

A Blueprint to Dismantle Apartheid Spatial Differentiation? A Reflection on 25 Years of the *White Paper on Local Government*

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Abstract

There is a significant international discussion on how government can tackle the issue of spatial inequality. The South African local government sphere presents one of the most visible examples of how historically deliberate geographical underdevelopment has created modern spatial inequalities. Local government is designed as perhaps one of the most egalitarian governance systems in the world. Constitutionally grounded and further articulated in the 1998 *White Paper on Local Government (WPLG)*, local government in South Africa is designed to reflect the key tenets of an “ideal municipality.” This vision is based on a developmental, transformational local government committed to working with communities and individuals to find long-term solutions to their social, economic, and material needs while also improving their quality of life. Using reports, datasets from government databases, and articles, this article comprises a qualitative literature analysis to provide an assessment of the *WPLG* transformation promise using three indicators representing the ideal municipality provision: service delivery, governance, and local economic development. The article argues that developing appropriate intervention strategies within the present developmental local government milieu presents a service delivery quandary because, despite the principle of equitable distribution, the current design of local government has perpetuated inequity in the provision of public resources. In this case, residents in local wards are unable to support viable economic and service delivery alternatives. To buttress this point, a service delivery survey showed that the poorest (informal settlements and rural areas) communities in South Africa express the strongest levels of dissatisfaction with services.

Keywords: apartheid; local government; spatial differentiation; white paper



Commonwealth Youth and Development

Volume 21 | Number 2 | 2024 | #16538 | 21 pages

<https://doi.org/10.25159/1727-7140/16538>

ISSN 2663-6549 (Online), ISSN 1727-7140 (Print)

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Introduction

In South Africa today, spatial planning cannot be understood without reference to colonial and apartheid systems. Town planning strategies, comprehensive planning, and racial zoning were the foundations of apartheid spatial planning. These key instruments were derived from the Group Areas Act of 1950, which acted as an instrumental framework to establishing apartheid structures. The Act explicitly governed where various racial groups could reside. The inevitable outcomes of these key tools of apartheid spatial segregation were forced evictions and the displacement of masses of South Africans.

When it comes to creating alternate systems and delivering new township settlements, local government was at the forefront. Under apartheid, local government was characterised by a system that encouraged spatial separation, influx control, forced removals, and economic exclusion in black areas. Town planners in local government were primarily concerned with defining the spatial limits of where each race group could dwell, thus creating the circumstances of the areas where black and white households lived (Mbambo and Agbola 2020). In the white districts, suburbanisation became the standard, with homes on large plots and high-quality municipal services and facilities. Residents in black areas were seen as transitory city inhabitants. The housing was rudimentary, typically consisting of hostels with services (Mashiri et al. 2017; Turok 2011). Therefore, the apartheid legislative framework systematically and deliberately embedded local government with a bifurcated approach to spatial planning.

To transform local government after apartheid, spatial planning was essential in efforts to eliminate its physical legacy while tackling structural inequality, unemployment, and poverty. As a result, the 1998 *White Paper on Local Government (WPLG)*, also known as the “mini-Constitution of Local Government”) presented a vivid vision of the ideal South African municipality (Republic of South Africa 1998). This vision is founded on a developmental transformational local government that is dedicated to working with communities and residents to establish long-term plans to “meet their social, economic, and material needs and improve the quality of their lives” (Republic of South Africa 1998, 23).

Section 153 of the Constitution (1996) highlights the necessity for municipalities to “form and administer their administration, as well as budgeting and planning procedures, to give priority to the fundamental requirements of the community and to support the community’s social and economic growth.” This commitment signals a strong and resilient local government administration with the competencies and capabilities to build sustainable partnerships with citizens and other institutions within local government. This will be to identify and define specific problems that are prioritised by communities and set a mutually agreed agenda to solve these problems (Horn 2020).

In all performance indices of local government, Eastern Cape (the site of our study) municipalities perform poorly. There may be several factors which are outside the municipality's control such as the apartheid historical divide where former homelands (Bantustans) like the Ciskei and Transkei regions were amalgamated in the new South Africa (Van der Walt and Pretorius 2023). These geographically marginalised homeland areas became the reserves of cheap labour to foster apartheid segregation. In essence, these peripheral areas functioned to produce migrant labour. In return this eroded the economic base of these areas. These were regions with very little development in the former South Africa. The paradox is that while these historical realities steep the playing field in terms of the capabilities and capacity of these local municipalities to drive services and development, it is the same reality that makes the demand for an optimal functional local government in these regions paramount (Mujere 2020). Therefore, this article examines the state of transformational spatial development as provided for by the *WPLG*.

To do so, it asks two central questions:

- What challenges impeded the *WPLG* in transforming local economies struggling with the historical legacy of apartheid spatial planning?
- How has the *WPLG* succeeded in transforming local communities struggling under the historical legacy of apartheid spatial planning?

This article focuses on data from Chris Hani District Municipality (CHDM) in the Eastern Cape, which in the new South Africa represents an integration of significant portions of apartheid homelands (Bantustans) merged with some apartheid South African towns. Using datasets, records and information from government databases, reports, and academic literature, this article undertakes a qualitative literature analysis to provide an assessment of the *WPLG* transformation promise using three indicators representing three of the ideal municipality provisions: service delivery, governance, and local economic development.

Historical Outline of Apartheid Spatial Planning Legacies

Legacy of Apartheid Spatial Development

In 2019, *TIME* magazine covered the photographic work of Johnny Miller's South African project on South African inequality, with the photograph below (Figure 1) making the magazine's cover. Miller used a drone to document real time juxtapositions of how the legacies of apartheid's spatial discrimination created and sustained an unequal society. So, what does apartheid spatial development mean?



Figure 1: Inequality image in South Africa. Source: Unequalscenes.com/Johannesburg (Miller 2011)

Spatial considerations include geographical characteristics, circumstances in former “homeland” or “Bantustan” territories (e.g., Ciskei), poverty location, and economic sectors in the area, such as mining or agriculture. The Bantu Authority Act (68 of 1951) was approved in 1951 (Republic of South Africa 1951). This statute, along with others like the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (26 of 1970), established black homelands (Bantustans) and legalised their citizenship (Govindjee 2022). The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (Act 46 of 1959) separated black people into ethnic groups. This was legalised by the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971, which established legislative assemblies and executive councils in “Bantu” areas and “self-governing” territories. The goal of legalising territory difference and displacement was a large-scale apartheid attempt to establish separate nations (Bantustans) based on racial and ethnic criteria. However, on a grand scale, just 13% of South Africa’s entire sovereign area was designated for homelands. While 70% of the population was confined to “ownership” of 13% of the land (Noble and Wright 2013), criteria for choosing these black territories did not rest on any economic development potential and black South Africans did not have any voice in the making of these laws (Moffat et al. 2021).

Later, the National Physical Development Plan (NPDP), which was introduced in 1975 (Fair 1980), established a framework for physical development in South Africa based on specified development and political objectives. This plan largely defined the spatial legacy of apartheid as the plan resulted in a majority of the population living in densely populated, remote rural communities. The *WPLG* provided a detailed description of spatial development under apartheid, showing imbalanced settlement layouts, unequal

tax distribution favouring white areas, significant service infrastructure disparities between white and black areas, the establishment of effective municipal institutions in underdeveloped rural areas with limited resources, and substantial spatial gaps between towns, townships, and urban expansion.

Apart from the Western Cape, the South African government in 2011 identified spatially “distressed” district areas in eight of the nine provinces in South Africa (Rogerson and Nel 2016). National spatial development planning as articulated by Oranje (2010, 55) and Marais (2019, 6) refers to a deliberate strategy implemented by national government to manage the spatial development of their territory through targeted infrastructure investments and development spending to promote growth in certain areas.

According to the National Development Plan (NDP) (2011), apartheid spatial planning resulted in dysfunctional and inequitable settlement patterns which still trap many people in poverty and unemployment, especially in the former homelands.

Approach to Literature Review

The theoretical lenses used for this article are bifocal. One lens is concentrated on the apartheid background that is responsible for the current status quo, while the second lens presents an analysis of the impact that the post-apartheid spatial transformation policies (25-year review of the *White Paper on Local Government*) have had on service delivery, governance, and local economic development. Many scholars (Marias 2019; Turok 2011; Van der Walt and Pretorius 2023) concur that South African planning and design was influenced by the separate development and racially motivated ideology of apartheid. Therefore, the article unpacks how the apartheid legacies of inequalities and historical patterns still reflect in democratic South Africa and impact transformative efforts.

To demonstrate the focal lenses, the article considers Chris Hani District Municipality (CHDM), a Category C (District Municipality) in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa as a case study because of its deeply remote rural areas that are mostly the deprived former homelands (Transkei and Ciskei). Data for literature analysis were sourced from records and information from government databases and independent state institutions. The data included in the study were carefully selected in terms of applicability, which allowed for critical analysis. Three main indicators were used for the analysis, namely service delivery, municipal governance, and local economic development, which were telling of the impact of the post-apartheid legislation directed at transformation of rural local economies.

Analysis of Post-Apartheid Spatial Planning Actions

Since 1994, there have been policy, programme, and political interventions and initiatives to address the historical legacies of apartheid spatial differentiation, such as

the National Spatial Development Framework (NSDF) of 1995, which was focused on state expenditure in infrastructural development; the Spatial Development Initiative (SDI), which prioritised attention and expenditure on areas with the greatest potential for economic growth first; and the NSDP with a “mechanism” to align national and provincial development strategies and plans to local government strategic planning instruments, the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) (Ngumbela 2023; Oranje 2010). There were many other sectoral initiatives and plans including the NDP (2011) which prioritised an inclusive rural economy and transformation of human settlements.

The Ideal South African Municipality

The ideal South African local government in this study is defined as the vision of local government inherent in the South African Constitution and the founding text for local government, the *White Paper on Local Government* (1998). This concept has now been applied to several local government development frameworks, including the Local Government Turnaround Strategy of 2009 (Republic of South Africa 2009), Back to Basics of 2014 (Republic of South Africa 2014), and District Development Model of 2019 (Republic of South Africa 2019a). Central to these visions were the desire to ensure that the previously disadvantaged are brought to the forefront of development. In this case, all South Africans receive advantages from legal safeguards that guarantee respect, equal treatment under the law, freedom and safety, and the availability of vital services like housing, health care, education, food and water, and social welfare. In numerous societies, the general aim of local administration can be described by these rules. Nevertheless, the distinctive aspect of South African local government is its focus on the developmental aspect of local government.

Thus, the ideal municipality in South Africa must be an administratively competent local government that can provide the basic household infrastructure needed to develop social and economic growth; effectively integrate and co-ordinate the complex relationship nodes needed for local government functionality; purvey social equity sensibilities to empower communities; and innovate through organisational learning and visionary leadership (Moekena 2017). This emphasises the importance of municipal performance in mitigating local government core areas of concern towards the realisation of the vision of the ideal municipality (Ngumbela 2023).

Local Government Spatial Strategies for Accelerated Performance

The search for “alternative” spatial solutions through equitable spatial arrangements has led to many interventions in local government. Between two contrasting policy approaches to spatial inequalities (spatial targeting versus spatial blindness), South Africa chose the path of spatial targeting (Todes and Turok 2018). In this respect, key geo-economic performance indicators are:

- Improved financial viability of rural and small-town municipalities
- Nodes of competitiveness created

- Effective use of municipal infrastructural grant
- Maximising use of resource critical regions (Drewes and Van Aswegen 2013, 201)

To achieve these outcomes, government initiated fiscal, economic, and structural interventions aimed at redressing spatial inequality. Fiscally, the principle of equitable shares favours previously disadvantaged areas with high poverty and service delivery needs. For instance, per capita, government allocates one quarter more funds to spatially challenged rural municipalities in provinces like the Eastern Cape and Limpopo than it does to Gauteng, a province with less spatial challenges (Treasury 2017). Interventions with an economic focus consist of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, spatial development initiatives like Industrial Development Zones, local government Urban Renewal Programmes (URP), and the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISPRDP), among others (Govender and Pillay 2022).

The structural interventions involve determining and redetermining municipal boundaries by merging them. This has been continuous in South African local government since 1994. The South African Constitution (1996) structurally categorised local municipalities into three categories: A (metropolitan), B (local), and C (district). These distinctions, especially for local municipalities, involved the amalgamation of urban-rural municipalities.

This structure was specifically targeted at transforming the spatial inequalities of the past by providing room for spatial targeting through infrastructural development (e.g., through district municipalities); and place-based spatial planning through local economic development of local municipalities. In an assumed effort to improve spatial inequality conditions, the amalgamation of municipal boundaries by merging non-viable municipalities has continued over the years. Additionally, the political and financial implications associated with these amalgamations have overshadowed the envisioned aim of transformational spatial development for these municipalities (Adiyia and Vanneste 2018; Ngam 2021; Vacu and Ncube 2014). Indeed, studies show that while the increase in distribution of basic services (e.g., electricity and water) has been significant in the years after apartheid (Burger et al. 2019), socio-economic outcomes of spatial planning in local municipalities have been mixed owing to political factions and fragile municipal entities (Todes and Turok 2017). Other policy approaches to local government spatial transformation, such as physical and socio-economic integration of urban/rural spaces, have also made little progress (Berisha et al. 2020; Du Plessis 2014).

It has been suggested that spatial governance in places with significant levels of socio-economic disparity and racial divide will be unsuccessful (Ngumbela 2023; Robins 2002). In South Africa these are regions with very little development trajectory in the former South Africa. The paradox is that while these historical realities steep the playing field in terms of the capabilities and capacity of these local municipalities to drive services and development, it is the same reality that makes the demand for an optimal

functional local government in these regions paramount. Thus, we posit that the South African government's fiscal, policy, and planning frameworks when effectively implemented have the potential to improve spatial conditions, thus relieving the legacy of apartheid spatial development. Nevertheless, these spatial conditions in turn have created fragile administrations with little capacity to effectively implement these policies and programmes (Ngumbela 2023).

Assessment of the *White Paper on Local Government* on Transforming Apartheid Spatial Differentiation Legacy

This is significant for our study area, the Eastern Cape. Unlike some provinces like the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape has sizable proportions of deeply remote and rural areas. In their studies on deprivation in former homelands, Noble and Wright (2013) and Yanbo et al. (2023) discovered that the poorest areas in South Africa as a whole are in the former homelands. In the former Transkei and Ciskei (the Eastern Cape), the most deprived live in distant and rural regions, whereas the least deprived live in places like Umtata (Noble and Wright 2013, 193; Yanbo et al., 2023). It is noteworthy that the legacy of inadequate spatial planning has been difficult to rectify in democratic South Africa. Indeed, the South African market is yet to sufficiently stimulate local economies within this spatial distribution framework.

The article focuses on the Chris Hani District Municipality, which is in the centre of South Africa's Eastern Cape Province. On the east of the map (see Figure 2: Map of CHDM) is the former Transkei homeland, which is covered by Emalahleni Local Municipality, A. B Xuma Local Municipality, Intsika Yethu Local Municipality, Sakhisizwe Local Municipality, and a portion of Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality. To the west, the other part of Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality and Inxuba Yethemba Local Municipality were originally part of the former Ciskei homeland.

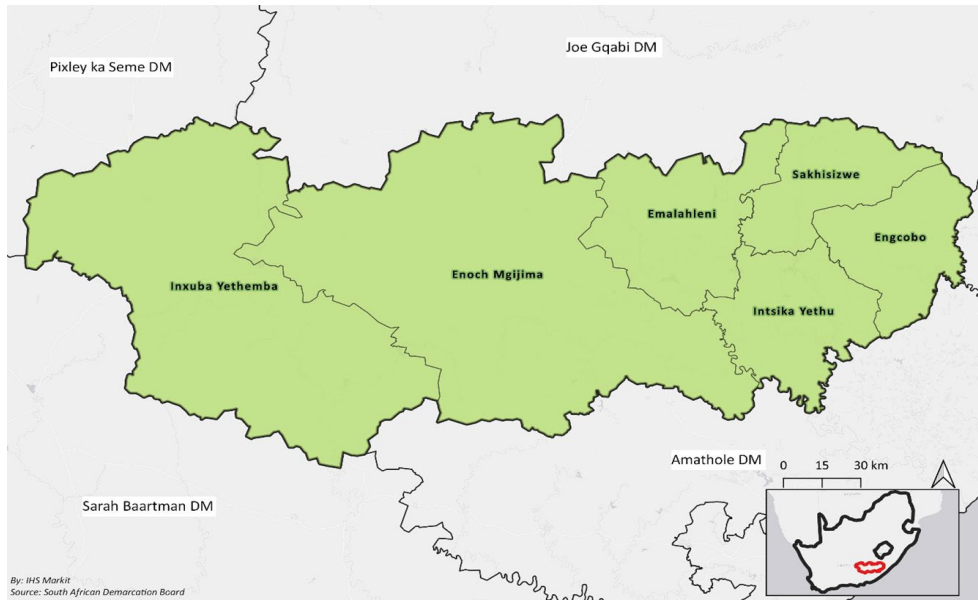


Figure 2: Maps of CHDM. Source: CHDM, IDP (2022/2023)

Service Delivery and the Legacy of Apartheid Spatial Development

The *White Paper on Local Government* (1998) draws attention to infrastructure and service provision as fundamental performance areas for South African local government.

Sartorius and Sartorius (2016) and Maphanga et al. (2023) revealed the geographical dimension of service delivery inequity in South Africa. They argued this “unequal” service delivery by testing a conceptual model that links service delivery inequalities to the legacy of apartheid spatial legacy. Using the Theil Inequality Index to test service delivery census data, the authors revealed a relationship between service inequality and poor service delivery in municipalities (Wittenberg 2020). The study also showed that municipalities that experience this inequality are the poorer rural municipalities affected by the apartheid spatial distribution of districts and economic wealth. These municipalities are found mostly in South African provinces with the highest share of former apartheid homelands and Bantustans, such as the Eastern Cape and Limpopo (Sartorius and Sartorius 2016).

Studies into individual municipalities also show the spatial differentiation of service delivery. In an analysis of water provisioning in eThekweni Metro in KwaZulu-Natal, Sutherland et al. (2014) and Maphanga et al. (2023) found that spatial patterns associated with service delivery backlogs were in informal and peri-urban settlements which were developed by migrant workers seeking urban opportunities during apartheid.

The context of this article was a cursory 16-year overview of service delivery outcomes for water and sanitation, electricity, and service delivery protest (a very important litmus test of service delivery effectiveness in South Africa). As outlined in Figure 3, the General Household Survey by Statistics South Africa (2022) showed that accessibility to drinking water, electricity, and improved sanitation has steadily increased from 2002 to 2018. Notably, sluggish access to better sanitation (flush toilets or pit toilets with ventilation pipes) has grown by 21.3% over the past 17 years. It is assumed that a greater proportion of families have access to drinking water (piped or tap water in their homes, off-site or on-site) than electricity and improved sanitation. Worth highlighting though is that access to water recorded the lowest growth of 4.6% in the 17 years.

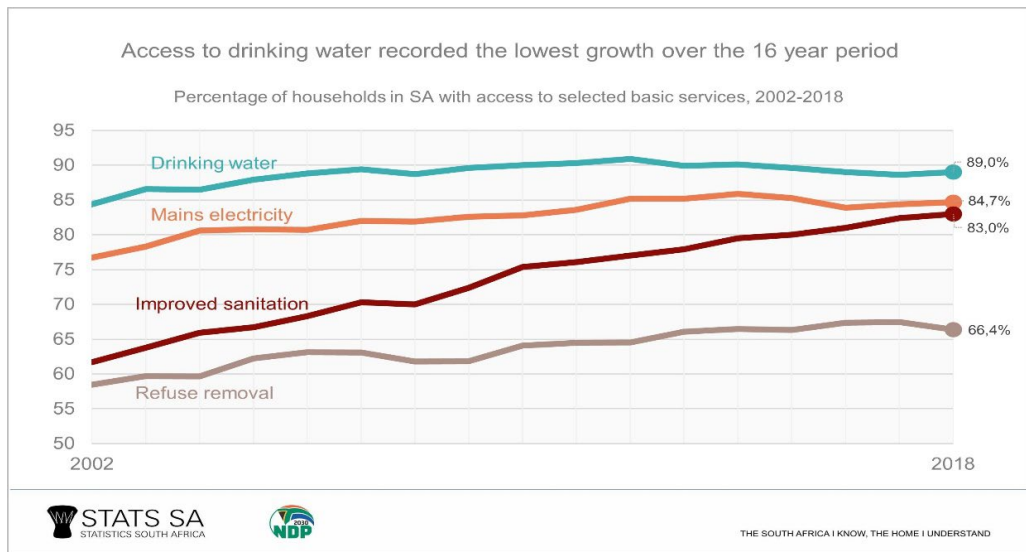


Figure 3: Access to basic services (Statistics South Africa 2022)

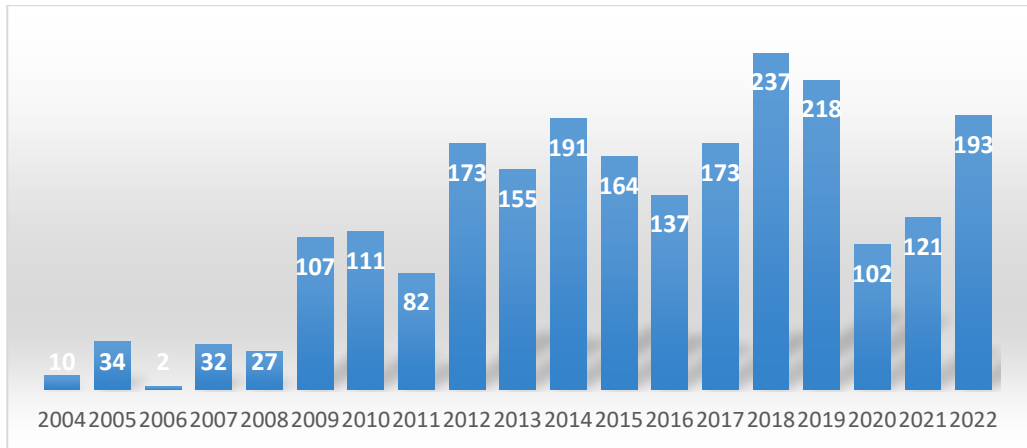


Figure 4: Major service delivery protests, by year (2004–2022). Source: Municipal IQ (2022, 2)

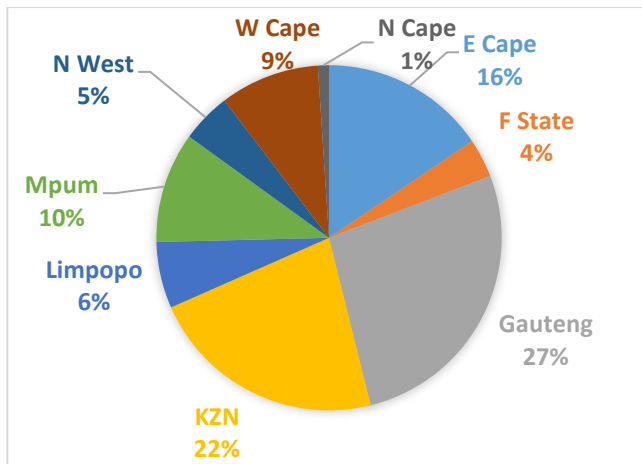


Figure 5: Service delivery protests by province, 2022. Source: Municipal IQ (2022, 2)

Service delivery protests in South Africa have been used over the years as a measure of citizens' dissatisfaction with the ability of government to provide water and sanitation, collection of waste, and provision of road infrastructure. As presented in Figures 4 and 5, the country has been experiencing a high number of protests owing to poor service delivery which are characterised by violence and destruction of public property (schools, community halls, libraries, and houses of local municipal councillors) (Breakfast, Bradshaw, and Nomrwayi 2019).

Furthermore, Figures 4 and 5 highlight an initial peak in 2005 and in 2007 preceded by a lull in 2006. However, in 2009 the number of service delivery protests hit the highest since the advent of democracy in 1994. These figures were staggering as only 28 protests took place in 2008. As seen in Figure 3 and argued in this study, these service delivery protests can be attributed to the low growth in the provision of water and electricity. Despite increased development and accelerated growth in improved sanitation, South Africa's unemployment and poverty rates have risen over the past years. This is reflected in the rise in the number of service delivery protests reported between 2018 and 2019. The article attributes the staggering number of service delivery demonstrations between 2018 and 2019 to the high levels of unemployment that occurred during this particular period. South Africa's unemployment rate has changed by a record 1.32% each year since the introduction of democracy, from 23.99% in 2017 to 25.54% in 2019.

Governance and the Legacy of Apartheid Spatial Development

Much of the literature indicates that governance is a key performance problem in local government. For the purposes of this article, governance performance includes elements such as the relationship between political and administrative leadership, public participation, responsiveness and accountability, institutional organisation, administration, capacity and skills, oversight and regulation, monitoring, and reporting (Mujere 2020).

Political leadership is characterised by corruption that seems to become more endemic, with administration/political tensions in local government as evidenced in reports and research (Visser et al. 2010). Based on reports, many municipalities continue to fail to meet their constitutional and legislative accountability responsibilities (Brynard 2009, 245; Du Plessis 2009, 320; Mujere 2020; Sikakane and Reddy 2009, 113). Constitutional provisions for participatory, pro-poor, and service-oriented municipal government emphasise the strong legislative commitment to responsive and accountable governance (Republic of South Africa 1996). While these challenges affect local government across the board, governance problems tend to be exacerbated in poorer, rural municipalities in historically, spatially disenfranchised parts of South Africa. Some evidence shows that except when the stakes are politically high, good governance principles tend not to be prioritised (Berliner 2015; Hemson et al. 2004; Mujere 2020; Wegner and Koetz 2016). A Batho Pele survey shows that the poorest parts of South Africa are non-competitive politically for the ruling party. This implies that historically poor and spatially disenfranchised communities in South Africa will more likely experience poor implementation and adherence to these good governance principles.

Using National Treasury database records on the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA) (Republic of South Africa 2003) financial indicators for good financial governance (unauthorised, irregular, and wasteful expenditure), we tracked records from 2012 to 2021 and found the examination of misappropriation of budgets as a key governance indicator (corruption). According to Section 1 of the MFMA (2003),

unauthorised expenditure implies any expenditure spent by a municipality alternatively than in the financial plan and excessive spending of any kind; irregular expenditure is expenditure by a municipality or municipal body in defiance of, or that is not in conformity with, a requirement of the MFMA; and pointless and wasteful expenditure is defined in Section 1 of the MFMA as “expenditure that was made in vain and would have been avoided had reasonable care been exercised.”

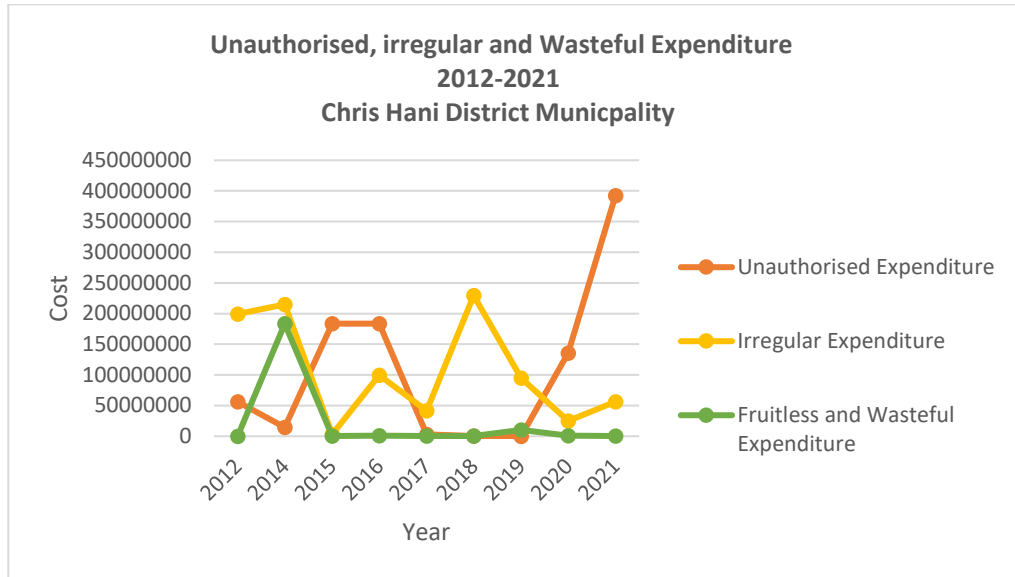


Figure 6: Unauthorised, irregular and wasteful expenditure 2012–2021 in CHDM. Source: South African National Treasury Municipal Finance database (2022)

This shows that while irregular and wasteful expenditure seemed to gain some stability over the year, unauthorised expenditure skyrocketed in recent years in the district. Unauthorised expenditure represents a more deliberate approach to graft in local government. Causes for this type of corruption in South African local government have been linked to poor leadership and an absence of consequence management (Thusi and Selepe 2023).

Local Economic Development (LED) and the Legacy of Apartheid Spatial Development

Local economic development (LED) is a municipality’s or region’s technique to promoting investment by big industries, small local businesses, tourism industries, or large sector economy management such as mining, manufacturing, or farming (Mokoena 2017). A critical assessment of the gains of post-apartheid spatial interventions shows that many spatial development policies have yielded little economic gains for spatially distressed districts in former homelands (Rogerson and Nel 2016;

Mokoena 2017). For LED in particular, the potential for its consolidation and progress is judged to be tied to spatial conditions (Maphanga et al. 2023; Xuza and Swilling 2007). In this case, more resourced and competent municipalities tend to do better than less resourced and capacitated municipalities in the former homelands (Nel and Goldman 2009; Ngumbela 2023).

The strategic approaches to LED in distressed areas consist of infrastructure, manufacturing, and land use (agriculture and tourism) amongst others. Successes in these areas are seen by many spatial planners and experts to be important drivers of economic and social transformation for spatially distressed communities (Todes and Turok 2018; Nel and Rogerson 2016; Rogerson and Nel 2016; DTI 2015; Moekena 2017). The South African government has made numerous policy and project interventions like the Strategic Integrated Projects (SIP) which support economic development in the poorest areas and the Special Economic Zones (SEZ) which targets sustained job creation and growth in targeted areas (Rogerson and Nel 2016). However (as seen in examples from tourism), distressed areas need adequate capacity and collaborative innovation to tackle the legacy of apartheid spatial development.

LED success translates to increased revenue sources for local governments through taxes and levies. This determines the financial viability of a municipality and its true development potential. For this article, we used revenue generation through municipal revenue to explore the development of the local economy, while this also depends largely on the capability of the local authority to collect the revenue.

The Auditor General of South Africa (Auditor General 2022) raised concerns over rural municipalities' inability to generate revenue. Despite having access to a multiplicity of revenue streams, municipalities in South Africa are believed to be under financial pressure (Republic of South Africa 2019b). Notably, category C rural municipalities, like the CHDM, generate less than 20% from own sources of revenue (Khumalo 2018, 85). This is further confirmed by the Fiscal Commission of South Africa (FFC) (Khambule and Mtapuri 2018, 438) which expressed major concern regarding the ability of rural municipalities to support their expenditure mandates from the current revenue sources.

Therefore, this article (see Figure 7) provides and analyses the financial outlook of CHDM to understand the overall revenue generation performance. This is to determine the financial feasibility of the municipality in respect to its expenditure mandate. From Figure 7 the inconsistencies in revenue collection are deduced. For example, CHDM collected R301 017, R317 292 and R369 105 in 2018/19, 2019/20, and 2020/21, respectively, compared with R555 384 collected in the 2017/18 financial year. The article argues that this is confirmed and substantiated by the FFC's findings that rural municipalities are not reaching their full potential of collecting service charges.

Therefore, the implication is that revenue generation is impacted by the inability of the municipalities to maximise the collection of service charges.

Chris Hani District Municipality Financial Outlook (2010/11 - 2022/23)													
	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	2019/20	2020/21	2021/22	2022/23
Values in South African Rands	AO	AO	AO	AO	AO	AO	AO	AO	AO	AO	AO	AO	AO
Total Revenue	803 112	876 268	1 012 383	1 345 955	1 746 287	1 851 065	1 960 982	1 966 842	1 786 987	1 423 690	1 714 469	1 789 831	2 322 076
Service charges	62 482	60 456	543 878	604 067	571 704	606 007	642 367	555 384	301 017	371 292	369 105	407 820	429 465
Transfer recognised operational	364 809	411 770	974 677	469 397	484 419	513 484	544 293	627 804	655 558	698 412	714 682	665 973	714 064
Total revenue (excluding capital transfers)	537 691	488 519	1 006 052	808 850	1 074 624	1 139 102	1 206 302	933 841	979 913	1 079 436	1 157 963	1 147 641	1 527 447
Total expenditure	52 008	891 359	1 463 099	1 347 476	1 798 709	2 064 265	2 161 255	1 271 533	1 326 006	1 222 305 286	1 294 971 578	1 493 751 242	1 282 299 831
Surplus (Deficit)	33 214	15 091	450 716	6 380	52 423	213 200	200 272	343 487	426 384	-201 384 259	-137 008 518	-363 083 368	245 147 524

Figure 7: Chris Hani District Municipality (CHDM) financial outlook (2010/11–2022/23) Source: Republic of South Africa (2022b)

Furthermore, we have also used records of small business registration in South Africa as early as 2010. Cleave, Arku, and Chatwin (2019, 96) reported that the number of small businesses in 2010 was 590 000, which climbed to 680 000 in 2019. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic these numbers declined by 25% and in 2020 and in 2022 these numbers recovered to 710 000. These numbers are not satisfactory when South Africa is compared with other upper-middle income countries in which small business owners (that includes employers and the self-employed) make up 20% of the working-age population compared with 6% in South Africa (Kamara 2017, 99). This article argues that South Africa inherited its very low level of small business from the apartheid era, which resulted in black-owned family farms and urban enterprises being destroyed. Cleave, Arku, and Chatwin (2019) point out that in the 1980s, only 40% of the adult population was employed, compared with the international standard of 60%.

The number of small businesses has not been enough to overcome the disastrous legacy of apartheid, as demonstrated by the deficit of working population, in the last 25 years. The 6% backlog in South Africa mainly explains the very low employment levels.

Conclusion

This article examined and assessed the 25 years of the 1998 *White Paper on Local Government*. To determine the extent to which the *WPLG* has succeeded in transforming local communities that struggle under the historical apartheid spatial planning, the article explored records and information from government databases to provide the analysis. To this end, the analysis was anchored in the evaluation of municipal performance as it relates to acceleration of service delivery, improving governance, and stimulating local economic growth. The article appreciates and outlines the various planning efforts made in post-apartheid South Africa to reconstruct the spatial planning and development of the country. However, the assessment indicated that spatial

transformation as envisioned in the *WPLG* has had a limited impact on dismantling the spatial legacies of apartheid.

The analysis has noted the success as it pertains to the introduction of transformed spatial planning legislation (*White Paper on Local Government*; National Spatial Development Framework; Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, 16 of 2015; Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme). However, the findings indicate that spatial planning legislation has had a limited impact on achieving spatial transformation in the post-apartheid era. A variety of factors are provided as contributing to the stagnant progress, namely unresponsive municipalities, public trust, political interference, non-compliance with legislation, lack of capacity and technical skills, and the inability to generate revenue to finance IDPs. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate that the legacy of apartheid and socio-economic segregation has entrenched and reinforced inequalities, unemployment, and poverty, especially in the former homelands. This study emphasises the need for more studies focused on provision of instruments of economic development and redistributive justice. These would assist municipalities in former homelands to dismantle the persistent legacies of apartheid that hinder their development in the post-apartheid society.

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