering of information around backgrounds, behaviours, beliefs or attitudes of a large number of people. Unlike with experiments, researchers do not manipulate the situation to see how people react; they simply accept participants' answers as given. Subjects all receive the same set of questions in the same way; researchers carefully record answers for later analysis. Where samples are representative, answers supplied then form a legitimate basis for researchers' generalisations (Neuman, 2014:49).

While interviews often gather more in-depth insights on participant attitudes, thoughts and actions, they are not feasible when research involves large numbers of people. Well-constructed questionnaires collect useful comparable data, while poorly constructed questionnaires can be a hindrance to the research (May, 2001:99).

### **5.6.1.1      *Development and piloting of questionnaire***

Pretesting methods such as piloting and expert reviews featured during the development of the questionnaire. In addition, some of the Likert Scale statements in the questionnaire were familiar to participants from Statistics South Africa surveys that aim to gauge peoples' perceptions on the role of local government in the provision of basic services and the promotion of social and economic development.

Piloting is a very crucial part of the development of a research instrument. This process involves testing research instruments like a questionnaire or an interview guide on a small sample of population similar to the targeted population by the research. Among other things, pretesting can also uncover problems that may affect the research process. It is also good in terms of training a researcher in the research process. Specifically, pretesting a newly developed questionnaire also serves to ensure that it measures what it ought to measure (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001:1-2).

The following procedures develop a questionnaire's internal validity:

- a) Administer the questionnaire to pilot participants in exactly the same way as will be the case during the main research.
- b) Ask the participants for feedback to identify ambiguities and difficult questions.
- c) Record the time taken to complete the questionnaire and decide whether it is reasonable.
- d) Discard all unnecessary, difficult or ambiguous questions.
- e) Assess whether each question allows for an adequate range of responses.
- f) Establish that replies can be interpreted in terms of the information that is required.
- g) Check that all questions are answered.
- h) Re-word or re-scale any questions that are not answered as expected.
- i) Shorten, revise and, if possible, pilot again (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001:3).

Other traditional methods of pretesting involve informal testing through mock interviews with colleagues or by interviewing oneself and trying to answer each question. It is also good practice for persons with extensive knowledge and experience in the field to go through the draft questionnaire. Such experts may be consulted individually or in a group. Among things to look out for in a draft questionnaire double-barrelled questions, negative questions, and long questions. Question critique also involves assessing the flow of the questionnaire to ensure that the question order make sense (Chaudhary & Israel, 2014:2).

a) *Questionnaire piloting in this research*

The questionnaire used in this research was piloted in the township of Refilwe in the City of Tshwane metropolitan Municipality on 10 households' representatives. Refilwe was incorporated into the City of Tshwane in 2011 along with the Nokeng tsa Taemane LM under which it fell. Refilwe now makes up the largest part of Region 5 of Tshwane (City of Tshwane, 2017:Online). This region has the largest geographical area but the smallest population. Its spatial fabric ranges from urban areas such as Rayton, Cullinan, Refilwe, Sable Hills, and Pebble Rock, to rural residential areas such as Roodeplaat and Onverwacht. Unemployment is relatively high and a third of dwelling units in the region are informal (City of Tshwane, 2017:Online).

Following the pilot, the following changes were made to the questionnaire in line with received recommendations:

### ***Section 1: Demographics***

It emerged that 99% of the residents in the pilot study were born in the area and staying in the area for more than 10 years. The Born in the Area column was then added in order to reflect residents' psychological and cultural attachment to the municipal area.

**Table 5.4: Number of years living in the settlement**

< 1 YEAR	1-5 YEARS	6-9 YEARS	>10 YEARS	BORN IN THE AREA
1	2	3	4	5

## **Section 2: The Provision of Municipal Services to Households**

**Table 5.5: What do you think are the main important functions of each sphere of government?**

NATIONAL	PROVINCIAL	LOCAL/MUNICIPALITY
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....

The above table, which was initially part of the questionnaire, had to be removed after it took participants some time and the difficulty to answer the question. What is more, those that answered the question could scarcely distinguish which sphere of government is responsible for which functions.

## **Section 3: Social Integration and Feeling of Attachment to the Municipality**

During piloting, statements such as “I know who my Mayor is”, “I know who my ward councillor is”, and “I know who my Municipal Manager is” yielded more than one answer. These statements were then rephrased to read as follows:

**Table 5.6: Knowledge of the municipal leadership and their coexistence with one another irrespective of their ethnicity**

What is your knowledge of the municipal mayor?	Yes	No
I know the name of the Municipal Mayor	1	2
I have met the Municipal Mayor	1	2
What is your knowledge of the ward councillor?	Yes	No
I know the name of my ward councillor	1	2
I have met my ward councillor	1	2
What is your knowledge of the Municipal Manager?	Yes	No
I know the name of the Municipal Manager	1	2
I have met the Municipal Manager	1	2

Also, it took 25 to 30 minutes for the participants to complete the questionnaire.

*b) Expert reviews*

Aside from household representatives, three experts in the South African local government sector also reviewed the draft questionnaire. Their recommendations vis-à-vis the questionnaire included changes to the format of some questions around community interactions with municipal officials and ward councillors, as well as their attendance of ward committee meetings. Further, they recommended a suite of questions to probe comparative deprivation and social exclusion. Individuals' lack of means to sustain themselves takes many forms in every society. They can feel deprived when they lack the types of food, housing, educational, working and social conditions to which they believe themselves to be entitled. Comparative deprivation in this context refers to the discontent that individuals feel when they unfavourably compare their living conditions to those of others (Townsend, 1979:413).

*c) Inclusion of popular Likert Scale statements*

Some Likert Scale questions are standard in surveys that aim to gauge communities' perceptions on the role of local government in the delivery of basic services and socio economic development. For instance, Statistics South Africa conducts a General Household Survey annually to measure multiple facets of the living conditions of South African households, as well as the quality of service delivery in a number of key service sectors such as education, health and social development, housing and household access to services. The Community Survey on the other hand is a large-scale household survey conducted by Statistics South Africa to bridge the gap between censuses. The purpose is to collect information on the trends and levels of demographic and socio-economic data, the extent of poor households, access to facilities and services, and levels of employment or unemployment within communities. It made sense, therefore, to include these established instruments in the questionnaire administered for this study.

Other predecessors from which the final questionnaire benefited included Australia's social research into community attitudes towards local government amalgamations. It

covers a range of local government matters, including what Australian communities value about where they live, how they want to engage in decision-making, their service delivery preferences, what role they would like to see local government playing, and what they think about local government amalgamations (Ryan, Hastings, Woods, Lawrie & Grant, 2015:9).

#### **5.6.1.2      *Questionnaire administration***

In total, 200 questionnaires were administered to household representatives face to face. The questionnaire comprised five sections (see *Annexure 12*):

- a) Section 1 detailed the participants' demographics, viz., municipal and village name, gender, age, highest educational qualification and settlement type.
- b) Section 2 covered questions related to the provision of municipal services such as water, energy, sanitation, and refuse removal to households.
- c) Section 3 sought information relating to matters of social integration, including whether people felt a sense of attachment to their local municipality.
- d) Section 4 focused on the extent and nature of communities' involvement in the municipal demarcation processes and in the municipal demarcation protests.
- e) Section 5 attempted to find out how the participants compared developmental progress in their areas with that of their neighbouring areas nearby since 1994. This was to measure their comparative deprivation and feeling of social inclusion.

With the exception of a few follow-up open-ended questions, the questionnaire mainly consisted of closed-ended questions. Likert Scale statements, Yes or No type questions, as well as number type questions required participants to tick the number next to the correct answers. The main reason for including demographic questions was to find out who the research participants were, in order to be able to test differences in perceptions and opinions between participants with different demographics. For instance, it would be interesting to determine whether different ethnic groups have different perceptions about their service delivery experience and their interaction with each other. Every section of the questionnaire is important in relation to the objectives

of this research study, especially whether independent variables as where one lives really determine citizens' perceptions and opinions about their lives.

### **5.6.2 Personal interviews**

Unlike household representatives who filled out questionnaires, municipal officials were subjected to semi-structured interviews. Face-to-face interviews with municipal officials who were knowledgeable on matters of the provision of basic service and social development in their respective municipalities were recorded. The initial intention was for the size of the sample to remain open until data saturation or to a minimum of four officials per municipality. Unfortunately, only two officials, one from the Collins Chabane LM and one from the Vhembe DM, were interviewed in the end. It was also impossible to secure personal interviews with officials from the JB Marks LM. Realised interviews ranged between 30 and 45 minutes in duration.

Interviews are popular instruments within the social sciences in relation to gathering data from human subjects. Interviewing is essentially a person-to-person interaction either face-to-face or otherwise between two or more people with a specific purpose in mind (Kumar, 2014:176). There is, however, a variety of interviewing techniques, some more formal and highly structured than others. In general, researchers recognise structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews.

Structured interviews follow a set of specific questions. Unstructured interview do not follow any pre-determined pattern of questions or themes; the researcher literally plays it by ear until s/he has exhausted the issues of interest. Most researchers prefer semi-structured interviews, which follow a framework in order to address key themes rather than specific questions. The technique allows a certain degree of flexibility for the researcher to probe for responses that are more detailed and to engage the answers of the interviewee thereby developing thematic foci (MacDonald & Headlam, 2009:39-40). Furthermore, interviews work best where the participants enjoy talking about their work, communities and feelings as opposed to filling out questionnaires (Gray, 2014:382,383).

Criticisms levelled at interviewing include the reality that this method is time-consuming and expensive, especially where potential participants are scattered over a wide

geographical area. Moreover, the quality of data is tied to the quality of the interaction between interviewer and interviewee (Kumar, 2014:182-183). As a result, the quality of answers obtained from different interviewees may also vary significantly subject to factors such as rapport, time of day, interview venue, and so forth.

### **5.6.3 Focus group**

A focus group discussion took place with five MDB officials who are knowledgeable about and responsible for delimitations and determinations of the country's municipalities. The focus group discussion was voice recorded, and notes were also taken to ensure that aspects not verbally articulated are not easily omitted in the data gathering exercise. Note taking is imperative, and the interviewer should not lose something of significance because of researcher's inability to balance involvement in the discussion with scribal duties (Kumar, 2014:194).

Focus groups, also known as discussion groups, normally consist of a number of individuals invited to discuss their views on a particular topic. They typically involve between 6 and 12 people. The aim is to get a group perspective on a subject. Members of the group ought to have some common understanding or familiarity with situation explored. This method applies when rich, in-depth data from a number of people is required. One of the method's principal advantages is that being part of a group often creates a more relaxed atmosphere than does a one-to-one interview. Moreover, discussion groups provide in-depth information from a number of individuals simultaneously, rendering it a time saving method of gathering data (Kumar, 2014:182-183; MacDonald & Headlam, 2009: 43).

### **5.6.4 Document analysis**

The research's secondary data came from the following documents:

- a) Municipal official documents, such as the IDPs.
- b) Reports of the legal proceedings involving court cases by residents who opposed the MDB's decision to incorporate their areas into new local municipalities.
- c) Formal investigation reports that were requested and obtained from the MDB.

Secondary data analysis refers to the collection and review of existing information, which in the present instance included government publications such as census and official statistics. Research studies conducted by the private sector, legal documents, and reports published in newspapers, magazines and on the internet are reasonable sources of information. This sort of information can provide a starting point for an analysis in terms of background knowledge and understanding. Moreover, the analysis of documents contributes to the discussion of the empirical findings, and it is a good source of commentary throughout the research (MacDonald & Headlam, 2009:20; Kumar, 2014:196-197).

## **5.7 DATA ANALYSIS**

There are two main types of primary data collected in this research, namely, survey data collected through the questionnaire, and qualitative data collected through interviews. The secondary, equally important source of data, involved the analysis of official municipal documents as well as scholarly and popular publications around the subject of this research.

Qualitative data was transcribed and analysed through an approach called constant comparative analysis. This widely used approach involves comparing different pieces of data and looking at what the participants talk about the most, i.e. emerging themes and their possible relations. In order to make sense of the data collected, constant comparison steps must include:

- Read through documents e.g. field notes.
- Look for indicators of categories in observed events and behaviour; name and code them on source documents.
- Compare codes to find consistencies and differences.
- Consistencies between codes are similar meanings or pointing to a basic idea.
- Draft memo on the comparisons and emerging categories.
- Category saturates when no new codes related to it are formed.
- Certain categories appear more central than others (Ratcliff, n.d.:Online).

Data reduction, data display and data verification are three other concurrent ways of constant comparative analysing qualitative data. The process of data reduction, which uses coding, clustering and summarising, provides the first step to simplification. Then follows the arranging of compacted data into diagrams and tables, thus displaying the data in a way that enables researchers to explore relationships as well as gauge the relative significances of the different factors (Walliman, 2011:132).

Quantitative data were processed through the user-friendly statistical analysis computer package called Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). SPSS is a comprehensive statistical package for the analysis of quantitative data. Its general features include the ability to read and analyse complex file and record structures such as hierarchical files. Use of this package enables the presentation of findings in tables, graphs and charts. The main functions of SPSS include data transformation, data examination, reliability tests, correlation, cluster analysis, t-tests, and contingency tables (Punch, 2005:281).

Once captured, quantitate data are then analysed at two statistical levels, namely, the descriptive analysis and the inferential statistical analysis.

Descriptive statistical analysis is a method of reducing data into numbers for purposes of organising and summarising data into meanings (Maree, 2013:189). SPSS frequencies generate Descriptive data in a language (i.e. Mean, Mode, Median and Standard Deviations) that permits the researcher to see overall research trends in relation to categories like the number of the participants by municipality, by gender, and by household type, and so forth.

Inferential statistical analysis is handy for generalisation purposes. Inferential statistics are computed for the purpose of hypothesis testing and generalisation. Such computations can include but are not limited to hypothesis tests (Chi-Squared Tests[X<sup>2</sup>], Analysis of Variance [ANOVA]) correlations, factor analysis, and regression (Babbie, 1995:414). For purposes of this research, only hypothesis testing, that is, Pearson X<sup>2</sup> was computed specifically to test if there are any significant differences in perceptions between participants from the two case studies.

Analysis of secondary sources aims at looking for patterns or trends across the results to track progressions through time or to seek out repetition of certain results to build up a strong case. Methods of analysing secondary data are no different from those used for primary data. However, three methods are particularly suitable for secondary sources. These are content analysis, data mining, and meta-analysis (Walliman, 2011:85-86).

Content analysis is an established quantitative form of analysis that consists of an examination of what can be counted within a text of any form. This type of analysis is suitable for this research. Data mining involves extracting meaningful information from the huge databases generated by electronic and other methods in modern businesses. It is often the starting point in decision-based research. Meta-analysis consists of analysing the results of several previous researches. It is an analysis of a collection of analyses, hence 'meta'-analysis (Neuman, 2014:49; Walliman, 2011:89-90).

## **5.8 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE RESEARCH**

Following the steps enumerated below increased the scale reliability and validity of the main quantitative data collection instrument, viz., the questionnaire:

- a) Piloting of the questionnaire on a limited number of the participants similar to the research's target population.
- b) Review of the questionnaire by experts in the field.
- c) Modifying the questionnaire by incorporating recommendations from experts.
- d) Collecting and analysing data according to scientific methodological principles.
- e) Conducting statistical tests for reliability and validity on the identified scales to validate the results.

In quantitative research, the concept of validity refers to the ability of a research instrument to measure what it is there to measure. Two types of validity are distinguished, namely, internal validity and external validity. Internal validity means the researcher has not made errors intrinsic to the design of a research project that might

produce false conclusions. External validity is the extent to which the research findings can be generalised. Generalisations require the application of a random sampling method (Walliman, 2011:104; Newman, 2014:221).

Reliability denotes the consistency of research findings when the same instrument is used repeatedly. An instrument is reliable if its keeps producing similar results when administered under similar conditions to a similar population (Kumar, 2014:218,220).

## **5.9 MEASURES TO ENSURE TRUSTWORTHINESS**

For the qualitative part of this research, a model to ascertain the trustworthiness of the findings ensured that the data collection instrument consistently and accurately measured what it was supposed to measure.

The four aspects of the model are reflected below (Punch, 2005:95-97):

- a) Credibility: the researcher's ability to execute the research without prejudicing results;
- b) Dependency: the inquiry's replicability in similar context;
- c) Transferability: the extent to which the findings can be applied to another similar situation; and
- d) Confirmability: the degree to which results are solely dependent on the conditions of the research and are not subject to bias.

## **5.10 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH**

Matters surrounding municipal boundary demarcations in South Africa are convoluted. As previously noted, this research was confined to two case studies only, leaving all other cases unexplored (see *supra* map 1.1). Another limitation is that the selection of the participants for both personal interviews and the focus group discussion could not be control. All interviewees in this research were selected exclusively by their own entities. The initial plan was to keep the size of the sample open until data saturation is reached or at least a minimum of four officials per municipality have participated also was not realised.

## **5.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Social scientists have an ethical obligation to their colleagues, their research population, as well as to the larger society because they deal with fellow human beings. Thus, it is imperative that researchers ensure the rights, privacy and welfare of the people that form part of their studies (Berg, 2004:43). A couple of measures ensured that this research proceeded in an ethical manner.

First, the research adhered to the ethical principles stipulated in the UNISA Research Ethics Policy of 2012. These necessitated, among other things, getting ethical approval from the Ethics Review Committee of UNISA's Department of Public Administration and Management, presentation of the participation information to each participant prior to their interview and/or the administration of questionnaires, obtaining permission in writing from relevant authorities implicated in the research, and attaching the statistician's confidentiality agreement (see Annexure 7).

One of the major ethical issues that students frequently overlook is gatekeeping. Written permission is essential in cases where the person who gave the oral permission had not passed the request on to those responsible for security or the researcher' liaisons suddenly left the organisation (Polonsky & Waller, 2005:Online).

Second, this research considered internationally agreed upon principles of ethical treatment of human participants underlying all medical and behavioural research, namely, respect for persons, beneficence, and justice. All other ethical guidelines flow from these three principles (Bordens & Abbott, 2011:202,220):

a) *Respect for persons*

The main component of this principle is that research participants must be treated as autonomous individuals capable of making their own choices. In practical terms, this principle requires that research participants participate voluntarily and be fully informed of all aspects of the research (Bordens & Abbott, 2011:202). Since the participants are assisting the researcher, they should be invited to participate with a clear understanding that they are under no obligation

to do so and that there will be no negative consequences to them if they do not assist the researcher (Polonsky & Waller, 2005:Online).

In this research, consent was sought in writing to ensure that potential participants fully understand what they are being asked to do and that they are informed of the purpose of the research. Measures to ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity applied by removing personal and organisational identifiers from transcripts of the audio-recorded information, from the data collection techniques, and from the final research report (Polonsky & Waller, 2005:Online).

*b) Beneficence*

Beneficence has two components, i.e. to do no harm to the participants and to maximise benefits while minimising harm (Bordens & Abbott, 2011:203). There is potential harm (physical, psychological, emotional) in any research, from which it is incumbent on the researcher to protect the well-being of the participants. In this research, measures were taken to ensure that no persons were harmed physically or mentally as a results of their involvement. In addition, the Department of Public Administration and Management's Ethics Review Committee classified this research as of low risk category. Low risk research applies when the only foreseeable risk is one of potential discomfort to the participants.

*c) Justice*

The participants in this research were selected for reasons related to the research problem under examination. The principle of justice refers to fair and scientific selection of research participants. Researchers may not select participants simply because they are readily available, easy to manipulate, or are likely to have difficulty refusing to participate in the research. The principle of justice also requires that the burdens and benefits of research be equally distributed among all concerned. For that reason, research should be carried out

for the benefit of society, and with the motive of maximising public interest (Bordens & Abbott, 2011:203; UNISA Council, 2016:11).

## **5.12 CONCLUSION**

This chapter detailed the path that this research followed from beginning to end. Guidance for the journey came via an underlying research philosophy called pragmatism. The mixed methods approach adopted by this research is in keeping with a pragmatic outlook, which seeks to appropriate the best qualities of all pertinent approaches, while skirting as much as possible their shortcomings. The chapter outlined an overview of a case study research method, which was the most appropriate strategy of inquiry to adopt in this research. The latter sections of the chapter explained matters on population and sampling, data gathering instruments, data analysis, data credibility, limitation of the research and research ethics. The chapter that follows presents and discusses the research's actual empirical findings from the two case studies regarding the effect of municipal boundary demarcations on service delivery and social integration.

## **CHAPTER SIX:**

### **PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS**

#### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

The previous chapter sought to outline the research steps followed in conducting this research. This chapter presents and discusses the empirical findings ensuing from the research exercise itself. In keeping with a mixed methods approach, data were gathered through the administration of a survey questionnaire, individual and focus group interviews, in addition to document analysis. Data of special interest to this study relates to two case study sites, namely, the Collins Chabane LM in the Limpopo Province as well as the JB Marks LM in the North West Province.

The presentation of both quantitative and qualitative findings in this chapter follows the research objectives. With the latter in mind, the survey questionnaire included statements and questions on different levels of access to these services and their affordability. A questionnaire tested household perceptions of the role of local government and household satisfaction with the provision of municipal services, along with households awareness of the MDB's existence and responsibilities, as well as the extent of households own participation in the demarcation processes and/or protests.

Also of interest was the level of social integration of diverse communities in the municipal jurisdictions. Questions directed to municipal leaders covered issues related to their capacity to provide services to their residents and other opportunities in their municipal geographical area of responsibility. The MDB's focus group discussion covered aspects of the legal processes for determining and redetermining municipal boundaries along with the criteria that apply. Statistics South Africa reports, municipal official documents, the MDB investigation reports, and demarcation court judgements all contributed immensely towards the enrichment of the study's primary data. In addition to the foregoing, the existing theoretical body of knowledge presented in the preceding chapters also played its role of helping to keep present findings honest.

Current research findings stretch through this chapter's six sections. Section 6.2 summarises the demographic profiles of the participants/households. Section 6.3 tackles the provision of municipal services and how new boundaries affect service delivery. Social integration and the feeling of attachment to the municipality are the subject of Section 6.4, while Section 6.5 looks into the involvement of communities in the municipal demarcation processes and in the municipal demarcation protests. In their turn, Sections 6.6 and 6.7 report respectively on comparative deprivation and the feeling of social exclusion, and concerns regarding changes of municipal boundaries.

## **6.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS (HOUSEHOLDS)**

Participants' demographic profile section in the questionnaire sought to capture, amongst other things, their municipal area and the type of settlement in which they resided, home language, highest educational qualifications, and employment type where applicable. Table 6.1 depicts the number of the participants per case study.

**Table 6.1: Participation rate per local municipality**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>	<b>Valid Percent</b>
Collins Chabane	100	50.0	50.0
JB Marks	100	50.0	50.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

A total number of 200 households participated in the survey. Of the total number, 100 (50%) were from the Collins Chabane LM which was established after the protracted infamous Malamulele demarcation protests. The other half, 100 households, came from the JB Marks LM, which resulted from the amalgamation of the former Tlokwe and Ventersdorp municipalities. In the preceding years, the Tlokwe LM had experienced some serious political and administration challenges that resulted in municipal governance changing hands between the majority party, the African National Congress (ANC), and the official opposition, the DA.

**Table 6.2: Participants' settlement type**

		RURAL N (%)	TOWNSHIP N (%)	INFORMAL N (%)	TOTAL N (% TOTAL)
Collins Chabane LMcal	1. Hamasia	10 (100)	-	-	10 (5)
	2. Ramukhuba	10 (100)	-	-	10 (5)
	3. Tshino	10 (100)	-	-	10 (5)
	4. Hamashau Mukhoro	11 (100)	-	-	11 (5.5)
	5. Hamashau Misevhe B	9 (100)	-	-	9 (4.5)
	6. Basani	10 (100)	-	-	10 (5)
	7. Xigalo	10 (100)	-	-	10 (5)
	8. Hatshikonelo	15 (100)	-	-	15 (7.5)
	9. Malamulele	-	10 (100)	-	10 (5)
	10. Mukhoni	5 (100)	-	-	5 (2.5)
JB Marks LM	11. Tshing	-	15 (71.4)	6 (28.6)	21 (10.5)
	12. Toevlug	-	6 (60)	4 (40)	10 (5)
	13. Boikhutso	8 (100)	-	-	8 (4)
	14. Ikageng	-	27 (84.4)	5 (15.6)	32 (16)
	15. Tsetse	6 (100)	-	-	6 (3)
	16. Promosa	-	14 (100)	-	14 (7)
	17. Sonderwater	-	3 (33.3)	6 (66.7)	9 (4.5)
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>104 (52)</b>	<b>75 (37.5)</b>	<b>21 (10.5)</b>	<b>200 (100)</b>

A total of 17 villages and townships participated in this research. Ten belonged to the Collins Chabane LM, and seven to JB Marks LM. There was an even spread in the number of the participants from the Collins Chabane LM with an average of five per village. Respectively, 5% each came from the villages of Hamasia, Ramukhuba, Tshino, Basani, Tshigalo and Malamulele. The remainder spread out as follows: Hamashau-Mukhoro (5.5%), Hamashau-Misebe B (4.5%), Hatshikonelo (7.5%), and Mukhoni (2.5%). Higher concentrations of participants from the JB Marks LM came from the three townships of Ikageng (16%), Tshing (10.5%), and Promosa (7%). The remainder

of the participants spread out as follows: Toevlung (5%), Boikhutso (4%), Tsetse (3%), and Sonderwater (4.5%).

Of the three different types of human settlement that characterise the South African landscape, the majority of participants were residing in the rural areas (52%), followed by those residing in townships (37.5%). The proportion of participants living in the informal settlements was 10.5%. Statistics South Africa (2016b:159) observed South Africa's distribution of households by type of dwelling in 2016 to be 79% formal, 7% rural or traditional, and 13% informal.

Informal settlements are unplanned settlements on land that has been neither surveyed nor proclaimed as residential. These informal dwellings are also referred to as squatter settlements, slums or shantytowns. There is a widespread lack of adequate housing in South Africa, especially amongst the poor. Several reports (JB Marks LM, 2017a:38; COGTA, 2013:5), unhappiness about the provision of housing and other services such as electricity, water, sanitation, refuse removal, and roads were identified as the main drivers of service delivery protests.

**Table 6.3: Number of years living in the settlement**

	<b>&lt; 1 year N (%)</b>	<b>1-5 years N (%)</b>	<b>6-9 years N (%)</b>	<b>&gt; 10 years N (%)</b>	<b>Born in the area N (%)</b>	<b>TOTAL N (%)</b>
Collins Chabane	1 (0.5)	6 (3.0)	3 (1.5)	23 (11.5)	67 (33.5)	<b>100 (50.0)</b>
J B Marks	1 (0.5)	10 (5.0)	4 (2.0)	46 (23.0)	39 (19.5)	<b>100 (50.0)</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2 (1.0)</b>	<b>16 (8.0)</b>	<b>7 (3.5)</b>	<b>69 (34.5)</b>	<b>106 (53.0)</b>	<b>200 (100.0)</b>

More than half (53%) of the participants were born in their current settlement area. Those participants who had been living in their current area for 10 years and longer represented 34.5%, while only 1% of the participants had just moved into their present settlement area. A cross-tabulation of the participants' number of years living in the settlement and other variables such as access to municipal services and the feeling of attachment to a municipal area, undertaken later in the analysis, reveals interesting relations between these factors.

**Table 6.4: Participants' home language**

LM	Afri-kaans	Southern Sotho	Tsonga	Tswana	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu	Shona	Total
Collins Chabane	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	39 19.5%	0 0.0%	60 30.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 0.5%	100 50.0%
J B Marks	21 10.5%	6 3.0%	0 0.0%	63 31.5%	0 0.0%	9 4.5%	1 0.5%	0 0.0%	100 50.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>21 10.5%</b>	<b>6 3.0%</b>	<b>39 19.5%</b>	<b>63 31.5%</b>	<b>60 30.0%</b>	<b>9 4.5%</b>	<b>1 0.5%</b>	<b>1 0.5%</b>	<b>200 100.0%</b>

As reflected in Table 6.4, Tswana (31.5%) and Venda (30%) registered the first and second highest proportions of the participants followed by Tsonga (19.5%) and Afrikaans (10.5%). A majority of Afrikaans mother tongue speakers in South Africa are Coloureds according to the population groups specified in the census. The rest of the language distribution went to Xhosa at 4.5%, Southern Sotho at 3%, with Zulu and Shona at 0.5% each. Home language information is relevant since the research addresses the question of tribal affinities associated with demarcation. A later section tests, with interesting outcomes, the relationship between home language, participants' experiences of municipal service delivery, and their feeling of attachment to their municipal area.

**Table 6.5: Participants' highest qualification**

	No formal education	Primary School	Secondary School	Matric certificate	Post matric certificate	Post matric diploma	Degree	TOTAL
Collins Chabane	8 4.0%	16 8.0%	43 21.5%	12 6.0%	5 2.5%	9 4.5%	7 3.5%	<b>100 50.0%</b>
JB Marks	3 1.5%	19 9.5%	56 28.0%	16 8.0%	0 0.0%	3 1.5%	3 1.5%	<b>100 50.0%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11 5.5%</b>	<b>35 17.5%</b>	<b>99 49.5%</b>	<b>28 14.0%</b>	<b>5 2.5%</b>	<b>12 6.0%</b>	<b>10 5.0%</b>	<b>200 100.0%</b>

School attendance is a key indicator of human development in South Africa. The research found that nearly half of the participants (49.5%) had secondary school education. About 14% of participants held matric certificates, while 17.5% had only primary education, and 5.5% had no formal education. In addition to the 6% who had post matric certificates, there were 5% with degrees. Collins Chabane LM had a higher number of the participants with no formal education; however, their number of those with post matric qualifications was higher than in JB Marks LM. According to the IDP of the Collins Chabane LM, the municipality has a high level of illiteracy, however, people with undergraduate and postgraduate qualifications is more than 5000 (Collins Chabane LM, 2017:31).

Nationally, the proportion among South Africans of 20 years and older who attained matric certificate as their highest level of education increased from 21.9% in 2002 to 28.0% in 2015. The proportion of those with tertiary qualifications improved from 9.3% to 14.1% over the same period (Statistics South Africa, 2016c:2).

**Table 6.6: Participants' employment type**

	<b>Permanent employment</b>	<b>Temporary employment</b>	<b>Unemployed</b>	<b>Self employed</b>	<b>Pensioner</b>	<b>Total</b>
Collins Chabane	10 5.0%	11 5.5%	60 30.2%	4 2.0%	14 7.0%	99 49.7%
JB Marks	12 6.0%	13 6.5%	59 29.6%	2 1.0%	14 7.0%	100 50.3%

About 10% of the participants in Collins Chabane LM and 12% in JB Marks LM were permanently employed. This was in stark contrast to the 60% of those who were unemployed in both case studies. This high unemployment rate accurately reflected South Africa's reality, with national unemployment levels currently at 26.7% (Statistics South Africa, 2018:1). Employment level is an indicator of a municipality's capacity to improve its financial viability. The employment rate in the Vhembe DM is amongst the lowest in the country and, more disturbing, are the high levels of youth unemployment, which stand at 51% (MDB, 2015c:16). By contrast, the JB Marks LM has an unemployment rate of 21%, which is below the national average. The LM's main

economic sectors includes agriculture, which is one of the main contributors of the economy of the municipality (MDB, 2015d:9).

## **6.3 THE PROVISION OF MUNICIPAL SERVICES AND EFFECT OF NEW BOUNDARIES ON SERVICE DELIVERY**

This section presents findings obtained through questions related to the role of local government in the provision of services. It explores the capacity of local municipalities to provide services and other opportunities to its residents on an equal basis. Furthermore, the section looks at the level of access, quality and affordability of basic municipal services to households and the impact of new boundaries on such services. These research questions sought to determine whether the two local municipalities are able to provide efficient service delivery to the residents.

### **6.3.1 Municipal administrative capacity**

Local government requires human and financial resources to carry out its responsibilities. Without resources, the delivery of public services cannot materialise. Against this background, the empirical findings show that there was no significant difference ( $X^2=0.33$ ) between the opinions of residents regarding the statement that the municipality has enough capacity to deliver services by itself. Data suggest that, in particular, the majority of Collins Chabane LM participants disagreed with the statement. Those who perceived their respective municipalities to have no capacity to deliver services on their own were 51% in Collins Chabane LM and 44% in JB Marks LM. These perceptions point to municipal administrative capacity challenges.

Vacancy rates in certain occupational categories are another reliable indicator of municipal administrative capabilities. The Collins Chabane LM's flat organisational structure consists of an Acting Municipal Manager, an Acting Chief Financial Officer (CFO), an Acting Technical Services Director, and a handful of other employees (Collins Chabane, 2017:14). Further, personal interviews shed some light on the high vacancy rate in the municipality:

*...We have got a lot of posts that are not filled, ok. Remember, we are a new municipality and our organisational structure is not yet finalised. We are busy with the evaluation of posts. Director Corporate is filled, Director Planning, CFO filled, MM filled and Developmental Planning. (Collins Chabane municipal official interview)*

The view held by the Vhembe DM is that there is a lack of capacity in the Collins Chabane LM in some of the line functions:

*...In the case of new municipality, there is no capacity in terms of disaster management functionaries. No cars, no office space, one disaster management coordinator, and they are unable to do assessment within 72 hours after the disaster had occurred. (Vhembe municipal official interview)*

In stark contrast with the Collins Chabane LM, all the top management positions in the JB Marks LM had been filled during the course of this research as reflected in Table 6.7. The total number of staff is currently around 1 500, with former Tlokwe LM staff making up most of the total workforce. Before the merger, the then Tlokwe LM had 1251 staff members and the Ventersdorp LM had 219 (MDB, 2015d:18).

**Table 6.7: Status of the managerial positions in the JB Marks LM**

POSITION	NAME	GENDER
Municipal Manager	Dr NE Blaai-Mokgethi	Black Female
Chief Financial Officer (Acting)	T Zubane	Black Male
Manager Corporate Services	BJ Mosepele	Black Female
Manager Community Services	PC Labuschagne	White Male
Executive, Manager Sports, Arts and Culture	C Henry	Black Male
Manager Public Safety	L Nkhumane	Black Male
Manager Housing and Planning (Acting)	O Melamu	Black Male
Manager Local Economic Development	S Masitenyane	Black Male
Manager Office of the Speaker	EPM Modiakgotla	Black Male
Manager Infrastructure	BM Zungu	Black Male

(Source: JB Marks, 2017b:42).

However, despite this relative administrative stability, JB Marks municipal administration faces some challenges regarding staff placement and the stabilisation of administration systems. Critical consensus is that it takes about two years for a municipality to settle after a merger due mainly to transfers of staff and assets in addition to the establishment of new management structures among other things. Such disruptions negatively affect service delivery and cause uncertainty among both the residents and the employees. Therefore, Collins Chabane LM will take much longer than JB Marks LM to develop the necessary capacity to function effectively. Oddly, high vacancy rates are the norm in smaller mainly rural local municipalities such as Collins Chabane. On average, vacancies within South African municipalities were in the region of 28% back in 2011 (JB Marks LM, 2017b:vi; DPME, 2014:11; Nkhahle, 2015:34)

### **6.3.2 The role of local government in the provision of services**

Drawing on the literature provided in Chapter 2 (see *supra* 2.3.1), the role of local government is universally accepted to be the efficient administration of public services. Within the South African context, the 1996 Constitution makes provision for municipalities to provide a range of services meant to improve the general well-being of all citizens. Hence, this research asked participants to gauge their own knowledge of local government's function and the role municipalities ought to play in the provision of basic services. Participants had to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with various claims on a five-point scale (refer to *Annexure 12*).

The majority of households in both case studies agreed that their municipalities have a role to play in providing them with basic services. Collins Chabane LM residents' significantly stronger view (Pearson results,  $\chi^2=0.00$ ) may suggest a higher reliance on the municipality compared to JB Marks LM. There were no significant differences of opinion ( $X^2=0.26$ ) between residents of the two municipalities regarding their municipal officials' capacity to decide which services are needed in their respective areas. Perceptions varied between agreement (42% in Collins Chabane and 53% in JB Marks) that municipal officials possess requisite knowledge to decide the sorts of services needed in their respective areas.

**Table 6.8: The role of local government in the provision of services to the households**

Statement	Local Municipality	Strongly disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly agree %	Pearson Chi-Square test
Municipality has a role to play in providing basic service such as water, electricity, refuse removal, sanitation	Collins Chabane	1.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	94.0	.000
	JB Marks	0.0	2.0	3.0	29.0	66.0	.000
Municipal officials have enough knowledge to decide what services are needed in my area	Collins Chabane	17.0	25.0	10.0	36.0	12.0	.264
	JB Marks	16.0	26.0	18.0	35.0	5.0	.264
The Municipality has enough capacity to deliver services by itself	Collins Chabane	22.0	31.0	30.0	14.0	3.0	.333
	JB Marks	21.0	24.0	26.0	22.0	7.0	.333
The Municipality is utilising its financial resources well to provide services to the community	Collins Chabane	47.0	22.0	17.0	14.0	0.0	.174
	JB Marks	41.0	14.0	29.0	15.0	1.0	.174
The delivery of basic services which are of the highest quality is important for my well-being	Collins Chabane	0.0	0.0	1.0	7.0	92.0	.000
	JB Marks	1.0	4.0	3.0	25.0	67.0	.000
Failure by the municipality to provide services leads communities to revolt against the authority	Collins Chabane	1.0	1.0	1.0	10.0	87.0	.001
	JB Marks	1.0	0.0	2.0	34.0	63.0	.001

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Local Municipality</b>	<b>Strongly disagree %</b>	<b>Disagree %</b>	<b>Don't know %</b>	<b>Agree %</b>	<b>Strongly agree %</b>	<b>Pearson Chi-Square test</b>
The municipality gives priority to my basic needs	Collins Chabane	28.0	39.0	13.0	16.0	4.0	.009
	JB Marks	25.3	43.4	2.0	28.3	1.0	.009
There are times when the Municipality exceeds my expectations	Collins Chabane	76.0	15.0	3.0	6.0	0.0	.000
	JB Marks	45.0	36.0	3.0	13.0	3.0	.000
The municipality is delivering basic services equally among ethnic groups	Collins Chabane	17.0	10.0	12.0	33.0	28.0	.431
	JB Marks	10.1	15.2	8.1	35.4	31.3	.431
I want the municipality to involve me in making decisions about what services are delivered in my local area	Collins Chabane	1.0	3.0	1.0	3.0	92.0	.000
	JB Marks	0.0	1.0	1.0	27.0	71.0	.000

Further, in both municipalities, the difference in perceptions regarding the statement “the municipality is utilising its financial resources well to provide services to the community” was insignificant ( $X^2=0.17$ ). In both cases, the majority (69% in Collins Chabane, and 55% in JB Marks) disagreed with the view that the municipality utilises its financial resources competently in its provision of services. Regarding whether “the delivery of basic services which are of highest quality is important for my wellbeing”, significant differences of Pearson  $X^2=0.00$  occurred in the two cases. Despite the significant differences in opinion, the view was in the affirmative in both cases (92% in Collins Chabane, and 67% in JB Marks).

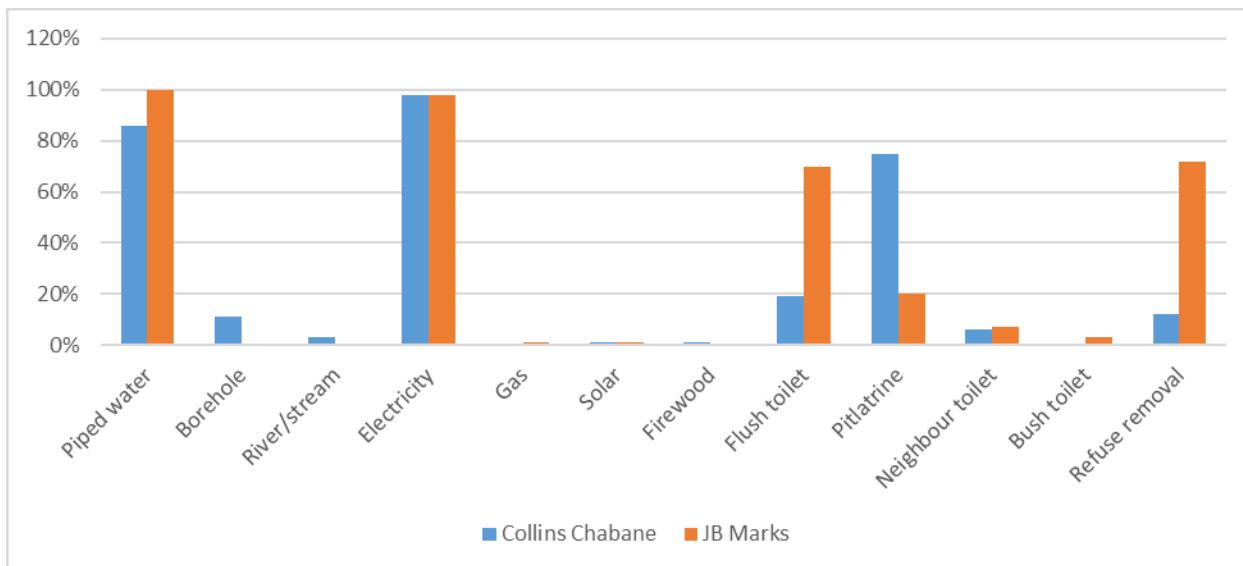
Participants agreed with the claim that “failure by the municipality to provide services leads community to revolt against the authority” (87% in Collins Chabane and 63% in JB Marks agreeing strongly, with a further 34% in JB Marks only agreeing). As to whether “...the municipality gives priority to their basic needs”, a significant difference of  $X^2=0.009$  arose between the participants of the two municipalities. The majority of Collins Chabane (67%) and JB Marks (68.7%) disagreed, with another 29.3% from JB Marks disagreeing quite strongly. Levels of disagreement differed ( $X^2=0.00$ ) across the two municipalities regarding the statement: “there are times when the municipality exceeds my expectations”. It is important that all disagreed with the claim, stronger disagreement coming from JB Marks residents.

Coming to perceptions of equality in service delivery between residents of different ethnic groups, there were no statistically significant differences ( $X^2=-0.431$ ) between the two municipalities. The trends varied from strong agreement to strong disagreement in both cases. However, a significant difference ( $X^2=0.00$ ) appeared concerning the statement: “I want the municipality to involve me in decision-making about what services are delivered in my local area”. While all affirmed this position, the level of agreement, particularly in JB Marks, varied between 27% agreement and 71% strong agreement.

### **6.3.3 Households' access to municipal services**

In terms of the 1996 Constitution, municipalities are responsible for the delivery of a range of services to their constituencies within their financial and administrative

capacity. Of the many possible services noted in Table 4.8 (see *supra* 4.2.1), only water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity were of interest to this research. These services are the main contributors towards the overall development of the household infrastructure in South Africa. A series of questions about the provision of these basic services sought tested households' perceptions. Municipal officials were also asked if they thought that their municipalities had the capacity to provide these services efficiently and equally among their respective residents irrespective of their gender, race and ethnicity.



**Figure 6.1: Households' access to water, energy, sanitation and refuse removal**

All the participants in the JB Marks LM had access to piped water supplied by the municipality. A very high proportion of the participants (86%) in the Collins Chabane LM also relied on piped water. Households' access to electricity was the same in both cases at 98%. While 70% of JB Marks LM participants used flush toilets, a comparable 75% of Collins Chabane LM residents relied on pit latrines. In both municipalities, some relied on neighbours' toilets while a few in the JB Marks LM relieved themselves in the bush. It is noteworthy, however, that there was no use of bucket toilet system in both case studies; the North West Province had 6184 households relying on bucket toilets in 2015 (Statistics South Africa, 2016a:2).

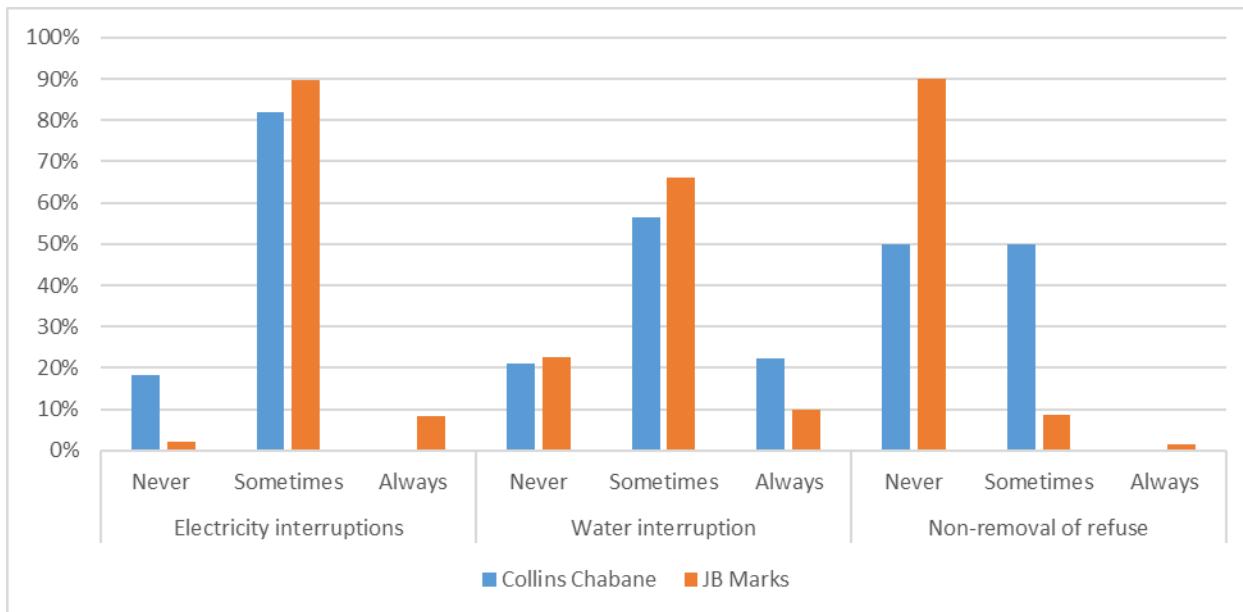
At the same time, Collins Chabane LM enjoyed the least delivery of refuse removal services because of its vast rural nature; only 12% of the participants had their refuse removed by the local authority. The rest of the participants either dispose of waste themselves or simply dump it in an unregulated manner. Based on capacity, local municipalities may be authorised to take over water and sanitation functions in areas that contained large towns (Nkhahle, 2015:47). Other than refuse removal services, Collins Chabane residents receive electricity from Eskom and water and sanitation services from the Vhembe DM:

*Water is not our competency; it is for the District. Water is not for us. We do not provide electricity. It is Eskom. We are doing refuse. Sanitation is District. So, the municipality is only responsible for refuse removal. Not the same in all local municipality. It depends. Makhado Local Municipality has electricity license and Thulamela Local Municipality does not have the license to provide electricity. Eskom does provide electricity on our behalf. It may look like the municipality is providing electricity to the people but it is Eskom.* (Collins Chabane municipal official interview)

In stark contrast, JB Marks provides its residents with all four municipal services on which this study focused. Electricity supply is shared between the LM and Eskom. To maximise revenue income as well as improve the management and delivery of services, a policy proposal is currently under consideration that the LM takes over all electricity supply in the future (JB Marks, 2017b:4-5). There is limited capacity within Collins Chabane LM itself, a weakness that factors such as the preponderance of villages rather than towns or townships exacerbates. This finding clearly reflects the institutional capacity variance among local municipalities across the face of South Africa. Figure 6.2 presents a variation of perceived quality of selected services provided by the two local municipalities, focusing especially on electricity interruption, water, and non-removal of refuse.

A high proportion of the participants (90%) in JB Marks LM claimed that they “sometimes” experienced electricity interruptions and a further 65% claimed that they “sometimes” experienced water interruptions. While 90% of the participants in JB Marks

LM indicated that they have “never” experienced non-removal of refuse, it seems Collins Chabane residents do not even have access to refuse removal services.



**Figure 6.2: Experience with the level of the quality of services provided by the municipality**

These perceived experiences of service interruptions are higher than provincial averages. In 2015, the prevalence of electricity interruptions among households was highest in the North West (60,6%) followed by Mpumalanga (35,9%) and Gauteng (33,9%). Limpopo (1,4%), Free State (5,6%) and KwaZulu-Natal (7,2%) reported the least interruptions (Statistics South Africa, 2016c:40). While interruptions in the provision of electricity brought forth statistically significant differences between the two municipalities ( $X^2=0.00$ ), there was no statistically significant difference ( $X^2=0.063$ ) between the two municipalities regarding their experience of water interruption.

### 6.3.4 Participants' experience with the level of affordability of services provided by the municipality

Asked about their experience of the level of affordability of municipal services, the participants' answers are illustrated in Table 6.9. It is necessary to remember that this study focussed only on electricity, piped water, sanitation, and refuse removal.

**Table 6.9: Experience with the level of affordability of municipal services**

		Affordable %	Expensive %	Don't pay %	Pearson X <sup>2</sup>
Electricity	Collins Chabane	18.2	81.8	0.0	.353
	JB Marks	18.6	79.4	2.1	
Piped water	Collins Chabane	3.0	2.0	95	.000
	JB Marks	28	40	32	
Sanitation	Collins Chabane	1.0	0	99	.000
	JB Marks	33.7	26.5	39.8	
Refuse removal	Collins Chabane	2.0	0	98	.000
	JB Marks	34.3	26.3	39.4	

With regard to electricity provision, there was no statistically significant variation ( $X^2=0.35$ ) between the two municipalities. Strong agreement prevailed that electricity was unaffordable (81.8% in Collins Chabane and 79.4% in JB Marks). In JB Marks LM specifically, some participants argued that since the merger in 2016, 95% of their electricity purchases is used to cover overdue municipal accounts. They claimed they now pay R20 to receive a single unit of electricity (Potchefstroom Herald, 2017:Online).

There was statistical difference ( $X^2=0.00$ ) between the two municipalities regarding the affordability of piped water. While the majority in Collins Chabane (95%) did not pay for piped water, residents of JB Marks were split between those who perceived the service to be affordable (28%), expensive (40%), and those who did not pay (35%). As for the provision of sanitation, a statistically significant difference ( $X^2=0.00$ ) was observable between the two municipalities. While 99% of Collins Chabane LM did not pay for sanitation provision, residents of JB Marks LM were split between those who perceived the service to be affordable (33.7%), expensive (26.5%), and those who did not pay for this service (39.8%).

Coming to the affordability of refuse removal in their locality, 98% of the participants from Collins Chabane LM did not pay for this service, while JB Marks LM participants held perceptions that ranged from those who thought the service was affordable (26.3%), expensive (34.3%), as well as those who did not pay (39.4%). Reality that the

majority of Collins Chabane LM residents did not pay for basic services should be attributed to Collins Chabane being rural. This means that households mostly rely on communal taps, pit toilets, and own refuse dumps.

The principle that local government should substantially depend on own resources (see *supra* 2.3.1) is an important feature of any democratic local government system. Payment for services is necessary if municipalities are to reduce their dependence on transfers from the national fiscus. However, in South Africa, the majority of rural municipalities, such as Collins Chabane, rely for more than 50% of their operational expenses on transfers from national government. This creates a dependency syndrome, which in the long run is unsustainable. Throughout the financial years between 2003/04 and 2008/09, at least 63% of rural municipalities' income derived from grants. That recent reviews of local government financial management show a number of weaknesses, including poor audit outcomes, also does not bode well for the sector (DPME, 2012:31; COGTA, 2009:8; Khumalo & Ncube, 2016:15; Nkhahle, 2015:86).

### **6.3.5 Effects of new boundaries on municipal services**

One of the ways to determine the participants' attitudes towards mergers is to ask them if they feel that there is a difference in the delivery of municipal services since the merger. To determine such attitudes, the following question was asked:

*Your area is now merged with another to form a new local municipality. Is the merger making each of the following much better, better, no different, worse or much worse?*

A high proportion of the participants in both local case studies thought that the merger did not make any difference to the manner the municipal services are delivered to the community. This response could have much to do with the fact that the mergers are recent and it might thus be too early to tell whether any change has accrued. As a matter of fact, a sizeable proportion of the participants living in the JB Marks LM thought that service delivery under the new administration was better or much better.

**Table 6.10: How has the merger affected the delivery of services?**

Statement	Local Municipality	Much better %	Better %	No difference %	Worse %	Much worse %	Pearson X <sup>2</sup>
Access to water	Collins Chabane	8.1	13.1	51.5	16.0	11.0	.113
	JB Marks	2.0	21.1	57.6	23.2	5.1	.113
Access to electricity	Collins Chabane	4.0	16.2	70.7	9.1	0.0	.000
	JB Marks	2.5	11.2	40.8	31.6	15.3	
Access to toilet facility	Collins Chabane	3.0	12.1	65.7	19.2	0.0	.046
	JB Marks	1.0	12.4	57.7	20.6	8.2	
Refuse removal by the municipality	Collins Chabane	4.0	2.0	94.0	0.0	0.0	.000
	JB Marks	3.2	19.1	60.6	9.6	7.4	
Condition of the streets	Collins Chabane	1.0	15.2	38.4	30.3	15.2	.032
	JB Marks	3.1	10.2	56.1	25.0	5.0	
Street lighting	Collins Chabane	0.0	4.0	90.0	5.0	1.1	.002
	JB Marks	2.1	19.1	67.0	10.6	1.1	
Job opportunity through Community Works Programme (CWP) for you or any member of your households	Collins Chabane	3.0	8.0	46.0	21.0	22.0	.004
	JB Marks	3.1	23.5	42.9	23.5	7.1	

It is notable that JB Marks residents were more negative about the impact of the merger on the provision of electricity and piped water. About 47% and 28% of all the participants felt access of other basic municipal services like that access to electricity and water respectively was worsening under the new bigger administration. Likewise,

45% of the participants from the Collins Chabane LM claimed that the condition of the residential streets and the provision of free basic services were worse or much worse.

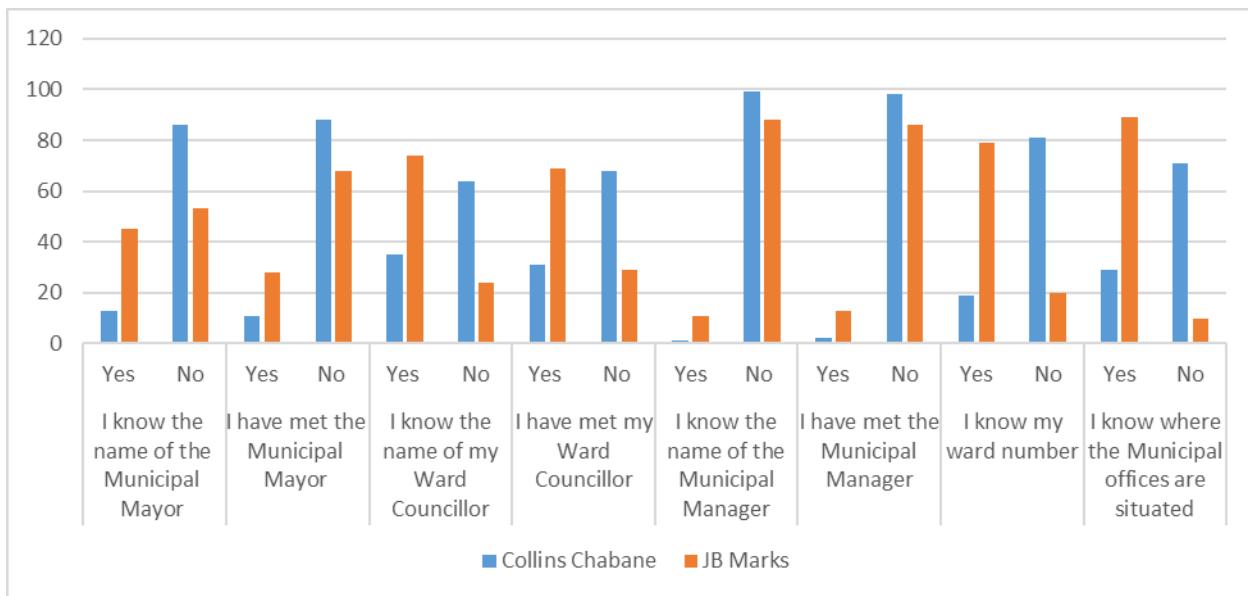
There were no statistically significant differences between the two municipalities regarding whether the merger or creation of a new municipality had made access to water resources any better or worse. With regard to the perceived access to other basic municipal services like electricity, toilet facilities, refuse removal by the municipality, street lighting and access to job opportunities through programmes like CWP, there were statistically significant differences represented by a Pearson  $\chi^2$  of below 0.05%.

## **6.4 SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND THE FEELING OF ATTACHMENT TO THE MUNICIPALITY**

Here, there was an effort to find out whether the participants felt that they belonged to the local municipality. The objectives were to test the participants' sense of belonging to their neighbourhood, including whether there was promotion of social integration in the two case studies. The aim was to measure whether people get along well together notwithstanding the cultural and language diversity of their area, and whether they share a common vision and sense of belonging. Municipalities are organised social spaces; therefore, giving due consideration to this social dimension is non-negotiable whenever local government boundaries are redefined. This is one way to preserve the idea of community of interest. Community of interest rests upon a subjective feeling of togetherness and of truly belonging to a community (*see supra* 2.3.2).

### **6.4.1 Knowledge of municipal leadership and offices**

One way to assess the participants' sense of attachment to the municipality is to assess their sense of the general accessibility of the municipal leaders and offices. Figure 6.3 summarises the participants' familiarity with their Municipal Mayor, Municipal Manager, ward councillor, ward number and municipal offices.



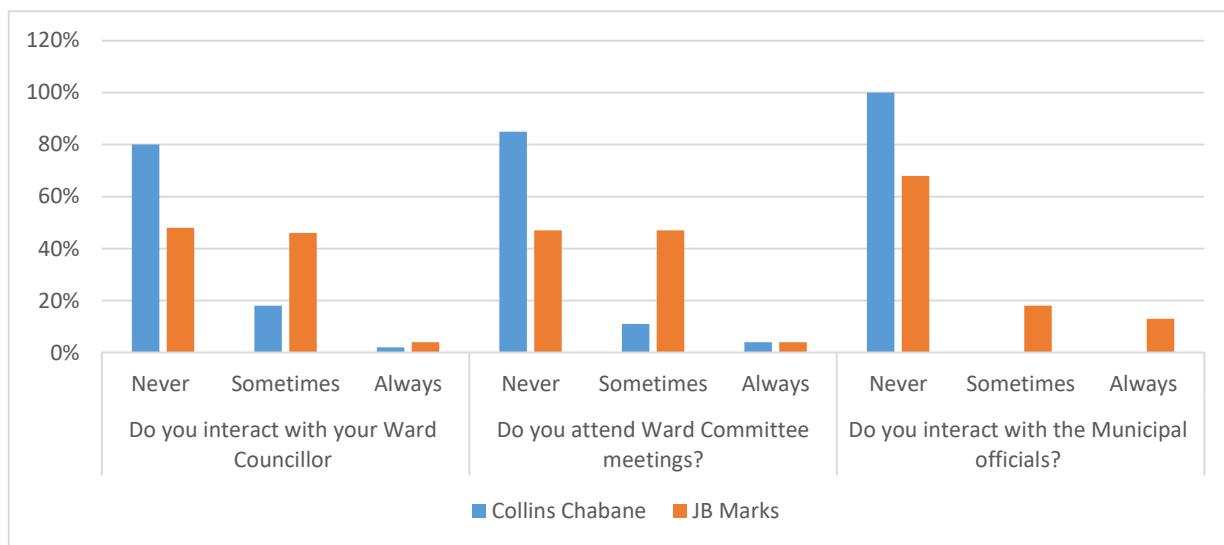
**Figure 6.3: Knowledge of municipal leadership and offices**

Responses received indicate low levels of knowledge among residents of their municipal leadership as well as minimal awareness of where the municipal offices are situated. However, 68% of the participants in the JB Marks LM knew the name of the ward councillor, with a further 65% having once met their ward councillor in person, while 85% of them knew the location of the municipal offices. In this connection, there was a significant difference between the two cases of Pearson  $\chi^2=0.000$ .

Awareness of the ward number in which the participants reside (79%) was also observed in JB Marks as opposed to much lower percentages of knowledge of municipal leaders in the Collins Chabane LM. A correlation between language and knowledge of municipal leaders shed some more light into this low level of knowledge response. A high percentage of those who did not know the names of their municipal leaders and have never met them before were Venda speaking participants. This is not surprising since there was a strong opposition through protests to the incorporation of Vuwani (Venda) into Malamulele (Tsonga) to form a new municipality (see *supra* 1.4).

#### 6.4.2 Participants' interaction with municipal leadership

To determine the extent of interaction between residents and their municipal leaders, participants were asked if they never, sometimes or always interacted with their ward councillors and their municipal officials and what kind of issues did they raise with them. They were also asked to indicate how often they attended ward committee meetings and what issues did they raised. Local government legislation provides for different mechanisms to foster public participation, including the ward committee system. These committees exist in each ward in order to facilitate effective interaction between local government leaders and their local communities.



**Figure 6.4: Interaction with municipal leadership**

There appear to be significantly low levels of interactions between residents, their ward councillors, and municipal officials in both municipalities. While 80% in Collins Chabane LM claimed that they never interacted with their ward councillor, none of them had also interacted with their municipal officials. In JB Marks LM, more than 40% of the participants sometimes interacted with their ward councillors. Attendance of ward committee meetings was higher in JB Marks LM (42%) than in Collins Chabane LM (10%), that is if the 'sometimes' category is meaningful. In both cases, an insignificant number of participants (less than 5%) attended ward committee meetings all the time.

With regard to the functionality of the ward committee model in South Africa, a countrywide assessment of the state of local government found that the system is poorly resourced. Councillors have been accused of being insensitive to the needs of the community due to lack of effective complaints management as well as coherent systems to measure the quality of client interface. The assessment further revealed that issues raised and discussed in ward committee meetings are not prioritised and they often do not find their way into Council meetings, thereby failing to be reflected in the IDPs (COGTA, 2009:33-34).

The size of the average South Africa municipality is also a challenge for effective community participation, especially in the rural areas. In the quest for efficiency, the norm since 2000 is that a number of towns are merged into one larger municipality together with their rural hinterlands, which are geographically very extensive and, again, often diverse in character. The long distance that people have to travel to attend ward committee meetings often deter them from doing so. As well, local councillors are insulated from the electorate. In a word, citizens' access to local authorities through public meetings, elections or direct contact is difficult when local government structures are large (de Visser, 2009:15; Mzakwe, 2016:5).

Issues that the participants raise with their ward councillors and municipal officials during ward committee meetings ranged from service delivery (raised the most), development, housing, demarcation changes, to crime prevention. Less than half of the participants in JB Marks (46%), and 18% of Collins Chabane participants indicated that they raised issues related to services delivery such as water, roads, and payment of services with their ward councillors.

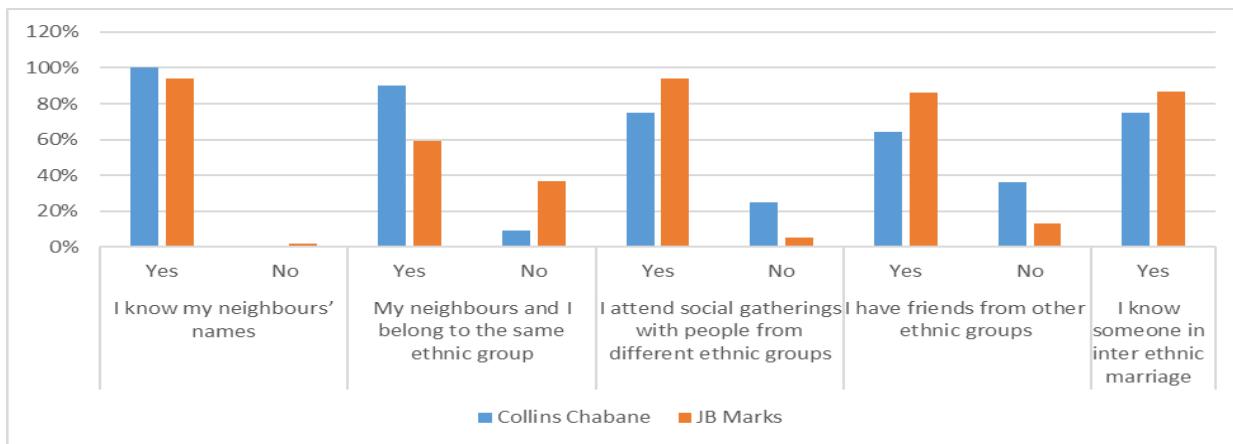
Aside from ward councillors, a further 26% of the participants in JB Marks LM had also raised service delivery issues with their municipal officials. Significant difference that existed between residents of the two municipalities ( $X^2=0.00$ ) related to issues raised during ward committee meetings. While the majority of participants claim to have raised matters of basic service delivery at these meetings, a few more, mainly from the JB Marks LM (3%), also raised matters of development changes in community.

**Table 6.11: Issues raised with Municipal Leadership**

	Basic services delivery & payment	Development changes in the community	Jobs	Title deeds issues since 1988 for housing dev	Crime prevention	Changes in municipal demarcation	
<b>Issues raised with ward councillors</b>							
Collins Chabane	18.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	Pearson X <sup>2</sup> .288
JB Marks	46.0	2.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	1.0	
<b>Issues raised during Ward Committee meetings</b>							
Ollins Chabane	8.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Pearson X <sup>2</sup> .000
JB Marks	48.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
<b>Issues raised during interaction with municipal officials</b>							
Collins Chabane	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Pearson X <sup>2</sup> .a
JB Marks	26.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	

#### **6.4.3 Participants' coexistence with one another irrespective of ethnicity**

Here, eight statements were designed with which the participants were asked to agree or disagree. The statements ranged from whether the participants' interests were well-represented in the local municipality, to which ethnic group(s) the participants would prefer to have controlling the municipality.



**Figure 6.5: Participants' coexistence with one another irrespective of ethnicity**

In both cases, there is high level of coexistence of the participants with one another irrespective of their ethnicities. All the participants from the Collins Chabane LM knew their neighbours' names, and 85% of them said they belonged to the same ethnic group as their neighbours. More than 75% attended social gatherings with people from different ethnic groups, while the same proportion knew someone in an inter-ethnic marriage. Just above 60% of the participants had friends from other ethnic groups. In the JB Marks LM, more than 85% of the participants attended social gatherings with people from different ethnic group. What is more, 80% had friends from other ethnic groups and they knew someone in inter-ethnic marriage. Essentially, therefore, there was no significant variance between these two municipalities vis-à-vis coexistence with people from another tribal or ethnic group.

#### **6.4.4 Participants' feeling of belonging to the local municipality**

The participants' feeling of belonging to their local municipalities was tested through a set of statements on different matters related to whether the participants share a

common sense of belonging or whether they get along well with each other irrespective of their ethnicity.

**Table 6.12: Participants' feeling of belonging to the local municipality**

Statement	Local Municipality	Strongly agree %	Agree %	Don't know %	Disagree %	Strongly disagree %	Pearson X <sup>2</sup>
My interests are represented in the Municipality	Collins Chabane	2.0	20.0	5.0	41.0	32.0	.655
	JB Marks	2.0	22.0	6.0	47.0	22.0	
All ethnic groups are represented in Municipality workforce	Collins Chabane	27.0	20.0	15.0	14.0	23.0	.000
	JB Marks	56.0	28.0	8.0	4.0	3.0	
I feel that I belong to this Municipality	Collins Chabane	22.0	16.0	1.0	16.0	45.0	.000
	JB Marks	11.0	32.0	7.0	35.0	15.0	
I feel culturally connected to the area	Collins Chabane	69.0	28.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	.028
	JB Marks	60.0	32.0	2.0	6.0	0.0	
I speak other major languages in the community	Collins Chabane	42.0	37.0	1.0	16.0	3.0	.065
	JB Marks	57.0	30.0	0.0	9.0	0.0	
I don't mind sharing resources with different ethnic groups in the Municipality	Collins Chabane	46.0	49.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	.008
	JB Marks	49.0	38.0	3.0	2.0	8.0	
I interact with municipal officials in own language re services	Collins Chabane	23.0	30.0	9.0	17.0	21.0	.000
	JB Marks	52.0	28.0	6.0	10.0	2.0	
I prefer people from my ethnic group to control the Municipality	Collins Chabane	17.0	4.0	1.0	7.0	69.0	.000
	JB Marks	2.0	5.0	0.0	22.0	71.0	

About 69% of JB Marks LM participants and 60% of Collins Chabane LM residents disagreed or strongly disagreed that their interests were represented well in their local municipalities. A further 61% of the participants in the Collins Chabane LM felt that they did not belong to the municipality, yet an overwhelmingly majority (95%) did not mind sharing municipal resources with people from different ethnic groups. In the JB Marks LM, levels of agreement were higher on matter of representation of all ethnic groups in the municipality workforce and around feeling culturally connected to the area. A significant proportion of the participants in both cases strongly disagreed or simply disagreed that people from their ethnic group should control the municipality.

The following findings yielded statistical significant differences between the two municipalities. There were statistically significant differences of 0.00 with a considerable number (37%) of Collins Chabane LM participants disagreeing with the claim that there was ethnic group representation in the municipal workforce. There was also a statistical significant difference ( $X^2=0.00$ ) between the two sets of participants regarding the feeling of belonging to the municipality. A more than significant proportion (45%) of Collins Chabane LM contingent disagreed strongly with the notion that they belonged, while almost a third (35%) of JB Marks residents merely disagreed that they belonged. Almost a third (32%) of the JB Marks LM residents agreed that they belonged compared to nearly a quarter (22%) of Collins Chabane LM residents who strongly agreed with the suggestion that they belonged within their municipality.

Cultural connection to the local municipality is an important demarcation-determining variable. As far as this variable is concerned, there was a significant difference ( $X^2=0.02$ ) between the participants from the two local municipalities. More than two thirds (69%) of Collins Chabane LM participants along with more than half (60%) of JB Marks agreed strongly that they feel culturally connected to the municipality. Although there were significant differences ( $X^2=0.008$ ) between the participants of the different municipalities, the difference is marginal since it only involves the extent to which participants agree or strongly agree.

Significant differences ( $X^2=0.00$ ) appeared between the participants of the different municipalities with regard to the statement: "...I interact with the municipal officials in my

own language whenever I need services from the Municipality". more than a third (38%) of Collins Chabane residents felt that they could not agree with the given statement.

While there were statistical significant differences ( $X^2=0.00$ ) between the respondent of the two municipalities, the differences were marginal since both disagreed with the notion of preferring to have people from their ethnic group controlling the municipality. Nearly less than a quarter of the participants (21%) from the Collins Chabane LM disagreed to this statement. Other important aspects of the feeling of belonging reflected in Table 6.13 included language of interaction with the municipal officials and the ability to speak other major languages in the community.

**Table 6.13: Feeling of belonging to municipality by home language and number of years living in the settlement**

(Number)		I feel that I belong to this Municipality					Total
		Strongly agree (N)	Agree (N)	Don't know (N)	Disagree (N)	Strongly disagree (N)	
Home language	Afrikaans	2	6	1	8	4	21
	Southern Sotho	1	3	1	1	0	6
	Tsonga	18	12	1	5	3	39
	Tswana	7	21	3	21	11	63
	Venda	4	4	0	10	42	60
	Xhosa	1	2	2	4	0	9
	Zulu	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Shona	0	0	0	1	0	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>33</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>200</b>
Number of years living in the settlement	< 1 year	0	0	1	0	1	2
	1-5 years	1	4	0	7	4	16
	6-9 years	1	2	0	3	1	7
	> 10 years	13	28	5	11	12	69
	Born in the area	18	14	2	30	42	106
<b>Total</b>		<b>33</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>200</b>

Amongst the nine languages spoken by all the participants, those who speak Tsonga (30) and those who speak Tswana (28) felt that they belong to their municipalities the most. This contrasts with the majority of Venda and Afrikaans speaking participants who did not feel the same way.

Literature posits that people's feelings of belonging to their local area is also a function of how long they have been residing in a particular area. In these two case studies, the majority of participants born in and living in the area for more than 10 years affirmed their sense of belonging to the local municipality. Yet, the majority of participants born in the area also felt that their interests were not adequately represented in both cases.

## **6.5 INVOLVEMENT OF COMMUNITIES IN MUNICIPAL DEMARCTION PROCESSES AND IN MUNICIPAL DEMARCTION PROTESTS**

South Africa faces a massive challenge of objections from affected communities to municipal boundary. This research study sought to generate a better understanding of the reasons why communities rise up against such decisions. One of the key drivers of such revolts relates to the government's failure to involve communities in the processes leading up to the decisions that directly affect those communities. It became important then to determine whether communities had been involved in the demarcation processes of their areas, and how the affected communities came to know about the MDB's intention to change boundaries.

### **6.5.1 Knowledge of the MDB and its role**

The MDB is an independent body established by the 1996 Constitution and the Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998. Its brief is to determine municipal boundaries and to delimitate wards. Provision was also made in the local government legislation for the MDB to assess the capacities of municipalities in order to determine whether they have necessary resources to perform their functions and exercise their powers (*see supra* 4.2.3). To test this knowledge on the participants, two questions were asked to them.

**Table 6.14: Knowledge of the MDB**

	Do you know the Municipal Demarcation Board?		Total %	Pearson X <sup>2</sup>
	Yes %	No %		
Collins Chabane	9	91	100	0.134
JB Marks	16	84	100	
Total	25	175	200	

Astonishingly, the majority of the participants in this research did not know about the MDB (91% in Collins Chabane and 84% in JB Marks). There was in fact no statistically significant difference between the two municipal case studies regarding their knowledge of the MDB. In other words, belonging to a particular municipality did not automatically bring about awareness of the MDB. A lack of MDB visibility at regional and local levels is thus one of reasons why the Board appears disconnected from the public. In response to this observation, the MDB now seeks to deploy human, technological and financial resources in the regions in order to improve on its understanding of the country and engagement with its stakeholders (MDB, 2017:2).

**Table 6.15: Knowledge of the responsibility of the MDB**

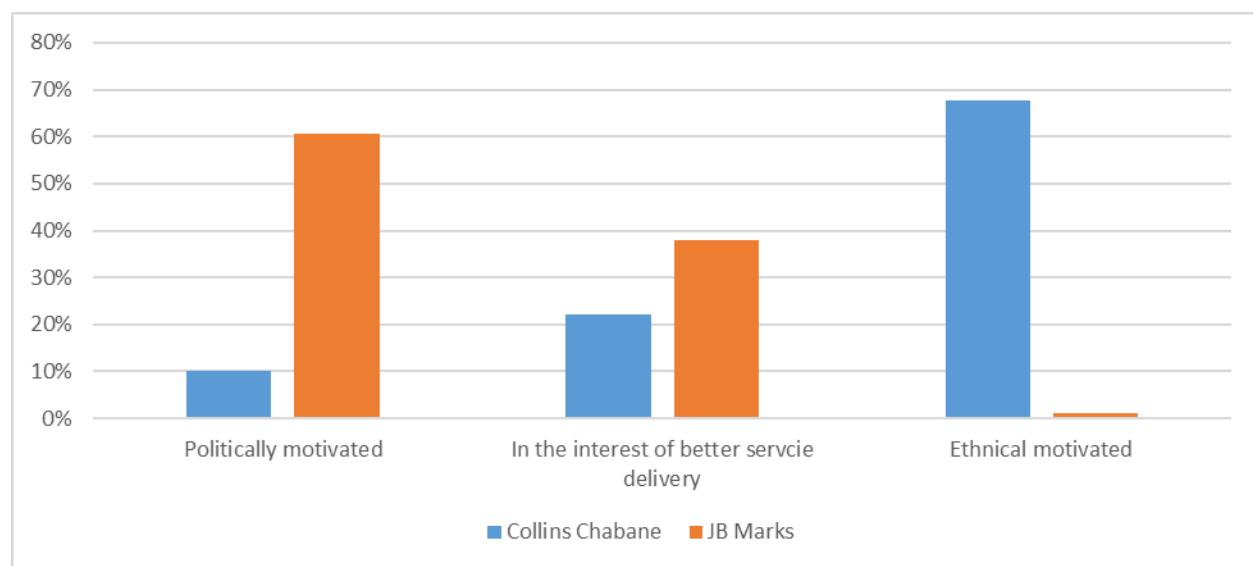
	If yes, What do you think is its responsibility?	%
	Demarcation of municipal boundaries %	
Collins Chabane	9	9
J B Marks	15	15
Total	24	24

Because the majority of the participants were unaware of the MDB, it could not be established if a significant section of the communities understood the role of the MDB. Pearson X<sup>2</sup> computation in this regard therefore yielded a non-value. The current MDB leadership has since acknowledged this limitation, thereby affirming the finding of this study. As a result, the MDB proposed a number of initiatives, including the development of a public participation framework aimed at addressing impediments to MDB's approach to public participation. A series of formal and informal engagements have already taken place between the MDB and its stakeholders to engage around issues of public participation in order to improve its policies and procedures. A booklet entitled

*Municipal boundary demarcation process: A process map for the determination and redetermination of municipal boundaries* recently published by the MDB provides members of the public with information regarding the demarcation and public participation processes (MDB, 2017:5).

### 6.5.2 Reasons for the MDB's decision to change boundaries

Reasons for changing municipal boundaries discussed in the preceding chapters range from redistribution of political power through elections, social control, delivery of public services in an efficient manner, all the way to the facilitation of national development. Figure 6.6 captures participant's views regarding the reasons why their municipal boundaries were changed.



**Figure 6.6: Reasons for the MDB's decision to change boundaries**

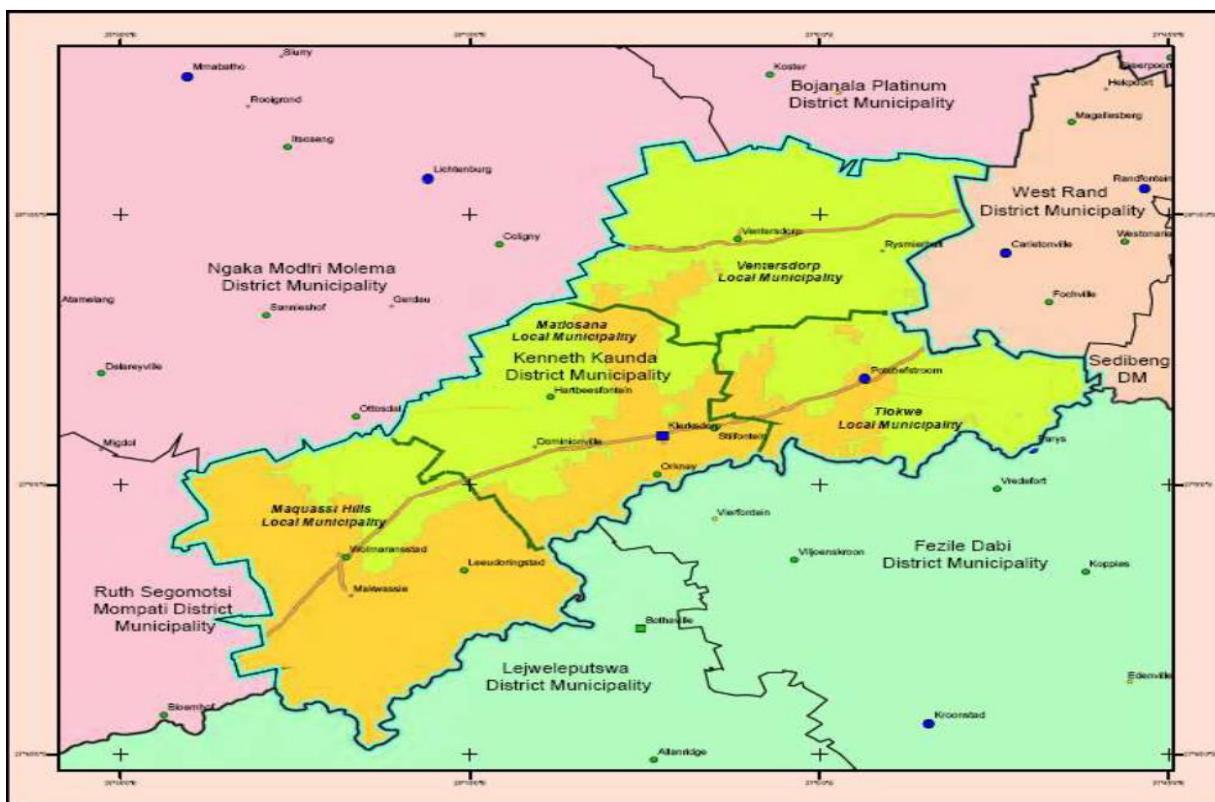
When asked what they thought the reasons were behind municipal boundary changes in their areas, 60% of JB Marks and only 10% of Collins Chabane participants saw the changes as politically motivated. Tellingly, however, those who believed the changes were in the interest of better service delivery were 21% and 38% in Collins Chabane and JB Marks respectively. For the Collins Chabane participants, ethnic reasons were the most important factor behind boundary redeterminations; more than 68% of the participants were so convinced. These findings confirm perceptions of gerrymandering

tactics, especially in the JB Marks case (see *supra* 2.4.2.1). This has serious implications on the credibility of the MDB whose responsibility is to define boundaries for effective local government without political interference. As an entity established by the country's Constitution to be independent of political machinations, the MDB clearly has to be transparent regarding how it reaches its decisions.

The establishment of the JB Marks LM as result of a merger between Tlokwe and Ventersdorp local municipalities was widely opposed as well. The Congress of the People (COPE) described the move as a "wrong decision that would be socially, administratively, politically and financially detrimental to Tlokwe residents." Ventersdorp LM was apparently corrupt and mismanaged, and it seemed as though the amalgamation would only drain Tlokwe's financial and human resources. The collection rate of taxes in Ventersdorp and Tlokwe local municipalities before the merger was 35% and 92 % respectively (JB Marks, 2017a:190; Mafikeng Mail, n.d.:Online). This case fit into what the Municipal IQ describes as a merger of a delinquent municipality with a vibrant one with a decent tax base. Such a merger does not really strike the balance of financial viability but certainly adds a new layer of responsibility to the merged municipality to deliver services to an area with no existing tax base. In the absence of long-term grant funding from the national government, this type of amalgamation may result in the further marginalisation and neglect of already poor rural communities (Municipal IQ, 2009:1).

The official opposition, the DA, on the other hand believed that the Tlokwe-Ventersdorp merger aimed at preventing them from gaining a majority in Tlokwe LM in the 2016 municipal elections. According to the political party, indications were strong that it would win Tlokwe LM in the 2016 municipal election. Back in 2013, the party controlled Tlokwe LM for seven months. The ANC had won Tlokwe LM in 2011 municipal election, but the DA-led coalition of opposition parties took charge after some ANC councillors participated in voting out their own Mayor through a motion of no confidence. As the DA predicted, the merger enabled the ANC to take control of Tlokwe with 34 of JB Marks LM's 67 available seats, leaving the DA with 22 seats while the rest of the seats went to smaller parties (JB Marks LM, 2017a:28; Citizen, 2015:Online).

The JB Marks LM is a Category B municipality situated within the Dr Kenneth Kaunda DM in the North West Province (see *Table 4.1: Categories of municipalities in South Africa*). The amalgamation process combined the relatively large populations of 56 702 in Ventersdorp and 162 762 in Tlokwe. This makes the JB Marks the largest local municipality in the District in terms of size and population. Black Africans make up the majority of the population followed by Whites, Coloureds and Indians. The Tlokwe Region comprises urban areas such as Ikageng Township and its extensions, Potchefstroom town, Promosa, Agricultural Holdings such as Rooipoortjie, Venterskroon, Buffelshoek, and rural hinterlands. Ventersdorp Region consists of a vast rural / commercial farming area as well as the urban areas of Ventersdorp, Tshing and Toevlug, along with 6 villages. Potchefstroom is 145km south-west of OR Tambo International Airport but the town has its own airfield, which was formerly a military air base. Another big role-player in the provision of services in Potchefstroom is the North-West University (JB Marks, 2017a:l,43,46).



**Map 6.1: Dr Kenneth Kaunda DM (Dr Kenneth Kaunda DM, 2017:27).**

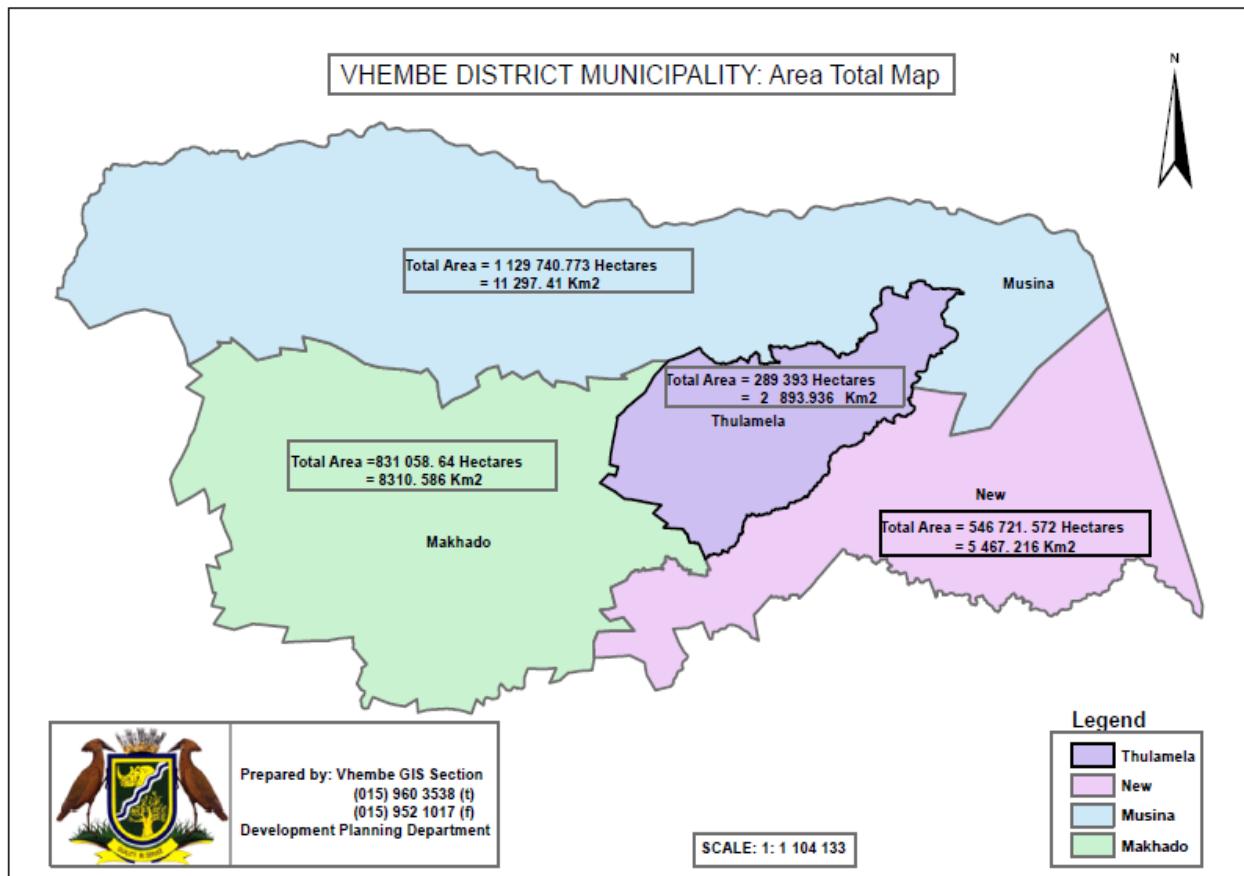
The Dr Kenneth Kaunda DM consists of three local municipalities i.e. the City of Matlosana, the JB Marks LM (Tlokwe and Ventersdorp) and the Maquassi Hills LM (Map 6.1, Dr Kenneth Kaunda DM, 2017:27). The District's highest population resides within the City of Matlosana LM (59%) followed by JB Marks LM (30%), and then Maquassi Hills LM at 11% (Dr Kenneth Kaunda DM, 2017:27).

Correlating home language and the reasons for the MDB to change boundaries in the Collins Chabane LM specifically, disclosed that the majority of TshiVenda speaking participants is accusing the MDB of manipulating the boundaries to the advantage of the Tsongas. Malamulele was failing as a stand-alone local municipality. To address this matter, a decision was taken against the wishes of the people of Vuwani to merge their area with Malamulele to form a new municipality. The amalgamation of the two areas was a victory for the Tsongas of Malamulele area, who have been demanding a separate municipality through violent demonstrations since 2000. Giving Malamulele its own municipality after prolonged protests seemed to have set a precedent. The community of Vuwani felt that the government was trying to solve the Malamulele demarcation problem at their expense. They then responded with violent protests; after all, this same tactic had succeeded in Malamulele (Nicolson, 2017:Online).

Further, the then head of state, Jacob Zuma, received special blame for imposing undue influence on the MDB. He had suggested at the funeral service of the late Minister of DPSA, Collins Chabane, who was from Malamulele, that the area should get its own municipality. Indeed Malamulele subsequently got its own municipality, expectably named after the same Minister Collins Chabane (Rasila & Musitha, 2017:4). Collins Chabane LM is a Category B municipality within the Vhembe DM in the Northern part of Limpopo Province. Vhembe DM consists of four LMs, namely, Collins Chabane LM, Makhado LM, Musina LM, and Thulamela LM.

Collins Chabane LM is some 191km north of the Limpopo Provincial capital, Polokwane. The municipal land area covers 5003km<sup>2</sup> in extent with a population of approximately 347 974 residents. Apart from the two main towns namely, Malamulele and Vuwani, the municipal area covers 173 villages and 3 informal settlements (Collins Chabane, 2017:19,28). In numbers, Africans are the most (347 109), followed by Indians or Asians

(301), Coloureds (294), and Whites (271). A map of the new municipality (Map 6.2) is open to interpretation. The map is unlike the infamous original Massachusetts gerrymander senate district. It depicts a picture of a sword, a guitar or a gun. A large part of the municipality on the right hand side of the map is a national park. Vuwani villages are to the left hand side (farthest) of the map.



**Map 6.2: Collins Chabane LM (Collins Chabane, 2017:20)**

There are objections to demarcation changes every five-years of municipal electoral period across the country, and surveys are hardly ever conducted to establish public opinion towards them. A question asked to the participants about their preference between the new and the old municipality yielded the responses depicted in Table 6.16.

**Table 6.16: Participants' current preference between new and old municipality**

	Preference between new and old municipality		Total N (%)	Pearson X <sup>2</sup>
	Old municipality N (%)	New municipality N (%)		
Collins Chabane	65 65.0%	35 35.0%	100 100.0%	.036
J B Marks	62 71.3%	25 28.7%	87 100.0%	
Total	127 67.9%	60 32.1%	187 100.0%	

As table 6.16 shows, boundary changes had very little support in both case studies. Two-thirds (67%) of all the participants preferred their old municipalities to the newly established ones. Part of the rejection emanates from fear of the unknown, concern about contests for government positions, loss of ethnic dominance, and poor service delivery (Nicolson, 2017:Online). An interview question directed at the municipal officials on what they thought to have been the reasons behind Vuwani's refusal to be part of the new Collins Chabane LM yielded the following response among others:

*They do not want to be in a municipality where they think it is being led by Matshangana (Tsongas). Our speaker is from Sereni, he is a Molobedu. They just do not want to be in the municipality whose headquarters are based in a Matshangana area.*

**Table 6.17: Language by preference of municipality**

Municipal name	Are you in favour of the new municipality?		Total
	Yes	No	
Collins Chabane	28	11	39
	71.8%	28.2%	100.0%
	7	53	60
	11.7%	88.3%	100.0%
	0	1	1
	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	35	65	100
	35.0%	65.0%	100.0%

Municipal name	Are you in favour of the new municipality?		Total	
	Yes	No		
JB Marks	Afrikaans	4	17	21
		19.0%	81.0%	100.0%
	Southern Sotho	2	3	5
		40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	Tswana	19	41	60
		31.7%	68.3%	100.0%
	Xhosa	1	8	9
		11.1%	88.9%	100.0%
	Zulu	1	0	1
		100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Total	27	69	96
		28.1%	71.9%	100.0%

Statistically speaking, there were differences ( $X^2=0.03$ ) between the participants of the different municipalities in their preferred municipality between the old and the newly demarcated. While the majority of the participants in all cases preferred the old municipality, a third (35%) in the case of Collins Chabane LM preferred the new municipality. When preference of old and new municipality were computed by ethnic group, it became clearer that there were significant ( $X^2=0.00$ ) differences specifically in the Collins Chabane LM between the Vendas preference of the old (81%) and the Tsonga's preference of the new (71%) municipality. This development confirmed the already well-documented ethnic interests in this demarcation process.

### 6.5.3 Community participation in municipal demarcation processes and in protests

One of the objectives of this research was to determine whether citizens affected the most by boundary changes are involved in the demarcation processes to ensure that their views are considered. This section reflects the citizens' views about their participation in these demarcation processes as well as in the demarcation protests.

**Table 6.18: Participants' involvement in the municipal demarcation processes and in the protests**

Have you ever participated in any municipal demarcation meetings to talk about municipal boundary changes in your area in the past?			Pearson X <sup>2</sup>
	Yes	No	
Collins Chabane	4	96	<b>.001</b>
J B Marks	18	81	
Total	22	177	
<b>Did you participate in any municipal demarcation protests in objection to a new municipality?</b>			<b>.03</b>
	Yes	No	<b>.03</b>
Collins Chabane	30	70	
J B Marks	17	82	
Total	47	152	
<b>Did any member of your household join in municipal demarcation protests?</b>			<b>.009</b>
	Yes	No	<b>.009</b>
Collins Chabane	36	64	
J B Marks	19	79	
Total	55	143	
<b>Do you think violent protests are justifiable if they secure authorities attention?</b>			<b>1</b>
	Yes	No	<b>1</b>
Collins Chabane	7	93	
J B Marks	7	93	
Total	14	186	

Findings (Table 6.18) suggest that there were statistically significant differences ( $X^2=0.00$ ) between the participants from the two municipalities pertaining to their participation in municipal demarcation meetings in the past where re-demarcations were discussed. While an overwhelming majority on both sides (98% and 81% in Collins Chabane LM and JB Marks LM respectively) claim to have never participated in such

meetings, there was some marginal participation (17%) in the case of JB Marks. When asked if any of their family members had ever participated in municipal demarcation protests, a statistically significant difference ( $X^2=0.009$ ) emerged between the two cases. The majority of those who said they participated in the municipal demarcation protests in objection to the new municipality were from the Collins Chabane LM. Further, a third (36%) of Collins Chabane participants confirmed that their family members had participated in the demarcation protests. With only a few exceptions on both sides, the majority of the participants did not think that protesting violently was justifiable.

Communities can be involved in the demarcation processes in different ways (see *supra* 4.2.3.3). A focus group discussion with MDB officials around the question of community participation in the demarcation process in the two local municipalities revealed that this was a matter that was brought before the court:

*Perhaps if I could just state one thing. The question you have just raised now was the matter before the court. The high court has made a ruling. In the case of Vuwani, the matter was brought by a number of traditional leaders. I would suggest that you look at the court judgement, because it answers the questions of why it was raised by the applicants to the case saying that there was not adequate consultation and they were not part of it. They were, I think, around one thousand people who participated in the MDB's public meeting held in Vuwani. Just to add on that, we went to Ventersdorp and Tlokwe. We went into the legal process we managed to have consultations in Ventersdorp. We had a meeting and it got disrupted towards the end but there were some valuable inputs. In Tlokwe, the public meeting did not take off at all. The community members arrived and they just protested the meeting. (MDB focus group discussion)*

In these two cases, community members filed submissions on the proposed boundaries in response to a Section 26 notice. In addition, formal investigations and public meetings were conducted due to the magnitude of the proposed boundary changes (see *supra* 4.2.3.3).

In total, the MDB received 16 submissions on the proposed Collins Chabane LM. Of all the submissions, two submissions were not in support, one was not clear and the rest were in support of the proposal (MDB, 2015c:2,3). The following are some of the objections put forward by various aggrieved residents and institutions, which the MDB received, and which urged the MDB to reconsider the incorporation of Vuwani and Malamulele into a new municipality (MDB, 2015c:60-66):

- a) The MDB prescribed period of redetermination had already lapsed when the Minister of COGTA made the request for a new municipality.
- b) Section 25(c) obliges the MDB to consider financial viability for a municipality to be able to perform its functions effectively and efficiently. The new municipality falls under the same category as the Mutale LM, which was disestablished because it had an 80% grant dependency. The new municipality would have grant dependency of more than 90%, making it one of the most grant dependent municipality in the Limpopo Province.
- c) The Thulamela LM generates most of their rates and taxes from the Thohoyandou area due to high levels of commercial and titled residential development as compared to rural communities, including Malamulele area. Therefore, the new municipality will have no tax base. This will result in the area being poorer with lack of development, high rate of unemployment and inequality.
- d) Funds required to establish the new municipality could be utilised to capacitate the Makhado and the Thulamela LM s and their satellite offices.
- e) The high concentration of the Tsonga community in the proposed new municipality area and the high number of Vendas in the remainder of the Thulamele and Makhado local municipalities will perpetuate special fragmentation, separate communities along ethnicity, and re-introduce apartheid boundaries. This is patently against Section 25(b) of the Municipal Demarcation Act.

After considering all the representations received, together with inputs made at public meetings and resulting from the Vuwani investigation, the MDB went ahead and established the Collins Chabane LM. The investigation found in favour of

redetermination, claiming that the new boundary configurations would promote social cohesion by bringing back together the majority of homeland people who were divided along ethnic lines by the apartheid government (Makgoba, 2016:23-26; MDB, 2015c:34).

Nevertheless, the Vuwani Service Delivery and Development Forum together with eight chiefs made an application to the Polokwane High Court for a revision of the determination by the MDB to incorporate Vuwani area into a new municipality. The applicants' main complaint alleged a failure by the MDB to consult them. In his ruling, Judge Makgoba dismissed the case on the ground that the applicants have not been able to show that the MDB's decision was lacking in rationality (Makgoba, 2016:4,31-35). He stated that it could not be correct for the applicants to allege that there was never any consultation, citing the following quotation made by one of the community members who participated in the MDB's public meeting:

*Thank you Chair, I would like to thank the Chairperson. I will be short and say a few paragraphs. I am paramount Chief Masia and I speak on behalf of Masia Traditional Council. I had been sent here by Tshimbupfe Traditional Council, Nesengani, Davhana Traditional Council, Tshikonelo as well sent me and the Mulenzhe too sent me. No one is supposed to speak on our behalf. The abovementioned communities want to remain in Makhado, and the two mentioned communities who are under Thulamela to remain under Thulamela. We wrote a submission that we submitted in line with said criteria for demarcation. I will end there. There is no one in the Vuwani area who should represent us. We have not sent any person to speak on our behalf. (Makgoba, 2016:21-22)*

From the above quoted words of Chief Masia, the Judge concluded that almost all the applicants in this case took part in the consultations and deliberations leading to the final demarcation decision. However, the Judge further acknowledged in his ruling that it was also clear from the contribution by Chief Masia that the applicants wanted to remain where they were (Makgoba, 2016:22,32). In other words, the MDB had blatantly ignored the expressed sentiments of the communities concerned.

In the case of JB Marks LM, eight submissions from the total of 13 submissions received were not in support of the Tlokwe/Ventersdorp merger. The objections of those

persons and institutions that were not in support of the merger centred on the following arguments (MDB, 2015d:36-37):

- a) Allegations that the decision to amalgamate the two local municipalities was a premeditated initiative to consolidate political power.
- b) Optimal financial viability will not be achievable due to alleged mismanagement, corruption and incompetence in Ventersdorp LM.
- c) None of the other South African local municipalities of the Ventersdorp's calibre merged in the past became success stories.
- d) The merger will negatively affect service delivery.
- e) There will be adverse financial strain on Tlokwe.

The DA also made a court application for an interdict against the MDB's decision to amalgamate Tlokwe and Ventersdorp local municipalities into one municipal area. Specifically, the DA alleged that in its bias, the MDB had targeted DA-led municipalities as well as those municipalities that the party had good prospects of controlling in the near future (MDB, 2015b:2). Here too, despite the objections brought forward by persons and institutions that were not in support of the merger, the MDB went ahead with the merger of Tlokwe and Ventersdorp local municipalities into JB Marks.

As in the case of Vuwani-Malamulele where the traditional chiefs lost, the DA court application for an interdict against the MDB's decision vis-à-vis Tlokwe-Ventersdorp was also dismissed (MDB, 2015d:34). According to the MDB, its decision was primarily based on its investigation report, which revealed that the merger would result in the equal distribution of population between the new merged municipality and its neighbouring the City of Matlosana LM. Given the functional road linkage between the two, the distance between the Tlokwe and the Ventersdorp local municipalities (50km) was considered reasonable and adequate to form socio-economic linkages. The investigation found that, once amalgamated, average levels of access to basic services would increase. It also found that the merger would result in a more diversified economy by combining Ventersdorp LM's commercial farming with Tlokwe LM's industrialisation. No municipal fragmentation would occur because the two municipalities are spatially

adjusted. Furthermore, the merger would enable effective local governance by assisting Ventersdorp with much needed capacity. It was envisaged that the merger would therefore result in the sharing and redistribution of financial and administrative resources across the local municipalities in the Kenneth Kaunda DM (MDB, 2015d:29-34).

In light of the above discussion, conflicting views are palpable between the authorities on the one hand and society on the other. While it is accepted and indeed imperative that those affected by demarcation decisions have a say, their participation in these two cases did not seem to have any influence on demarcation decisions. This development raises a number of questions regarding the functioning of participatory democracy.

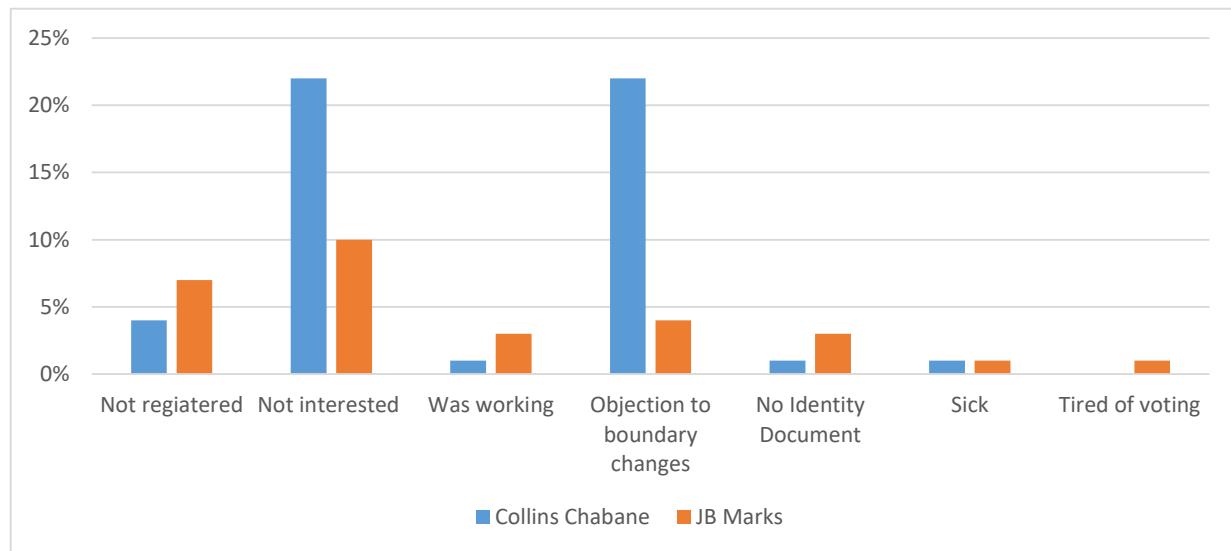
#### **6.5.4 Participants involvement in the local government elections**

To provide some insight into the general voting behaviour of the participants, they were asked to indicate whether they voted in the 2016 local government election and their reasons for not voting if they did not.

**Table 6.19: Did you vote in the local government election in August 2016?**

	Did you vote in the local government election in August 2016?		<b>Total</b>
	<b>Yes (N)</b>	<b>No (N)</b>	
Collins Chabane	49	51	<b>100</b>
J B Marks	68	32	<b>100</b>
Total	117	83	<b>200</b>

Participation levels in the municipal elections varied in the two case studies. About half (49 participants) in Collins Chabane and two-thirds (68 participants) in JB Marks voted in the 2016 local government elections. In terms of correlation by home language, voting was highest among Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking participants residing in JB Marks LM. A lack of interest in voting was highest among Vendas; half of those who did not vote were Vendas residing in Vuwani area.



**Figure 6.7: Reasons why participants did not vote**

In probing the reasons for not voting, 24% of participants in the Collins Chabane and 10% in JB Marks LM indicated a lack of interest as their reason for staying away. A further 24% of Collins Chabane participants did not vote in express objection to boundary changes. While some participants in both local municipalities did not vote because they did not register to vote, others were working, had no identity documents or were ill. Of the total number of 40 000 registered voters in Vuwani's 13 wards, only 5000 voters were reported to have cast their votes in the 2016 local government elections. Of the 71 seats in the Collins Chabane LM, the ANC won 60 followed by the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)'s six seats. The remainder of the seats went to smaller parties. It was reported that on election day, Vuwani community members spent their day playing soccer with their children (Collins Chabane, 2017:106; Rasila & Musitha, 2017:1,5). Such occurrences clearly do not augur well on the MDB's role in the country's democratic dispensation.

## 6.6 COMPARATIVE DEPRIVATION AND THE FEELING OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION: EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Citizens' frustrations with their deteriorating economic conditions have fuelled some violent community protest actions in South Africa (Nkhahle, 2015:82). A suite of

statements to probe comparative deprivation and social exclusion was recommended by experts during the piloting stage. To understand the level of relative deprivation in these two case studies, the participants had to choose an option from three answers: Worse, Same or Better to the question: *Since 1994, how does your area compare with other areas nearby in terms of the following?*

**Table 6.20: Perceptions how study area compares with nearby areas since 1994**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Local Municipality</b>	<b>Worse%</b>	<b>Same%</b>	<b>Better%</b>	<b>Pearson X<sup>2</sup></b>
Provision of municipal services	Collins Chabane	6.1	3.0	90.9	.000
	JB Marks	13.4	33.0	53.6	
Jobs opportunities	Collins Chabane	47.0	3.0	50.0	.000
	JB Marks	55.6	26.3	18.2	
Construction of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses	Collins Chabane	3.0	2.0	95.0	.000
	JB Marks	34.0	16.5	49.5	
Health facilities	Collins Chabane	4.1	1.0	94.8	.000
	JB Marks	23.2	17.2	59.6	
Prevention of crime	Collins Chabane	84.0	2.0	14.0	.000
	JB Marks	55.2	19.8	25.0	
Access to early childhood development (crèche)	C Chabane	1.0	0.0	99.0	.001
	JB Marks	3.1	11.2	85.7	
Access to primary education	Collins Chabane	0.0	1.0	99.0	.002
Access to secondary education	JB Marks	3.0	11.1	85.9	
Access to tertiary education	Collins Chabane	0.0	1.0	99.0	.000
	JB Marks	6.1	21.1	72.7	

There were statistical differences ( $X^2=0.00$ ) between the two municipalities regarding how their areas compared with neighbouring areas in terms of provision of municipal services. An overwhelming majority in the case of the Collins Chabane LM (90.9%) thought service provision was better while just over half (53.6%) in the JB Marks LM shared the same sentiment. More than 10% of the JB Marks participants however believed that service provision has worsened.

Regarding their perceptions of availability of job opportunities there were statistically significant differences ( $X^2=0.00$ ) between the two municipalities. In both cases, just about half of the participants believed that availability of job opportunities had worsened. However, half of the participants in the Collins Chabane LM thought that jobs were much better to find.

Statistical significant differences ( $X^2=0.00$ ) also obtained between the two municipalities over the significance of construction of RDP houses. An overwhelming majority (95%) of Collins Chabane and nearly half (49.5%) of JB Marks participants believed that things had gotten better. Again, nearly a third (34%) of the JB Marks LM believed that things had in fact gotten worse.

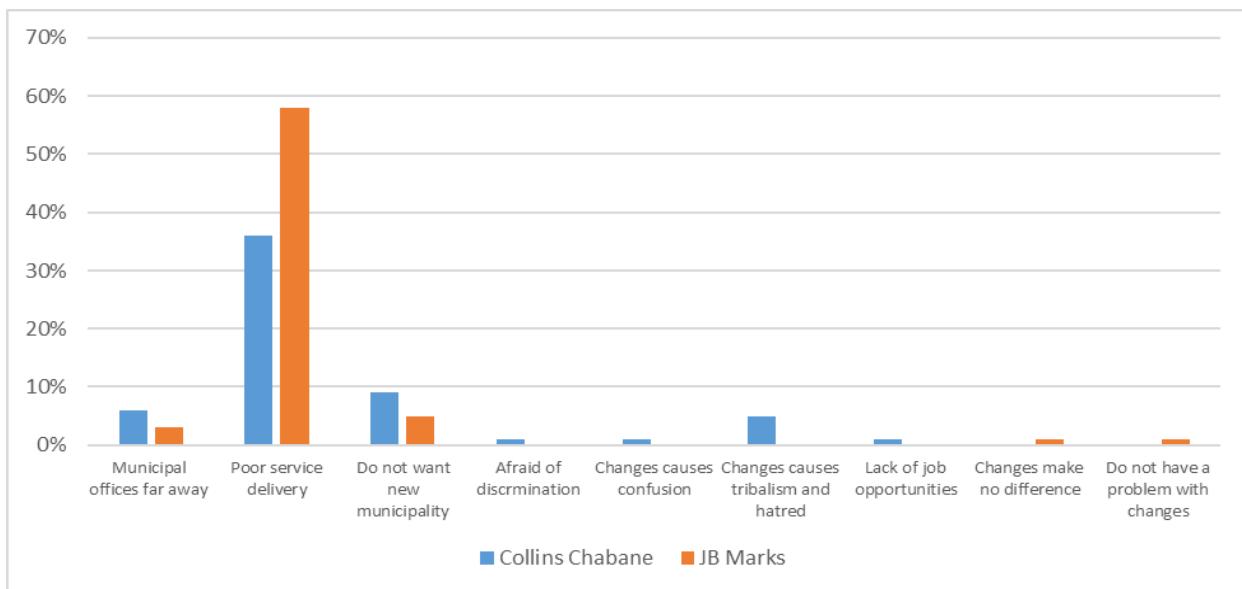
With regard to the provision of health facilities, there was statistical significant differences ( $X^2=0.00$ ) between the two municipalities. An overwhelming majority (94.8%) of Collins Chabane and just below two-thirds (59.6%) of JB Marks residents revealed that health facilities had improved. Again, it was only among JB Marks participants where sentiments that things have either gotten worse (23.2%) or stayed the same (17.2%) figured.

On crime prevention in the participants' locality as well as adjacent localities, there was statistically significant difference ( $X^2=0.00$ ) wherein the majority (84%) of Collins Chabane participants and more than half (55.2%) from JB Marks all believed that crime prevention had worsened. Only a quarter (25%) of the JB Marks participants thought that crime prevention has become better in their area.

Access to the early childhood facilities like crèches is perceived by an overwhelming majority of the participants (99% in Collins Chabane and 85.7% in JB Marks) to have gotten better. Statistically significant differences of ( $X^2=0.00$ ) were however observed ( $X^2=0.00$ ) with regard to perceived access to primary, secondary and tertiary education. An overwhelming majority of the participants in all cases (more than two thirds) perceived access to these educational provisions to have gotten better. Despite observable differences of extent, the trend opposed to demarcations perceived as imposed by the MDB appears to be similar in both cases.

## 6.7 CONCERNS REGARDING CHANGES TO MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Finally, participants faced the open-ended question: "What are your main concerns regarding changes of municipal boundaries?" This question desired to establish some of the reasons for opinions expressed in response to the close-ended questions, thereby enriching some of the views expressed in numbers.



**Figure 6.8: Main concerns raised by participants regarding changes of municipal boundaries**

A number of concerns were raised about the poor delivery of municipal services in both cases. Almost 70% of the participants from Collins Chabane were concerned that boundary changes would have a negative effect on access to basic services; 35% of the participants from the JB Marks LM felt the same way. A sizable number of Collins Chabane participants felt that the municipal offices would be too far away, and the new municipality would fuel tribalism. Venda speaking people in the Collins Chabane LM did not feel that they belong and the correlation between home language and main concerns regarding changes of municipal boundaries confirmed this point (Nicolson, 2017:Online). Similarly, with regard to JB Marks, participants from Ventersdorp felt that municipal headquarters based in Tlokwe, a distance of about 50km, would be too far. In response to this concern, the LM plans to strengthen the two main administrative

centres of Tlokwe and Ventersdorp and to develop new Satellite Administrative and Thusong Centres to service a cluster of villages (JB Marks LM, 2017a:ii).

It is noteworthy that the Afrikaans speaking people of Coloured descent in JB Marks felt that they have nothing to celebrate. As a participant from Toevlug Township put it, "It does not matter in which municipality we fall under, we are forgotten people in this new democracy." Compared to neighbouring areas, the majority of Toevlug and Promosa participants felt that housing development has become worse over the years. Mr. John Behaver Marks, after whom the new municipality is named, was a trade unionist born in Toevlug, a small township of about 40 small redbrick houses built before 1994. To the south, the township boasts an informal settlement with no basic services. Mr Marks died in 1972 in Russia and his remains were only brought back home in 2015. His six metre bronze statue is erected on the eastern side of the township where his remains are reburied, rendering the place a heritage site.

## **6.8 CONCLUSION**

In general, there was very little community support for the mergers in both case studies. Both this study's findings and the violent protests that ensued confirm this observation. A perceived lack of public participation in demarcation processes resulted in the lack of trust in those who are responsible for the demarcation processes. Changes in municipal boundaries have a considerable effect on the way municipalities perform their functions, as well as on residents' sense of belonging to the area.

The majority of participants agreed unequivocally that their municipalities have a role to play in providing them with basic services; the expectation seems higher among Collins Chabane LM residents than among the residents of JB Marks LM. While there were participants who agreed or strongly agreed that municipal officials have enough knowledge to decide which services are required in their municipal areas, half of the participants did not agree that officials have enough capacity to deliver services on their own. A high proportion of the participants strongly agreed that the delivery of high quality basic services for their well-being is important, and most felt that the municipalities were delivering basic services equally across ethnic groups. Hardly any

participant agreed that there were ever any times when their municipalities had exceeded their expectations.

Satisfaction with the fact of the provision of municipal services was generally high, with concerns revolving only around the quality of such services. Payment of services is necessary, but a culture of non-payment for certain services by households is quite prevalent. While it might be too early to evaluate the effects of demarcation changes in the two case studies, boundary changes appear to have substantial effects on service delivery. For instance, a sizable proportion of participants in both local municipalities claimed that access to services such as electricity and water had worsened under the new municipal administrations, not taking into account the skyrocketing cost thereof. In this case, the merger had fiscal effects due to transitional costs and the accumulation of debts from the poorer or bankrupt LM.

Another key finding of this research is that changing municipal boundaries has adverse effects on the social integration of the assorted communities. Participants' knowledge of and interaction with their municipality's leadership, knowledge of their neighbours, and so forth all helped measure these unfortunate effects of mergers. Many participants did not know the municipal leadership, some not even where the municipal offices are situated. Nonetheless, high levels of coexistence with one another irrespective of ethnicity were still palpable in both cases. For instance, Vuwani residents did not feel that they belonged to the new municipality. In fact, they feared a potential loss of their ethnic identity. However, they had no qualms about sharing resources with people from different ethnic groups.

Majority of participants felt that their interests were not adequately represented well in their local municipalities. Those who have been living in the area for longer tended to identify more with their local municipalities, while those who speak minority languages felt that they did not belong. Literature shows that when citizens feel left out, they lose interest in the governance activities of the municipality to which they belong. This study found that more people participated in the anti-demarcation protests than those who took part in the municipal demarcation meetings. Because they felt excluded, voting in

the 2016 local government elections was the least concern among those who felt that they did not belong to their local municipalities.

An overwhelming majority of citizens desire to participate actively in the affairs that directly affect them. However, participation in ward committees system and in demarcation processes is too low to influence public policy. This is a likely indication of a sense that their expressed views are not taken seriously by officials. It is disheartening to citizens to see the MDB continue with predetermined redetermination programs regardless of representations made by affected communities. In such instances, the gerrymandering aspirations of the ruling party suggest themselves as possible motivation for irrational and unpopular changes.

Overall, participants felt that the provision of municipal services had improved compared to nearby areas since 1994. Those who felt deprived of better living conditions such as decent houses happened to be minorities in their local municipalities. These also experienced a worsening of unemployment as well as crime levels in their areas. Clearly, adequate and timeous consultations with affected communities will minimise misperceptions of the motives for apparently haphazard redeterminations.

The chapter that follows draws the study's overall conclusions, policy recommendations and suggestions for future research.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN:**

### **CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

Chapter 6 presented and discussed the empirical findings of this research. This concluding chapter's brief is to summarise as well as draw the study's overall conclusions. Ultimately, recommendations for policy review, practical interventions and future research are put forward.

#### **7.2 CONCLUSION**

The introductory chapter provided a brief overview of this study's two case studies. Literature reviewed in Chapter 1 affirmed territorial borders as essential in determining state territory and in shaping societies. The literature further associated borders closely with conflicts and wars. The phenomenon of contested borders between and within the states appears to be universal, and instances exist in the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The chapter further reflected on the research conducted in the field of state borders and cases of tensions over municipal boundary demarcation.

Chapter 2 presented international literature and theories justifying the establishment of local geographic boundaries. The following international conceptual framework of local government reform comprising of five strategies emerged:

- a) Jurisdictional reform.
- b) Functional reform.
- c) Financial reform.
- d) Internal governance and management reform.
- e) Structural reform (reconfiguring the number, type and size of local government units).

Of the five strategies mentioned above, structural reform has been the most prominent. A general trend noted was that countries tend to create larger municipalities following

the assumption that “bigger is better”. Then again, the case remains for smaller municipalities in which the equitable distribution of national resources is much more feasible. Factors to consider when boundaries are determined include, among other things, whether a proposed municipal area will be able to function effectively, efficiently, as well as be economically and environmentally sustainable. Literature further pointed out the ever-present threat of gerrymandering used by threatened incumbents. The review was done with the aim of ascertaining whether some of the aspects of gerrymandering apply to the two case studies covered by this research.

Chapters 3 and 4 covered a brief history of the transformation of local government in South Africa from apartheid to non-racial democracy. This literature review was crucial as it provided a better understanding of the different systems of local government that existed in the past, and the reason why a radical change in local government structures was required at apartheid’s demise. Chapter 4 specifically moved on to review the legislative criteria for municipal demarcation, legal processes for determining and re-determining municipal boundaries, in addition to different types of restructuring. The relationship between demarcation criteria and the objectives of local government set out in the 1996 Constitution also underwent interrogation.

Municipal boundary reconfiguration in South Africa ranges from minor technical alignments of the boundaries between municipalities, amalgamation of some municipalities, to demarcating new municipal areas. The rationalisation of municipalities in South Africa in keeping with the general trend towards the creation of larger municipalities saw a significant reduction in the number municipalities from over a thousand pre-1996 to less than 300 currently. Table 7.1 outlines the brief trajectory of the configuration of municipalities.

It was envisaged that through this rationalisation municipalities would be able to deliver basic services efficiently, have sustainable financial systems, and promote participatory governance. Notwithstanding the significant progress made, many challenges remain at this point in time. The inability of some of the municipalities to deliver services, to manage their finances and to engage with communities has been publicly evidenced in the spate of community protests.

**Table 7.1: Reduction in the number of municipalities in South Africa since 1996**

YEAR	NUMBER	CONFIGURATION TYPE AND REASONS
1996	830	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It was estimated that there were over 1000 different local government bodies in existence across racial groups pre-1996</li> <li>The transformation of local government involved integration of different systems of local government that had already been in existence in the urban areas. Local government system had to be introduced as well in the rural areas that had not been covered by local government before</li> </ul>
2000	284	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The reduction of municipalities to 284 in 2000 was done to enhance integration through wall-to-wall municipalities, thus ensuring that all communities are part of a municipality and benefit through access to services and representation offered by its council</li> <li>Some 16 municipalities across all the categories straddled between two provincial administration (cross-boundary municipalities)</li> <li>Largely unpopulated areas like national parks were demarcated into DMAs</li> </ul>
2006	283	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cross-boundary municipalities were abolished due to the difficulty in applying the joint provincial administration system, as a result, one cross-boundary district was disestablished</li> </ul>
2011	278	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The reduction of five municipalities was a result of the MDB's decision to re-determine the boundaries of a number of municipalities, disestablishing certain municipalities as well as incorporating certain parts of certain municipalities into other municipal areas</li> <li>Two LMs were re-categorised into category A (metropolitan)</li> <li>All the declarations of DMAs were removed and these areas were incorporated into neighbouring local councils</li> </ul>
2016	257	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The reduction in the number of local municipalities from 226 to 205 was to ensure that they are financial viable and sustainable</li> <li>Boundary changes involved the redetermination of 19 local municipalities in seven Provinces</li> <li>For the first time, municipal financial viability was placed at the core of boundary changes, a major departure from the existing demarcation criteria</li> </ul>

To summarise, this section turns to the key findings of the research and relates them to the research objectives as set out in Chapter 1.

**Objective 1:** *To determine whether the MDB are creating municipalities that are capable of providing municipal services efficiently*

As reflected in section 1.3 (*Rationale*), South Africa did not have an independent body responsible for the determination of municipal boundaries under the apartheid regime. For the first non-racial local government elections in 1995, members of the MEC had the role of determining the boundaries on the advice of provincial demarcation boards. Due to the enactment of 1996 Constitution and the promulgation of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998, the nine provincial demarcation boards were disestablished and MECs were no longer responsible for the determination of municipal boundaries.

Since 1999, the MDB has been mandated the 1996 Constitution and the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act, of 1998 to determine and re-determine municipal boundaries according to demarcation criteria and objectives discussed in section 4.2.3. At the beginning of 2015, the Minister of COGTA requested the MDB to re-determine the boundaries of specific municipalities that were deemed dysfunctional and financially unviable. In the government's eyes, municipalities that were capable of providing municipal services efficiently and ensuring utilising public resources would be created, including the two case studies covered by this research. Further, literature review chapters echoed the notion that demarcations proceed so as to ensure that municipalities operate within clearly and legally defined boundaries for a better delivery of public services. In addition, some universal principles pertaining to local government apply if municipalities wish to be both effective and responsive to their constituencies. Essentially, every local government has to be able to perform its allocated functions (see *supra* 4.4). Pearson results ( $\chi^2=0.00$ ) have indicated residents do not always prize this responsibility when there are more pressing matters at hand. So for instance, Collins Chabane LM residents held their municipality to this role much tighter than did the residents of JB Marks LM.

This study also found that there is variance in the municipal capacities and, consequently, in the levels of services the residents are receiving in the two cases examined herein. Evidently, this finding reflects the general institutional capacity inconsistencies among local municipalities in South Africa. As an average municipality, JB Marks LM provides all the municipal services to its residents tested by this study. All its managerial posts were filled, a factor that is vital to the overall provision of services. All the same, because JB Marks LM resulted from the merging a better resourced municipality with one that hardly had a tax base, attitudes and experiences of residents from these disparate locations are bound to differ. Overall, those who had been stable are eager to blame even the slightest price increase or delay in service provision on the burden of the weaker municipality on their fiscal base.

At Collins Chabane LM, the majority of participants revealed that the provision of piped water and electricity services were satisfactory. However, the shared responsibility in a number of functions between the Collins Chabane LM and the Vhembe DM means that Collins Chabane LM residents receive most of their basic services directly from Vhembe DM. In terms of management capacity, the municipal administration is facing some challenges. During the course of this research, the organisational structure was not yet finalised. This is a major hindrance to efficient service delivery. In terms of the national Department of COGTA's assessment tool, Collins Chabane LM can be classified as dysfunctional. The new municipality has no tax base and a culture of non-payment for certain services by households is prevalent.

Municipal boundary changes appear to have substantial effects on service delivery. The majority of participants in the two cases studied pointed to deteriorating access to services such as electricity and water under the new municipal administrations. This finding positively correlates with the argument made in Section 1.2.

**Objective 2:** *To ascertain whether communities are involved in the municipal demarcation processes in their areas*

The Municipal Demarcation Act urges the MDB to involve all stakeholders in the legal process of determining and re-determining municipal boundaries. This legal process

entails negotiations between the government, the MDB, civil society and affected communities through, among other things, public meetings. This measure is meant to ensure that those who are affected have the opportunity to participate. The study uncovered low levels of community participation in demarcation processes. In both cases studied, the majority of participants indicated that they have never taken part in any meetings to talk about municipal boundary changes.

The main reason of those who participated in the demarcation protests, as stated in the Vuwani community's application to the High Court to reverse the MDB decision, was the alleged failure by the MDB to consult them adequately. Those who had participated through submissions and attended the public meetings felt that their views were not sufficiently acknowledged. Literature consulted for this study confirms the lack of community involvement in demarcation processes as a typical flaw of participatory governance efforts in South Africa. Some violent protests in the country might have been prevented were the citizens consulted about the proposed mergers as well as about effective avenues for community engagement and objection. Generally, demarcation protests reflect a weakness in legal process prescribed by legislation.

Aside from MDB processes, local government legislation further provides mechanisms for local participatory democracy such as ward committees. From the findings of this research, the rate of public participation in ward committee meetings is very low. Only less than 5% of the participants in both cases attended ward committee meetings all the time. Attendance by the participants was sometimes higher in JB Marks LM than in Collins Chabane LM. Although the participants' reasons for not attending ward committee meetings could not be established through the questionnaire, literature review revealed that low attendance rates could be attributed to the fact that issues that are raised and discussed in the ward committee meetings are not followed through. Often, these issues do not find their way into in council meetings, and thus fail to feature in the municipality's IDPs.

There is thus a call for local authorities to promote local governance by interacting with citizens, groups and local communities in local development matters in order to formulate and execute collective action at the local level. The assumption is that when

good local governance prevails, there is facilitation of outcomes that enrich the quality of life of residents (see *supra* 1.7.1).

**Objective 3:** *To ascertain whether there is promotion of social integration in the two case studies*

Social integration levels varied within both case studies' diverse communities. Testing involved interrogating the participants' interaction with each other and with the municipal leadership. Change in municipal boundaries had some negative effects on the participants' feeling of belonging to their local municipality, more so in the Collins Chabane LM than at JB Marks. Municipal leadership was barely known to residents, so too the locations of municipal offices.

Nonetheless, there were high degrees of coexistence irrespective of ethnic backgrounds. Those who have been living in the area for longer felt a much stronger sense of belonging to their local municipalities. Those who felt that they did not belong to the new municipality, in the main, were motivated by fear of losing their ethnic dominance. Those who speak the minority languages also felt that they did not belong to their municipalities. It appears that those who participated in the protests felt no allegiance to their local municipalities, the same seems to be true of those who did not vote. These are disheartening developments for a vibrant democracy like South Africa.

It has become clear through this research that there are still people who are excluded from social and political system in the two case studies. The theoretical literature reviewed in Chapter 2 affirms that societies are better off if there is promotion social integration through inclusive policies that enable persons, regardless of their attributes, to enjoy equal opportunities, rights and services that are available from the mainstream system of economic, social and political relationships (see Table 2.1).

**Objective 4:** *To determine the main reasons for demarcation objections*

The demarcation of a country into manageable local areas is a prerequisite for the transfer of authority and responsibility for public functions from central to regional and local governments (see *supra* 2.2). Chief among the objectives for determining or re-

determining municipal boundaries is the desire to establish areas that can facilitate municipalities' fulfilment of their constitutional obligations. Municipal demarcation also occurs in order to determine electoral district areas for effective governance and provision of public services.

However, the majority of this study's participants felt that boundary changes would have a negative effect on access to basic services. For instance, the concern about long distances to get to new municipal offices is reasonable; residents should not have to travel 50km just to get to municipal offices. Then there were those who did not want to be associated with municipalities about which they knew very little. Boundary conflicts reviewed in Chapter 1 were a result of some of the concerns raised in this study (Hartebeespoort, Khutsong, Moutse, Zamdela and Matatiele communities). These communities were convinced that service delivery would be severely compromised under a new demarcated area. Some residents of wealthy areas objected to amalgamation with poorer surrounding areas. Others did not want to be incorporated into poorer neighbouring municipalities whose residents would benefit from their resources.

### **7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE**

That violent protests regularly accompany municipal demarcation objections in South Africa could reflect an urgent need for policy review. This research proposes a review of the municipal demarcation legislation in the following areas:

#### **7.3.1 Promotion of alternative arrangements to mergers**

Informed by the belief that smaller municipalities are inefficient and not financially viable, merging of smaller local municipalities has been central to local government reform since 1995 (see *supra* 1.3). Surprisingly, the findings of this research suggest that mergers do not necessarily lead to improved local government capacity and efficient service delivery. The question inevitably arises whether amalgamation is the appropriate approach to apply in South Africa. Against this background, this research supports and recommends alternative models that can achieve efficiency without

municipal boundary changes. These include the voluntary cooperation system, collaborative arrangements and special purpose districts that encourage existing smaller local municipalities to collaborate in the provision of services (see *supra* 2.4). Through voluntary cooperation, a voluntary arrangement is signed between geographically adjacent councils sharing resources when need arises. Collaborative arrangements encourage existing smaller local councils to collaborate in the provision of public services. Special purpose districts provide region-wide services such as education, transportation, water and waste management services. To some extent, special purpose districts are equivalent to South African district municipalities. In addition, provision has been made through the local government legislative framework for municipalities to outsource the provision of services to their own utilities. Another option available is the provision of services through external mechanisms, especially with technical services that put disproportionate strain on the capacity of smaller municipalities. In view of the effective integrated water resources management, municipal boundaries should also take into consideration the surface water catchment areas identified by the national Department of Water and Sanitation.

### **7.3.2 Facilitation of meaningful community participation in the demarcation process**

There is a need for improvement in the current legal process envisaged in the legislation that governs the MDB. While negotiations are fundamental when boundaries are drawn, this research highlights a lack of community participation in the demarcation processes. This situation is exacerbated when residents also feel alienated from their local government representatives. Research participants claimed that the MDB had not consulted adequately with them, which resulted in those mostly affected resorting to protests and/or legal recourse (see *supra* 6.5.2). Firstly, the publication of the intention to change municipal boundaries through newspapers and other means of communication by the MDB to invite public views on the matter does not seem to be effective. Secondly, low levels of knowledge of the MDB and a lack of interest in taking part in municipal demarcation meetings are widespread. Thirdly, the MDB has a minimal presence locally and its reliance on municipalities for facilitation of public participation in

the municipal demarcation processes aggravates gerrymandering perceptions. In the rural areas, the participation of traditional leaders in the public hearings on behalf of their communities does not amount to adequate consultation. It is, however, encouraging to note that the current MDB leadership has proposed a number of initiatives, including the development of a public participation framework to address impediments to MDB's approach to public participation. A wide dissemination of the resource booklet entitled *Municipal boundary demarcation process: A process map for the determination and redetermination of municipal boundaries* (2017) is urgent in order to empower members of the public to play a meaningful part in these matters. Finally, the proposed regionalisation of the MDB offices to ensure that it is closer to the communities is also welcome.

### **7.3.3 A major criterion in defining local government boundaries should be about preserving and promoting community of interest**

The findings of this research revealed that the determination of municipal boundaries compromises social boundaries that are neither tangible nor readily visible to outsiders. Municipal boundary delimitation is subject spaces that have social meaning and collective interest. As a result, consideration should be given to social aspects when boundaries are defined, thereby preserving the idea of promoting the interest of the community (see *supra* 2.3.2). Community of interest concerns grouping individuals who share cultural, ethnic or social ties within close proximity of one another. This notion rests on a subjective feeling of attachment to a community and ultimately to a local municipality. This research recommends that a major criterion in defining local government boundaries should bring together the following elements that have a bearing on social integration:

- a) Recognition and respect of diverse ethnic groups and cultural traits.
- b) Discussion of social issues that concern citizens during engagement in the demarcation processes.
- c) Representation of political voices in order to ensure that the interests of different groups are taken into account in decision-making.

- d) Equal distribution of socio-economic resources among demarcated areas in order to prevent deep disparities and fragmentation along the lines of ethnicity, region, gender, age or other social identity.

Without directly using the concept ‘social integration’, the 1996 Constitution also entrenches the principle of equality before the law. Its Section 9(2) states: “Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.” Section 9(3) further confirms that “The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.”

The proposed criterion of preserving the interest of the community together with the model of Social Integration depicted in the literature (*Table 2.1*) are useful in restoring the social contract that presently seems to be broken between the citizens and the government.

A further recommendation relates to boundary changes at municipal level needing to take cognisance of historical boundaries. Under apartheid, different ethnic groups and races became accustomed to separate systems of government administration (see *supra* 3.3). These boundaries were not just apartheid boundaries to hinder their development; they became cultural, social and regional boundaries as well. Notwithstanding the fact that most of the re-demarcations since 1996 have been directed towards societal integration and the equitable redistribution of municipal services, the process also seems to interfere with the people’s social life. In other countries, placing individuals who share social ties in the same municipal area appear to advance their interests.

In the case of Vuwani, the MDB went ahead and established the Collins Chabane LM from scratch with the belief that the new municipality would bring the majority of homeland people once divided along ethnic lines back together. Tsongas and Vendas

used to live together in multilingual communities throughout Limpopo until the establishment of the homeland system under the segregationist apartheid policies. Until 1994, Vuwani and Malamulele belonged to different homelands established along ethnic lines, i.e. the Republic of Venda and the Gazankulu self-governing territory (South African History Online, 2011: Online). Notwithstanding this fact, it has to be kept in mind that local government system was mainly an urban feature and only white areas had fully functional councils.

#### **7.3.4 MDB's transparency regarding how it reaches its decisions**

In this research, gerrymandering, i.e., a specific category of manipulation of the political system by those in power, was looked into with a view to ascertaining how it applies on the South African local political landscape, if at all. Literature reviewed in chapter 2 on redistricting revealed that it has become common for the political party in power to gerrymander or to redraw electoral boundaries in their favour. While the practice of gerrymandering is documented in detail in the USA, this research found apparent gerrymandering in both case studies. When asked what they thought the reasons were behind municipal boundary changes in their areas, the majority the participants in the JB Marks and some Collins Chabane participants saw the changes as politically motivated. It, therefore, seems as if municipal demarcation intentions are merely party-political (election engineering) rather than promotion of community interests. This finding has serious implications on the credibility of the MDB whose responsibility is to define boundaries for effective local government without political interference. As an entity established by the country's 1996 Constitution to be independent of political machinations, the MDB clearly has to be transparent regarding how it reaches its decisions. There are different ways to curb gerrymandering such as those spelled out in section 2.4.2.3.

### **7.4 CONTRIBUTION TO PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION DISCIPLINE**

Much of the literature consulted and reflected in chapter 1 of this research confirmed that the redetermination of local authorities' boundaries has untoward effects on people's livelihoods. Evidence also confirmed that the determination of municipal

boundaries is a matter of concern. Therefore, this research attempts to complement key trends that have been observed by earlier studies at international, regional and local levels:

Theoretically speaking, a strong rationale in favour of the existence of local government is provided from the two major schools of thought, namely: the democratic participatory school and the efficient-service school. What has been demonstrated in this research is the use other theoretical arguments from other disciplines to provide justifications for the existence of local government and the necessity of boundary demarcation. A useful framework for discussing local government boundaries utilised in this research stands on three legs: efficient administration of public services, participatory democracy, and social integration. From the perspective of social integration theory, local government is necessary because of the need to promote social integration among different ethnic groups enclosed within municipalities' jurisdictions.

In terms of international experiences around frameworks for local government reform, a few were brought to bear on prospects of a South African local government reform. Chief among these is the popular structural reform comprising of amalgamation, fragmentation, voluntary cooperation and special purpose districts. Here the underlying assumption is the notion that changes to structure do affect the operational efficiency of municipal governance. The question inevitably arises whether amalgamation is the appropriate approach to apply in South Africa. Against this background, this research supports and recommends alternative models that can achieve efficiency without municipal boundary changes. These include the voluntary cooperation system, collaborative arrangements and special purpose districts that encourage existing smaller local municipalities to collaborate in the provision of services (see *supra* 2.4). In addition, gerrymandering has been looked into with a view to ascertaining how it applies on the South African local political landscape. While this practice is a common practice in the USA, this research found apparent gerrymandering in both case studies. This finding add value to earlier studies by authors such as Napier (2008) and Mohammed (2015) reviewed in chapter 2.

While much of the literature consulted in this research has either addressed the effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in its entirety in South Africa, the main findings of this research complement key trends that have been observed by earlier studies. Generally, changes in municipal demarcation have very little community support. The study uncovered low levels of community participation in demarcation processes. Changes in municipal demarcation have an effect on the way municipalities perform their functions and therefore, influence communities' access to services. All over the world, the main reason put forward in favour of larger demographic bases is that larger municipalities is believed to achieve what smaller authorities cannot. Literature reviewed in this research associates bigger with more efficient public service, but other studies suggest that citizen satisfaction is lower in larger population authorities. In this research, perceptions of poor service delivery and community dissatisfaction have been observed.

## 7.5 PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In light of the discussions and findings of this research, further research is proposed to explore the following three basic questions:

- a) Are the criteria for determining and re-determining municipal boundaries relevant for purposes of effective and efficient local government and administration beyond the period that the current research is focused on? (see *supra* 4.2.3.2).
- b) Have medium-scale boundary adjustments and the declarations of new metropolitan municipalities that have taken place since 1996 fulfilled the goals of promoting efficiency in the delivery of municipal services?
- c) What are citizens' perception relative to municipal amalgamations? This question deserves further exploration in more of South Africa's municipalities. The actual empirical findings revealed how the mergers have affected the delivery of basic services, the promotion of public participation in local government decision-making processes, as well as the promotion of social integration between the different groups. While these findings have only accounted for the two case studies out of many others, the process of demarcation of municipal boundaries

is regularly accompanied by objections and violent protests from affected members of the communities across the country. Boundary objections in areas such as those reflected in the opening chapter (see *supra* 1.2) were viewed as a way of communities' unhappiness with the final demarcation decisions.

- d) Further research may look at gerrymandering (demarcation changes, which are motivated by the political aspirations of those who are in power). This matter was not elaborated in detail in this research and further research may offer a valuable contribution to enhance South African literature in the subject field (see *supra* 2.4.2).
- e) What are the implications of municipal demarcation on the efficient management of water, sanitation and environmental services? Literature suggested that the demarcation process of municipalities' geographical areas does not seem to take into consideration South Africa's surface water catchment areas (see *supra* 4.2.3.4).

## 7.6 CONCLUSION

First, this research brought forward trends in international border determinations as well as South Africa's municipal boundary demarcations. Perceptions around political, cultural and economic outcomes of boundary determinations were also introduced. Second, scholarly literature interrogated different assumptions and theoretical arguments in favour of the existence of local government boundaries and structural reform strategies. Third, the research looked at the historical overview of the evolution of local government in South Africa. Fourth, the research reviewed the policy and legislative framework within which the current local government demarcation system in South Africa is located. The focus was squarely on the current legislative framework, the rationalization of municipalities in terms of numbers, as well as their performance and challenges. Fifth, a dedicated research methodology chapter articulated the methodological and philosophical underpinnings of this research. Sixth, the research presented and discussed the actual empirical findings from the two case studies regarding the effect of municipal boundary demarcations on service delivery and social

integration. Seventh, the concluding remarks, recommendations for policy review, practical interventions and future research were put forward.

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## ANNEXURES

### ANNEXURE 1: ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE FROM THE RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>UNISA</b>   </p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>DEPARTMENT: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT</b> <b>RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE</b></p> <p>Date: 10 May 2017</p> <p>Dear Ms Netswera</p> <p><b>Decision: Ethics Clearance Approval</b></p> <p><b>Name:</b> Ms MM Netswera, <a href="mailto:57666261@mylife.unisa.ac.za">57666261@mylife.unisa.ac.za</a>, tel: 072 892-4408 [<b>Supervisor:</b> Prof EJ Nealer, 012 429-3341, <a href="mailto:nealeej1@unisa.ac.za">nealeej1@unisa.ac.za</a>]</p> <p><b>Research project:</b> Municipal boundary demarcation and its effects on service delivery in social integration in Limpopo Province    <b>Qualification:</b> DPA</p> <p>Thank you for the application for <b>research ethics clearance</b> by the Department: Public Administration and Management: Research Ethics Review Committee, for the above mentioned research. Final approval is granted for the duration of the project. You are, though, required to submit a letter from the Municipal Demarcation Board, in which permission is granted to you to do this research, to this Ethics Committee within <b>30 days</b> of the date of this letter.</p> <p>The decision will be tabled at the next College RERC meeting for notification/ratification.</p> <p><b>For full approval:</b> The application was <b>expedited and reviewed</b> in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the RERC on 10 May 2017. The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics.</li><li>2) Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to this Ethics Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.</li><li>3) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.</li></ol> <p>Kind regards</p> <p><b>Prof Mike van Heerden</b> Chairperson: Research Ethics Review Committee <a href="mailto:vheerm@unisa.ac.za">vheerm@unisa.ac.za</a></p> <p><b>Prof MT Mogale</b> Executive Dean: CEMS</p> <p>University of South Africa Pretorius Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150 <a href="http://www.unisa.ac.za">www.unisa.ac.za</a></p>	
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**ANNEXURE 2:**  
**PERMISSION LETTER TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE**  
**MUNICIPAL DEMARCTION BOARD**

Mrs MM Netswera  
1172 Haarhoff Street East  
Moregloed  
0186



Dear Mrs M M Netswera

**RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT AN ACADEMIC RESEARCH AT THE MUNICIPAL  
DEMARCATION BOARD**

Your application letter for permission to conduct research dated 02 August 2017 has reference.

We have pleasure in granting Mrs M M Netswera, a registered PHD student of the University of South Africa permission to conduct research in our organisation. Looking forward to hearing from you regarding the interview schedules and time frames. Hope that your research findings will be shared with the MDB.

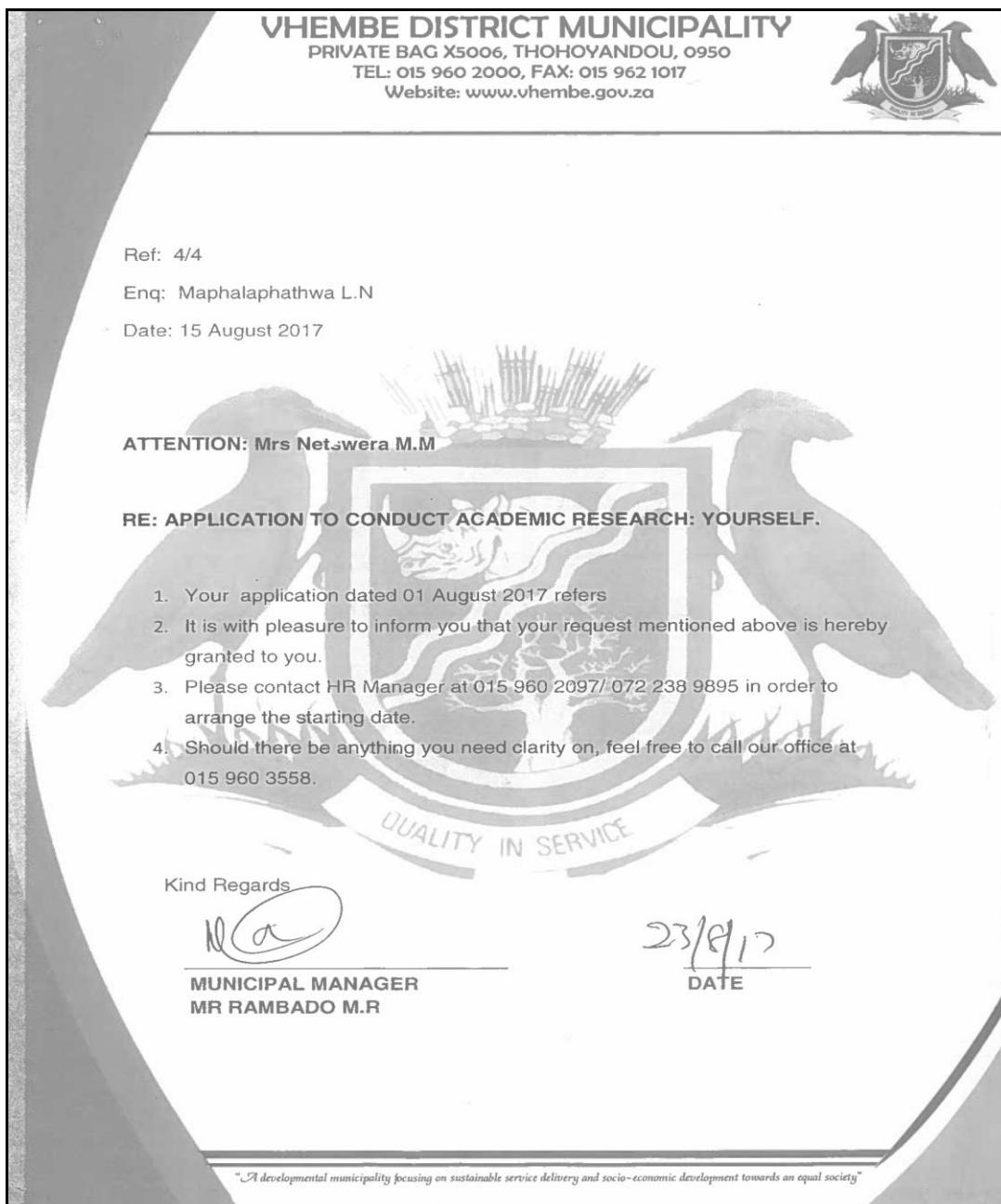
For any further enquiries on this matter contact Ms Tebogo Mampa at [tebogo@demarcation.org.za](mailto:tebogo@demarcation.org.za) or telephone: 012 342 2481.

Kind regards

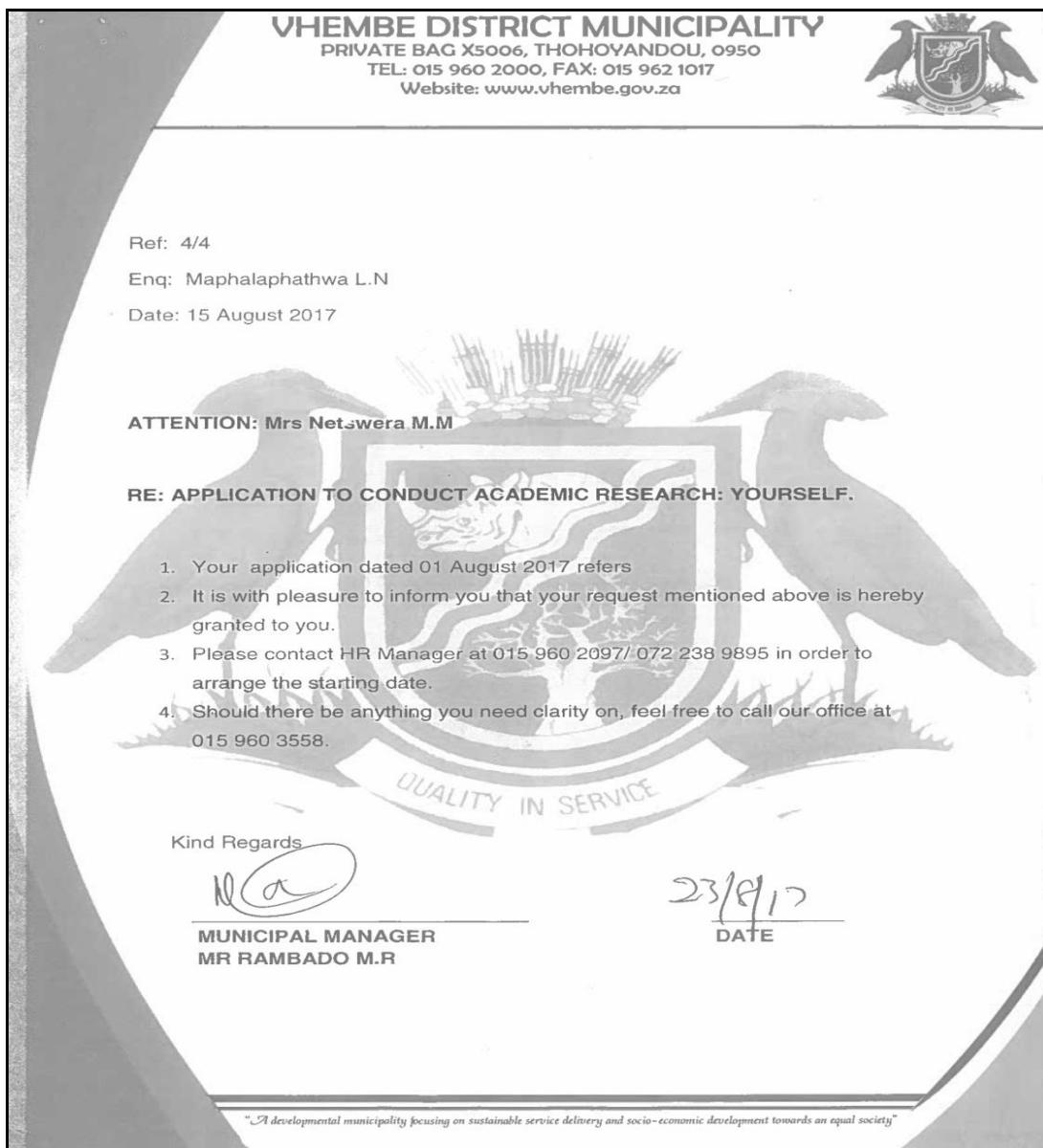
**MR M SIGIDI**  
**CHIEF OPERATIONS OFFICER**  
**MUNICIPAL DEMARCTION BOARD**

**DATE: 28 November 2017**

**ANNEXURE 3:**  
**PERMISSION LETTER TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE**  
**VHEMBE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY**



**ANNEXURE 4:**  
**PERMISSION LETTER TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE**  
**COLLINS CHABANE LOCAL MUNICIPALITY**



## ANNEXURE 5:

### PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

#### **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET**

30/08/2017

**Title: The effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in LIM345 AND NW405**

**Dear Prospective Participant**

My name is Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera and I am doing research with Professor E. J. Nealer in the Department of Public Administration and Management towards a PhD in Public Administration at the University of South Africa. We have funding from Graduate Development Fellowship Programme at Unisa and we are inviting you to participate in a study entitled: **The effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in LIM345 AND NW405.**

The purpose of this research is to find out the effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery in terms of communities' access to municipal services and social integration of diverse communities. South Africa is facing a huge problem of municipal boundary objections from the affected communities and the study has great potential to generating a better understanding of why communities are against such decisions.

You have been chosen to participate in this study because your area has been affected by municipal demarcation changes. About 10% of the households in this area are taking part in this study through a survey. You will be asked questions related to demography, service delivery and your involvement in the demarcation processes. It should not take longer than 30 minutes to administer the questionnaire to you. By taking part in the interview, you agree that the information you provide may be used for research purposes.

You are, however, under no obligation to be take part and can withdraw from the study prior to submitting the questionnaire. Also note that the survey is developed to be anonymous and we as researcher(s) will have no way of connecting the information you provide to you personally. We do not foresee that you will experience any negative consequences. You will not be reimbursed or receive any incentives for your participation in this research. The records will be kept for five years for publication purposes where after it will be permanently destroyed.

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of the CEMS, Unisa. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

Should you require any further information or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study here are the contact details: 012 429 2808; [netswmm@unisa.ac.za](mailto:netswmm@unisa.ac.za).

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.



.....

Ms Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera

University of South Africa  
Pretoria Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane  
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa  
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150  
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## ANNEXURE 6: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH

### CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, [REDACTED] (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

- I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.
- I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable).
- I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.
- I agree to complete the questionnaire.
- I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname : [REDACTED]

Participant Signature.....[REDACTED].....Date 05/09/17

Researcher's Name & Surname: M Netswera

Researcher's signature.....[REDACTED].....Date 05/09/2017

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## ANNEXURE 7:

### CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT: STATISTICIAN



#### Confidentiality Agreement Template: Statistician

This is to certify that I, Kedibone Phago, representative of the NEPA Research Core and the statistician of the research project: Effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in Collins Chabane and JB Marks local municipalities agree to the responsibilities of the statistical analysis of the data obtained from participants (and additional tasks the researcher(s) may require in my capacity as statistician).

I acknowledge that the research project is conducted by Ms Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera of the Department of Public Administration and Management, University of South Africa.

I understand that any information (written, verbal or any other form) obtained during the performance of my duties must remain confidential and in line with the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.

This includes all information about participants, their employees/their employers/their organisation, as well as any other information.

I understand that any unauthorised release or carelessness in the handling of this confidential information is considered a breach of the duty to maintain confidentiality.

I further understand that any breach of the duty to maintain confidentiality could be grounds for immediate dismissal and/or possible liability in any legal action arising from such breach.

Full Name of Statistician: Prof Kedibone Phago

A handwritten signature of Prof Kedibone Phago is shown, enclosed within a dark rectangular box.

Signature of Statistician: Director: Prof K. Phago Date: 16/09/2017

Full Name of Primary Researcher: Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera

Signature of Primary Researcher: LNC

Date: 16/09/2017

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## ANNEXURE 8:

### CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT TEMPLATE: FIELDWORKERS

#### **Confidentiality Agreement Template: Fieldworkers**

This is to certify that I, NETSWERA VTHONANI MARCIA, a fieldworker of the research project: Effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in LIM345 and NW405 local municipalities agree to the responsibilities of the administration and collection of completed questionnaires from participants (and additional tasks the researcher(s) may require in my capacity as fieldworker).

I acknowledge that the research project is conducted by Ms Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera of the Department of Public Administration and Management, University of South Africa.

I understand that any information (written, verbal or any other form) obtained during the performance of my duties must remain confidential and in line with the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.

This includes all information about participants, their employees/their employers/their organisation, as well as any other information.

I understand that any unauthorised release or carelessness in the handling of this confidential information is considered a breach of the duty to maintain confidentiality.

I further understand that any breach of the duty to maintain confidentiality could be grounds for immediate dismissal and/or possible liability in any legal action arising from such breach.

Full Name of Fieldworker:

Signature of Fieldworker:  Date: 19/08/2017

Full Name of Primary Researcher: Mavis Netswera

Signature of Primary Researcher:  Date: 19/08/2017

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**ANNEXURE 9:**  
**CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT: PROFESSIONAL LANGUAGE EDITOR**



**Confidentiality Agreement Template: Language editing**

This is to certify that I, M S Tshehla, the language editor of the research project: Effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in Collins Chabane and JB Marks local municipalities agree to the responsibilities of the language editing of the manuscript received from the researcher.

I acknowledge that the research project is conducted by Ms Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera of the Department of Public Administration and Management, University of South Africa.

I understand that any information (written, verbal or any other form) obtained during the performance of my duties must remain confidential and in line with the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.

This includes all information about participants, their employees/their employers/their organisation, as well as any other information.

I understand that any unauthorised release or carelessness in the handling of this confidential information is considered a breach of the duty to maintain confidentiality.

I further understand that any breach of the duty to maintain confidentiality could be grounds for immediate dismissal and/or possible liability in any legal action arising from such breach.

Full Name of Language Editor: Prof M S Tshehla

Signature of Language Editor: Date: 20 April 2018

Full Name of Primary Researcher: Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera

Signature of Primary Researcher: Date: 20/04/2018

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## **ANNEXURE 10:**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE: LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES**

This interview is based on the PhD study that is being undertaken by me, Ms. Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera at the University of South Africa (UNISA). The study is aimed at examining the effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in LIM345 and NW405 local municipalities. The results will provide information that can serve as a framework for all the municipalities and other role players for planning and monitoring.

#### **GENERAL INFORMATION**

- The Municipality is invited to participate in this study because of its constitutional mandate to provide basic services to the community.
- The interview would take approximately 30 minutes.
- You are kindly requested to answer the questions as honestly and completely as possible.
- Participation is anonymous: You are not requested to disclose your identity.
- Your privacy will be respected. No one will be able to connect you to the answers you give.
- You have the right to withdraw your participation at any time.
- You will not receive any payment or reward, financial or otherwise, and the study will not incur undue costs to you.
- A copy of the final approved research study (thesis) will be available in the library at the Muckleneuk Ridge Campus of the University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- A summary of the findings chapter can be e-mailed or posted to you on request.

Questions asked below cover aspects of the capacity of the Local Municipality to provide services and other opportunities to the communities in its geographical area of

responsibility on an equal basis and the community involvement in the public participation processes including demarcation process.

1. Is your municipality capable of providing efficient service delivery to its respective communities?
2. Is your municipality able to provide water, electricity, refuse removal and sanitation efficient service delivery equally among different ethnic groups?
3. Does your municipality have inclusive policies and programmes that enable everyone to enjoy equal opportunities, rights and services that are available?
4. How are the communities affected informed in your municipality about the demarcation changes?
5. What are the main concerns expressed by the community with regard to municipal demarcation?

End of interview.

**ANNEXURE 11:**  
**INTERVIEW GUIDE: VHEMBE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY**

This interview is based on the PhD study that is being undertaken by me, Ms. Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera at the University of South Africa (UNISA). The study is aimed at examining the effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in LIM345 and NW405 local municipalities. The results will provide information that can serve as a framework for all the municipalities and other role players for planning and monitoring.

**GENERAL INFORMATION**

- The Municipality is invited to participate in this study because of its constitutional mandate to provide support to the LIM345 Local Municipality and some basic services to the community.
- The interview would take approximately 30 minutes.
- You are kindly requested to answer the questions as honestly and completely as possible.
- Participation is anonymous: You are not requested to disclose your identity.
- Your privacy will be respected. No one will be able to connect you to the answers you give.
- You have the right to withdraw your participation at any time.
- You will not receive any payment or reward, financial or otherwise, and the study will not incur undue costs to you.
- A copy of the final approved research study (thesis) will be available in the library at the Muckleneuk Ridge Campus of the University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- A summary of the findings chapter can be e-mailed or posted to you on request.

Questions asked below cover aspects of the capacity of the LIM345 Local Municipality to provide services and other opportunities to the communities in its geographical area of responsibility on an equal basis and the community involvement in the public participation processes including demarcation process.

1. Is the district municipality capable of providing capacity to the LIM345 Local municipality and efficient service delivery to its respective communities?
2. Is the district municipality able to provide water and sanitation efficient service delivery equally among different ethnic groups?
3. How are the communities affected by demarcation changes informed in your district municipality about the demarcation changes?
4. What are the main concerns expressed by the community with regard to municipal demarcation?

End of interview.

**ANNEXURE 12:**  
**FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE: MUNICIPAL DEMARCTION BOARD**

This interview is based on the PhD study that is being undertaken by me, Ms. Mpfareleni Mavis Netswera at the University of South Africa (UNISA). The study is aimed at examining the effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in LIM345 and NW405 local municipalities.

**GENERAL INFORMATION**

- The Municipal Demarcation Board is invited to participate in this study because of its constitutional mandate to determine or re-determine municipal boundaries.
- The interview will take approximately 30 minutes.
- You are kindly requested to answer the questions as honestly and completely as possible.
- Participation is anonymous: You are not requested to disclose your identity.
- Your privacy will be respected. No one will be able to connect you to the answers you give.
- You have the right to withdraw your participation at any time.
- An audio tape recorder will be utilised to capture the interactions.
- You will not receive any payment or reward, financial or otherwise, and the study will not incur undue costs to you.
- A copy of the final approved research study (thesis) will be available in the library at the Muckleneuk Ridge Campus of the University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Questions asked below cover aspects of the legal progress of determining and re-determining municipal boundaries, the criteria that need to be applied, the community involvement in the demarcation process as well as demarcation challenges so far.

1. Is the MDB creating municipalities that are able to provide services to the communities in an equitable and sustainable manner?
2. Do you think that the criteria for determination and redetermination of municipal boundaries are still relevant today or they need to be revised?
3. The process for the redetermination of municipal boundaries involves a legal process. How did this legal process unfold in LIM345 and NW405?
4. The redetermination of municipal boundaries requires proper investigations, including financial modelling and viability studies. Did this happen in LIM345 and NW405?
5. The redetermination process also involves a consultation process by the Board with the affected communities. How were the communities in LIM345 and NW405 informed about the Board's intention to demarcation changes? If possible please provide me with the Schedule of the consultation process in the two municipalities.
6. How was the level of participation in the demarcation process by the communities in the two municipalities?
7. Educating citizens about the role and functions of the MDB seems vital. How does the Board ensure that communities know what it does?
8. How does the Board handle redetermination objections by the communities?
9. What are the main concerns expressed by the communities with regard to municipal demarcation?
10. What are the highlights and challenges of determining and re-determining municipal boundaries since the existence of the Board in 1999?

End of interview.

**ANNEXURE 13:**  
**HOUSEHOLDS' SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

**TITLE:**

**THE EFFECTS OF MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY DEMARCATON ON SERVICE  
DELIVERY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN LIM345 AND NW405 LOCAL  
MUNICIPALITIES**

**GUIDELINES TO PARTICIPANTS**

This research is aimed at examining the effects of municipal boundary demarcation on service delivery and social integration in **LIM345 and NW405 local municipalities**. There is no **RIGHT** or **WRONG** answers and your honest, anonymous opinion will be appreciated.

This questionnaire is to be completed by the **Head of Household or Representative who is 18 years and older but younger than 65 years old**.

**SECTION 1: DEMOGRAPHICS**

Municipality name: \_\_\_\_\_

Village/Town name: \_\_\_\_\_

**Home language**

Afrikaans	1
English	2
Ndebele	3
Northern Sotho/Pedi	4
Southern Sotho	5
Swati	6

Tsonga	7
Tswana	8
Venda	9
Xhosa	10
Zulu	11
Other specify.....	12

### **Age**

18-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45 yrs	46 yrs+
1	2	3	4

### **Gender**

Male	1
Female	2

### **Educational qualification**

No formal education	Primary	Secondary	Matric Certificate	Post matric Certificate	Post matric Diploma	Degree	Honours	Masters	Doctorate
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

### **Type of employment**

Permanent employment	Temporary employment	Unemployed	Self employed	Pensioner
1	2	3	4	5

### **Settlement type**

Rural	City Centre/CBD	Suburb	Semi-urban	
			Township	Informal settlement
1	2	3	4	5

### **Number of years living in the settlement**

< 1 year	1-5 years	6-9 years	>10 years	Born in the area
1	2	3	4	5

### **Household make**

Traditional hut	Brick house	RDP house	Shack
1	2	3	4

## SECTION 2: THE PROVISION OF MUNICIPAL SERVICES TO HOUSEHOLDS

### Type of municipal residential street

Gravel	1
Tarred	2

### Household access to water

Piped water	Borehole	River, streams, dams Wells and springs	Specify other: .....
1	2	3	4

### Main source of energy

Electricity	Gas	Generator	Solar	Firewood
1	2	3	4	5

### Type of sanitation/toilet facility

Flush toilet	Pit latrine	Bucket toilet system	Specify other: .....
1	2	3	4

### Refuse removal/Rubbish bins

Refuse is removed by the municipality	Own household rubbish dump	Communal/community dump	Refuse is dumped anywhere	Specify other .....
1	2	3	4	5

Please indicate your experience with the level of the quality of services provided by the municipality

	Never	Some times	Always
Experience with electricity interruptions	1	2	3
Experience with water interruptions	1	2	3
Experience with refuse <b>not removed</b>	1	2	3

### **Condition and state of sanitation/toilet facility**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
Toilet inside the house	1	2
Toilet outside the house properly closed	1	2
Toilet built by yourself	1	2
Toilet shared by more than one household	1	2
Pit toilet is full	1	2

**Please indicate your experience with the level of affordability of services provided by the municipality**

	<b>Affordable</b>	<b>Expensive</b>	<b>Don't pay</b>
Electricity	1	2	3
Piped water	1	2	3
Sanitation/Toilet facility	1	2	3
Refuse removal/Rubbish bins	1	2	3

**Thinking about the role of local government in the provision of services to the community in which you live, state your agreement or disagreement with the following statements**

	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Don't know</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
Municipality has a role to play in providing basic service such as water, electricity, refuse removal, sanitation	1	2	3	4	5
Municipal officials have enough knowledge to decide what services are needed in my area	1	2	3	4	5
The Municipality has enough capacity to deliver services by itself	1	2	3	4	5
The Municipality is utilising its financial resources well to provide services to the community	1	2	3	4	5
The delivery of basic services which are of the highest quality is important for my well-being	1	2	3	4	5
Failure by the municipality to provide services leads communities to revolt against the authority	1	2	3	4	5
The municipality gives priority to my basic needs	1	2	3	4	5

	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Don't know</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>
There are times when the Municipality exceeds my expectations	1	2	3	4	5
The municipality is delivering basic services equally among ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
I want the municipality to involve me in making decisions about what services are delivered in my local area	1	2	3	4	5

## **IMPACT OF NEW BOUNDARIES ON MUNICIPAL SERVICES**

**Your area is now merged with another to form a new local municipality. Is the merger making each of the following much better, better, no different, worse or much worse?**

	<b>Much better</b>	<b>Better</b>	<b>No different</b>	<b>Worse</b>	<b>Much worse</b>
Access to water	1	2	3	4	5
Access to electricity	1	2	3	4	5
Access to toilet facility	1	2	3	4	5
Refuse removal by the municipality	1	2	3	4	5
Condition of the streets	1	2	3	4	5
Street lighting	1	2	3	4	5
Access to free basic services by the Municipality	1	2	3	4	5
Job opportunity through Community Works Programme (CWP) for you or any member of your households	1	2	3	4	5

**Between the new and the old municipality, which one do you currently prefer?**

The old municipality	1
The new municipality	2

### SECTION 3: SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND FEELING OF ATTACHMENT TO THE MUNICIPALITY

**Knowledge of the Municipal leadership and their coexistence with one another irrespective of their ethnicity**

What is your knowledge of the Municipal Mayor?	Yes	No
I know the name of the Municipal Mayor	1	2
I have met the Municipal Mayor	1	2
I do not know the Municipal Mayor	1	2
What is your knowledge of the ward councillor?	Yes	No
I know the name of my ward councillor	1	2
I have met my ward councillor	1	2
I do not know my ward councillor	1	2
What is your knowledge of the Municipal Manager?	Yes	No
I know the name of the Municipal Manager	1	2
I have met the Municipal Manager	1	2
I do not know the Municipal Manager	1	2

**Knowledge of Ward, Municipal Offices and neighbours**

	Yes	No
I know my ward number	1	2
I know where the Municipal offices are situated	1	2
I know my neighbours' names	1	2
My neighbours and I belong to the same ethnic group	1	2
I attend social gatherings such as church, social clubs, stokvels with people from different ethnic groups	1	2
I have friends from other ethnic groups	1	2
I know someone who is married to a person from a different ethnic group	1	2

**Interaction with the Municipality**

	Never	Sometimes	Always
Do you interact with your ward councillor	1	2	3

If yes, what issues do you interact with your ward councillor?

.....

	Never	Sometimes	Always
Do you attend Ward Committee meetings?	1	2	3

If yes, what issues do you raise in the meetings?

.....

	Never	Sometimes	Always
Do you interact with the municipal officials	1	2	3

If yes, what issues do you raise with the municipal officials.

.....

**Thinking about the local area in which you live, indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
My interests are represented well in the Municipality	1	2	3	4	5
All ethnic groups are represented in the Municipality workforce	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I belong to this Municipality	1	2	3	4	5
I feel culturally connected to the area	1	2	3	4	5
I can speak other major languages of this community	1	2	3	4	5
I do not mind sharing resources with people from different ethnic groups in the Municipality	1	2	3	4	5
I interact with the municipal officials in my own language whenever I need services from the Municipality	1	2	3	4	5
I prefer people from my ethnic group to control the Municipality	1	2	3	4	5

## SECTION 4: THE INVOLVEMENT OF COMMUNITIES IN THE MUNICIPAL DEMARCTION PROCESSES AND IN THE MUNICIPAL DEMARCTION PROTESTS

### **Knowledge of the MDB and its role**

	YES	NO
Do you know the organisation called Municipal Demarcation Board?	1	2

If yes, What do you think is its responsibility?  
.....

### **Do you think that the Municipal Demarcation Board's decision to change the boundaries in your area was:**

Politically motivated	In the interest of better service delivery	Ethnical motivated
1	2	3

### **Community participation in the municipal demarcation processes and in the protests**

	YES	NO
Have you ever participated in any municipal demarcation meetings to talk about municipal boundary changes in your area in the past?	1	2
Are you in favour of the new municipality?	1	2
Did you participate in any municipal demarcation protests in objection to the new municipality?	1	2
Did any member from your household participate in any municipal demarcation protests?	1	2
Do you think that protesting violently is justifiable because it brings about attention from the authorities?	1	2
Did you vote in the local government election in August 2016?	1	2

### **If you DID NOT VOTE, was it because:**

You were not registered	You were not interested	You were working	Was your objection to boundary changes in your area?	Specify other: .....
1	2	3	4	5

## **SECTION 5: COMPARATIVE DEPRIVATION AND THE FEELING OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION: EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS**

**Since 1994, how does your area compare with other areas nearby in terms of the following:**

	<b>Worse</b>	<b>Same</b>	<b>Better</b>
Provision of municipal services such as water, electricity, refuse removal and toilet facilities	1	2	3
Jobs opportunities	1	2	3
Construction of RDP houses	1	2	3
Health facilities	1	2	3
Prevention of crime	1	2	3
Access to early childhood development (crèche)	1	2	3
Access to primary education	1	2	3
Access to secondary education	1	2	3
Access to tertiary education	1	2	3

**What are your main concerns regarding changes of municipal boundaries?**

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**Thanking you for your participation and invaluable contribution**