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An assessment of service delivery as a tool for redressing spatial inequality in South Africa’s rural municipalities: A case study of Impendle Municipality in uMgungundlovu District.

By:

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Declaration

I, Wandile Miya, declare that the entirety of the content submitted herein is my own original work (with the exception of where acknowledgements indicate otherwise). I also declare that the entire work has neither been submitted, or is being submitted in this university, or any other institution for other academic purposes, by myself or any other party under my consent.

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Dedication

The late **Nompumelelo Mbalenhle Ndlovu, Phumzile Miya and Simphiwe Miya.**

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, all glory goes to the Almighty, for granting me the capability, wisdom and courage of allowing me to achieve such challenges in life. “*Konke okuhle sikuthola ngomusa oqhamuka kuJehova*”.

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Abstract

This research argues that service delivery is worthy of being used as an indicatory tool for redressing spatial inequality in the context of rural municipalities in South Africa. Moreover, the research further lays a rationale which explicates that inasmuch as the post-apartheid movement has instituted various approaches of redressing the spatial imbalances experienced in South African rural areas, service provision as a tool of redressing these imbalances has proven to be an illusion. With this challenge in hand, the research establishes the extent to which service delivery is implemented in rural areas as a means of identifying the core challenges encountered by planners in the provision of spatial equity in rural municipalities. Three grounding theories – these being the Public Goods Theory; the Postmodern Urbanism Theory and the Dependency Theory – in addition to literature focused on bringing a better understanding to the notion of spatial inequality are utilised. The rationale behind these was to outline the responsible parties in service delivery and what the outcomes ought to be from an institutional perspective in the context of rural areas of South Africa. However, in the current reality which is evident in rural municipalities such as Impendle, spatial inequality continues to be perpetuated through migratory trends and a negative reliance on the government. In understanding the concept of spatial inequality, the experiences of spatial imbalances were presented in the context of the developed world and the developing world respectively. In highlighting the trends of spatial imbalances in these contexts from the literature presented, the research sought to unravel the origins of spatial inequality by introducing living trends spatially from the medieval context. Substantiating literature concerning spatial inequality in the South African context was outlined which understands the phenomenon to be predominantly rooted in Western traits, as is the case in other third world countries. Using the qualitative research methodology, the study further investigated styles of governance as influential factors in spatial inequality from three prominent ages, these being: the colonial era, the apartheid era and the democratic era successively, with prime focus on rural areas as marginalised neighbourhoods. In addition, the evolution of spatial inequality has been presented in the post-apartheid era, where national, provincial and municipal legislations and policies which shape the transformation of development have been reviewed and analysed as far as their implementation is concerned. Subsequently, the study has identified possible factors which explain the continued backlog in service delivery in such areas, amongst which are conflicts in governance and a lack of resources. Concluding recommendations were also outlined as a solution to these matters.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CBD	Central Business District
CIF	Capital Investment Framework
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
EPWP	Expanded Public Work Programme
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDR	German Democratic Republic
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ITB	Ingonyama Trust Board
KZN CoGTA	KwaZulu-Natal Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs
KZN PPC	KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Planning Commission
LED	Local Economic Development
LUMS	Land Use Management Systems
MIG	Municipal Infrastructure Grant
MPT	Municipal Planning Tribunal
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
MTSF	Medium-Term Strategic Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NSDP	National Spatial Development Perspective
PGDP	Provincial Growth and Development Plan
PGDS	Provincial Growth and Development Strategy
PSDF	Provincial Spatial Development Framework
PSDP	Provincial Spatial Development Plan
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SDBIP	Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SDP	Spatial Development Plan
SEPC	Social and Economic Planning Council

SIP	Strategic Integrated Project
SMME	Small-Medium Micro Enterprise
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
TA	Traditional Authority
TC	Traditional Council
TLGFA	Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act
TSMP	Traditional Settlement Master Plan
UDF	Urban Design Framework
UDF	Urban Development Framework
UMDM	uMgungundlovu District Municipality
UN Habitat	United Nations Habitat

Chapter One: Introduction and Background to the Study.

1.1 Introduction

The history of governance in South African cities has had a significant influence on their formation and spatial construction. During the apartheid era, cities were spatially dispersed and segregated (Parnell and Mabin, 1995), with African populations strategically located on the urban periphery, formerly known as “Bantustans”. Through the dispersal of African communities to the urban periphery, the apartheid government not only created segregated cities, but has ultimately left a legacy of spatial inequality in such areas (King and McCusker, 2007). Spatial inequality can be identified in many forms. Amongst the many forms which fall under this umbrella term are a lack of: basic services, housing, and social and economic infrastructure.

In the contemporary context of South African cities, many strategies have been attempted to rectify the inadequacies of the former governance system through institutional amendments implemented in local municipalities. However, in attempting to redress such inadequacies, a considerable number of rural communities have continued to be neglected in such plans, within the context of which planning should be made for all.

1.2 Background

With the emergence of colonial governance in South Africa, Parnell and Mabin (1995) outline that the formation of spatially segregated communities was as a result of the setups of South African cities. These formations were achieved through legislative frameworks such as the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1923, and the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 as presented by Christopher (1997), in addition to other segregatory pieces of legislation, which followed. Under the conditions of the segregation of black populations in the rural peripheries, one of the forms of oppression experienced was spatial inequality through inconsistent service provision (Mukonoweshuro, 1991). In specifying these types of service, the focus is on the provision of infrastructure such as water supply and sanitation; electricity; road networks; social, health and economic facilities respectively.

In addition, Smith (2003) explains that the apartheid governance further influenced spatial disparities through centralised development, with the focus being primarily on urban fabric, and with African population groups being neglected in the rural hinterlands as self-governed areas. Rural settlements, contrarily, experienced high levels of social and economic exclusion, as these services were provided on a minimal scale, if being provided at all (Mukonoweshuro, 1991). This has led to many economic and social setbacks in rural areas. Factors such as low levels of employment in distant cities, along with a lack of adequate health and social facilities, have together negatively impacted on rural areas.

In the shift to a liberal state of governance and democracy, the ruling party followed a clear mandate in rectifying the implications of apartheid planning, with particular focus on the economic empowerment of black communities (Binns and Nel, 2002). Amongst the strategies implemented was the decentralisation of power through the emergence of local governance, thus creating polycentric nodes using municipalities as a means of creating self-reliant communities. In addition, justifications for the emergence of local municipalities included the provision of services and the creation of employment opportunities by the adoption of municipal Integrated Development Plans, as articulated by Berrisford (2011). Moreover, the provision of these services and employment opportunities specifically targeted previously marginalised black groups within both townships and rural areas.

Through the governance of these municipalities, significant transformation has been achieved, with black populations now enjoying amenities formerly enjoyed exclusively by the country's white population (Maharaj and Narsiah, 2002). Such spatial transformations have empowered indigenous African groups by allowing access to land ownership within townships. In addition, the restructuring programmes implemented in townships as part of the development of the urban fabric have prioritised the provision of bulk infrastructure in terms of social, economic and health facilities (Du Plessis and Boonzaaier, 2015). Moreover, these services have been strategically located in a manner which promotes to such amenities, thus creating sustainable and self-reliant communities.

When considering the location of townships, these are areas which remain closely located to the urban fabric for work purposes, as illustrated by Du Plessis and Boonzaaier (2015). However, peripheral rural areas which were previously left ungoverned, without any form of development, continue to be neglected in the contemporary era as far as service delivery is

concerned (Reed, 2013). With regard to the governance of municipal structures in rural municipalities, the trend for the abandonment of such areas has continued to grow as far as development is concerned (Momba *et al.*, 2006).

1.3 Problem Statement

The transformation of governance in post-apartheid South Africa from centralised governance to decentralised power in the form of introducing municipal structures at local level has produced positive feedback in various respects (Maharaj and Narsiah, 2002). In the context of service delivery, considerable progress has been made at local municipal level. In further elaborating on the progress made, the national government has also implemented regulatory frameworks for the upgrading of basic infrastructure in local communities, such as the Integrated Development Plan, amongst others (Vhonani, 2010).

When further scrutinising the level of service delivery provided, however, the underlying issue of marginalisation in rural communities still prevails. In the contemporary era, the demarcation of local municipalities regulates similar authorities in rural areas, thus adopting the same roles for power and governance as are found in urban local municipalities. However, some local municipalities, particularly those which are rural, continue to face the challenge of a high backlog in service delivery (Brettenny and Sharp, 2016) when compared to urban municipalities.

In briefly discussing the setbacks experienced by rural municipalities, social and economic factors are considered. With respect to social factors, the lack of bulk infrastructure such as water, sanitation, sewerage and electricity as primary forms of service delivery create unpleasant living conditions within rural communities (Brettenny and Sharp, 2016). In addition, the implementation of health and social facilities as secondary forms of service provision has proven to be challenging, as these services need to be implemented in a sequentially progressive manner. With the lack of these essential services in rural areas there is the implication of having to travel long distances to closest towns to obtain them (Vhonani, 2010).

In having to travel considerable distances to access such services, which is costly, the economic factor comes into play (Christopher, 1997). The observed lack of primary forms of service delivery suggests that attracting economic development can be perceived as being a

challenge. In the absence of service delivery, it may be argued that poverty and unemployment continue to increase, as such elements are fundamental for fostering economic growth in development.

In keeping with the above-mentioned, the challenge identified is that rural areas and municipalities appear to have minimal attention given to their needs in being provided with services for overall sustainable, liveable communities (Rogerson and Nel, 2016). Moreover, it might be argued that the migratory trend of rural populations to urban areas has been influenced by the combination of absent service delivery and the regulation of the Abolition of Influx Control Act, No. 68 of 1986 (Republic of South Africa, 1986). Consequently, the movement of rural-to-urban migration has manifested as a means of accessing both services and opportunities (Reed, 2013). It is in this manner that spatial inequality continues to be perpetuated, since rural communities face a decline in their populations, with migratory movement being one of the contributing factors.

It is thus indisputable that there is an underlying issue in the provision of infrastructural services and overall development within rural settings. With such issues faced by these areas, it is therefore arguable that one of the factors for the population decline in Impendle could be the common trend seen in such areas, which is rural-urban migration. One of the motives for this trend, as outlined by Reed (2013), is a lack of basic social and economic services, which are those mentioned earlier in the context of cities, and which further perpetuate the injustices of the former era. This research paper hence seeks to find the extent to which the provision of such services is prioritised in these areas in the contemporary era.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

With the establishment of South Africa as a democratic country, the post-colonial governing party has a clear mandate to rectify the extensive imbalances of the former era. This was done through the abolition of the segregation policies of the prior era, which were succeeded by a more inclusive approach (Binns and Nel, 2002). This was evident in the late stages of apartheid, within the democratic era, where the African National Congress (ANC) introduced concepts such as Developmental Local Governance in 1993 (Smith and Vawda, 2003). In so doing, Binns and Nel (2002) assert that the ruling party presented a paradigm shift in governance, from centralised governance, which resulted in fragmented and inconsistent development, to decentralised governance, which advocates for integrated development.

Inasmuch as local municipal structures have been regulated within their legal frameworks, the question of service provision in rural areas continues to be a challenge. Koelble and LiPuma (2010) further mention that with the contemporary form of governance, and the approaches set in place as a means of rectifying societal imbalances, urban municipalities remain prioritised for service delivery by comparison to rural municipalities. Consequently, the issue of spatial inequality remains unresolved. This justifies the rationale of the study as valid and necessary for research.

1.5 Aim

The aim of this study was to establish the extent to which service delivery can be used as a tool to redress spatial inequality in rural municipalities.

1.6 Objectives

The objectives of the research paper provide insight into how the study's aim was achieved. The objectives of this research were to:

- Critically analyse the viability of policies and legislative frameworks put in place for rural municipalities by government at a provincial level in an attempt to transform rural regions to well-serviced and developed areas.
- Evaluate the extent to which such services are provided in such areas in accordance with legislative frameworks and policies.
- Discover the prioritisation of such projects from provincial level through to local municipalities, particularly rural municipalities.
- Discern the social and economic impacts which result from the provision of such services within these areas.
- Establish the level of spatial inequality prevalent in rural municipalities in the post-apartheid era.

1.7 Research Question

To what extent has service delivery been used as a tool to redress spatial inequality in rural municipalities?

1.7.1 Research Sub-questions

- Do legislative frameworks and policies set in place for rural municipalities encourage the development of well-serviced and self-reliant communities?
- Is the implementation of service delivery in rural communities in accordance with the legislative frameworks and policies set in place?
- To what extent are service delivery projects prioritised from the provincial level with regard to the types of services provided and their implementation in rural municipalities?
- How has the provision of these services affected social and economic trends in rural communities?
- How has the extent of service delivery in rural communities influenced the prevalence of spatial inequality?

1.8 Chapter Outline Structure

The chapter outline for this research dissertation follows a generic chapter outline, where the thesis consists of six chapters in the following sequential order:

Chapter One: Overview of Research

This chapter outlines the core purpose of the research paper. In detailing the contents of this chapter, the issues of service delivery in rural municipalities are outlined. The chapter briefly discusses how a lack of such services perpetuates spatial inequality in the post-apartheid regime, thus providing insight into all that is to be unravelled through this research.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, two theoretical frameworks are presented, these being the Postmodern Urbanism Theory and the Dependency Theory respectively, which further justify the significance of the research. Within these two theoretical frameworks arise three conceptual themes per theory, which tap into the elements of each theory, and ultimately correspond to elements of the research topic. Under the Postmodern Urbanism Theory, key concepts such as Polycentric Development; Economic Development and Sustainable Settlements are discussed. Under the Dependency Theory, key concepts such as Service Delivery; Capitalism and Spatial Inequality are investigated.

Thereafter follows the literature review in which the general notion of service delivery with regard to spatial inequality is discussed. Subsequently, precedent-setting case studies are presented within different contexts, these being the developed world (Johanngeorgenstadt, Germany) and the developing world (Yewa North Local Government, Nigeria) respectively. Following this, the chapter compares the issues occurring between these contexts, and concludes by drawing lessons from them.

Chapter Three: Spatial Inequality in South Africa

In this chapter are presented the aforementioned issues within a local context, looking at all factors that have influenced the manifestation of spatial inequality within the local arena. In further dissecting the contents of this chapter, the trend of spatial inequality is discussed from the historic era of colonial apartheid, which functioned through centralised governance, to its manifestation in the post-apartheid era, under decentralised governance. The context focused on is rural areas in particular.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

Within this chapter, a detailed methodology sequence is outlined. The chapter justifies the selection of Impendle municipality as the locale used for a case study and outlines the significance of conducting qualitative research for this study. Moreover, data collection methods from secondary data, using desktop research, to primary data, where semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, observations and voice recordings were conducted are discussed. In addition, the non-probability sampling method and consequent data analysis techniques, such as the thematic analysis technique, which were conducted in preparation for this research, are explained. The need for this chapter is a response to the core of the dissertation, outlined in its title, which was to assess service delivery in redressing spatial inequality in rural municipalities. Moreover, the contents of this chapter further interlink the literature discussed in the literature review and the theoretical framework presented.

Chapter Five: Scrutinising Service Delivery – Impendle Local Municipality

The use of the thematic analysis technique described in Chapter Four comes into play in this chapter. This is achieved through interpreting the data findings via coding, and the consequent compiling of a detailed report on the collected findings. In so doing, the interpretation and compilation are mindful of responding to the main and subsidiary

questions, and ultimately to the aim and objectives of this research, which were to establish the extent to which service delivery is used as a tool to rectify spatial imbalances in rural municipalities.

Chapter Six: Recommendations and Conclusion

Within this chapter, the paper draws conclusions from the findings of the research and presents possible solutions to the problems identified within the research. The conclusions drawn from the research respond to the aim, objectives and all questions of the study, which investigate the extent to which service delivery can be used as a tool to rectify the spatial imbalances experienced by rural municipalities. Solutions to the issues presented are drawn from other municipalities in a local context, and other areas on an international level.

1.9 Chapter Summary

In presenting this chapter, the focus was on introducing the research topic and its constituents. In this chapter, the study introduced the background for the research, which argues that service delivery is worthy of being considered as an indicative tool for redressing spatial inequality in the context of rural municipalities in South Africa. In addition, the research has further postulated a problem statement and rationale which clearly explicate that, inasmuch as the post-apartheid movement has instituted various approaches for redressing the spatial imbalances experienced in South African rural areas, it remains true that service delivery used as a tool for redressing this imbalance remains an illusion. With this predicament in hand, the research therefore sought to establish the extent to which service delivery is implemented in these areas as a means of establishing the core challenges encountered by planners in the provision of spatial equity for rural municipalities.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework.

2.1 Introduction

The focus of the chapter is to lay the theoretical basis for the research and its relevance in the supporting literature. In structuring this chapter, four sections are presented. The first section provides the conceptual framework, where the notions outlined act as key concepts which tap into the following section, being the theoretical framework. The second section then comprises theories which are the basis for the main themes of the research. The third section contains the literature review for the study. The literature review is constructed from general literature gathered which touches on the focal themes of the study. Subsequently, the fourth section of precedent studies is imparted, where a case study in the developed world context and another in the developing world context are presented.

In understanding the purpose of this chapter, its aim is to present an argument for this research which is further justified by academic work from the theories and key concepts presented. In addition, the conceptions behind these theories are further justified by the experiences which are documented in the literature as a means of emphasising the rationale for the research. Linking this to the research, the chapter therefore highlights relationships with the main topics highlighted in the problem statement, and those in the South African context, which are elaborated on in the following chapter. Finally, the chapter provides a summary of the literature studied, and further analyses how the literature corresponds to the selected theories for the study.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

This section concentrates on the key concepts which are central to the research topic. In addition, these concepts are vital in providing better insight for the research themes discussed. Moreover, these further act as building elements for the theories which are discussed in the context of the research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). In identifying relevant notions which best relate to the selected theories and the research topic, the following concepts were selected.

2.2.1 Polycentric Development

In defining polycentric development, the concept is viewed from various perspectives and has no singular meaning. In formulating a minor comparison, Kloosterman and Musterd (2001) refer to the concept as “Polycentric Urban Regions”, whereas authors such as Richardson and Jensen (2000) term the notion “Polycentric Development”, and Rogerson (2009) refers to it as “New Regionalism”, amongst other terminologies employed. Inasmuch as this notion is given various terms, its basis remains constant in that it focuses on multi-nodal development, thus shifting from the traditional trend of monocentric nodes, which offer a top-down approach to spatial planning (Kloosterman and Musterd, 2001; Richardson and Jensen, 2000), and which Rogerson (2009) refers to as “Old Regionalism”.

Moreover, with more relation to the context of this paper, Kloosterman and Musterd (2001) further define the notion as a form of development which is the contrary of monocentric development, and which expresses a clear distinction between urbanised cities and rural hinterlands. It is also interesting to note that the spatial structure of polycentric nodes has an impact on the economic dimensions for a region. This is outlined by Rogerson (2009), who states that such multi-nodal developments promote competitiveness within a region, thus empowering a larger proportion of the population.

Having mentioned this, Rogerson (2009) who refers to the concept as “New Regionalism” further argues that South Africa has been a late adopter of this notion. Nonetheless, it is further outlined that the adoption of the concept through South Africa’s frameworks for spatial planning has been evident since 2002. This follows from the emergence of local municipalities through the Local Government Transition Act of 1993, which aims at addressing apartheid inadequacies at a local level, as asserted by Pycroft (2000).

2.2.2 Economic Development

Economic development has a variety of definitions which apply in various contexts. Regarding the context of this paper, the notion of economic development is focused on its definition at a local level. In understanding what local economic development is, one of its definitions, as presented by the World Bank, postulates that “Local economic development is the process by which public, business and non-governmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation. The aim is to improve the quality of life for all” (Cunningham and Meyer-Stamer, 2005, p. 5). In

addition, Helmsing (2003) argues in his definition that one of the stakeholders within the partnership for economic development is local government.

Having presented the above definition of local economic development, it might then be argued that service delivery, if well executed, may be one of the foundational roles provided by local government which can be used to foster economic development. With the satisfactory provision of infrastructural services, the potential for attracting public-private partnerships could thus increase. In turn, by the achievement of such partnerships, the living standards of all may be improved, thus shifting away from dependency on other central nodes and creating self-reliance through well-serviced polycentric nodes.

2.2.3 Sustainable Human Settlements

Given that the issues of poverty and unemployment in development are seen as mushrooming, various debates and commissions have been held in this regard. Of the prominent events which have given rise to the global recognition of sustainable settlements and overall sustainable development is the Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements issued in 1996. In this document, some of the issues identified as prevalent in communities within developing countries were those of rural-urban migration and unsustainable population changes, including both its structure and distribution (Population Council, 1996).

As a response to the identified issues, the United Nations Habitat (UN Habitat) has proposed approaches which aim at prioritising needs such as basic infrastructure and services, and adequate planning measures within deteriorating cities. The document further emphasises that the development of rural communities through the implementation of these services is crucial as a means of enhancing their attractiveness. In turn, the attractiveness of rural development can minimise rural-urban migration and promote employment opportunities for local residents (Population Council, 1996). In most countries, this movement has been adopted as a means of enhancing the livelihood of marginalised communities.

2.2.4 Service Delivery

The notion of service delivery covers a wide spectrum of services. Generally, the definition of service delivery is associated with the economic field, where it is more about providing a service to a client or consumer in a manner which best suits the end receiver (Tax *et al.*, 2013).

In the context of planning and development, however, the notion of service delivery refers to the provision of infrastructure, categorised into two typologies, namely: primary and secondary infrastructure (Seto *et al.*, 2014). To identify primary forms of infrastructure, these are physical infrastructure services, such as water supply, sanitation, electricity and road networks (Kahn, 1979). In addition, secondary infrastructure is classified as comprising structural services such as economic, educational, health and social facilities, all of which when fully implemented form the product of well-serviced, self-reliant communities.

In addition, the concept of service delivery has been perceived as a tool to alleviate poverty and facilitate pro-poor development, as explained by Burger (2005), more especially for rural communities. It is such perceptions then which explain the linkage between service delivery and economic empowerment in development. Having outlined the concept above, this study therefore argues that a lack of such services is the main basis for all the socio-economic imbalances in both rural and peripheral communities.

2.2.5 Capitalism

The notion of capitalism has been in existence for centuries, and has commonly been viewed by scholars such as Frank by identifying its common elements (Peet and Hartwick, 2009). Within the scope of these elements, Peet and Hartwick (2009) argue that capitalism focuses more on economic growth than development. With this being the case, inequality and poverty are seen as unfortunate consequences which accompany economic growth. It is therefore vital to note that this concept disregards a holistic approach to empowerment with regard to economic development.

In further elaborating on the elements of capitalism concerning planning and development, Peet and Hartwick (2009) outline arguments which have been presented, these being that the emergence of industrialisation as a form of central planning in developing countries has resulted in stagnation and poverty, most notably in their rural regions. This therefore partly explains the issue of spatial inequality within different regions, given that the concentration of economic growth has been focused on particular regions whilst neglecting surrounding peripheral areas (Clark, 1980).

2.2.6 Spatial Inequality

Inasmuch as concepts such as polycentric development and sustainable human settlements have been introduced and considered as a transformative approach to bringing about liveable,

independent communities, it still remains that inequality in many regions of the world exists. The rise of spatial inequality has recently become a focal issue in literature in the contemporary planning era. In the presented findings of Wei (2015), it is highlighted that this challenge in planning and other development disciplines is used as an umbrella term constituting a number of factors. In addition, these factors as presented by Kanbur and Venables (2005), whilst appearing to apply in different contexts, however all relate to the notion of spatial inequality.

In explaining spatial inequality, Wei (2015) argues that it refers to the differences in the availability of amenities at geographical locations. The differences in these geographical locations may be influenced by various factors, such as the availability of natural resources, selective forms of governance and migration trends, as implied by Williamson (1965). Moreover, these three factors influence trends which result in spatial inequality. Concerning governance, the provision of inconsistent infrastructure in certain areas results in uneven and centralised development, which in turn has economic implications such as unequal employment opportunities. Consequently, marginalised groups which do not have access to these centralised developments suffer from poor living standards due to deprivation in basic social, educational and health services, together with other economic opportunities (Wiggins and Proctor, 2001).

Natural resources cause spatial inequality in two forms. Firstly, natural resources may create spatial inequality through attracting investments which might focus on a particular geographic location. An example might be the extraction of minerals, which prioritises the provision of services and economic opportunities for mining areas (Lessmann, 2014). In the case of poor economic opportunities and poor infrastructure in marginalised areas, migration of labour to better places of opportunity occurs (Williamson, 1965), thus neglecting marginalised areas to remain in a disadvantaged state. Secondly, in the case of exhausting natural resources within such areas, market failure may occur which can result in the neglecting of such areas to other areas of economic opportunity (Wirth *et al.*, 2016).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

In academia, theories are necessary as the basis for arguments in research. Similarly perceived as grounded theories (Stern, 1980), the presented theories provide the basis for

argument on the researched literature and contextual issues presented. This section is further sub-divided into describing three theories respectively.

In the argument of service delivery being used as a tool for identifying spatial imbalances, the researcher has selected the theory of public goods, which considers the provision of services as a responsibility to be undertaken by government. Linking the theory to the research, it serves as a justification for the argument raised. This theory is more applicable in a national context, through the provision of such services by structures of governance, from national through to municipal or local levels. The theory therefore acts as a foundational theory for this research, with the theories which follow expanding on the various applications of service delivery, all of which interlink within the contextual study.

The theory of postmodern urbanism, also selected, highlights the idea of promoting peripheral rural areas to becoming self-reliant areas in the social and economic sense. The dependency theory, on the other hand, highlights the challenges of spatial reliance experienced in certain areas in the context of this research. In further understanding the relationship of these theories within the context of this study, the aim is to display a dichotomy between the theories presented as experienced in the study. The argument raised at this juncture is that, inasmuch as decentralisation and spatial equity have been practiced in South African governance through the emergence of local municipalities, including rural areas, elements of dependency from the former colonial era remain in existence in rural municipalities as far as service delivery and overall living standards are concerned.

2.3.1 Public Goods Theory

The public goods theory is found applicable in various fields, including that of development, as highlighted by Moore (1978). Originating from the field of economics, public goods are defined as goods which can be consumed by more than one consumer, at no additional cost to the following consumers, once produced (Holcombe, 1997). The author further asserts that consumers cannot be excluded from consuming public goods once they are produced. Moreover, Holcombe (1997) argues that those goods classified as public goods are produced less by the private sector, as they do not make economic sense from a capitalistic perspective. In further attempting to clearly define the notion of public goods, Moore (1978) presents a comparison between private goods and public goods as a means of establishing the elements and the functioning of these goods.

In exploring the characteristics of private goods, these are products which are typically produced and provided for sale in a market economy. These goods are supplied and consumed at the expense of each consumer individually through the exchange mechanism of supply and demand, thus making better economic sense in the context of the private sector (Moore, 1978). This indicates that private goods are characterised by elements such as exclusivity and competitiveness. On the contrary, public goods are goods which are non-exclusive, which promotes their joint consumption. Moore (1978) further justifies that the cost of the consumption of public goods by their consumers is equivalent to zero, once produced.

In further scrutinising the theory, Holcombe (1997) indicates that forasmuch as the theory has an economic background, its definition for the public sector by Samuelson suggests that the notion of public goods can include those goods produced by government. This further defines the link this has in close relation to the dictionary definition of the theory. The dictionary definition, as presented by Holcombe (1997), states that “public” goods are those which are related to being of service to the community. The idea of public goods being provided by the government is additionally supported by Williams (1966), who promotes the provision of public goods by government, down to the local level. In having presented this definition of public goods, the following factors are evident. The perception presented by Samuelson (1954) of public goods is that they are not ideally produced by the private market but, given their nature, seem to be the responsibility of the public sector (government) (Holcombe, 1997). It is also worthy to note that the theory is applicable within the town planning profession as regards the built environment, holistically speaking. This is in the sense that delivery as goods which are to serve the community is provided by government institutions.

It could likewise be argued that such service delivery applies well for this definition in the context of public goods in the sense that services which are provided by the government are characterised by their joint consumption by all citizens, at no additional cost to themselves. In specifying services which best apply to the theory, these are the primary forms of service which are also considered by Estevadeordal *et al.* (2004) as regional public goods. These are physical forms of infrastructure, such as water, sanitation, electricity, road networks and other secondary forms of service, as earlier outlined in the conceptual framework.

With the theory being strongly embedded in the ideologies of providing goods on a large scale to the broader public (Holcombe, 1997; Moore, 1978), it can be argued that its own strength is its approach to providing equity as far as social, economic and environmental factors are concerned. By ensuring the provision of such services to the wider public, this also in turn reflects on the argument of the research, being that service delivery can be used as an effective tool in the eradication of spatial inadequacies. This is supported by Joanis (2014), who argues that the decentralisation of governmental structures from its three tiers, being national, regional and local, would optimise the level of accountability and efficiency in the provision of public goods to society. Moreover, in the provision of such services at no additional cost to the public, the theory can further be perceived as an influential tool for use in eradicating the various forms of spatial inequality which exist, such as shortages in services, amenities and employment opportunities, amongst others.

In exploring the weaker aspects of the theory, Holcombe (1997) argues that the perception of the provision of public goods as being a responsibility of government is questionable, in the sense that public goods are also produced efficiently by the private sector, thus diminishing the notion of public goods production as being exclusively governmental. The author further states that some of the goods produced by government as public goods do not correspond with the economic definition of the theory. In further explaining the argument presented, the concern is that public goods as government-produced goods are not well reflected economically speaking. In the economic sense, it is expected that goods which are produced be consumed with an exchange of monetary value, which is similar to the system which applies for private goods, as earlier explained by Moore (1978). Holcombe further asserts that the public goods theory, as a theory engrained in economics, fails as far as public expenditure is concerned, and further argues that the notion of public goods as being government-produced products is one which can result in market failure.

Inasmuch as the theory can be perceived as resulting in possible market failure, as stated by Samuelson (1954), arguments raised by Bator (1958) express that there are several conditions which lead to market failure, where the theory of public expenditure as a form of governmental intervention acts as a remedial tool for such. This is more notable through the delivery of public goods, as proposed by Holcombe (1997), which is deemed as being an essential element in public expenditure.

In attempting to discern the argument raised by Bator (1958) in a practical context, it may be argued that the provision of public goods, such as bulk infrastructure, could be used as a remedial tool in ensuring the efficient functioning of all economic activities. In contending that public goods may be consumed by all, at no extra cost, producers of private goods in the commercial, industrial and agricultural sectors may be enabled to minimise production costs, given that bulk infrastructure is readily available at them at no cost. In this sense, it may therefore be contended that public goods do indeed promote economic efficiency and prevent levels of market failure.

With the understanding of public goods as being services provided by governmental structures, and more importantly as a provision of developmental infrastructure, it is therefore imperative to determine the connections between the public goods theory and the town planning profession correspondingly. This the study seeks to achieve through briefly outlining the scope of work covered by the town planning profession and its applicability in the context of the theory.

In analysing the assertion presented by Campbell (1996), planners perform a delicate role in providing sustainable development for communities through ensuring that a holistic approach is assumed in the implementation of sustainable settlements which incorporate all four attributes of social justice, economic growth and the protection of the environment in their planning services. In addition, Campbell (1996) states that the role of planners in the provision of these services is centred on the satisfaction of the general public on a broader scale, as opposed to selected clients. Moore (1978) agrees with this assertion to a certain extent, as his idea of a planner playing a role in integrating various elements of development in a holistic manner as means of achieving sustainable development is mutual. Moore (1978), however, argues rather that in the scope of being a planner, it is not only the needs of the public sector which are catered for, but also those of the private sector inclusively. This highlights that the role of such planners is that of being of service to all spectrums of the community at large; a service which is best described as a being a responsibility of government.

Referring back to the applicability of the public goods theory in the town planning context, it may be necessary to further examine the definition of public goods as a term. In the dictionary form, the term “public” refers to something is related to the community or which is

of service to it (Holcombe, 1997). Moreover, the term “goods” refers to products which may be consumed once completed. In referring back to the ideologies of the public goods theory as a service that is of benefit to the public at no additional cost, with government as the provider of such goods, a link with the planning profession appears to surface. Thus, having highlighted the factor of the provision of public goods as being a responsibility of government (Joanis, 2014), with such goods being for the consumption of the public, it could thus be argued that the public goods theory is applicable in the town planning context.

In further explaining this justification between public goods the responsibility of the government, Moore (1978) provides additional insight on the subject. Considering that the private sector is more concerned with the accumulation of profit in its production, through the *laissez faire* system its provision of services in this regard remain selective. In the assertion presented by the author, the market system typically functions in a manner where rewards are enjoyed by those who have contributed to the production of goods.

Relating the matter to the notion of government intervention in the provision of public goods, Moore (1978) further contends that government’s mandate is to ensure that access to such services is enjoyed by additional proponents who are external to the market system. In explaining such proponents who may be classified as external to the market system, these are described as marginalised people, being low-income earners, the unskilled, the elderly and those who are handicapped (Moore, 1978). Therefore, the involvement of government and planning professionals in the provision of public goods fulfils the definition of the theory, in that such involvement provides services which are consumed by all, non-selectively. Moreover, the involvement of government further ensures the sound relationship between the needs of the private sector and those of the wider public collectively.

2.3.2 Postmodern Urbanism

This theory, as its name suggests, is opposed to the notion of centralised urban development, which emanates from the Modernist approach to planning derived from the School of Chicago, which was the theoretical framework of modernist planning models which focused on centralising development, as indicated by Dear and Flusty (1998). Amongst the modernist models inspired by the School of Chicago are the Hoyt Sector Model and the Concentric Zone Model. The postmodern urbanism theory, as explained by Dear and Flusty (1998),

emanates from the School of Los Angeles as a result of attempting to rectify the strong criticism of mono-centric cities, which are seen as promoting competition and segregation.

The postmodern urbanism theory suggests that there should be more polycentric approaches to urban development used which minimise the pressure on central nodes. The theory further promotes the idea of participatory planning through the bottom-up approach of governing decentralised nodes as opposed to the centralised, scientific approach found in Modernist theory. One of the concepts within this theory is that of edge cities, which are peripheral cities developed on green spaces where there are farmlands which lie adjacent to freeway intersections (Dear and Flusty, 1998).

With regard to the strengths of the postmodern urbanism theory, its focus on decentralising resources from one centre to many minimises the pressure experienced on centralised cities. Moreover, the idea of polycentric nodes can be argued to be a solution to the issue presented by Dear and Dahmann (2008), this being urbanisation and the influx of residents from the urban periphery. In addition, Kloosterman and Musterd (2001) argue that the rise of polycentric nodes within a region is linked with its economic sector. They therefore argue that the rise of such multi-nodal developments may be beneficial in the increase of economic functionality, through the division of labour in various regions. It could therefore be argued that with such benefits polycentric developments might attract private investment within these areas as a means of achieving spatial justice within urban hinterlands. Other benefits of the theory are its attempt to break the level of dependency away from a modernist urban fabric which is evident through master planning.

In exploring the weaker aspects of the theory, the introduction of the multi-nodal regions ideology, as argued by Dear and Dahmann (2008), gives rise to potentially fragmented cities. However, it may be argued that the spatial patterns of tribal communities may be more desirable for such communities. This may be justified by the cultural history and trends which are distinct to all ethnic and tribal groups respectively, ultimately signifying diversities amongst population groups (Kloosterman and Musterd, 2001).

In addition to these weaknesses in the theory, the issue of governance on a regional scale becomes an issue, to the extent that the provision of service delivery is compromised in other areas, given that the growth of leap-frog developments may result in disjointed regions (Dear

and Dahmann, 2008), thus creating inequality within the areas of particular regions. However, in the context of this research, the application of the theory is on a regional district scale, where these multi-nodal centres develop at local municipal level through the introduction of local municipalities within district municipalities, with the prime focus remaining on rural municipalities respectively.

The significance of the theory in this area of research is firstly, that the theory supports the idea of multi-centric developments. Looking at the rural area of Impendle within uMgungundlovu district, it has developed its own Local Municipality in the post-apartheid era. Over the progress of time, this municipality has managed to develop a small central town within the area, which contains its administrative and social facilities, and small-scale commercial facilities which are of service to the community, and which to a certain extent provide a sense of self-reliance within the community. In addition, the area consists largely of green fields and farmlands, thus displaying its potential for being developed as an ideal edge city, as distinct from other well-established urbanised cities within the district.

2.3.3 Dependency Theory

The dependency theory, as argued by Peet and Hartwick (2009), draws from similar ideas to those of the theory of underdevelopment, being that European and America have created a Marxist approach to development which prioritises European and American countries as central for development, with third world countries being treated as peripheral (Peet and Hartwick, 2009). This has been achieved through the evolutionary paradigm shift to Modernism, where the social and cultural formulations of societies had become exhausted during the Enlightenment era as a means of creating social and economic control throughout societies. In addition, this idea was achieved through the exploitation of resources in third world countries through capitalism, in the form of colonial control and centralised governance, thus resulting in poorer third world countries which are dependent on Western countries for survival.

In further scrutinising the theory, Friedmann and Wayne (1977) present factors in attempting to further outline its strengths. Firstly, Friedmann and Wayne (1977) assert that the dependency theory is aimed at presenting a holistic approach. This is explained by attempts at creating an organised social wellbeing within society (Friedmann and Wayne, 1977). This

therefore explains the emergence of the world capitalist system as a Marxist approach to development in the global context from the perspective of the dependency theory.

In exploring its weaker aspects, the theory is argued as having been one of the consequences of underdevelopment (Peet and Hartwick, 2009) in third world countries. This is justified by Andre Gunder Frank, who is one of the critics of modernism, a theory which stems from the Marxist approach. Frank states that “Underdevelopment, is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the stream of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself” (Frank, 1966, p. 18, cited in Peet and Hartwick, 2009, p. 168).

In considering that the dependency theory is from the modern era, its emergence has been critiqued to have been exploitative, in the sense that the generation of wealth under the capitalist system is concentrated in central regions, these being metropolises (Friedmann and Wayne, 1977; Kapoor, 2002). The peripheral regions, as asserted by Frank, have suffered from the deepening consequence of underdevelopment, an effect driven by the central bourgeoisie through their structural and exploitative approach towards these peripheral regions (Kapoor, 2002) thus leaving such regions in a poorer state than before; and hence their dependency on existing central regions.

In the context of this area of research, the comparison between Impendle and uMsunduzi municipalities highlights the link between the theory and these two areas. This is evident in the sense that there appears to be a skewed focus in favour of urban municipalities within district municipalities, given that urban regeneration seems to be focused more on non-European suburbs which are closer to the CBD, and where most economic opportunities are found, along with adequate services and facilities. This is signified by the Edendale-Northdale Corridor, with its African, Indian and Coloured townships, which are closely located to industrial zones as areas of employment, in addition to other economic opportunities available within the corridor. Peripheral rural areas such as Vulindlela, however, do not receive such provision with similar standards, all in the name of spatial equality and self-reliance.

In addition to this issue, the Impendle region, which is a rural municipality, proves to be in a poorer state than Vulindlela, given that the municipality is unable to provide basic foundational services and infrastructure, with high levels of unemployment and a declining population rate also found within the area (Impendle Local Municipality, 2016). These factors might therefore suggest that a portion of the population has been drawn away to the urban fabric in search of better living standards and economic opportunities. The effect this has on the area of Impendle perpetuates spatial inequality, not only in the sense of a lack of service delivery and desirable communities, but also in the sense of economic development, since human capital is also decreasing at a rapid rate in the area, as presented by the statistics (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2016).

2.4 Literature Review

This section discusses the concept of spatial disparities in the global context. It further elaborates on various forms of spatial inequality in two further contexts, being the developed and developing world respectively, with examples of precedent studies given in each case. The notion of service delivery used as a tool for identifying spatial inequality in the South African context is then discussed.

2.4.1 Introducing the Concept of Spatial Inequality

According to Lobao and Saenz (2002), spatial inequality is generally a territory-based phenomenon, where various factors, such as inconsistent service delivery between regions and economic factors, as mentioned by Kanbur and Venables (2005), come into play in various contexts. Having gone relatively unnoticed until the 1980s, additional literature on spatial diversity has recently been produced in the social sciences. Over time, studies on urban spaces and “rurality” have emerged, comparing the social life and standards of living within these different communities (Lobao and Saenz, 2002). Only then was it discovered that certain disparities exist within the compared communities which indicate inequalities in the standards of living they enjoy, thus resulting in the emergence of the phenomenon of spatial inequality. Lobao and Saenz (2002) further argue that spatial inequality is formed on the basis of stratified communities, which were managed using different approaches, consequently leading to this conception.

Academic work produced by authors such as Williamson (1965) proves otherwise, however, as it indicates that the notion of rurality had existed long before the 1980s, as also presented

by Lobao and Saenz (2002). Moreover, studies of pre-industrial cities presented by Sjoberg (1955) justify that rural areas have long been in existence. In studying the emergence of pre-industrial cities, these are said to have originated on the European continent during the Medieval times of the sixteenth century, when they were referred to as feudal cities as said by Sjoberg (1955). Langton (1975), in addition, alleges that these areas are known as the land of countrymen, as these were of a rural nature, and relied heavily on primitive forms of production, such as human labour, for survival.

In having outlined the existence of medieval cities which were rural in nature, this research further elaborates on factors which indicate the long existence of spatial imbalances. In better understanding the notion of spatial inequality, it is worthy of note that it exists through the influence of an array of factors. The research next introduces the various factors in literature which address the challenge of spatial inequality in various contexts and situations. In addition, the focus will be on unravelling those factors which influence this phenomenon in the context of spatial planning.

2.4.1.1 Pre-industrial Cities as the Origins of Spatial Inequality

With the understanding of spatial inequality as a territory-based phenomenon, as argued by Lobao and Saenz (2002), the research deemed it necessary to present and define the concept of the pre-industrial city as an approach to providing better insight to the formation of cities and their spatial structure during the medieval epoch. In doing so, the requirement was to determine if there is a link in the formation of such cities to the formation of those of the contemporary era as far as spatial imbalances are concerned. The findings will thereby demonstrate the ancestries of how such cities function. Subsequently, comparisons will be drawn between these cities as far as spatial inequality is concerned.

In further distinguishing the concept of pre-industrial cities, it is important to recognise the attributes of these cities as indicator factors for spatial disparity. This is their classification as specialised cities, where these were built on various bases, from politics, to religion or serving educational functions. Examples of such cities are Benares in India and Karbala in Iraq, which are predominantly religious cities. Moreover, the city of Peiping in China is known as being a site of political and educational activities (Eberhard, 1956).

The production and the economy of these cities, as posited by Sjoberg (1955), relied on agriculture, the processing of raw materials and other primitive activities. The economies of these cities also relied on the concept of trading different goods amongst each other. It is therefore worthy to note the location of such cities being of prime significance through the identification of land which was suitable for such economic activities and overall self-sustenance. Moreover, the spatial formation of pre-industrial cities was immensely influenced by the specialisation of their various social activities, these being political, religious, cultural and educational in nature overall, as mentioned by Sjoberg (1955).

In addition, the author further explains that such specialisations formed social segregation amongst populations, where ethnic groups would occupy exclusive sections due to the status obtained from being members of particular trades, and so forth. It is therefore important to highlight that pre-industrial cities contain factors of spatial inequality, in the sense that their formation was spatially segregated on the basis of the abovementioned factors, as advocated by Sjoberg (1955). This further corresponds with Lobao and Saenz' interpretation of spatial inequality as a territory-based phenomenon (Lobao and Saenz, 2002).

In further examining the traits of inequality in pre-industrial cities, the influence of specialised activities in these cities played a considerable role in their formation, as these created social segregation amongst ethnic groups and different classes of income and status (Langton, 1975). In addition, Davis and Golden (1954) outline that the issues of class and status are perceived with a sense of unfairness within society, as the elite held the ruling authority in such cities, including the formation of residential structures (where high-income classes would occupy the urban core, whereas peasants would be situated on the urban periphery). Moreover, the concept of pre-industrial cities enabled the elite to create a platform for controlling all activities undertaken in the city, from the trading of goods and selection and allocation of land to other factors, all of which were of benefit to them in some manner.

In having explained the spatial setup of pre-industrial cities as specialised towns built in accordance with religious, political, social, environmental and economic affairs, and the functioning of these segregated cities (Sjoberg, 1955; Langton, 1975), it becomes evident that spatial imbalances have prevailed from a much earlier age than previously supposed. Moreover, it might further be argued that the consequence of such imbalances has a similar

implication to that experienced during the contemporary era, which is marginalisation, as indicated by Davis and Golden (1954), and which some might also agree is inevitable in such cases. In having presented the early traits of spatial inequality, the focus now shifts to studying its manifestation during the contemporary era, with the intention of linking common trends found between these periods. Thereafter, the research further argues for how service delivery may act as an effective tool for identifying spatial inequality in the planning context, as emerges from the Modernist planning era.

2.4.2 The Perpetuation of Spatial Inequality through Service Delivery in the Modernist Planning Era: Influences from Western Ideology

In further unravelling the trends of spatial inequality, the study presents the emergence of modernist planning as influenced by Western ideologies of the Enlightenment period. In outlining this, the underlying factor of service delivery as the prime tool for identifying such inadequacies prevails, which lies within the parameters of this research.

From the context of urban geography, Habermas and Ben-Habib (1981) contend that the movement of modern planning emerged during the eighteenth century. Its emergence was influenced by the ideologies of the Enlightenment, which aimed at rationalising the overall lifestyle of humans through the adoption of science, morality and art as universal doctrines. Moreover, Hobson (1999) concurs that modern planning surfaced with the notion of creating ideal cities of the future, which should function in a rational manner, as intended by such Western notions. This, to a large extent, has been the dominant legacy in the twentieth century (Hobson, 1999).

In outlining the emergence of the Enlightenment era, the researcher argues that its influences are dominant and extant to date in many respects. In the context of civic planning, the argument raised is that the influences of this era have to a great degree been utilised as a form of governance for the spatial component of such planning to the present. Moreover, with the purpose of instilling a universal approach to planning, the appearances of spatial inequality in the contemporary era has been their inevitable result. In outlining the argument in this regard, the intention is to determine how centralised power is used as a tool to create living environments which result in trends of spatial imbalance.

In further studying literature on the subject, during the early periods of the contemporary era following the industrial revolution, Williamson (1965) argues that the rise of spatial

inequality was further affected by influences such as towns which were established on the basis of natural resources within geographical areas, the migration of labour and capital to areas of better opportunity, and by various forms of governance, all of which have perpetuated regional inequality. This argument is moreover supported by Kühn (2015), who posits that the emergence of spatial inequality was generally encouraged by rapidly growing metropolitan cities, thus leaving peripheral regions neglected. In the rapid expansion of these megacities, power and attention are centralised within their development. Consequently, the issue of marginalisation is perpetuated in scattered rural areas and towns which are peripheral to larger cities (Wiggins and Proctor, 2001).

2.4.3 Service Delivery as a Central Tool for Identifying Spatial Inequality in Marginalised Areas

With the focus on spatial imbalance, a paradigm shift appears to prevail in some respects concerning those factors which signify the phenomenon. During the medieval period, the nature of spatial inequality was characterised by having the attributes of poor strategic location (Voightläder and Voth, 2006), spatial segregation and, more notably, the economic factor of trade. Contrarily, during the contemporary era, elements of spatial inequality are dominated by the characteristics of centralised governance. From the two paradigms presented, it could be argued that the difference evident in the provision of services and development is a central indicator of the spatial imbalances in marginalised areas, as the study argues.

In illustrating the forms of services lacking through spatial inequality from the Western world, Ryckbosch (2015) explains that spatial inequality exists in parallel with economic development. In understanding that the phenomenon is strongly signified by poor economic development, the focus on selected locations for economic development can be seen to have created such disparities. With the emergence of industrial developments in pre-industrial areas, the implementation of industry and such areas' subsequent economic growth implies two things: the functioning and economic stability of such activities indicates that the occurrence of industrial development is accompanied by some form of infrastructure development, such as bulk services. Secondly, the development of such services creates a gap in development, in the sense that surrounding areas with no industrial activity have little or no access to the bulk infrastructures found in these industrial cores.

The greatest repercussion of such development is a concentration on industrial areas, which leads to a declining population in surrounding areas. Moreover, the absence of services creates a marginal gap between peripheral areas and industrialised areas. The issue of unequal services is supported by Dennehy *et al.* (2016), who clearly explain that of primary concern is the absence of services in such peripheral areas. In particular, these authors argue that this skewed distribution of services has resulted in observed differences between the socioeconomic status of populations in accordance with the nature of their areas of residence.

Shifting the focus to discerning the typology of the services under discussion, Dennehy *et al.* (2016) provide a table which charts such services (see Table 2.1 on Page 27). In the table provided, it is worthy to note that the typology of services listed under the category of infrastructure includes, to a large extent, bulk services which have been deemed an essential tool in determining where spatial disparities exist throughout the study. By examining the services charted in Table 2.1, it might be argued that the examples of service given under infrastructure behave as primary tools which influence the emergence and growth of the other categories, such as the administrative and recreational elements.

Table 2.1: Typology of Services

Category	Examples	Category	Examples
Infrastructure	Transportation Water supply Waste disposal Fire control Electricity Telephone and internet	Health/welfare	Medical care Childcare Poor relief Education
Administration	Information provision Security Economic regulation	Religion	Temples* Shrines*
Recreation	Parks Plazas* Other assembly space*	Commercial	Shops* Markets*

(Source: Dennehy *et al.*, 2016, p. 145)

In the provision of such services on selected land, and the consequent rise of spatial disparities and an economic gap, the questions raised here are: Why is this the case? What were the underpinning drivers of such an undesirable and unfair trend in spatial planning? In

an attempt to respond to these questions, the researcher identifies the initiators of these trends and their administration in the planning processes as leading to these outcomes. With service delivery being the tool used in determining spatial equality or its lack thereof (Savas, 1978; Ryckbosch, 2015; Dennehy *et al.*, 2016), it is evident that in the early ages of civic planning the implementation of such services was driven by an economic agenda, through the period of the Golden Age, where philosophies of science, morality and art (Habermas and Ben-Habib, 1981) ultimately shaped the dynamics of human living.

Moreover, the movements of the industrial revolution, which were immensely entrenched in capitalist systems (Williamson, 1965), in addition to modernist planning principles, as outlined by Hobson (1999), introduced bulk and social services as a necessity in urban planning, which all emanated from the concepts of the Golden Age. In the unfair distribution of such services, however, spatial inequality surfaces, thus hinting that this trend mushroomed on a basis of the political ideologies implemented. This is further justified in the works of Dennehy *et al.* (2016), who mention that the unequal provision of such services favoured the elite, which thus justifies that the lack of resources for service provision was not the underpinning causal force, but rather political ideologies driven by capitalist interests.

Having drawn on how historic factors of spatial segregation and governance have been key factors in creating unequal situations, the focus now shifts to examining the literature presented in the contexts of the developed world and the developing world respectively, inclusive of precedent studies for both contexts.

2.5 Spatial Inequality in the Context of Developed and Developing Nations

Within this section, the focus lies on further examining the literature outlined for the literature review. Having expressed how spatial inequality manifests in the absence of service delivery in the modern era, the emphasis now shifts to presenting literature in two contexts, these being the developed and developing worlds, inclusive of precedent studies. The section then concludes by drawing lessons from these respective contexts.

2.5.1 Spatial Inequality in the Developed World

In understanding spatial inequality as a phenomenon which emerged from the ideologies of the Enlightenment era, as earlier contended (Hobson, 1999; Habermas and Ben-Habib, 1981), it is also important to note that its commencement was of European and American origin,

where the majority of first world countries are located. Having mentioned this, the purpose here is to highlight that such traits share similarities in many respects which need to be studied in the literature within this context.

In the context of developed nations, an initial factor which influenced spatial disparities, as attested by Kim (2008), was the location of industrial developments on selected geographical locations, thus leading to large concentrations of residents around such developments. In the progress of time, the author further argues that urbanising cities triggered a strong emphasis on their development, thus disregarding the development of peripheral rural outskirts. It is necessary to highlight that with the growth of developments in the urban fabric, such a trend indirectly implies that the relationship between the provision of services and these developments were synchronised, thus demonstrating the relevance of the research argument.

In addition to the factor of spatial disparities, Marcińczak *et al.* (2015) mention that the American School of Chicago in urban planning played a noticeable role in the formation of spatially segregated settlements. By their manifestation, these philosophies ensured the spatial dispersion of groups globally as far as social, political and economic aspects are concerned (Massey and Denton, 1988).

With the mushrooming of such trends in urban growth and service provision, Marcińczak *et al.* (2015) further argue that elements of spatial imbalances began to surface in the form of inconsistencies in income found in the capitalist cities of European countries from the period of the 1980s onwards (Piketty and Saez, 2014). With the rise of capitalistic cities in these countries, the challenge of cities being urbanised due to globalisation has created a large disparity in the functioning and wellbeing of class-categorised residential spaces. This occurs in the sense that the quality of adequate services is prioritised for the upper- and middle-income spaces of these cities, where multinational private institutions invest their funds, given that these are capitalist cities (Tammaru *et al.*, 2016). Where cities are restructured in this manner, social and economic issues of inequality prevail.

This is explained by the levels of social and economic difference which are evident where middle and high-income groups have places of residence that are closely located to urban cores. These spaces are equipped with sound services which can be afforded by these two income groups. Moreover, these classes are closely located to such resources, thus indicating

that access to such amenities and services is possible at minimal cost as far as distance is concerned (Knox and Pinch, 2010). The lower income groups, on the other hand, experience an opposite lifestyle to that of the higher income groups. In the spatial setting of their residences, these are marginalised by being located on the urban fringe, where the quality of the services in these developments is less highly prioritised, with lower income groups earning wages which are not sufficient to afford adequate services. In addition to the poor quality of services, the long distances which they must travel to access adequate services are costly, hence the observed high levels of socioeconomic segregation (Tammaru *et al.*, 2016).

In addition to the challenge of socio-spatial fragmentation resulting from the influence of capitalistic cities, Tammaru *et al.* (2016) further highlight that with the shifting focus of certain cities as being demarcated for capital growth, the perpetuation of this trend is what results in poverty in peripheral areas, as is argued by Wiggins and Proctor (2001). Moreover, it is such trends that are signified by economic failures which result in spatial imbalances, as argued by Wirth *et al.* (2012).

In further supporting the argument, Marcuse and Van Kempen (2000) allude that with the decrease in funding aid for housing, the affordability of home ownership has declined, for low-income groups specifically. In addition, the consequent measures taken have been a reliance on low cost housing for marginalised groups. In the absence of funding mechanisms, socio-spatial inequality comes into play. In such settings, the user-payer principle likewise arises, where Savas (1978) explains that services are provided on the condition that consumers can afford them. It might further be argued regarding the provision of services that their quality is similarly determined by their affordability. Therefore, in understanding the correlation between the provision of services, their quality and their affordability, the absence of service delivery as a tool used to determine spatial inequality is realised.

It is therefore clear, with the execution of the differentiation concept in urban geography, that this creates instability in numerous areas. With socio-economic differentiation in the form of income, occupation, education and area of residence, the fragmentation of cities in these respects has been the inevitable result of the spatial imbalances they have experienced. In addition to socio-economic differentiation, the primary cause of such imbalances has been the rise and growth in the developed world of industrial cities. This assertion is further supported

by the argument of capitalist cities being catalysts for spatial inequality, as postulated by Tammaru *et al* (2016).

In addition, this is evident through characteristics such as spatial design, which ensured that transport routes were constructed radially, as channels for distorting land use zonings and governing the trends of urban growth (Knox and Pinch, 2010). Moreover, such spatial designs resemble the structural tools which are components of Modernist planning models. Amongst these is the Hoyt Sector model, which is iconic in the colonial structuring and governance of cities in the developing world (Harris and Ullman, 1945).

With the realisation of spatial differences created by the pressures of centralised governance, design principles and spatial segregation in their various structures, the social wellbeing of those marginalised has been negatively affected. This is suggested by the levels of poverty found in marginalised groups, and in their high levels of dissatisfaction (Tammaru *et al.*, 2016). Moreover, in the absence of employment opportunities and access to services, such as healthcare resources, commercial facilities, educational institutions and recreational amenities, as outlined by Knox and Pinch (2010), dissatisfaction surfaces within marginalised groups. This is shown by the social challenges of poverty, population decline and high crime rates in marginalised groups, which reflect a poor quality of life due to such shortfalls.

With the poor standard of living experienced by these marginalised groups, actions of migration to spaces of better opportunities and services (Marsińczak *et al.*, 2015) are evident within metropolitan cities, which further aggravates the overall issue. In the rapid influx of people to metropolitan cities, a shift in the population is experienced. Such occurrences perpetuate spatial inequality in the sense that marginalised towns are abandoned as regards the provision of services (Savas, 1978), with the remaining residents further suffering from the absence of effective service delivery. Such poor levels of service delivery are due to the emphasis placed on central metropolitan cities, which demand additional attention in the provision of their services, and in catering for the influx of immigrants from peripheral towns (Scott and Storper, 2015).

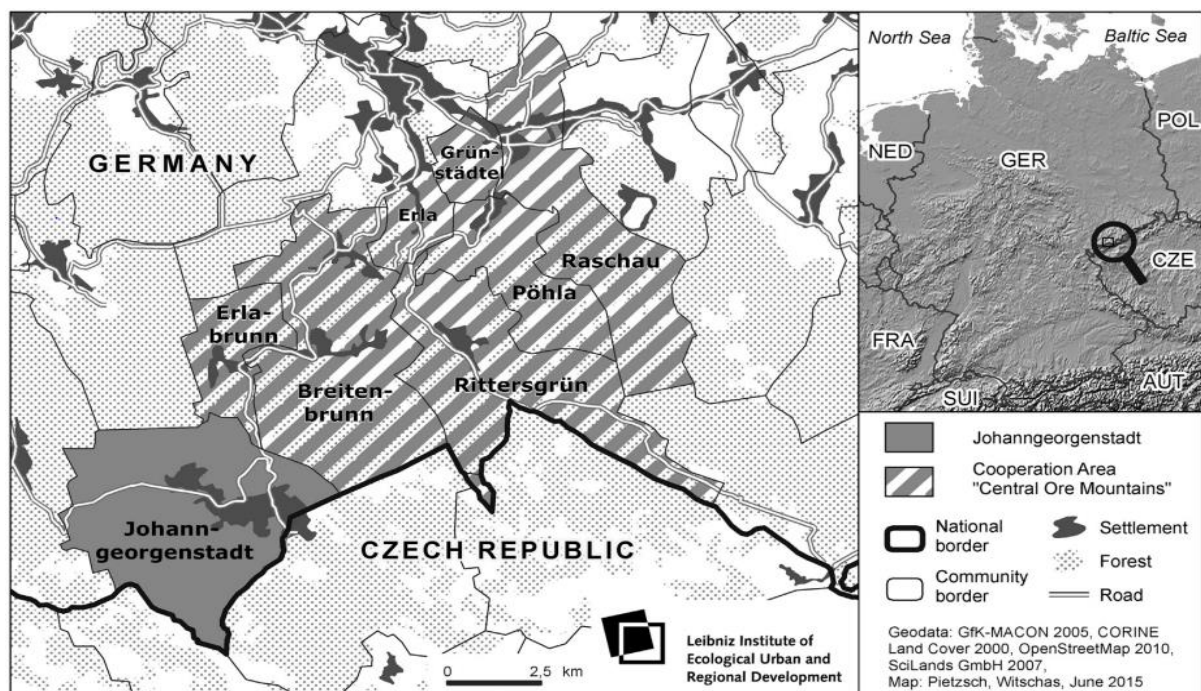
With the arguments regarding spatial inequality being a result of economic failures in developing countries as discussed earlier, the selection of a precedent study in the context of the developed world was made. In addition, the selection of a precedent study was shifted

from the contextual focus of being a rural setting. In justifying this decision, Kordel (2016) presents findings which explain that rural communities in the developed world are generally desirable places of residence for less marginalised groups. In addition, the author asserts that in the context of Germany, entrepreneurs have sought innovative ways of creating economically attractive country-sides through the notion of agritourism in such areas. Moreover, Liao and He (2015) indicate that countries such as the United Kingdom have adopted concepts such as smart green cities, which comprise amenities which cater to the high-income groups. In having outlined the perception of rural communities in this regard, Wirth *et al.* (2012) further assert that in developed countries, particularly in Eastern Europe, spatial inequality is generally evident in small peripheral towns which were formerly active in mining. On this basis, the selection of a precedent case in the developed world was that of a peripheral town which exhibits spatial inequality due to market failure.

2.5.1.1 Precedent Study in the Developed World: Case of Johanngeorgenstadt, Germany

In understanding spatial inequality in a first world context, this research presents the case study of a German town known as Johanngeorgenstadt (see Map 2.1 for locality). The municipality of Johanngeorgenstadt is a relatively small town which falls under the Federal State of Saxony, with a population of approximately 4 000 (Wirth *et al.*, 2016, p. 62).

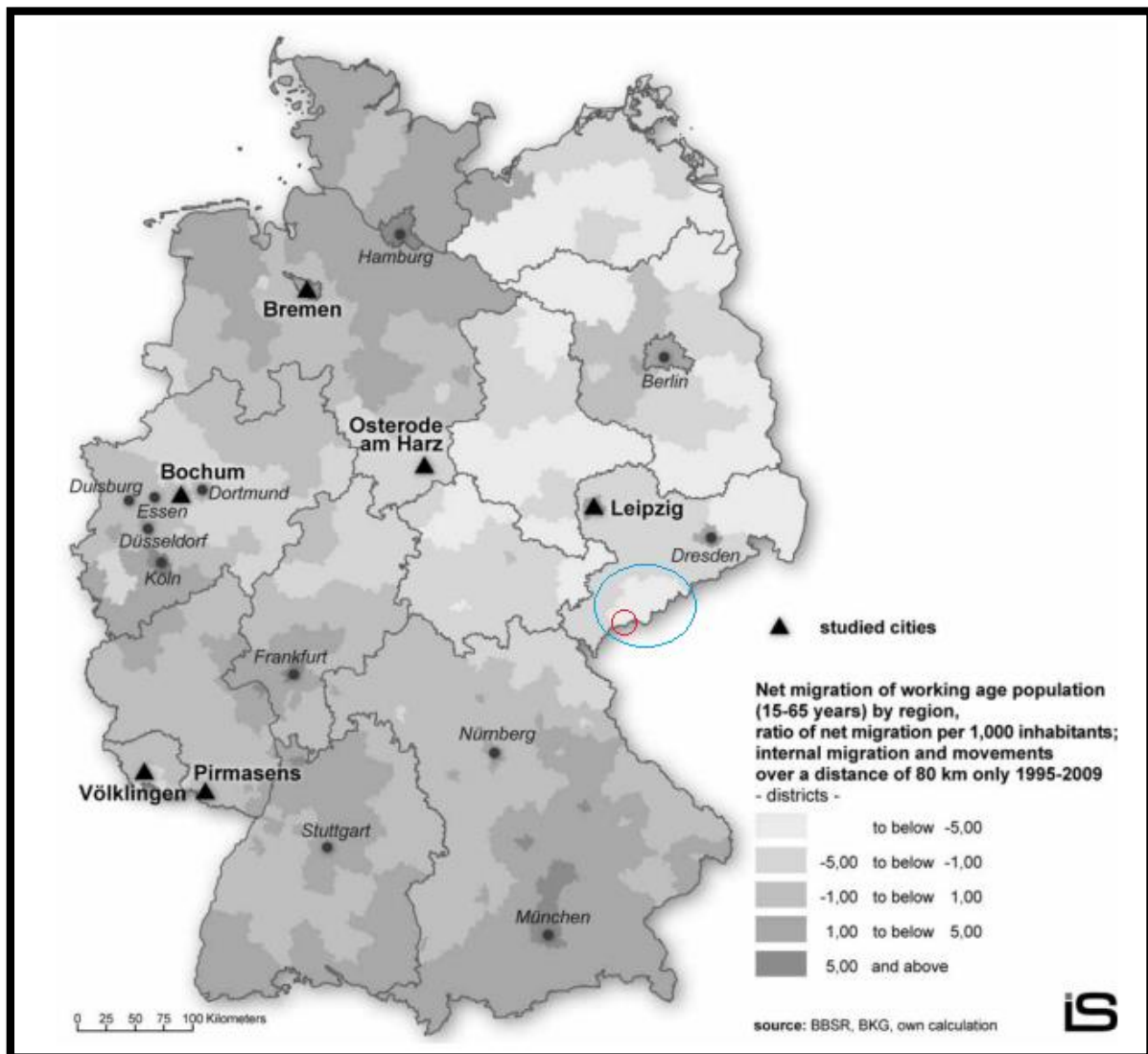
Map 2.1: Locality Map of Johanngeorgenstadt as a peripheral town in Germany



(Source: Wirth *et al.*, 2016, p. 68)

Located in Eastern Germany, about 70 kilometres from Chemnitz, which is a city that serves as the urban centre within its region with a population of 250 000 residents, Johanngeorgenstadt is considered a peripheral town located on the rural outskirts (Wirth *et al.*,2016, p. 68). The town was reputable as a mining town during the 1960s, with a strong economic backbone. It was in these years that the town experienced a population growth from 3 000 to 10 000 residents because of the economic boom which arose from the uranium mining activities which took place then (Wirth *et al.*, 2016, p. 62). This, as justified by Huning *et al.* (2011), was accomplished through the initiatives of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), a party which initially governed Eastern Germany, and later the entire country after the unification of the eastern and western regions.

Map 2.2: Migration Trends in Germany



(Source: Plöger and Weck, 2014, p. 441)

Having boomed from the 1950s to the 1990s, the city's mandate as far as service provision was concerned, was to provide infrastructure for the entire society on an equal basis. This was through initiative gained from the notion of "the modern infrastructure ideal", which aimed at providing "universal and generally accessible services of water and energy supply, wastewater disposal and telecommunications" (Huning *et al.*, 2011, p. 1502). In this approach, the belief was that the provision of such infrastructure would act as a foundation for social integration and economic upliftment.

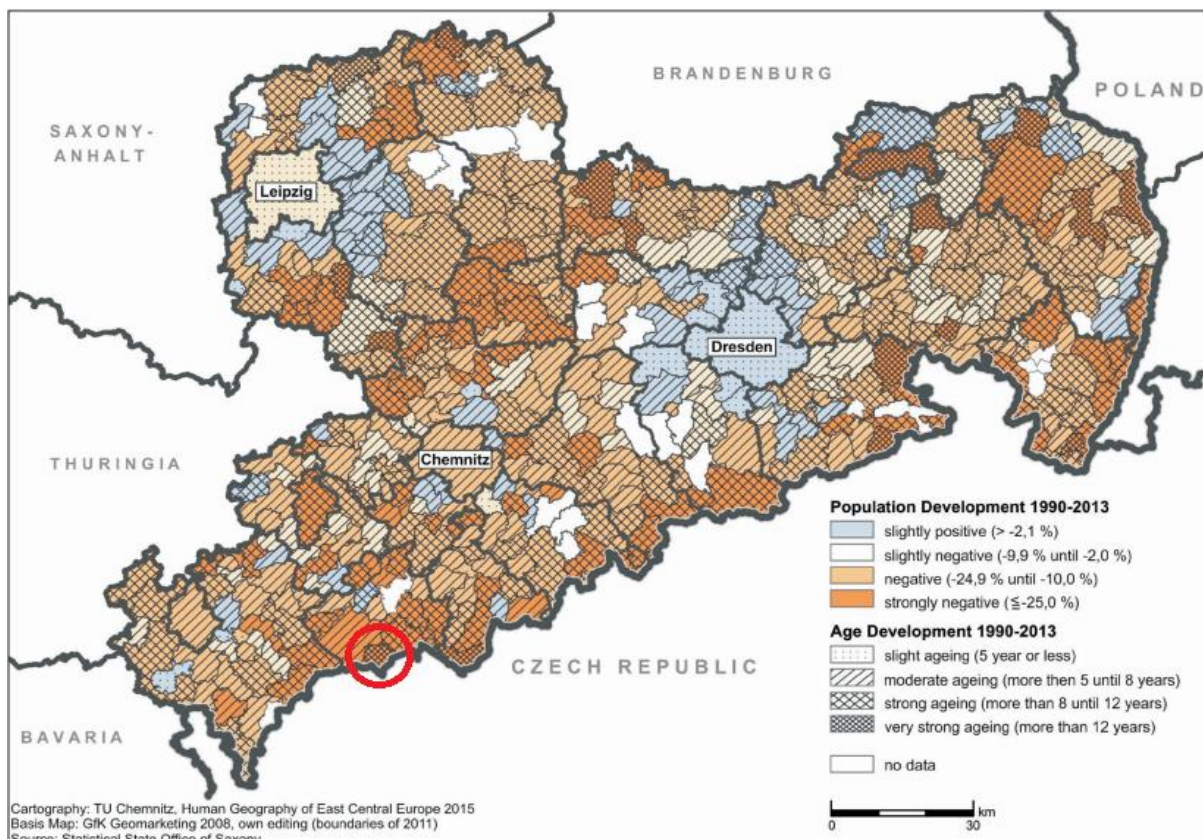
In the case of East Germany, economic activities flourished with these services, given that most of the municipalities in this region, particularly Saxony under which the study area falls, were prominently driven by mining and commercial activities (Huning *et al.*, 2011; Wirth *et al.*, 2016). Moreover, social services such as residential housing and schools, as mentioned by Kabisch (2004), together with private investment were existent in this area.

During the 1990s, however, the town faced a sharp economic decline, as did other municipalities in Eastern Germany as the successive German State Party shifted its focus to privatising state-owned companies as a new approach to economic growth, thus forcing economic activities such as industries in peripheral towns to close, as they could not compete in this new marketplace (Lang, 2012). Moreover, Bartholomae *et al.* (2017) maintain that the unification of the two German regions created economic competition. This trend resulted in the emergence of privatised hotspots of development, with many areas becoming neglected in the unbundling of services (Huning *et al.*, 2011).

This predicament resulted in economic and population declines in many parts of East Germany, including Saxony, as indicated by the blue circle (Map 2.2 in Page 33). The map further depicts a trend which highlights the migratory trend away from the Eastern parts of the country to the Western parts, growing progressively between the years 1995 and 2009 (Plöger and Weck, 2014, p. 441). In addition, this to a large degree explains why the municipality of Johanngeorgenstadt (labelled red in Map 2.2 on Page 33) lost more than half of its population between the years 1990 and 2013, while the average age increased by 13.6 years to 51.1 years (Glorius, 2017, p. 117).

Such occurrences left the town in debt due to expenditure in maintaining the infrastructure which remained. Business creation in the town also became an issue due to its poor accessibility, an element which signifies the minimal prioritisation of service maintenance in such areas. These issues, as clarified by Wirth *et al.* (2016), have been a result of poor economic opportunities and the population decline, with the majority of its youth leaving the town in search of better work opportunities for themselves, as illustrated in Map 2.3 below.

Map 2.3: Population Migration trends and aging of Development in the State of Saxony



(Source: Glorius, 2017, p. 119)

Map 2.3 shows the State of Saxony, where a number of municipalities in Eastern Germany are experiencing immense declines in their population, and where a few cities are experiencing positive population development. This is notable in metropolitan municipalities such as Dresden and surrounding municipalities, together with those municipalities surrounding the metropolis of Leipzig, located further north in the state (Glorius, 2017). In the case of Johannegeorgenstadt, which is encircled on the map, it is shown that the municipality suffers from strongly negative population development, with a very strong

ageing development issue of more than 12 years (Glorius, 2017). Consequently, the rise of what Lang (2012) regards as “shrinking towns” is seen as evident.

Given that the town has experienced an immense decline in its population and economy, service delivery has similarly proven to be a challenge. In this regard, Lang (2012) explains that with regard to the issue of shrinking towns in Eastern Germany, the government has been conducting extensive research on how to resolve the challenge of population decline and urban renewal in these towns as part of its responsibility. With this being the case, compromises in service delivery have been mandatory, to the extent that its provision is only prioritised in basic educational facilities within the town for middle-aged groups, disregarding other forms (Wirth *et al.*, 2016). In identifying the services which currently exist in the area, these vary. Wirth *et al.* (2016) explain that the abandonment of housing stock has left the town’s housing association in debt due to the lack of financial means to maintain such structures.

Kabisch (2004), on the other hand, states that the municipalities of eastern Germany also have compromised natural sites from the mining pits which remained after the economic activities of the mining era, together with transport networks which have been cut off. The consequence of such challenges, as asserted by Huning *et al.* (2011), is limited public access. In addition to the limitations in infrastructure, there has been the concern of limited water supply in the area, given that services are costly for the government to provide. The remaining brownfields, as mentioned by Wirth *et al.* (2016), which were inclusive of bulk services, were considered for demolition by the government. This, as explained by Bartholomae *et al.* (2017), was perceived as an approach to providing compact development and controlling the process of service provision, such as social infrastructure, in these depopulated municipalities. These developments would include kindergartens, old age care facilities and schools, healthcare and other facilities.

In addition, Nelle (2016) highlights that the area suffers from poor educational facilities, given that there is a low threshold of youth population. With the long-term prediction of population decline and a lack of sufficient means to provide such services, the local government further proposed to share branch schools with neighbouring municipalities, which was also unsuccessful. This therefore meant that this part of the social wellbeing in these peripheral towns had been neglected to an extent that the remaining population within

such towns has had to follow a growing trend of reliance on central, urban cities (Wirth *et al.*, 2012).

Justifying Johanngeorgenstadt as a precedent case study in this research has highlighted elements which are similarly prevalent in rural areas with regard to service delivery and spatial inequality. These characteristics are evident from the geographic location of the town, which is peripheral to the nearest urban city. The failure of mining activities as one of the causal factors for the town's economic failure has been outlined. This is one of the factors which is said to be a result of spatial inequality in developed countries, as outlined by Kim (2008). Moreover, with the market failure experienced in the town, which has led to a lack of service delivery, there has likewise been a sharp population decline, which signifies the town's reliance on neighbouring urban cities (Wirth *et al.*, 2016).

2.5.2 Spatial Inequality in the Developing World

Concerning developing countries, similar trends of spatial inequality through the selected locations of industrial developments, as described by Kim (2008), are evident. Lessmann (2014) on the other hand, argues that apart from economic issues such as market failure in some regions, spatial inequality in the developing world is the result of ethnic segregation and discrimination, which this research outlined earlier.

With consistent traits of poor governance and abandonment found in rural areas, the issues of poverty and marginalised communities continue to define the lifestyles of those living in rural settings. Given the poor state of development projects implemented in rural areas, Fox and Porca (2001) are firm advocates for investing more in providing rural services. In their argument, these authors emphasise that along with proper attention and co-operation for sound governance, the installation of bulk services should be prioritised for rural areas. In doing so, the availability of these services will fast-track the attraction of private investment in such areas. Moreover, Fox and Porca (2001) argue that with the involvement of private investment in rural areas, economic levels will rise at a considerable rate, given that large portions of the country's population generally reside in these areas. Furthermore, the infrastructure provided by private investors could create attractive rural towns which are self-sufficient, thus eradicating the existing high levels of rural poverty and unemployment.

When considering that one of the elements of colonialism governance in planning was the principle of spatial segregation, there are clear differences of this kind evident within such spaces. In addition to the elements already identified, the notion of a hierarchical spatial setup in cities, as asserted by Ashcroft *et al.* (2013), is apparent in the majority of colonised cities as far as planning is concerned. Within the typical spatial fabric of such cities would be a central node where resources and amenities were concentrated. Residential areas surrounding the central node of a city were then occupied by elite groups. The marginalised population was subsequently located in areas which are on the periphery of the urban core, where resources and amenities are distant from them in common instances. The spatial segregation in the formation of towns, which later developed into cities, was created on a basis of various factors.

In certain instances, cities were segregated on the basis of religion, in others on the basis of class, cultural diversities and ethnicity or a combination of these elements. In the context of European sovereignty, Ashcroft *et al.* (2013) indicate that spatial setups were implemented in a manner where all resources were located at a central core, with peripheral areas being at a disadvantage with regard to culture, power and overall living (Lemon, 1998). This has been one of the pioneering spatial setups found in colonised third world countries, in which have surfaced the enormous problem of spatial inequality, including the South African context through adoption of notions from the Enlightenment era (Ahluwalia, 2001). In all these cases, one aspect remains constant amongst influencing factors, this being that the notion and movements of spatial segregation ensured control of political and economic power to elite groups, commonly being the colonial settlers, as argued by Ashcroft *et al.* (2013).

Moreover, these authors further argue that with the issue of spatial segregation as found in the afore-mentioned contexts, the challenge of access to services and the cost of such services have proven to be challenging to those located on urban peripheries. This is considered in the sense that services and resources are easily accessible to those who are in close proximity to them, these being the elite groups (Christopher, 2001). Marginalised groups located on the urban periphery however, experience the predicament of having to travel long distances to access such services and amenities, which is costly. Moreover, considering that those groups located on the urban periphery are thus marginalised, the issue of spatial inequality once again becomes prevalent in the form of underdevelopment and poverty, which are together are influenced by spatial patterns and colonial traits (Mabogunje, 1990).

In further elaborating on the issue of underdevelopment in peripheral areas, given that such areas have minimal development and undesirable living standards, the populations which reside in these areas tend to migrate to the urban core, where resources are kept, which creates a sense of dependency in the urban fabric, as argued by Mabogunje (1990). In this migration of the population from peripheral areas, labour is focused on an urban core, with a rapidly rising occupancy rate (Fox, 2014). This perpetuates the need for development of the urban core, and indicates that as this trend continues to be perpetuated, the focus on developing peripheral areas diminishes, thus leading to the continuation of underdevelopment and rapidly rising poverty levels in these areas (Østby, 2016). Ultimately, spatial inequality prevails in this manner, as developments which provide a sustainable and liveable environment are only provided to cater for those living in urban areas.

In the developing world, similar trends of spatial inequality to those found in the developed world are evident in some developing nations within Asia, Latin America and Africa (Kühn, 2015). Lessmann (2014) argues that apart from economic issues, such as market failure in certain geographical areas, spatial inequality is the result of ethnic discrimination through state governance, which Williamson (1965) identifies as one of the roots of spatial inequality. This was a common trend in African countries, including South Africa, during their colonial eras.

The selection of a precedent study for the developing world was justified by its similarities with the South African context. These similarities were on the basis of the colonial governance found in the case study, its democratic era and attempts by the country's post-colonial governance to redress spatial inequality issues in its rural fabric. The case study selected is an African rural area located in the country of Nigeria.

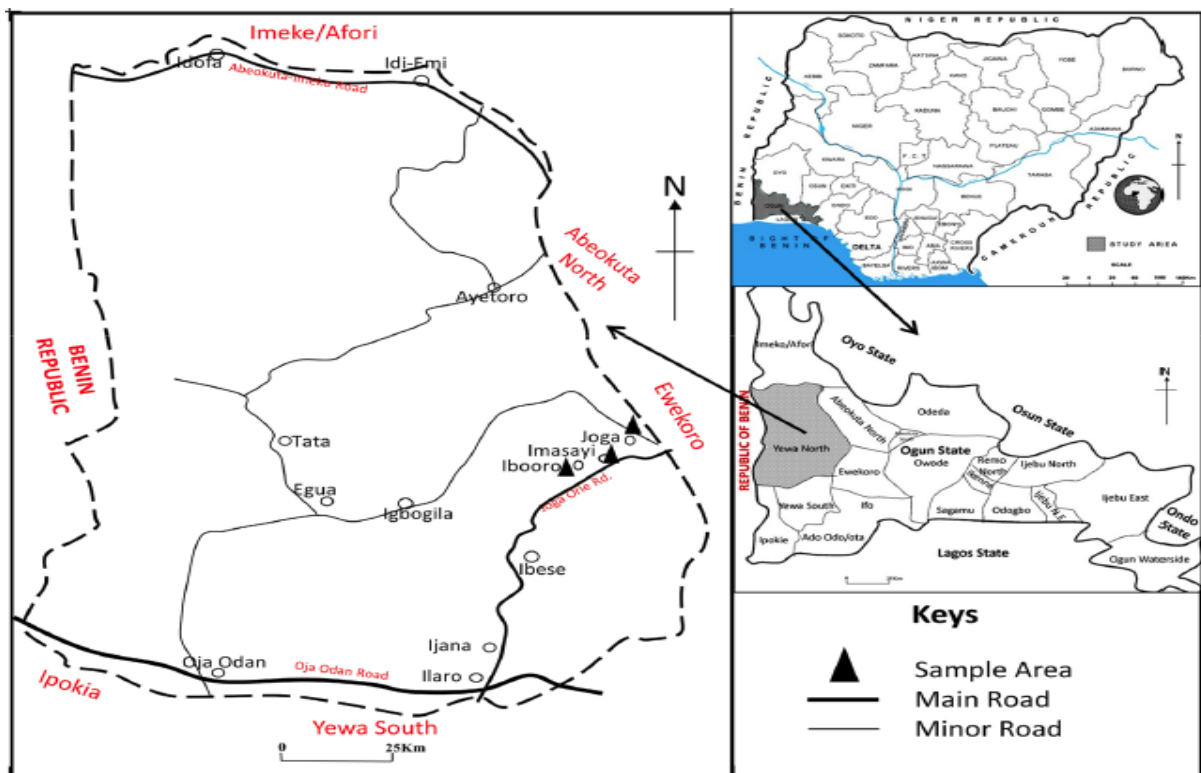
2.5.2.1 Precedent Study in the Developing World: Case of Yewa North Local Government, Nigeria

Nigeria is a country which has faced colonial oppression from European settlers (Conyers, 2007). This situation played a considerable role in the structuring of spaces and developments through its centralised governance model. In the course of time, however, Nigeria as a decolonised sub Saharan country gained its independence in 1960, where after it decentralised its structure of governance into three spheres, these being central, regional and

local governance respectively (Makinde *et al.*, 2016). In advocating for local government structures within the country, Conyers (2007) explains that the aim was to restructure governance in a manner which provided spatial equity nationwide as far as service delivery was concerned.

In addition to the provision of services. Makinde *et al.* (2016) further explain that the prioritised services which were proposed to be implemented at local level were refuse removal, tarred road networks, water and sanitary services, together with educational and health facilities. In rural areas where the majority of the population resides, however, service delivery has been an issue (Kahn, 1979), which is similar to South African history where such experiences have also been evident. Moreover, similar approaches to post-colonial governance have been adopted, which will be elaborated on in the contextual review.

Map 2.4: Locality Map of Yewa North Local Government in the Ogun State, Nigeria



(Source: Oranusi and Dahunsi, 2015, p. 3)

Yewa North Local municipality is a rural municipality which falls under Nigeria’s Ogun State (Map 2.4 above). With regard to the historic events of colonialism on the African continent, these have to a large extent shaped the spatial contrasts between rural and urban

settings, leading to socio-spatial inconsistencies. Yewa North Local Government is one of twenty local government areas within Ogun State. In addition, it has one of the largest land coverages, as illustrated in Map 2.4 on Page 40. The Local Municipality, as one of the rural municipalities within the country, faces a high backlog in providing services such as electricity, water supply and health and educational facilities, which Oladoja *et al.* (2009) argue to be the root cause of high poverty levels within rural communities.

With a high unemployment rate and low literacy skills, due to a lack of basic services, Oladoja *et al.* (2009) further argue that with the availability of such services within rural areas of the municipality, poverty alleviation can be achieved through enhancing the skills and competency levels of local community residents. In addition to the challenges faced within the state, Omar (2009) further argues that with the population growth rate in these municipalities, the provision of services has been a pressing issue. Moreover, trends of rural-urban migration have also been evident, given that rural municipalities have failed to provide essential services. As a result, Omar (2009) argues that neighbouring urban states have had squatter settlements developing on their urban peripheries of people in search of access to such services and better living conditions.

As a result of rural-urban migration trends, and with largely concentrated urban centres in developing countries, it is evident that a widening gap between the living standards of the contrasted areas has been a common trend. Such a trend has led to the outcome of poor living standards in peripheral regions. These peripheral regions, as Kühn (2015) asserts, are further disadvantaged by their dispersed spatial patterns, with their locations being situated at great distances from city centres. In understanding the cause of poverty in rural and peripheral spaces, central issues concerning this research are accessibility to goods, amenities and places of work, which are costly to those in peripheral regions (Kim, 2008).

In assessing the developments in neighbouring states of Ogun, such as Lagos which is a recognised metropolitan state, it is interesting to note that urban developments which are regarded as world class cities seem to be prioritised in the contemporary era, as outlined by Kester (2014). In the development of such structures however, it may be argued that the inconsistent level of services provided within these states continues to perpetuate the gap of poverty and social wellbeing between them. Moreover, this raises questions as to how

effective the decentralisation of power has been in achieving the mandate of spatial equity in service provision.

In considering that the country of Nigeria was once a colonised African country (Oranusi and Dahunsi, 2015), similarities to the contextual area studied can be drawn. These are elements such as the structure of governance which was practiced during the colonial era and the post-colonial periods respectively. With the provision of service delivery during these different periods, similar traits of spatial inequality seem to prevail, however, as is also the case in South African rural municipalities. This therefore justifies that the provision of service delivery in rural areas and the perpetuation of spatial imbalances within developing countries remains a pressing challenge for planners even in contemporary times (Kester, 2014).

2.5.3 Summary of Precedent Studies

In outlining the issue of spatial inequality between developed and developing countries, the aforementioned literature has expressed various influences which have led to challenges in the planning field. Moreover, the literature (Lang, 2012; Wirth *et al.*, 2012; Kim, 2008; Lessmann, 2014) further asserts that the social and economic wellbeing of those in distant rural areas and peripheral towns have been neglected. Given that government intervention in spatial planning includes the fostering of infrastructural investments, as claimed by Kim (2008), it is interesting to note that government, as an entity for the public good as a whole, also appears to provide development on a selective basis within regions, thus influencing the growing trend in spatial inequality dealt with in this research.

2.5.3.1 Lessons of Spatial Inequality in the Contexts of First and Third World Countries

The trends producing spatial inequality have proven to be dynamic, as discussed in this chapter. Amongst the factors mentioned, the research has outlined that spatial inequality is a trend which has been in existence from the early periods of spatial planning, both conventionally and unconventionally (Sjoberg, 1955; Langton, 1975; Hobson, 1999). In both these cases, however, there are lessons to be learned. The predicament of spatial inequality is strongly rooted in the movements of spatial fragmentation in the form of social and economic classifications accordingly. In addition, it is noted that these trends are influenced by the political forces which govern the functioning of cities (Habermas and Ben-Habib, 1981). In the centralised governance which is seen in the contexts of both developed countries and

developing countries, it can be argued that the Enlightenment period has played an immense role in the formation of spatially inequitable cities.

In having outlined the various trends of spatial disparity and their outcome in neglected peripheral regions, the research then argues that, of the factors which perpetuate this undesirable trend of social and economic difference between the contrasted areas, service delivery can be argued to be a central factor in the contexts of both developed and developing countries. In justifying this statement, the provision of service delivery is argued to be a tool which could be used to rectify poverty and unemployment levels in less developed areas, such as those found in the African context (Koelble and LiPuma, 2010; Bongile *et al.*, 2016).

In the context of the developed world, the notion of service delivery as a central element for economic stability similarly applies. With peripheralization as a trend which focuses on the development of large, central urban cities and smaller neglected rural and industrial towns, negative implications in the economic functioning of such towns have been experienced. In addition, a lack of employment and infrastructural decay further serve as problems for local municipalities to deal with (Wirth *et al.*, 2016). It is therefore arguable that the notion of spatial inequality is, to a certain extent, driven by influential external factors such as the influence of the private sector, with government playing a minimal role in the perpetuation of the trend. This would further explain the inefficiency of state policies and legislation which aim at redressing the trends of spatial inequality.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented literature which focused on bringing a better understanding of the notion of spatial inequality. In achieving this, the notion was defined by literature presented by Lobao and Saenz (2002). In understanding the definition of the concept, the experiences of spatial imbalances were then presented in the context of the developed world and the developing world respectively. In highlighting the trends of spatial imbalance in these contexts from the literature presented on spatial inequality, the intention was to unravel the origins of spatial inequality through introducing living trends spatially, from the medieval context onwards. In so doing, the research concludes that the initial factor causing spatial inequality is that of segregation (Langton, 1975; Davis and Golden, 1954).

The study's intention was then to outline how previous periods in planning, including the Enlightenment era, are at the root of spatial inequality in the planning context (Hobson, 1999) as far as segregation is concerned. Given the effects of segregation, the research then asserts that a difference in the provision of services is one of the prominent dynamics of spatial inequality (Knox and Pinch, 2010). This is argued in the sense that the services provided arise in parallel with social, economic and political aspects (Tammaru *et al.*, 2016), all of which determines the level of equity in the governance, or lack thereof, for towns and cities.

With the Enlightenment era being of origin in the Western world, the argument then presented is that spatial inequality in the first world context has been influenced by traits experienced in the planning context. In referring to the context of the developing world, the research contends that the traits of the Enlightenment era trickled down to developing countries with the emergence of colonial regimes within such nations. Having outlined this contention, the research then revisits the notions of spatial segregation, in addition to colonial planning, as being the tools used for creating spatial inequality between various ethnic and income groups (Ahluwalia, 2001). From these findings, it is indisputable that the extent to which service delivery is prioritised in marginalised spaces is a strong determinant of spatial inequality, due to their centralised governance (Ashcroft *et al.*, 2013). The outcomes have proven to be poverty and dependency on urban spaces in both the contexts of developed countries and developing countries overall, thus signifying economic factors as having a parallel relationship with service delivery in both these cases.

Chapter Three: Spatial Inequality and Service Delivery in the South African Context.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the literature on spatial inequality in the South African context, as a continuation of the notions of this found in third-world countries. This chapter outlines the history of spatial injustice and its evolution as an emanation from Western traits in the local context. In addition, the chapter examines the style of governance which influenced spatial inequality from three prominent epochs, namely the colonial era, the apartheid era and the subsequent democratic era, with an emphasis on rural areas as being marginalised spaces. In addition, the evolution of spatial inequality is explored during the post-apartheid era. This is achieved through the identification of instrumental legislations and policies which have shaped the transformation of development. Consequently, the chapter then discusses factors which cause the issue of a continued backlog in service delivery in these areas.

3.2 History of Spatial Inequality in South Africa

The Western characteristics of the Enlightenment period and modern planning in the eighteenth century (Habermas and Ben-Habib, 1981) have been highly significant in the structuring of societies on a global scale (Mabin and Smit, 1997). This has been to the extent that third world countries on the Asian, Latin American and African continents have experienced the oppressive structural systems implemented by colonialism (Cooper, 1994). In this section, the focus will be on colonialism in the South African context, and then addressing its influence in the spatial context.

3.2.1 Influences of Western forces in the African Countries: Colonialism and Spatial Planning

In understanding the spatial inequalities which have emerged in planning, it is imperative that the history of spatial trends and the emergence of rural hinterlands be understood. With the history of colonial oppression in South Africa, Floyd (1960) explains that Native Reserves were areas of residence meant exclusively for Africans and were extant prior to the legislative frameworks which later governed spatial segregation in South Africa on an ethical level. Further justified, King and McCusker (1994) claim that the handling and controlling of land was practised during the colonial ages, between the years 1652 and 1948.

Christopher (1983) likewise justifies that structural segregation was evident within this period. In the structural formation of the city of Cape Town in the 1850s as a colonial city, the British Empire was highly influenced by notions of imperialism and racism, in the refrainment of non-Europeans to occupy particular spaces, as such people were believed to be unhygienic. This led to the establishment of African townships, which were located at considerable distances from the so-called “European city”. In the early years of the twentieth century, the concept of African townships was further adopted by cities such as Durban, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg (Christopher, 1983). Within this period, King and McCusker (1994) further argue that the adoption of segregationist legislation which governed such trends was immensely effective in ensuring these structural transformations. These legislations also ensured the abandonment of native Africans as far as resources and governance was concerned.

3.2.2 Bantustans in the Midst of Colonial Cities

In examining the abandonment of Bantustans in governance and location, King and McCusker (1994) explain that the Glen Grey Act 25 of 1894 enforced racial segregation, and further vested powers of authority in traditional leaders as far as land tenure and land allocation within the homelands created were concerned. Subsequently, additional legislation was introduced by the colonial empire, with its focal point being on locating Africans in rural hinterlands, classified as native reserves. One example of this was the Natives Land Act 27 of 1913, which established a foundation for political and economic division concerning land, as explained by King and McCusker (1994).

The first indication of a more systematic approach to segregation came with the Natives (Urban Areas) Act 21 of 1923, which embodied the sentiments of the Stallard Commission of 1922 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 minister to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister” (Goodland, 1996 cited in Lemon, 1991, p. 4). In addition, the Native Urban Areas Amendment Act of 1937 permitted central government to enforce the 1923 Act’s provisions in certain local authorities and extended the early influx controls.

The establishment in 1944 of the Social and Economic Planning Council (SEPC) to advise the government of the day brought the issues of urbanisation, planning and segregation together in a Modernist discourse which drew heavily on the British planning studies and reports of the time (Mabin and Smit, 1997). The Council adopted the notion of creating coherent communities separated by “green belts” which was justified with reference to their deployment by the New Town Movement in America and Britain at that time. Adopted from Lord Lugard’s plan for Kaduna as a pioneering plan of segregation in African countries, the notion of large green spaces being reserved for recreational uses, being golf courses, polo grounds, race courses and similar areas, was similarly adopted in the South African context, as indicated by Christopher (1983). In the context of South Africa, separating communities by green belts translated easily into the idea of planning racially distinct zones. During the Nationalists’ election victory in 1948, the pre-apartheid city was “highly but not completely segregated” (Goodland, 1996 cited in Lemon, 1991, p. 8).

Such legislation led to the perpetuation of poorly located rural settlements beyond the urban core and its fringes, where planning for the growth in industrial enterprises and urban settlements, as outlined by Haarhoff (2011), was prioritised. This was evident through the abandonment of rural hinterlands on the urban periphery and beyond the constructed greenbelts, which ensured restricted accessibility for marginalised Africans from the services and resources available in urban spaces.

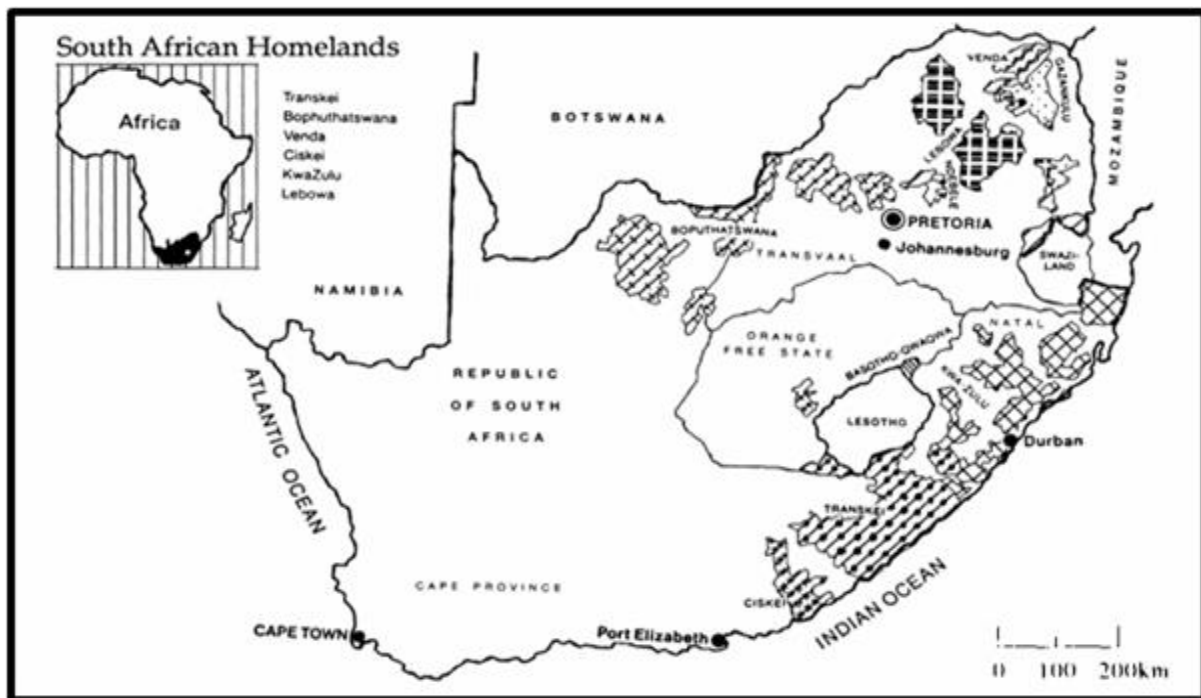
3.2.3 The Rise of Apartheid Planning in South Africa

As a successor to and refinement of colonial segregation in the planning context, this paper next introduces the emergence of apartheid planning as a model which was key in the spatial structuring of cities and its residents in an isolated manner. In the movement for segregation in South Africa, Christopher (1987) indicates that such trends played a significant role in the form and pattern of urban areas, consequently resulting in the evolution of the apartheid city. Christopher (1987) further explains that most apartheid cities were established as colonial cities, formed on the basis of economic segregation, emulated by racial differences, as illustrated in Map 3.1 on Page 48.

In the spatial setup of such cities, Christopher (1983) alludes that the emergence of formal areas of residence for Africans and other non-Europeans was ensured. Initiated in Cape Town in the 1890s, and later adopted in the cities of Durban, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth in the

early 1900s, African townships which were located away from European areas of residence came into being.

Map 3.1: The Spatial Setup of Cities and Native Homelands



(Source: Mukonoweshuro, 1991, p. 170)

In further illustrating this spatial partition on the basis of economic interests, these areas were created for the occupation of non-Europeans on a rental basis, and who were only employed to work in desirable spaces, being the Central Business District (CBD) and industrial areas amongst other desirable land use zonings. In addition, Smith (2003) asserts that the Group Areas Act of 1950 was one of the pioneering pieces of legislations which contributed to such a situation arising. By the adoption of this legislation, access to the urban fabric for non-European became highly restricted. Those with permission to do so resided in the distant townships, under increasingly overcrowded conditions. Goodland (1996) further mentions that such legislation permitted settlers to be well-housed in low-density residential settlements, living under sound conditions with amenities, services and security.

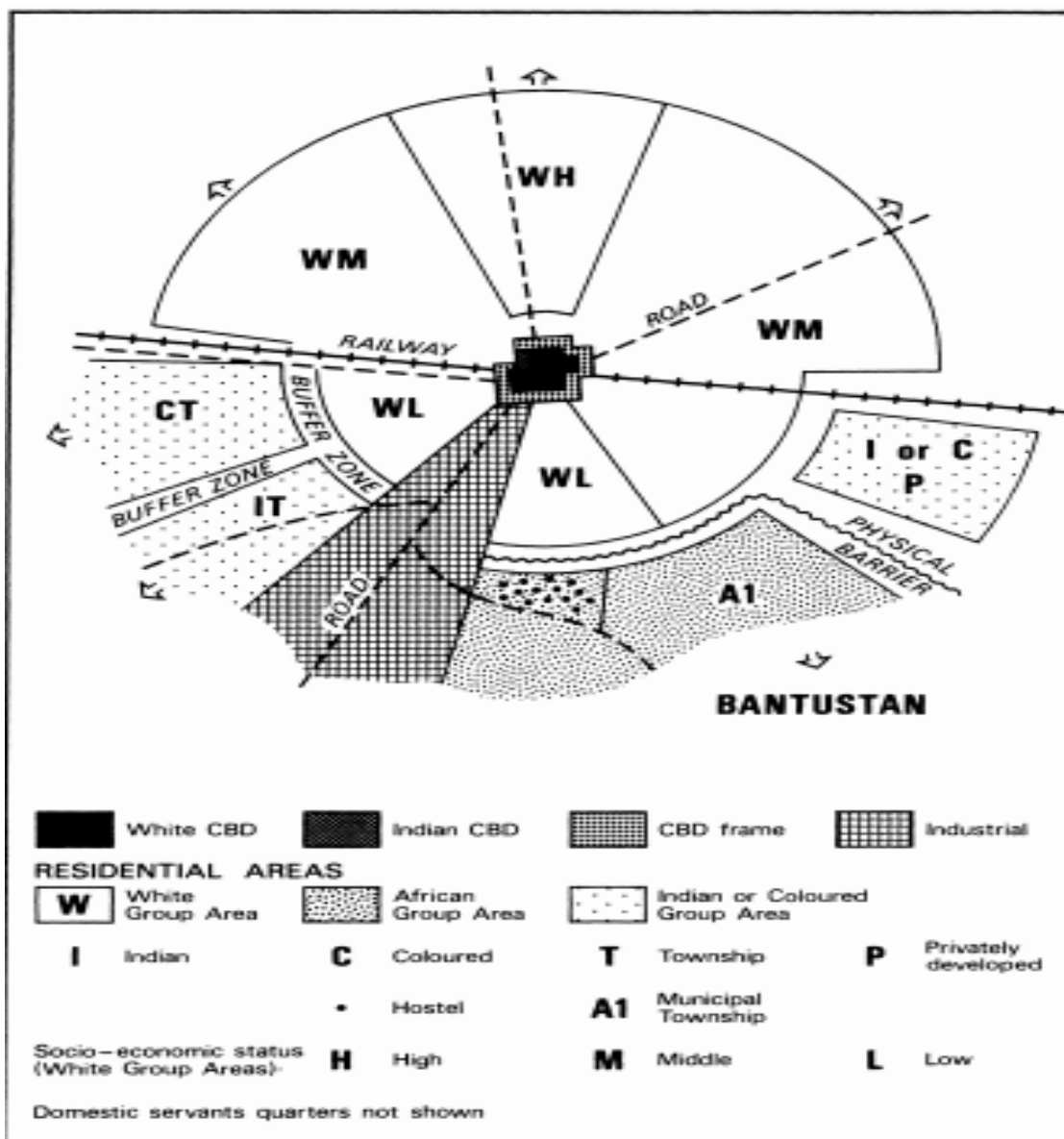
Within urban areas, apartheid legislation was extended under the Groups Areas Act of 1950 to also require separate residential areas for those of White, Indian and Coloured (mixed-race) descent. Thus, under apartheid legislation, land was designated for occupation by different race groups, and residential areas treated as racial “zones”. In this context it is not surprising to find that Floyd’s 1951 planning handbook, *Township Layout*, lists “Native

Locations” as a separate “zone” from “Residential Areas”, which refers to urban areas occupied by Europeans (Floyd, 1951).

3.2.4 Centralised Governance and Spatial Segregation

The apartheid governance of the National Party from 1948, Simon and Christopher (1984) highlight as being the most prominent era of centralised governance, where urban segregation was a solid continuation of colonial cities, under which the movement of apartheid cities had commenced. Moreover, in the structural fabric of residential settlements, policies such as the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953, amongst others, restricted access to particular urban spaces (Simon, 1989) with strong administrative governance.

Figure 3.1: The Apartheid City Model



(Source: Simon, 1989, p. 192)

Simon (1989) further dissects the spatial form by elucidating that apartheid cities were constructed in a way where areas of residence, educational and health facilities, together with recreational amenities, were designed in a manner which restricted contact between racial groups. Such patterns ensured that growth was limited to inner city centre areas of residence, with peripheral areas being neglected, most notably the Bantustans, as illustrated in Figure 3.1 on Page 49.

Moreover, in understanding the extent of centralised governance, the peripheral spaces of residence occupied by Africans were administered by the governance of the National party, under the Bantu Administration Board, where it was stipulated upon its establishment in 1967 that African townships and hostels were only temporary residences for those who were employed in European spaces, being the formally built spaces and land uses as expressed by Savage (1986). Peripheral areas of residence on the other latter, were governed by traditional leaders, given that native homelands did not fall under European land, as indicated by Floyd (1960).

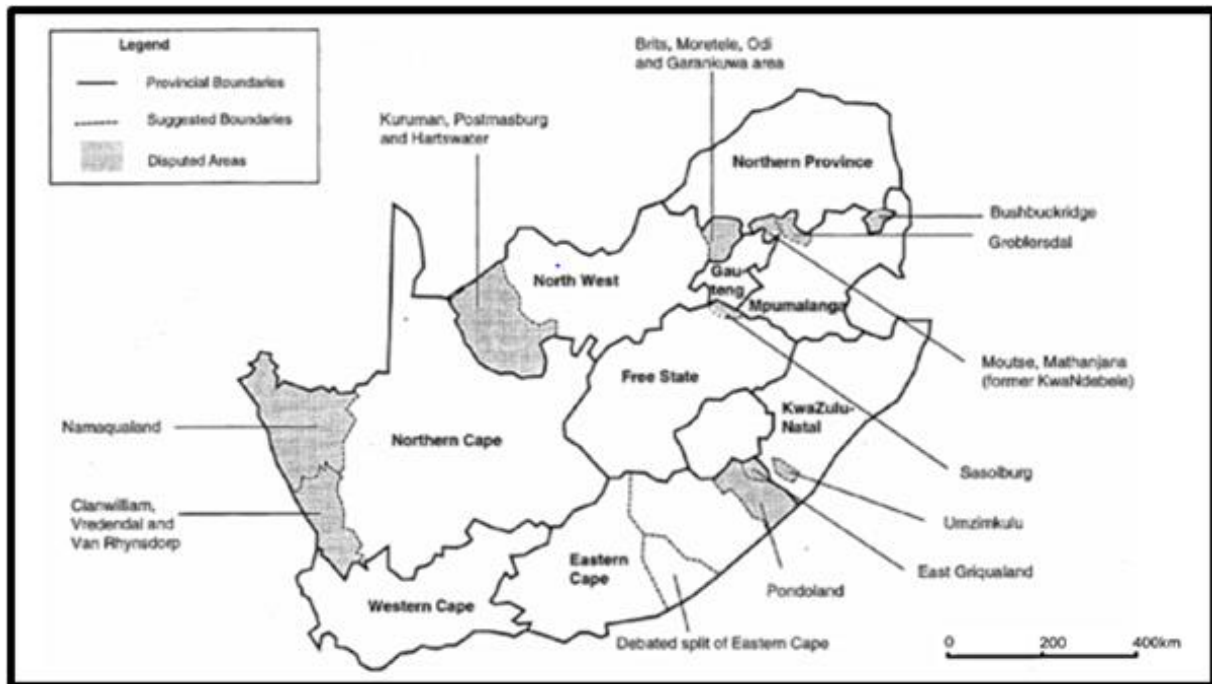
3.2.5 The Paradigm Shift from Centralised to Decentralised Governance in the Post-1994 Era

In the shift to a liberal state of governance and democracy, the ruling party followed a clear mandate for rectifying the implications of apartheid planning, with particular focus on the economic empowerment of black communities (Binns and Nel, 2002). Of the adopted strategies implemented, Mathekga and Buccus (2006) state that as a means of achieving this were the formulation of legislations which aimed at decentralising power and governance in South Africa. The legislations which ensured this concept include the Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993, which aimed at establishing a tier of local governance as the first form of decentralising power.

Followed by the White Paper on Local Government of 1998 in the context of service delivery, its aim is to provide for a new developmental system which aims at working in collaboration with citizens to better the quality of life for all communities (Mathekga and Buccus, 2006). In addition to the legislation which ensured the realisation of decentralised governance, was the demarcation of South Africa into nine provinces as illustrated in Map 3.2 on Page 51, and further into Local Municipalities, bounded by the Municipal

Demarcation Act 27 of 1998 (Republic of South Africa, 1998a) in conjunction with the Constitution of South Africa of 1996, which establishes the roles and functions of Local Government Structures (Republic of South Africa, 1996), and the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998, which primarily outlines the categories of municipalities (Republic of South Africa, 1998b).

Map 3.2: The Decentralised South Africa through Additional Demarcations



(Source: Nel *et al.*, 2008, p. 133).

In the setting of these newly demarcated provinces were municipalities which were further divided within the provinces as a means of materialising the functions laid out in the legislation on local governance. In further analysing the paradigm shift, it led to the emergence of local governance, thus creating polycentric nodes through these municipalities (Harrison and Todes, 2015) as a way of creating self-reliant communities. These municipalities were further bounded through additional legislation, such as the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000.

The Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 fundamentally provides the principles and instruments which are essential for municipalities to achieve social and economic growth within local communities (Mathekga and Buccus, 2006). In addition, amongst the justifications for the emergence of local municipalities were the provision of services and the

creation of employment opportunities through the adoption of municipal Integrated Development Plans, as articulated by Berrisford (2011). Moreover, the provision of these services and employment opportunities were specifically targeted for the previously marginalised Black groups in both townships and rural areas.

3.3 Service Delivery in the Midst of Spatial Inequality

In scrutinising the history of governance and spatial transformations in the South African context, there is an underlying question which remains unanswered: How does service provision conform to the history of spatial inequality in the context of spatial planning? In this section, the study's focus lies on analysing the relevance of service provision in spatial planning as a pivotal instrument in driving the growth of economic development in the spaces we occupy. In the context of this research, these spaces are specifically municipalities at a local level. In depicting the essence of service delivery as a focal tool for promoting economic growth, the history of service provision is examined in the South African context. This is done from the times of the pre-1994 epoch under the governance of the apartheid era, by comparison to the post-apartheid era post-1994 under the democratic governance as a means of alleviating poverty and promoting equality as far as quality of life and availability of resources are concerned.

3.3.1 Examining the Relationship between Service Delivery and Economic Development

The availability of bulk infrastructure on land may be considered a necessity which has various benefits for society. This is justified by Palei (2015), a scholar who maintains that physical infrastructure can be considered as a public good which is capital-intensive. In understanding the provision of bulk goods as being capital-intensive, Palei (2015) further explains that the social and economic infrastructure and services which act as generators of capital are the product of the physical infrastructure provided as a foundational element in capital generation. Within the framework for such services are: energy, transportation, water, sanitation, sewage and telecommunications services, which are considered core structures for attracting economic development (Palei, 2015).

In addition, Melo *et al.* (2013) further justify that bulk infrastructure, which they term “public infrastructure”, can be considered as a source of economic growth in various respects. The authors stress the essence of transportation infrastructure as a mandatory tool in the context of spatial planning and, ultimately, economic development. In asserting this, they look at

transportation infrastructure as a fundamental tool for the effectiveness of industrial efficiency, which is one of the sources for generating such growth. In the provision of adequate transportation infrastructure for all areas, it might be argued that the availability of such infrastructure can enhance accessibility to services and lessen trends of unbalanced population migration to areas offering better economic opportunities.

Shifting to the local context, the National Development Plan: Vision 2030 clearly identifies bulk services as economic infrastructure which is necessary for meeting the needs of the industrial and commercial sectors, in addition to those of households (National Planning Commission, 2013). Moreover, the National Development Plan stresses that it is crucial for the country to secure large investments for such infrastructure as a means of stimulating economic activity. In order to properly secure its execution, the Plan asserts that priority should be given to achieving regional integration, which is in parallel with the argument of this study.

3.3.2 Service Delivery in the Marginalised Areas Prior to 1994

With reference to the manifestation of town planning in the South African context, Floyd (1960) clearly indicates that the extent of town planning, as far as spatial governance and administration were concerned, was limited to what were referred to as White areas. In a country where 80 percent of the population was made up of African groups, the 13 percent of land which was the remainder from the settler was comprised of those spaces labelled as African reserves, as highlighted by Lalloo (1999). With this being the conception, Moerdijk (1981) explicates that the intention was to modernise agriculture in a manner which created monetary value for resources, which implies that income was needed to afford the necessary resources necessary for survival.

Influenced by the Tomlinson Commission of 1954, which identified an economic gap within Bantustans, the penetration of intensive industrialisation came into play during the 1950s. The idea of labour then became an issue, in addition to forced removals to remote rural areas as a means of securing productive land for monetary value, and interests in the urban fabric through commercial, residential, recreational and other land uses. In Bantustans, this was achieved in the form of agriculture and industrial uses (Moerdijk, 1981). Given that all resources, including land and its resources, were given monetary value, such traits ensured

that land could not be afforded by the marginalised African population, which thus explained their forced removal to remote homelands.

With large scale agricultural and industrial activities being located in homelands, the aim was to ensure that the labour required to generate capital was accessible from the large African populations residing in these areas. In addition, low wages were ensured by bringing employment in close proximity to areas of residence, where the income received by the local inhabitants was then only required to purchase the necessary resources for survival (Moerdijk, 1981), as opposed to the costly lifestyle of the urban fabric.

To understand the economic and social contexts of these Bantustans, they were largely under the governance and power of their African population, through traditional leaders in their respective tribal areas. With this being the phenomenon, Floyd (1960) highlights that hardly any forms of development existed in such areas prior to 1994. The development of town planning in South Africa was limited only to spaces which were regarded as “White areas”, where African groups resided purely on the basis of their employment there. In therefore understanding the level of spatial inequality amongst marginalised groups prior to 1994, this paper thus examines the provision of services for African townships as marginalised spaces as being an indication of spatial inequality in this era.

In briefly introducing the topic of townships as marginalised areas, Jürgens *et al.* (2013) define the term referring to neighbourhoods which were occupied by non-whites. In further elaborating on the spatial fabric of such neighbourhoods, these areas of residence were strategically located in urban areas, being separated by buffer zones, both natural and man-made, as attempts to separate them from the European urban core, as indicated by Jürgens *et al.* (2013). A more vivid short definition of townships is provided, where they are perceived as “a dormitory town built at a distance from economic activity as well as from white residential areas, with rows of uniform houses, historically lacking services and infrastructure such as tarred roads, sanitation, water, or electricity.” (Philip, 2014, p. 31).

In comprehending the need for such areas of residence, townships were erected solely on the basis of being residences for non-whites who were employed in the city. These were in the form of dormitory structures, with only the primitive infrastructure necessary for survival. The infrastructure provided was namely transport, industry, basic services, recreation and

green spaces (Jürgens *et al.*, 2013). Considering the definition earlier provided by Philip (2014), it could thus be argued that such services were provided at a poor level of quality, and on a limited basis. With such living standards in these neighbourhoods, Jürgens *et al.* (2013) mention that urban planning and the provision of other amenities available in the urban fabric were disregarded. Moreover, with the predicament of primitive infrastructure and limited job opportunities in townships, poverty was one of the prominent issues faced by those living in such areas.

3.3.3 Post-1994: Prioritising Service Provision and Development in Marginalised Areas

One of the notable events of spatial transformation in South African urban history is the notion of decentralising governance through the demarcation of land. As an approach to providing democratic governance for South African provinces, the emergence of municipal boundaries which have given rise to local governance is regarded as a remarkable approach by Koelble and Siddle (2014a), given that it provides for the non-racialised, fair functioning of governance, most notably at a local level. Referring to the relevance of service delivery in the context of decentralised governance in theory, marginalised areas have been put on a platform which is equivalent to that of urban areas as far as the prioritisation of services and governance is concerned. This was through the Integrated Development Plan, accompanied by the Spatial Development Framework, which were developed for all newly demarcated local municipalities, inclusive of townships and rural areas, as described by Harrison and Todes (2015). It might be argued that this therefore implies that all of these areas have some form of development planned for them, as they all, whether rural or urban, fall under the governance of particular municipalities.

In returning the focus to townships as marginalised areas for their African populations, Harrison and Todes (2015) further outline that township regeneration initiatives for redressing the infrastructural inadequacies of apartheid planning in such areas were considered and implemented. Such attempts include improved public transportation networks to urban areas, the enhancement of economic opportunities through the emergence of activity corridors and nodes along these public transport routes, and the erection of high-density housing units in close proximity to economic opportunities and other amenities. All these approaches have been state-driven in synergy with private investment for infrastructure, which explains the emergence of malls and other economic opportunities in townships in the name of township regeneration.

As an example of such township developments at a contextual level, this paper presents the case of uMsunduzi Municipality, which falls under the same district municipality as the study area. The city of Pietermaritzburg, within the uMsunduzi Local Municipality's jurisdiction, is one of the iconic cities which best resemble an apartheid city, in which the post-1994 government has attempted to redress such issues (Msunduzi Municipality, 2015).

In the overall progress made in redressing such factors, satisfactory results have been seen within the former townships of the city, located in the northern and eastern parts of the CBD. Of these successful projects, within this area is the Edendale-Northdale Corridor, which has succeeded in achieving urban renewal (Msunduzi Municipality, 2015) through the provision of adequate health, commercial and social facilities and ultimately desirable situations for its communities. In addition, the corridor currently has plans for improving the public transport network through the proposed Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network which aims at providing efficient public transportation services for public residents who rely on this form of transportation.

3.4 The Outcome of Spatial Injustices in the Post-Apartheid Regime: The case of Rural Municipalities

The section explores transformation in governance as far as development and service delivery are concerned. The specific focus of discussion here lies in rural areas as marginalised neighbourhoods in the South African context being the focal topic of this research. In elaborating on the contents of the section, the various instruments in the form of policies and legislations are presented as evidence of attempts to achieve spatial equality in such areas.

3.4.1 The Status of Rural Areas in the Post-1994 Period

The transformation of decentralised governance through the demarcation of local municipalities (Harrison and Todes, 2015; Koelble and Siddle, 2014a) has enabled rural areas to share equal powers of operating with local municipalities, as per the Municipal Structures Act, No. 117 of 1998, which regards rural municipalities as Category B municipalities, where these fall under a Category C (District) municipalities as their facilitating municipal structures (Republic of South Africa, 1998b).

Koelble and Siddle (2014b) further explain that rural municipalities fall under the classification of category B4, which is primarily used for rural municipalities with communal land tenure. This legislation has been implemented, together with the Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000, which focuses more on highlighting the necessary mechanisms for municipalities to function continuously in the realisation of development as far as the three pillars of sustainability are concerned (Republic of South Africa, 2000). Nene (2016) further justifies that such legislation is part and parcel of the driving instruments for the emergence of rural municipalities, given that these were previously abandoned areas during the epoch of oppression.

In the establishment of municipalities (inclusive of those which are rural) as far as development is concerned, it is worthy to note that the purpose stipulated in the Municipal Systems Act No. 32 of 2000, is to “move progressively towards the social and economic upliftment of local communities, and ensure universal access to essential services that are affordable to all” (Republic of South Africa, 2000, p. 2). Also intended for the realisation of this vision are the municipal Integrated Development Plan and the Spatial Development Framework, both of which are strategies which have been put in place for the achievement of this goal, which aims at ensuring that sound service delivery be prioritised for municipalities accordingly (Nene, 2016).

The National Development Plan of 2013 (Vision 2030) clearly stipulates the need for government to focus on providing access to basic services such as electricity, water, sanitation and public transportation in poverty-stricken areas, these being peri-urban and rural areas specifically. The National Development Plan acknowledges that a lack of such infrastructure has proven to be a pressing challenge in these areas, resulting in high levels of unemployment, and ultimately poverty (National Planning Commission, 2013).

3.4.2 Legislations on Service Delivery in Rural Municipalities

The contents of this section concentrate on the legislative frameworks which advocate for the provision of services in rural communities as a means of determining their extent for providing spatial equality and self-reliance. These frameworks are inclusive of national as well as provincial legislations and policies collectively.

3.4.2.1 White Paper on Reconstruction and Development

Part of the justifications given for the need for 1994's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is the historic segregation of South Africa, where the legislation states that "Rural areas were divided into underdeveloped Bantustans and well-developed, white-owned commercial farming areas; towns and cities were divided into townships without basic infrastructure for blacks and well-resourced suburbs for whites. Segregation in education, health, welfare, transport and employment left deep scars of inequality and economic inefficiency" (Republic of South Africa, 1994, p. 7). In the identification of such challenges, the RDP was introduced as a tool to transform the infrastructure of South Africa in a manner which ensures a sustainable and developmental growth path for all those who are citizens of the country.

The legislation for achieving spatial transformation consists of six principles which are presented as the driving tools of change on the ground. Amongst these principles is principle 1.3.6, "Meeting Basic Needs and Building the Infrastructure". The aim of the principle, according to the legislation, is to regulate an infrastructural programme which will facilitate the provision of services, namely: water, electricity, telecommunications, transport, education and health, as the means for empowering previously oppressed groups in urban and rural areas as far as social and economic opportunities are concerned. This, as is evident in the legislation, is implemented in all three tiers of governance, namely national, provincial and local, each with a stipulated mandate for the realisation of this goal respectively.

3.4.2.2 Breaking New Ground (2004)

In 2004, the Department of Human Settlements (formerly known as the Department of Housing) introduced a national policy entitled "Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements". This policy is primarily aimed at providing spatial equality through accelerating housing delivery and eradicating informal settlements (Republic of South Africa, 2004a). Within its mandate, Trusler (2009) also highlights that one of the plan's aims is to restructure South African settlements in a manner which allows for multicultural communities to exist, living in harmony in the new era. The tasks set out by the policy are to be administered at local level within municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) (Republic of South Africa, 2004a), thus giving municipalities the authority and flexibility to implement these plans in accordance with the backgrounds of their respective areas.

Given that the primary focus of the policy is to accelerate housing provision and eradicate informal settlements in impoverished areas, in its vision of working towards providing sustainable human settlements, it is indicated that the driving forces behind achieving this are the eradication of poverty through access to housing assets and services, and the development of more liveable and sustainable cities. Of the notable approaches outlined in these driving forces is the proposal for compact development, and more interestingly, the proposal to implement integrated public transport planning in the overall vision of sustainable settlements (Republic of South Africa, 2004a).

Inasmuch as the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy promises such loaded services, it is worthy to concentrate on the following element: for the provision of sustainable human settlements and housing most notably, such services must be provided on serviced land, implying that bulk infrastructure should also be considered in the planning process. This is justified by the policy where it is mentioned that in the realisation of sustainable human settlements, the cabinet has adopted the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) as a framework to determine the provision of infrastructure and the spatial structuring of areas to become more integrated and sustainable settlements (Republic of South Africa, 2004a).

Moreover, the policy mandates the development of social and economic infrastructures as one of its goals, in addition to enhanced spatial planning. With these services provided in accordance with the policy, the underlying impact of the provision of such services is spatial equality, which this research advocates for. This, it may be argued, is achievable through the provision of services and amenities which enhance economic opportunities and overall social wellbeing, in addition to spatial integration (Republic of South Africa, 2004a). These elements collectively have the potential to transform the challenges faced in poverty-stricken areas of South Africa.

With particular focus on service provision in rural communities, the BNG policy acknowledges that development issues are complex for such areas, as these areas still suffer from a shortfall in basic infrastructure. In recognition of such backlogs, the policy proposes a Rural Housing Instrument, which will initially focus on the provision of such services, with housing units as a subsequent service provided (Republic of South Africa, 2004a).

3.4.2.3 National Development Plan 2030

Similar to prior policies and documents of development and governance in the post-apartheid era, the National Development Plan (NDP) of 2013 seeks to roll back the spatial injustices of apartheid and poverty within South Africa's marginalised communities. With the adoption of the plan by the National Planning Commission, the following challenges of previous failures from policy implementation were identified: the poor educational levels of the African population, which explains the high unemployment rate; poorly located infrastructure, which is of substandard quality, in addition to uneven provision of public services; and health systems which cannot meet the demands of local residents (National Planning Commission, 2013). Interestingly, the NDP further highlights a common trend which is outlined by this research, the issue of migration to urban areas, which ultimately leads to a decline in rural areas, as is the case in the research study area (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2016).

According to the policy, there has been a significant drop of 10 percent in citizens who have migrated from rural areas since 1994 (National Planning Commission, 2013, p. 29). As the policy further states, the composition of people living in urban spaces is estimated at 60 percent, being projected to be 70 percent by the year 2030, especially in cities such as Durban, Cape Town and Gauteng, which are seen as the fastest growing cities (National Planning Commission, 2013, p. 29). Given the issues identified, the plan has been adopted as a long-term vision for achieving anticipated goals. It is worthy to highlight that the research focuses on the chapters which are relevant to the study exclusively.

Chapter four of the NDP focuses on the provision of economic infrastructure as a fundamental tool yielding social and economic development. In the provision of such infrastructure, the chapter includes the provision of power, water and transport networks, such as national roads and freight networks, to be implemented as a means of achieving economic competence, together with promoting and sustaining economic growth for the previously marginalised. In addition, the bulk services provided will assist in economic upliftment in the form of enabling industrial, commercial and social developments (National Planning Commission, 2013). This it could be argued, may be what attracts private investment to take place in rural areas by ensuring that they are well serviced for commercial, industrial and recreational investments.

The argument raised is further supported by Fox and Porca (2001), who are stern advocates of investment in rural services. In their argument, these authors emphasise that with the attention and co-operation of sound governance in rural areas, the installation of bulk services should be prioritised. The provision of these services will fast track the attraction of private investments to such areas. Moreover, Fox and Porca (2001) argue that with the involvement of private investment in rural areas, economic levels will rise considerably, given that large portions of the population generally reside in these areas. Additionally, the infrastructure provided by these private investors will further create attractive rural towns, which will be self-sufficient, thus eradicating the high levels of rural poverty and unemployment experienced there.

In further discussing the goals of the policy for rural development, the NDP clearly acknowledges the challenges of marginalisation faced in rural communities as far as services and livelihoods are concerned. In the resolution of such issues, including the slow progress of service delivery, the policy stipulates that quality service delivery be prioritised, with particular infrastructure being education, healthcare and public transport respectively (National Planning Commission, 2013). Subsequently, these tools as primary instruments of development will be succeeded by greater economic opportunities, such as industry, agri-processing, tourism, small business enterprises and so forth, all of which will promote self-reliance for such communities and potentially minimise the common trend of population decline there (Neves and Du Toit, 2013).

In the execution of such plans, Chapter 13 of the NDP elucidates that with the implementation of its plans, with particular focus in the context of this study's topic of being rural communities, the betterment of public service delivery should be vested in its authority at municipal level, in accordance with a sound relationship between the two senior tiers of governance (National Planning Commission, 2013). It is imperative to highlight that it is mentioned in the NDP that rural governance at local level has been anaemic and is in serious need of attention as a tool for bringing about change in rural communities.

Shifting the narrative back to the role of local governance, the NDP further simplifies the role of local government in rural development where chapter 13 establishes strategies which will ensure that performance is improved as a means of providing sound services. Amongst those strategies is the review of funding for rural municipalities and the levels of services provided

in the name of social and economic transformation. In addition, the policy further suggests that plans for rural towns should be flexible in terms of their specific needs and the opportunities available to them (National Planning Commission, 2013), thus giving local municipalities the flexibility to bring about social and economic development at an optimal level.

3.4.2.4 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act

The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (SPLUMA) Act 16 of 2013 was inaugurated as legislation which focused on the spatial dynamics of land development and administration at a national level. To articulate the aim of the legislation, it acknowledges the past spatial imbalances of the apartheid era and seeks to counteract these through providing planning procedures which are spatially inclusive, developmental, equitable and efficient at all three tiers of governance (Republic of South Africa, 2013, p. 3).

In untangling the objectives of the legislation, chapter two, which focuses on development principles, stresses in section 7(a) that the principle of spatial justice must be implemented by improving access to and usage of land (Republic of South Africa, 2013). The clause further introduces spatial development frameworks (SDFs) as directive tools for addressing any past imbalances experienced. In the developmental plans of these SDFs, it is essential that they include those formerly excluded in such plans, with particular focus on communities in informal settlements, former homelands and areas which are signified by high levels of poverty and destitution (Republic of South Africa, 2013).

In further studying the notion of spatial justice, chapter five of the legislation introduces the concept of Land Use Management, under which the tools of Land Use Schemes are outlined. Section 24 of the legislation imposes that local municipalities should adopt and approve Land Use Schemes for their entire municipal jurisdictions. It further explicates that in the adoption of these schemes, there must be “appropriate land use zoning and regulations for the entire municipal area, including areas not previously subject to a land use scheme” (Republic of South Africa, 2013, p. 36). Additionally, the legislation stipulates that provisions be made which allow for areas under traditional governance and rural areas to be included in the introduction of land use management and regulation, subject to these municipal Land Use Schemes.

For the administration and governance of development at municipal level, the SPLUMA Act ensures optimal governance at this level through the establishment of Municipal Planning Tribunals (MPTs) under Section 35, which is composed of members which govern all planning decisions taken for the municipality as far as land use related cases are concerned (Republic of South Africa, 2013). The establishment of an MPT by the legislation further empowers municipal governance with the authority to deliver development in a flexible manner in terms of what is most appropriate for individual municipalities.

3.4.2.5 KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Growth and Development Strategy

With reference to spatial equality and rural empowerment, the strategies for achieving these are robustly forwarded in the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (KZN PGDS). With a mission statement which states that the strategy seeks the abatement of levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016), its mandate proves to be in keeping with the question of spatial equality and service provision as determined by this research. The statement enabling this strategy further ratifies that basic services must be accessible by all the people in the province, where investors can be encouraged by good infrastructure and a capable labour force being available in the entire province (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016).

In further studying the contents of the Vision 2035 PGDS, it is a strategic development policy which regulates all spatially-related development activities in the province. One of the notable elements of the policy, which acts as a prominent indicator of progressive development for KZN, is the Provincial Spatial Development Framework (PSDF), which acts as a regulative guide for SDFs at district and municipal levels.

With the policy being influenced by redressing all spatial imbalances previously encountered by the marginalised in the province, the KZN PGDS is underpinned by seven strategic objectives which seek to guide policymaking and ensure the adequate allocation of resources to all (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016). Of the seven key goals delineated in the policy are four which this research focuses on specifically as the basis for determining the extent of service provision in rural environments.

The first goal is that of Inclusive Economic Growth, where the intention is to create stable employment through inclusive growth. This, according to the policy, is through the

promotion of agricultural practices to optimally develop the agricultural sector and provide employment for the needy (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016). In so doing, the issue of poverty will be addressed by ensuring food security through growth in this sector. Moreover, the enhancement of spatial economic development is one of the objectives within this goal. In this regard, the development of industrial activities as dominant economic contributors and employment providers is prioritised. It is interesting to note that the policy also states that in prioritising industrial development, the focus is on creating new industrial zones as a means of enhancing employment opportunities uniformly (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016).

Table 3.1: The Strategic Integrated Projects in KZN

No	18 STRATEGIC INTEGRATED PROJECTS
1	Unlocking the Northern Mineral Belt with Waterberg as a Catalyst
2	Durban -Free State - Gauteng Logistics and Industrial Corridor
3	South Eastern Node and Corridor Development
*4	Unlock the Economic Opportunities in the North West Province
*5	Saldanha - Northern Cape Development Corridor
6	Integrated Municipal Infrastructure Project
7	Integrated Urban Space and Public Transport Programme
8	Green Economy in support of the South African Economy
9	Electricity Generation to support Socio-Economic Development
10	Electricity Transmission and Distribution for all
11	Agri-logistics and Rural Infrastructure
12	Revitalisation of Public Hospitals and other Health Facilities
13	National School Build Programme
14	Higher Education Infrastructure
15	Expanding access to communication technology
*16	SKA and Meerkat
17	Regional Integration for African Co-operation and Development
18	Water and Sanitation
*Note : <i>Grey shaded projects are not relevant to KZN</i>	

(Source: KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016, p. 80)

The following goal is the third stated in the strategy, being Human and Community Development. Driven by the motto “Poverty and inequality in KZN is reduced” (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016, p. 63), this goal seeks to augment various factors which are aligned to desired outcomes at a national level. These factors are health, sustainable rural neighbourhoods with stable food security and human settlements of good quality and sustainability. In its objectives for achieving these, the policy seeks to improve health and social welfare services, in addition to providing sustainable human settlements and enhancing food security (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016).

Also interesting to note is that, in the betterment of healthcare, the PGDS highlights that it is informed by the Amended National Health Act, No. 61 of 2003 in that, for the provision of primary healthcare, it is imperative that equity, provision of comprehensive services, quality, improved access to services, decentralisation and community participation, amongst other factors, are urgently prioritised. This therefore justifies the argument of the present study that basic service delivery is an essential instrument for development, given that social and economic infrastructure is reliant on such services. In addition to the necessity for bulk infrastructure, the PGDS further highlights that the provision of sustainable human settlements is a process which should be executed using an integrated approach, in the sense that suitable land use, bulk social and economic infrastructure, together with adequate management, all contribute to producing sustainable neighbourhoods.

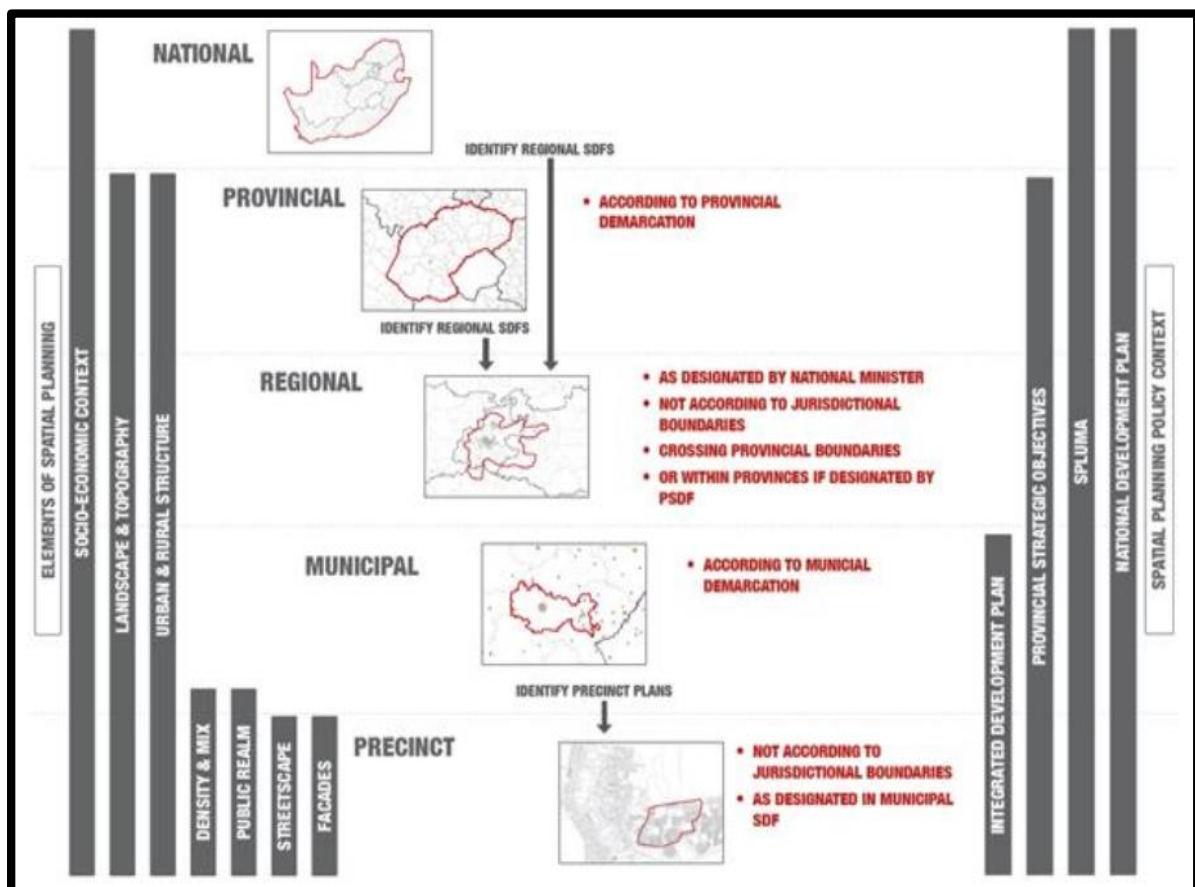
In introducing the fourth goal of the policy, Strategic Infrastructure, the intention is to respond to that which has been discovered in the literature, where it is stated that “Studies confirm that infrastructure development is the foundation for poverty reduction and economic growth in developing countries” (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016, p. 79). In its approach to investing in strategic infrastructure, the National Infrastructure Master Plan establishes 18 Strategic Integrated Projects (SIPs), of which 15 fall under the jurisdiction of KZN. Table 3.1 on Page 64 presents the scope of these projects, which indicates the extent to which provincial legislations prioritise service provision as an approach to spatial development.

The table’s contents indicate that provincial governance supports the idea of achieving spatial equality in the entire province, and seeks to promote decentralised governance and self-

reliance in the provision of both primary (bulk services) and secondary (social and economic) forms of infrastructure in its vision of achieving improved lifestyles and independent local municipalities. From the information in Table 3.1 on Page 64, it is also evident that emphasis has not only been placed on promoting services, but that specific approaches for enhancing rural livelihoods are also mentioned.

The fourth goal, which is the seventh stated in the policy, is that of Spatial Equity, which is concerned with the allocation of resources and their use in the realisation of spatial integration and sustainability. Given that all developments undertaken are executed on land, it is imperative that the location and the effectiveness of these be carefully considered, since they act as determinants of the kinds of lifestyle lived in the various areas. In this goal, the policy outlines that the role of spatial planning is to determine possible developments which could be executed on strategic pieces of land, and how these should be carried out in achieving spatial equality (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016).

Figure 3.2: The Relationship of Government Spheres in the Context of Spatial Planning



(Source: KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016, p. 109 cited in DRDLR, 2015)

Part of the objectives within this goal is the formalising of rural nodes as an approach to establishing new towns in such settings. Moreover, the goal further seeks to ensure integrated land use planning through densification and compactness (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016). This is an essential approach in improving quality of life, through ensuring that services and amenities are accessible within walkable distances, as justified under the Guidelines for Human Settlement Planning and Design, Volume 1 (Department of Housing, 2005). In addition, goal is underpinned by nine spatial principles, of which two notable examples are the Principle of Local Self-sufficiency and the Principle of Sustainable Rural Livelihoods respectively.

By the Principle of Local Self-sufficiency, the policy seeks to achieve development where long travelling distances to access services are minimised, in addition to the provision of infrastructure which can enhance competencies in human skills, capital investments and other factors (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016). The Principle of Sustainable Rural Livelihoods, on the other hand, seeks to create rural areas where there is integrated decision making, with spatial planning which combines physical, natural, environmental and social elements within rural areas (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016). Moreover, the principle further seeks to dispense with the common trend of reliance on rural nodes, where services in rural areas are not as sound as they are in urban areas. The principle therefore seeks to achieve progressive transformation in rural areas towards towns which resemble the standards and quality of urban cities as far as the quality and extent of service provision is concerned.

In further articulating the elements proposed in achieving such visions, these developments are illustrated by instruments such as the Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) and Spatial Development Plans (SDPs) emanating from a national level through to municipal levels. The preparation of such tools is guided by the SPLUMA as legislation which focuses primarily on the effective planning of land use management in achieving spatial integration and sustainability (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016). Figure 3.2 on Page 66 shows an interpretation of the relationship between national and municipal governance in the conception and execution processes for spatial planning, as guided by legislative frameworks.

With particular focus on the PSDF, the policy explains that its role is to ensure that provincial development strategies guide and inform municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), SDFs and their municipal Land Use Management Systems (LUMS) in an attempt to guide the location of investments and nodal developments in both the urban and the rural fabric (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016).

3.4.3 The Question of Sound Service Provision in Rural Municipalities

In response to failures in rural municipalities, the National Development Plan (Vision 2030) highlights that some municipalities are not well administered, while others suffer from constraints of limited resources to enable the provision of bulk infrastructure (National Planning Commission, 2013). Nene (2016), contrarily, maintains that the issue of service delivery in rural municipality is to some extent triggered by the complex governance of municipal structures and traditional leaders; parties which do not often function in unanimity. This is due to conflicts of power in such areas, given that traditional leaders are commonly neglected in the planning of service provision on land which they govern, inasmuch as the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, No. 41 of 2003 recognises the significance of traditional leaders in local municipalities.

3.5 Lessons on Spatial Inequality and Service Delivery in the South African Context

The findings on the topic of spatial inequality in the African context have revealed a number of elements, all of which explain the consequence of the outlined issue. Proven as being a complex predicament, spatial inequality has been triggered by various factors during various eras. To further explain this statement, the study has outlined these factors and draws conclusive lessons for the matter at hand.

Delving into factors affecting spatial inequality during the oppressive apartheid regime, the research has delineated that spatial inequality was formed on the basis of segregation, according to both economic and ethnic factors. In the segregation of ethnic groups on various forms of land in the interest of capital investments, marginalisation of non-European groups was ensured through centralised governance and exploitation (Floyd, 1960; King and McCusker, 1994). In this regard, the only marginalised groups under the governance of the then-ruling authorities were townships, as rented areas of residence for non-European workers (Philip, 2014). These were characterised by constrained services, which provided for poor living standards within such populations. Bantustans, as pointed out by Floyd (1960) on

the other hand, were independent, in the sense that they were not included in the town planning schemes of the apartheid governance. This therefore implies that service provision in such areas was entirely disregarded, given that such provisions were made by governmental structures.

Shifting to factors affecting spatial inequality within the democratic age, there has been commendable progress in transforming governance from centralised to decentralised, through the demarcation of land and the subsequent emergence of local municipalities (Koelble and Siddle, 2014a). During an age where governance has been strengthened through multiple approaches to the vision of spatial justice for the marginalised, spatial inequality has irrespectively continued to prevail (Bretteny and Sharp, 2016). This, as contended by the KZN PGDS, is due to failure in implementation, accompanied by a lack of capacity, and also a conflict in governance between traditional councils and municipal governance (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016).

Drawing from similarities between the two periods, it remains the case that rural areas have continued to be the least developed during both epochs. Even worse, the case of conflicting governance within rural municipalities appears to have perpetuated spatial inequality in such areas, thus having a detrimental impact on the achievement of development for rural areas. With such justifications for poor service delivery in rural settings, it might also be argued that rural-urban migration trends which minimise thresholds for development and ultimately destroy the potential for capital investment in rural areas, might also be triggered by such justifications.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has charted the literature on spatial inequality in the South African context perceiving it as a continuation of the traits found in other third world countries. The chapter has further presented the history of spatial injustice and its evolution as being primarily rooted in Western traits within the local context. Moreover, the research has investigated the style of governance as an influential factor of spatial inequality during three prominent ages, these being the colonial era, the apartheid era and the democratic era successively, with prime focus on rural areas as marginalised environments. In addition, the evolution of spatial inequality has been established in the post-apartheid era, where national, provincial and municipal legislation and policies which shape the transformation of development have been

reviewed and analysed as far as their implementation is concerned. Consequently, the study has identified possible factors which could explain the continued backlog in service delivery for such areas, amongst which are conflicts in governance and lack of resources.

Chapter Four: Methodology.

4.1 Introduction

In the process of producing academic research work, one of the central elements for achieving this is the methodology strategy used. In the context of the current study, this chapter outlines the form of methodology selected for the research. Subsequently, the research justifies its selection of the case study chosen, with a brief synopsis of the case study provided. Thereafter, data sources and sampling methods are presented. Successively, the approach used to analyse data is presented, coupled with ethical considerations regarding the storage of data. Thereafter, the limitations encountered by the study are described, with responses to such challenges. Consequently, the chapter summary shall be presented, where the contents of the chapter are briefly discussed.

The methodology selected was a qualitative research approach. “The simplest way to define qualitative research is to note that the results are primarily expressed with words (as opposed to quantitative research in which results are primarily expressed with numbers)” (Campbell, 1999, p. 532). Qualitative research is a research method which aims at interrogating real life issues and trends affecting human behaviour through ethnographic approaches to conducting research (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). In being the most common form of research methodology used within the social sciences field, Hancock *et al.* (2009) further assert that qualitative research seeks to unravel different perspectives of the study topic, thus allowing for in-depth research to be conducted.

4.2 Selection of Research Method

In motivating for the selection of this research methodology, the research seeks to unravel the social and economic issues which arise within the area of study. In assessing service delivery as a means of addressing spatial inequality, such themes are entrenched from human behaviour and social wellbeing, hence this being the selected methodology for the study. In addition, the selection of this method assisted in further assessing the priority of service delivery in rural municipalities, by evaluating strategies implemented in the response to resolving the social and economic impacts seen as coupled with spatial inequality. Moreover, the qualitative research method was useful in retrieving the behavioural trends evident within the study area in response to the extent of services provided within the area.

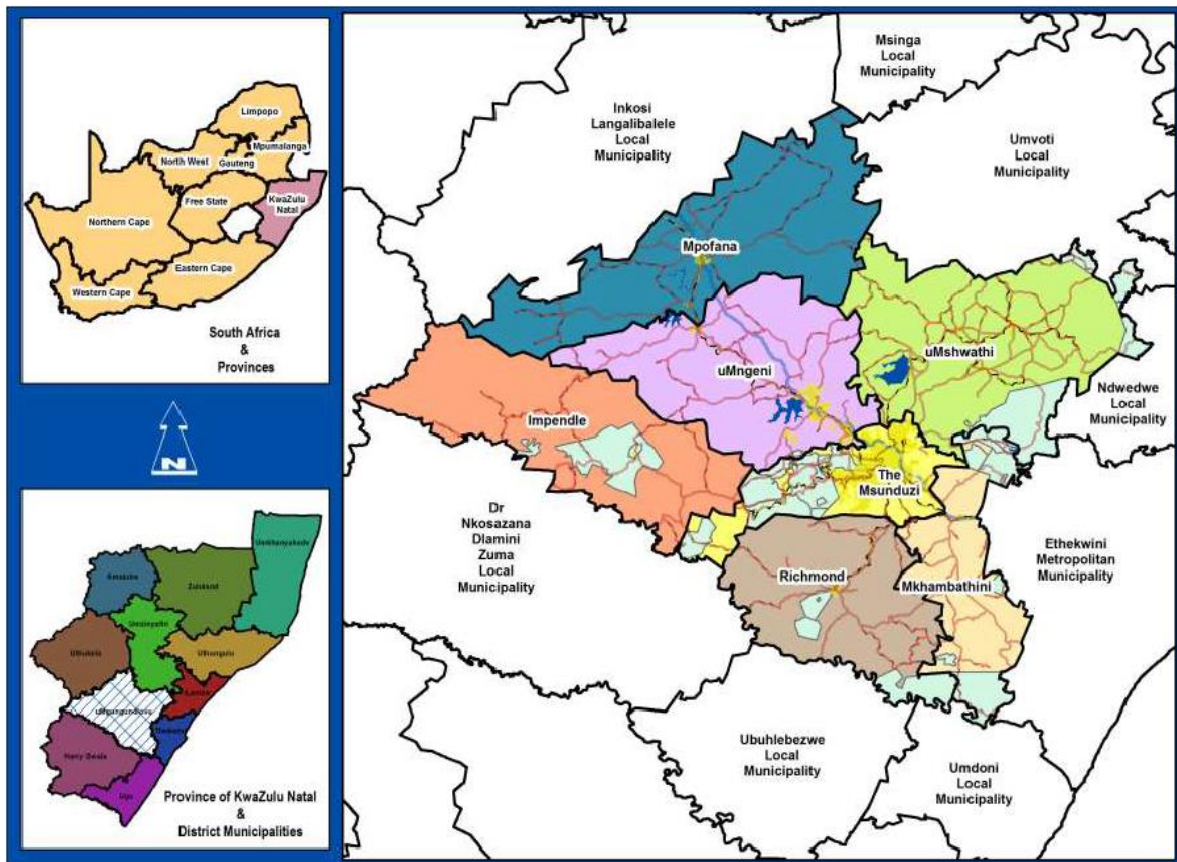
4.3 Considerations in the Selection of the Case Study

The selection of the case study was based on the following factors. The selection was based on its status as a Category B4 municipality under which rural municipalities fall (Koelble and Siddle, 2014b), which corresponds with the research topic. In further justifying the selection of this case study, the local municipality exhibits the most pressing challenges of spatial inequality within the district, thus making it the most appropriate case study for this research.

4.4 Case Study

In the context of this research, the focus area for research was Impendle Local Municipality, under the jurisdiction of uMgungundlovu District Municipality (Map 4.1 and Map 4.2 on Pages 72 and 73). The Impendle area is a rural area which is classified as what was formerly known as a Bantustan. This is signified by its designation as a Category B municipality (Impendle Local Municipality, 2016), under which rural municipalities fall.

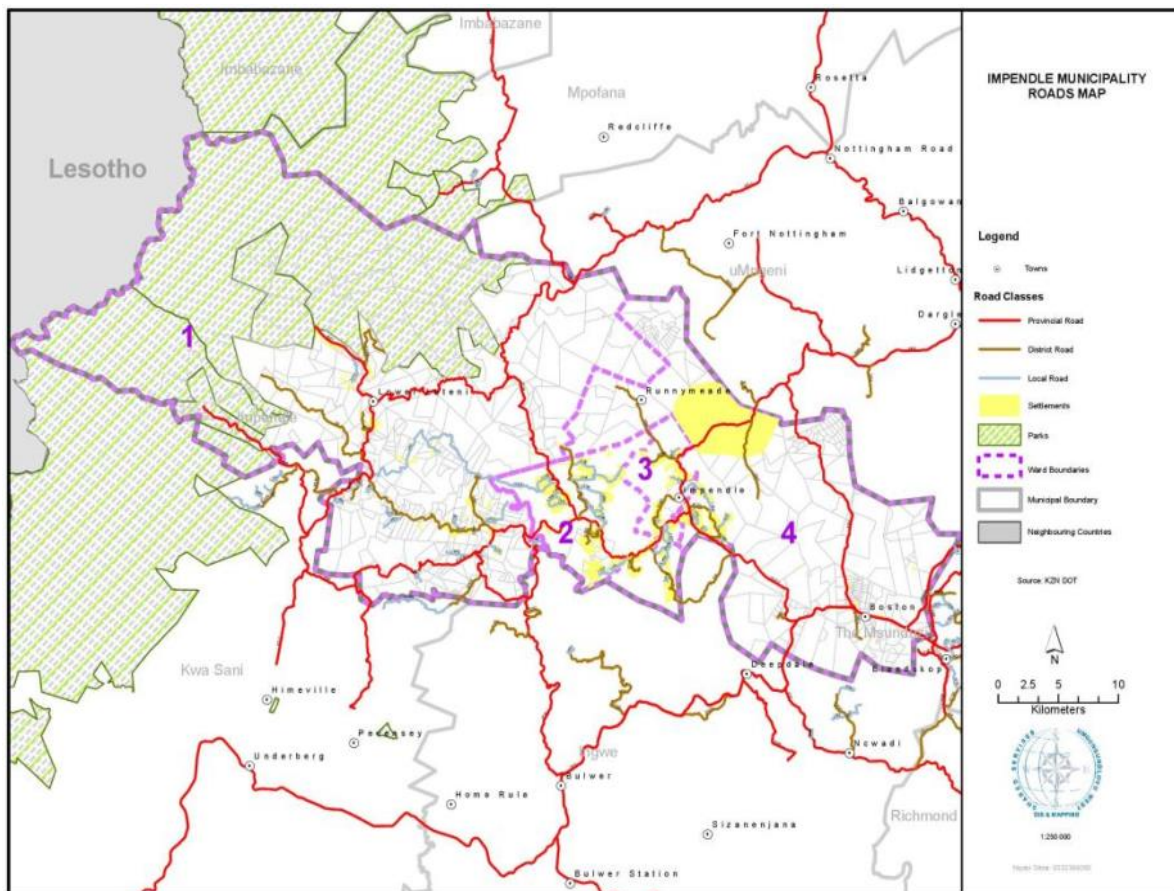
Map 4.1: Locality Map of Impendle Local Municipality in uMgungundlovu District



(Source: uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017a, p. 15)

In addition, the area is further characterised by being situated long distances away from urban cities which are well developed and equipped with services and amenities. One of these cities is Pietermaritzburg, which lies about 75 kilometres away from the area. Moreover, it is characterised as a rural area by its spatial pattern, having dispersed households within its region (Impendle Local Municipality, 2016). Concerning its governance, a large portion of municipal land is under the ownership of the Ingonyama Trust, a traditional council which governs rural land in KZN province in accordance with the KwaZulu Ingonyama Trust, Amended Act No. 9 of 1997 (Republic of South Africa, 2004b). Inasmuch as the municipality has identified issues of minimal services, along with others, service delivery together with the provision of social and economic infrastructure have remained challenges.

Map 4.2: Map of Impendle Municipality in Relation to Neighbouring Municipalities



(Source: Impendle Local Municipality, 2016, p. 87)

In addition, the population of Impendle shows high unemployment levels, given that minimal development has taken place within the municipality (Impendle Local Municipality, 2016). Moreover, the population of the area has gradually declined from minus 5.3 percent in the

years 1996 – 2001 to minus 23.2 percent in the years 2007 – 2011, thus making it the area with the highest declining population within the uMgungundlovu District (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2016). The area’s population figures are presented in Table 4.1 below. These issues therefore justified the selection of Impendle Municipality as an appropriate study area for this research.

Table 4. 1: Population Trends within uMgungundlovu District

Municipality	Population						
	Census 1996	Census 2001	CS 2007	Census 2011	% change 1996/2001	% change 2001/2011	% change 2007/2011
DC22: uMgungundlovu	881,674	932,121	992,524	1,017,763	5.7	9.2	2.5
KZN221: uMshwathi	114,924	108,422	113,054	106,374	-5.7	-1.9	-5.9
KZN222: uMngeni	69,742	73,896	84,781	92,710	6.0	25.5	9.4
KZN223: Mpofana	25,512	36,832	31,530	38,103	44.4	3.5	20.8
KZN224: Impendle	39,957	37,844	43,087	33,105	-5.3	-12.5	-23.2
KZN225: The Msunduzi	524,266	552,837	616,730	618,536	5.4	11.9	0.3
KZN226: Mkhambathini	45,174	59,067	46,570	63,142	30.8	6.9	35.6
KZN227: Richmond	62,099	63,223	56,772	65,793	1.8	4.1	15.9

(Source: uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2016, p. 88)

4.5 Secondary Data Sources

The first stages of this research were conducted by collecting secondary data. This was achieved by engaging with the following sources:

Published Books and Journals

Published books were useful in the gathering of literature for the research. This was helpful in comparing the trends for the research topic within various contexts. Similarly to published books, journal articles were instrumental in the formulation of the study’s literature review, where various assertions regarding the notions researched were discussed. In addition, journal articles were useful in providing information which generated key concepts and theories, and which interlink with the literature studied for the research.

Government documents

Government documents such as the pieces of legislations, policy documents (largely from the national and provincial spheres of governance) and strategic documents (such as district and

municipal IDPs and SDFs) were used. These documents were used in various regards, from understanding the roles of service providers to the strategies implemented in development. In addition, these documents were useful in understanding the extent of service delivery and trends of spatial inequality in rural municipalities, in the stages of formulating an argument and analysing data.

4.6. Primary Data Sources

In the later stages of the research, primary data collection was conducted. This was through the following processes:

Semi-structured Interviews

Research participants were interviewed by performing face-to-face interviews (Berg, 2001) which were conducted in a semi-structured form. This form of interview was useful in allowing both the researcher and informant to engage in dialogues for discussion which captured the opinions of the respondents in an elaborative manner. This tool was specifically selected for interviews conducted with the identified key participants.

Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) allowed for community respondents to share their ideas on particular topics of interest (Berg, 2001). In conducting these discussions, gathering the different perspectives of the respondents assisted the researcher in reaching fair conclusions regarding the research findings.

In structuring the selection of community respondents from the area, the demarcation of wards was considered. Given that the Impendle Local Municipality comprises four wards (Impendle Local Municipality, 2016), the study thus formulated four focus groups, with each one representing a ward. Each group consisted of 12 respondents, broken down into three age groups. Each group was anticipated to have four senior respondents (60 years and above), four middle aged respondents (between the ages of 36 and 59), and four youth respondents (between the ages of 15 and 35). In total, 48 respondents were selected from the entire municipality. All groups were interviewed using focus group discussions. This was effective in gaining more insight on the issues researched from the focus groups formulated.

Observations and Audio-visual Data

Mason (2005) contends that visual ethnography adds more illustration to research when using qualitative research methodology. In the context of this study, visual data from self-observation and imagery was useful in depicting the spatial setup of the rural area with relevance to infrastructural developments in order to determine the extent of service provision. Moreover, these observations further justified the feedback received from the FGDs. Audio-visual data in the form of voice recordings also facilitated in reviewing the discussions conducted in the interviews and focus groups.

Mapping

In social geography, Pain (2004) argues that in determining the spatial and temporal issues within research techniques, mapping plays a crucial role. Moreover, mapping as a tool is important in providing insight for elements regarding space, place and the environment holistically. In the context of this study, mapping was useful in determining the extent and appropriateness of service provision and allocation in the study area. This determined whether the allocation and availability of services addressed the issue of accessibility to such services or had inversely perpetuated spatial inequality in the area.

Included in specifying the illustrated elements through mapping was the spatial location of the study area in relation to its surrounding municipalities and the province. In addition, the tool of mapping served as a spatial illustration of social and economic services which have been provided for Impendle. These are road networks, healthcare facilities and educational facilities respectively. Some of these maps were retrieved from documents such as the District and the Municipal IDPs and SDFs respectively. Other maps included were constructed by the researcher through the use of computer software known as ArcGIS.

4.7 Sampling Methods

Non-probability sampling was conducted. The motivation for this method was that participants were selected intentionally. In addition, the study was conducted using a purposive sampling strategy. The selection of participants was guided by clear intentions which are elaborated on below. Because of the diverse groups the research intended to engage with, the study adopted a heterogeneous approach in its purposive sampling. The research had a total sample size of 53 respondents. In explaining the selection of the research sample, key respondents were selected on the basis of their professions and positions with

regard to the research. Community respondents, on the other hand, were selected on the basis of their municipal ward locations as a means of gathering unbiased feedback.

4.7.1 Structure of Key Informants

In disaggregating the structure of key informants, there were six key informants, categorised in two forms. Four key informants are public officials from one department and two municipalities, as outlined below. The fifth and sixth key informants are from traditional leadership, given that the area is under the governance of two different traditional leaders. All informants were interviewed by conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews. These groups are next described.

4.7.1.1 Planning Officials from Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs

Interviewing two planning officials from Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA) assisted in better understanding the motivations for the strategies of spatial development applied, particularly within rural municipalities, in partnership with traditional authorities at a provincial level. Moreover, the question of enhancing the rural economy within rural municipalities was discussed in an attempt at understanding the high rate of unemployment within the focus area. This was done by interviewing informants about the documents adopted in relation to service delivery.

4.7.1.2 Planning Official from uMgungundlovu District Municipality

An informant from within this department was helpful in providing enlightenment regarding prioritising service delivery projects in rural municipalities such as Impendle as means of promoting self-reliance on such municipalities by comparison to urban municipalities. In addition, the informant further assisted in explaining the levels of communication and synergy which existed in the rolling out of projects at municipal level on the basis of human capacity and funding.

4.7.1.3 Planning Official from Impendle Local Municipality

A planning official from the Impendle Municipality supplied a better understanding of the challenges of providing infrastructural services from a planning official's perspective. The questions which were set out focused on the approaches considered in achieving the

provision of services, and the realisation of economic opportunities as a means of addressing the challenges faced within the municipality.

4.7.1.4 Leaders from the Impendle Traditional Council

Interviewing the traditional council of Impendle provided insight to the perspectives of traditional governance in the provision of services which local governance strives to achieve. In doing so, the research established the level of partnership which existed between these two structures of governance in the functioning of the area. In addition, the data collected determined whether these two spheres of governance for the area have had any impact on the poor provision of services within the area.

4.7.2 Structure of Community Respondents

Given that the research was focused on the social and economic challenges faced by the population of Impendle, collecting data from such respondents was key in better understanding the challenges faced within the area. In addition, interviewing local residents provided further justification for the declining population trend seen within the area. By the collection of data from these respondents, the research determined the relevance of the shortfalls faced in the provision of services by planning officials as one of the justifications for such issues. These residents were interviewed via focus group discussions.

4.8 Data Analysis

Since it is argued to be a data analysis method commonly used by qualitative researchers (Vaismoradi *et al.*, 2013), the study adopted a thematic analysis approach for analysing the data. In defining this analysis method, thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns and themes within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 79 cited in Vaismoradi *et al.*, 2013). This method was for used for data analysis as it correlates with the nature of this study in seeking to assess the extent of service delivery in redressing spatial inequality. Such inadequacies are social challenges which can be analysed through articulated themes, as opposed to numerical approaches.

In outlining the process of conducting a thematic analysis, this was achieved through sequential stages as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). These stages were as follows:

1. Familiarising with data, through noting initial ideas, transcribing and reading collected data.
2. Generating codes for data, through coding the relevant factors of data and arranging them according to their similarities.
3. Generating themes, through organising and combining codes together into groupings which may form potential themes.
4. Reviewing themes, by ensuring that the selected codes correspond with the desired themes for research.
5. Naming and defining themes through refining the themes and giving them clear meanings, which respond to the research question.
6. Compiling a report through gathering all data which have been collected and analysed and producing a final response to the research question.

4.9 Data Storage

In ensuring that storage of data was securely conducted, a hard copy of the data was stored with the researcher's supervisor. Soft copies were stored using online storage facilities such as Google Drive, which can only be accessed by the researcher, and which will be permanently deleted in a timeframe of five years following the publication of this dissertation. Other forms of data, such as questionnaires, research drafts and other documents, will be kept securely in the researcher's personal possession.

4.10 Encountered Limitations

With regard to encountered limitations, the research foresaw the following factors occurring (Please note that italicised text represents responses to the predicted limitations):

- i. Confirmation of dates and meetings with some of the key informants (particularly the Stoffelton Traditional Leader and the Impendle Municipal Planner) was time consuming and costly.
Constant communications were made, with alternative methods considered for the gathering of information.
- ii. Some community residents did not actively participate in the focus groups formed, thus limiting the amount of data which was retrieved from the conducted discussions.
The essence of observations in the collection of primary data, which was in turn supported by secondary data in form of the Municipal IDP, was useful in this regard.

These methods were helpful in determining the various forms of service provision in the area and their impact on the various households within the area.

- iii. Although research permission was granted by both Inkosi Zuma and Undlunkulu Molefe (traditional leaders of Impendle), issues with confirming meeting venues for discussion within the four wards regarding the focus groups were encountered in some cases, given that no conclusive agreements were made with Izinduna (traditional chiefs).

Alternatively, the researcher conducted focus group discussions at one of the respondent's households with their consent.

- iv. Approaching the community with the intention of conducting research interviews and discussions on the research issue aggravated the residents' emotions with regard to the research topic, with the idea that the researcher had come on behalf of the providers of service delivery to resolve such matters, or that the researcher had a particular political agenda in privately gathering information concerning the political interests of the residents of Impendle.

A thorough explanation of the researcher's background and intentions was conducted. The issuing and reading out of the Informed Consent Form to all respondents before conducting interviews also resolved such matters. This was through some of its contents which stipulated that the interviews were conducted strictly for the fulfilment of the researcher's degree and were not intended to address current challenges experienced in the area.

- v. The anticipated age groups for the focus groups (notably the youth) were not achieved. This was due to the perception that in cases where residents were required for research, younger individuals did not have much information to offer.

The responses from the middle-aged and senior residents were largely reflective of the issues faced by all age groups, as the respondents who were present indicated the impacts of the service provision in evidence for all age groups through the responses expressed. In addition, statistical information on demographics and migration trends from the municipal IDP served as backing evidence for the presented findings.

4.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter opened by presenting the type of methodology used for the research, and then briefly explained its significance for the study. The chapter further outlined the considerations taken in the selection of the case study through explicating its relevance to the topic of the research. Successively, the chapter presented the data collection methods used for

both primary and secondary data. Following this, the structure of key informants and respondents was outlined, with a brief justification for the key informants selected, the structure of community respondents and their modes of interview. Thereafter, the method of data analysis was presented, this being through a thematic analysis approach. In addition, ethical factors for data storage were clarified, and limitations encountered and responses to these constraints explained.

Chapter Five: Scrutinising Service Delivery – Impendle Local Municipality.

5.1 Introduction

As set out in Chapter One, this research sought to establish the extent to which service delivery is implemented as a tool for responding to the spatial imbalances in rural municipalities. The research sees it as necessary to advise that in reference to “spatial imbalance”, the term is used interchangeably with that of “spatial inequality”. In briefly recalling the notion of spatial inequality, the study examined two elements. The first element is the extent to which bulk services, which the research regards as a primary form of development, have been implemented in Impendle. Secondly, the study analysed the extent to which these primary services have driven the growth of social and economic developments, which the research regards as secondary forms of development, in the area as a means of achieving spatial equity through promoting self-reliant and stable communities within the rural context.

This chapter revisits these elements by presenting six sections, namely; the presentation of the case study, being Impendle Local Municipality, and a presentation of the findings respectively. Subsequently, the chapter presents an analysis of the presented findings, coupled with lessons learned from the findings, and concludes with a chapter synopsis. The research now returns to the background of the case study.

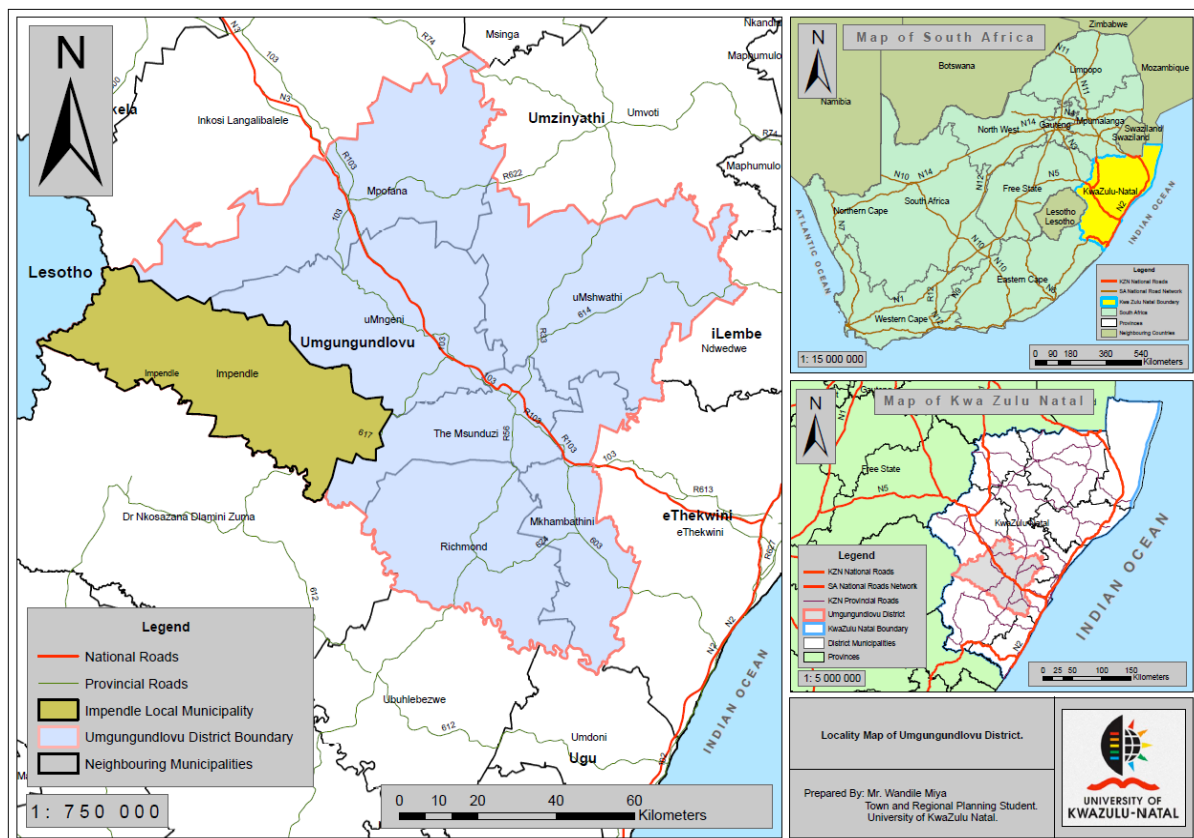
5.2 Scrutinising Service Delivery in Impendle Local Municipality, uMgungundlovu District

The section hereunder presents a detailed analysis of the Impendle Local municipality in relation to the provision of services as a rural municipality. The section presents a brief background for the area, followed by its socio-economic status. Thereafter, the research outlines the provision of services in two sub-structures, these being primary infrastructure, followed by secondary infrastructure respectively. The section on findings which follows analyses the extent to which these services are prioritised and provided, together with the consequences of the presented findings.

5.2.1 Regional Context

In relation to the regional location of Impendle, it is one of seven municipalities which fall under the uMgungundlovu District family. Categorised as a Category B municipality which falls under a district, according to Section 155(1) (b) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), following the local government elections in 2000 the entire municipal area has been subject to such legislation.

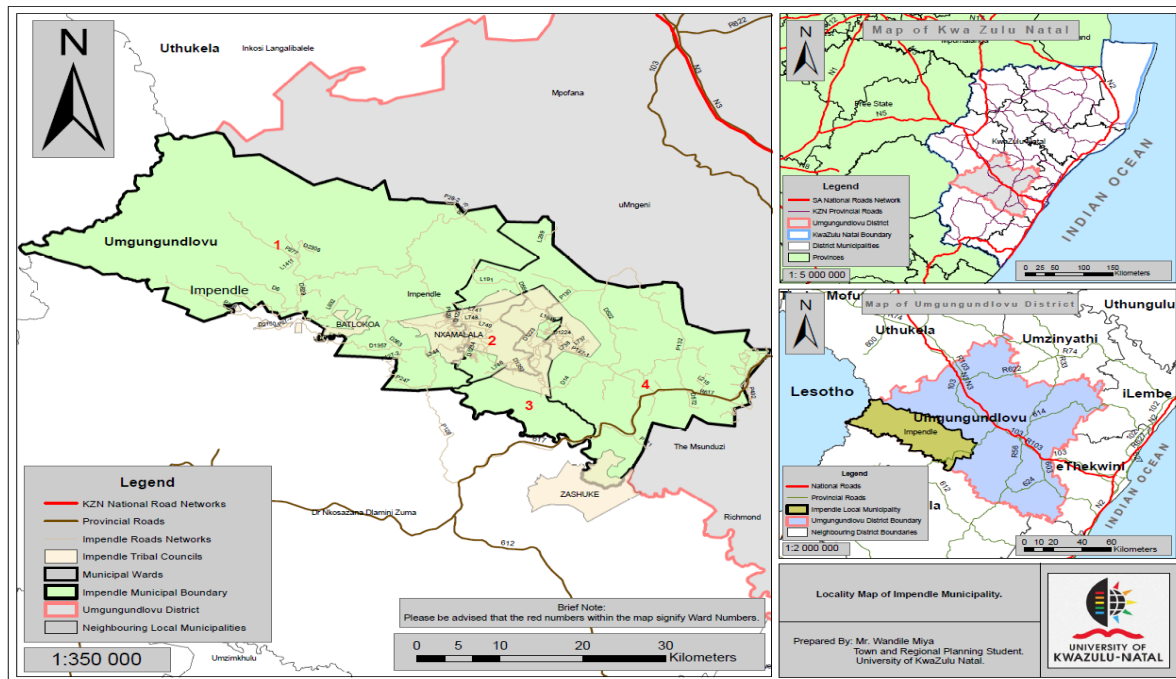
Map 5.1: Locality Map of uMgungundlovu District



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The local municipality is located in the western region of uMgungundlovu District Municipality, which is in turn situated in the western part of KZN Province. In relation to its surroundings, the municipality is adjacent to the Inkosi Langalibalele Local Municipality – which falls under uThukela District Municipality – to the far north west; Mooi Mpfana Local Municipality to the north west; uMngeni Local Municipality to the north east; uMsunduzi Local Municipality to the east; Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma Local Municipality – falling under Harry Gwala District Municipality – to the south; and Lesotho to the west. These are spatially depicted in Map 5.1 and Map 5.2 on Pages 83 and 84.

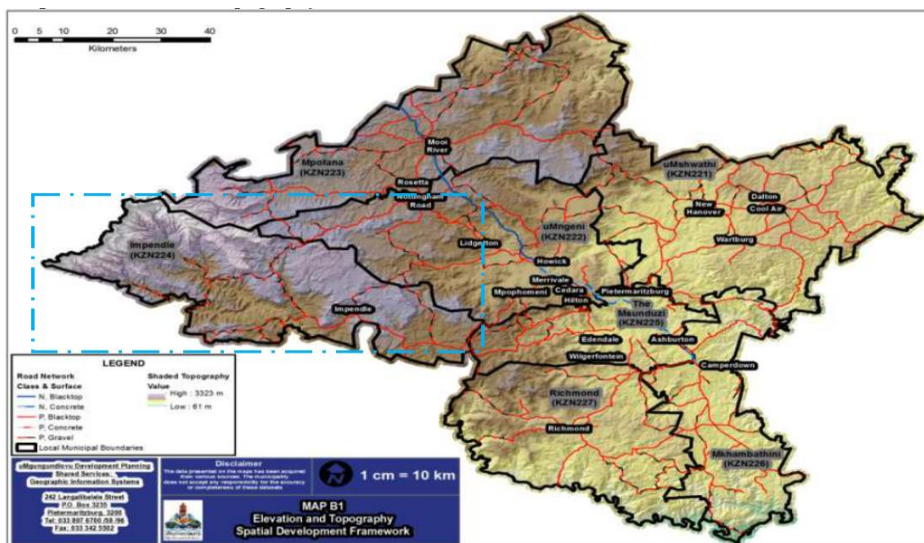
Map 5.2: Locality of Impendle Local Municipality



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The municipality is characterised by hills and agriculture in its eastern region, and by settlements along roads and rivers in the central region, due to its steep topography. In the western part of the municipal land, the topography becomes progressively steeper and less suitable for settlement as it progresses into the World Heritage Site Conservation Area, as depicted by Map 5.3 below.

Map 5.3: Elevation and Topography

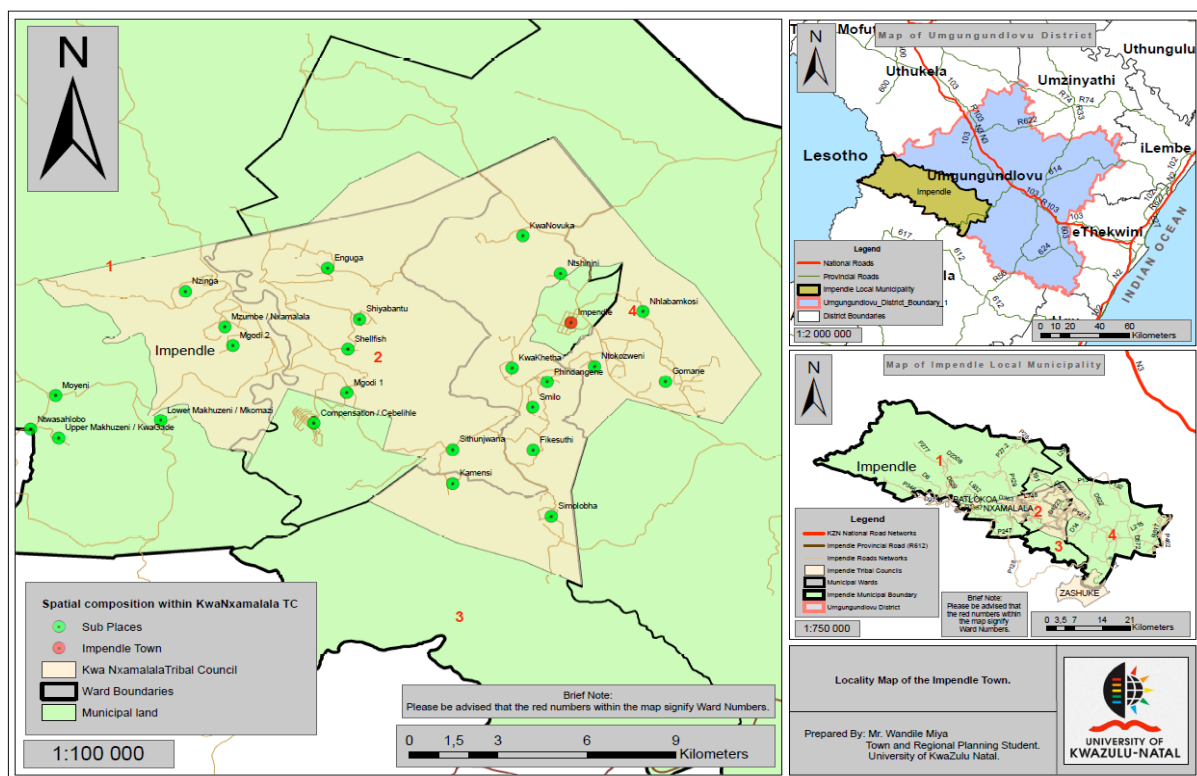


(Source: uMgungundlovu District Municipality Annexure 2, 2014, p. 3)

The town of Impendle is centrally situated within the local municipality and is further located within the area of Nxamalala Traditional Council, as spatially depicted by Map 5.4 below.

The town, as asserted by the district Spatial Development Framework (SDF), is regarded as a Municipal (Rural) Service Centre, which is a small town only capacitated with resources limited to cater for the residents of the local municipality (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2014).

Map 5.4: The Town of Impendle as a Rural Service Centre



(Source: Researcher. 2018)

This factor partly justifies the cause of a population decline trend, which has been evident in the municipality since 2001 (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). The nature of the town as a Rural Service Centre has had impacts on a diversity of components, such as inaccessibility, poorly developed infrastructure, limited marketing, an inability to compete in the regional economy, limited rates base, and so forth (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

5.2.2 Geographical Location

As already mentioned, the municipality is rural in nature, and it is a given fact that the settlement land comprises largely traditionally governed land, as stated by the Municipal IDP

(Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). It must be noted, however, that the largest coverage of municipal land is private – made up of conservation sites along the western part of the municipality towards the Drakensberg Mountains, together with farmlands and agricultural land in the eastern part of the municipality. Plate 5.1 below demonstrates the Mondi forestry as one of the private agricultural activities which are evident within Impendle.

Plate 5.1: Mondi (Mount Shannon Farm) as Agricultural land within Impendle



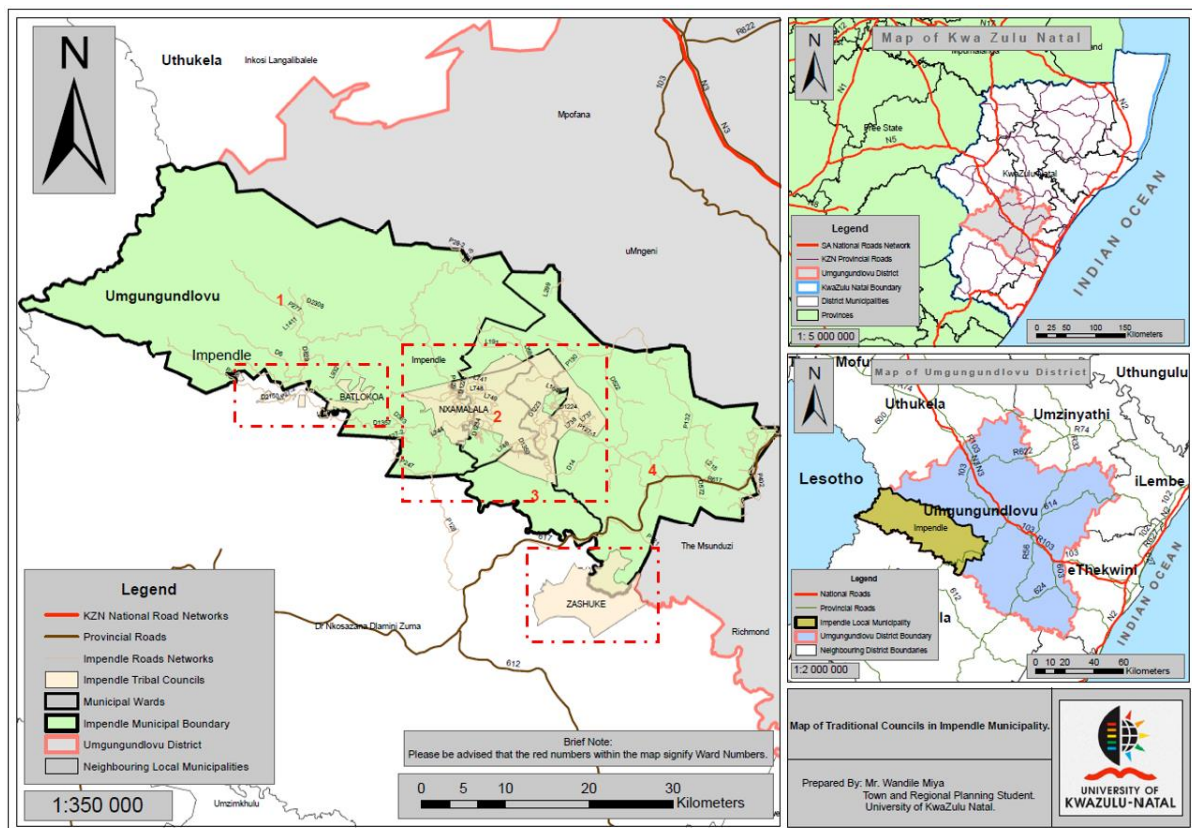
(Source: Researcher, 2018)

In further delineating the spatial setup of the settlements which exist in Impendle, its administration under the authority of the Kwa Nxamalala Traditional Council as the dominant Traditional Authority (TA), and the Batlokoa Traditional Council located in Stoffelton, is indicated in Map 5.5 on Page 87. The Zashuke Traditional Council, which is evident in the most southern part of Impendle, covers a small part of the municipality, with Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma Local Municipality – under the Harry Gwala District – being responsible for the administration of the Traditional Council (Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma Local Municipality, 2017).

In assessing the spatial setting and housing typologies in the study area, Impendle is largely characterised by sparsely located housing settlements, as reflected in Plate 5.2 on Page 87, which are both conventional and non-conventional dwelling units (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). In defining conventional housing units, the research refers to detached

housing units, erected with building materials which are of the National Home Builders' Registration Council (NHBRC) standards, with a guiding house plan for such dwelling units. The housing typologies also include incremental housing units, which have been erected in the area by the municipality, along with relevant sector departments. Imagery of such dwellings from observation is further presented in the section under the provision of housing units. Unconventional housing units, on the other hand, consist of detached housing units erected with clay, mud, corrugated iron and other natural elements, without the guidance of a housing plan. These housing settlements altogether are evident throughout the tribal areas which are illustrated in Plate 5.2 and Plate 5.5 on Pages 88 and 97.

Map 5.5: The Traditional Councils within Impendle LM



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

In understanding the structure of the administrative wards of the study area, Impendle has four wards, of which 3 are settlement areas. Ward one consists of settlements under the Batlokoa Traditional Council, under the governance of Inkosi Molefe. The settlement areas under Ward 1 are Stoffelton, Lower Lotheni and Stepmore, which is along the border of the Drakensberg Heritage Site. Ward 2 comprises a large portion of the Nxamalala Traditional

Council, under which the following settlements exist: Nzinga, Ukukhanya, Compensation, Mgodini, Shayabantu and portions of Enguga (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

Ward 3, towards the eastern region of the study area, consists of a considerable portion of the Nxamalala Traditional Council, under which the Impendle town is located, along with the following settlements: portions of Enguga, KwaNovuka, Ntshini, kwaKhetha, Ntshosweni, Fikesuthi, Sithunjwana, Come and See and Similobha. Ward 4, along the far eastern parts of the region, consists of private land which is largely characterised by commercial farms, with a few settlements. These settlements are: Gomane, Inhlabamkhosi and Boston towards the eastern boundary of the municipality (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

Plate 5.2: Sparse Spatial Setup of Settlements in Ward 2, Impendle



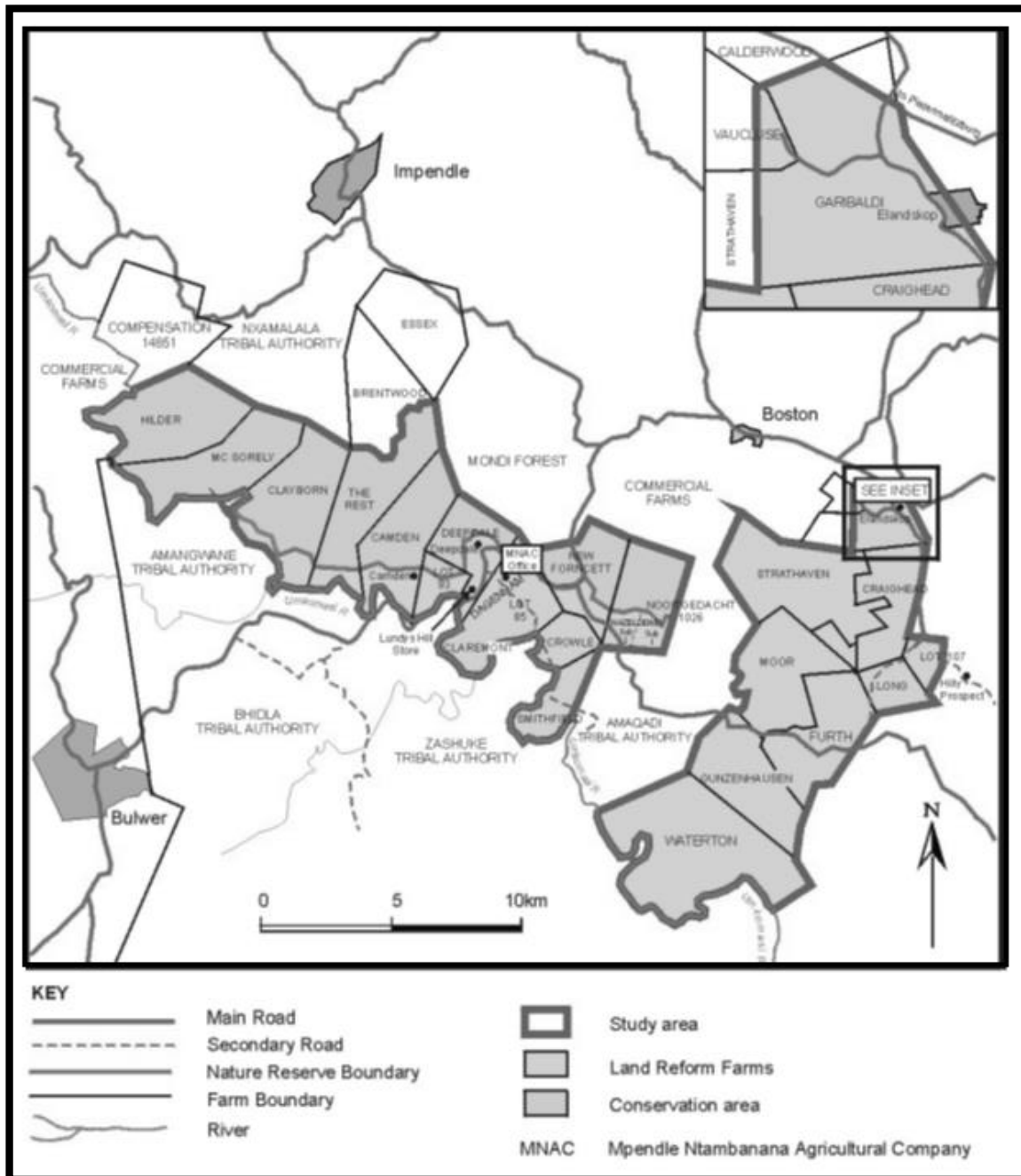
(Source: Researcher, 2018)

5.2.3 Historical Background

The area of Impendle was previously regarded as a Bantustan, or land which had high agricultural potential, as indicated by Drimie (2003). As this was the case, the land largely consisted of privately owned farmland, which was owned by settlers of the former era, as per the strategy of apartheid planning which was to restrict access to all forms of economic opportunity, including land and its resources, to people of colour (Drimie, 2003).

However, Drimie (2003) highlights that the privately-owned farms were expropriated by the former government as a means of making the Bantustan of that era into a state entity. It is further mentioned that the intention was for the former state to sell the land through the market under land reform processes.

Map 5.6: Impendle State Land Prior to 1994



(Source: Drimie, 2003, p. 43)

It is noteworthy however, from the presented map of Impendle prior to 1994, that the municipal demarcations have changed significantly, thus not giving a clear reflection of the current study area. Nevertheless, it is evident that some of the areas, such as the Nxamalala Tribal Authority areas, Compensation, the commercial farms and most notably the Mondli Farm and Boston area were reflected on the map.

In addition to the idea of keeping Impendle as a viable Bantustan, Drimie (2003) mentions that the farms in Impendle were considered as settlement areas for Zulu residents, as a means of mobilising the labour force for these farms. It was noted that the agricultural farmlands of topic in the area summed up to 22 000 hectares (Drimie, 2003, p. 43), as depicted spatially in Map 5.6 on Page 89. In the post-1994 era, it was noted that the Department of Land Affairs was responsible for the redistribution of land to those who were denied access to it during the apartheid era (Drimie, 2003), as governed by Section 25 of the Constitution, which states that “Property may be expropriated only in terms of law of general application (a) for a public purpose or in the public interest” (Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 10).

As a means of decentralising power and governance in the post-1994 era, as articulated by Berrisford (2011), the municipal demarcations enabled all land to fall under some form of municipal jurisdiction, as a means of promoting spatial equity and decentralisation through the establishment of local municipalities which need to be well-serviced and administered in order to promote self-reliant communities desirable to those residing in them. This is similar to the ideologies of the postmodern urbanism theory, which suggest that there be polycentric developments as a means of minimising pressure on centralised nodes (Dear and Flusty, 1998). Moreover, the theory suggests that there should be a bottom-up approach to promoting decentralised nodes, hence opposing the scientific spatial models of the modernist era. In addition, Dear and Flusty (1998) mention that one of the concepts within the theory is that of edge cities. In summary, these are peripheral cities formed on green spaces where there are farmlands which lie along freeway intersections (Dear and Flusty, 1998).

Though these concepts are similar to those defining the spatial nature of Impendle, it remains that the majority of the residents reside in TA settlements, with a large portion of the municipality remaining privately owned to date. However, it was also highlighted that the municipality is currently facilitating the process of land claims, which are steadily being successful (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). With relation to service delivery, it was

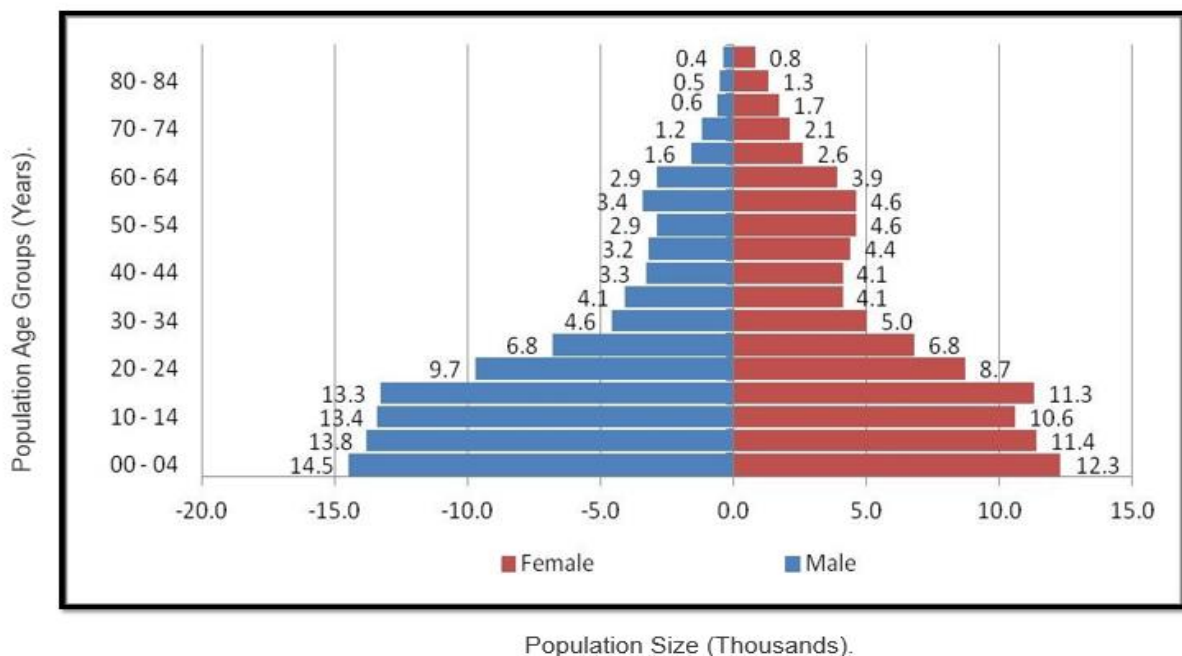
noted in the municipal IDP that privately-owned settler areas – being labour tenants and farm owners – have proven difficult to service due to issues of authority (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

It is therefore evident, with these disputes regarding land contestation and marginalisation in the study area prior to 1994, that the municipality is still working towards redressing the immense service backlog for the rural area, which partially explains the slow-moving progress of development in the area.

5.2.4 Demographic Profile of the Study Area

The presented findings on demographics reveal numerous aspects. In relation to understanding the composition of the existing age groups in Impendle, the study seeks reference to the demographics pyramid given in Figure 5.1 below. From the demographic graph, it is evident that on average there is a larger population of males amongst the youth age groups. It might be assumed that most of the agricultural activities which are evident in the area are predominantly undertaken by those of the male gender.

Figure 5.1: Population Pyramid of Impendle LM from Census 2011



(Source: Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 48)

In addition, the graph further indicates that there is a significant decline of the population within the youth age group, most notably of those between the ages of 20 and 35. The municipal IDP further mentions that such trends are most notable amongst males, as this larger population migrates to areas outside of the municipal area (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). Moreover, this age group might be argued to be the most active within the working force. However, in the case of Impendle, the absence of those of this age groups in the area might be perceived as one of the factors which explains the issue of a stagnant economy in the area. Moreover, such a trend further justify the statistics discussed in Chapter One, which reveal that the municipality suffers from an immense population decline issue.

As part of the justifications for the population decline rate as per the statistics from Census 2011, the municipal IDP highlights that prominent factors which lead to such trends are the uncertainty of new investments in the area, and a lack of quality secondary and tertiary educational institutions, all of which does not indicate any progress in implementing developments which might promise the betterment of the economic status of Impendle's local residents (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). Another factor which contributes to the population decline is mortality rates amongst the youngest age groups, of between 5 and 14 years (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 49).

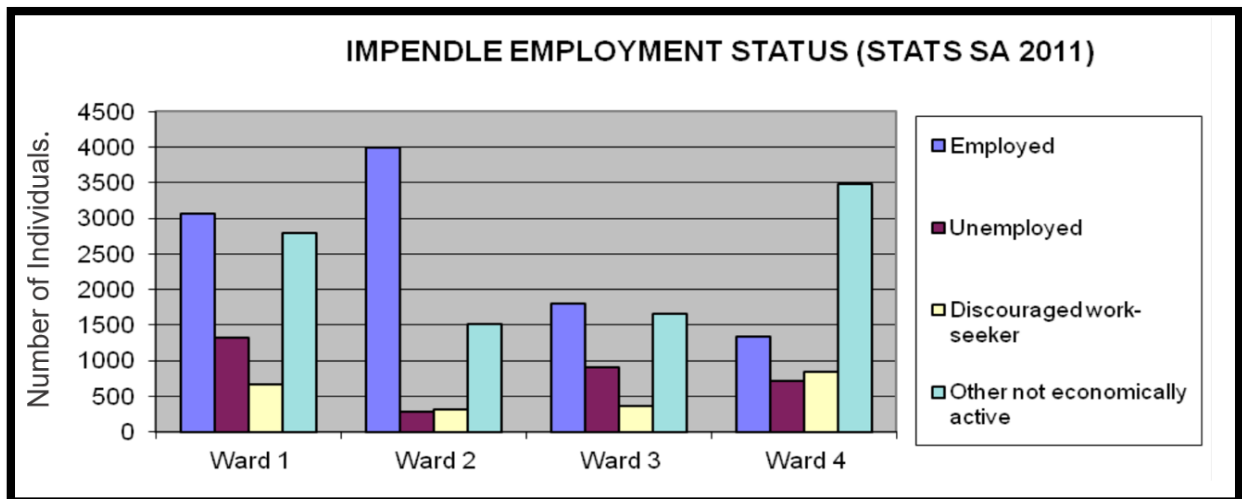
5.2.5 Socio-economic Profile of the Study Area

For Impendle's total population of 33 105 (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 48), the employment rate appears to be relatively poor. From analysing the employment status of local residents, the reflection given in the municipal IDP is that employment levels are lower than rates of unemployment, which when considering the sum of the unemployed, discourages work seekers and the economically inactive. Figure 5.2 on Page 93 indicates such statistics. Moreover, it is also illustrated in the municipal IDP that, amongst economically active residents, their most prominent forms of employment are in wards with high levels of agricultural activity, specifically in ward 4, and also where there are government institutions, being in ward 2 (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

However, it is also worth noting that, with regard to the employment status presented in Figure 5.2 on Page 93, a significant portion of the population is economically inactive. From such statistics, two elements prevail, being that: a) there is a lower youth population within

the working ages in the area; and that b) ultimately the absence of the youth in the active working force hinders economic growth within the area.

Figure 5.2: Employment Status of Impendle LM



(Source: Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 99)

5.2.6 Primary Infrastructure Status

As far as the extent of service provision in Impendle is concerned, it must be understood that the study focuses on the extent to which bulk services as the primary form of service provision are implemented as a means of promoting social and economic growth, as earlier mentioned in Chapters One to Three.

In linking the status of service provision to this research, it must be remembered that the public goods theory essentially argues that public goods are services which, once produced, may be consumed by more than one consumer at no additional cost (Holcombe, 1997). The theory further argues that these goods are to be provided by the government as goods to be consumed by the public. With relation to service delivery, it has been made a constitutional mandate in the country that basic services are to be consumed by all citizens of the country (Republic of South Africa, 1996). In relation to the study context, the research has focused on the provision of services as public goods for the area of Impendle, and their extent in redressing spatial imbalances through elevating the area's economic growth potential.

In relation to public services in the study area, such as engineering services (electricity, road networks, solid waste, water, sanitation and dwelling units), these are the responsibility of

both the Impendle Local Municipality and uMgungundlovu District conjointly, with the assistance and collaboration of other sector departments. Moreover, public goods do not only comprise engineering services alone, but also the provision of social and economic services, such as commercial and industrial facilities, together with educational, healthcare, institutional and other relevant amenities offered by the government.

5.2.6.1 Water and Sanitation

According to the municipal IDP, water provision is one of the responsibilities of the District Municipality. In the case of Impendle however, it is indicated that the municipality has various unreliable water resources, some of which are small run-off rivers and boreholes (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). It was further noted through observation that the provision of water services in some of the areas is provided on a minimal scale, which justifies some of the concerns raised by community residents with regard to shortage of water supply in some of the district's areas. Plate 5.3 below indicates such cases through the size of the water connection pipe works evident in parts of the study area. Despite the challenges outlined, the municipal planner mentions that the municipality has managed to achieve a success rate in servicing an estimated 80 percent of its households with water and sanitation.

Plate 5.3: Water Connection Pipes Feeding off to Residents in Ward 2



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

One of the responses to the issue of water provision is the Impendle Bulk Water Supply Scheme, still in its inception phase, and anticipated to be completed by the year 2026 (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). In addition, the project further outlines that the municipality is one of those identified to benefit from the uMkhomazi Water Supply Project, for which the initial phases are to commence in 2024 (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). Moreover, the Nxamalala Traditional Master Plan (N-TSMP) indicates that, as one of the proposed strategies to address the issue of unreliable sources for potable water provision, it has been mandated that of priority should be the constructing of a dam in the Nzinga area (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). However, no progress in the realisation of these plans is forthcoming in the municipal IDP.

5.2.6.2 Solid Waste Management

The responsibility of solid waste management lies at municipal level. However, in the case of the study area as a rural area, it was noted that the community residents have, to a large extent, taken the initiative to manage their own solid waste due to the large backlog experienced by the municipality. The solid waste category is further sub-divided into two factors, namely sewage waste and refuse waste respectively. With regard to managing sewage waste, residents have relied largely on pit latrine toilets which have been self-erected. Moreover, justifications for this have been the municipality's failure in providing bulk service connections in the sparse setup of the rural area, and a lack of funds. When dealing with refuse removal, residents are also responsible for their refuse waste, in the form of creating refuse pits or burning their waste within households (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

Such reasons therefore explain the refuse removal backlog of 97.47 percent, as given in the municipal IDP (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 94). The only households which have access to such services are those within the Impendle town, which make up the remainder of this percentage. It was noted, however, that the municipality is in the process of formalising a dump site.

5.2.6.3 Electricity

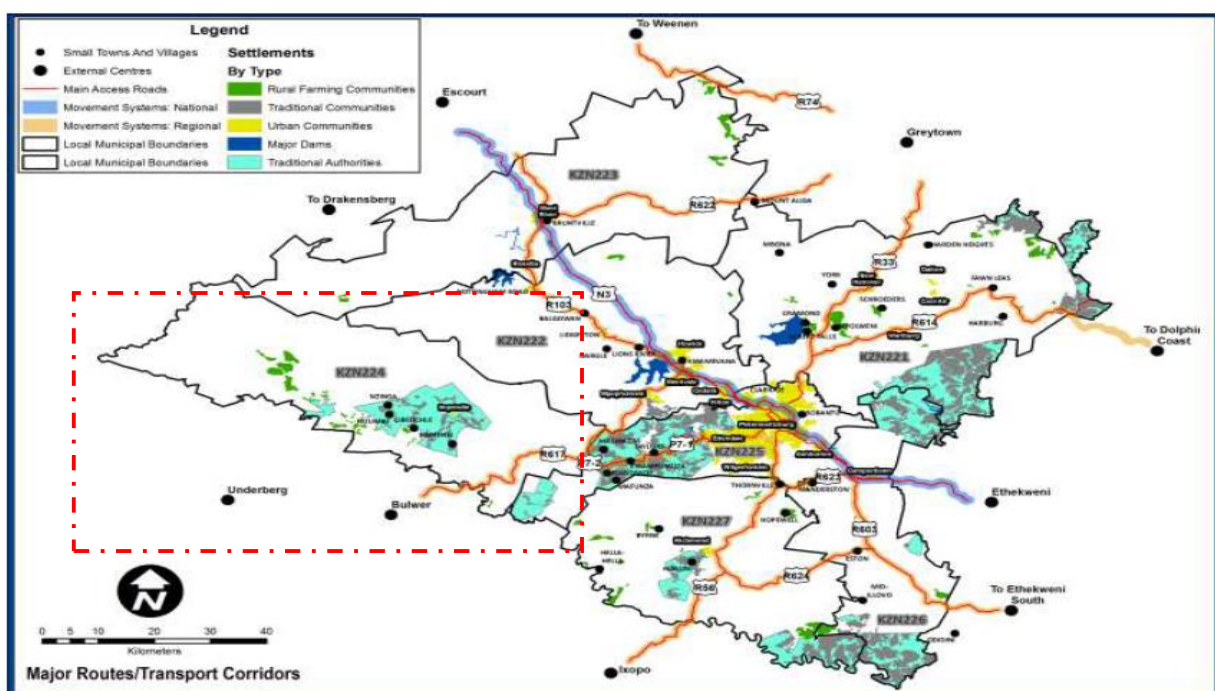
In relation to the provision of electricity, Eskom is the responsible provider for this service within the municipality. As per the figures, it was noted that the success rate for electricity provision in the area has been 85 percent on average throughout the municipal area (Impendle

Local Municipality, 2017, p. 95). The average electricity provision stems from the success rate per municipal ward. It was further mentioned by the municipal planner interviewed that the municipality is established to have the potential of reaching a 100 percent coverage in delivering electricity, with a remainder of 300 households to service. In an attempt to fully electrify all households in the area, Eskom has provided a list of new projects, as documented in the IDP, which seek to address the remaining backlog at ward level towards reaching a 100 percent electricity provision success rate (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

5.2.6.4 Road Networks

With regard to road networks at district level, it was indicated by the municipal planner interviewed that the historic issue of spatial location within Impendle should be considered. The municipality is located in a remote area, thus explaining its poor level of accessibility. No provincial roads which cut through the municipality and connect it to neighbouring municipalities exist.

Map 5.7: Major Transport Corridors of uMgungundlovu District



(Source: uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017a, p. 142)

Such road networks surround the municipality, hence the issue of poor accessibility which the municipality faces. Impendle municipality has a relatively poor accessibility network, with only two Provincial Corridors which cut through the south-eastern fringes of its municipal

area. These are the R617, which connects to the N3 at Howick; and the P2-7, which connects the R617 with the uMsunduzi Local Municipality, as depicted in Map 5.7 on Page 96.

Plate 5.4: The Poor State of Some of the Road Networks in Impendle



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

In the study area, it was noted that only 16 km of Impendle municipality’s 1 500 km road networks are tarred (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). It was further noted that a significant portion of the roads are in a very poor state, and are typified as being gravel which is impassable in wet weather conditions. Plate 5.4 above illustrates some of the poor road conditions.

Plate 5.5: The State of Improved Access Roads



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The municipal IDP of 2017 further argues that the poor state of road networks is a contributing factor in its implications on investment for Small-Medium Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) to function efficiently, given that transport accessibility for supplying goods is essential to the community (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). It was noted, however, that some of the road networks in the area have been improved, and are currently being worked on for the entire municipal area. This includes the provision of access roads to households within the dwelling settlements, their state being of levelled gravel roads, as shown in Plate 5.5 on Page 97.

Findings on these improved roads were further elaborated on by the KZN Department of Transport, where it is documented that the total number of known road networks for Impendle sum up to 398.93 km, of which 35.59 km are tarred, 234.14 km are gravel, and 130.20 km are conditioned gravel as per the municipal IDP (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 86). In addition, Table 5.1 below presents the projects undertaken and their budget allocations as a means of improving accessibility.

Table 5.1: Department of Transport Projects

Type	Description	Allocations in R
Local Road	Ntwasahlobo Road L1085 Ext.	735 300
Local Road	Ntwasahlobo C/Way	1 400 000
Regravelling	Regravelling of D1234	750 000.00
Regravelling	Regravelling of D1350 (2.01km)	750 000.00
Regravelling	Regravelling of P130 - 2 sections	4 000 000.00
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MR 127 and DR 1357 – Impendle to Himeville is in progress and is being funded and done by our Head Office over the next 4 years. • Structures: DR 363 – Awaiting award KZ 224 Impendle. • Provincial Rehabilitation Roads requiring rehab awaiting funding: MR 135 		

(Source: Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 87)

With regard to public transportation as being the dominant mode of commuting within the area, the municipality is also in the process of renovating the existing taxi rank, as the only public transport facility available for the area (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). Moreover, the municipality has liaised with the local taxi association that there be an

improvement in the accessibility of public transport for residential areas which are excluded from such services.

5.2.6.5 Housing

There has been commendable progress in the provision of single-detached housing structures in the study area, which are exemplified in Plate 5.6 below, as a means of improving the living conditions for community residents of the area. It was gathered that there has been no clear housing backlog in the rural setup, but rather that the need for conventional structures is commonly expressed, given that self-erected mud structures are vulnerable to harsh weather conditions.

Plate 5.6: Single-detached Housing Structures provided *in situ*



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

In this regard, it was noted through observation that a majority of the housing units provided were developed in situ, adjacent to dwelling units self-erected by community members. The relevant provider of these housing projects is the KZN Department of Human Settlements (DHS), in addition to appointed service providers which are responsible for the construction of the dwelling units. It was noted, however, that upon completion of the projects the responsibility for maintenance of these structures lies with the local municipality (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

In further examining the extent of housing provision in Impendle, Table 5.2 on Page 100 sheds light on the progress of housing projects within the study area. It was further highlighted that in privately-owned areas, such as farmlands, it has been challenging to provide development in some cases (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017), which in turn, affects the livelihood of farm workers who reside on such farms.

Table 5.2: Department of Human Settlements Housing Projects in Impendle

WARD NAME	PROJECT PHASE	NUMBER UNITS	PROJECT STAGE	COMMENTS
Ward 1	1 – Clarence Makhuzeni	250	Packaging Planning	The project had land ownership challenges but sorted now and beneficiary administration had just taken place, EIA also in place.
Ward 1	Phase 2	500	Planning	The Implementing Agent has just being appointed as Linda Masinga & Associates to package this project.
Ward 2	Inzinga project	300	Construction	This project was part of Ward 1 phase 1 but moved by new demarcation, this project has R21M
Ward 2	<i>Inguga</i>	500	<i>Completed</i>	<i>This project was completed in 2011 and had built 495 units. It also won the award of the best rural housing project in KZN.</i>
Ward 2	Phase 2	500	Planning	The project is running and done by Motheo Group as the IA.
Ward 3	<i>Smilo bar</i>	500	<i>Completed</i>	<i>It was completed in 2012 and built 494 units.</i>
Ward 3	Phase 2	500	Planning	The project is running in planning and managed by Umpheme Consulting
Ward 4	Phase 1	552	Construction incomplete	<i>The project has still few units to be built and currently has 538 units built. This project had 500 units initially but then had been added 52 units for disaster houses at Inzinga and Ntshiyabantu after being destroyed by storm in December 2010.</i>
Ward 4	Phase 2	500	Planning	The project is running under planning and managed by Isibanisezwe construction.
In the Village	Village housing	500	Planning	The project is running under FC Consulting as the IA and is about to begin Waste Water Treatment Works since we just got the funding of R18.5M from DWA. This scheme will benefit the entire village and the houses cannot be built before this infrastructure is built.
In the Village	Rental housing	100	To be initiated	There is a need to initiate this programme since there is no formal rental in the area and it shall also reduce the number of teachers and other governmental employees travelling from PMB and other outside areas to and from Impendle. This shall provide good and secure place of renting to them.

(Source: Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 110)

5.2.7 Secondary Infrastructure Status

Similar to the findings discussed in Section 5.2.6, the findings herein contained herein retrieved in two forms, these being primary and secondary forms of data collection. Secondary sources of data were collected from Municipal and District IDPs, and the District SDF respectively. Primary forms of data, on the other hand, were collected through interviews, the preparation of maps and observations, and in the form of imagery as a means of identifying the extent of service provision in the study area in relation to bulk services as the primary forms of service required for economic growth and investment.

5.2.7.1 Educational Institutions

In relation to educational facilities, the municipal area has a fair number of schools which cater for its population. These include primary schools, secondary schools and combined schools accordingly. The sum of all schools in Impendle is 39 (see Table 5.3 on Page 101), as

per the figures in the municipal IDP (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017). It was noted that there are no higher educational institutions in the area

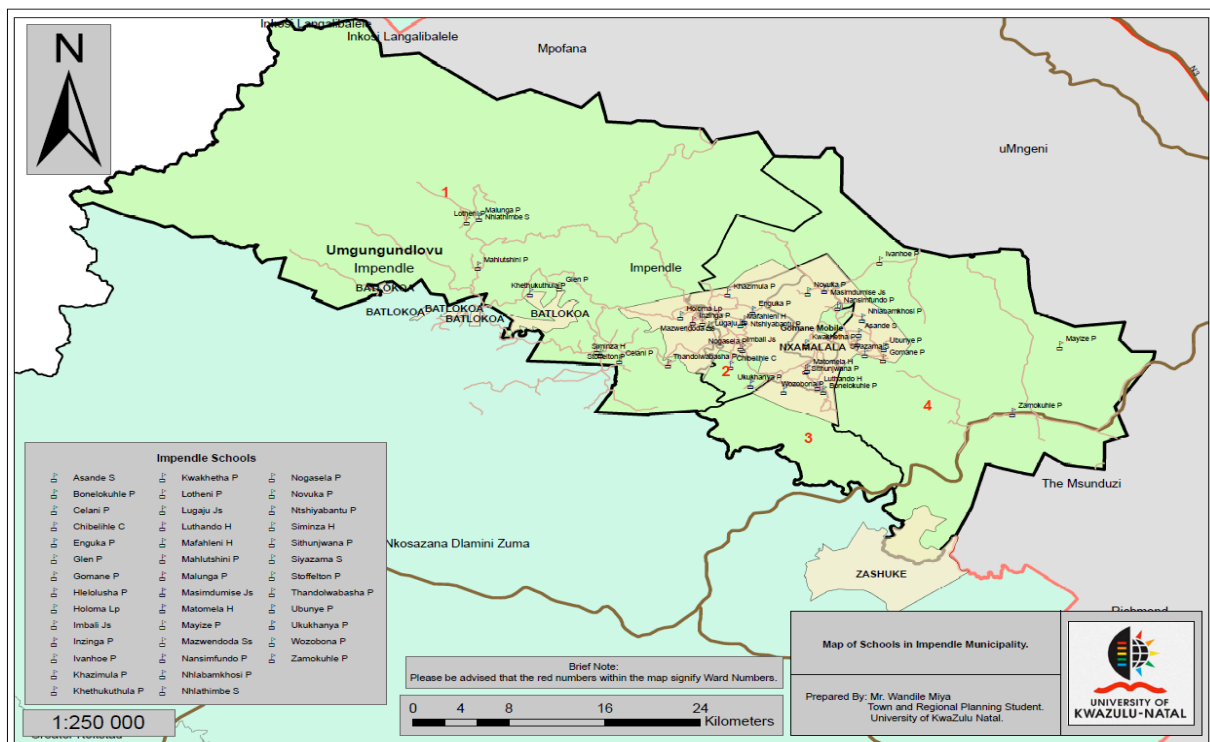
Table 5.3: Schools in Impendle

TYPE	SCHOOLS	PUPILS	EDUCATORS	AVE pupils / educator	No of classrooms	AVE pupils / classroom
Primary	27	5 601	175	32	213	26
Secondary	11	3 747	115	33	103	36
Combined	1	706	22	32	18	39
TOTAL	39	10 054	312	32	334	32

(Source: Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 111)

In addition, Map 5.8 below spatially depicts the positioning and names of the aforementioned schools. Inasmuch as there are sufficient schools in the area, it was voiced that there is an existing gap in the provision of these for remote areas, as there tends to be a disadvantage with regard to the norms and standards which are followed in requirements for schools by the Department of Education, specifically for rural schools such as those found in the study area. Moreover, community residents expressed that the quality of education in local schools is relatively poor. Subsequently, parents send their children to schools in urban areas, where the quality and level of education is higher than those found within the study area.

Map 5.8: Spatial Illustration of Educational Facilities in Impendle



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

5.2.7.2 Economic Facilities

With the provision of bulk services as a means of promoting economic development, as earlier argued in Chapter Three, this research maintains that such provisions allow for the growth of economic facilities. In acknowledging that economic services function upon the foundation of primary infrastructure in the context of this study, the research presents the economic activities which are evident within the municipality of Impendle. Hereunder, the research presents Plate 5.7 below as depicting the activity corridor in the Impendle Town. From the activity corridor, the research taps into the various commercial services which are found in the town, amongst other land uses.

With regard to the municipal IDP, not much is disclosed in this regard. From the observations and interviews performed, however, it was evident that there are very few economic facilities which exist in the area. As earlier mentioned, the dominant form of economic activity is in the form of agriculture on the existing farms within the municipal area.

Plate 5.7: The Activity Corridor in the Impendle Town



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

Apart from these agricultural activities, there are some small-scale informal commercial activities, such as informal trading, which exist within the activity corridor of the Impendle Town. It was noted that these activities do not have a significant impact on economic growth.

Plate 5.8: Amandla Supermarket (Adjacent to Amandla Hardware Store) in the Impendle Town



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

Plate 5.8 above illustrates the nature of commercial facilities prevalent in Impendle Town, which are predominantly family-owned by small-scale private investors, in addition to local dealers. Though Impendle town is a Rural Service Centre, facilities in the town have proven not to be sufficient for residents, given that existing stores do not cater for all the needs of the community as a whole.

Plate 5.9: Petrol Filling Station in the Impendle Town



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

Of the existing commercial services which are evident, the Impendle town contains no formal shops. The only stores that are available for the community are general and traditional shops

in the town, these being hardware stores, local supermarket stores, a petrol filling station, a local butchery and liquor stores.

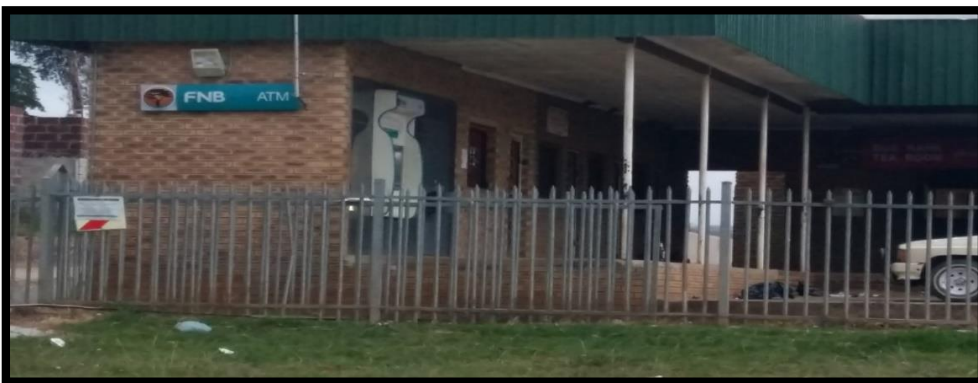
Plate 5.10: From Left – Bambanani Tavern; Supermarket and Butchery in the Impendle Town, Owned by Local Residents



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

In addition, the town also offers only a few banking services found at the taxi rank in the form of ATMs, as shown on Plate 5.11 below. Within the taxi rank, three banking companies are represented, these being ABSA, Standard Bank and First National Bank. The Ithala ATM, on the other hand, is located within the Impendle Thusong Centre, which is found in close proximity to the taxi rank.

Plate 5.11: Provided ATMs within the Taxi Rank, Impendle Town



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

Other economic structures which exist in the town are rundown and left unattended. Amongst these are industrial structures, such as the Ithala Factory Units, along with other dilapidated buildings.

Plate 5.12: Inactive Ithala Factory Unit



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

On a more positive note, however, it was interesting to note that the municipality has allocated land to cater to business ventures, and there are potential investors who have shown an interest in participating in development, as shown by Plate 5.13.

Plate 5.13: Notification of Proposed New Mall in Impendle



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

5.2.7.3 Institutional and Social Facilities

For the purposes of this research, land uses regarded as “Institutional and Social” focus on identifying allocations such as government facilities, traditional council facilities, libraries, community centres and postal services. Due to the wide range of facilities which fall within this section, the research herewith sub-categorises these institutional facilities according to the following respective order: libraries; community centres (including the community hall); municipal offices; police stations; and legal structures (including traditional courts).

Plate 5.14: Impendle Community Library in the Impendle Town



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The Impendle Community Library (Plate 5.14) is located in the northern part of Impendle town in close proximity to the municipal offices for the area. The library caters for the educational needs of those schools which are in close proximity to the town. It was further noted that the library services offered also extend to Nottingham Road and Hilton (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

Plate 5.15: Inzinga Satellite Library in Ward 2



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The municipality also has the Inzinga Satellite Library (Plate 5.15 above), which is one of the few that supports local schools in the municipal area. It was noted that the municipality is currently in the process of erecting satellite libraries in the Mahlutshini, Madiphini and KwaNovuka areas (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

Plate 5.16: Impendle Thusong Services Centre



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The Impendle Thusong Service Centre (see Plate 5.16 on Page 107) is located at the southern end of the municipal town, in close proximity to the police station and local general dealer stores. The centre includes the local Home Affairs offices and an ATM which caters for the entire municipal area.

Plate 5.17: Impendle Community Hall



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

South of the town is the municipal community hall (Plate 5.17 above), which lies in close proximity to the Impendle Thusong Service Centre.

Plate 5.18: Community Care Centre in Ward 1 – In Construction



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

It was noted through observation that the municipality is at an advanced stage of constructing a Community Care Centre (Plate 5.18 on Page 108) in the Stoffelton area, under Ward 1. The objectives of this development are not stated in the municipal IDP.

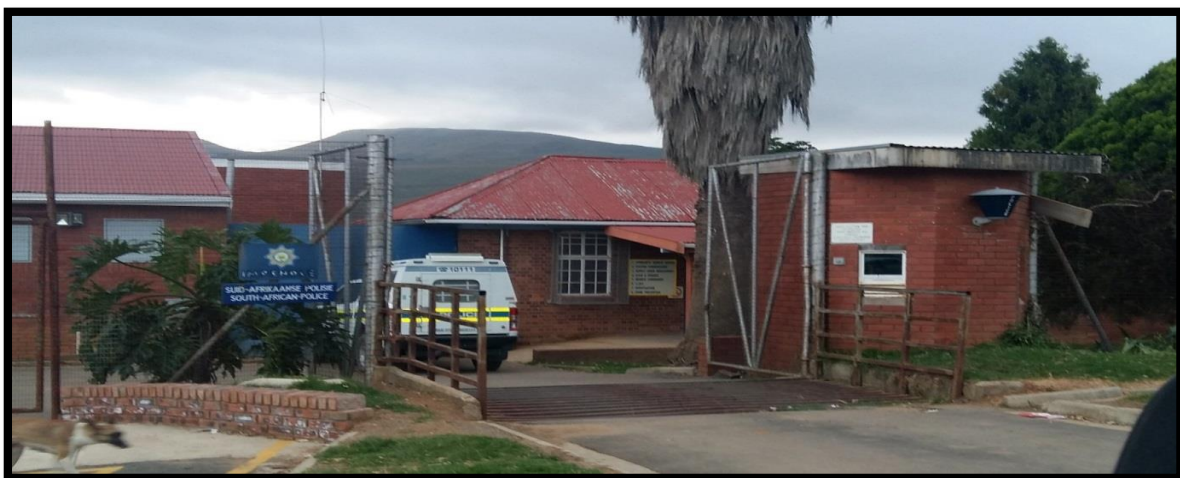
Plate 5.19: Impendle Municipal Offices



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The municipal offices for the area (Plate 5.19 above) are located to the north of the town, being adjacent to the Impendle Magistrate's Court, and also in close proximity to the communal library and local supermarkets. It is worthy to note that the other segment of the municipal offices is separated by the road surrounding the northern side of the plot, east of the entry road for these offices.

Plate 5.20: Impendle Police Station



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The communal police station (Plate 5.20 on Page 109) is located in Impendle Town, in close proximity to the local general dealer, a liquor store and the post office. It was stated by residents during the interviews conducted for this study that the police station is not capable of catering for the entire municipality, hence an expressed need for more police stations within the area. These concerns were also noted in the municipal IDP as one of the backlogs encountered by the municipality (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017).

Plate 5.21: Impendle Magistrate’s Court



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The Impendle Magistrate’s Court (Plate 5.21 above) is situated adjacent to the Impendle Municipal Offices and the local supermarkets. It is noteworthy that the court shares the same plot as the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) offices, which also caters for the entire municipal area as far as providing social grants for relevant residents is concerned.

Plate 5.22: Kwa Nxamalala Traditional Court



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

The traditional court (Plate 5.22 on Page 110) is governed by Inkosi uZuma, along with his respective Traditional Council. The court is located in Kwa Nxamalala, dealing with traditional legal matters for the area of Kwa Nxamalala, which is under the governance of Inkosi uNxamalala. There is another traditional court (Plate 5.23 below) which is governed by Inkosi uNdlunkulu Molefe, along with her respective Traditional Council. The court is located in Stoffelton, dealing with traditional legal matters for the Stoffelton area.

Plate 5.23: Stoffelton Traditional Court

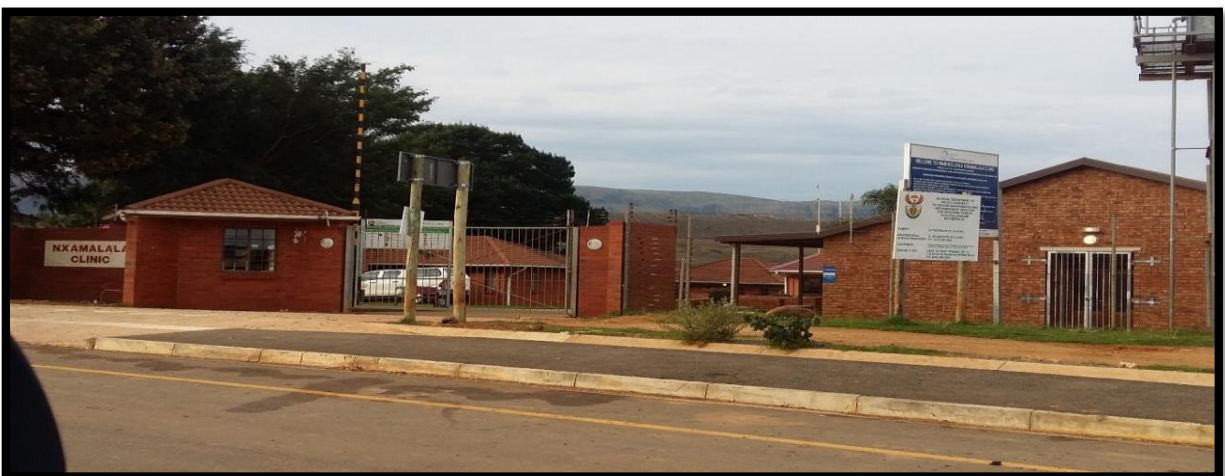


(Source: Researcher, 2018)

5.2.7.4 Healthcare Facilities

As per the gathered study findings, it was evident that Impendle is in need of additional healthcare facilities. At current, the municipal area has three fixed healthcare facilities in the form of clinics.

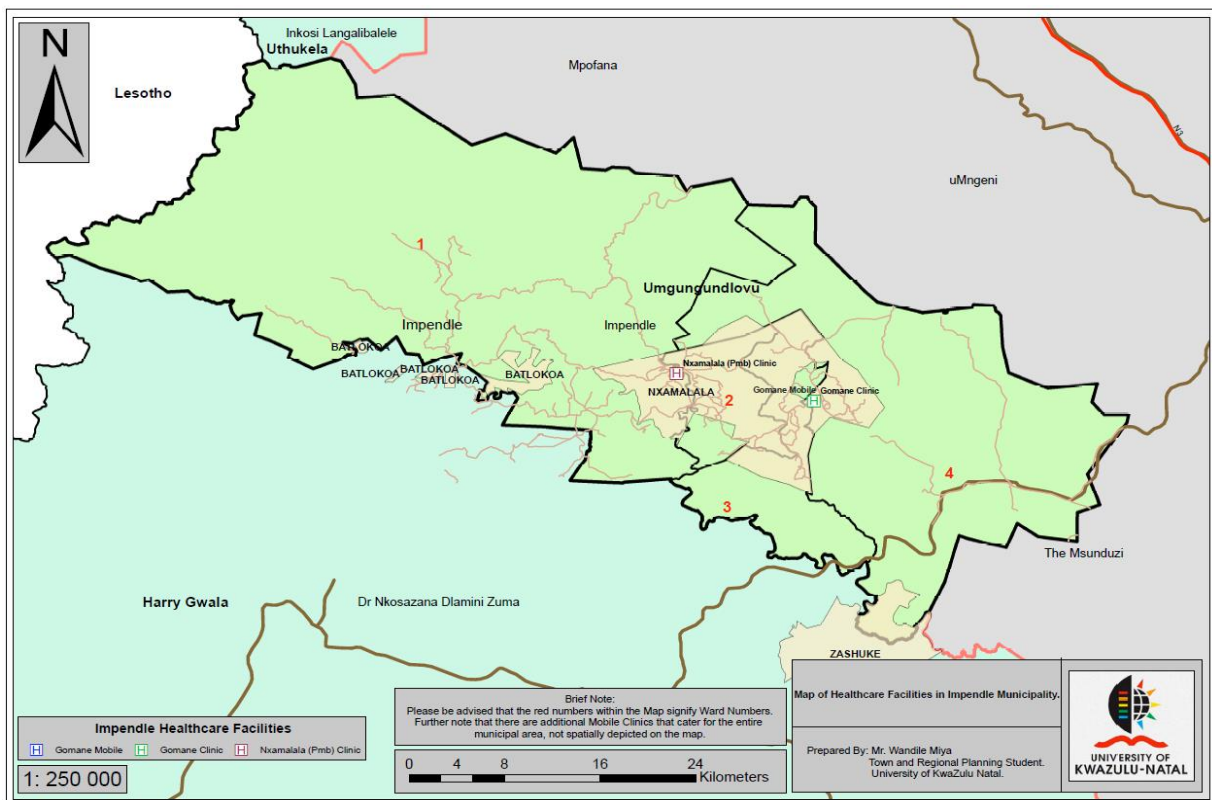
Plate 5.24: The KwaNxamalala Clinic



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

These clinics are located within Kwa Nxamalala, Mahlutshini and the Impendle Village, as spatially depicted in Map 5.9 below. Plate 5.24 on Page 111 shows the Nxamalala clinic, which is located in ward 2, and is one of the commonly used clinics in the area. It is stated that there are approximately 1 500 people on average per nurse (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017, p. 102), which clearly indicates the need for additional facilities in this respect.

Map 5.9: Map of Fixed Healthcare Facilities in Impendle



(Source: Researcher, 2018)

Although there are 21 mobile clinics stationed within the communities of the study area, it was gathered from the conducted FGDs that there have been outcries from the community arguing that the level of services provided in clinics is not the same as that offered at hospitals. Residents have also expressed that in some cases deaths have been experienced in clinics due to limited services and resources they have available. In this regard, the community's request for the provision of hospitals in the municipality was noted.

5.2.8 Lessons from the Case Study of Impendle Local Municipality

The area of Impendle has an interesting historic background, which gives a sense of justification for the current challenges evident in the area. Given that the area was considered a “viable Bantustan”, as indicated by Drimie (2003), there was the possibility of creating an agricultural town, such as that of KwaSani, within Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma Local Municipality as a neighbouring municipality rich in agricultural and tourism activities (Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma Local Municipality, 2017), and which spatially reflects two provincial road networks and a number of other accessibility networks which run through the municipality.

Moreover, its lack of accessibility through road networks within the municipality might arguably be the foremost reason why the municipality has battled to realise the tourism potential for the area. Such a hindrance – in addition to limited resources – has resulted in the immense backlog of services which the municipality faces. It is noteworthy, however, that the municipality is making steady progress in providing engineering services for the communal spaces of Impendle, which fall largely within TA land. Though progress in providing bulk engineering services is evident, this is progressing at a slow rate, which has limited the municipality to considering proactive approaches to development as a means of enhancing the economy. Rather, the planning approach in Impendle is more responsive to past spatial imbalances. Since this is the critical predicament in Impendle, local residents have opted to migrating to neighbouring municipalities, where social and economic opportunities are more desirable.

5.3 Data Analysis

Within this section lies the essence of the research paper, which are its findings based on the outlined problem statement and the objectives of the research. In delineating the structure of this section, the presented findings align with the research objectives of the paper and further justify the notions encapsulated in the problem statement. It shall be recalled that the problem statement earlier argued that the evolution of governance in post-apartheid South Africa from centralised governance to decentralised power in the form of introducing municipal structures at a local level has resulted in positive outcomes in various respects (Maharaj and Narsiah, 2002). In the context of service delivery, considerable progress has been made at local municipal levels. In further elaborating on the progress made, the national government has

rolled out regulatory frameworks for upgrading basic infrastructure in local communities, such as the Integrated Development Plan, amongst others (Vhonani, 2010).

In further scrutinising the level of service delivery, however, the underlying issue of marginalisation in rural communities still prevails in the provision of services. In the contemporary era, the demarcation of local municipalities is regulated by similar authorities in rural areas adopting similar roles of power and governance to those in urban local municipalities. Despite this, some local municipalities, particularly those which are rural, have continued to face the challenge of a high backlog in service delivery (Brettigny and Sharp, 2016).

In outlining the challenges which are experienced in rural municipalities, social and economic factors were considered. With respect to social factors, a lack of bulk services, such as water, sanitation and electricity as primary forms of service delivery, create unpleasant living conditions for rural societies (Brettigny and Sharp, 2016), as compared to such services within urban settings. Due to a lack of these services, the implementation of health and social facilities as secondary forms of service delivery has proven to be challenging, as these services are implemented in a sequentially progressive manner. In addition, a lack of such services in rural areas has social implications, such as that of community members having to travel long distances to the closest towns in order to access them (Vhonani, 2010).

In narrowing these issues to the contextual level, the research presents findings which pertain to the abovementioned issues. In delineating the structure of the findings, these focus on five respective aspects, being 1) the policy frameworks adhered to; 2) the extent of service provision according to these policies; 3) the priority of development projects at a provincial level; 4) the social and economic outcomes of these implementations in Impendle; and 5) factors which perpetuate spatial inequality in the post-1994 era.

5.3.1 Policy Frameworks, Transformation of Rural Municipalities towards Spatial Inequality

Policy and legislative frameworks are an essential element in the governance of all activities. By their existence, policies are more concerned with integrating the relationship between knowledge and power (Parsons, 2002), which ultimately determines how things are to operate within certain environments. In this regard, the focus was on identified policy frameworks

from the key respondents for the research, as far as service provision is concerned, within the town and regional planning profession. The key informants targeted in this regard were from one sector department, namely Kwa-Zulu Natal Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs (KZN CoGTA), and two municipalities, these being the uMgungundlovu District Municipality (UMDM) and the Impendle Local Municipality respectively.

In outlining the policy and legislative frameworks which guide service provision at municipal level, with particular focus on rural municipalities, one of the key informants from CoGTA noted that in the devolution of powers in the post-1994 era, legislation was adopted. Within the adopted legislations, the informant argued that it was interesting to note that the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP), which was adopted in 2003 before the National Development Plan (NDP), posits that government should invest in areas with a high potential for economic development, with other areas receiving basic services only. This is justified by Oranje *et al.* (2009), who point out that Principle 4 of this policy clearly outlines that efforts to address past and current social inequalities should focus on people and not places. Principle 2 further stipulates that the government is bound by its constitutional mandate for providing bulk services to all citizens who reside within the country.

The NDP which was adopted in 2011, on the other hand, focuses its emphasis on alleviating poverty and on growing development in marginalised areas. Therefore, the primary policy adhered to as far as service provision is concerned is the NDP. Under this policy, as its primary framework, is the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) Act No. 16 of 2013, which guides spatial planning in the South African context. In the context of the Spatial Unit at KZN CoGTA, this piece of legislation acts as the sustaining framework for spatial planning.

Other policy frameworks which bind the Department are the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS), which seeks to establish a precise long-term vision for the future growth path of KZN Province. It is also worthy to note that within the purpose of the policy is that it seeks to spatially contextualise and prioritise development as a means of achieving spatial equity (KZN PPC, 2016). The Provincial Growth and Development Plan (PGDP) – which is the direct translation of the PGDS into an execution plan – allows for sector departments to effectively guide resource allocation and achieve anticipated targets set

out according to this strategy. This is in addition to the Provincial Spatial Development Plan (PSDP), which is a spatial translation of the Provincial Spatial Development Framework (PSDF). All of these strategies emanate from the Vision 2035 PGDS.

Furthermore, there are other internal service delivery policies at a provincial level which guide planning processes at the municipal level. In studying the hierarchy of such policies, at municipal level are the IDPs, which are vehicles for development, and the SDFs, which spatially translate the vision of the IDPs. However, with the adoption of SPLUMA, the driving document for development has become the SDF as a long-term strategy for all spheres of governance. In adherence to these policies, the lower levels of governance (being at district and local levels) comply with the above-mentioned policies within their respective municipal structures.

At district level, the UMDM has adopted legislative frameworks which emanate from both national and provincial levels respectively. In the context of districts, UMDM is guided by the District IDP, together with the District SDF, as the longer-term development strategies for municipalities, as per the requirements of SPLUMA. It is likewise worthy to highlight, in the context of this research, that District Municipalities are also bound by internal policies which are directly linked to the issues of service delivery. Such internal policy frameworks are: the District Service Commitment Charter, a document which speaks to how the provision of public services can be epitomised within municipal areas (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017b); and the Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP), which provides four components, including quarterly projections on service delivery targets; projections of municipal expenditure; and, more notably, the inclusion of a detailed capital works plan for the district, inclusive of the district's Medium Term Expenditure Framework (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017c). In addition, it is also important to note that under the Key Performance Areas (KPA) for the district, Basic Service Delivery is charted as one of these areas within the policy document (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017c, p. 11).

As far as the influence of policies at municipal level is concerned, the official from UMDM mentioned that in the rolling out of services, the following spatial frameworks and plans are considered as guiding documents for Impendle Local Municipality: the Spatial Development Frameworks, Strategic Environmental Framework Plans, Land Use Schemes and other

similar documents. It was therefore outlined that there are plans in place which address the issues of social and economic development. However, their impact cannot be pinpointed in the current context, as these plans have been set out without their implementation reflecting on the ground.

In addition, according to the municipal planner at Impendle Local Municipality, an additional policy and guiding framework which has been adopted and implemented at municipal (local) level is the municipal IDP which emanates from the District IDP. The municipal IDP acts as the main form of guideline, with additional policies which relate to performance management. It was further articulated that the municipality also takes cognisance of policies which are entrenched from documents such as the Freedom Charter of 1955, with particular focus on factors which address services that are to be provided by local municipalities, all in accord with the policy frameworks found in the UMDM. In addition, the municipality has the municipal SDF, which dates from the year 2010, the Local Economic Development (LED) Strategy and the Urban Design Framework (UDF), which act more as precinct plans for the Impendle area.

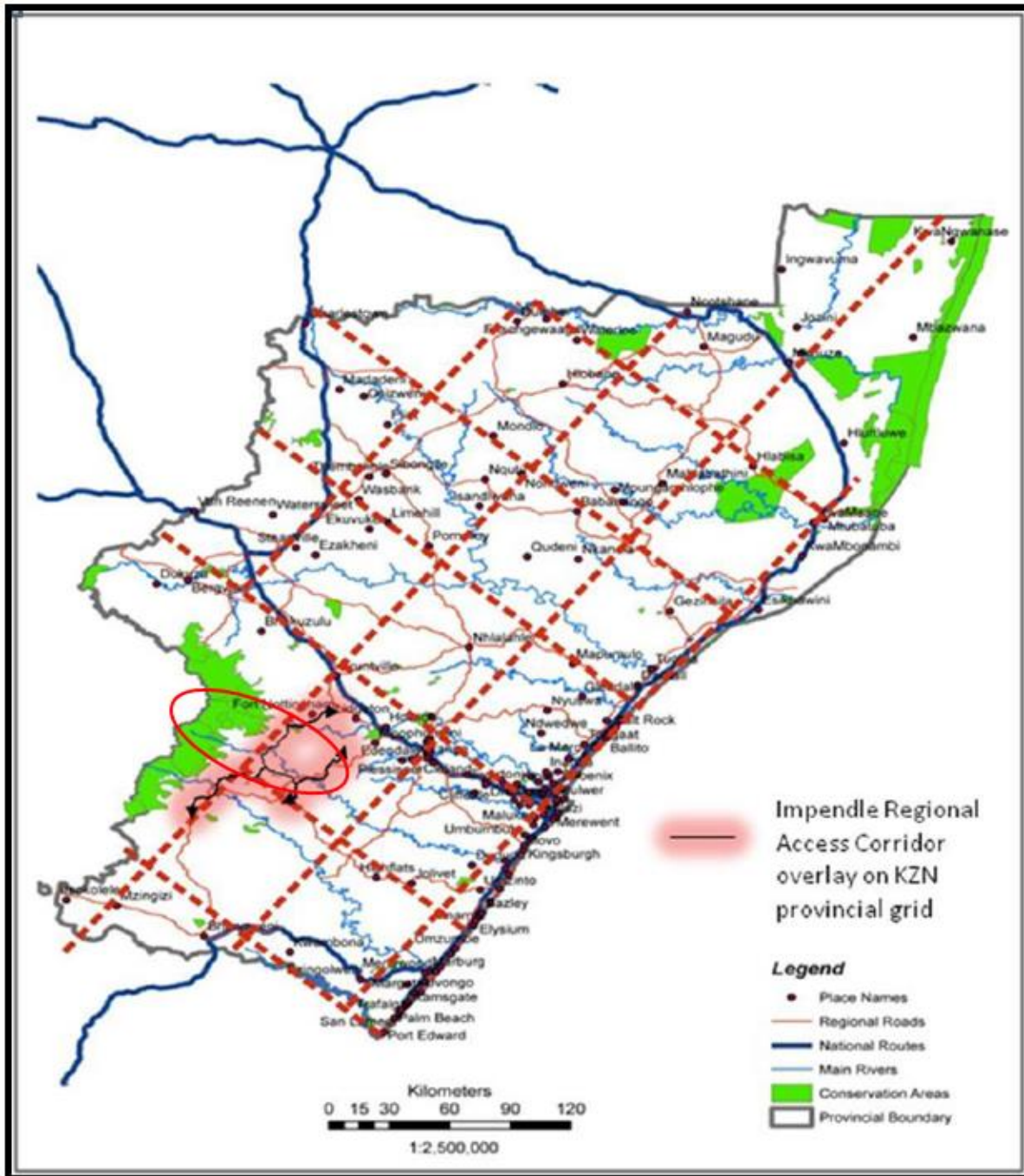
5.3.2 Service Provision in Accordance with Policy and Legislative Frameworks

This section seeks to establish the extent to which rural areas such as Impendle have been prioritised in realising infrastructural growth at the level of urban townships such as Imbali (in Pietermaritzburg, being a neighbouring municipality) as a means of bringing spatial equality to previously disadvantaged areas. However, what key informants from CoGTA mentioned differs, in the sense that services provided in areas are to a large extent guided by their hierarchy of importance within the province. More so, the principles of this hierarchy are strongly entrenched in the notion of accessibility through national and provincial roads which provide accessibility between Local Municipalities.

In narrowing the perspective to the contextual level, the area of Impendle is off the grid. Map 5.10 on Page 118 from the Impendle Local Municipality SDF illustrates the poor accessibility of Impendle in relation to the Provincial Accessibility Grid. Moreover, the map further indicates Access Corridors proposed by the municipal SDF, which are not actually realised on the ground. On this basis, the area's economic opportunities are minimal. This then explains the poor level of commercial facilities which exist in the town of Impendle, along with other secondary forms of services, such as healthcare, social, educational and

institutional facilities, amongst other economic facilities. In further understanding that different areas have different levels of services based on their importance in the province, it must be comprehended that services provided for Impendle are different to those provided for Pietermaritzburg, given various contexts for both municipalities: firstly, as urban and rural; secondly, on the basis of accessibility to national and provincial road networks.

Map 5.10: KZN Provincial Accessibility Grid with Impendle Proposed Access Corridors



(Source: Impendle Local Municipality, 2010, p. 68)

On this basis, the question of prioritising services for rural municipalities as is in urban municipalities is not quite achievable, since the research findings suggest that urban areas and rural areas are not the same, and will never be, as argued by the key informant at CoGTA. The argument raised by the second key informant on the other hand, was that given that the area is off the grid, it is an area which was also once created, just as areas such as Durban, Pietermaritzburg and other places which are on the grid. The point made here was that, if possible, attempts of making Impendle on the grid should be made.

In having outlined this the officials interviewed then stated that it must thus be warranted that residents within rural municipalities are not promised services which are not set out for such areas, but rather promised services which are possible to deliver within rural areas. In such cases, however, it must be noted by rural municipalities that there are new technologies available which are not being optimally used to provide such services. Innovative forms of engineering services (also referred to as bulk services), through the availability of solar powered lighting, wind generated electricity and other technologies, should therefore be considered. The challenge faced in the contemporary era is that generally people are sceptical of these new technologies, as they are unfamiliar applications in the rural South African context. This then implies that from provincial and district levels, the prioritisation of services is to the extent of providing engineering services as a means of achieving spatial equity. One of the approaches considered in achieving the provision of satisfactory services in the study area is the Equitable Share Programme, which is administered by the district municipality. The basis of the programme is for the fair provision of bulk services in all areas within uMgungundlovu.

In addition to the issue of the prioritisation of service delivery and spatial equity between rural and urban municipalities within uMgungundlovu, the municipal planner for Impendle Local Municipality argued that inasmuch as there are programmes such as Equitable Share at district level which ensure the equitable distribution of services, it remains that the provision of such services as a means of redressing spatial inequality are ineffective, since economic developments continue to be prioritised in urban municipalities such as uMsunduzi and uMngeni. Consequently, engagements held by the Department of CoGTA with community residents have given a pellucid clear indication that in the absence of sound service delivery and economic opportunities, residents are not keen on living in the area. This is substantiated

by the population decline statistics earlier outlined in Chapter Four which illustrate population migration trends for Impendle.

In having outlined the extent of services provided, the questions which surface are: “Are these services sufficient for rural communities?” and “Do they really promote and fulfil spatial equity?” In response to these questions, it is imperative that the Constitution as the highest form of law be adhered to at all times. In relation to service provision, the constitution speaks of “access”, with Section 26(1) stating that “Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing” (Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 11). It might then be argued that in the provision of “adequate housing”, as the Constitution suggests, what must be identified is the inclusion of bulk services as part and parcel of such developments.

Moreover, the notion of access implies that residents should benefit from such services as basic needs, irrespective of their geographical locations. With such provisions, which promote spatial equality, the research argues that the potential for driving economic development projects in Impendle might be realised in an attempt at achieving spatial equity. In response to such a requirement, the planning officials from CoGTA explained that the topography of Impendle has proven to be a challenging factor in the rolling out of such services. This is explained by the high costs required in considering the application of such services in an area which has such topography, and worse so, a poverty-stricken community which is unable to maintain such services. These are the challenging factors faced by rural communities.

Regarding the rural-urban dichotomy, it was established from the key informants that there is injustice between these two contexts as far as service delivery is concerned. With this realisation, it was also expressed that people should understand that spatial equity can never be achieved. However, spatial equality through the provision of bulk services, which the people are entitled to according to the Constitution, may be achieved. This explains the approaches implemented in the rolling out of such services in rural areas. An example would be the provision of potable water according to RDP standards, which stipulates that water services should be provided within a proximity of 200 metres from households, given that these dwelling units are sparsely located.

Inasmuch as there is commendable progress in the provision of services for the area, it must also be comprehended that there are a number of implications which have been faced by the municipality. On the topic of accessibility to services, the informants from CoGTA articulated that from observations in rural areas, the willingness to travel longer distances to access services is generally higher. This, it might be argued, is due to the nature of the area, and not out of personal choice. In considering the area of Impendle, there is the issue of a declining population (Impendle Local Municipality, 2016), implying that this willingness threshold is lower. With this being the situation, it might further be contested that such trends of a low threshold directly translate to lessening the focus on developments, which then implies that longer distances will always be travelled to those few amenities which exist.

Therefore, due to a lack of available amenities and bulk infrastructure, residents travel considerable distances to access secondary forms of services, as there are not many which exist in these remote areas. In justification of this statement, Vergunst *et al.* (2015) underline that rural areas in the South African context suffer from poor access to facilities with minimal attention from government. The argument raised by these authors is particularly concerning accessible healthcare and transportation amenities, amongst other services in poverty-stricken areas. This then begs the question: “Why must we plan for rural areas, when the indigenous residents are migrating to urban spaces?” In response to this question, the focus group discussions conducted with the residents of Impendle (including iziNduna) provided insight as to why rural areas also require adequate planning intervention, which is evidenced in the following section.

5.3.3 Unravelling the Priority of Service Provision from Provincial Level to Municipal Level

As a continuation of the legislations applied for governing service provision, and their extent in the case of Impendle, this section further analyses the extent of such provisions from provincial level to municipal level. In this section, the study seeks to analyse the viability of these approaches in an attempt to redress spatial imbalances of the former era and ultimately achieve the provision of sustainable and self-sufficient livelihoods in Impendle. Moreover, the section outlines the implications faced in the provision of these services from two perspectives, these being the level of integration between spheres of governance; and the challenges faced in the implementation process of these developments correspondently.

In attempting to understand the system of service delivery, and ultimately spatial planning in all the respective municipalities of South Africa, it is essential to understand the responsible structures which provide these services. In this instance, the research sees it necessary to delineate the functions of the Hierarchy of Plans and unravel the priority of service provision conjointly. It must be understood that the planning system functions in an integrated manner between national, provincial and local governance accordingly. Moreover, Section 40(1) of the Constitution clearly states that “government is constituted as national, provincial and local spheres of government which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated” (Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 25).

Moreover, Section 41 of the Constitution outlines the Principles of Co-operative Governance and Inter-Governmental Relations, under which it is documented that the spheres of governance are to work in unity and support each other accordingly (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

Figure 5.3: The Alignment of Strategic Plans



(Source: KZN PPC, 2016, p. 22)

In translating these prescriptions to the context of spatial planning, SPLUMA as the national legislation in the field of town and regional planning, also mandates the roles of the tiers of

governance, being that national and provincial governmental structures (under Sections 9 and 10) are to monitor and support municipal structures, as per Section 11 of the legislation (Republic of South Africa, 2013), which are the implementing agents of overall development. In the spatial planning setting, Figure 5.3 on Page 122 illustrates the hierarchy and timeframes of the development strategies as executed on the ground.

In understanding the functions of these structures as per the adopted legislation, the focus transcends to the context of the study area and examining the challenges faced in the functioning of these structures which result in the compromised execution of development. In the context of KZN, the Department of CoGTA is supported by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) as its governing national department. In addition, the Department is bound by national policies, such as the Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF), which emanates from the NDP. The policy consists of 14 Outcomes, amongst which are to achieve “An efficient, competitive and responsive economic infrastructure network”, and “Comprehensive rural development.” (KZN PPC, 2016, p. 21).

In addition, is the Nine Point Plan as a national policy, which contains aspects which address the enhancing of spatial justice in rural communities through points such as those in numbers 4, 8 and 9, which state that the focus lies on “Unlocking micro, small and medium enterprises (SMMEs), cooperatives, township and rural enterprises”, “Scaling up private sector participation and investment”, and “Cross-cutters with specific focus on water, ICT, transport infrastructure, science and technology.” (KZN PPC, 2016, p. 22), all of which are challenges faced in Impendle. Furthermore, the national department is bound by legislations and additional service delivery policies described in Chapter Three.

Moreover, in an attempt to improve livelihoods in rural settlements, the 2016 PGDS is comprised of seven Strategic Goals, one of which is Spatial Equity (KZN PPC, 2016). Within this goal, one of its two strategic objectives seeks to “Enhance the resilience of new and existing cities, towns and rural nodes, ensuring equitable access to resources, social and economic opportunities” (KZN PPC, 2016, p. 104). Moreover, the provincial department has identified the town of Impendle as a Quaternary Node on the Composite PSDF within its PGDP, which is principally a centre which aims at providing services to the local economy and community needs (KZN PPC, 2018). It is therefore evident that substantial efforts are made in realising spatial equity in rural municipalities.

Moreover, CoGTA has also adopted a programme of introducing and implementing Traditional Settlement Master Plans (TSMP) for rural municipalities, given that such areas previously had no land use schemes which regulated their activities. The adoption of the TSMP aims at providing planning for rural areas and identifying economic opportunities, and ultimately providing better living spaces. These elements are to be regulated through this document as part of the plan adopted for the municipal IDP and SDF. Essentially, the TSMP is municipal a document which aims at providing long-term plans for rural areas, which must be incorporated in the Land Use Scheme. Given that this is a pilot project which only commenced in 2015, Impendle Local Municipality has been identified for the adoption of the TSMP in the year 2016. Follow-up support on the project has, however, been compromised. Therefore, the challenge identified in this regard is that the department faces the immense task of monitoring and supporting 54 municipalities in the province, to the extent that the implementation of adopted strategies is a process which may only be achieved over a longer time frame.

Shifting to district level, the role of uMgungundlovu District governance is to facilitate and co-ordinate local municipalities in their functioning, since the implementation of projects lies at local level. Similarly to the order of the hierarchy, the District Municipality is bound by provincial legislation, and adopted internal policies for the provision of services. Amongst these policies, plans and development frameworks are the District IDP, SDF, SDBIP and the Service Commitment Charter. In understanding that the role of the District Municipality is to “facilitate and co-ordinate”, the district has various structures which support the level of integration required with Local Municipalities. These structures are the Planning and Development cluster, which co-ordinates planning for the entire district. All LMs are consulted, and issues on development are discussed, along with other plans which need to be developed. Secondly is the Shared Services Unit, where the unit has an agreement signed with Local Municipalities which instructs that the DM shall assist with the application processes, given that Local Municipalities lack capacity. On this point, the key informant insisted that integration is fully functional between these two tiers in the context of spatial planning.

In addition to the issue of support and integration between the two spheres, it is interesting to note that the district municipality has funded Impendle Local Municipality in their LUS for

the urban component, which is said to inaugurate soon under the rural land use policy which the local municipality is to adopt shortly. It was further disclosed that the provision of engineering services is undertaken by the Local Municipality, with support from the Technical Services Unit, at district level. In some instances, however, the relationship between the Technical Services Unit and the Local Municipality has tended to encounter challenges, which has implications for development.

Table 5.4: A Detailed 3-year MTEF from UMDM SDBIP

THREE YEAR CAPITAL WORKS PLAN 2016/2017 (Medium Term Revenue and Expenditure framework)				
CAPITAL PROJECTS	MUNICIPALITY	BUDGET YEAR 2017/2018	BUDGET YEAR 2018/2019	BUDGET YEAR 2019/2020
Nkanyezini, Manyavu, Manzamyama Water supply scheme	Mkhambathini Local Municipality	R 78 818 000	R 83 389 444	R 88 309 421.19
Maqonqo Water	Mkhambathini Local Municipality	R 24 950 000	R 26 397 100	R 27 954 528.90
Umshwathi Regional Bulk	uMshwathi Local Municipality	R 62 998 000	R 66 651 884	R 70 584 345.15
Hilton AC Pipe Replacement	uMngeni Local Municipality	R 32 327 639	R 34 202 642.06	R 36 220 597.94
Rural Roads Network plan		R 2 526 000	R 2 672 508	R 2 830 185.97
TOTAL				

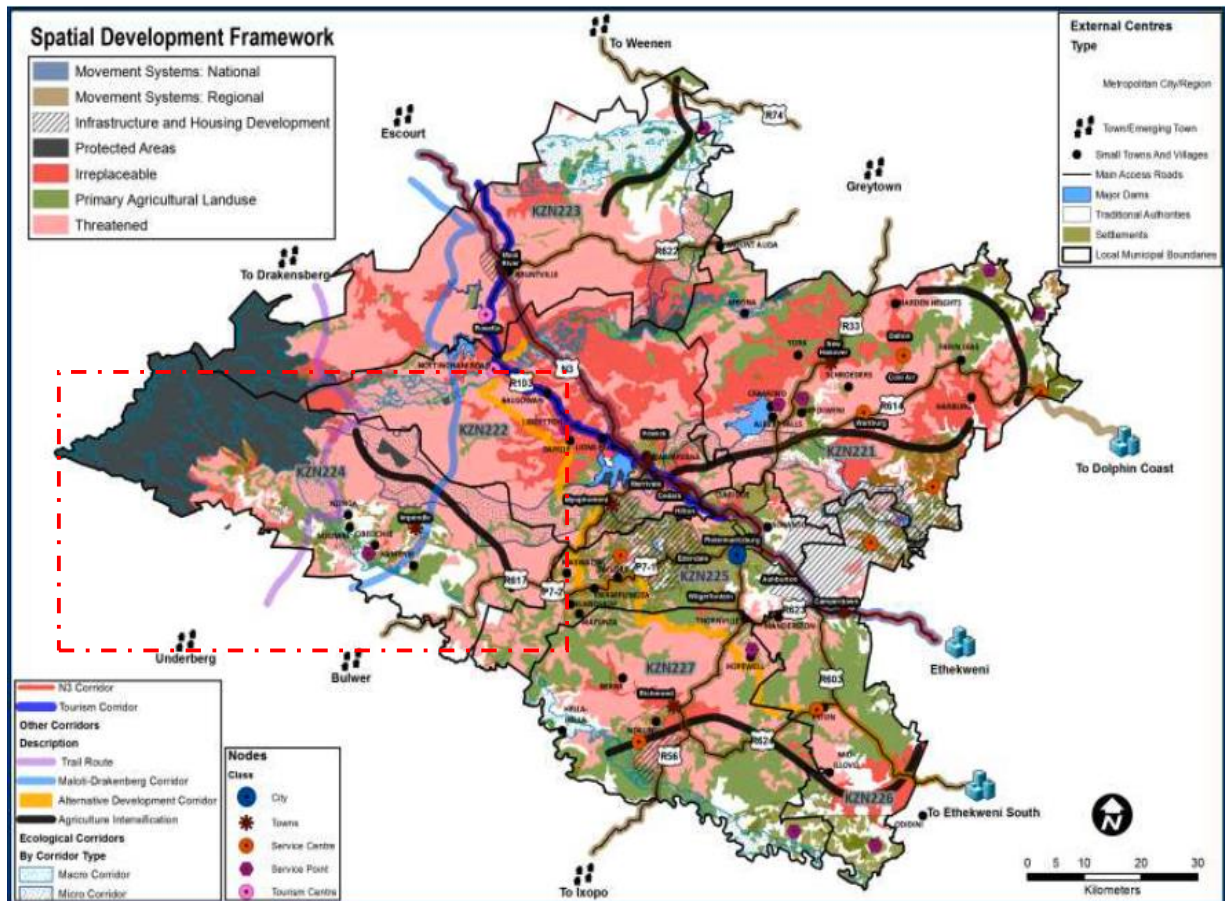
(Source: uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017c, p. 32)

To explore the proposed strategies on a slightly more detailed scale at District level, with particular emphasis on the study area, it is worthy to note that the municipality has not been included for consideration in any catalytic projects which are outlined in the District IDP (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017a, p. 221). Table 5.4 above from the District's Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) illustrates this through the Three-year Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF).

Such apparent neglect could possibly be explained by the steep terrains identified as one of the challenges in the context of the study area, in addition to other factors. However, the District IDP illustrates a Spatial Vision for the district's future plans, which indicates that the Impendle Municipality is identified to benefit from a proposed land category and two proposed corridors identified, namely the Agricultural Intensification corridor (shown by

black lines in Map 5.11 on below) which, as the name suggests, seeks to focus the potential economy on agricultural activities within the identified area, and the Trail Route (indicated by the purple line on Map 5.11) which cuts through the western part of the Impendle town, through to uMngeni and Mooi Mpfana Local Municipalities.

Map 5.11: Spatial Vision of uMgungundlovu District Family

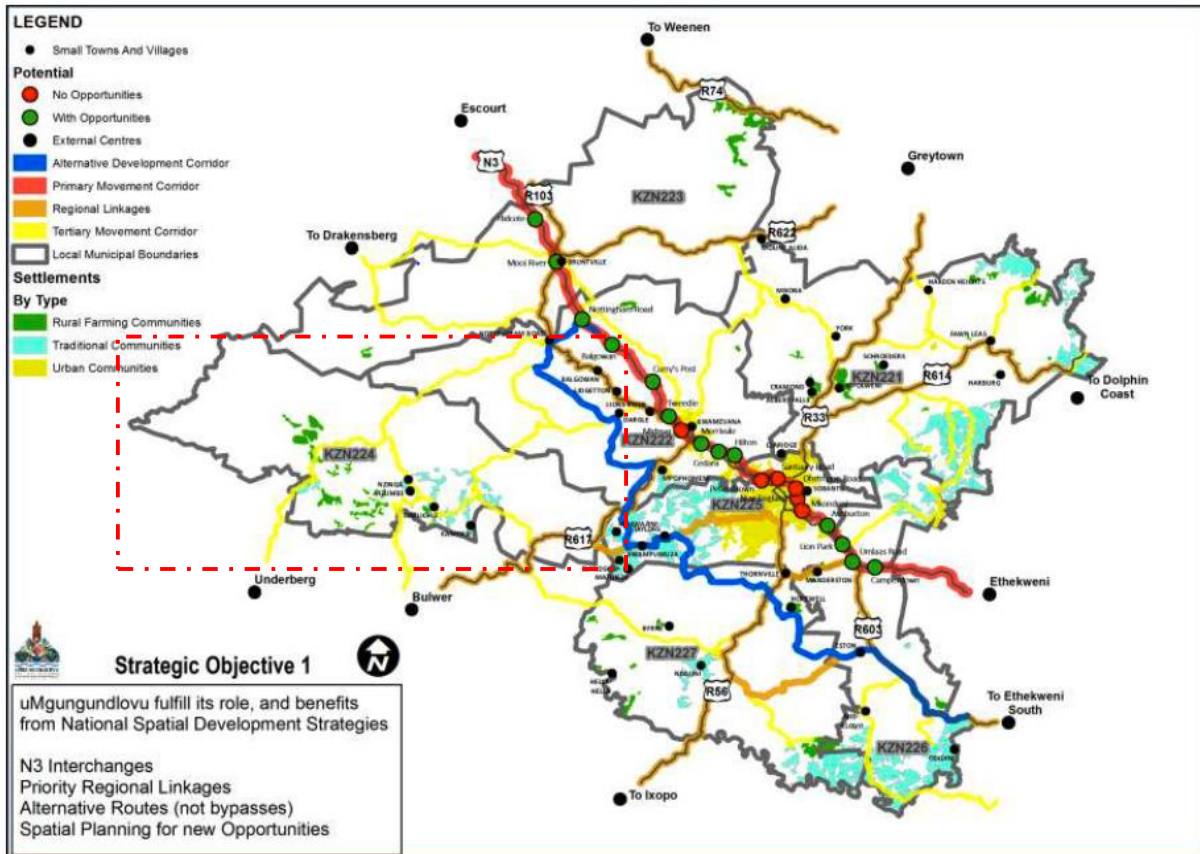


(Source: uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017a, p. 54)

In addition, the District SDF identifies the Maloti-Drakensburg Corridor Framework Plan (indicated by the blue line on Map 5.11 above), which envisages the development of the following components: 1) a Corridor Route, where the corridor will provide a more direct link from Nottingham Road to Impendle and access to the Heritage Park in the Drakensberg; 2) a Trail Zone Edge, where the corridor shall also provide for a hiking trail throughout the Heritage Park, which will stimulate tourism; and 3) Corridor Zones, where the corridor shall act as a framework plan, providing access to four corridor zones in the area, being protected ecological sites; high biodiversity sites; high agricultural potential sites; and precautionary sites (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2014). Map 5.11 above clearly depicts the

spatial illustration of these corridors; however, these developments are not reflected in the municipality’s Capital Investment Framework.

Map 5.12: Spatial Depiction of Proposed Alternative Corridor



(Source: uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2014, p. 66)

In addition to these developments, it is interesting to note that the IDP has outlined other infrastructural projects which have been proposed and implemented in Impendle with regard to engineering services. These are: the Upgrading of Provincial Roads, such as the MR 127 and DR 1357, as provincial roads which provide a link between Impendle and Himeville (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017a); Water and Sanitation projects, which are outlined under the Capital Works Programme, where water, sanitation and solid waste projects are included (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017a). In addition to the proposed Road Networks, the District SDF proposes that there be a parallel alternative transport corridor, which to a minimal extent will impact the Impendle Municipality (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2014). Map 5.12 above depicts the proposed alternative corridor spatially.

In the context of Impendle Local Municipality, there are various challenging factors encountered. In considering that the municipality has an immense backlog in service provision, the issue of realising the development of social and economic facilities in the area remains far-fetched. Considering that the SDF is considered as the highest level of plan for the municipal area, and given that it should act as a vision for the area's future growth, it must be noted that the municipality's latest SDF document dates from 2010, thus making it redundant to an extent, since the current focus of the municipality is on prioritising the delivery of bulk services prior to realising the development of social and economic facilities. Moreover, in relation to integration with the rolling out of services, it was highlighted that the municipalities rely on other sector departments and institutions as service providers and/or funders for certain services. In such instances, each sector department has its set goals for the financial year, which might not align with the requests of the municipality, thus being a hindrance to development.

5.3.4 Implications for Service Delivery

There has been considerable progress in the realisation of engineering services for Impendle. These efforts are generally acknowledged and commended by the residents of Impendle. It must also be noted, however, that the services provided thus far in the attempt to redress spatial injustices as far as social and economic services are concerned have not been fulfilled for their beneficiaries, as various service backlogs and other aspects are still lacking. This section seeks to unravel the hindering factors encountered by the tiers of governance as service providers in the realisation of such services. Herein, the study outlines the key challenges which are faced by the provincial, district and local governmental spheres in this regard respectively.

5.3.4.1 Law and Development

In the post-1994 period, there was a devolution of power through the emergence of local municipalities, which resulted in various legislation being passed. Although all developments executed at local level are guided by legislation, it must also be understood that the implementation and completion of such developments takes time. This, as justified by the key respondents at CoGTA, is achieved through the alignment of local municipalities with the SPLUMA legislation as a current precedent, which many municipalities (including Impendle Local Municipality) have battled to align themselves with. In such instances, then, the progressive provision of services might seem to be a mirage for municipalities.

Moreover, the officials interviewed mentioned that with municipal IDPs being five-year plans, the delivery of services usually takes about eight years, thus being a lengthy process. The planning official from UMDM also justified this argument in outlining that administrative issues such as the red tape may be considered as an issue for service delivery. These administrative processes tend to lag development to the extent that anticipated developments for the financial year may not be achieved in some instances. In such cases, this delay in the plan therefore affects development. As a result, the SPLUMA legislation identifies SDFs as longer-term development strategies as vehicles for development, as opposed to the previous notion of IDPs being such vehicles. In the case of Impendle, however, it should be noted that the municipal SDF was last reviewed in 2010, thus explaining the issues of delayed development, and to a greater extent, a lack of compliance with the SPLUMA.

5.3.4.2 Inter-governmental Relations and Support

The issue of inconsistent relationships between the spheres of governance has gained a fair level of prominence throughout the democratic era of governance. Similarly to the town and regional profession, this challenge has proven to be very prevalent, more specifically in the spatial context. This section is formed from the concerns stated by both the provincial and municipal structures of governance with regard to the provision of services.

As per the concerns raised by CoGTA, the key challenge faced by the department are the issues of integration and alignment between the three tiers of governance (this being inclusive of the national sphere). With the role of local municipalities being as implementing agents at ground level, the role of the provincial sphere is to monitor and facilitate. However, in the case where there are no resources at local level, which hinders the implementation of development, the provincial and district levels do not have much to facilitate. Ultimately, this implies that there is a communication breakdown and a sense of negligence regarding remote municipalities of a rural nature which needs to be rectified. This can be achieved by focusing more on the aspect of providing support to municipalities as one of the functions mandated for the provincial department.

Pertaining to the issue of alignment to legislation, the municipal study area has struggled to align itself with legislative requirements, with specific reference to the SPLUMA. With

Section 21 of the legislation stating that the SDF must act as a driver of development for municipalities, Impendle Local Municipality last reviewed their SDF in 2010, which implies that no future growth plans are prioritised by the local municipality. Such hindrances in rural municipalities such as Impendle have resulted from a shortage of capacity, where municipalities function with limited budgets. In this regard, the functions performed equate to the budget, which is minimal. As a suggestion proposed by CoGTA, it was voiced that given the many issues which are evident, that the Local Municipality should engage with the relevant sector departments as part of the municipal plan to bring about change and secure additional funding.

In response to the concerns raised by UMDM, the district official interviewed also supported the sentiment of CoGTA, being that there is lack of integration between the local municipality and the district, since it would organise for planning meetings and forums which sought to assist local municipalities in planning towards achieving success in positive growth for the social and economic perspectives. Moreover, it was also indicated that the District Municipality should further facilitate the process of service provision through the outlined structures given in Section 5.3.3 above. In the case where Impendle Local Municipality remains focused on rectifying the service backlog within its jurisdiction, plans proposed by the district eventuate in not being implemented, which also delays the process of development. It might be argued, however, that in the case where the municipality is focused on the backlogs of bulk services, such factors indicate the poor capacity of the municipality, as identified by CoGTA, which must be rectified in solidarity with the district.

In addition to the challenges faced by the local municipality concerning its failure in service delivery, the municipal planner further noted that the root factor which results in the neglecting of strategic plans proposed by the district is the lack of sufficient tools to implement such strategies as a means of providing for the needs of the community. Subsequently, the formation of strategic plans such as the Agricultural Sector Plan and the execution of plans within strategic documents such as the SDF, Urban Development Framework (UDF) and the Local Economic Development (LED) strategy remain unused and are seen as insignificant, given the current pressures which the municipality encounters.

5.3.4.3 Conflict between Governing Structures: Municipal versus Traditional

The issue of conflict in governing structures between traditional authorities and municipal authorities has long been in existence. With regard to the province of KwaZulu-Natal, it has also been noted of provincial governance by KZN Provincial Planning Commission (KZN PPC) in the PGDS that the “Unresolved tensions between municipal and traditional council structures have translated into conflict on matters related to land use management. Although municipalities are assigned full statutory responsibility of managing ‘wall-to-wall’ land use management, it is not being implemented or enforced. This is further entrenching past segregation of areas and has impacted negatively on attempts to achieve greater spatial equity and foster integration”. (KZN PPC, 2016, p. 35).

In this regard, the basis of conflict is centred on two notable factors, being on the ownership and administration of land respectively. In the context of Impendle, the research outlines its findings which contribute to the hindrance of service provision and development. The research presents its findings from the respective key informants at provincial level, municipal level and at traditional authorities respectively. In delineating the structure of the section herewith, the first section dwells on the composition of TA in the municipal area, which outlines the dynamics of land governance in this regard.

Thereafter, the research outlines the governmental dynamics in the functioning of municipal authorities, all within the context of spatial planning. The study’s focus is driven by the governance and composition of municipal structures respectively. Finally, the study conducts a brief comparative analysis of land administration process approaches, which then predict the stemming of such conflicts. Within these two respective sub-sections, the issues of land ownership and land administration are explicitly outlined.

The role of Traditional Authorities in Planning

In understanding the functioning of Traditional Authorities (TA), the contents presented herein were retrieved from the key informants collectively. In reference to the composition of the Traditional Council (TC) and its roles at municipal level, these are supported by national and provincial legislations in the context of spatial planning, namely the National Constitution Act, No. 108 of 1996 and the Spatial Land Use and Management Act (SPLUMA), No. 16 of 2013 respectively. In outlining the makeup of Traditional Authorities in this regard, the Constitution explicitly outlines in Chapter 12 under Section 213 that the

national legislation may provide for a role for a TA as an establishment at local level (referred to as a Traditional Council) which governs matters pertaining to traditional leadership and the customs of communities (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

Conjunctly, and more specifically in relation to spatial planning, Chapter 5 under Section 30 of the SPLUMA states that in instances where the municipal structure is to undertake activities which affect another organ of state, the two parties are to act jointly in either issuing separate authorisations, or by issuing a joint authorisation, in agreement to such activities (Republic of South Africa, 2013). In briefly providing insight as to the definition of an “organ of state”, this is referred to as any department of state or administration in any of the three tiers of governance, or any other functionary or establishment recognised by the Constitution in any of the three tiers of governance, as per Section 239 of the Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

In having delineated the legislative context for the role of a TC, the study analyses the feedback provided by its key informants. It was stated that firstly, it must be understood that traditional land is owned by the Traditional Council, under the leadership of the Ingonyama Trust Board (ITB). In this regard, the primary role of traditional leaders is to administer land solely as regards the allocation of land uses and the well-being of residents. The common form of such governance is in administering the provision of land for housing developments to community residents. In cases where developments of different land uses, be they commercial, industrial, recreational or mixed, it must be understood that municipal authorities must be involved, given that the development of these land uses is the primary function of the municipalities.

It is in such cases where agreements in the form of Service Level Agreements are to be issued, where joint decision-making is performed between the municipality and the Traditional Council, as stipulated by Section 76 (b)(iii)(cc) of the Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000 (Republic of South Africa, 2000). Moreover, it is necessary to outline that the SPLUMA legislation does not imply that all administrative powers lie with municipal authorities, but rather stresses that municipal planners work collectively with traditional leadership in developing settlements in an organised and structured manner. Ultimately, the role of the Traditional Council is to administer development on land under the governance of

the ITB, and to facilitate in how development takes place in such areas. In having explained the role of the Traditional Council, the research next outlines the role of municipalities.

The Role of Municipal Officials in Planning

Prior to explaining the role of municipal planners in the context of development and, in a more specific context, service delivery, the study returns to the role of Traditional leaders, being to facilitate in the progress of development. The underlying question here which the role of municipal planners broadly responds to is, “Who then undertakes development initiatives and strategies which are administered by traditional leaders?” The section herein largely dwells on themes in response to this question.

In understanding the role of town and regional planners in the context of service delivery, the research sees it worthy to outline their relevance in a constitutional and legislative context. Within Chapter 14 of Schedule 4 of the Constitution of South Africa is a list of Concurrent National and Provincial Competencies (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Amongst these competencies are the following: Housing; Regional Planning and Development; Urban and Rural Development; and Provincial Planning and Municipal Planning (Republic of South Africa, 1996). It may be argued that all these competencies fall well within the profession of town and regional planning. Moreover, the profession is also bound by the Planning Profession Act, No. 36 of 2002, which ensures the registration of all professionals as a means of undertaking the activities stipulated within the outlined competencies (Republic of South Africa, 2002).

In having outlined the relevance of town and regional planners, including at municipal level, the research further outlines the role of such professionals in this context, as retrieved from its key informants. At municipal level, it is worthy to note that there are two spheres, being the district level and the municipal level accordingly. In outlining these two levels of municipalities, the research outlines the specific functions which lie within the two levels of governance respectively.

The primary function of planners at district level is to facilitate and co-ordinate the development activities executed in local municipalities within a district. More specifically, the district municipality is responsible for the provision of particular engineering services, these being water and sanitation, along with other relevant stakeholders and sector

departments. At local level, municipal planners are responsible for the provision of specific bulk services, these being roads, electricity, housing and other secondary forms of service provision, along with the relevant sector departments and stakeholders within the municipal jurisdiction, as per the Municipal SDF for the Local Municipality. It is also noteworthy that with the SPLUMA stipulating under Section 24 that municipalities are to adopt the Single Land Use Scheme – which covers the entire municipal area – the role of planners also includes service provision on rural land (Republic of South Africa, 2013), as opposed to the situation of the previous era, where areas outside the urban scheme were not catered for.

In regulating the developments as per the municipality's function, it must be understood that approval for the proposed strategies and projects lies within the planning profession, both in the urban and rural contexts. Moreover, it must be outlined that the regulation of developments on rural land does not imply that planners claim authority over traditional land, but rather act as advisors of orderly planning in the proposals and strategies brought forward by traditional leaders. Moreover, it is the function of municipal planners to ensure integration between the municipality, traditional authorities and sector departments in providing holistic development within rural areas. As mentioned earlier, it is in such cases that Service Level Agreements between the Municipality and Traditional Council are issued, where development to be undertaken by the municipality and sector departments is approved by Amakhosi (Traditional Leaders) as consent to undertake development on traditional land, as per the needs of the rural community.

Differences which give Rise to Conflicts

In the context of the study area, the Impendle town occupies a relatively small portion of municipal land, of which the majority of land is under the authority of traditional leadership. Moreover, with the local municipality being surrounded by traditional land, the issue of misconceptions between the two structures of governance continues to prevail. It was further noted by the study's key informants that a lack of co-operation has been identified as the major issue which gives rise to the conflicts being encountered between these two parties. Consequently, a lack of synergy in development results in the hampering of service delivery and the suffering of community residents from such disputes.

5.3.4.4 Spatial Landscape of the Study area

The municipal IDP, along with the interviews conducted and observations made for this study, have proven that amongst the disadvantages encountered in the study area, its remoteness – which affects accessibility to the area – and topography have been contributing factors to the issue of uneven provision of services in the area. These, according to the KZN PGDS have been issues which have been faced in most rural municipalities within the province (KZN PPC, 2016). Figure 5.4 on below further indicates that these issues were prevalent in the prior era of governance and need to be rectified in the contemporary era.

In having outlined the spatial challenges of remoteness and steep topographies within the study area as being pressing disadvantages, service provision in a rural area with no municipal revenue and limited capacity remains problematic.

Figure 5.4: Spatial Challenges encountered in rural KZN

LEGACY CHALLENGES	CURRENT CHALLENGES	FUTURE RISK CHALLENGES
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Scattered Settlements 2. Poor Rural Accessibility 3. Uneven Distribution of Services 4. Land Tenure and restitution 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poverty Distribution 2. Unsustainable Settlement Patterns 3. Regional infrastructure needs 4. Lack of spatial norms and standards 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Emerging Urban-Rural Continuum 6. Climate Change 7. Food Security 8. Water deficits
REDRESS	ADDRESS	ADAPT AND MITIGATE

(Source: KZN PPC, 2016, p. 110)

In addition to these issues, the dispersed settlement pattern observed in Impendle Local Municipality further compounds the challenge of providing services. Given these circumstances, the key informant from the UMDM mentioned that such issues in Impendle are the reasons why the municipality has struggled to provide engineering infrastructure to cater for private investment within its area.

5.3.4.5 Community Expectations of Service Delivery

It was also noted that as part of the implications encountered in service delivery, residents maintain the perception that services such as water and electricity are free or should not be paid for. In the context of Impendle, where municipal land covers only a small portion of the municipality, it remains a major challenge for municipal planners to provide and maintain

such services, given that no revenue in the form of rates is received from local residents. The limited forms of service provision from the municipalities are enabled by Municipal Infrastructure Grants (MIGs), which are also not sufficient to efficiently provide services for local residents.

Moreover, it was noted that the forms of service provided, inclusive of housing units, community respondents maintain that such provisions cannot be considered as development. It was gathered that what is considered as development is the provision of what the research terms secondary forms of service provision, these being social and economic amenities which provide for employment and other economic benefits. In this regard, it was acknowledged by the researcher that community residents need to be informed that development is a sequential process, where the initial services provided act as a basis for the secondary services which they consider as being development.

5.3.5 The Outcome of the Services Provided in the Social and Economic Livelihoods of Impendle

The provision of existing services has shown considerable progress in bringing about land transformation in Impendle. More so, the municipal planner interviewed argued that the efforts exerted by the municipality have attempted to improve the social well-being of residents by delivering bulk and civil services which provide convenience to Impendle's residents. However, the key informant from the UMDM, together with community residents, have argued that the services provided have no significance in the economic growth and well-being of the area.

More notably, community residents have argued that in the provision of bulk services, the employment opportunities granted to them through contracts from the Expanded Public Work Programme (EPWP) in the execution of such developments cannot be considered as a form of local economic empowerment, given that the employment is only temporary. The residents have argued that inasmuch as bulk services have been supplied, most residents remain unemployed, given that secondary forms of services, such as commercial, industrial and other social facilities, are not evident in the area. Moreover, it was voiced that inasmuch as the municipality has provided healthcare in form of clinics for the area, their staff capacity and capabilities are not sufficient to cater for the health needs of the community, thus indicating the need for a hospital in the area.

5.3.6 Spatial Inequality Elements Which Prevail in the Post-1994 Era

The shortage of desired services for the community has led to various factors which further aggravate the notions of spatial inequality. These factors, as earlier outlined, have been triggered by numerous factors which have resulted in compromised service provision to residents of rural settlements. In the case of Impendle, the extent to which services have been provided has largely been prioritised to the level of bulk services. More so, it is asserted by local residents from the various *izigodi* (a Zulu term referring to a communal cluster of households, or a valley), that these bulk services were not provided in all areas.

With reference to the services provided, as stated by the municipal planner interviewed, additional secondary forms of services such as schools and clinics – most of which are mobile – are considered by residents as not being of a good standard. Such concerns imply that community residents are required to travel long distances to the closest hospitals and schools, which are located in neighbouring municipalities, namely uMsunduzi Local Municipality and uMngeni Local Municipality respectively. Moreover, with a lack of commercial facilities, it remains that groceries and other food supplies must also be purchased in neighbouring municipalities, where considerable distances are travelled. Such trends have proven costly to local residents, thus leading back to the main issue of the topic within this research, which is spatial inequality. Subsequently, it is such issues which have resulted in population decline in Impendle, where the demographics within the district municipality have shown that this trend has been identified, where the population decline in Impendle to a population growth in the uMsunduzi and uMngeni Local Municipalities, as mentioned by the official in the UMDM, and further corroborated by the municipal planner for Impendle.

In addition to the lack of economic facilities, it is such factors which force residents of the study area to migrate to urban spaces in neighbouring municipalities to seek employment opportunities. Moreover, it was uttered by community residents that, in some cases, residents from Impendle who work in urban municipalities purchase vehicles and also rent accommodation in their areas of employment. Indirectly, the monthly rates paid on rented properties, including the payment of their vehicle registrations in their towns of employment, all sum up to adding revenues to their cities of employment. However, when these residents

return to their hometowns, they are welcomed by the poor quality of roads and poor level of services.

The main argument raised by community respondents is that the lack or delay in prioritising economic infrastructure for Impendle hinders the economic potential of the area in becoming a self-reliant municipality, given that its residents are capable of being part of the workforce. In addition to the issue of population decline, it was expressed by community residents that it is those in the younger age groups who are migrating to urban municipalities, leaving the elderly abandoned in the rural area. In this regard, the question of why development must be prioritised in the municipality surfaces. In response, it is the challenge of meeting the minimum threshold required to provide services. On the other hand, the younger age groups do not desire to live in their hometown as a result of the longstanding issues of poverty and lack of employment opportunities.

Such spatial disorders which were created by apartheid planning, have left a long-lasting legacy of marginalisation as far as development is concerned (Mukonoweshiro, 1991). In the democratic state of South Africa, rural municipalities such as Impendle continue to experience spatial inequality through the minimal prioritisation of development for such areas. Consequently, the issue of out-migration to urban municipalities, amongst other factors presented in the findings, continues to indicate traits of spatial inequality, thus signifying a sense of dependency on such urban areas (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017; uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2017a), even after two decades of democracy.

These unfavourable trends are similar to the underpinnings of the dependency theory, which essentially argues that movements of the Enlightenment era, such as the emergence of Modernism, have exhausted the social and cultural formations of various societies (Peet and Hartwick, 2009). Such movements were introduced as a means of establishing social and economic control throughout societies. More specifically, such movements allowed for the exploitation of resources within countries which were only marginally developed by colonialism and centralised governance, thus resulting in poorer third world countries which are dependent on first world countries. In this context however, the marginalisation experienced is on the scale of local municipalities.

5.4 Lessons: Legislation, Location and Rural Governance as Influential Underpinnings of Marginalised Service Delivery

The following section focuses on an investigation of the presented findings in establishing what underlying issues are pre-eminent in the dilemma of service provision in rural municipalities. Within this section, three themes are explored in seeking to unravel the entrenching causes of poor service delivery consequences within Impendle. These themes are: legislation, location and rural governance accordingly.

5.4.1 Legislation/Policy

In the post 1994 era, it must be understood that although the notion of democracy and the decentralisation of power through the emergence of local municipalities came into being, some of the newly adopted policies disregarded spatial equity with regard to the provision of bulk services. This is evident in the loopholes seen in the NSDP which was adopted in 2003, which states that government is to invest in areas with a high potential for economic development, with other areas receiving basic services only. This, as justified by Oranje *et al.* (2009), is through Principle 4 of the policy, which states that efforts to address past and current social inequalities are to focus on people and not places. Principle 2 further stipulates that the government is bound by its constitutional mandate to providing bulk services only to all citizens who reside within the country. In examining the loopholes in the policy, it might be argued that the statement of Principle 2 implies that in areas which are not considered to have economic potential by the government, the priority on service provision is minimal, or non-existent. This might then explain the delayed provision of bulk services within rural areas, given that no specific timeframe for service provision in all areas of South Africa (including rural communities) is stipulated or documented.

Moreover, it might further be contended that Principle 4 of the NSDP, which states that in the attempt to redress spatial inequalities the government should prioritise its human capital development, as opposed to developing places, through education, training and poverty relief programmes (Oranje *et al.*, 2009), has been an ineffective approach to redressing such inequality. This is in the sense that such provisions do not allow for the previously marginalised to become self-reliant, but rather to become more educated and skilled, and thus of service to employers who already enjoy those services and amenities desired by the marginalised. Essentially, the research argues that in the provision of engineering services to marginalised areas, potential investment can be attracted to such areas, inclusive of

educational and institutional facilities, and other economic structures which may have the potential to empower marginalised rural communities in becoming self-reliant.

In 2009, however, the focus on human capital shifted with the NDP which emphasises the importance of bulk service provision for marginalised communities, including those of a rural nature. Although this has been the case, the challenge encountered is that most of the desired services in rural Local Municipalities are provided on the basis of the hierarchy of importance, entrenched by the notion of accessibility through National and Provincial Road Networks. In having outlined the concept of service provision as per the hierarchy of importance through National and Provincial road networks, the research next introduces an analysis of the location of rural municipalities in relation to relevant accessibility road networks, and their relation to service provision.

5.4.2 Location

Location can be argued to be one of the essential factors in the field of town and regional planning. In this regard, the focus lies on former Bantustans, which – in the context of KZN – are labelled as ITB land. In the years of apartheid planning, it is understood from the writings of Mukonoweshuro (1991), Parnell and Mabin (1995), and King and McCusker (2007) that the location of former homelands was structured in the sense that they be distant from national and provincial road networks. In the post-1994 era, it is understood that road networks were essential for uplifting the economic status of the newly amalgamated Local Municipalities through their function of providing efficient access to services.

In attempting to understand the significance of accessibility routes in redressing spatial inequality, it might be argued that all municipalities should have some form of road networks prioritised within their municipal land as a means of: enhancing the integration of surrounding areas through road networks; and attracting potential development which could enhance the status of rural municipalities through the potential introduction of activity corridors and nodal points. Impendle Local Municipality has only one provincial road network which passes through the southern jurisdiction of the municipality. Essentially, the municipality is located in a remote area which – according to the presented policies – will never be prioritised, given its location in relation to the accessibility grid. This then might be one of the pressing limitations which explain the poor economic status and level of marginalisation within the municipality.

As a continuation of the adopted legislations from the previous section, it must be noted that the national government has introduced legislations such as the SPLUMA Act, No. 16 of 2013 in accordance with the NDP of 2013. The SPLUMA provides a framework which has considered the issues present in rural municipalities and therefore includes the redressing of such issues. At provincial level, the legislation has served as a framework tool for policies such as the KZN PGDS of 2016 and the KZN PGDP of 2018, which provide for goals and objectives which also speak to redressing such concerns, as earlier mentioned. Given that minimal change is evident from the adoption of these policies and legislative frameworks, it must be understood that these are fairly new and that spatial transformation is a lengthy process which can only be measured within a timeframe of at least five years.

A very good example of this timeframe is the SPLUMA itself, as a legislation which came into effect in 2015 where some of its developmental stipulations, such as the Single Land Use Scheme under Section 24(1), are to be assessed five years after the commencement of the legislation (Republic of South Africa, 2013). This might then justify the slow but ongoing progress which is evident in the provision of bulk services for Impendle. The above-mentioned analysis might further justify the earlier presented corridors proposed in the municipal IDP and the district SDF, in addition to those areas identified for possible private investment, as indicated by the Impendle municipal planner interviewed.

5.4.3 Rural Governance

The section focuses on the dynamics of governance within rural municipalities, as far as land administration, functions and relationships with governing leaders are concerned. This section is disaggregated into two sections, being skills capacity within the municipal structure and governing structures within the rural municipality.

Firstly, it is noteworthy that municipal structures within rural municipalities in KZN province are generally poorly capacitated. This is both in terms of the availability of functional resources and their staff capacity. The reasoning behind these cases is the lack of desire by planners to work in rural municipalities, given that their standing as being poorly capacitated with limited resources might hinder personal levels of growth for individuals in this profession. In the context of Impendle, it was noted that the municipality only has one municipal planner who is responsible for all planning-related work for the municipality. It

was further identified that interns who work in the municipality find employment in other municipalities due to limited resources, as already mentioned. It might be argued that as part of the limitations experienced for development in the municipality, the issue of questionable inter-governmental relations can be identified as one of the contributing factors to such issues.

As far as governing structures in Impendle are concerned, the study has identified both the municipal structure and the TA structure as being the governing bodies for the area. As per the interviews with both parties, it is a common concern that a lack of synergy between the structures has been an ongoing challenge due to disputes which pertain to governing power. As a result, it has been noted that disputes with both parties have affected the platform for sharing the development of plans by these structures in synergy in order to realise the growth potential of Impendle. In this case, it might be argued that this is one of the justifications for delayed development processes in the area which has also influenced the out-migration of local residents to neighbouring municipalities in search of areas of residence with better social, economic and institutional facilities.

It is therefore observed that service delivery in Impendle has been relatively slow. In addition to the out-migration trends experienced within the study area, the abovementioned factors might also be the reason as to why there have been no large scale private investments in the area for a considerable length of time. In the absence of securing private investment in the area, the desired outcomes of economic development in the form of commercial, industrial and tourism sectors – amongst others – as desired by the local residents, traditional authorities and municipal officials, have proven difficult to achieve.

5.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter sought to unravel the extent of service delivery in the area of Impendle. Sub-categorised into six components, the chapter consisted of the case study, which delineated the case study area in relation to its background, spatial status in terms of its locality, landscape, demographics and, more chiefly, the level of services evident in the area. The presentation of these services through observation and desktop research was imperative in analysing the extent of the services provided by the municipality two decades after democratic elections, under the governance of the local municipality.

Data findings and analysis for the research were largely structured using a thematic approach, where the analysis of the themes identified focused on the influences which have resulted in the extent of service delivery evident; contributing hindrances which are prevalent in the process; and the outcomes for all these factors, which conclusively lead to traces of spatial inequality as a seemingly never-ending legacy. The last component was lessons learned, where the research sought to unravel the underlying roots of spatial inequality from the presented findings as a means of justifying the relevance of this study.

Chapter 6: Recommendations and Conclusion.

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses ultimately on synthesising the rationale for the research, coupled with its findings. In addition, the lessons learned from the study are outlined, with guiding recommendations on redressing the identified challenges for going forwards within rural municipalities. In disassembling the structure of the chapter, the focus is on outlining the findings, coupled with a summary of the lessons learned from the findings. Thereafter, the chapter presents the proposed recommendations as a prescription for remediating the problems forthcoming with the goal of achieving spatial equity in rural municipalities. Subsequently, the chapter synthesises the presented components in the form of a summary, and the chapter is then concluded.

6.2 Summary of Findings

This section focuses on providing a brief overview of the findings for the research topic. The research has synthesised these findings into four notable factors which respond to the justifications for poor service delivery in the rural municipality of Impendle. The factors discussed are: compliance with the stipulated legal frameworks for service delivery; the application of these frameworks; the contestation of rural land in relation to its governance; and the outcomes of compromised services as a result of these factors collectively.

6.2.1 Compliance with the Regulatory Legislations and Policy Frameworks

It has been noted in the findings that although the Constitution and the SPLUMA as regulatory legislations mandate that the three tiers of governance are to maintain good working relations in a unified manner, it is evident that there are some forms of disagreement which affect levels of solidarity in undertaking developmental work. In addition, it has also surfaced that the prioritisation of development has largely been for urban spaces, on the basis of their proximity to the accessibility grid. Since this has been the case, the question of achieving spatial equity has remained questionable.

6.2.2 Application of the Legislative and Policy Frameworks on the Ground

One of the prominent issues identified in the application of regulatory frameworks for planning and development matters is the issue of an SDF which dates back to 2010, prior to

the adoption of SPLUMA, as the guiding legislation for the requirements and eligibility of SDFs. Moreover, the absence of a reviewed SDF – which acts as one of the key tools in guiding land use management over the longer-term period – implies that the municipality has experienced considerable challenges in the process of undertaking initiatives in forward planning for the Impendle area. Moreover, it is arguable that in the absence of an updated SDF, sector departments might propose developments from their departmental mandates which might not align with the municipality’s spatial trajectories for the long term, thus affecting the level of sound service provision as per the anticipations of the municipality.

6.2.3 Contestations on Rural Land Governance: Their Impact on Development

The research has noted that there are institutional disputes within governing structures with relation to Impendle Local Municipality. These structures are in two forms, being: the relationship between the tiers of governance from the provincial level to the local level; and the relationship between the local authority and the traditional council at a local level.

From the findings, it has been acknowledged by the three levels of governance – being the provincial, district and local spheres – that there has been lack of integration in the working relations between these structures towards achieving the provincial mandate of ensuring sound development in the province, with the emphasis on rural municipalities as critical areas. Moreover, it was noted that as part of the identified issue of weak intergovernmental relations, the problem of differences in the strategies and approaches to be implemented has been one of the factors for such disparities.

In addition, the issue of understanding the working boundaries for the functioning of these spheres of governance has been a contributing factor as far as reaching consensus and endorsement of developmental strategies is concerned. In the case where the municipal area studied is still focused on rectifying the service backlog within its jurisdiction, plans proposed by the district are ultimately not being implemented, which has a negative impact on the process of development. Inasmuch as these issues may have surfaced from the constraints of having a limited working force within the municipality, the absence of emphatic financial and technical support at the provincial level further signifies the poor working relationship between these spheres of governance.

Pertaining to the relationship between municipal officials and the Traditional Council, a point of conflict surfaces from two notable factors, these being: land ownership; and the administration of land respectively. In the context of the study area, it has been outlined that the experienced contestations concerning the dynamics of land governance within the rural setting largely result in the halting of service provision, which in turn has negative consequences for the residents of rural communities.

6.2.4 Outcomes of Compromised Service Delivery to the Residents of Impendle

The spatial history of rural municipalities has left a common legacy, one which has persisted to date. The legacy of service backlogs and spatial remoteness has continued for more than two decades following the adoption of democracy in the country. This is likewise the case with Impendle Local Municipality, where the remoteness of the area has remained problematic to date. In unravelling the depressed state of the area, the study's findings have indicated that the sluggish progress of service provision has had negative outcomes for local residents. The shortages of bulk services, and also social and economic facilities, have proven to be amongst the pressing concerns as far as survival in this rural setting is concerned. With regard to economic trends, the extent to which service provision has been undertaken for Impendle has not been sustainable. This is in the sense that the services provided in the area have not been capable of fostering economic investment there, thus leading to the high unemployment rate which prevails. It was further noted that in the provision of development, the EPWP, which is considered a contributor to employment, is unsustainable as employment for local residents is only temporary, with its timeframe being equivalent to that of developments accordingly.

Consequently, the shortage of such services has triggered an out-migration trend of those in working age groups to neighbouring urban municipalities, which have more quantifiable – and desirable – amenities and services to offer. On the other latter, the declining population in the rural municipality acts as a contributing factor to the hampering of services, given that these amenities are offered on the basis of having a minimum threshold for catering to their demand. Moreover, this issue has contributed to poor levels of investor confidence in the area, given that the population trend for local residents is reflected in them moving to neighbouring municipalities. Since this has been the case, the elements of spatial inequality have persisted in the form of having to travel vast distances to access the closest amenities

and economic opportunities, in addition to the considerable costs which are incurred in travelling such distances.

6.3 Lessons Learned

As a follow-up to the presented findings, the section hereunder briefly highlights the lessons learned, which could later act as a basis for constructing recommendations on how to address the identified issues of the research topic, as per the presented discoveries. These lessons are structured into two sub-components, these being: a) legislation, location and governance; and b) intergovernmental relations jointly as a pivotal factor which affects service delivery.

6.3.1 Legislation, Location and Governance as Key Influences on Service Delivery

From the findings, it has been gathered that in the prioritisation of services, there is a strong correlation between three elements, namely legislation; municipal location in relation to resources; and the type of governance which exists in Impendle's municipal space. From the gathered findings on the research topic, one of the key lessons was that poor service delivery is not the result of poor legislative guidance in such issues. Rather, it has been established that policies which deal with rural poverty as a developmental issue are in place. However, the execution of such policies has been an issue, which then raises the question of prioritising service provision in areas of a rural nature.

Considering the spatial legacies of the former government which led to the rural settlements that exist to date, the provision of services has been a challenging task for officials at municipal level, given that such areas were previously not considered for development. It was also gathered, however, that planning principles from the former era continue to be practiced, given that the fundamentals for providing services – such as accessibility – remain disregarded at the higher levels of governance. It has also been noted that in municipalities which consist largely of TA land that the provision of both engineering services and other subsequent services seems to be compromised, which in turn results in the undesirable livelihoods experienced in such areas.

6.3.2 Intergovernmental Relations

The research has acknowledged that one of the pressing issues which contributes to poor service delivery is intergovernmental relations in two forms, being: between spheres of governance; and between the municipal officials and Traditional Councils respectively. With

regard to intergovernmental relations between spheres of governance, it has been noted that there has been the issue of achieving a unified approach to planning developments in the municipal space as far as the perspective of both the local municipality and the district are concerned. The differences which prevail in these approaches hamper the development process as far as the realisation of a long-term spatial vision for the local municipality is concerned.

Referring to governmental relations between the TA and municipal planners, there has been a noticeable trend of disputes between the two parties as far as land ownership, land administration and authority are concerned. Moreover, it has been noted that there is a misconception from the Traditional Council regarding the current planning legislation, this being that it seeks to undermine their powers in relation to administering development on tribal land. It has also been noted that such concerns have led to a reluctance from the council in agreeing on spatial trajectories which are proposed by municipal officials. Similarly to the case of municipal officials, such clashes have resulted in reduced efforts for ensuring integrated planning, given that issues of power, functions and recognition are in dispute between the two parties.

6.4 Recommendations

As a way forwards in redressing the identified spatial imbalances which exist in the study area, the research presents recommendations which could be considered when attempting to resolve matters which delay the prioritisation of service delivery for rural municipalities. The recommendations proposed in this research further seek to act as a source of reference for other rural municipalities which encounter similar spatial challenges to those of Impendle Local Municipality.

6.4.1 Spatial Transformations through Forward Planning

In acknowledging the issue of economic stagnation within Impendle in the form of out-migration, low employment trends and high poverty levels, as suggested by the findings, it has been evident that the provision of services for Impendle has focused largely on a responsive approach to development, as opposed to adopting a proactive approach to service provision and overall development. From the adopted approach, it has also been evident that the community's residents have not been fully satisfied with the services provided, given that these developments do not provide them with much economic value.

It must be recalled that amongst the spatial opportunities which could be ventured into is tourism, as stated in the municipal IDP. As a suggestion for optimising the economic value chain of tourism, it is recommended that the municipality prioritises forward planning, by optimising their economic potential through identifying spatial resources and possible opportunities which may arise from these, while minimising the emphasis on reactive planning. In this approach, some of the spatial challenges encountered in the area – such as issues concerning unemployment and poverty – could be rectified by emphasising a focus on spatial trajectories. In addition, regarding economic opportunities it is recommended that the municipality considers how best to diversify the possible value chains which may exist within their space towards achieving self-reliance in an economic sense. Such recommendations would then respond to the fulfilment of the stated SPLUMA principles of Spatial Sustainability, Good Governance and Spatial Justice (Republic of South Africa, 2013). More specifically, in the context of the provincial policy, such approaches should aim at responding to the achievement of Goal 7 of the KZN PGDS, this being Spatial Equity (KZN Provincial Planning Commission, 2016).

One of the key responses in achieving spatial equity is responding to the issue of poor accessibility for the municipal area of Impendle. The development of corridors such as the Agricultural Intensification corridor, the Trail Route, and the Maloti-Drakensburg Corridor Framework Plan (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2014) could be the basis for the identification of these value chains as the municipality's key economic drivers. Apart from providing accessibility throughout the municipal jurisdiction, the development of these activity corridors, in what Hope and Cox (2015) regard as Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs), may unlock the possibility of stimulating unrealised potential, in addition to providing the role of being regional connectors which integrate adjacent local and district municipalities through integrated road networks. In so doing, the creation of municipal linkages to neighbouring local municipalities such as Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and Umngeni may allow for the commonalities of agriculture and tourism to develop in Impendle, through the aforementioned corridors proposed.

In addition, the development of these corridors will respond to numerous issues of spatial inequality which have prevailed in Impendle. These are issues of poor access to public transport, which translates to commuting long distances to access services; minimal economic

opportunities, which may be redressed by economic developments that might be stimulated by these corridors; and dispersed developments, which have resulted in unsustainable, costly development as far as the provision of services is concerned. In the development of these corridors, the various economic zones which would surface could be used to advocate for the application of compact developments, which would be more convenient and efficient for community residents.

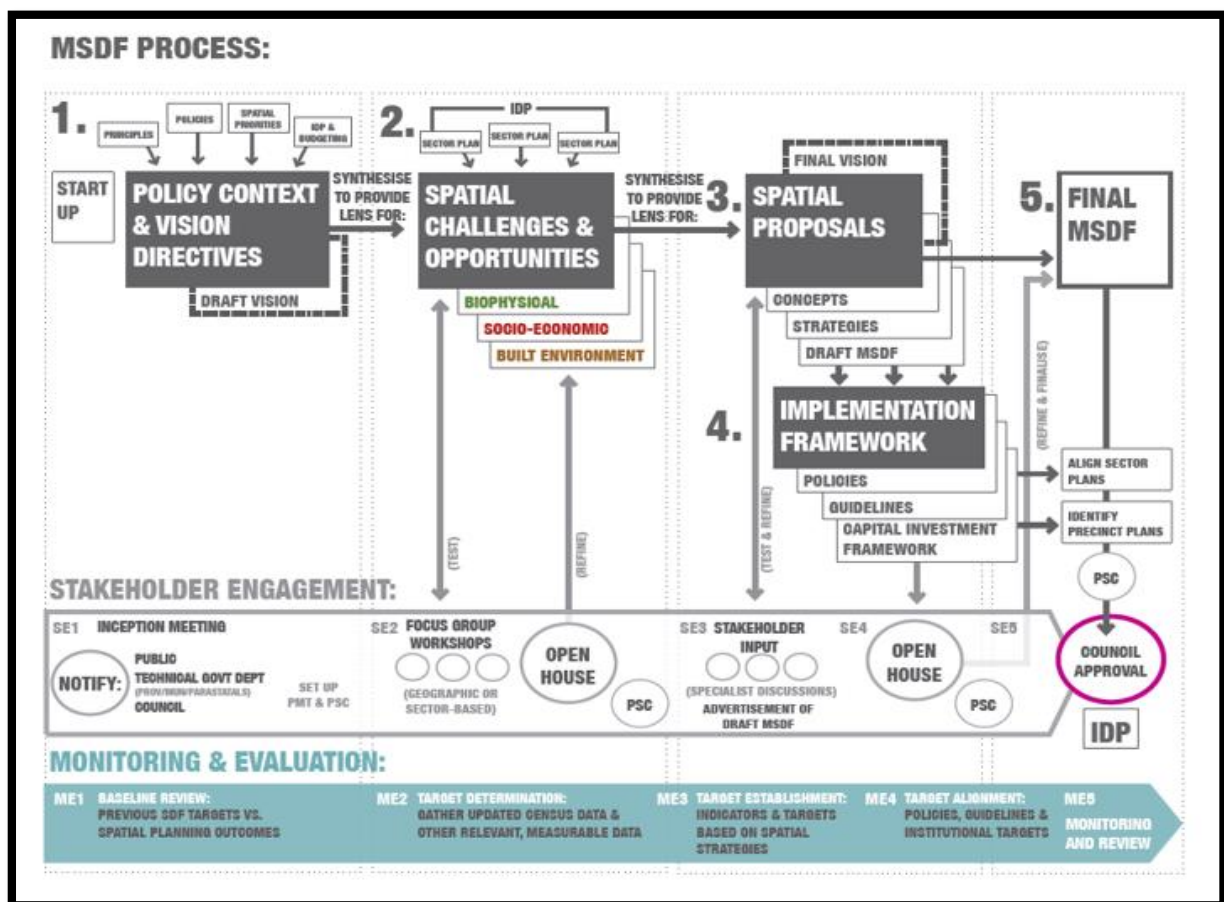
It is noteworthy, however, that in the development of these corridors and in their consideration as potential economic drivers, spatial equity must be ensured as far as economic stability for community residents is concerned. This is in the sense that in the ownership of economic activities and opportunities which may be identified through implementation plans and projects, that they be owned and administered by the local residents of Impendle. An example of this would be observing the process of land claims which is currently administered by the municipality in partnership with the DRDLR (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017) for agricultural and settlement purposes.

In such cases, it would be recommended that residents who are granted ownership of these sites be workshopped on how to administer their land in optimising its agricultural value and other diversified activities which might surface from agriculture. Such an approach would also be useful in responding to the issue of food insecurity in marginalised areas which are largely rural in nature. In addition, other value chains which could be tapped into are tourism activities in form of accommodation areas and game reserves, which would fall under the ownership of community residents, should the potential for tourism be optimised within the municipality.

In addition to these recommendations, it has been noted that the current municipal SDF dates back to 2010, which is prior to the adoption of the SPLUMA as the guiding legislation on spatial planning. It is therefore suggested that the municipality adopts a SPLUMA-compliant Spatial Development Framework, which should then be one of the key tools which guide long-term developments for the municipality, as per the SDF Guidelines formulated by the DRDLR. Figure 6.1 on Page 151 presents a flow diagram which acts as a guideline for the processes to undertake in formulating an eligible municipal SDF for the long-term growth of municipalities.

As a justification for the recommendation of a SPLUMA-compliant SDF, it has been noted that some of the spatial trajectories for Impendle, such as the proposed development corridors, are evident in the district IDP. As a means of optimising the social and economic growth of Impendle, it must be comprehended that the SPLUMA tasks local municipalities with fully administering the plans and projects within their municipal spaces through the establishment of Municipal Planning Tribunals (MPTs), as per Section 35 of this legislation (Republic of South Africa, 2013).

Figure 6.1: Municipal SDF Process



(Source: Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2014, p. 72)

This would be useful in ensuring that all projects are endorsed by municipal members, and that such member be included within municipal plans, and also in medium-term implementation plans through the Capital Investment Framework (CIF), which has a timeframe of 5 years for achieving the long-term spatial vision of municipalities, as required by Sections 12 and 21 of this legislation (Republic of South Africa, 2013). In addition, the

formulation of the municipal SDF suggests that it is essential for planners to clearly understand the role of policies and legislation in the approach to undertaking development, as these frameworks provide guidance for the approaches to realising optimal development; the identification and integration of all relevant stakeholders; and the emphasis on achieving sound integration and development within municipal spaces.

6.4.2 Transformation of Government Relations in the Municipal Space: Municipal and Traditional Councils

The issue of contested governance in the tribal areas of local municipalities has proven to be a divisive matter within the province of KZN, including the study area. Given that such contestations have been part and parcel of poor service delivery in these areas, two factors were identified, namely: the uncertainty of functions in the service delivery process; and the guiding frameworks for these functions on tribal land. These factors therefore result in an administrative divide, which then compromises service provision and overall development. As a resolution, it is recommended that there be some form of legal integration which should be emphasised for local municipalities in support of dual governance. In considering the work of Holzinger *et al.* (2016), these authors outline various types of co-existence policies between governing structures, some of which are subordination; association; and integration. In the current context, it might be argued that the administrative disputes which are currently occurring may suggest that there is a governmental structure of subordination within local municipalities. However, in acknowledging a) that tribal land lies solely under the governance of the TA; and b) that the local municipality is responsible for the provision of services in the entire municipal area, subject to Sections 24 and 26(1)(a) of the SPLUMA, it is implied that the form of co-existence between these two structures is of that nature which Holzinger *et al.* (2016) regard as being integration co-existence.

As means of redressing the matter, it is proposed that municipal planners for the study area fully engage with the guiding legislation regarding their functions as implementing agents, and the functions of traditional authorities as the custodians of traditional land which falls under municipal jurisdiction. These legislations are the Constitution of South Africa, as the highest form of legislation, which classifies both municipal officials and Traditional Authorities as “organs of state” (Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 122) at local level; the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (TLGFA), No. 41 of 2003, which stipulates the functions of Traditional Councils under Section 4(1) as being to support the

municipality in identifying matters which are of community interest, in addition to facilitating integration through participation in the municipal development processes through recommendations and advice (Republic of South Africa, 2003). In addition, the TLGFA further stipulates under Section 5(3) that any partnership undertaken by the Traditional Council with the municipal sphere of governance must be based on a recognition of their statuses and roles. Section 4 further mentions that a Traditional Council may enter into a service delivery agreement with a municipality according to the Municipal Systems Act (MSA), No. 32 of 2000, or any other applicable legislation, this being Section 30 of the SPLUMA, as earlier explained in Chapter Five of this research.

In addition to comprehending the essence of the SPLUMA with regard to planning and ensuring sound integration, it is further recommended that planners – with the assistance of the District and the Provincial planning officials as per Section 10(3)(c)(i) (Republic of South Africa, 2013) – consider practicing the elements of collaborative planning. In briefly defining the notion of collaborative planning, it is referred to by Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (2002) as an approach which suggests how spatial planning should be undertaken as far as stakeholder participation is concerned. As part of the process of collaborative planning, it is noted that the theory suggests that the planner takes cognisance of the concerns of the community, and recognises the various stakeholders and their power, in addition to institutional and spatial matters. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the theory is complex in a manner which implies that it is also comprised of educational elements, in that it seeks to provide an understanding of the dynamics of planning in a manner which is inclusive and disregards competitive power, as posited by Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (2002).

In the context of Impendle, it is recommended that the municipal planner for Impendle – with the assistance of UMDM and CoGTA planning officials – considers initiating engagements with the TA towards building unified relationships with the entire governing structure of the municipality. The foundation for such engagements should be workshops on the legislative frameworks which guide planning and development within the municipal sphere. More so, emphasis on the recognition of governing structures and their functions should be outlined, in addition to an emphasis on building mutual relationships, as mandated within the legislation on the topic. Once there is a clear understanding of the stipulated functions for the two governing structures, the possibility of a better working relationship should improve, given that all stakeholders are in favour of service provision.

6.4.3 Decentralisation of Resources from the Provincial Sphere

One of the emphasised issues which contribute to the shortfalls in service provision for Impendle – as in other rural municipalities – is that of limited capacity and skills. In this regard, the research refers to the employment of professionals in the fields of the built environment such as town planners, amongst others, within the municipal space. In addition, the support provided by the higher tiers of governance up to provincial level in the form of facilitation and financial assistance, has proven to be insufficient in responding to the service backlogs which are evident in the area. In the case where a rural municipality such as Impendle has only one municipal planner, it would be recommended that in the structuring of roles at district and provincial level, that there be an emphasis on technical support in such a manner that district and provincial planners be temporarily deployed to work within rural municipalities which are in need of planning professionals for a certain timeframe, so as to increase the efficiency of performance in providing the required services in such areas.

Although an emphasis has been placed on each tier of governance performing its function as per the guiding legislation, it must also be recalled that the same legislation, such as the Constitution of South Africa, makes provisions for such recommendations, which therefore justifies them. As a foundation for good working relations, the Constitution states under Section 41(1) that all spheres of governance are to work in accordance with their functions. Section 41(1)(h) further states that spheres of governance are to ensure good working relations through supporting and helping one another in affairs which are of common interest (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Moving to more specific guidelines, Section 139(1)(b) of the Constitution indicates that the provincial sphere may intervene in the local sphere in cases where the municipality fails to perform its functions. Section 139(2) gives further guidance on the procedures to be undertaken by the provincial sphere, together with timeframes for interventions, should the need arise (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

With reference to the SPLUMA as spatial planning legislation, Section 10(5) states that it is the responsibility of provincial governance to ensure the support and strengthening of municipalities in achieving their spatial trajectories (Republic of South Africa, 2013). In addition, sub-section 6 stipulates that it is mandated of the provincial sphere to capacitate municipalities with the resources required for achieving the effective administration of all planning and developmental matters.

In the consideration of these recommendations, however, it must be ensured that they do not encroach on any unforeseen legislation which may exist, and which may affect the administrative functions and relations between the respective spheres of governance. The recommendations should also be considered with sound intentions, in keeping with the legislation presented herewith.

6.4.4 The Benefits of the Proposed Strategies/Approaches

The consideration of spatial restructuring recommendations in the rural setting would have a number of advantages for indigenous community residents. Such benefits would be in relation to land availability; unique spatial concepts; and self-reliance consecutively. With population decline trends experienced by rural municipalities such as Impendle, it must be noted that there are significant portions of land which remain untapped and available for development, upon the consent of the TA and the local municipality conjointly. Given that a conflict in power has been identified as one of the factors which has led to poor service delivery, the consideration of emphasising integrated rural governance between the two respective governing structures would assist in convincing residents that their indigenous areas of residence are in a promising state for being serviced and developed. In gaining the confidence of residents, out-migration would be minimised, which would then allow for the minimum thresholds to be met for the provision of bulk services, amongst other social and economic facilities.

More so, such approaches could be a remedy for redressing the issue of service backlogs in urban slums, as neighbouring urban municipalities face the challenge of service bottlenecks in catering for their rapidly growing populations from rural municipalities seeking employment opportunities and more desirable livelihoods. In the case where the population of Impendle increases, such factors would motivate a need for the provision of additional bulk services, and other facilities to be implemented at a later stage. Given that the area's population could densify, it would thus be easier for municipal planners to implement densification strategies and provide efficient planning for the area.

Considering the benefits of participatory planning in this regard, it must be noted that the idea of formal planning for rural spaces is previously unheard of. Therefore, in the process of initiating sustainable planning approaches in the rural setting, where the dynamics of living

differ from those of the urban setting, the notion of participatory planning – through integrating indigenous knowledge with professional knowledge – would provide a platform for ground-breaking planning developments, which Chambers (2014) considers as a “best of both” approach to implementing integrated approaches for development. More so, given that indigenous knowledge has commonly been underutilised in planning approaches (Chambers, 2014), departmental initiatives such as the Traditional Settlement Master Plan (TSMP) – which has been implemented in the study area (Impendle Local Municipality, 2017) – can act as a basis for providing a whole new perspective on sustainable human settlements within the rural context.

With the successful implementation of a rural settlement master plan through integrated planning, self-reliance for municipalities would be ensured. This would be in the sense that unified approaches to planning could ensure good relations between the two respective governing structures. In addition, such approaches would work in favour of the community’s desires. Once the community’s wishes for receiving sound service provision, employment opportunities and civic and other services are achieved, the issues of out-migration, poverty and unemployment would be significantly diminished, thus ensuring self-reliance in the rural setting.

6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented a summary of the study’s findings, which were detailed in Chapter Five. The summary identified four prime elements from the findings as key facets to the challenge of service delivery in rural municipalities, these being: the legislative and policy frameworks set out; their application; contestations in rural governance; and the outcomes of the aforementioned facets in the realisation of sound service provision. The study has also presented lessons which have been learned from the aforementioned key findings, coupled with recommendations to be considered in the realisation and effective provision of services in rural municipalities, with the objective of achieving sustainable and self-reliant communities in the rural context.

6.6 Conclusion

The research has analysed the extent of service provision in the case study of Impendle Local Municipality as a tool for redressing spatial inequality within rural settings. From the findings, it was gathered that guiding legislation and frameworks which are set in place have

not been fully implemented in supporting rural municipalities with regard to achieving spatial equity. It has also been noted that the hampered process of achieving such trajectories has been due to weakened intergovernmental relations between the spheres of governance; and between local officials and the TA accordingly. The disagreements between these respective parties have resulted in unfavourable outcomes, such as stagnant economic activities and out-migration trends, which have had negative effects on attracting development within the rural municipality. Consequently, the attributes of poverty and unemployment within the communities of the municipal area have predominated.

Given the presented findings, the research has emphasised the importance of understanding the expected functions from: a) town planning professionals in the provincial, district and municipal contexts, as per the Constitution and the SPLUMA; b) the TA at municipal level, according to the Constitution, the MSA, TLGFA and the SPLUMA. Given that the role of a planner is to facilitate the integration of spatial planning through a collaborative planning approach (Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger; 2002), it is crucial that town planning professionals prioritise the strengthening of their work relations according to the aforementioned recommendations. In addition, it recommended that municipal planning officials – with assistance from district and provincial planning professionals – prioritise the task of educating the TA regarding its functions and importance in decision-making, with the goal of strengthening relations and ultimately achieving development which ensures future spatial equity.

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Appendices.

Appendix 1: Semi-structured interview for CoGTA Key informants



Semi-Structured Interviews for Planners at the KZN Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs.

First and foremost, I would like to thank you for commitment in partaking in this interview. In introducing this study, it is entitled: **An assessment of service delivery as a tool for redressing spatial inequality in South Africa's rural municipalities: A case study of Impendle Municipality in uMgungundlovu District.**

The purpose of the study is to understand how service delivery can be used as a tool to redress spatial inequality. In scrutinizing the notion of service delivery in this context, the research focuses on the provision of bulk infrastructure (water, sanitation, sewer and electricity) as primary forms of service delivery, followed by secondary forms of services being housing, social, health and commercial facilities. The argument stressed by the research is that the effective implementation of such services holistically, can address the social and economic aspects of spatial inequality faced in rural municipalities.

Questions

1. In the spatial planning process at provincial level, what have been the key challenges faced?
2. In the context of rural municipalities, what has been the pressing challenge in the rolling out of service delivery and their overall competence?
3. Given that rural municipalities such as Impendle continue to perform poorly in the process of service delivery post 1994, what measures have been put in place as an attempt to redress spatial injustices between rural and urban municipalities?
4. To what extent are services provided in rural municipalities in the attempt of achieving spatial equity?

5. What are the key indicators that signify the importance of service delivery in rural municipalities?
6. What has been the success of these strategies in enhancing the social and economic livelihoods of rural residents in rural municipalities, in comparison to urban municipalities?
7. Given that rural municipalities are predominantly governed by traditional councils, what is the composition of the traditional council and its mandate in the process of service provision in rural areas?
8. How has the department ensured sound relationships with these leadership structures in the functioning of municipalities?

Appendix 2: Semi-structured interview for UMDM Key informant



Semi-Structured Interview for Planning Official at uMgungundlovu District Municipality.

First and foremost, I would like to thank you for commitment in partaking in this interview. In introducing this study, it is entitled: **An assessment of service delivery as a tool for redressing spatial inequality in South Africa's rural municipalities: A case study of Impendle Municipality in uMgungundlovu District.**

The purpose of the study is to understand how service delivery can be used as a tool to redress spatial inequality. In scrutinizing the notion of service delivery in this context, the research focuses on the provision of bulk infrastructure (water, sanitation, sewer and electricity) as primary forms of service delivery, followed by secondary forms of services being housing, social, health and commercial facilities. The argument stressed by the research is that the effective implementation of such services holistically, can address the social and economic aspects of spatial inequality faced in rural municipalities.

Questions

1. What are the dominant issues that are faced in relation to service delivery in a) urban municipalities and b) rural municipalities?
2. In the comparison between Impendle and uMsunduzi municipality, what measures have been taken in addressing the issue of spatial inequality?
3. Looking at Impendle Municipality, to what extent has the provision of services been implemented, as an attempt of redressing the spatial inadequacies from the pre 1994 era?
4. How has the level of integration been ensured in the delivering of services with Impendle municipality?
5. How has the success rate of service delivery been in Impendle municipality, as means of promoting spatial justice, in comparison to other municipalities within the district?

6. How have the social and economic trends evolved in the post 1994 era, following the provision of infrastructural services as means of alleviating spatial inequality within the municipality?
7. Which strategies are put in place as means of settling the issue of the rural-urban divide between neighbouring rural and urban municipalities?
8. In considering that the district has contested for approval as a metropolitan municipality, was the eradication of spatial inequality in rural municipalities one of the motivations for such?

Appendix 3: Semi-structured interview for Impendle LM Key informant



Semi-Structured Interviews for Municipal Planners at Impendle Municipality.

First and foremost, I would like to thank you for commitment in partaking in this interview. In introducing this study, it is entitled: **An assessment of service delivery as a tool for redressing spatial inequality in South Africa's rural municipalities: A case study of Impendle Municipality in uMgungundlovu District.**

The purpose of the study is to understand how service delivery can be used as a tool to redress spatial inequality. In scrutinizing the notion of service delivery in this context, the research focuses on the provision of bulk infrastructure (water, sanitation, sewer and electricity) as primary forms of service delivery, followed by secondary forms of services being housing, social, health and commercial facilities. The argument stressed by the research is that the effective implementation of such services holistically, can address the social and economic aspects of spatial inequality faced in rural municipalities.

Questions

1. What are the prominent issues that are evident within the area?
2. As a planner in a rural municipality, what are the main challenges that are faced in relation to development within the area?
3. Given that these issues have been outlined, what has the municipality proposed with regards to the provision of service delivery in the post-apartheid era?
4. Are there any policies which are in accord to providing service delivery in this regard, adopted by the municipality?
5. To what extent has service delivery been provided in the advancing of Impendle as a competent local municipality?
6. How has the success rate been in the execution of such projects in the area?
7. What are the key challenges faced by the municipality in the provision of service delivery?
8. To what extent has the provision of infrastructural services benefited the local residents in relation to their social and economic status?

9. Given that the Impendle and uMsunduzi are neighbouring municipalities which both fall under uMgungundlovu District, would you regard the priority and provision of service delivery to be equally considered from the district level?
10. Which municipal strategies are considered by the municipality in enhancing socio-economic status of Impendle?
11. With the municipal IDP of Impendle municipality outlining that the municipality has great potential for tourism, have there been any approaches taken in the realisation of that potential?
12. Which challenges have been faced by the municipality in fostering services that attract employment opportunities and better living conditions for rural municipalities?

Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview for Traditional Leaders of Impendle



Semi-Structured Interviews for the Leaders of the Traditional Council at Impendle.

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The purpose of the study is to understand how service delivery can be used as a tool to redress spatial inequality. In scrutinizing the notion of service delivery in this context, the research focuses on the provision of bulk infrastructure (water, sanitation, sewer and electricity) as primary forms of service delivery, followed by secondary forms of services being housing, social, health and commercial facilities. The argument stressed by the research is that the effective implementation of such services holistically, can address the social and economic aspects of spatial inequality faced in rural municipalities.

Questions

1. How does the governance of Impendle function between the municipal authorities and the traditional council?
2. What are the key issues that are faced by the residents of Impendle in relation to development?
3. What are the perceptions of service delivery by the municipal officers of Impendle, as an attempt of promoting development?
4. In the provisions of such services within the area, have there been any changes in the living standards of residents in Impendle, post 1994?
5. To what extent has the provision of infrastructural services benefited the local residents in relation to alleviating unemployment and poverty?
6. Is the population decline in the municipality one of the consequences of poor service delivery and ultimately, spatial inequality?
7. What needs to be a priority if service delivery is to take place in the area?

8. Have there been any strategies proposed, as means of addressing the trends of poverty and unemployment in the area?

Appendix 5: Focus Group Discussions for Community Residents of Impendle



Focus Group Discussion Interviews for the residents of Impendle.

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The purpose of the study is to understand how service delivery can be used as a tool to redress spatial inequality. In scrutinizing the notion of service delivery in this context, the research focuses on the provision of bulk infrastructure (water, sanitation, sewer and electricity) as primary forms of service delivery, followed by secondary forms of services being housing, social, health and commercial facilities. The argument stressed by the research is that the effective implementation of such services holistically, can address the social and economic aspects of spatial inequality faced in rural municipalities.

Questions

1. What are the key challenges in relation to service delivery in Impendle?
2. Which services have been delivered by the Impendle municipality after 1994?
3. How have these services been beneficiary to the people?
4. To what extent has Impendle Municipality prioritised community participation in the process of service delivery in Impendle?
5. How has the lack of services affected the living conditions of residents within the area?
6. What has been the reason for the declining population in the area of Impendle?
7. What needs to be a priority if service delivery is to take place in the area?
8. How will such services be unique from the existing services?
9. Are community residents actively participating in the planning and IDP process?
10. Have there been any attempts made by the municipality in notifying residents about their role in the IDP and planning process?

11. What needs to be done in ensuring that rural development is prioritised in achieving self-reliant, desirable communities within Impendle?
12. How is the relationship of the traditional council with the municipality, as far as service provision in Impendle is concerned?

Appendix 6: Service Provision Observation Schedule

Objective	Response
1. Evaluate the extent to which services are provided in Impendle as a rural Local Municipality.	
Primary Service Delivery Infrastructure	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there adequate provision of piped water in all households? • Is electricity available throughout the entire area? • Are sanitation and sewer services provided and well managed in the area? • Are tarred roads provided throughout Impendle for ease of accessibility? • Is there adequate housing provision in the area? 	
Secondary Service Delivery Infrastructure	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there any commercial land uses such as national retail stores and commercial offices? • Do Industrial land uses exist in the area? • Institutional facilities such as schools, police stations, governmental offices and other administrative facilities? • Are there any existing activity nodes and corridors? • Public facilities and Amenities such as medical centers, libraries and public transportation services? 	
2. Uncover the social and economic impacts which result from the provision of such services within these areas.	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do the road networks available in Impendle provide efficient connectivity to surrounding areas? 	
3. To establish the level of spatial inequality prevailing in rural municipalities in the post-apartheid era.	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are the residents of Impendle travelling walkable distances (up to 5km) to services and amenities (such as schools, shops, medical care and other administrative facilities)? • Is the quality of the provided services in Impendle of adequate standards? 	