

**AN EVALUATION OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE “WHITE”
TOWN OF PIETERSBURG AND THE “BLACK” TOWNSHIP OF
SESHEGO AFTER THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS OF
1995**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and I have not previously in its entirety or part been submitted at any University for a degree.

ABSTRACT

The emergence of urban systems in South Africa was from the start shaped by racial bias. The black people of this country were refused any form of participation in town planning. To aggravate the situation, urban space was manipulated in a manner that each racial group had its own residential space. The manipulation of urban space gave rise to what is called "the Apartheid City." This "Apartheid city" is characterised by stark contrast in development between a well-serviced, first world town lying side by side with under-serviced third world townships.

The "Apartheid City" of Pietersburg-Seshego has been undergoing restructuring since 1990. The Local Government Transitional Act (LGTA) has served as an intervention whereby the two formerly unequal areas had to integrate and become one city. The central aim of this study is to evaluate, by using a series of indicators, the integration level that has been achieved since 1995, i.e. since the first local government elections. The study will focus on three key areas to reflect the level of integration, namely, land use patterns, ward demarcation, and integration of personnel.

The main conclusion is that though one council has been formed where there were previously two, spatial inequalities and racially-based ward demarcations between the former Pietersburg town and the former Seshego township persist. On the other hand, personnel drawn from the administrations of former white Pietersburg and former Lebowa civil service has not been fully integrated. The former Pietersburg municipality personnel is still white male dominated in both senior and middle management levels while the former Lebowa personnel is black male dominated found in the lowest levels of the TLC structure.

OPSOMMING

Die ontstaan van metropolitaanse sisteme in Suid Afrika was nog altyd gekenmerk deur rasse bevooroordeeling. Die swart bevolking van Suid Afrika was nog altyd in die verlede uitgesluit van deelname aan stadsbeplanning. Om die situasie nog te vererger, was metropolitaanse areas op so 'n wyse gemanipuleer, dat groepe van verskillende rasse elk hul eie residensiële allokasie gehad het. Hierdie manipulasie van metropolitaanse areas het die ontstaan van die "apartheidstad" tot gevolg gehad. Hierdie "apartheidstad" word gekenmerk deur 'n skerp kontras in ontwikkeling tussen 'n goed voorsiene eerste wêreld deel aan die een kant en 'n swak voorsiene derde wêreld deel aan die ander kant.

Die "apartheidstad" van Pietersburg - Seshego het sedert 1990 herstrukturering ondergaan. Die "Plaaslike Owerheidsoorgangs Wet" het gedien as 'n middel om twee histories ongelyke areas te integreer om een stad te vorm. Die doelwit van hierdie studie is om die vlak van integrasie sedert 1995 te evalueer deur gebruik te maak van sekere indikatore. Die studie fokus op drie aspekte wat die vlak van integrasie weerspieël naamlik grondgebruikspatrone, wykafbakening en personeel integrering.

Die belangrikste gevolge is dat daar nou een plaaslike raad is waar daar voorheen twee was terwyl ruimtelike ongelykhede en ras gebaseerde wykafbakening nog steeds plaasvind tussen Pietersburg en die vorige Seshego nedersetting. Die nuwe personeelstruktuur - wat bestaan hoofsaaklik uit voormalige wit lede van die Pietersburg raad en hoofsaaklik swart lede van die voormalige Lebowa staatsdiens - is nog nie ten volle geïntegreerd nie. Die personeel van die Pietersburg Munisipaliteit is nog steeds oorwegend wit en manlik gedomineerd in beide die middel en senior bestuursposte en die Lebowa personeel is hoofsaaklik swart en manlik gedomineerd in die laer pos bekleding in die struktuur van die nuwe plaaslike regeringstruktuur.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to
my late father,
Lesetja Albert,
whom I wish could have witnessed
this achievement.

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GLOSSARY

AA	Affirmative Action
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community Based Organisation
DFA	Development Facilitation Act (Act No. 67 of 1995)
LDO	Land Development Objectives (in terms of Development Facilitation Act (Act No. 67 of 1995)
LGNF	Local Government Negotiating Forum
LGTA	Local Government Transitional Act (Act No. 209 of 1993) And Local Government Transitional Act (Act No. 97 of 1996)
Local Authority	A synonym of municipality and local government
Local Government	A synonym of municipal and local authority
MEC	Member of the Executive Council – The provincial Equivalent of a cabinet minister
Municipality	A synonym of local authority and Local Government
NGO	Non Government Organisation
PEC	Problem, Evidence, Conclusion
R293	Proclamation R293 of 1962 in terms of the Bantu Trust And Land Act No. 18 of 1936 and the Bantu Administration Act (Act No. 38 of 1927)
SANCO	South African National Civil Association
TLC	Transition Local Council
TPTO	Transvaal Town Planning and Township Ordinance of 1986
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Program

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The Green Paper on Development and Planning (Republic of South Africa 1999: 4) maintains that “South Africa has inherited racially fragmented, inequitable and cumbersome planning laws and policies, which are in urgent need of transformation. Many different governments have shaped the planning systems, which exist in South Africa today in the form of laws, policies, institutions and practice. Each government responded to the problems, which it defined as the most important at that time. Since all South African governments before 1994 were elected by the minority, the definition of problems and planning systems created to address them, primarily reflected minority interests. The nature of the interests varied regionally, so that the planning systems we have today are complex, multiple and contradictory. These systems have had an effect on rural and urban settlement patterns”.

The policy of apartheid has profoundly influenced the physical and economic landscape of urban and rural areas of South Africa for much of the 20th century. It is clear that segregation is as old as most South African cities themselves and as a result municipalities utilised every opportunity to achieve the objective of segregation. The fragmented nature of a city was planned deliberately in the past, and to ensure that the objective of nation-wide segregation was entrenched, various legislation were enacted, as outlined in chapter three of this study.

The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 marked the beginning of the conscious, nationwide pursuit of urban segregation. This Act officially designated the Urban centers in South Africa as exclusive domains for white populace. Lemon (1987: 1) reveals that “the 1923 Act embodied the notion that the native should only be allowed

to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and administer to the needs of the white man." The defining of a city as a "white man's city" propagated a variety of problems which almost exclusively affected non-white groups. The urban centers remained and occupied the status of the center while the surrounding "black" townships remained the periphery and remained insulated from higher-income suburbs.

As mentioned above, the South African Government of National Unity, which came into power after the 1994 general elections, inherited cities that were dominated by apartheid urban forms. **Figure 1.1** indicates the form and structure of both the segregation and apartheid city. This state of affairs led to the formation of an institutionalised dominance-dependency relationship of whites over blacks. For a long period, the South African apartheid regime enacted racially segregatory laws that empowered itself to a point where it was very easy to manipulate urban space.

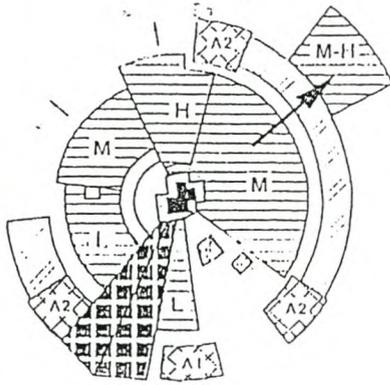
Political changes in the 1990's and subsequent negotiations at the World Trade Centre gave birth to the Local Government Transitional Act (Act no. 209 of 1993) and Local Government Transitional Act (2nd Amendment, Act no. 97 of 1996). This LGTA contained the following stages leading to democratisation, restructuring and the reconstruction of local government:

- Pre-interim period

Comprised of the processes as indicated below:

- Multi – party negotiations -1994
- Local forums -1994
- TLC -1994-1995

SEGREGATION CITY



Major road routes

White C.B.D.
Indian C.B.D.

C.B.D. Frame
Industrial

RESIDENTIAL AREAS

White
Indian and/or coloured
African

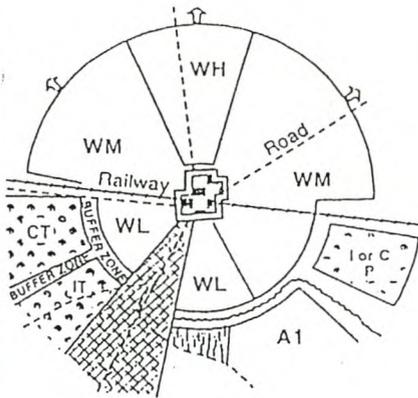
Economic status
H High
M Middle
L Low

Economic status not differentiated

* Barracks/ compounds
A1 Municipal Townships
A2 Informal housing

MIXING Zones of racial mixing
Domestic servant quarters not shown

Apartheid City



White C.B.D.
Indian C.B.D.
C.B.D. Frame
Industrial

RESIDENTIAL AREAS

W White Group Area
Black Area
Indian or coloured Group Area

I Indian
C Coloured
T Township
P Privately developed

Socio-economic status (White Group Areas)
H High
M Middle
L Low

A1 Municipal Township

Domestic servants quarters not shown

Figure 1.1 The segregation and Apartheid city models (Donaldson 1995: 58)

- **Interim period**

Comprised of the process as indicated below:

- Local government elections (October 1994 and April 1995)
- Elected interim local authorities (1995 to 2000)

- **Final Phase**

This phase comprises of the following:

- Final Local Government Constitution after 1999
- Final local government model post 2000.

The three stages as outlined above in terms of the LGTA are not discussed at this point in detail, but are discussed in chapter three. It is against this background that the focus of this thesis is set : namely, to evaluate the level of integration between the former "white" city of Pietersburg and the "black" town of Seshego from November 1995 to December 2000. Pietersburg and Seshego were promulgated as a single city in terms of the LGTA as from January 1995. The promulgation meant that Seshego and Pietersburg had become a uni-city. The concept uni-city/one city implies the integration of small urban complexes or township (Seshego) into Pietersburg against the backdrop of growing demand for space and the need to correct the artificial racial and functional divisions imposed by apartheid and decentralization in the past. Donaldson (1999: 156) writes " A new identity through the adoption of the name Pieteresburg-Polokwane Transitional Local Council was achieved" The

intervention, in the form of LGTA, has been a major milestone in the development of local government initiatives, especially since these two towns had been kept apart by legislation, which was protecting minority and ethnic interest. The apartheid planning laws had an element of colonial influence and reflected minority interests. During this period, the planning of Seshego was control-oriented as revealed by only one entrance and one exit to the black townships. Furthermore planning was fragmented along racial, ethnic, and geographic lines.

1.2. INTEGRATION DEFINED

Tullock, (1991: 791) defines the word 'integrate' to mean "combine parts, whole, complete an imperfect thing by addition of parts; bring or come together into equal participation in or membership of a society". It also means "unite, unify, bring together, assemble, pool, co-ordinate, blend, mix, mingle". The terms "integrate" and "amalgamate" are used interchangeably.

The Green Paper on Development and Planning (1999: 21) defines the term "integration", as "pulling together social, economical, environmental, spatial and political concerns into a single set of processes in which relationships between these concerns is considered". This definition suggests that before integration could take place, dispersal, inequality, fragmentation and separateness should have been in place. This also suggests the presence of baseline information before a conclusion can be drawn. The pre-intervention and post-intervention design becomes critical in this scenario.

The White Paper on Local Government defines integration of our cities, towns and rural areas as having a spatial dimension, an economic dimension e.g. ensuring that all residents who contribute to a local tax base enjoy the benefits derived from that tax base, and a social dimension e.g. encouraging mixed income-group development. The objective of integration is to create more efficient and equitable cities, towns and rural areas, especially in those where the poor are locationally disadvantaged or socially excluded (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

In this thesis, integration is circumscribed by using the following aspects :

- *Land use patterns*: this means the extent to which formal and informal businesses in both Pietersburg and Seshego are distributed on the landscape of the two towns. This implies the distribution and absence or presence of informal settlements in the former “white” town and former “black” township. In a real sense, land use created any time during the course of history can have a profound effect on the degree to which positive and political changes can be implemented in future years.
- *Demarcation of wards*: This means the extent to which wards have been demarcated disregarding racial classification, and moving towards race free demarcation based on geographical location of areas as they are located geographically in both towns. Racial boundaries do not form part of this definition.

- *Personnel*: This aspect points to the extent to which the two previously separated personnel who were employed under different employment legislation, with different training and different working conditions, have been integrated.

The reasons for studying and evaluating integration along these lines are that the aspects as indicated cover political (ward demarcation), economic (land use) and human resource dimensions. These three aspects directly influence and have an impact on the service delivery of any organization.

1.3 This thesis is divided into six chapters.

1.3.1. Chapter 1: Introduction.

Chapter 1 discusses the purpose of the thesis, the definition of the concept "Integration" and further outlines the structure of the study.

1.3.2. Chapter 2: Methodological framework.

The chapter discusses and outlines the methodological framework of the thesis by outlining how evaluation was conducted in this study and issues indicated below were specifically discussed:

- Evaluation approaches
- Program evaluation defined
- Why we evaluate?
- Data collection procedures and methods
- Research design
- Question of validity and reliability

- Drawing up of Indicators, i.e. how to come up with indicators.
- Justification for employing qualitative and quantitative methods in data collection and analysis.

1.3.3. Chapter 3: Introduction of urban planning : The history of New Pietersburg:

Pre-intervention stage

This chapter discusses the aspects relating to urban planning. Its thrust is on policy changes in local government in South Africa. The chapter attempts to show how these policy changes have evolved over time by using the following theoretical analysis or framework.

- The concept core-periphery dualism.
- The role played by state in core-periphery dualism
- Development of local government in South Africa.

The historical background and evolution of the two areas are integrated within the urban planning framework with focus directed to the three aspects already noted, i.e.

- land use patterns
- ward demarcation
- personnel

This information provides the reader with baseline information during the pre-intervention stage.

1.3.4. Chapter 4: Overview of historic developments of Pietersburg and Seshego after local government election November 2000: Post-intervention stage .

This chapter looks at the post-elections scenario, i.e. Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC with particular emphasis on the three main aspects outlined in chapter three. The chapter outlines the level of integration achieved from November 1995 to December 2000. Evaluation is undertaken on the three aspects viz; Land use patterns, Ward demarcation, and Personnel.

1.3.5. Chapter 5: Indicators.

Chapter five comes up with a tool which operationalises measurement of integration between the two towns. Indicators are identified and the level of integration is measured in relation to the indicators identified . An evaluation based on the indicators is operationalised.

1.3.6 Chapter 6: Evaluation.

The chapter outlines what has been achieved or not achieved in the process of integrating the two areas. All aspects that are discussed revolve around the three areas of the study, namely:

- Land use
- Ward demarcation
- Personnel

The chapter concludes by making recommendations which would facilitate and ensure that proper and orderly integration take place, as articulated by LGTA.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1.1 Evaluation approaches - A brief history

There is an abundant literature on the evaluation of different fields, programs, and subjects e.g. educational, social, and organizational, evaluating different programs under the name “program evaluation”, “evaluation research” or simply called “evaluation”. Mouton (1997) in the Thousand-School Project Report (TSP) emphasises that “program evaluation” is a domain of social sciences. In fact, program evaluation (or “evaluation research” “evaluative research”) is that field of (Applied) social science that utilises the whole range of social sciences methods in assessing or evaluating social intervention programs.

Strecher and Davis cited in Mouton (1997: 32) say "the earliest modern evaluations were research studies in which the principles of academic research were applied to several programs. Many of these evaluation research activities provided important information for rational policy-makers. Unfortunately, much of the evaluation performed according to this model was not very useful for the local program staff or the clients themselves. Over time, educational researchers began to reconcile evaluation in ways that were sensitive to other issues and were more relevant to local concerns. In the 1970's, many different conceptions of evaluation were formulated. Some focussed on clarifying goals and objectives, others focussed on decision-making context and the relevance of information to key decisions”.

2.1.2. Program evaluation defined

Freedman and Rossi (1982: 5) maintain that “Evaluation research is the systematic application of social research procedure, for assessing the conceptualisation, design, implementation and utility of social intervention program.” From the above discussion evaluation can be defined as any activity that enables participants, stakeholders, members of public to make informed assessment or judgement about the program or intervention. The definition also alludes to the fact that for evaluation to take place a program or intervention should be in existence. The program or intervention employed in this study is the Local Government Transitional Act (LGTA). The program or intervention has the following ingredients:

-Inputs: relates to availability of resources to run the program e.g facilities, personnel, target communities, and financial backup.

-Process: process assists the evaluator to redevelop strategies of data collection, design data analysis. The evaluator is able to check as to whether the evaluation measures what it is intended to measure. During the process questions such as the following arise:

- Is the programme attracting enough clients?
- Are clients representative of the target group?
- Is the programme being implemented as designed?
- Are methods used to collect data relevant and suitable?

Early warnings during the process give the researchers an opportunity to redirect the program and give it a chance to be successful.

-Outcomes: Questions such as; is there any impact on the targeted community caused by the intervention? are asked. Outcome is the relation between the activities and effort involved in a program and any outcome of that program. Put it differently, it is the relation between the cause and effect, often-symbolised in social sciences as the relation between an **X** and an **Y** respectively. This is sometimes called impact analysis to mean determining the extent to which one set of directed human activities **X** affect the state of some objects or phenomenon **Y** (Mohr, 1995).

2.1.3 Reasons to evaluate programs

There are a number of reasons for conducting program evaluation. Posavac and Carey (1992: 6) allude to the fact that evaluation could be conducted for various reasons ranging from “fulfillment of accreditation, accounting for funds, answering request for information, choosing among possible programs, assisting staff in program development and improvement, learning from unintended effects of the program, and Government mandate”. The primary reasons for conducting evaluation in this study was to provide evidence for success and failure during implementation stage of LGTA from November 1995 to December 2000. The other reason to conduct this evaluation was to understand and verify the impact of the intervention in the form of LGTA.

- Formative Evaluation and Summative Evaluation

Scriven cited in Mouton (1997) has divided evaluation into the formative and the summative. The latter are studies that yield information only on bare impacts. In contrast to the summative evaluation, formative evaluation gives additional guidance, namely, it helps to improve or ‘form’ the program itself. It can do this by two methods: The first gives no additional type of information, but provides periodic or

even continuous summative feedback rather than providing it only once (Mouton, 1997). This study, in its endeavor to come up with measurable results has employed both formative and summative evaluation. Formative evaluation has provided additional information needed during the lifetime of LGTA. Formative evaluation has also assisted to redefine and to redesign the problem under study. The evolution of LGTA and implementation from November 1995 to December 2000 has helped in establishing facts that are grounded within the period of LGTA. The second, summative evaluation in turn was employed to show the impact of LGTA i.e. after the transitional period. Scriven (1981: 63: 15) cited in <http://www.yahoo.com> says, “The distinction between the two has been well summed up in a sentence of Bob Stake’s “when the cook tastes the soup, that is formative; when the guests taste the soup, that’s summative”.

2.1.4 Problem Evidence Conclusion (PEC) Approach

This study has aligned itself to the PEC approach as indicated by Mouton (1996). The PEC stands for:

- **Problem:** This attempts to answer questions such as; “what is the primary problem/objective or purpose of the study? This usually gives out direction of the study”.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the level of integration of the two towns viz. Seshego and Pietersburg after the 1995 November Local Government election. Although it is useful to distinguish three purposes of research i.e. exploration, explanation and description it bears repeating that most studies will have elements of all. This study has an exploratory aspect i.e. satisfied the researcher’s curiosity and desire for better understanding, and developed the methods to be employed in a more careful study (Babbie, 1986). The descriptive aspect assisted the researcher to observe and then describe what was observed while the explanatory aspect helped to explain phenomenon. For example, reporting the voting intentions of an electorate is a descriptive activity, but

reporting why some people plan to vote for party **A** and others for party **B** is an explanatory activity. The research problem or question comprised two dimensions. Firstly a research problem has to specify what exactly was being investigated or evaluated. This gave rise to unit of analysis. Secondly, the research problem also contained a clear identification of the research objective. The objective of this study was to evaluate the degree of integration of both Seshego and Pietersburg after 1995 local government election

- **Evidence**

Evidence relating to the purpose of the study i.e. the degree of integration after the implementation of the Transitional Local Government Act (Act No. 209 of 1993) and Local Government Transitional Act 2nd Amendment (Act of 1996) in both Seshego and Pietersburg is outlined and provided. The evaluation has used the following as evidence:

- Land use pattern.
- Demarcation of wards
- Personnel

- **Conclusion**

The conclusion in this study was guided by the design which was followed i.e Time series design by making comparison between baseline information and post-intervention information and arrived at the conclusion. The use of indicators after intervention supported the design of the study and also shed more light on post-intervention scenario on the three aspects.

2.1.5 Unit of analysis in this study

The units of analysis in this study were the two places under study i.e. Seshego and Pietersburg while the unit of evaluation was the period from November 1995 up to December 2000 relating to the level of integration (after intervention) on the unit of analysis i.e. Seshego and Pietersburg.

2.1.6 Research methods

2.1.6.1 Data collection methods

There were four sources for primary data collection in this study as outlined below

-Historical sources/documents/archives

The study has made use of a number of historical documents and archives material related to the topic. The documents as listed below were used as primary sources: governments gazettes, legislation, minutes of Pietersburg municipality/TLC, LDO documents, reports (report on restitution, business reports, status quo reports, transformation reports, commission of enquiry on the operation of bus services, and newspaper reports). These documents provided both qualitative and quantitative data, which were required for the purpose of this study.

-Participant observation methods

The aim of this method (participant observation) was to built up, over a period of time, an account of the way in which participants being studied manage and organise and implement the intervention. In this method the evaluator was taken close to the situation to understand and interpret the situation. Direct experience with the participants permitted the evaluator chance to gain access

to personal knowledge as well as to explore the internal states of those involved.

The role played by the author of this study was that of a complete participant i.e. the researcher became a fully-fledged member of the group under study. The researcher was a member of the community and participated in the following forums during the period of this study:

- Land Development Objectives Forums (LDO) (see Annexure 2)
- Public participation meetings on discussion of a new Town Planning Scheme (for both Pietersburg and Seshego)
- Public demarcation board meetings.

-The author also served as a complete observer where discussions were taking place and his role was that of an observer like attending council meetings. Sufficient post-intervention information was also acquired from these meetings.

-Survey methods

Surveys are systematic ways of collecting data and are important elements in an evaluation study. This study has made use of one of the survey methods namely face-to-face interview or unstructured interview. Interviews allowed the evaluator to “meet the punter” and provide a detailed, factual and reliable data. An interview method in this study can be described as a method of data collection that may be described as an interaction involving the interviewer and the interviewee, the purpose of which was to obtain valid and reliable information. This study has adopted a qualitative in depth interview that took a shape of a conversation than formal structural interview. The data consisted of a detailed description of the situation, events, and observed behavior. Direct quotation from people about their own experiences,

attitudes, beliefs and thoughts were recorded. Data in this study making use of this open-ended method was collected during both pre-intervention and post-intervention stages.

-Use of maps and photos as visual media

Maps were used as visual aids depicting and supporting other historical features and current realities. Maps used in this study were used as models i.e. representing reality. Photos were also used as visual aids to support the status quo. Photos were used to reflect the current realities.

2.2 The Research design

Once the evaluation problem has been defined the next appropriate step was to plan or design the research. A research design is defined as a set of guidelines and instructions to be followed in addressing the research problem (Mouton, 1996). The main function of a research design is to enable the researcher to anticipate what appropriate research decision should be so as to maximise the validity of the eventual results. The notion of “PLAN” and “DESIGN” is commonly used in the construction industry where drawing up building plans or architectural designs precedes the actual construction of a building. Similarly, the research design could be viewed as the blueprint of the research project that precedes the actual research project (Mouton, 1996). The two figures indicate (**Figures 2.1 and 2.2**) both formative evaluation and summative evaluation which are the main ingredients in this study. **Figure 2.1** shows the possible patterns caused by intervention which may be put in place to give out different patterns in a pre-post Time series design, which may be changed improved or altered during the process. The above depicts a formative type of evaluation whereas (**Figure 2.2**) indicates a Time series design which gives out an impact. It is a

summative type of evaluation in nature. The two scenarios give rise to what is called pre-intervention and post-intervention Time series research design over a period of time. Mouton in TSP indicates that a research design (in case of “evaluation” design) is a plan or framework that specifies what type of evidence are required and what methodologies need to be employed, in order to address the evaluation question in such a manner that the ultimate results are valid (Mouton, 1997). The two designs were preferred and incorporated in the study as they fitted in the design of this study and also the methodologies, methods, and techniques used in this study. The study explains pre-intervention scenario by engaging qualitative and quantitative methods. Formative evaluation was used during this stage. This is explained over a period of time i.e. before November 1995. The intervention was introduced in November 1995 and the post-intervention scenario is again explained in terms of qualitative and quantitative methods. This is also outlined over a period of time. Impact or summative evaluation was used at this stage.

2.3 Consideration of validity and reliability in this study

The next important step after the discussion of the design is the question of reliability and validity of that design. The concepts of reliability and validity have a curious relationship to each other.

- Reliability and validity

Reliability as defined by Allen (1997: 54) “is primarily concerned with technique and consistency - with ensuring that if the study was conducted by someone else similar findings would be obtained; while validity is concerned with making sure that the technique is actually studying what it is supposed to”. Following Leedy, validity looks at the end results of measurement. The principal questions that validity asks: are we really measuring what we intend measuring? In a standardised test, for instance, validity would raise such questions as what does the test measure? Does it measure what it is supposed to measure (Leedy, 1997)?

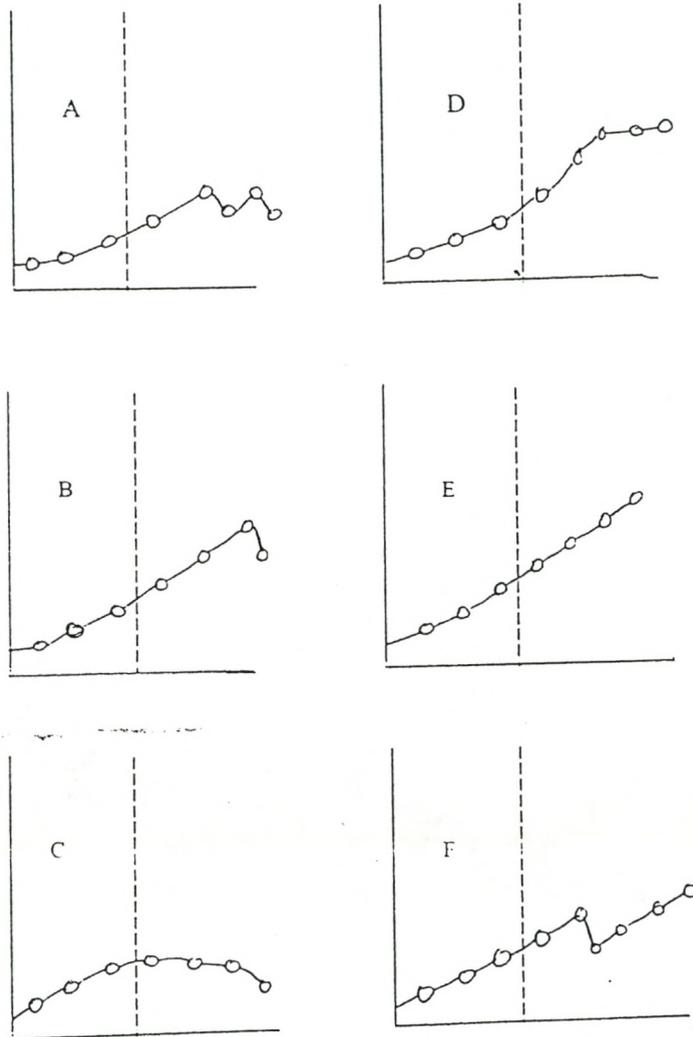


Figure 2.1 Some illustrative patterns of program success over time. The dashed vertical lines indicate time or intervention (Posavac and Carey, 1972:164)

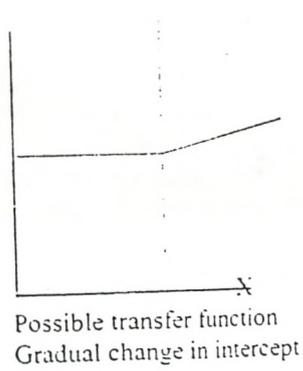
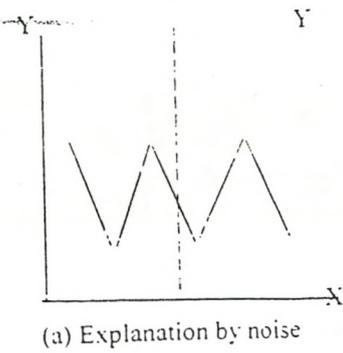
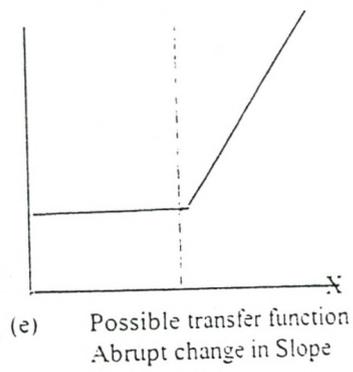
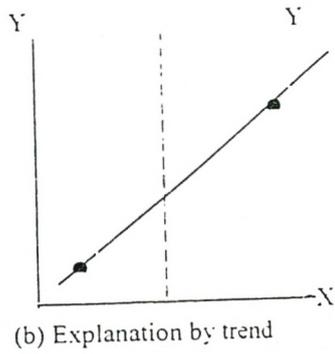
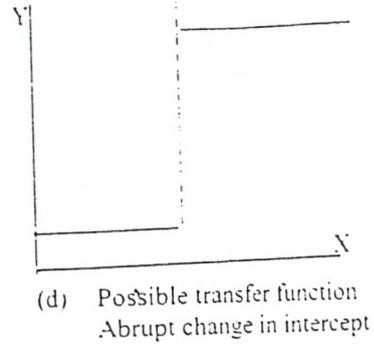
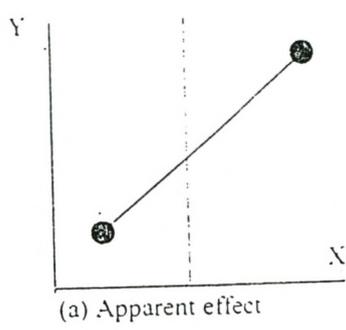


Figure 2.2 Time Series Analysis, (Mohr, 1995: 207).

To ensure both validity and reliability were kept at the highest level this study has used structured sampling procedures for both stages. For the pre-intervention stage some people whom had the knowledge or who were affected were sampled out and interviewed to find out the baseline information. This, of course, was done by qualitative data collection method by using unstructured interview techniques. For the post-intervention stage structured sampling methods were employed whereby people who were directly affected e.g. land claimants, Director of Management Services and other officials were interviewed.

2.4 Qualitative and Quantitative methods in program evaluation

Questions about whether qualitative and quantitative research complement each other, whether they lead to compatible conclusions, and whether they stand up equally well under methodological scrutiny can themselves be answered with research evidence, and this study has attempted to do this. The same questions, however, can also be understood in another way, as questions about two cultures. Members of these two cultures or research traditions are genuinely curious about one another but also harbour beliefs and judgements about their own relative superiority (Kidder and Fine, 1987).

Evaluation in this study has followed a systematic and analytical assessment addressing aspects of LGTA in order to seek reliability and usability of the findings. The objectives of the findings are to provide evidence for success and failure of the implementation of LGTA and to understand and verify the impact of LGTA. The study's primary objective is to determine the level of integration between the two towns from November 1995 to December 2000. The question is how to determine whether integration was achieved or not? one either uses the methods of laboratory science; or

one performs statistical tests and analysis; or one uses methods of ethnography, performing interviews, hanging around, attending meetings as participants observer, using open-ended questionnaires to attempt to understand the situation and draw conclusions. This division is what is called “qualitative” and “quantitative” respectively, which are referred as methodologies. This study has used both qualitative and quantitative procedures that one could say were both desirable and reliable. The desirability and reliability gave rise to what is termed “triangulation” whereby the more similar the focus of any two measurements, the more highly correlated they will be regardless of whether they are qualitative or quantitative. In the pre-intervention stage, the researcher has relied on the following data collection methods: historical data /archive material, maps, books, legislation (qualitative and quantitative) and unstructured interviews. In the post-intervention stage the researcher has relied on a method called participant observation, which may either be qualitative or quantitative. Data for post-intervention stage was mainly collected from newspaper reports, Land Development Objective (LDO) status quo report, and attending different meetings. The type of data collected was also both qualitative and quantitative. Data analysis and interpretation was done by statistical analysis, which gave out aggregated analysis. Qualitative data analysis was also employed which has proved to be longer, more detailed, and variable in content. Analysis has proved to be difficult because of the open-ended-ness nature of the questionnaires. It was from these premises that the “Grounded theory” was conceived. It was again from these premises that the researcher has strove to comprehend and came out with the “totality” or “gestalt” or the “holistic” nature of the findings. From these setting the researcher was able to make specific observations and built towards the general pattern. This points to the “situatedness” of the qualitative methods, which tend to be based on “real world” rather than laboratory settings or environment.

Guba (1987: 12) says “Quantitative researchers who value numerical precision over “navel gazing” and qualitative researchers, who prefer rich detail to “number crunching”, betray not only a preference for one but also a distrust of the other. One way methodologists have attempted to allay the distrust is to call for synthesis, collaboration, and co-operation between the two cultures”. Guba (1987: 12) refers to this “as side by side application ... these should not be confused with competitive studies; they do not represent horse race ... They are not a way of deciding which approach, quantitative or qualitative, yields better or truer or more complete information. They are, instead, a way of exploiting they’re putative complementarity”. Ramphela and Wilson (1989: 15) further write that “ statistical analysis is essential, and the effort to toughen up the soft social sciences by improving the quality of statistics is one of the most significant intellectual advances of our time. But precisely because the numbers are so important it is vital to pause at the beginning to consider what we are measuring and, perhaps even more significant, what we are not measuring. In social sciences there has to be a constant tension between the case-study methodology as practiced by anthropologists, and the representative statistical sample derived from questionnaires beloved by sociologists and economists. Each is periodically driven to distraction by the other. But each badly needs the other in order to avoid the Scylla of assuming that a particular case study is typical of a whole population and the Charybdis of asserting that what has been enumerated (and statistically analysed) is necessarily the whole (or even the most important of the part) of the truth”.

Quantitative paradigm is said to have a positivistic, hypothesis - deductive, pluralistic, objective, outcome oriented and natural science worldview. By this method, researchers have come to mean the techniques of randomised experiments, quasi-experiments, paper and pencil “objective” tests, multivariate statistical analysis, and sample survey

(Cook and Reichart, 1997). Qualitative methods include ethnography, case studies interviews and participatory observations.

Throughout the evaluation process the concern should focus on tapping the multiple perspectives and using multiple methods to capture the most comprehensive view of intervention. Data triangulation becomes an operational strategy. Being able to arrive at similar conclusions about the program via different data sources enhance the validity of the observation (Cook and Reichart, 1979). The so-called conflict between qualitative and quantitative paradigm is not necessarily a real conflict. At the methodological and technical level, most researchers accept that quantitative and qualitative tools are compatible and that the choice for their inclusion in particular projects is determined by the specific research problem.

2.5 Analysis and interpretation of data

This study attempted to converge the two “stories” i.e. qualitative and quantitative methods in all levels of application i.e. data collection, data analysis, and data interpretation. In both qualitative and quantitative modes data collected contains no meaning unless the meaning is analysed. In both qualitative and quantitative methods the stages of the research project are not discrete i.e. design, data collection and data analysis are not three different stages of research process. Rather they are intermingled. Data analysis happens while data is being collected as well as after the evaluator has left the field. Data analysis is thus a process of making sense out of the data, finding out how the process fit together, what McCutcheon called its “interdependence” (Biklen and Bogdan, 1986).

The vehicles for analysis in this study were the memo and coding. Biklen and Bogdan (1986: 99) have this to say about memos, “memos track one’s thinking, make

one attentive to process, and give one ideas to make data cohere. Since researchers analyse what is not said as well as what is said, memos enable them to note the unspoken while still in the field". They further maintain that "the first part of data analysis occurs while the evaluator is still taking notes. The evaluator tries to narrow the focus, moving from the broad opening questions to more specific ones. Memos help this narrowing-down process. A second vehicle for data analysis was coding with the aim of ultimately engaging the grounded theory. Grounded theory is a term introduced by Glaser and Strauss cited in Rose (1982: 305) " meaning methods for carrying out fieldwork in such a way that theory is systematically generated from data as part of ongoing research process, hence the term "grounded theory ".

Bryman (1987: 83) maintains that for grounded theory to be successful in its application it should undergo some stages and chief among these stages are the following:

- "After some exposure to the field setting and some collection of data, the researcher should start to develop a "category" which illuminate and fit the data well.
- The researcher then seeks to abstract a more general formulation of the category as well as specifying criteria for inclusion in that category.
- The researcher should be sensitive to the connections between emerging general categories and other milieus in which categories may be relevant.
- The researcher may become increasingly aware of the connections between categories developed in the previous stage and will seek to develop hypothesis about such links.
- The researcher should then seek to establish the conditions in which these connections pertain".

The strong points of grounded theory as outlined by Bryman (1987: 84) are the following:

- “Grounded theory approach allows theory to emerge from data, so that it does not lose touch with its empirical references.
- The approach provides a framework for qualitative researcher to cope with unstructured complexity of social reality so as to render it manageable”.

Gilbert (1983: 164) maintains that “ Grounded theory requires the development of a systematic understandable to the members of the setting, and which is done as much as possible in their own terms, yet it is more systematic and necessarily more verbal than they would generally be capable of expressing”. Grounded theory forms the basis of data analysis in this study where the researcher has developed some categories and general pattern of the data collected.

Statistical data analysis is the culmination of data summary, which was collected from different sources, e.g publications, newspapers etc. The results are presented in an understandable and convincing manner.

Bailey (1987: 370) has this to say about statistical analysis “as in all aspects of social research we have studied, our goal in statistical analysis is to further our overall goals of understanding social phenomena. At the risk of oversimplification, we can say that this is achieved during statistical analysis through the process of description, explanation, and prediction”.

Bailey (1970: 370) argues that “description is generally the easiest of the three tasks and consists of primarily of simply telling what the data “both like” e.g. how many cases were analyzed, what was the range of scores, what was the mean or median, and so forth. Explanation and prediction are generally more complicated than description and require more computation as well as more interpretation. Often assumption and requirement for the use of explanatory and predictive statistics are quite restrictive. Statistical procedures in the form of aggregate analysis or data summary were employed in this study especially on analysis of election results of November 1995, workforce composition of the TLC, on the population census and number of houses in both Seshego and Pietersburg which gave rise to population density. The statistical analysis gave a clear picture of subject under study.

2.6 Indicators

The concept “indicator” is used loosely in the literature as being “evaluative” in nature. Indicators, whether educational, social or performance, have an important role to play in many systems, organisational or the public at large.

The following are some of the roles played by indicators:

- Indicator gives an indication of the “health” of a system.
- Indicator monitors the functioning of any system.
- Indicator serves as an early warning system on future problems.

The concept “indicator” in this study was used to denote direct or indirect measure of change over a period of time. Indicators were used to measure specific issues or conditions relevant to the aspects as alluded in the study (land use patterns,

demarcation of wards, and personnel). Indicators were used as gauge to determine whether the conditions from November 1995 have changed and if they have changed can that be attributed to the intervention or not. The intervention in this study (LGTA) was geared towards bringing change in the form of integrating the two formerly separated towns into one unit. Specific aspects evaluated in this respect entailed the three categories (land use patterns, ward demarcation, and personnel) as contained in the LGTA.

The specific intended outcome as outlined are achieved within explicit timeframes i.e. November 1995 to December 2000. The baseline information was used to compare or to measure or to gauge progress or change brought about by intervention. The baseline information further established reference point for the start of intervention. In this study baseline information was gathered by going back some years ago to correctly portray the context in which change was made. Data was collected by using both qualitative and quantitative methods and the unit of analysis was clearly spelt as the two towns. This study has attempted to weave together different aspect that measure or evaluate the level of integration of the two towns under study

Indicators as used in this study have embraced the following characteristics:

- Indicators which were relevant to the study.
- Indicators which could be updated.
- Indicators which were based on reliable figures.
- Indicators which were easy to comprehend.
- Indicators which were valid.
- Indicators which were flexible

- Indicators which were policy- relevant.
- Statistics used was reliable and kept as simple as possible.

This study has used the following indicators:

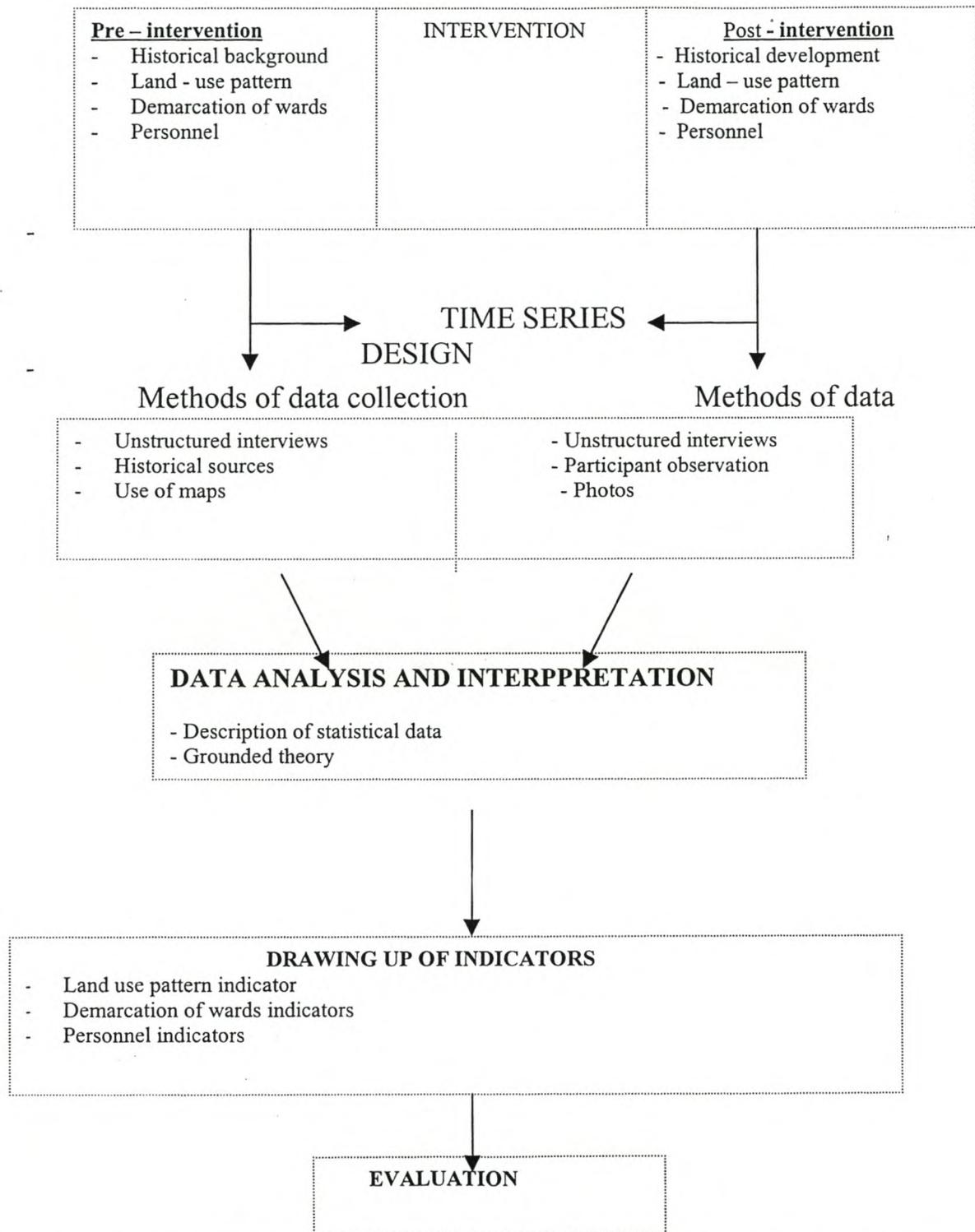
- Land use patterns – Ordinance 15 of 1986 vs. R293 of 1962.
Both were used to determine base line information on land use and ward demarcation as contained in the respective legislative documents. The post-intervention period was compared against pre-intervention period. Indicators were drawn from these premises. Indicators, which were used, clarified a number of land use related matters pertaining to both formal-informal settlements and formal-informal trading/economy. Indicators relating to the racial segregation of the wards were tabled.
- Demarcation of wards-1995 Local Government election results is used. Pre-intervention scenario is captured and outlined as per legislative consideration. The post-intervention scenario is also outlined and indicators are drawn to gauge changes. Indicators reflected clearly that despite desegregation of the former “white” space, wards were still demarcated according to the racial composition. This racial composition of wards in Pietersburg TLC gave rise to 50/50 representation in the municipality council.
- Personnel- Municipality personnel employed in terms of municipality ordinance of 1926 vs. former Lebowa personnel employed in terms of Public Service Act of 1972 as amended. (Table 4.1). The pre-intervention legislative consideration was outlined and compared with post-intervention period. Indicators were drawn to the gauge the changes. Indicators were drawn from the progress made

- by both the council and Department of Local Government in amalgamating the personnel from the Department of Local Government into the council.

Figure 2.3 outlines the methodological framework of this study indicating all steps that were followed to make an evaluation on the integration of the two towns between 1995 to 2000.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

FIGURE 2.3



CHAPTER THREE

3.1 OVERVIEW OF HISTORIC DEVELOPMENTS OF PIETERSBURG AND SESHEGO UP TO 1995: PRE-INTERVENTION STAGE.

This chapter reviews the different legislation and policy formulations regarding changes and development relating to local government in South Africa. The rationale for discussing these concepts is embedded in the question “why are spatial distributions the way they are? ”This chapter attempts to find out why Pietersburg for example, is situated where it is today? And why Seshego is situated where it is today? And why do we find buffer zones between the two towns? Why do we find indians staying in Nirvana, whites staying in Pietersburg, blacks in Seshego and coloureds in Westernburg? In short, this chapter investigates laws and legislation, which were passed to manipulate urban space. In order for this chapter to show how this manipulation of urban space was achieved, the concept of “Core-Periphery” dualism is discussed. The fact that this study is about “Integration” of two towns (Pietersburg and Seshego) which are 12km apart simply indicates that these two places were, or are, spatially separated from each other. This chapter indicates the mechanisms, which were used to structure these two places away from each other, some of which include the following:

- The concept Core-Periphery Dualism
- The role played by State Legislature
- Development of Local Government in South Africa.

This chapter shows how Pietersburg City was established to form the “core”, while black dormitories around or along the edge of the towns were turned into “peripheries”.

This core-periphery dualism came into existence because of laws or legislation passed by previous government (before 27 April 1994). The roles of these laws or legislation are outlined hereunder.

In addition the development of local government in South Africa is also addressed. This aspect indicates how local government was structured to protect the interest of some racial groups, how ultimately many or diverse local government authorities have mushroomed.

This chapter focuses on how disintegration measures were put in place to locate the two towns apart from each other, and also how later intervention the (LGTA) was introduced to undo what has been created by previous planning laws.

3.2 The concept Core-Periphery dualism

Coates (1992: 1) argues that “the world development pattern as we experience it today cannot be adequately described by such terms as, “developed” and “developing”. Taylor (1992: 11) further argues, for instance, “that the term “developing” imply catching up, whereas “developed” means that the process of major economic change is over. The reality is however that “the world we experience today” is so unequal that “the facts we have created on geographical variations in material well-being all imply increasing global polarisation”. The uneven development is expressed also by Coates (1992: 1) thus: “Our world is a very unequal place.... In the same way some countries, some regions and some localities are more equal than others”. Only in the concept of core-periphery dualism can this spatial reality of uneven development be adequately represented. In Taylor (1992: 14) phraseology; “The beauty of this construct is that it is interactive and functional: a core cannot exist without a periphery and vice-versa”

Taylor (1992: 11) “The world does not consist of facts waiting to be discovered. We manufacture facts in our attempts to understand the world. Hence, they are social creation more or less useful for our social purpose. Definitely, a core periphery dualism is a fact of spatially uneven development - that is, a core-periphery dualism should be viewed as a spatial articulation of relative levels of development of various spatial units. Furthermore, that “all facts are theory laden”, is attested to by the point that this fact of spatially unequal development has been “produced” differently”.

The core-periphery dualism is caused by numerous factors as outlined by the orthodox paradigm and the political economy paradigm. According to Coetzee (1986: 386) each of these paradigms has, “clue concepts or explanatory categories the concept that predominates in the orthodox paradigm is economic growth, whereas the political-economy paradigm is dominated by the concept of revolution. The orthodox paradigm embraces capitalisation (economic growth) and marginalisation variant theories. Dependency and Marxist variant theories, on the other hand, constitute the political-economy paradigm”.

Hansen (1981: 20) summarises factors that influence core regions or centres to grow faster than peripheral regions. “The first is the dominance effect. Cores weaken peripheries by resources transfer to the cores. The second is the information effect. Continual interaction and innovation in the cores enhance their growth. The third is the psychological effect. Higher expectations and lower risks are the modernisation effect. As centres of innovation, core attracts more capital. The fourth is the linkage effect. Innovations induce more innovation. The fifth is production effect. This is due to the agglomeration economies”.

Taylor (1992: 14) argues that “ there are no places which are inherently core or periphery, but rather that there are core producing processes and periphery producing processes. Taylor maintains further that “space itself can be neither core nor periphery in nature. Rather there are core and periphery processes which structure space so that at any point in time one or other of the two processes predominate. She concludes by saying “in simple terms, core processes consist of relations that incorporates relatively high wages, advanced economy and a diversified production mix whereas periphery processes involve low wages, more rudimentary technology and simple production mix”.

After 1913 South Africa was divided into “white areas” and “homelands”. The “white areas” were characterised by development i.e. core-producing processes whereas the "homelands" were prone with underdevelopment i.e. periphery-producing processes.

The homelands constitute, according to Letsoalo and Rogerson (1992: 302), “the most impoverished, underdeveloped and poverty-stricken region of South Africa.... Forming only 13% of the total land area of the country.... And fragmented in terms of the creation of ten separate ethnic nation”. Thus, South Africa’s historic core-periphery dualism is that of the “white areas - homeland” spatial organisation. One other crucial factor about this historic core-periphery dualism is that the “white areas” were, de jure, for whites, and the “homelands” for Africans. Hence, there tended to be a strong correlation between race and development/underdevelopment (Legassick, 1977).

At this point, one should be asking oneself some crucial questions, such as how did such a racially apparent core-periphery dualism originate and develop? How is/was dualism maintained and perpetuated? And how can such a dualism be addressed? The discussion that follows attempt to answer all the questions.

3.2.1 The evolution of “white” Pietersburg as core: Pre-intervention

In 1867, repeated attacks by African people caused the boer community, which had settled in Schoemansdal, to move. (Schoemansdal is situated approximately 20 km West of Louis-Trichardt along the Alldays-Louis Trichardt road. It is about 120km from Pietersburg). Mr Mostert, an old resident of the farm Ashfield next to the farm Schoemansdal, indicated that the boers who resided at Schoemansdal were attacked by the Makgatho tribe occasionally and the fact that they had constant attacks of malaria and tsetsefly, the Zuid Afrikanse Republic offered to compensate the Schoemansdal community purchasing the eastern portion of the farm Sterkloop for settlement. (Interview Date 10-04-1999). Kotze and Donaldson (1996: 469) write: "The main reasons for favouring this location were its centrality, sufficiency of water and ample local supply of African labour. Of the first 150 erven surveyed in April 1884, 94 were handed out gratis in September 1885 while the others were sold. The first phase of surveying the town was completed by 1902, but the first land use did not prepare for a non-European section. Segregational planning, as a precursor to later apartheid planning was therefore already evident in the pre-union period".

The entry into power by National Party in 1948 promoted it to take upon itself the duty to solve urban native problem. The policies of the party perpetuated differentiation of structures and systems according to race or population group's i.e.white local authorities, management committees for coloureds and local affair committees for indians.

Kotze and Donaldson (1998:36) suggest that "The large influx of blacks into urban areas and an increased urbanisation of Africans prompted the Pietersburg city council to petition the government to extend its jurisdiction, and this for three principal reasons. Firstly, several townships had already been surveyed (Annadale, New Pietersburg, Edendale) and others would follow. Secondly, squatting by Africans was in principle regarded as undesirable and would therefore not be permitted within areas scheduled for control. Thirdly, having control was desirable for municipality".

The Urban Areas Act of 1912 created black or non-white locations outside Pietersburg. This was in pursuit of the policy of racial segregation and the invidious reorganisation of space along colour by the government of the day. Pietersburg municipality report (Ref. no 84/11 undated) has this to say about the establishment of New Pietersburg " Nuwe Pietersburg is in 1903 as 'n dorpsgebied geproklameer, aanvanklik met die doel om dit as 'n blanke residensiele gebied te ontwikkel. Geen noemenswaardige ontwikkeling het hierna plaasgevind nie tot 1923, toe Mnr J.F.S. van Niekerk 'n groot gedeelte van die dorpsgebied aangekoop en dit in klein erfies opgesny en aan bantoes begin verkoop het. Ernstige onreëlmatighede het met die verkoop van hierdie erwe plaasgevind en in 1940 het Mnr van Niekerk insolvent geraak. Op hierdie stadium was die onreëlmatighede so ernstig dat die Regering besluit het om in te gryp ten einde die belang van die bantoes te beskerm".

The influx of black people into the urban area forced the municipality to allocate more land for black residential settlement. The situation culminated in the establishment of a township on the farm, western part of Sterkloop No. 91, bordering the Sandriver; a location or township known as New Pietersburg was established.

This township was about seven kilometres away from the heart of the city of Pietersburg, and was one of the few urban areas in the Transvaal where "black" people could purchase immovable property and acquire "freehold" land right. In 1948 it was decided that the Pietersburg municipality would take over the administration of the land of all locations in these non-white areas. The first black residents therefore bought their plots from two "white" owners, a certain Mr van Niekerk who co-owned the land with a certain Mr Lewis. At this time they did not proclaim the urban area of Pietersburg for segregation. By the mid 60's and early 70's there were some 10 000 residents in the area; of these approximately 725 "non-whites" owned the land and were in possession of full title. The municipality subsequently gazetted the residential area of New Pietersburg a white area in terms of the Group areas Act. 1966 (Act 36 of 1966 (Government Gazette no 153 of 1969). On the 13th June 1969 in accordance of the provisions of the Group Areas Act of 1966, New Pietersburg was declared a white area. More than 10 000 "black" residents of this area were then moved to the Lebowa Homeland township of Moletši (later re-named Seshego). The policy of forced removals and segregation of residential areas in Pietersburg changed the socio-spatial formation of the total municipality to a fully-fledged apartheid space (**Figure 3.1**). The following points show how apartheid space was designed in Pietersburg.

- Nirvana was proclaimed as a town for indian community on the 7 November 1973 (Province of Tvl. Official Gazette, 1 October 1973: 3652 cited Donaldson, 1999).
- Westernburg was proclaimed a township for a coloured group in October 1979 (PBA: 23/2/Vol. 2 cited Donaldson 1999).

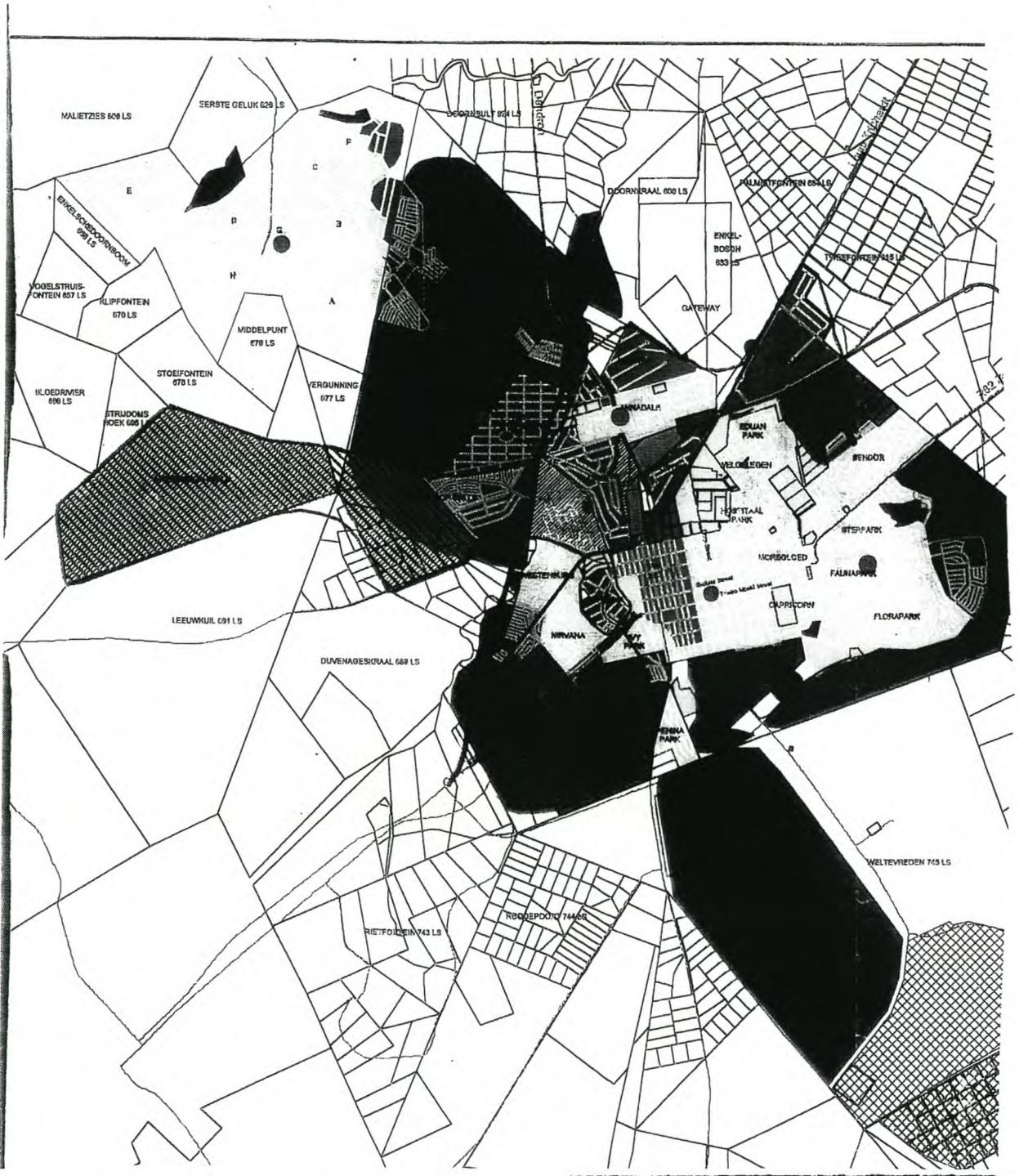


Figure 3.1 Pietersburg as apartheid city

NOT TO SCALE

The Pietersburg Town Council was placed with the obligation to administer the area. The all "white" council perceived this as a problem and with limited resources and the council sought ways to absolve itself of this cumbersome task. With the motivation by council planners to extend "white" development eastwards towards New Pietersburg and in keeping with the national policy of urban segregation and exclusion the council found it expedient to approach the Department of Planning to declare New Pietersburg a "black spot". By separating different racial groups the Pietersburg municipality had achieved the policy of segregation and the city typified all characteristics associated with an apartheid city.

Kotze and Donaldson (1999: 469) outline that "most of the traditional white residential areas are to the east of the CBD, with three exceptions: Annandale, to the north of CBD; Ivy Park, to the west; and Penina Park, to the South (**Figure 3.1**). The indian and coloured residential areas are found in the west, separated from the white CBD by the city's light industrial area (Superbia) and a strip of open land".

3.2.2 The evolution of the "black" township of Seshego as periphery: Pre-intervention

The control and administration of black townships prior to 1948 were under the jurisdiction of white municipalities. The municipalities in turn were controlled by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. There was however tension between the Department and the Municipalities over the control and administration of black townships. Bekker and Humphries (1985: 2) says. "There certainly was a conflict between the Department and the Municipalities over specific issues.... from the point of view of the municipalities, the financial burdens of implementing government policy and providing housing were an important source of contention".

The issues of contention in this respect included the following; municipalities were to shoulder housing policy, control influx control, run the day to day affairs of the black townships.

These responsibilities were rather too much for the municipalities to execute with the accuracy the government has expected. The tension, disagreement, and conflict between the Department and municipalities became much more marked as the newly elected National Party government began to implement wide ranging changes to policy.

It was due to the persistent nature of these differences that the introduction of a structure that will take care of housing, influx control, and general day to day running of the black townships became inevitable. The Black Affairs Administration Boards (BAAB) were established to take over functions which the municipalities then performed.

The BAAB was to report directly to the Minister of Co-operation and Development. The agency status of the municipalities was ended and the BAAB took all the functions, which the municipalities performed. The following were the functions, which were performed by the BAAB:

- Physical development of the (acquisition, planning, servicing, and development of township) land.
- Delivery of local authority services
- The boards acted as local authorities for black persons
- Control the black labour market and the movement of black people in its area of jurisdiction (influx control) (Bekker and Humphries, 1985)

From the above discussion it is clearly that the boards were intended to regulate and prohibit the entry of black people who have entered the townships without board's permission.

Some more crucial activities of the boards were those intended, through inducement or expulsion, to resettle blacks into the homelands...and assist the process of homeland urbanisation, to promote homeland development (Bekker and Humphries, 1985).

The period of apartheid cities coincided with the emergence of grand apartheid. The Promotion of Black Government Act (Act 46 of 1959) divided South African Blacks into ethnic units, linking each group with a specific area. The Lebowa Territorial Authority was subsequently established for the N. Sotho on 10 August 1962 (by proclamation R1274 of 1962). In July 1971, in terms of Chapter 1 of the National State Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971) the Lebowa Territorial Authority became a self governing territory on the 2nd October 1972 (by Proclamation R225 of 1972) in terms of Chapter 11 of the National State Constitution, Act of 1971. With the establishment of the Homelands, in this case Lebowa Authority, they moved the residents of New Pietersburg and Lerouxville to the new township called Seshego, which lies 12 km West of Pietersburg.

Mr Mphahlele (Chairperson of New Pietersburg Claimants) says, "Mr M D C de Wet Nel, the then Minister of Native Affairs decided that New Pietersburg and Lerouxville must form part of Lebowa hence the establishment Seshego" (Interview Date 05-10-1999). A report by the Land Claim Commissioner shows that the property owners in New Pietersburg were expropriated and paid according to the value of the land in those days.

This was a voluntary expropriation. Claimants interviewed insisted that the move was not voluntary and the compensation paid was in no way near the market value at the time, as there were no market valuations made to their properties.

One claimant paradoxically stated "no compensation was given, any small amount they deemed fit was given". Another resident also showed "that if any valuation was done it was not done with their full knowledge during the day, if it was done, it was done during the night". (Restitution Report, 1995 April 28). The broad spatial structure of Pietersburg and Seshego typifies a classical example of "Apartheid City" **Figure 3.1.**

3.3 The Role-played by the State Legislature in the core-periphery dualism

From the beginning of the twentieth century through the 1950's, the state enacted laws that were aimed at excluding blacks from national and local politics in what was known as white South Africa. At the same time capital's needs for cheap black labour forced the government to accept a limited number of blacks in urban areas. To satisfy these two binary opposites, black residential areas were located on the peri-urban of cities and towns in South Africa. This was achieved through legislation that was used to unscramble residential space on racial lines (Davies 1981).

The force behind residential segregation was an apartheid ideology. "Apartheid" is an emotive word which literally means "separateness" (Christopher, 1994). Sometimes euphemistically called "separate development". Apartheid represents the more explicit regulation of intergroup relations. Apartheid can be seen to operate in three levels i.e. "grand apartheid" "urban apartheid", and "petty apartheid". Grand apartheid's vision was to create separate nation-states for each of black ethnic groups. Urban apartheid involved

the spatial separation of racial groups in terms of Population Registration Act of 1950 into group areas according to the Group Areas Act of 1950. Petty apartheid involved social segregation. It describes an institutionalised form of segregation of people on the basis of race or ethnicity. Cohen defines apartheid as an attempt to manipulate geographical space in the interest of furthering the principal object of its designer, namely racial segregation (Cohen, 1988).

Similarly, (Davies, 1981) suggest that racial residential segregation history in South Africa is characterised by social, economic and the state's interference in spatial organisation of cities and towns.

The Native Land Act, 1913 was legislation which, according to White Paper on Land Policy Republic of South Africa (1997: 9), determined the right to "own, rent or even share-crop land in South Africa depended upon a person's racial classification".

Millions of black people were forced to leave their ancestral lands and resettle in what quickly became over-crowded and environmentally degraded reserves - pools of cheap migrant labour for white-owned farms and mines. Under the Native Trust Land Act, 1936, black people lost even the rights to purchase land in the reserves and were obliged to utilise land administered by tribal authorities appointed by the government.

The 1913 Land Act provided that 8 % of the surface areas of South Africa be demarcated as reserves; that Africans be prohibited from purchasing land in white areas and whites be inhibited from buying land in the reserves, (although the latter did not materialise); and that squatters and share-croppers be reduced to the level of labour tenants (Bundy, 1972). As Frank cited in Bundy (1972: 8) concludes, "one of the most obvious and the most far-

reaching factors which affected the development of, and the decay of, African peasants agriculture is the deliberately induced scarcity of land for African peasantry, which is the key to the status of inferiority, exploitation, poverty, lack of culture, the status of underdevelopment”.

This was a deliberate attempt by the white government to make blacks wage earners after their primary factor of production (land) was expropriated. In the subsistence production system, workers were assured access to land and tools; and it was their birthright (Isbister, 1995).

The introduction of racial capitalism left Africans with nothing but their own hands. Reserves became pools of a reserve army of workers (Christopher, 1992).

The significance of the Land Act of 1913 was twofold: The eviction of sharecroppers provided black labour for farmers, and the reserves provided migrant black labour for mining capital.

The urban black population increased, as labour became an important element in the urban areas. The rural-urban migration became a threat to urban areas. Whites or urban dwellers did not like the influx of Africans in urban areas. The Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 was enacted. The Native (Urban Areas) Act, The Native Amendment Act of 1937 and the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidated Act of 1945 were the main racial residential segregation laws that the state used to displace blacks from 1923 until the close of 1940's decade. The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 empowered the municipalities to do the following; to set aside land for African's occupation in segregated locations to house those Africans who were by that time living within cities and towns, to keep separate Native Revenue Accounts wherein revenues from rental payments, fines and beer hall sales were recorded.

The maintenance and management of group areas dominated the years between 1950 and 1986. The state passed the Group Areas Act of 1950 which was followed by supportive racial residential segregation legislation (discussed in details below) that were aimed at displacing African in both rural and urban areas.

The implementation of these laws represents the most powerful elements of state's intervention in the organisation of the South African urban space (Davies, 1981; Maylan, 1990).

In 1959 the South African government enacted the Promotion of Self-Government Act. The Act abolished the limited parliamentary representation of Africans and defined eight bantustans: Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Gazankulu, Kwa-Zulu, Lebowa, Qwa-Qwa, Transkei and Venda, and later in the 1970's kaNgwane and KwaNdebele (Horrel, 1973; Malan and Hattingh, 1976).

Among others, the Act made provision for the creation of ethnic self-government of these bantustans. In 1970, the government legislated the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, which decreed every African, a citizen of a homeland. The state used three laws that were passed in the 1950's to resettle Africans. The first was the Native Trust Land Act of 1936. This Act regulated the presence of blacks in white farming areas. Only farm workers, registered squatters or tenants and their dependence were allowed in farms. The second was Bantu Resettlement Act of 1954, which empowered the state to force local government to relocate blacks from mixed residential areas in the inner city. The third was Bantu (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1955, which further empowered the state to abolish freehold rights in prescribed areas. The Act also empowered the Bantu Affairs Minister to abolish any township (Unterhalter, 1987).

These Acts offered three forms of forced removals. The first was aimed at removing Africans who were in surplus to labour in urban areas to rural areas. The second was forced relocation and destruction of mixed inner city communities that were centres of national liberation movement. The government wanted to achieve an insulation of African townships geographically and politically from “white” “South Africa” (Davies, 1981; Cohen 1988).

The third form of forced removal forced African peasants out of subsistence production as squatters or white-owned farm labour tenants into wage labour. It is within this framework that from 1960 until 1986 the government pursued a policy of relocating urban Africans to commuter areas in the Bantustan. In the 1970's most existing townships were deproclaimed to become part of the homelands.

In most cases, residents were forcefully removed from black spots; New Pietersburg is typical case. The outcome was the creation of dormitory towns within Bantustans that shared borders with these cities and towns. Seshego was established as a dormitory black township.

These dormitory towns remained tied to their mother towns or cities in terms of labour supply and buying power. Their labour power was/is always exploited as their wages and other benefits, if there were any, did not match the value of their labour power. The relocation of these townships made workers to commute long distances to place of their employment.

A history of institutionalised racial segregation has shaped the evolution of the South African citizen.

"... as long as such (detrified) native remain in urban areas, cognisance must be taken of different ethnic groups (volkgroepe) and separate residential areas must be provided for them where, under the supervision of the relevant local authorities, they will have their own social welfare services and will be able to choose their own councils. It must be clear, however, that their presence in the white urban areas will be considered as temporary and that they will never be able to lay claim to political rights of any kind equal to those of the whites and that they will never be able to own real estate (vaste eiendomme)" Hinds as cited in Madzie (1996:43).

The quotation above suggests the following scenario: apartheid was aimed at total spatial segregation of races in South Africa with an ultimate aim of granting independence to African homelands.

When this failed, the state attempted to divide Africans into two groups: urban and rural. Urban black residents were treated differently at both their places of work and their residential areas. The government viewed urban blacks the same as whites, coloureds, and Asian residents. Black people on the other hand who originated from the rural areas and homelands were treated as temporary residents according to the Black Labour Act of 1964. The white town of Pietersburg and black dominatory township of Seshego evolved due to apartheid social engineering as it is explained in this Chapter.

In early February 1990 the government unbanned all outlawed political organisation. This was followed by the release of Nelson Mandela on February 11, 1990.

Interim agreements were reached on a number of segregation and apartheid laws. These agreements ushered South Africa into a new era of transition to democracy. A number of apartheid laws were either repealed or amended to be in line with the new order. The following laws were enacted to be in line with the transition to democracy:

Abolition of Racially Based Land Measure Act of 1991.

- Abolish all racially based land related laws.
- To provide for the establishment of an advisory commission on land allocation.
- To enable people who were dispossessed of their right in land by state and such land is still held by the state to claim for restoration of same.

Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act of 1991.

- Upgrade various existing forms of tenure to a more secured tenure.
- Conversion of land rights to be in line with the government policy.

Distribution and Transfer of Certain State Land Act of 1993.

- Transfer land to beneficiaries.
- Provide designation of certain land, mainly states land for settlement.
- Regulate sub-division of such land.
- Registration of ownership.

The dawn of democracy after the April 1994 elections brought about a number of laws in line with the Government of the day. The following Acts were enacted.

Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994

- Restoration of land rights to people or communities dispossessed of their rights in land as a result of racially discriminatory laws and practices on or after 19 June 1913.
- Establishment of Commission on Restitution of Land Rights and the Land Claims Court.

Land Administration Act of 1995.

- To provide for the delegation of powers and the assignment of the administration of laws regarding land matters to the provinces; to provide for the creation of uniform land legislation; and to provide for matters incidental thereto.
Development Facilitation Act of 1995.
- Facilitate and speed up the implementation of the RDP programs and projects in relation to land.
- General principles governing land development.
- Formulate and implement land development objectives.
- Provide procedures for the sub-division and development of land in urban and rural areas.
- Establish development tribunals.
- Promote security of tenure.

It should however be pointed out that at present the effect of apartheid legislation and laws is still felt in black townships despite their repeal. Their monotonous townscape will remain for several decades into the future (Beavon, 1992; Christopher, 1992). The government is attempting to alleviate housing shortage, but the problem is that the only land available for low-cost housing development is near the townships. Making use of such land will in a sense entrench the existing framework of apartheid. To develop low-cost housing near the present dominated white suburb is opposed by residents as this affects the value of their properties (Beavon, 1992).

In contrast to black townships, white suburbs are spacious with all amenities that are expected of a suburb (Cohen, 1988). The average price of these residential properties is very high. The repealing of the residential racial legislation had little impact on the landscape of these suburbs.

3.4 Development of Local Government in South Africa

The National Party (NP) came to power in 1948, largely because of its promise to implement apartheid or segregation policies. Its policies perpetuated differentiation of structure and systems according to race or population group for more than 40 years: namely white local authorities, management committees for coloureds and indians, local affairs committees for indians in Natal and black local authorities. Under apartheid, South Africa was able to develop one of the most highly centralised and fragmented political and administrative systems in the western world (Ismael et al, 1997).

Apartheid local government had many distinct features. Some of the features were referred to as: “control of urbanization; refusing to acknowledge increase in urban population; racial segregation of settlements; racially-divided local authorities; and gross racial disparities in access to service and housing”.

The White Paper on Local Government has this to say about the history of local government “Apartheid was not the beginning of geographic, institutional and social separation at the local level. Segregation was already a policy by the time apartheid was introduced in 1948. However, the Group Areas Act, the key piece of apartheid legislation, instituted strict residential segregation and compulsory removal of black people to “own group” areas. Through spatial separation, influx control, and a policy of “own management for own areas”, apartheid aimed to limit the extent to which affluent white municipalities would bear the financial burden of servicing disadvantaged black areas” (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

Ismael et al (1997) further maintains that apartheid policies and practices resulted in

local government boundaries being demarcated in such a manner that the major commercial, industrial and mining centres were excluded from the jurisdiction of black local authorities. These authorities relied extensively on revenue from residents in their areas and central government grant. White local authorities, on the other hand, could tap the resource of commercial, industrial and residential areas through rates and service charges, in addition to receiving central government grants. It was Ismael et al, (1997: 6) who outlined the following “The South African Constitution, 1983 (Act 110 of 1983) resulted in central government control over local government for indians, whites and coloureds, forming racially-exclusive “own affairs”. The responsibility for black local authorities was defined as a “general affair”. In 1987 Regional Services Councils were established to provide certain municipal services as well as funds to all local authorities for capital projects. In government circles they were perceived as mechanism for the development of underdevelopment areas.

The establishments of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards were designed to exercise control over the affairs of black persons living and working in both urban and rural areas.

The boards were aimed to regulate the process of black urbanisation, their families into the cities and towns of the Republic. The other activity of the boards was to prohibit the entry of the black persons into the Republic’s urban areas (Bekker and Humphries, 1985). These activities were regulatory and policing in nature. The Act that was used to accomplish the objectives of the state was the Blacks (Urban Area) Consolidation Act of 1945 (section 10 in particular), and in the Black labour Act of 1964.

The above explanation further indicates and reveals the core-periphery dualism as already mentioned previously. The following legislation further indicate how this

dualism was maintained and perpetuated at a local level. Ismael et al (1997) indicate that between 1910 and 1922, African townships were administered at central government level by Department of Native Affairs. Black advisory committees, however, took over this administrative responsibility in 1923. These committees established in terms of the Urban Areas Act 1923 (Act 21 of 1923) could only advise the white local authorities that in fact were practically administering the townships. Thus, advisory committees had no real policy making powers. In reality, white local authorities, in conjunction with the Department of Native Affairs, later renamed Department of Co-operation and Development took decisions. In 1961, Urban Councils were established in terms of the Urban Bantu Council Act, 1961 (Act 70 of 1961). In 1971 the Bantu Administration Council took the administration of black townships. The White Paper on Local Government further stipulates that black local authorities replaced Community Councils in 1982 (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

Towards the late 1970's, organisms of civil society were established in response to community dissatisfaction with the community councils. At about the same time the National Party argued in favour of establishing more autonomous black local authorities.

The apartheid syndrome was further perpetuated through the concept of “own” and “general” affairs. This meant that that specific group would deal with issues of a particular race group, such as housing. Local government development in South Africa from 1950 to the early 1980's was characterised by the following:

- A continuation of the systems of local government representative of the “white population group” under control of the four provincial authorities.(Transvaal, Oranje Free State, Natal, Cape Colony)
- The development of new local government institutions for the black, coloured and indian population groups (Ismael et al, 1997).

Towards the end of 1992, the two major rival political parties (ANC and NP), as well as other marginal ones at local government level, agreed to settle their differences through negotiations. The spirit of the negotiations that led these local government transitional arrangements reflected a shared belief in the importance of legitimate and effective local government, established through a transparent, inclusive, 'bottom up' approach, drawing together all relevant stakeholders at local level, especially from sectors of local communities previously excluded from local government participation. Within ten months (April 1993 to January 1994), these parties forged a settlement as to the future of local government. The principle underlying this agreement are contained in the following three historical documents:

- The Local Government Transition Act, 1993 (Act 209 of 1993) as amended.
- The 1994 World Trade Centre Agreement arrived at in Kempton Park, which deals with the provision and financing of local services.
- The Interim Constitution, 1993 (Act 200 of 1993).

In contradiction to the 'top-down' and racially fragmented local government policy and practice of the former government, new policy was envisaged which would embody internationally recognised democratic values encapsulated in the following concepts: 'bottom-up', 'based on popular franchised', 'devolved powers', 'wide-ranging autonomy', 'inclusivity', 'democracy', 'development', and 'effectiveness' (Bekker et al, 1997). The proposed process of transition comprised three phases as discussed in chapter 1.

The first step, which covers the pre-interim period, consisted of local government negotiation forums (LGNF). The local interest groups were invited to be part of either the statutory or non-statutory delegations. The local government negotiation forum was requested to propose an appropriately delimited geographic area for the new local authority.

Once a reasonable measure of consensus had been reached the LGNF requested ratification of their body from the appropriate Provincial Authority (Bekker et al, 1997). In terms of the LGTA, 1993 (Act 209 of 1993) Local Government had to be established for Pietersburg with its segregated black township, Seshego and any such areas historically and economically bound to the city (Donaldson, 1999).

The second step required the (now Provincially ratified) LGNF to reach agreement on two further issues: the type of transitional local body to be established, and the size of that body (Bekker et al, 1997). The inaugural meeting of this forum was held at Jack Botes hall on the 18-February 1994 and was called Pietersburg-Seshego Negotiating Forum. Donaldson (1999: 151) says “ It was the first time in the city’s history that the ANC and other former liberation movements and organisation had assembled with white right wing parties”. The author of this study recalls very clearly that an argument among the participants erupted on who should chair the forum.

The ANC and other predominantly black parties was proposing the name of a woman by the name of a certain Ms Madiba while the NP and predominantly white parties were proposing the City Secretary to chair the proceedings. The forum ultimately agreed on the ANC ‘s proposal. Other subsequent negotiating Forum meetings took place and a total of approximately eighteen consecutive meetings were held. Donaldson (1998: 153) outlines how “ The Negotiating Forum for Pietersburg-Polokwane as it was known by then reached a final consensus. And an agreement was signed late in September 1994”. The Pietersburg-Polokwane opted for the Transitional Local Council, which was agreed upon by the two-thirds majority.

The last step of the pre-interim phase was to obtain ratification from the Provincial Authority ‘whose task was to assess the proposals in the light of the LGTA. Once

ratified, LGNF transformed into TLC in the case of Pietersburg Polokwane TLC as “was to take over local authority responsibilities in its area of jurisdiction until such time as new local governments were established by popular franchise” (Bekker et al, 1997).

The interim phase or the elected transitional council stage was a stage, which would be in place just after the election for transitional councils lasting up to 2000 i.e. after the second general elections. The transitional local elections were held for both Pietersburg and Seshego with a total number of fourteen wards (seven wards in Pietersburg and seven in Seshego). The interim transitional council was dissolved and replaced by the elected transitional council.

3.4.1 Local Government in Pietersburg: as core: Pre-intervention stage

Apartheid local government was based on the idea that towns and cities could be separated and administered by separate local authorities with their own fiscal, administrative, legal, and representative systems.

They had structured the system strictly on racial lines. This study focuses on the following aspects as suggested below in an attempt to evaluate how integration has been achieved or not from 1995 to 2000. Each aspect is outlined for the two periods, i.e. pre-intervention and post-intervention.

The study focused at former "white" town of Pietersburg and the after focus on former "black" town of Seshego. The operationalisation of the aspects as indicated is done by making use of indicators that show the level of integration of the two towns since 1995 local government election.

- land a use pattern

- wards demarcation
- personnel

3.4.1.1 Land use pattern: Pre-intervention

The term "land use pattern" is used to mean two things, i.e. land development and land use management. Land development: Any procedure aimed at changing the use of land for the purpose of using the land mainly for residential, industrial, business, small scale farming, community or similar purpose (Oranje *et al* 1999).

Land use management refers to the management of inter-alia:

- subdivision of land
- use type and intensity of development on land
- the location and impact of unwanted, but necessary kind uses
- The direction, type and intensity of future land use so as to ensure more functional, sustainable, efficient and equitable land uses (Oranje *et al*, 1999).

Land use pattern (management and development) in the case of Pietersburg is governed by the Transvaal Town Planning Ordinance of 1986.

3.4.1.2 Planning Laws: Pre-intervention

Pietersburg owes its creation and existence from the Transvaal Town Planning and Township Ordinance of 1986 (TPTO). The ordinance was only applicable in the former "white, coloured and indian areas" of the former Transvaal Province. The purpose of the ordinance was to be used as an instrument to create and regulate land uses in a co-ordinated and harmonious manner in such a way to promote health, safety, good order, amenity, convenience, and general welfare of an area. The Ordinance is used for both land use management and new land development. The Ordinance provides a structured process to change the land use through Town Planning Scheme and for changes to the control instruments and set out the process of development.

3.4.1.3 Town Planning Scheme: Pre-intervention

The Town Planning Scheme that was in operation in Pietersburg after the November 1995 local election was compiled at the end of 1970 and proclaimed in 1981. The scheme thus dates from a previous era when decisions about land use planning and control were taken in Pretoria. (Northern Review, 1997 July 25).

Mr Herman Potgieter, a consultant appointed by the Pietersburg Polokwane TLC, to work on the land use development of Pietersburg and Seshego, explained what a Town Planning Scheme is, in one consultative meeting, which the author attended. He explained Town Planning Scheme "as the way in which the land is divided or how they rule people on a piece of land. The idea of Town Planning Scheme is to rule land use, to rule people to be where they are, e.g. we divided and planned the farm in a way that they allocate a certain portion of the farm for grazing, water pumps, dwelling and so on. In other words, certain portions of the farm are used for specific purposes.

In case of a town, a Town Planning Scheme will allocate land for residential, CBD, entertainment area, dams etc. The Town Planning Scheme is implemented for the existing land use; it is a statutory and technical document with associated maps, which represent a framework for planning, administration and control of all land use rights" (Date of Meeting August 1998).

For this study two land use patterns were identified, investigated, and discussed against the background of planning in Pietersburg before 1995, i.e. pre-intervention i.e. informal trading and informal settlement:

3.4.1.4 Informal economy/trading: Pre-intervention

Most factors contributed to the total absence of the informal economy in the "white" town of Pietersburg since its inception in 1886. The informal economy had been severely repressed in Pietersburg CBD.

Strict legislation and by-laws were applied to informal business and home-based businesses. The absence of this activity could be ascribed to the previous apartheid laws, which were passed to promote, enforce, perpetuate and protect racial segregation.

The Group Areas Act has been an invisible tool to promote the absence of informal economy. Christopher cited in Donaldson (1999: 244) stated that "Legally enforced spatial manipulation of business areas in South Africa's apartheid cities dates from the 1940's. However, ample evidence of manipulation was observed and documented at local government level during the colonial and segregation era too, when "the separate" "Asiatic Bazaars" established on the periphery of Transvaal towns in the late nineteenth century were the precursors of the group areas of the twentieth century".

Donaldson and Van der Merwe cited in Donaldson (1999: 246) observed that "Segregating Black business from the city had been evident since the origin of Pietersburg in 1886. The spatial duality of racial composition in business segregated the city into two distinct areas - a white CBD with its adjacent Bazaar, and an Asian business centre next to the Asian Group Area Suburb".

Black business was completely absent from business space in Pietersburg because policies of separate development dictated so. The informal business in Pietersburg before 1995 was strictly prohibited for all population groups.

The Town Planning Scheme together with the by-laws set out very strict conditions for the establishment of any type of informal trading. Clauses like the "nuisance clause" were put in place to make it illegal to operate an informal business in the "white" town of Pietersburg" (Donaldson, 1999).

3.4.1.5 Informal settlement: Pre-intervention

Before 1990 the apartheid city of Pietersburg was almost one hundred percent white. The enactment of laws and legislation as outlined previously made conditions practically impossible for black people to settle in town.

The apartheid policies enshrined in the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and Group Areas Act of 1950 forced Black people to the fringe of urban areas.

As it has been outlined previously, the number of influxes of black people coming to towns increased and there was an increase and need to expand black townships away from towns. The concentration of black people on the outskirts of white areas created a big problem to the authorities. The fear was that blacks would invade "white man's land" and built up shacks or informal settlement.

In responding to this, Khosa (1987:30) shows how " a number of commissions of inquiries were established to look at the policy of drafting urban public transport for black people, e.g. Beardmore Commission, (South Africa, 1944), Page Commission (South Africa, 1969), Driessen Commission (South Africa, 1974), and Welgemoed Commission (South Africa, 1983)".

The aims of the commissions were to try to solve the problem of keeping black people away from city centres.

In its pursuit to insulate black townships geographically, politically, and economically, the South African Government introduced subsidised commuter transport. A bus transport company subsidised by the Bantu Transport Levy Fund in terms of Bantu Transport Services Act, No. 53 of 1957 as amended in 1972 was engaged to transport masses of black people from Seshego to Pietersburg and vice versa. This approach yielded positive results, i.e. keeping black people away from Pietersburg and avoiding establishment of informal settlement in the outskirts of Pietersburg.

3.4.1.6 Demarcation of wards: Pre-intervention

An interview was held with Mr Fannie Schoeman (Date 15-09-1999) who was a member in the Demarcation Board of the TLC and Chief Electoral Officer in the Pietersburg Polokwane TLC, and an old resident of Pietersburg Mr Jan Stemmet (Date 12-08-1999) who is a local attorney.

During the interview the following issues relating to the old wards demarcation of Pietersburg (before 1995 local elections) were revealed:

- The "white" town of Pietersburg had nine (9) wards and a total of approximately twelve thousand voters, with an average of 1 760 voters per ward. **(Fig 3.1)**
- The nine wards comprising all formerly white suburbs.
- Before 1988 The National Party had won all seats in the municipality elections.
- After 1988 the Conservative Party with its "swaart gevaar" campaign won the municipality election,
- During these elections most National Party candidates left the party and contested elections as independents as they wanted to address real "bread and butter" issues of the residents. This was however short-lived. After resignation of some councillor, by-elections were called and the National Party ended with a total of six wards while the Conservative Party had three wards.

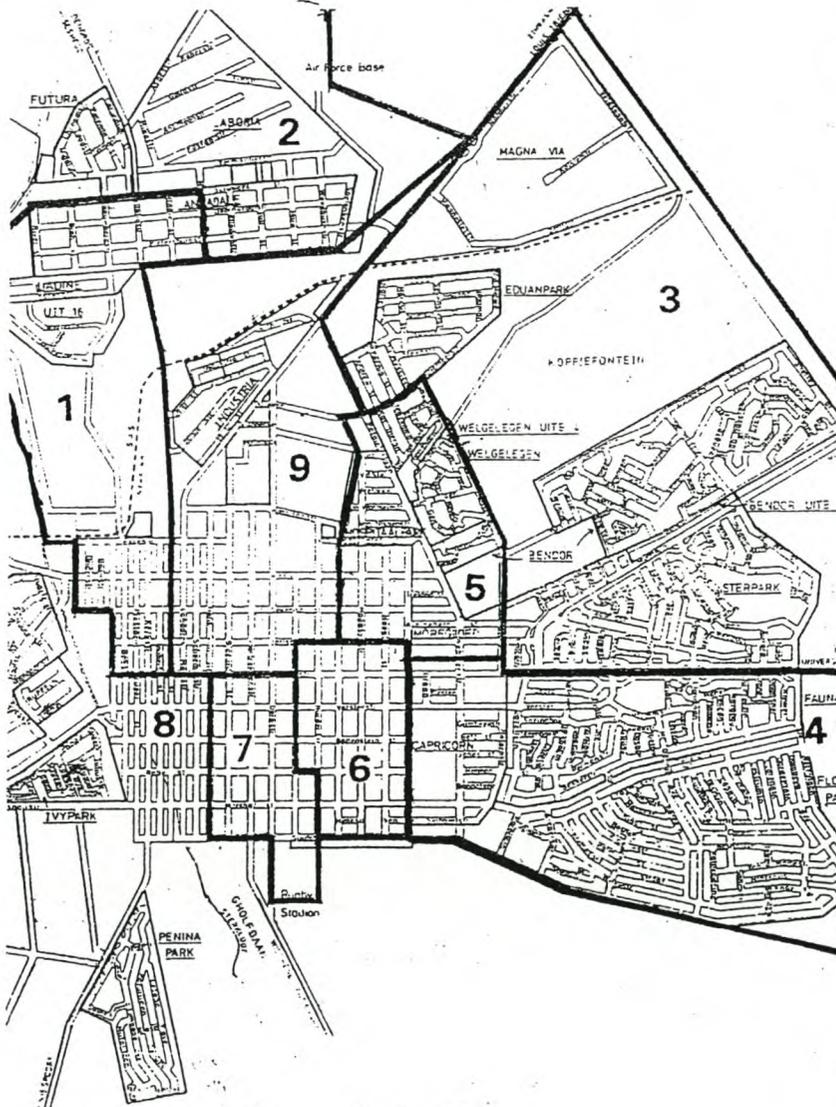


Figure 3.1 Ward demarcation of Pietersburg municipality before 1995. Pre-intervention scenario. (Forum 1988: 7)

3.4.1.7 Personnel: Pre-intervention

The information relating to workforce composition of Pietersburg Polokwane TLC was derived from an interview session with the Head of Management Services. Evidently, very few have changed since the election of 1995. The personnel establishment comprised mainly of white males. White males held the top and middle management posts. Predominantly black unskilled and semi skilled workers, especially in the Department of City Engineering, held the operational levels. (Date 12-10-1998) (**Annexure 3.1-3.10**).

One could say the municipality was a solution to the problem of "the question of poor whites". This is an area, as this study would establish later, that needs more attention for the total integration of two areas under study.

3.5.1 Local Government in Seshego: as periphery: Pre-intervention

3.5.1.1 Land use pattern:

Land use pattern and land use management has the same definition as in 3.4.1.1 the only difference is the fact that in case of Seshego which has been proclaimed in terms of R293 is governed by The Black Administration Act 38 of 1927.

3.5.1.2 Planning laws: Pre-intervention

The Seshego Township was established in terms of Black Administration Act 38 of 1927 and Regulation for its administration and control is R293 i.e. Regulation for control and administration of townships in black area. The R293 made provision for the conversion of grants into ownership and the institution of land regulations. The regulation set out procedures for applications for township development and declaration of approved townships, and the granting of deeds of grant and leasehold rights. Regulation 11 contains provisions of public participation and objections (Oranje et al, 1999).

3.5.1.3 Town Planning Scheme: Pre-intervention

Townships establishment under R293 had no Town Planning Scheme, but the Act contains the land development and management procedure. The R293, despite its amendments is still viewed as an apartheid proclamation. The following procedure was used in terms of application for any land development. The applicant had to submit his/her application to the former superintendents' office. The superintendent in turn had to forward the application to the council and thereafter have it advertised. The applicant had to fill-in ready-made questionnaire relating to his/her application, followed by a police report and then that submit to the Department of Internal Affairs (former Lebowa). The Department would inspect suitability of the site by engaging its planning section and after technical team has confirmed it, the application is taken to the Minister for approval or disapproval.

This was called "Approval in Principle". If the application had anything to do with, e.g. liquor licence, then it was submitted to the necessary authority, e.g. Liquor board. The Minister of Justice submitted this to the magistrates' office for final approval (interview with Mr Mokgonyana, Department of Local Government) (Date 28-08-1999).

3.5.1.4 Informal economy/trading: Pre-intervention

The formal business undertaking in Seshego was in terms of Business Act 1977, Act No 6 of 1977) and the Lebowa Trading Undertaking Act (Act 6 of 1977). The former Act outlined that "any business, which is not outlined in schedule 6 of R293, was regarded as illegal. Illegal business ventures were listed as shebeens, and spaza (Shebeen was known to be an illegal operation from where liquor was sold or provided on a premise or for a take away whereas, spaza was known to be an illegal shop or operation from where basic groceries and vegetables are provided).

Hawkers and street vendors were not regarded as illegal operation as permission was given. Hawkens were allowed to trade only within the magistrates' areas within which the licence was offered". The two Acts stated above made it very difficult for the informal economy to operate. What made the informal economy very difficult to operate was restriction imposed by the BAAB on black traders as Bekker and Humphries show "that from the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s, municipalities and boards were instructed that black traders should be allowed solely to cater for day-to-day necessities of consumers in the neighbourhoods".

Blacks were not permitted to build or own shops, to trade from more than one shop, or to form companies and partnerships. From the mid 1970s, many of these restrictions were lifted (Bekker and Humphries, 1985).

The formal business people had the monopoly to operate alone. The law enforcement agencies helped the formal business owners to close either or confiscate the stock of the informal operation.

The establishment of Lebowa Traders Association further reinforced resistance to informal economy, which was an association of business people who were against the mushrooming of informal business. By the late 1990's the force of informal business was so powerful that the business community resorted to boycotting paying for services and site rental.

The government in turn was starting loose to grip on the informal sector. This caused local governments to collapse because of deregulation and the notion of a free market started to flourish and the monopoly of formal business ended in the early 90's. They subsequently amended the Business Act 1977 (Act 6 1977) to fit informal economy.

The Department of Trade and Industry was drafting a Provincial Business Act, which was to control, regulate, and administer the two sectors in a compatible manner.

3.5.1.5 Informal settlement: Pre-intervention

It has been indicated in this study that the purpose of segregation was to divide blacks into rural and urban. The transport subsidy made this possible in terms of Bantu Transport Levy Fund. The physical development of Seshego started in 1961, but the town was only proclaimed in 1964. Donaldson (1999: 96) "By 1968, 13 000 relocations had taken place and further 19 500 people were still to be relocated.

Within three years 2 150 houses were completed. By 1983 there were 5 631 stands in Zone A, B and C, of which 91% were inhabited. The Zone F industrial area comprised 62 ha of which 46 ha was unoccupied and undeveloped. One hostel to accommodate 2 400 single workers, was insufficient.

The population of Seshego grew substantially between 1970 (18 419) and 1980 (28 800). This represents an annual growth rate of 5% for the period 1969-1983". The rising cost of black housing in South Africa as a whole resulted in a decrease in the number of state built houses.

The continuing development of the new capital city of Lebowa homeland (Lebowakgomo 60-km south east of Pietersburg) forced the Administration Board to freeze development in Seshego. These situations created a good fertile ground for the establishment of informal settlements within the township. This scenario above shows the natural growth of Seshego and the growth of population.

Urbanisation in the homelands was the result of two developments: the massive programmes of township and housing developments undertaken by the Department of

Co-operation and Development; and the inclusion into homelands of existing black urban areas (Bekker and Humphries, 1985). Two areas were included in the former Lebowa homeland, i.e. Lerouxville and New Pietersburg. The government of the day provided enough houses for the growing township, and i.e. the process of urban growth was in progress between 1964 and 1984. There was no pressure, and no need for any type of informal settlement. The political climate was also not very conducive for any land invasion. In the 80's the state attempted to reform racial segregation laws. The reforms were due to the fact that white liberals opposed the ideology of racial discrimination. The growing economy wanted stabilised permanent skilled black labour force.

During the 1970's the process of urbanisation in black areas was strictly controlled and administered by laws such as the Influx Control. The Administration Boards were used to implement the government policy.

The government of the day was also deeply involved with housing development projects in the new homeland town of Lebowakgomo. Seshego was no exception to the government strategy of making homelands solution to urban urbanisation. Population growth in South Africa rested, in so far as it was planned and controlled, in the hands of the Department of Co-operation and Development and its agents, BAAB.

In Seshego, like many townships in South Africa, apartheid policies of repression and forced removals of African communities (from Lerouxville, New Pietersburg to Seshego) together with the establishment of a homeland of Lebowa, Seshego as original capital city, promoted the emergence of urban pressure groups.

The pressure groups in the township developed from mass protest that began in 1976. The pressure groups were later organised as SANCO (South African Civic Organisation). Pietersburg town, being the major employment node in the then Northern Transvaal, and being outside the boundaries of apartheid South Africa, Seshego's rapidly increasing ruralities contributed to the development of squatter and informal settlements surrounding the township. It was estimated that the population of Seshego increased from 50 000 in 1982 to 150 000 in 1994. (Baloyi cited in Donaldson, 1999). The squatter or informal settlement in Seshego was due to the political pressure by SANCO and the campaign to invade all land that was not in use. The legitimacy of the authorities, i.e. council was questioned and undermined by the civic structures. The Seshego Social Survey indicates that number of shacks (informal settlement) increased from 105 in 1983 to 609 in 1993 (Seshego Social Survey, 1996).

It was very clear around the 1980-1989 that problems in black housing had reached a crisis point, hence the mushrooming of informal settlement, as it was be outlined in this study.

3.5.1.6 Demarcation of wards: Pre-intervention

Six wards were demarcated according to the number of residents per ward. Township Councils were established in Seshego in terms of regulation 1 (10 of Chapter 8) into six wards. It proved to be very difficult to access information regarding elections of councillors in Seshego as most of the documentation was said to be either destroyed or have been sent to the former Lebowa Department of Internal Affairs. At the Department of Internal Affairs which was in Lebowakgomo the officials who are presently attached to the Department of Local Government were not helpful as they also alleged that the documents were with BAAB which has since been dissolved (Date 18-08-1998).

It however suffices to indicate that election of councillors in terms of R293 were not held according to political party affiliation but was a question of affordability and accessibility. The voting turnout was usually very low and councillors did not enjoy popular support from residence.

3.1.5.7 Personnel: Pre-intervention

The personnel who were serving Seshego since its inception were under the Department of Internal Affairs, Lebowa Government Services. The personnel were employed in terms of Lebowa Public Service Act of 1972 as amended. The Superintendent was the head of the office and had cashiers and administration officers. The head of the office reported directly to the Department of Internal Affairs. The office was not responsible for any maintenance services, e.g. sewerage, electricity, waters pipe and so on, but the Department of Works was responsible for all the maintenance and the electrification in the township.

3.5 Conclusion

The following salient issues can be identified from this discussion:

- The South African Apartheid regime created two distinct forms of urban settlements: white ones, which were core centres and African peripheries.
- Apartheid in urban areas created both social and physical distance that insulated whites and blacks in their defined urban space. The state enhanced a policy of dominance-dependency relationship of whites over blacks by empowering the former through job reservation and housing provision.
- White local authorities accumulated capital by exploiting black labour power. Low and constant wages in the capitalist sector allows for accumulation of large profits for reinvestment; and consequently a faster rate of growth of the modern sector.

- A characteristic of the South African city is the presence of a large urban periphery, extensive sectors of which are almost entirely populated by low-income people.
- This peripheralization of the black urban poor has been brought about by laws and legislation passed to keep poor and black people away from the cities.

The LGTA in the case of Pietersburg-Polokwane has succeeded in achieving the following objectives. The multi-party negotiations were established in 1994 in terms of the LGTA. Local forums were also established leading to the local government elections in 1995. In short the interim period was successfully accomplished over a specified period i.e. 1994-1995. The elected interim local authorities were put in place from November 1995 to the year 2000.

The focus of this study was to evaluate the level of integration of the two towns (Pietersburg and Seshego) over a period of five years (5 years) i.e. during the interim phase. This study will look specifically at the following points:

- i) What did the LGTA achieve in integrating the two towns?
- ii) What needed to be achieved?
- iii) The level of integration each aspect has achieved to the overall integration in terms of LGTA.

The pre-intervention stage of the two places can be summarised as outlined. **(Table 3.1)**

TABLE 3.1 SUMMARY OF PRE-INTERVENTION STAGE.

PIETERSBURG	SESHEGO
<p>LAND USE Established in terms of Ordinance 15, 1986 and has Town Planning Scheme. Secured tenure in form of title deeds.</p>	<p>LAND USE Established in terms of R293 and has no town planning a scheme. In-secured tenure in the form of deeds of grants and leasehold titles</p>
<p>INFORMAL ECONOMY Strictly prohibited in terms of apartheid laws</p>	<p>INFORMAL ECONOMY Strictly prohibited in terms of apartheid laws</p>
<p>INFORMAL SETTLEMENT Apartheid laws were enforced to keep black people away</p>	<p>INFORMAL SETTLEMENT R293 was followed and law enforcement agencies were engaged to deal with any land invasion</p>
<p>DEMARCATION OF WARDS Wards were demarcated in Pietersburg, Westernburg and Nirvana - 6 in all.</p>	<p>DEMARCATION OF WARDS Wards were demarcated according to concentration of voters Six wards were established</p>
<p>PERSONNEL Municipality personnel employed in terms of Municipal Ordinance of 1926.</p>	<p>PERSONNEL Personnel were employed in terms of Lebowa Public Service Act of 1972 as amended</p>

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 OVERVIEW OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT OF PIETERSBURG AND SESHEGO AFTER LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION: POST-INTERVENTION

From the beginning of the 1980's the state started to accept that permanent presence of blacks was inevitable in the townships. Internal and external (international) forces exerted pressure on the South African Government to abandon racial segregation. The Riekert Commission of Inquiry appointed in 1977 was formed to investigate and analyse, and make recommendations regarding, labour markets in South Africa and the extent to which they were regulated and controlled by the state. One of the Riekert Commissions recommendations was that in formulating policy it should be recognised that South Africa had a settled African urban population, which they cannot move in its entirety to the Bantustan (Unterhalter cited in Mazhie 1996). The idea of total segregation was clearly impracticable because movement from country to town had a background of economic necessity, because of that they could not stop or turn the movement into another direction; and because urban areas were not only a place for migrant labourers, but there was also a settled, permanent native population.

The April 1994 general elections in South Africa effected a clear political break from the country's past. What these elections did not establish, however, was a new system of local government in the country (Bekker *et al*, 1997).

Most structures, Non Governmental Organisations (NGO), Community-Based Organisations (CBO), political parties formed what was called Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF).

The Local Government Negotiating Forum came up with a product, i.e. to guide local government transformation. The proposed process of transition was outlined in Chapter Three.

Donaldson (1999: 156) suggests that "In terms of the LGTA 1993 (Act 209 of 1993) a Local Government Forum had to be established for Pietersburg with its segregated black township, Seshego and any such areas historically and economically bound to the city. Pietersburg and Seshego were promulgated as a single city as from 16 January 1995".

- The other phase was the interim phase, i.e. the phase in which elected interim local authorities were put in place. In Pietersburg and Seshego the local government elections were held in October 1995. The results of the elections would be outlined later in this study as indicators to the process.

In obtaining relevant data for the post-intervention stage these studies used the participatory observation method as outlined in chapter two. The researcher was able to attend the following forums where public participation was encouraged:

- Multi party negotiating forums in 1994
- Land Development Objectives Forums-1994-1998
- Forums relating to the drafting of Town Planning Scheme for both Pietersburg and Seshego-1998
- Demarcation board meetings.-1993-1994
- The researcher was also able to attend Land Development Objective (LDO'S) forums as a participant observer (**Annexure 2**).

4.1.1 Local Government in Pietersburg: Post-intervention stage

The study focuses on the three aspects (Land use, Demarcation of wards, and Personnel) this time looking at the post- intervention period.

4.1.1.1 Land use pattern: Post-intervention

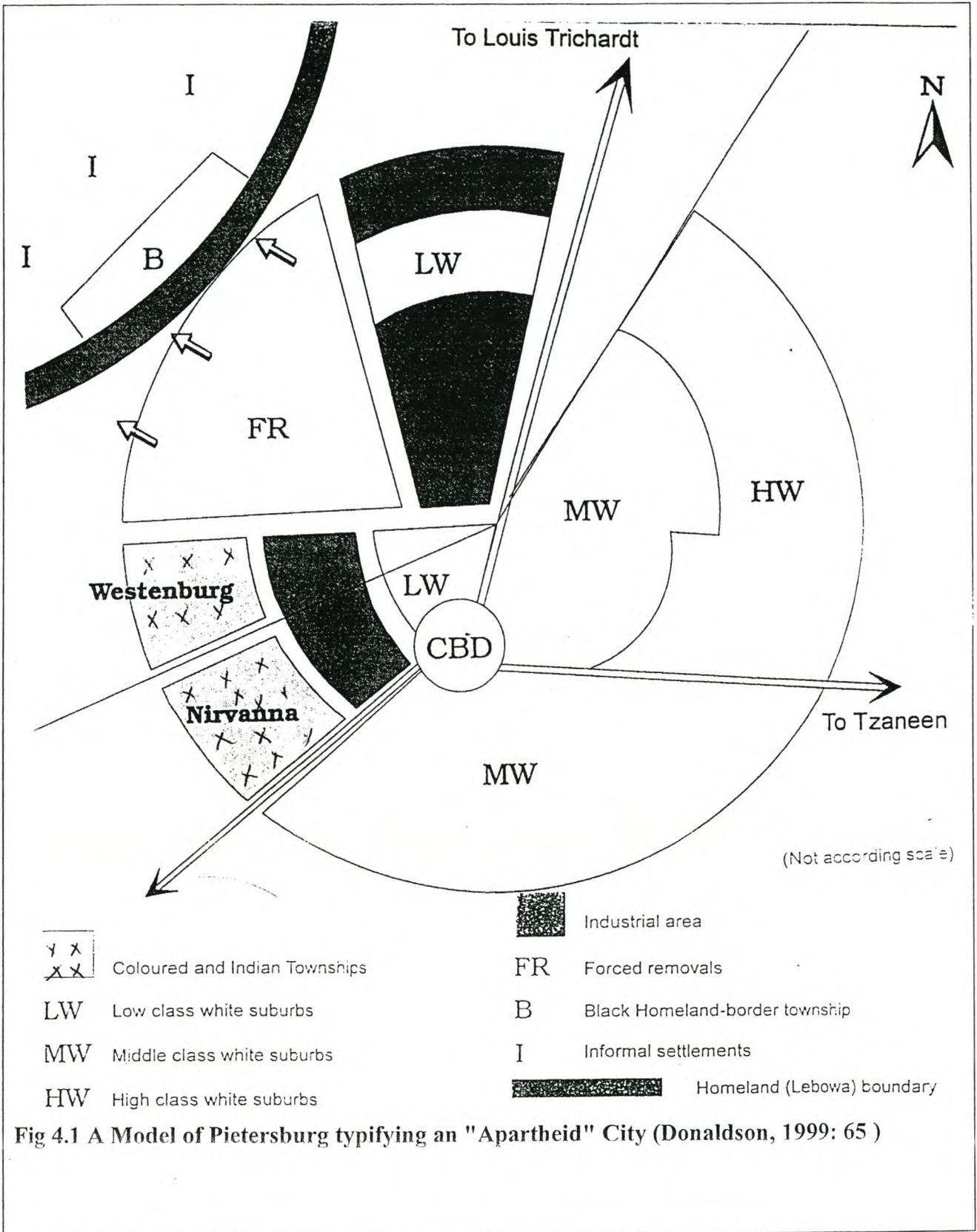
The town of Pietersburg has a total population of about 143 000 people of which 60% live in Seshego and the remainder in Westernburg, Nirvana and Pietersburg (**Figure 4.1**). There is however a discrepancy between Pietersburg and Seshego in terms of demographic profile. Seshego is characterised by disadvantaged communities with high levels of unemployment at 48%. The poverty rate in urban districts of Pietersburg is at 20 % while in Seshego is at 58 % These rates are lower than that of the Province as a whole at 64 %. (Environmental Impact Report 2001).

The town has a well-defined spatial structure comprising of a distinct Central Business District (CBD), several industrial areas, and some typical areas surrounding these. The town also shows a typical distorted spatial structure with communities of different colour being separated. Historically, the white residential areas were developed areas. The CBD and industrial areas served as a buffer zone to separate the white community from Nirvana (Indian), Westernburg (Coloured) and Seshego (Black) communities see (**Figure 4.1**) (LDO, 1998). The Pietersburg town typifies a classical example of an apartheid city, which is characterised on one side by formally white suburban neighbourhoods, segmented by income and class. These typically well-maintained and well-serviced low-density residential neighbourhoods intersperse housing with public and private amenities like parks and shops.

The land-use pattern of the two towns still depicts the spatial inequalities that existed before intervention. One would say 'yes' on paper enough work was covered (approval of LDO documents and approval of Town Planning Scheme) but their implementation thereof has to be started. All areas are still characterised by their pre-intervention, unequal, level of development/underdevelopment landscape.

4.1.1.2 Planning laws -Post-intervention

The former white town of Pietersburg owes its existence to the Transvaal Town Planning and Township Ordinance 15 of 1986. The data about post-intervention stage was generated through Land Development Objectives (LDO) forums and public meetings relating to drafting of common Town Planning Scheme for Pietersburg and Seshego. The Development Facilitation Act (Act No 67 of 1995) was promulgated during October 1995 and prescribed that all local authorities in South Africa formulate Land Development Objectives (5 Year Development Programmes) which comply with the General Principle for Development (Land Development Principles), as stipulated in Chapter One of the Act. Provincial Notice No 21 of the Northern Provinces, dated August 1997, formally commissioned local authorities in the Northern Province to proceed with the process of Land Development Objectives (LDO) formulation. The Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC commissioned the compilation of working plan explaining the methodology to be followed in the formulation of LDO for its area of jurisdiction. Council subsequently approved and submitted this to the MEC early in November 1998. The professional team to work on the process was appointed in February 1998 to work with TLC, officials, politicians, and members of Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC (LDO, 1998). The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) introduced extraordinary measures to speed up the implementation of reconstruction and development projection relation to land, among others, allowing the bypassing of existing planning legislation.



The Act establishes a set of General Principles to govern land development and states that all laws, policies and administrative practices affecting land development should promote efficient and integrated land development that among other things: integrate rich, black and white areas in towns, cities and integrate different land uses, rather than keeping them strictly separate (**Figure 4.1**).

4.1.1.3 Town Planning Scheme: Post-intervention

The Town Planning Scheme that was in operation in Pietersburg, after November 1995 was compiled towards the end of the 70's and proclaimed in 1981. The scheme dates back to a previous era when all decisions about land use planning and control were taken in Pretoria.

The interim measures were needed in light of new changes in local government, e.g. new planning legislation aimed at regulating land use rights as well as the Local Transitional Council authority to decide rezoning and permitted uses within the municipality area. The new Town Planning Scheme of Pietersburg was in an advance stage in 1995 but was not yet proclaimed. The TLC decided that the scheme would be integrated with Seshego Town Planning Scheme.

The TLC appointed consultants to compile an integrated scheme. The new scheme was approved by the council on the 16 November 1999 and the date on which the approved scheme came into operation, was the 26 November 1999 (item 1 Council minutes 16/11/99).

The other process, which was running parallel with Town Planning Scheme, was the Land Development Objectives as discussed earlier.

The LDO for Pietersburg-Polokwane was approved by the MEC of Local Government and Housing on the 22 January 2000, and the approval reads as follows: "The MEC for Local Government and Housing has in terms of Regulation 2 (3) (a) (I) of part C of Provincial LDO Regulation (1 August 1997) approved of Pietersburg-Polokwane LDO s (subject to the new demarcation of the municipality)". (Ref. LHL 15/26/1/1-3 (7) dated 22-2-2000). These developments should ensure that current process of revising / incorporating the Town Planning Scheme of Pietersburg and Seshego are used by the proposed Development Framework as a point of departure. The LDO has acknowledged the spatial inequality as it exists between the two towns and also suggested how the disparity should be addressed. The question of spatial inequality, which would result into the total integration of the two towns, is addressed by introducing measures, which would ensure that the apartheid nature, structure and form would cease to exist. Questions about informal trading are also addressed to regulate and comply with standards that would be set by the TLC. The question of wards as having been demarcated along racial lines would be resolved by equal level of development within the TLC area. The other question that is addressed by the LDO is to try to fast-track the transfer of assets and liabilities from the former Lebowa Administration to the TLC. The question of transfer of personnel is also proposed within these parameters. Other issues that are addressed by the LDO are sanitation, housing, water purification, pollution, etc.

4.1.1.4 Informal economy: Post-intervention

The informal economy in Pietersburg has been one of the survival strategies that have changed the social and physical structure of the towns' landscape. The informal business in the form of street trading has become a prominent and visible feature in the "white" town of Pietersburg.

The Pietersburg municipalities (Protectional Services) were previously used to enforce by-laws, especially "nuisance clauses" to prohibit the practice of informal economy in the form of street trading. The new Business Act of 1991 however forced the Pietersburg municipality to come up with a workable solution to accommodate the informal economy. Donaldson, (1999: 251) points out that "the Act provides a flexible framework for local government. It gives them a choice, basically between regulating the sector or not. The Act (Section 6A1) provides that powers be given to local authorities to make by-laws regarding: (1) the supervision, control, restriction and prohibition of the carrying on of the business of street vendor, peddler or hawkers; (2)

Sections 6A1b and 6A1c specify that no local authority shall restrict such business to specific hours or places; or specific goods or services. Section 6A1d provides authorities with the power to enforce any by-law formulated".

The informal economy in Pietersburg is a manifestation of poverty that has resulted in much land uses changes. The invasion of space through the informal economy has resulted in conflicts and confrontation with the formal sector and the former Pietersburg municipality. The informal business sector is mostly concentrated along the pavements within the CBD and along the periphery of the town next to the Taxi ranks. The TLC has allocated bays in some streets; while in other streets the informal business practice is restricted (see **Picture 4.1**). There are three categories of space in Pietersburg, which fit the informal business sector:

- Prohibited area: Informal business is strictly prohibited in this area. This area is found within the CBD along Landros Maree Street, parts of the land lying between Boedenstein Street in the South and Jorrison Street in the North.

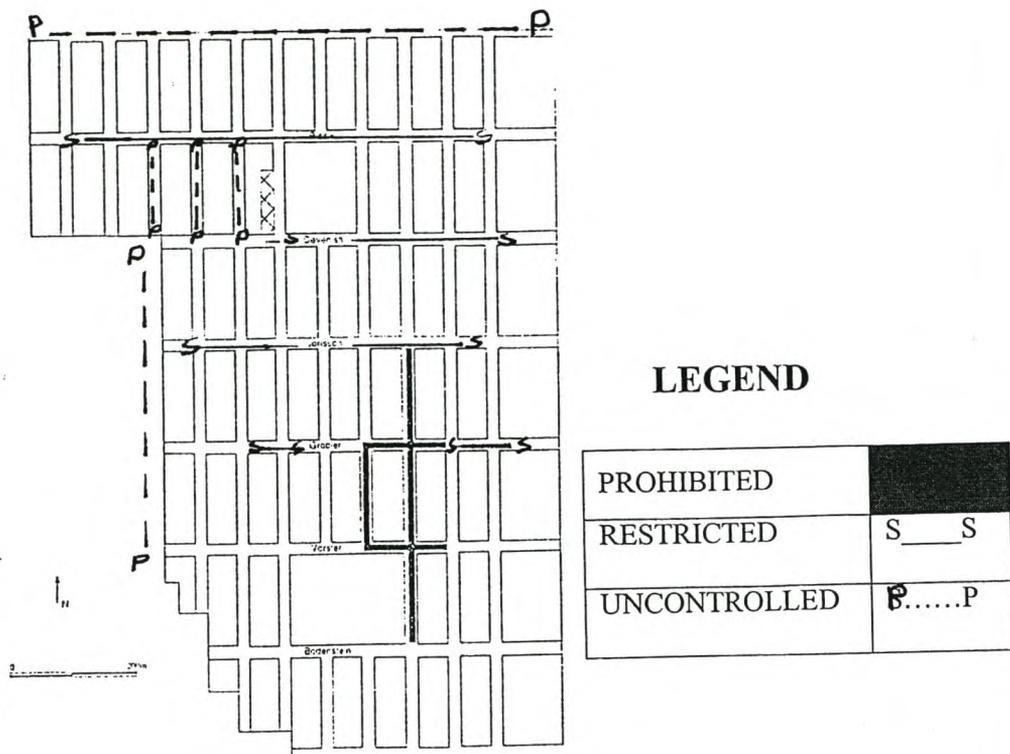


Figure 4.2 Informal trading areas in Pietersburg showing (Prohibited, Restricted, and Uncontrolled areas (Donaldson, 1999: 262).

Another piece of area where this is found is along Market Street, a portion lying between Groblelaar Street in the North and Vorster Street in the South.

- Restricted area: This area is what they call "transitional zones". This area lies along the following streets, Jorrison, Devenish, Rissik and Church.
- Uncontrolled area: This is what they call "peripheral area". This area lies along the outskirts of the city comprising of areas that are next to old taxi rank, i.e. Polokwane centre, around the Indian complex and around the area called

Onderdorp (**Fig 4.2**). The estimated total number of informal traders in Pietersburg in 1996 was 1 500, which comprised of fruit and vegetable sellers, sellers of cosmetics, and soft drinks hawkers (Times, 06 April 1996).

The Business Act of 1991 has compelled the TLC to be pro-active in addressing problems relating to informal business. The former Pietersburg municipality's approach was to eradicate this sector but the new TLC has since established forums, which participate in the formulation of by-laws regarding the regulation of this sector. The informal business space in Pietersburg can be categorised into the following areas – Bays allocated to traders along the pavements except the prohibited areas in the CBD. (**Picture 4.1**)



Picture 4.1 Some areas in Pietersburg city centre where informal businesses are provided to make business operations. Spaces (bays) are made available to display products or make business operations.

- Open structures are provided/built by TLC especially along Church Street next to the taxi rank and in Pietersburg sports stadium. There is also an open structure built at the area No. 78 - 79 Market Street, next to Sales House. Land claim has been lodged on the piece of land should it be granted in favour of the claimants could affect future use of the area by traders.
- Formal sector initiative. It has been shown earlier that the informal sector is sometimes in conflict with formal sectors, but it has been realised that a number of formal sectors have put in place units within the formal business, which deals directly with an informal sector. These companies provide the informal sector with mobile kiosk and storage facilities to sell their products. Most companies have established this connection between the two, with the formal sector being the suppliers of goods and even storage facilities for traders.

The former Pietersburg municipality had seen the question of informal traders as a problem not a challenge to urban growth, hence short-term approaches to the problem such as eradication. The present TLC has followed a pro-active approach of providing solutions to the problems as posed by this sector of the economy. The intervention and approach used by the TLC seem not to be enough because of some officials in the TLC who view this problem as a threat to either formal sector or to the urban growth. One tends to agree with Kgorane and Nevhungoni (1996:29) when they say, "there is a shifting of responsibility amongst departments charged with the task of controlling this trade. There is therefore a need for more interdepartmental co-ordination and the active involvement of all role players including hawkers themselves to come up with an integrated policy of informal trade measures because leaving the situation as it is will result in further deterioration of the city thereby making it to be not investor friendly". Integrated planning will need a concerted effort through the partnership of informal traders, the public sector, and community

structure and non-governmental organisations. The presence of an informal business sector must be viewed as a practical reality and practical solutions must be put in place to deal with any situation that might arise. The mushrooming of micro lenders who are helping the sector is a clear indication that this sector is here to stay.

4.1.1.5 Informal settlement: Post-intervention

Due to the South African housing backlog, with a countrywide number of between 1.5 million to 1.9 million homeless people (Sowetan, 1996 November 14), squatting and land invasions have become a common fact of life in the country. During its tenure Pietersburg TLC had a backlog of about 4,000- 5,000 houses for the low income communities (LDO, 1998). In Pietersburg the most informal area is confined to the north-west of the city (place formerly called New Pietersburg). This piece of land became vacant when black people were forcefully removed to Seshego.

The Pietersburg TLC is trying to move these squatters but cannot yet get a suitable piece of land to place them. One problem that has emanated from this scenario is the land claim, which has been settled with the Department of Land Affairs. Some claimants have settled for financial compensation while others have opted for getting their land back. This scenario has a potential for causing dispute between claimants and the squatters.

One area, which has the potential of having informal settlement, is Ivydale, along the Burgersfort/Lebowakgomo (R37) road, opposite Penina Park. This is a small holding area, and number of plot owners are allowing people to build shacks within their yards and charging people exorbitant rentals. The LDO participants further showed that the landlords (s) give tenants provision to bring their own building materials, put up a shack and charge between R300 - R400 per month. By the time this was reported to the LDO, a number of shacks were in place. It was reported that '20 shacks with 80 dwellers already are in existence

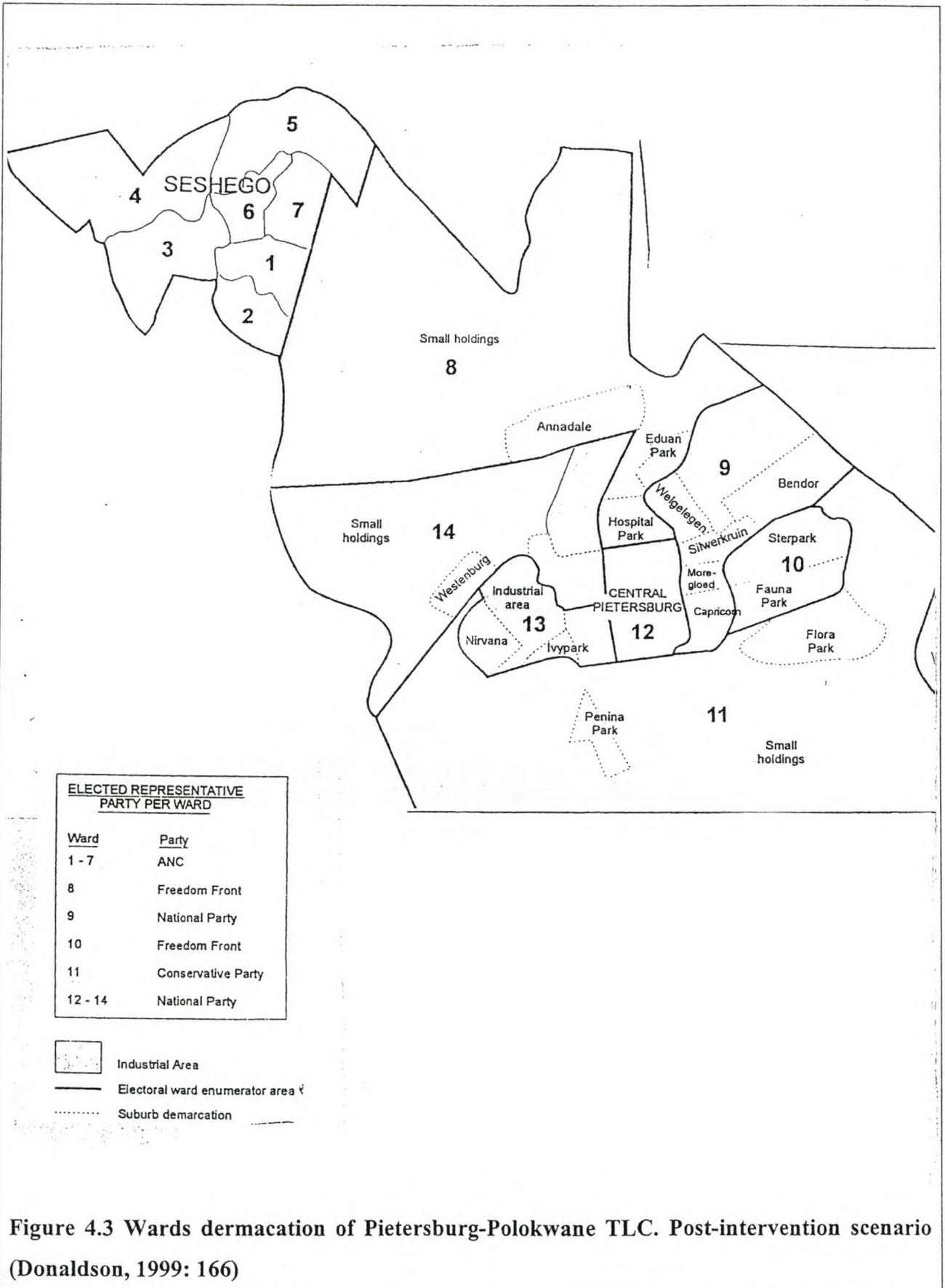


Figure 4.3 Wards demarcation of Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC. Post-intervention scenario (Donaldson, 1999: 166)

people staying in them have been put up in the informal settlement of Ivydale. Squatter settlements have also mushroomed in Westernburg but the provision of low cost housing has solved these in the area. The squatter settlement in Westernburg has for now been solved but there is a potential for another squatter as the low cost housing are presently embroiled in a dispute as it is alleged that in allocating those houses corruption and nepotism was rampant. A number of so called “illegal occupants” have been served with court orders to vacate the houses.

The local Newspaper, Northern Review (2000:5) reported the following in connection with the matter “All people who occupy houses in extension Three in Westernburg illegally, will be requested to vacate the premises. Should they fail to vacate the premises, the Department of Housing will follow legal process, even if it meant forceful eviction”.

4.1.1.6 Demarcation of wards: Post-intervention

The Local Government Transitional Act (Act 97 of 1996) stipulates the following concerning demarcation board: “Demarcation Boards means a municipality Demarcation Board established under Section 10 J, Section 10 I of LGTA” (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

The Provincial Demarcation Board was established in terms of the LGTA. The Local Government Demarcation Board of Pietersburg-Polokwane re-demarcated the two areas to fall under one area of jurisdiction. The LGTA also required the Demarcation Board to determine the number of seats in the transitional authority, delineate the area of jurisdiction of such transitional authority into wards, and to determine the number of seats in each ward. Pietersburg was then re-demarcated into seven (7) wards, i.e. from ward 8 - 14. These wards (8 - 14) were re-demarcated into formerly white group areas.

The following wards were re-demarcated: **Fig 4.3**

- Ward 8 - Small holding and Annadale
- Ward 9 - Bendor, Welgelegen, Silwertrum, Moregloed and Capricorn
- Ward 10 - Sterkpark and Fauna Park
- Ward 11 - Penina Park and Florapark
- Ward 12 - Pietersburg CBD
- Ward 13 - Nirvana, Iyypark and Industrial Area
- Ward 14 - Ivydale and Westernburg

4.1.1.7 Personnel: Post-intervention

The total workforce composition of Pietersburg-Polokwane during TLC was 1 301 and included ungraded or secondment staff from former Lebowa staff who were stationed in Seshego offices (**Table 4.1**). The White Paper on Local Government has this to say about personnel composition of the former municipalities: The process of amalgamating the old race-based municipality administration initiated by the Local Government Transitional Act proceeded very differently in different municipalities. Often the structures and systems of better-established municipal administration (usually former white municipalities) were adopted and extended to 'absorb' staff from smaller administration (usually former black local authority). While this approach reduced administrative disruptions, it did not result in new, more effective or more equitable ways of working (**Annexure 4.1-4.10**). Minimal changes were made to organisational structures. Often amalgamation disadvantaged the staff of former local authorities as they were 'slotted in' to job evaluation system, which weighted formal qualifications above job experience. The process reproduced inequality and made little attempts to enhance performance. All the inherited weaknesses of the old administration system remained intact (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

The Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC is a classical example of the above scenario. The total number of staff, i.e. 168 that belonged to Seshego offices before 1995, was placed in or slotted in, regardless of their qualifications, experience and human resource development.

4.TOTAL WORKFORCE COMPOSITION: PIETERSBURG-POLOKWANE TLC

Table 4.1

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1	1		8	9
2	1		9	10
3	1		14	15
4	1		13	14
5	3		21	24
6	3		31	34
7	7	1	43	51
8	7		36	43
9	19		75	94
10	12	1	46	59
11	13	3	47	63
12	20	7	32	59
13	9		6	15
14	4		2	6
15	2		1	3
16	32		2	34
17	10		-	10
18	69	3	1	72
19	170		1	171
20	341	2	2	345
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	168		1	169
TOTAL	893	17	391	1 301
PERCENTAGE	44.3	1.3	30.0	

The transfer of staff from the Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing has been approved on the 18 April 2000 (item 5 council meeting dated 18 April 2000), according to promulgation of the transfer of staff to Municipalities Act, 1998. The Act stipulates the transfer of certain employees from Provincial Administration to designate municipalities and to provide for matter connected therewith (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

The Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC has absorbed the former Lebowa personnel who were stationed in Seshego and they are no longer provincial competency in terms of working conditions, benefits and remuneration. The agreement reached between Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC and Department of Local Government and Housing relating to the transfer of personnel is based on the principle that the Department of Local Government and Housing was to subsidise the transferred personnel's salary on a sliding scale of ten percent per annum for a period of ten years. The salary bill was then the responsibility of the council after a ten-year period. **Table 4.1** reflects the workforce composition still dominated by white male at senior levels and blacks at the lowest levels. This scenario depicts that no significant change has occurred after intervention has been put in place or simply no transformative measures are in place. One striking feature about the personnel in the Post-Intervention period was the fact that though the policy on Equity Act was negotiated in 2000 by the end of TLC period i.e. Dec 2000 the Council did not yet approve it. It was again striking to find out that the Council did not have any policy in place for Training and Development.

4.1.2 Local Government in Seshego: Post-intervention stage.

The study focuses on three aspects already outlined, but this time outlining post-intervention scenario in Seshego.

4.1.2.1 Land use pattern: Post-intervention

The township comprises of nine zones. Activity nodes in Seshego include one shopping complex in Zone 1, one in Zone 2, one in Zone 3 and Seshego Plaza in Zone 4. There are however more localised nodes in the form of informal businesses, i.e. spaza shops. The township of Seshego is predominantly residential, consisting of four roomed 'matchbox' houses, middle income houses, RDP houses and informal settlements (squatters). The 51/6 types fits two bedrooms, a living room and a kitchen-dining room into 40square metres of space. There is no internal bathroom. One tap supplies water outside and an external toilet is connected to the water-borne sewerage system. Roofing is of asbestos sheeting. The 51/9 types have the same design, but with foursquare metres of additional space to provide for internal bathroom and toilet.

Seshego Township typifies a classical example of formally black, under serviced residential area characterised by informal settlements. These areas encompass government-built 'matchbox' formal houses and single sex hostels. This study concentrates on the two land use patterns viz., informal economy and informal settlement as they exist in Seshego.

4.1.2.2 Planning law: Post-intervention

The planning laws in Seshego pose a challenge to the local government authorities, as they have to undo many outdated, cumbersome and costly legislation and procedures. A positive step that has been started is to open a township register by the Department of Local Government and Housing. This procedure entails first, the transfers of land to the Provincial Government. The Provincial Government has published an Act called Land Administration Act (Act no 6 of 1999) on the 17 March 2000.

The Act serves to provide for the acquisition, re-acquisition and disposal of land or immovable property owned by the Northern Province Government and to provide for matters incidental thereto (Provincial Gazette no 487, 2000). Before the enactment of this Act the Provincial Government was to request delegation of power from the Minister of Land Affairs to administer land on his behalf. This Act came at the right time.

This process will provide residents of Seshego to convert their Deeds of Grant according to R293, which were insecure type of tenure, to full title with much secured tenure.

The present scenario in Seshego for any land development application is for that application to be lodged in terms of Ordinance 15 of 1986. All conditions and terms relating to this type of application in terms of R293 have lapsed. The application is then submitted to the Department of Local Government and Housing as the Province controls the land. It is hoped that the transfers of land from Land Affairs to the Province will ease this transaction and speed out development.

The above developments have levelled the playing fields for a new democratic legislation on planning (DFA) which is supportive of planning that is integrated, sustainable and democratic.

The LDO has been approved but not yet implemented. The process of transferring land from National Government to Provincial Government has also not been finalised. Thus, the process of opening township register has not yet been started pending the completion of transfer of land. The good news however is the Land Administration Act, is in place. The above signifies some potential integrative mechanism which has the potential of smoothen the required development.

4.1.2.3 Town Planning Scheme: Post-intervention.

Consultants whom the Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC has appointed started a consultative process of drafting a new scheme. This process was aimed at finding opinions and co-operation of all interested parties and individuals. It should be stated at this point that these consultative meetings were not easy for the consultants, as most of the participants were very sceptical about how this is going to affect their day to day lives. Participants for example articulated many negative sentiments towards the Town Planning Scheme. Residents wanted to know how these have implications on the tax status especially informal trading/ business. The general feeling was that the council should concentrate on 'bread and butter issues', like road construction, offering employment, reduction of rates and taxes, provision of houses etc. The council approved the new Town Planning Scheme on 16 November 1999.

4.1.2.4 Informal economy/trading: Post-intervention.

Land use patterns in Seshego is characterised by:

- Activity nodes, i.e. formal economy (Zone 4 Plaza, Zone 1, Zone 2, Zone 3, Zone 8, along the outskirts of Seshego next to Luthuli Park).
- Informal business (Spaza's and Shebeens) **(Picture 4.2)**

The conditions above reflect two groups of structure, i.e. permanent structures planned (activity nodes) and more localised home-based business (Shebeens and Spazas). The meaning of spaza has changed as the new Town Planning Scheme has been approved for the two towns. The Town Planning Scheme incorporates informal business (Shebeens and Spazas) and these issues are formulated in terms of definition, application and procedure (Van der. Merwe, 1998).

The new meaning of the word 'shebeen' and 'spaza' according to Van der Merwe, (1998:5) "shebeens, land or a building designed for or a portion of building used for the purpose of selling and providing liquor and other beverages from a residential property, where the residential use of the property is the primary use of the property: whereas spaza should be land or building designed for or a portion of a building used for the purpose of selling and providing basic groceries and fresh produce from a residential property, where the residential use of the property is the primary use of the property". The distribution of the informal economy (Shebeens and Spazas) cuts across the nine zones of Seshego.

The TLC, through the Pietersburg Marketing Company was promoting shebeens as a tourist attraction. Shebeens in Seshego are set to become major tourist attractions due to the mystique and tradition attached to these former infamous drinking places in townships...the safety of visitors to these shebeens, where traditional music and jazz are in high demand, was one priority identified to promote tourist attractions (Northern Review 05 November, 1999). Most of the residents perceive these (Spaza and Shebeens) to be convenient, cheaper and accessible while others feel that the informal economy (Spazas and Shebeens) causes the problems of parking, noise, crime, and a health hazard caused by littering (Kgorane and Nevhungoni, 1996).

The informal economy in Seshego has also established a connection between the informal sector (Shebeen and Spazas) with the formal economy i.e.the formal economy supplies whereas informal economy sells the products, e.g. a bakery making delivery to a spaza. Not imposing any new changes relating to the informal economy in Seshego is however very important for the TLC as the imposition could cause endless problems.



Picture4.2 An informal economy has become part of survival strategy for many households

4.1.2.5 Informal settlement: Post-intervention

Seshego is no exception to the mushrooming of informal settlements especially during the time leading to 1994 due to the process of urbanisation, political pressure and the emergence of civic formations.

The rate of black urbanisation, defined as the change from a rural to an urban residential environment, has however been equally dramatic over the last two decades, and will continue (Bekker and Humphries, 1985). The physical growth of Seshego after 1995 could be ascribed to the following circumstances:

- Natural growth of indigenous population. (difference between birth rate and death rates).
- Mushrooming of tertiary and private institutions in and around Pietersburg and Seshego (most students who could not afford accommodation in town resorted staying in Seshego).
- The immigration of job seekers from rural areas to urban areas.
- The government approach to convert Pietersburg into an administrative capital of Northern Province and this caused the inflow of civil servants who were employed in different Homeland Administrations.
- The rising cost and rapid inflation particularly in the construction sector.
- Abundance of empty space or land within the township.

Most of these informal settlements comprise sub-standard housing with poor service provision, resulting in the dehumanising effect, which if unchecked will result in spreading of contentious diseases like cholera (**Picture 4.3**). The escalation of the informal settlement is a clear indication that the current housing policy is not able to properly address the backlog created by the former Homeland Government and that

housing together with the poor section of the population were ignored. This scenario shows that the problems of overcrowding in black townships have been so much ignored that even some blacks opted for backyard shacks and the establishment of informal settlement as an alternative solution. Most of these squatter settlements were not properly planned and that is why service provisions such as electricity, wastes removal, environmental consideration, roads, schools, etc. is not well provided.



Picture 4.3 Some of informal settlement creates a health hazard and very much prone to disaster such as fire and diseases.

4.1.2.6 Demarcation of wards: Post-intervention

It has been indicated earlier in this study that in terms of LGTA, demarcation boards have to be established to determine the number of seats in a transitional authority, delimit the area of jurisdiction of such transitional authority into wards, and to determine the number of seats in each ward. Seshego was then re-demarcated into seven (7) wards i.e. from ward 1 - 7 refer (**Fig 4. 3**)

The process of arriving at the ward demarcation was rather a lengthy one with proposals and counter-proposals tabled by all parties involved. Each party wanted demarcation to accommodate its constituency in order to win those affected wards. Donaldson (1999: 161) states that "the election process in Pietersburg-Polokwane occurred in three phases. The first involved compilation of voter's roll, public inspection, the certifying of the voter's roll, and expenditure up to 31 July 1995. The second involved the delimitation of wards and nomination of candidates and parties. The third phase included the election itself on 1 November 1995". An agreement was reached on the number of wards, i.e. 14 wards. The problem was with the spatial restructuring of the 14 wards. Three Proposals were tabled in order to allay fears of all parties involved.

Proposal 1

The 14 wards stay, i.e. seven statutory and seven non-statutory. The NP and FF wanted to have Nirvana and Westernburg in one ward. (Donaldson, 1999)

Proposal 2

The ANC and PAC wanted to have Nirvana, Ivydale, Ivypark, and Penina Park in one ward, while Westernburg and part of central and Annadale will be one-ward (Donaldson, 1999).

Proposal 3

A compromise solution was arrived at in which Nirvana and Westernburg were to be on their own.

A number of dynamics dictated the final demarcation including number of voters per ward, numbers of members of both statutory and non-statutory representatives, numbers of proportional representative and above all politics of compromise. Wards one to seven were located in the former black town of Seshego while wards eight to fourteen were allocated to former white town of Pietersburg (Donaldson, 1999).

- Ward 1 comprises of part of Zone 1
- Ward 2 comprise of the remaining part of Zone 1
- Ward 3 comprise of Zone 5
- Ward 4 comprise of Zone 4
- Ward 5 comprise of Zone 3
- Ward 6 comprise of Zone 2
- Ward 7 comprise of part of Zone 2 and remaining part of Zone 3.

4.1.2.7 Personnel: Post-intervention

The Personnel who were attached to the former Lebowa before 1995 local government elections were placed in the new Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC. This arrangement has caused a minimal disruption in the administration of TLC offices in Seshego. The question however is the enactment of the Act dealing with transfer of staff to Municipalities Act, of 1998. The personnel stationed at five offices in Seshego are directly under the main TLC office in Pietersburg. Council approved the transfers of these personnel on the 18 April 2000. The following offices were established in Seshego in an attempt to bring services near the residents:

The Department of Management Service

An office has been opened in Seshego called the sub-directorate RDP and Affirmative Action.

This office falls under Management Services and its functions include, affirmative action policies and implementation, and co-ordinate LDO's processes. The office dealing with management services to Council and Departments is in Pietersburg TLC main office.

The Department of Protection Services

The purpose of the Department of Protection Services is to distribute electricity and manage related matters. A storeroom manned with personnel is available in Seshego.

The Department of City Engineer

The purpose of the Department of City Engineer is to establish a civil infrastructure based on the town's development plan. A storeroom is fully operational in Seshego.

The Department of Parks, Sport and Recreation

The purpose of the Department of Parks, Sports and Recreation is to provide facilities and open space for Physical and mental recreation. The personnel are attached to the five TLC offices in Seshego.

The Department of Town Secretary

The purpose of the Department of Town Secretary is to render administrative and other support services. The personnel are hosted within five TLC offices and in the library.

The Department of Town Treasurer

The purpose of the Department of Town Treasurer is to render financial management function to the council. Personnel attached to this Department are cashiers; responsible for collecting money from residents. The personnel are hosted within five TLC offices.

Pietersburg Marketing Company

The purpose of Pietersburg Marketing Company is to market, woo investors, and promote Pietersburg Municipality. It is however very doubtful whether this Department is intended to market a place like Seshego. The author visited the office with the sole intention of accessing more information in the form of different maps with particular reference to Pietersburg and Seshego. The office did not have anything to do with Seshego. An indication was made that Seshego does not form part of their core area of competence. Personnel are not available in Seshego TLC offices.

The Post-intervention Stage of the two places can be summarised as follows:

SUMMARY OF POST-INTERVENTION SCENARIO

TABLE 4.2

PIETERSBURG	SESHEGO
<p>LAND USE Informal economy Mushrooming of informal economy along the pavements of the town and subsequent repeal of Business Act.</p>	<p>LAND USE Informal economy blossomed in the form of shebeens and Spazas in all the Zones.</p>
<p>INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS Informal settlement taking place in the West of the town and at Ivydale.</p>	<p>INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS Informal settlement mushroomed in almost all the empty spaces within the township.</p>
<p>DEMARICATION OF WARDS New demarcation of wards put in place in terms of LGTA. Seven wards were demarcated.</p>	<p>DEMARICATION OF WARDS New demarcation of a ward put in place in terms of LGTA. Seven wards were demarcated.</p>
<p>PERSONNEL The former municipality staff retained in the new TLC and the former Lebowa Staff absorbed in the TLC with a minimal administrative disruption.</p>	<p>PERSONNEL The former Lebowa personnel retained and the new TLC took over personnel from the former Lebowa Administration.</p>

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. INDICATORS

The purpose of this chapter is to outline and show, by making use of both qualitative and quantitative data, whether integration was achieved in Pietersburg and Seshego. The indicators selected represent the three aspects of integration used in this study. Each aspect, i.e. land-use, (including planning laws, Town Planning Scheme, informal business/economy, informal settlement), demarcation of wards, and personnel that has been discussed and outlined in this study are linked to their relevant indicators. The indicators are used to assess or gauge the level of integration after the November 1995 local government elections. Indicators as listed below are linked to their respective aspects.

- i) Number and types of shops in both Seshego and Pietersburg and Pietersburg land-use.
- ii) Population census.
- iii) Total number of houses in both Seshego and Pietersburg.
- iv) Population density of the two areas under study.
- v) Results of 1995 local government elections in the two areas.
- vi) Personnel audit reports.
- vii) Word from the insiders.
- viii) Media and public opinion

Indicators are identified and analysed and the information is subsequently interpreted evaluatively in the coming sections.

5.1.1 Land use

In the LDO meetings the following issues relating to land use were outlined:

- Existing policies and procedures applicable to land management in the Pietersburg-Polokwane area are to be reviewed and amended or repealed where there is conflict with current legislation, e.g. new Town Planning Scheme to suit the two towns, application of any development to be in line with Development Facilitation Act (DFA). The DFA is to address the need to link Pietersburg, Seshego, Nirvana, and Westernburg both spatially and functionally.

The DFA is also to be holistic and integrated addressing the various components (such as open space system, the road network, economic activity) of the urban environment as well as the interrelationships between the various components.

The DFA is supportive of planning and development that is integrated, sustainable, and democratic in planning. The structure and land use in Pietersburg-Polokwane area is typically that of an “apartheid city”. The opportunity to reconstruct a single, integrated city as required by the new legislation (DFA) is facilitated by the availability of land for development between the historically advantaged and disadvantaged areas (LDO, 1998). One of the most vivid aspects that the LDO should address is the question of easy access. The concept ‘easy access’ as explained by Dewar (1998: 8) denotes “that it does not mean the same thing to the more wealthy and to the poor. The rich have means to overcome constraints of access: the marginal cost of overcoming access-restricting barriers, such as distance, is very low, while the equivalent cost to the poor, who perpetually sit on a knife-edge of critical trade-offs, is very high. At the most basic level, therefore easy access must be defined in terms of mobility of the poor”.

From what has been outlined in previous chapters relating to the geographical position and distances with the underlying causes to the situation the following traffic flow between Seshego as a periphery and Pietersburg as a core confirms the separateness (distance) of the two places:

A report on passenger transport strategic plan on number of bus trips in and out of Seshego to Pietersburg shows the following figures; 122 trips were made out of Seshego to Pietersburg and 120 trips were made out of Pietersburg to Seshego. Most taxis in and out of Seshego were also conducted in the same report and show the following figures. Taxis from Seshego to Pietersburg 797 and taxis from Pietersburg to Seshego 722 giving a total of 1519. (12 hours count on a Friday 24 November 1995) (Siyaxi, (1996) .

5.1.2 Planning laws

The LDO approval letter addressed to Pietersburg- Polokwane (ref no lhl 15/26/1/1-3(7) dated 23-02-2000 noted the following important issues for growth and development:

- i) "The LDO should accommodate the new municipal demarcated boundaries;
- ii) The organic growth of community centres must not be restricted in cases where market forces and surveys encourage such growth.
- iii) There is a need to provide viable public transport facilities. Public transport route needs to be clearly identified and relevant facilities provided. The LDO should include a clearly defined public transport strategy.
- iv) The LDO should also address community recreational facilities. Currently most recreational facilities around Pietersburg Club are not accessible by most communities (they are regional recreational facilities or else privatised) Development of recreational facilities should form part of the LDO strategy to address the social development of the city".

It is clear that the issues as outlined attempt to address the question of imbalance in development between the two areas. The identification of the issues as outlined is a good indicator of how the planning laws will affect future developments as contained in the LDO document.

One worrying factor is that the applications of change in land use are lodged by making use of the old Transvaal Ordinance 15 of 1986 instead of going through DFA. Very few applications were submitted through the DFA route. Only two applications i.e. application for a Hotel and application for Ivy Park housing project have gone following the DFA route. Applications, which follow DFA route, are mostly on development on tribal land outside the TLC area.

The fact that the two planning laws are still running parallel is a worrying factor as most of the applicants either ignore the DFA to lodge applications through the old Ordinance. It is hoped that implementation of the LDO document has instilled a clear vision of integrating the two towns. Nevertheless, one should keep in mind Dewar's warning (1985:20) that "a disturbing characteristic of most alternative policies and actions proposed is that they are impossible to attain either (and thus constitute no more than wishful thinking) or, if implemented, would anyway fail to cause significant improvements in the lives of the urban poor".

5.1.3 Town Planning Scheme

It has been shown earlier in this study that the council has approved a new Town Planning Scheme for land use control that came into operation for both Seshego and Pietersburg. It should be reflected that certain restrictions as in the previous Town Planning Scheme were relaxed, e.g. rezoning procedures of informal business and home-based business.

The Department of City Engineer has warned that legal steps would be taken against residents who violated the stipulations as stated in the document. The Department further indicated that the reason why the Town Planning Scheme needs to be enforced is to protect the rights of all residents living within the boundaries of the TLC.

In a recent incident, for which the ANC councillor was criticised, residents questioned demolition of the "illegal" structures, which were built at the back of number of houses in Seshego Township. The Department of Engineer wanted to implement the National Building Regulation as determine by the new Town Planning Scheme. Reports showed that the council intended to take harsh legal steps against those who had built structures without submitting building plans to the council. It was further alleged that these structures do not comply with safety or hygienic regulations. A typical example could be found where rooms were built with "totally unacceptable building materials" (Northern Review, 1999-05-05).

5.1.4 Informal business/economy

The Tables (**Table 5.1 and 5.2**) below indicate the distribution of formal and informal businesses in Pietersburg- Polokwane TLC and existing formal businesses - informal businesses -Tertiary institutions in both Seshego and Pietersburg. From the tables as shown below informal businesses clearly dominate the town of Seshego while formal businesses dominate Pietersburg.

NUMBER AND TYPES OF SHOPS IN PIETERSBURG: OCTOBER 1996

TABLE 5.1

CATEGORY	NUMBER
Financial Institutions, Professional Services and Offices	252
Service Industries, Garages and Motor related	269
Hardware and Building Related	46
Clothing and Shoes	181
Restaurant, Café	64
Private and other Retailers	123
Wholesale and Supermarkets	509
Informal Traders	129
TOTAL	1 589

SOURCE: Pietersburg/Seshego Socio-Economic Survey, 1996

TABLE 5.2 NUMBER AND TYPES OF SHOPS IN SESHEGO: OCTOBER 1996

CATEGORY	NUMBER
Financial Institution, Professional Services and Offices	4
Service Industries, Garages and Motor related	7
Liquor Outlets	13
Restaurants, Cafe and Supermarkets	3
Shebeens and Spazas	161
TOTAL	216

SOURCE: Pietersburg/Seshego Socio-Economic Survey, 1996.

5.1.5 Informal settlement

The 1996 population of Pietersburg and Seshego was estimated at 122 600 which represents approximately 3% of the population of N. Province (4.13 million-census 1996 preliminary estimates) while N. Province represents 11% of R.S.A. population.

TABLE 5.3 below shows the following:

- The population of Seshego has doubled from 32016 to 69050 in a period of 16 (sixteen years).
- The population of Pietersburg has also doubled from 26588 to 53050 in a period of 16 (sixteen years)
- Seshego had a high growth rate per annum whereas Pietersburg had a low growth rate per annum (except between 1985 - 1991) where as a result of the repeal of Group Areas Act, some black people moved from Seshego to Pietersburg.

INDICATORS ON LAND USE PATTERN

TABLE 5.3

AREA	1980	GROWTH RATE P.A.	1985	GROWTH RATE P.A.	1991	GROWTH RATE P.A.	1996	GROWTH RATE P.A.
Seshego	32 016	5.2	41 225	1.2	44 260	9.5	69 550	5.0
Pietersburg	26 588	4.4	33 035	2.8	39 011	6.3	53 050	4.4
TOTAL	58 604	4.8	74 260	1.9	83 271	8.0	122 600	4.7

Source: 1980, 1985, 1991 Population Census CSS

1996 City Council of Pietersburg

The two scenarios, i.e. population growth (Seshego and Pietersburg) and total number of houses (Seshego and Pietersburg) explain why we find informal land use in Seshego. High population growth rate in Seshego, which does not have enough housing provision, causes this scenario.

The escalation of the informal settlement is a clear indication that the previous administration and its policy did not address the problem of housing in relation to the process of urbanisation (Table 5.4). Pietersburg in turn had a low population rate as compared to Seshego with essentially the same number of housing provision as Seshego; so the scarcity of informal settlement in Pietersburg.

TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSES IN SESHEGO AND PIETERSBURG**TABLE 5.4**

PLACE	1996	1997
SESHEGO	10 868	11 192
PIETERSBURG	10 402	10 644

Source: LDO, 1998

5.1.6 Demarcation of wards

The two tables below depict the following information:

- The historically 'black' parties had majority of voters in historically 'black' areas; i.e. ANC had landslide victory in Seshego.
- The historically 'white' parties had many voters in historically 'white' area; i.e. NP, CP and FF attracted majority of voters in former white Pietersburg.
- The fact that Nirvana has caused the narrow margin between ANC and NP in ward 13 which is historically 'Indian' had a very high competition and as such votes were split between the two parties.

RESULTS: WARD 8 - 14 (PIETERSBURG) 1995 (Annexure 1)**TABLE 5.5**

WARD 8	WARD 9	WARD 10	WARD 11	WARD 12	WARD 13	WARD 14
FF 908	NP 1429	FF 1452	CP 1153	NP 1123	NP 777	NP 514
CP 757	CP 502	ACDP 390	ACDP 350	CP 454	ANC. 728	ANC. 381
ACDP 176	FF 189	ANC. 130	ANC. 256	FF 394	Independent	ACDP 112
ANC. 135	ANC. 133			ACDP 159	238	Independent 103
				ANC. 69		
					ACDP 45	Independent 15
TOTAL 1 976	TOTAL 2 253	TOTAL 1 972	TOTAL 1 759	TOTAL 2 199	TOTAL 1 833	TOTAL 1 125

SOURCE: REVIEW 10 November 1995.

RESULTS WARD 1-7 (SESHEGO) 1995**TABLE 5.6**

WARD 1		WARD 2		WARD 3		WARD 4		WARD 5		WARD 6		WARD 7	
ANC.	1380	ANC.	1201	ANC.	1410	ANC.	1085	ANC.	1609	ANC.	1344	ANC.	1344
NP	91	NP	78	PAC.	76	Independent	140	NP	77	NP	136	NP	136
Independent		Independent				Independent	120	PAC.	119	PAC.	40	PAC.	40
	74		359					Independent	76	Independent	9	Independent	9
Independent		Independent				Independent	72						
	66		109					Independent	80				
PAC.	30	Independent				Independent	72						
			55			Independent	7						
						PAC.	30						
TOTAL	1 665	TOTAL	1 802	TOTAL	1 486	TOTAL	1 526	TOTAL	1 865	TOTAL	1 961	TOTAL	1 611

SOURCE: REVIEW 10 November 1995.

5.1.7 Personnel

The Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC has appointed a consultant (Group Dynamics) to look at how administrative transformation can be implemented within the TLC and issues discussed below show the obstacles towards achieving the required goal, i.e. transformation. Administrative transformation involves three inter linked processes i.e. restructuring, reorganisation, and rationalisation. The findings of the report showed the slow pace and lack of interest in the question of integrating the former Lebowa employees to the TLC. The following are some reasons given for the lack of integration. The lack of trust and co-operation between councillors and top management has filtered through to all spheres of Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC organisation life. Top management, middle management and staff are demoralised for different reasons.

When policy makers and policy executors do not work together in a cohesive and harmonious manner there is a slim chance of achieving the needs of communities and employees (Group Dynamic, 1998).

One common feature was the question of the need to change. From information gathered, both councillors and management evidently have to undertake self-introspection regarding their role in enhancing change, e.g. certain officials drag their feet when it comes to any projects which involve black personnel (issue of black, ungraded secondment staff) and black communities (Group Dynamic, 1998). One issue that shows tension and/or lack of trust between councillors and management became evident in the recent case of demolition of "illegal" structures, an issue that emanated from the Department of City Engineer. The Head of the City Engineer department issued letters and summons to the residents who have built the so called 'illegal' structures without consulting with the councillors. The councillors were not aware of the steps taken by Department of City Engineering of dealing with the matter in a unilateral manner without making any consultation with the affected members of the community.

5.2 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The Constitution enshrines the right of all people in the country to dignity, equality before the law, freedom, religion, expression, culture, association, and movement, and political, labour and property rights. The Constitution commits government to take reasonable measure, within its available resources, to ensure that all South Africans have access to adequate health care, education, food, water and social security (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

The reality in our cities, towns, townships, and rural areas is far from this ideal. Many communities are still divided. Millions of people are trapped in a cycle of poverty, with a very slim chance of breaking the cycle. The previous local governments did very little to help those with greatest need. The transitional system did not do much to reverse the long-standing patterns of inequality and unmet human needs (Republic of South Africa, 1998).

The Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC fits perfectly well in the above scenario. Political power has been achieved in 1995 local elections, governance structure has been put in place (which was 50/50 in composition). A fiscal policy has been introduced intended to address the inequalities, but much work needs to be accomplished in various areas (spatial inequality, different land ownership), before an ideal integration could be achieved.

The indicators as discussed show that the two towns are not yet integrated on the areas or aspects discussed. One would argue further by saying that, yes on paper there seem to be integration but what is taking place on the ground does not reflect what is contained on paper. There is still a lot of work to be done in order for integration to be achieved, spatial integration in particular. The indicators revealed that the two towns are distinct, i.e. each having its own character or culture.

The scenario as painted below shows and confirms that the two towns are not one town i.e. the concept of a uni-city has not yet to be achieved.

5.2.1 Land use pattern

The worst of many years of apartheid is visible in African township, Seshego in particular.

The repeal of apartheid legislation, the granting of universal suffrage and the establishment of local government in terms of LGTA did not change the township landscape for the better. The Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC attempted to alleviate disparity in land use patterns between Seshego and Pietersburg by introducing the same Town Planning Scheme. The TLC took a decision early in 1997 to compile a Town Planning Scheme for Pietersburg and Seshego, which are all inclusive processes for the TLC area as a whole. A need exists for an urgent implementation of the Town Planning Scheme to ensure effective and efficient land use control while also providing appropriate levels of land use control.

The new Town Planning Scheme must also be in line with the existing legislation and account for constitutional right of the community and individuals. Because of past policies and circumstances, Seshego did not have an appropriate land use control to ensure acceptable levels of land use control, to protect the right of individuals as well as community. Pietersburg Town Planning Scheme on the other hand was compiled in 1981, and amended in 1986. It is again of paramount importance for the TLC to implement the Land Development Objectives as contained in the LDO report. The negative attitude of some councillors and officials towards this document must not be allowed to discourage the implementation of the content of the report. The compilation of the document has been an on going consultative, and inclusive process, so self interest and party political interests must not be allowed to derail the process. One striking feature, however, is the rate and pace at which the city of Pietersburg is growing.

The following are some of the cases that could be cited to bear testimony to this. The Northern Review (1997: 16) outlined the following developments “Powell het genoem dat bouwerk veral in die vroeë 90's toegeneem het. Die syfers van 1990 af is as volg:

1990: R60-miljoen (411 planne)

1991: R39-miljoen (358 planne)

1992: R50-miljoen (485 planne)

1993: R92--miljoen (652 planne)

1994: R149-miljoen (945 planne)

1995: R226-miljoen (853 planne)

1996: R142-miljoen (854 planne)

Volgens die hoof bou-inpakteur, Graham Powell, sal nog ongeveer R140-miljoen se planne vir bouwerk in die stad in die nabye toekoms aanvaar word”.

Several developments (excluding private residential developments) were scheduled for completion at the start of 1997 in Pietersburg to the total value of more than R400 million. These developments include the following: Edupark (R15 million), Old Mutual headquarters (R20 million), Metro warehouse (R48 million), Starch factories (R80 million). Shopping complex (R80-100 million), two schools (R15 million), Unisa campus (R20 million), fitness centre (R12 million). (Northern Review 1997-Feb-07). Some of these structures have been completed, others are on planning stages and meanwhile others are under construction. The only visible economic growth point that was erected in Seshego was a shopping plaza situated in Zone 4.

Spatial formation in most South African cities that grow primarily through expansion of

new housing areas beyond the existing urban fringe is relatively in a haphazard and uncoordinated fashion. Pietersburg-Polokwane is no exception to this kind of spatial formation

The urban peripheries of Pietersburg consist of a series of discrete pockets of almost exclusively housing developments. Each pocket is isolated and separated from others by freeways or buffer zones of open space. The case in hand is a housing development in Westernburg, Flora Park, Ivydale, Bendor, Luthuli Park, Madiba Park, and so on. Dewar (1985: 150) has this to say “Two distinct processes of development can be identified: those relating to higher income (primarily white) housing and that relating to low income, primarily black, housing. In the case of higher income development, the main agents of growth are property developers. The search for land is primarily dominated by three factors: the availability of land for sale; the ability to gain developmental rights; and the desire to develop the best agricultural or scenic land, since this land commands the best prices. In the case of low-income communities, the primary agents are usually state or local state authorities (particularly municipal or divisional councils).

In the former case, the choice of land is largely determined by political considerations (particularly the dictates of Group Areas Act) and the ability to gain access to large parcels of undeveloped land, since undeveloped land parcels make preliminary engineering works easier” This is called “Greenfield Development”. The impact of the newly approved Town Planning Scheme has not yet left any mark on the establishment of the informal economy in Seshego. Starting an informal business in Seshego is still a matter of chance; i.e. having money while in Pietersburg the procedures and channels are enforced and adhered to.

The informal economy in Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC is at the moment guided by the content of the Provincial Gazette No 238 Volume 4 (By-laws relating to Street Trading). The by-laws are in terms of the provision of section 101 of the local Government Ordinance, 1939, and in accordance with section 6A of Business Act (Act no 71 of 19991), as amended.

5.2.2 Demarcation of ward

The demarcation of wards within the TLC (Pietersburg-Polokwane) depicted a classical example of a divided city. The indicators, in the form of election results revealed that wards are still demarcated in terms of 'race' and historical realities. During the pre-interim phase elected members or parties were still divided in statutory and non-statutory bodies. Non-statutory in this case comprised former black liberation movements and other former black organisation (ANC, SANCO, SACP, and PAC). Divergent schools of thought existed in this area: one school of thought was that residential areas of the former white town of Pietersburg have achieved a point of desegregation. So the question might be, why claim that wards are not fully integrated? The other school of thought in approaching the same question might be yes, desegregation has been achieved but integration of wards has not been realised.

In Seshego desegregation has not been realised. Seshego is still dominated by black people, and one should indicate here that the move to integration of the two towns is far from over, as the movement is one way, i.e. black people moving from Seshego to town, not the other way round. There exist no likelihood for the movement to be another round i.e. whites moving from suburbs to the township. This type of movement would be both desirable and consolidate integration.

5.2.3 Personnel

This is one area that has been resolved by the TLC wherein the former Lebowa personnel were absorbed by the TLC i.e. implementation of Transfer of Municipalities Act was effected. There is however tensions and general dissatisfaction coupled with resistance from other parties on how changes are being introduced in an effort to integrate staff.

This resistance or dissatisfactions emanated from the previously advantaged structures like Good Administration Forum (formerly Pietersburg Ratepayers Association). Headlines in the local papers like 'political appointment have caused a drop in efficiency' are typical of their resistance.

Most of the quintessential racial segregated areas for Africans, Coloured, Indians and Whites will remain undisturbed for a number of years to come (Cohen cited in Madzie, 1996). It may be concluded that problems that are seen on the ground in these townships were caused by actions of the white ruling elites at a variety of employment and administrative level. It should however be mentioned that the part played by the BAAB has affected the township negatively as one tends to agree with Bekker (1985), as he dubbs this situation "from control to confusion". A major contributing factor was that these townships were declared "independent" municipalities several years ago.

CHAPTER SIX

6.1 EVALUATION

This chapter addresses the level of integration in each aspect. The evaluation is made by comparing pre-intervention to the post-intervention situation. Baseline information, which has been outlined in the pre-intervention stage, is compared to that of the post-intervention stage, taking into consideration the indicators that have been selected from each aspect. Differences, if any, between the stages (Pre and Post-Intervention) constitute an important milestone in evaluating the impact of the LGTA in an attempt to integrate the two towns. This Chapter concludes by outlining to what degree or level integration has been achieved between Pietersburg and Seshego.

6.1.1 Land use

The two areas (Pietersburg and Seshego) show two spatially distinct, unequal urban places. Historically the former white areas of Pietersburg area have fallen under the Pietersburg Town Planning Scheme, whereas land use in the Seshego area has tended to be somewhat unregulated. The broad spatial structure of white Pietersburg area is indicative of the "apartheid city" phenomenon typified by land use largely mono-functional, large distance between places of work and places of residence, inadequate public transport and residential areas linked to race groups.

With regard to the Seshego area, the predominant land use is residential comprising both formal and informal houses, and activity nodes consisting of both formal and informal economic activities. It is however very unfortunate that some officials within the TLC are not geared to address the recommendations as contained in the LDO

document.e.g. certain white officials drag their feet when it comes to projects, which involve black communities (Group Dynamics, 1998).

The spatial integration of the two areas needed to be addressed in a holistic manner wherein all aspects of development are considered.

What is encouraging is that the common Town Planning Scheme has been approved that controls land development and management in the two areas. The Department of Land Affairs has also settled the restitution claim of New Pietersburg. The TLC is in a position to develop the area and the buffer zone nature played by this piece of land is eradicated

There is a low cost housing project nearing completion around the area and it is hoped that the artificial de-linkage through a buffer zone between Seshego, and Pietersburg will be a thing of the past. This project will lead to an integrated spatial formation between Pietersburg and Seshego. Whilst the bulk of the housing units are geared towards the lower end of the market (low cost housing), one project presently underway west of this low cost housing is a middle income housing scheme called Madiba Park. Through this middle income-housing scheme, it is believed that those residents who cannot qualify for a low-income housing grant of R16 000 but still fall within the income category of R1 500- R3 500 are afforded an opportunity to modest shelter. One striking feature is the fact that Pietersburg is growing towards the east while Seshego is growing towards south west. One other feature worth noting is that Seshego is becoming more residential area with no visible nodes of economic activities (except the plaza in Zone 4 and informal business sectors in the form of shebeens and spazas) and characterised by Low Income Houses. Pietersburg on the other hand is dominated by activity nodes such as CBD, industrial area (light and

heavy) and secondary nodes such as Savannah shopping centre and shopping complexes around residential areas for the purchase of convenient goods. The residents of Ivypark have recently succeeded in objecting to the construction of low cost housing next to Ivypark. Reasons given varied, but chief among the reasons provided was the fact that the low cost houses will devalue their properties.

From the discussion above it is clear that the spatial integration will take some time to be fully achieved. The developments show that this process will take some times for the two formally separated places to have more or less same magnitude and same type of economic activities on the same landscape.

These developments further indicate that the distribution of formal and informal settlement will remain as they are, i.e. with the informal settlement dominating the landscape in Seshego while middle income houses to affluent houses dominating the landscape in Pietersburg. The Green Paper on Development and Planning (1999: 18) states that “South African settlements in both urban and rural areas are generally inefficient, fragmented, inconvenient and massively wasteful in terms of both publicly and privately-controlled resources. For many they are hostile places in which to live, offering few economic, social, cultural, environmental or recreational opportunities. In large part, this is the result of the interplay between historical spatial planning policies and practices and the implementation of the ideology of apartheid. Despite this, there are few signs that significant and wide -reaching improvements have been set in place since 1994.” The statement indicates very vividly that planning laws pertaining to integration up to now (2000) need to be judged to have been ineffective.

6.1.2 Planning laws

The approval of LDO documents has brought a new lease of life to many residents of the Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC for integrative measures to be applied in fast tracking development. The approval of LDO has laid a long required foundation of integrative measures to be implemented.

6.1.3 Town Planning Scheme

It is hoped that the new Town Planning Scheme will also address problems of common land management and land control.

The LDO document has identified the following trends in Pietersburg:

- The town is predominantly expanding to the east with associated pressure for relocation of business and office facilities in the same direction.
- There is a tendency for expansion of the CBD. In the South, expansion is manifested in offices; in the Northwest, there is retail and commercial pressure, and easterly expansion is linked to office and retail use.
- There is vacant land available for development especially in the buffer zone between Seshego and Pietersburg. This piece of land is presently under claim by residents of the former 'New Pietersburg' (LDO, 1998).

The following trends exist in Seshego:

- The township is expanding towards the east along the main road to town (along Nelson Mandela Highway) with new middle income houses mushrooming at a place called Madiba Park. On the north east of Seshego a low cost housing development is at the moment underway called Luthuli Park.
- The township is further expanding towards the west with a lot of informal

- settlement and low cost housing.
- The general trend seems to be that the "Black" township of Seshego is expanding towards the west while the formerly "White" town of Pietersburg is expanding towards the east, thus leaving a vacant space between the two places. The piece of land in question is at the moment under claim, i.e. 'New Pietersburg'.

6.1.4 Informal economy/trading

Apartheid planning constrained prosperous economic development in Seshego and that is the main reason why, the township is currently dominated by informal economy. Most businesses function at bare survival levels. Local successful businesses relocate to the city or posh suburbs. The informal economy in Pietersburg tends to be more concentrated around the taxi ranks, along the pavement of some streets where trading is allowed and at the market areas where the council has constructed structures for the informal economy.

Disparities in land use pattern and management in both Seshego and Pietersburg are attributed to the historical background of separate local governments with different legislation giving rise to different regulations. Seshego had an unregulated land use, while Pietersburg had a regulated land use. In pre 1994, the informal economy has been perceived as a problem of urban growth that had applied short-term solutions to these urban challenges by the then Pietersburg municipality. The focus should however change and more attention should be spent on looking at the symptoms of this sector and not at its causes. The land use pattern relating to the two areas under study showed that spatial integration of the two areas since 1995 has not been achieved. One would say no change is visible except to say that a lot of envisaged change is still at policy level, e.g. the LDO document has been finalised but still

awaiting for implementation. It is clear that the LDO rather than being used to deal with the real issues of integration in a developmental and delivery-oriented manner

the Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC did no more than to fulfil the legal requirement in a mechanistic manner. As a result the outcome especially on integrative issues was unrealistic, unachievable and more of a shopping list.

6.1.5 Informal settlement

A large number of informal settlement dwellings exist in Seshego. The majority of the settlements are situated in and around Seshego. Three reasons can be attributed to this phenomenon; Firstly, the natural population growth of the township has increased since 1980 (**Table 4.3**); Secondly, the migration of people from the rural areas to the urban areas especially after the repeal of apartheid institutions such as the BAAB. Thirdly, the process of urbanisation. The influx of people coupled with the general decline of law enforcement agents like the local government structure and the establishment of civic structures triggered the invasion to unoccupied land. The TLC and the government should come up with strategies for township development by providing more houses and more infrastructures to under-serviced township especially to informal settlements.

Informal settlements are found north-west of Pietersburg a place called new Pietersburg and along the Burgersfort (R37) road at an area called Ivydale, a small holding.

Squatting is not only confined to the black township of Seshego but it is also found within the former white municipality areas as manifested in the already established informal settlement at New Pietersburg, which has been the focus of controversy and

forced removals of non-white since the area was regarded as a white group area. The Department of Land Affairs have finalised the restitution claim and this has provided the TLC with the options of getting alternative land for the squatter community occupying that piece of land.

6.1.6 Demarcation of wards

The post apartheid scenario on ward demarcation resembles old apartheid colour division. The 1995 November Local Government election results bears testimony to this scenario wherein the traditional "white" political parties obtained more votes in traditionally "white" areas whereas the traditionally "black" political parties obtained more votes in traditionally "black" areas. This trend seems to be changing especially when one looks at the 1999 General election results for the two areas.

During the 1999 general Elections the traditionally black parties (ANC) obtained a high number of votes in the former white areas while the traditionally white political parties have not made any inroads in black communities, i.e. in Seshego. The wards are still demarcated along racial lines though one would say that the number of black homeowners has since increased in the suburbs and this might change the equation. The reality of the situation is that this is a one way movement (from township to town). i.e. from Seshego to Pietersburg. Wards should be demarcated disregarding racial classification and should be based on geographical location of a particular area for example wards comprising Westernburg (formally coloured area), Nirvana (formally Indian area), Ivypark (formally white area) should include new Pietersburg (black area), Madiba Park (black area), and Luthuli Park (black area). The integration of Seshego and Pietersburg has done very little to integrate wards of the former white areas, coloureds, Indians, and blacks.

6.1.7 Integration of personnel

The promulgation of transfer of staff to a municipality has been effected. The new TLC has thus adopted personnel from two different backgrounds, different experiences, and different condition of employment and different human resource. The implication of this scenario was that personnel from former Lebowa were absorbed into the TLC. The most appropriate approach to deal with this issue would be to readvertise all posts within the TLC, let all the staff apply irrespective of background and an appropriate candidate be given the post. This approach was likely to yielded more integrative measure unlike slotting in of personnel into any available vacant post. The personnel composition of the TLC is white male dominated at both senior and middle management levels while at lower levels the composition is black male dominated.

The post apartheid scenario or the integration of Pietersburg and Seshego has however achieved the following:

- Donaldson (1999:151) argues that the LGTA has brought up the pre-interim phase. In terms of the LGTA, 1993 (Act 209 of 1993) a local Government Forum had to be established for Pietersburg with its segregated black township of Seshego. For the first time the multi-party talks brought the former Liberation Movements and the right wing parties to negotiate the future of local government.
- Negotiating Forum for Pietersburg-Polokwane - as it was known by then, reached a final consensus and an agreement was signed late in September 1994 Pietersburg and Seshego were however, only effectively promulgated as a single city as from 16 January 1995".
- One further achievement, which has been brought by the integration, was

establishment of the one tax base, which means one budget (Fiscal Policy), for the TLC.

- The council has approved common Town Planning Scheme for the two areas, i.e. a common Town Planning Scheme, which would govern land use pattern and land use management of the two areas.
- The process of Land Development Objectives in terms of the requirements of both the Development Facilitation Act (Act 67, 1995) which requires local authorities to formulate Land Development Objectives, and the Local Government Transitional Act, Second Amendment (Act 97 of 1996) has been completed and approved. This process allows the local residents to take part in land development of their TLC area. In this way planning becomes bottom- up not a top- down as it used to be. It is hoped that this process will reverse all the apartheid planning laws. It was however important for local residents to attend the LDO forums. It was unfortunate in the case of Pietersburg-Polokwane TLC that attendance of local residents has been a worrying factor. This is due to the fact that no education was offered regarding the new participatory approach in local government. Residents were still hooked to top down type of governance. Other reasons given by residents were the fact that the process was not conducted in the Sotho language.
- One more positive development was the participatory approach in matters relating to future land use and land management systems.
- The implementations of Land Development Objectives forums were a positive step in the right direction, though this process had some problems of low attendance in the Pietersburg Polokwane area.

6.2 Recommendations

- To address spatial inefficiencies, especially where people live and work, the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) needs to promote efficient and integrated land development through a set of general principles as the basis for future land development. This principle included the location of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity or integrated with each other; a diverse combination of land use; counteracting urban sprawl; optimising the use of existing resources, notably under-utilised infrastructures (Republic of South Africa, 1995). The principle set out in the DFA should guide municipalities in their approach to building integrated, liveable settlements.
- Apartheid planning has left a lot of planning problems on the spatial structure of cities, towns and townships. This situation calls for an integrative measure to be at the top of the agenda in considering any strategy to build the townships. The rebuilding of the townships is an essential ingredient for reconstruction and integration. The provision of basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation facilities to a marginalised sector of the city should be speeded up. The dormitory role of low-income areas must be terminated
- Essential infrastructure changes and upgrading should be effected in those areas that are really in need of them, e.g. informal settlements and informal trading areas.
- More funding for urban research in Pietersburg City should be obtained to help in research initiatives that could study the city's social, economic and spatial inequalities.

- Wards should be re-demarcated in such a way that the present dichotomy of "whites" and "black" is totally and permanently discredited. The integrative measure that can be applied spatially can help to discourage the present scenario.

- The upgrading of deeds of grants in Seshego to full title is also seen as a positive step which will give residents secured tenure.

- Serious consideration must be taken on the spatial integration of the two areas. Township upgrading must be taken very seriously, as this is the cornerstone of spatial integration. Enough money should be allocated to township upgrading, especially on the provision of basic services.

- The transfers of land from the Minister of Land Affairs to the Provincial Government will also fast track the process of tenure.

- The enactment of Provincial Land Administration Act has also come at the right time for the transfer of land to proceed unimpeded.

- To achieve all these, flexible management and planning must be encouraged to move away from a traditional way of doing things, e.g. imposing policies on the people without any proper consultation. This should foster plans of effective public participation as a wide planning urban strategy that will ensure accountability and transparency in decision making.

- When land decisions and regulations are made stakeholder/role-players and interested parties should be consulted. Decisions should not be imposed.

- When land decisions and regulations are made stakeholder/role-players and interested parties should be consulted. Decisions should not be imposed on the operation of any activity but interest parties should help in policy formulation. This process would give legitimacy to urban planning and regulations.

From the discussion and evaluation conducted in this study one could draw the following conclusion. The integration of the two formerly “black” township of Seshego and formerly “white” town of Pietersburg has not been achieved despite the intervention in the form of Local Government Transitional Act. This simply means that the transitional period did not bring the expected outcomes on integration. The scenario as painted below confirms this assertion:

-Tables 5.5 and 5.6 depict that wards were still demarcated on racial lines. Blacks in formerly “black” township of Seshego voted the traditionally black parties in. The 1995 election results confirmed it. In Pietersburg a total of 1 832 did cast their votes in favour of the ANC. In Seshego a total of 9 375 did cast their votes in favour of ANC. In Pietersburg an average of 261 per ward voted for ANC while in Seshego an average of 1 339 per ward voted for the ANC. The two Tables (5.5 and 5.6) further depict that white community in formerly “white” town of Pietersburg voted the traditionally white parties. A total of 6 709 (3 843 for NP and 2 866 for CP) votes were casted in favour of traditionally white parties. An average of 960 votes per ward voted for NP and 716 for CP. The NP performed badly in Seshego with a total of 518 votes giving an average of 103 votes per ward. A phenomenon, which undoubtedly revealed the racial composition of wards and also reflected that wards were not integrated, was in wards 13 and 14, which are traditionally coloureds and indian communities. The two traditionally white parties (CP and NP) realised

that if both can contest the wards they may likely split the votes. The NP contested alone without CP and ended up winning the wards. The same phenomenon was applied in wards 8, 10, and 11. The three wards are traditionally conservative in nature and because of the threat posed by “verligte” the CP and FF shared the wards making use of the “swart gevaar” slogan.

-The discussion and data summary provided in this study outlined that land use was not integrated. Measures, which were put in place to integrate the two areas, are at a planning stage. The LDO was approved by the MEC on the 22 January 2000. Council approved the Town Planning Scheme on the 16 November 1999, and the Provincial Land Administration was enacted in 2000. The Transitional stage ended in December 2000. It is hoped that the above legislation would enable and ensure spatial integration in terms of land use in the two areas. The land-use pattern in the two areas is still not integrated even after the intervention.

-The integration of personnel from the two former administration (Pietersburg Municipality and Provincial Department of Local Government (former Lebowa personnel) are not yet fully integrated. Short-term solutions were applied to integrate the personnel by “slotting” them in the present structure. These deficiencies can be attributed in part to capacity limitations in local government, and over-complicated methodology, which might encourage a mechanistic planning approach and non-availability of appropriate support staff. Table 5.1 depicts a negatively skewed workforce composition with 1.3 % of black personnel in top management post compared to 10.6 % of white on the same echelon. In the lowest grade blacks constitute 47.9 % while whites

the same echelon. In the lowest grade blacks constitute 47.9 % while whites constitute 0.5 %. Long-term solution is envisaged to be implemented during the period starting from 05 December 2000 when the personnel structure would be overhauled as dictated by the Integrated Development Plan.

History reveals that positive and conducive environments are resilient to change, i.e. they accommodate social, economic, political and technological change. Conversely, environments, which are built according to the dictates of more ephemeral, changing conditions, be they technological, e.g. Group Areas Act, cannot accommodate the change. They constitute a waste of resources and are negative inheritances to future generation (Dewar, 1985).

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ANNEXURE 1

<u>PARTIES</u>	<u>WARD 8</u>	<u>WARD 9</u>	<u>WARD 10</u>	<u>WARD 11</u>	<u>WARD 12</u>	<u>WARD 13</u>	<u>WARD 14</u>
ANC	127	98	120	243	68	769	389
DP	17	36	25	15	45	28	21
CP	483	191	173	404	310	77	44
NP	544	1 268	860	631	1 087	764	511
PAC	0	7	5	4	2	9	17
VF	744	533	667	368	532	167	84
ACDP	82	131	175	126	153	36	71

<u>PARTY</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
ANC	12 472
DP	252
CP	1 713
NP	6 145
PAC	325
VF	3 118
ACDP	878
TOTAL	24 903

3. STATISTICS

<u>PARTIES</u>	<u>WARD REPRESENTATION</u>	<u>PROPORTIONAL PRESENTATION</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
ANC	9 198	12 472	21 670
DP	-	252	252
CP	1 153	1 713	2 866
NP	3 837	6 145	9 982
PAC	-	325	325
VF	2 360	3 118	5 478
ACDP	-	878	878
TOTAL	16 548	24 903	41 451

ANNEXURE 2

TABLE 1: PIETERSBURG/POLOKWANE TLC
LDO PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROGRAMME

27 September 1997:	Public Meeting 1: LDO Capacity Building
4 October 1997:	Public Meeting 2: LDO Working Plan Discussion
November 1997:	Public Meeting 3: LDO Project Team and Steering Committee Discussion
16 February 1998:	Terms of Reference: LDO Steering Committee
2 March 1998:	LDO Steering Committee Meeting
9 March 1998:	LDO Status Quo Report handed in
14 March 1998:	Public Meeting 4: Status Quo Assessment and listing of problems, issues and needs
14 – 20 March 1998:	Comment period on Status Quo Report
23 March 1998:	LDO Steering Committee Meeting: Revised Status Quo Report handed out
23 March – 3 April 1998:	Comment period on Revised Status Quo Report
15 April 1998:	LDO Steering Committee Meeting: Consolidated problems, issues and needs handed out
15 – 22 April 1998:	Comment period on consolidated problems, issues and needs
9 May 1998:	Public Meeting 5: – Finalise problems, issues and needs – Prioritise – Formulate Strategies
18 May 1998:	LDO Steering Committee Meeting: Feedback on inputs gathered during Public Meeting 5
30 May 1998:	Public Meeting 6: Present Draft LDOs to community
30 May – 12 June 1998:	Comment period on Draft LDOs
17 June 1998:	LDO Steering Committee Meeting: Feedback on Comments received
17 – 30 June 1998:	Finalise LDOs
End of June 1998:	Submit and Present LDOs to Council

ANNEXURE 3.1-3.10

PRE-INTERVENTION SCENARIO

ANNEXURE 3.1

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT SERVICES

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1		-	1	1
2		-		1
3		-	3	4
4			3	3
5		-	4	5
6		-	3	3
7		-	3	4
8		-	1	1
9		-	4	4
10		-	1	1
11		1	1	5
12		-	1	1
13		-	1	1
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20		-	-	2
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT		-	-	
TOTAL		1	26	27
PERCENTAGE		3.7	96.2	

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 3.2**WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING**

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1	-	-	1	1
2	-	-	1	1
3	-	-	2	2
4	-	-	1	1
5	-	-	3	3
6	1	-	4	5
7	-	-	6	6
8	1	-	2	3
9	6	-	18	24
10	1	-	3	4
11	-	-	1	1
12	-	-	2	2
13	2	-	-	2
14	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-
18	2	-	-	2
19	25	-	-	25
20	29	-	1	30
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT		-	-	
TOTAL	67	-	45	112
PERCENTAGE	59.8	-	40.1	

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 3.3**WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES**

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	1	1
3	-	-	2	2
4	-	-	-	-
5	1	-	1	2
6	-	-	3	3
7	2	-	1	3
8	1	-	6	7
9	3	-	1	4
10	7	-	9	16
11	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	1	1
13				
14				
15				
16	1	-	1	2
17	3	-	-	3
18	9	-	-	9
19	13	-	-	13
20	65	-	-	65
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT		-	-	
TOTAL	105	-	26	131
PERCENTAGE	80.1	-	19.8	

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 3.4

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF PARKS & RECREATION

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1			1	1
2			1	1
3				
4				
5			1	1
6			2	2
7			6	6
8	1		4	5
9			7	7
10		1	8	9
11			2	2
12	1	-	-	1
13	2	-	1	3
14	-	-	-	-
15	1	-	-	1
16	13			13
17	3			3
18	16			16
19	76			76
20	103			103
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT				
TOTAL	216	1	33	250
PERCENTAGE	86.4	0.4	13.2	

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 3.5

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF CITY SECRETARY

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1		-	1-	1
2			1	1
3			4	4
4	-	-	-	-
5			3	3
6			5	5
7	1	-	5	6
8	1		2	3
9	1	-	5	6
10			1	1
11	3		14	17
12	1	2	4	7
13	3	-	-	3
14	-	-	-	-
15	1	-	1	2
16	-		1	1
17	1			1
18	10			10
19	6			6
20	21	2	-	23
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT		-	-	
TOTAL	69	4	47	119
PERCENTAGE	57.9	3.3	39.4	

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 3.6

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF CITY ENGINEERING

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1	-	-	1	1
2	-	-	2	2
3	-	-	1	1
4	-	-	4	4
5	-	-	5	5
6	2	-	9	11
7	3	-	7	10
8	-	-	6	6
9	2	-	18	20
10	2	-	9	11
11	3	-	4	7
12	2	-	4	6
13	-	-	2	2
14	-	-	1	1
15	-	-	-	-
16	1	-	-	-
17	1	-	1	2
18	18	-	1	19
19	45	-	1	46
20	105	-	1	106
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT		-	-	31
TOTAL	183	-	77	260
PERCENTAGE	70.3	-	29.6	

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 3.7

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF CITY TREASURER

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1			1	1
2	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	3	3
4	1	-	2	3
5	1	-	3	4
6			5	5
7			3	3
8			6	6
9	3		6	9
10				
11	1	1	5	7
12	1	2	8	11
13	2		1	3
14			1	1
15				
16				
17				
18	2	-	-	2
19	1			1
20	9	-	-	9
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT				
TOTAL	21	3	44	68
PERCENTAGE	30.8	4.4	64.7	

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 3.8

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : PIETERSBURG MARKETING COMPANY

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1				
2				
3			1	1
4				
5				
6				
7			1	1
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19	1			1
20				
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1		2	3
PERCENTAGE	33.3		66.6	0.2

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 3.9

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : TOWN CLERK

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1			1	1
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9			1	1
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20				
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT				
TOTAL			2	2
PERCENTAGE			100.0	0.15

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 3.10

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF PROTECTION SERVICES

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1			1	1
2			-	-
3			2	2
4			-	-
5			4	4
6			-	-
7		1	11	12
8	3	-	9	12
9	4	-	15	19
10	2	-	15	17
11	3	1	20	24
12	15	3	12	30
13	-	-	1	1
14	4	-	-	4
15	-	-	-	-
16	18	-	-	18
17	2	-	-	2
18	12	3	-	15
19	3	-	-	3
20	7	-	-	7
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT		-	-	-
TOTAL	73	8	90	171
PERCENTAGE	42.6	4.6	52.6	

SOURCE LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 4.1-4.10

POST INTERVENTION SCENARIO

ANNEXURE 4.1

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT SERVICES

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1		-	1	1
2	1	-		1
3	1	-	3	4
4			3	3
5	1	-	4	5
6		-	3	3
7	1	-	3	4
8	-	-	1	1
9	9	-	4	4
10	-	-	1	1
11	3	1	1	5
12	-	-	1	1
13	-	-	1	1
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20	2	-	-	2
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	5	-	-	5
TOTAL	14	1	26	41
PERCENTAGE	44.1	2.4	63.4	3.1

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 4.2**WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING**

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1	-	-	1	1
2	-	-	1	1
3	-	-	2	2
4	-	-	1	1
5	-	-	3	3
6	1	-	4	5
7	-	-	6	6
8	1	-	2	3
9	6	-	18	24
10	1	-	3	4
11	-	-	1	1
12	-	-	2	2
13	2	-	-	2
14	-	-	-	-
15	-	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-
18	2	-	-	2
19	25	-	-	25
20	29	-	1	30
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	31	-	-	31
TOTAL	98	-	45	143
PERCENTAGE	68.3	-	31.1	10.9

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 4.3

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1	-	-	-	-
2		-	1	1
3			2	2
4	-	-	-	-
5	1	-	1	2
6		-	3	3
7	2	-	1	3
8	1	-	6	7
9	3	-	1	4
10	7	-	9	16
11	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	1	1
13				
14				
15				
16	1	-	1	2
17	3	-	-	3
18	9	-	-	9
19	13	-	-	13
20	65	-	-	65
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	51	-	-	51
TOTAL	156	-	26	182
PERCENTAGE	85.7	-	14.2	13.9

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 4.4**WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF PARKS & RECREATION**

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1			1	1
2			1	1
3				
4				
5			1	1
6			2	2
7			6	6
8	1		4	5
9			7	7
10		1	8	9
11			2	2
12	1	-	-	1
13	2		1	3
14	-	-	-	-
15	1	-	-	1
16	13			13
17	3			3
18	16			16
19	76			76
20	103			103
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	17			17
TOTAL	233	1	33	267
PERCENTAGE	87.2	0.37	12.3	20.5

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 4.5

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF CITY SECRETARY

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1	1	-	-	1
2			1	1
3			4	4
4	-	-	-	-
5			3	3
6			5	5
7	1	-	5	6
8	1		2	3
9	1	-	5	6
10			1	1
11	3		14	17
12	1	2	4	7
13	3	-	-	3
14	-	-	-	-
15	1	-	1	2
16	-		1	1
17	1			1
18	10			10
19	6			6
20	21	2	-	23
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	20	-	-	20
TOTAL	70	4	46	120
PERCENTAGE	58.3	3.3	38.3	9.2

LDO, 1998

ANNEXURE 4.6**WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF CITY ENGINEERING**

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1	-	-	1	1
2	-	-	2	2
3	-	-	1	1
4	-	-	4	4
5	-	-	5	5
6	2	-	9	11
7	3	-	7	10
8	-	-	6	6
9	2	-	18	20
10	2	-	9	11
11	3	-	4	7
12	2	-	4	6
13	-	-	2	2
14	-	-	1	1
15	-	-	-	-
16	1	-	-	-
17	1	-	1	2
18	18	-	1	19
19	45	-	1	46
20	105	-	1	106
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	31	-	-	31
TOTAL	214	-	77	291
PERCENTAGE	73.5	-	26.4	22.3

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ANNEXURE 4.7

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF CITY TREASURER

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1			1	1
2	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	3	3
4	1	-	2	3
5	1	-	3	4
6			5	5
7			3	3
8			6	6
9	3		6	9
10				
11	1	1	5	7
12	1	2	8	11
13	2		1	3
14			1	1
15				
16				
17				
18	2	-	-	2
19	1			1
20	9	-	-	9
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	8			8
TOTAL	29	3	44	76
PERCENTAGE	38.1	3.9	57.8	5.84

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ANNEXURE 4.8

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : PIETERSBURG MARKETING COMPANY

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1				
2				
3			1	1
4				
5				
6				
7			1	1
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19	1			1
20				
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1		2	3
PERCENTAGE	33.3		66.6	0.2

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ANNEXURE 4.9

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : TOWN CLERK

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1			1	1
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9			1	1
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20				
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT				
TOTAL			2	2
PERCENTAGE			100.0	0.15

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ANNEXURE 4.10

WORKFORCE COMPOSITION : DEPARTMENT OF PROTECTION SERVICES

GRADE	BLACK	COLOURED	WHITE	TOTAL
1			1	1
2			-	-
3			2	2
4			-	-
5			4	4
6			-	-
7		1	11	12
8	3	-	9	12
9	4	-	15	19
10	2	-	15	17
11	3	1	20	24
12	15	3	12	30
13	-	-	1	1
14	4	-	-	4
15	-	-	-	-
16	18	-	-	18
17	2	-	-	2
18	12	3	-	15
19	3	-	-	3
20	7	-	-	7
UNGRADED/ SECONDMENT	5	-	-	-
TOTAL	78	8	90	176
PERCENTAGE	44.3	4.5	51.5	

SOURCE LDO, 1998