

**THE IMPACT OF MUNICIPAL SIZE ON SERVICE DELIVERY FOR COMMUNITIES
THAT ARE ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE MUNICIPALITY: THE CASE OF
TSHWANE AND HAMMANSKRAAL**

RESEARCH REPORT

**Godwin Dube
MDB RESEARCH UNIT
27 June 2022**

SUMMARY

Service delivery challenges in one of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality's peripheral areas, Hammanskraal, have received much publicity in recent years. The Hammanskraal Local Area Committee was one of the 14 local government areas that were amalgamated by the Municipal Demarcation Board in 2000 to form the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (City of Tshwane). This resulted in the creation of one of the largest metropolitan municipalities in the world (in terms of geographical area). This study sought to establish not only whether these service delivery challenges still exist, but also the impact of the City of Tshwane's size on service delivery (i.e. whether the City of Tshwane's large size has negatively affected its ability to deliver services to peripheral areas such as Hammanskraal). The study also sought to establish whether there are differences in service quality levels between the City of Tshwane's core (i.e. the central business district and its adjacent affluent suburbs such as Centurion and Faerie Glen) and the periphery (i.e. Hammanskraal).

Using qualitative interviews with senior municipal officials and Hammanskraal's residents, the study found that delivering services to the peripheral area of Hammanskraal has proven to be a huge challenge for the City of Tshwane. Many of the service delivery challenges that have featured prominently in media reports over the past decade such as water, sanitation, roads and stormwater systems remain unresolved to this day.

Tshwane is a large metropolitan municipality (metro) but the metro's size had little to do with the poor service delivery in Hammanskraal, according to the participants. Instead, three main challenges that have negatively impacted service delivery in the area (and continue to perpetuate the differences in service quality levels between the core and periphery) were identified. The first issue had to do with the financial constraints faced by the metro. There were two aspects here – the provision of services that the metro could not charge for and the limited financial support provided by the national and provincial governments to the City of Tshwane. The second issue, which was emphasized by almost all the participants, was that black residents are not taken seriously by municipal officials. Comparisons were made between the way in which complaints were handled by municipal officials in Hammanskraal and the way in which similar service delivery complaints are handled in the metro's urban core (e.g.

Centurion). Thirdly, the challenge associated with having vast tracts of land under the control of traditional authorities.

The four recommendations, based on the results of this study, are that: areas with traditional authorities should not be incorporated into metropolitan municipalities in future; the Board should, as far as possible, endeavour to implement decisions that are based on empirical evidence; the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) of 2013 should be (more boldly) implemented; and the local government sphere's much touted independence notwithstanding, municipalities in South Africa need to be supported and more closely monitored by government.

1. INTRODUCTION

The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (Tshwane), which includes Pretoria (South Africa's administrative capital), is one of the three category A (metropolitan) municipalities in Gauteng Province (Gauteng). The other two category A municipalities in the province are the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (Johannesburg) and the City of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (Ekurhuleni).

Urban settlements in Tshwane, whose area of 6,298 square kilometres makes it one of the largest metropolitan municipalities (metro) in the world (in terms of geographical area), still reflect apartheid spatial planning. The metro is made up of a developed urban core (the city centre and suburbs close to this centre) and a relatively underdeveloped periphery made up of townships that are far from this core. Many people in the periphery, as is the case in the other two metros in Gauteng, still do not have access to formal services and also have to travel long distances to their places of work (often in the core). However, unlike the other two metros, Tshwane also has a significant amount of rural land and is the only metro in the province with land that is under traditional authorities (Hammanskraal being one of these areas).

Although identifying the historical roots of inequity in South Africa's cities (i.e. apartheid spatial planning) is important, a more useful task is that of assessing why the high levels of inequity persist and how these can be reduced. In the case of Hammanskraal, a number of reports suggest that its residents have continued to experience poor levels of service in post-apartheid South Africa in spite of the fact that they are in a metro (OUTA, 2021; SAHRC, 2021; Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation, 2021). According to these reports, the water quality in Hammanskraal, an independent local authority which became part of Tshwane in 2000, is very poor and not at all comparable to that in the metro's urban core.

The aim of this study is not only to establish whether there are differences in service levels but also to understand the reasons for these disparities (if any exist) between Tshwane's urban core and Hammanskraal. Where these disparities exist, the study will also explore ways in which Tshwane can provide better services in Hammanskraal which are comparable to those provided in the urban core.

Using Tshwane and Hammanskraal as examples, the specific objectives of the study are to:

- a) Assess if there are differences in the levels of service between communities in the core and the periphery of municipalities.
- b) Determine the factors leading to disparities in the levels of service delivery between the core and periphery of municipalities.
- c) Provide recommendations on how municipalities can provide services to communities in both the core and periphery more equitably.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Large metros with rural areas are not uncommon even in developed countries. In the United States of America, for example, a rural area is defined as everything that is outside an urban area. An urban area is defined using criteria that include “total population thresholds, density, land use, and distance” (Ratcliffe, Burd, Holder, & Fields, 2016, p. 3).¹ In 2010, urban areas took up only 3 percent of the land although they contained 81 percent of the population while the rural areas covered 97 percent of all land but had only 19 percent of the population (Ratcliffe et al., 2016, p. 4). Most rural dwellers in America are part of a metropolitan area and the country’s metropolitan areas are always made up of large tracts of rural land (see Cox, 2013).

It is, however, important to note that America’s rural areas (and those of the Global North in general) are often very different from those in South Africa (and the Global South in general). In America, metropolitan areas are made up of counties that have a city with 50,000 or more residents and neighbouring counties that are linked to this urban core. Settlements that fall outside the definition of an urban area (i.e. the rural areas) are therefore, due to the broad definition of a rural area, very diverse. These areas’ focus is not only agriculture (as is the case in much of the Global South). The rural areas include industrial towns with large manufacturing plants; timber and pulp

¹ The Census Bureau’s classification has, since 2000, included two types of urban areas in America (Ratcliffe et al., 2016) – urbanised areas (i.e. those with more than 50,000 people) and urban clusters (those whose population is between 2,500 and 5,000). These thresholds are used with other criteria such as density (at least 1,000 people per square mile), land use (land cover and impervious surfaces) and distance (mainly an area made up of continuous urban development).

mills; and areas with intensive coal, ore, oil and gas extraction (Johnson, 2017). There are also, almost invariably, good transport links between the urban core and the rural areas that fall within the metropolitan area – urban cores are often inextricably linked to their rural areas (Johnson, 2017).

South Africa's rural areas are often very different from those in the Global North. These are often areas with high levels of poverty and poor service delivery. They are, for the most part, areas that were marginalised during the apartheid era and continue to be marginalised today. Incorporating these poor areas into metropolitan municipalities has also not yielded the hoped-for benefits in terms of service equalisation. Many of these metros in South Africa are themselves dysfunctional. The incorporation of a struggling rural municipality (Naledi) into a metro (Mangaung) in 2016 provides some salutary lessons. Although the evidence suggests that some services were extended to the rural areas of the erstwhile Naledi municipality, this did not last. The metro faced numerous governance and financial challenges soon afterwards that were exacerbated by the merger (Dube & Radikonyana, 2020). Here, a barely functional metro was expected to extend services to the erstwhile Naledi areas without a corresponding increase in the tax base as Naledi's residents were mainly poor, unemployed people.

Many municipalities in South Africa (including metros) are facing challenges in performing their constitutionally mandated functions (COGTA, 2009, 2014). In Tshwane, some of the current service delivery challenges can be ascribed to apartheid-era spatial planning. The metro came into existence in 2000 after the merger of the upper-tier Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council with 13 racially-based local government areas that included the relatively poor greater Hammanskraal area which is about 50 kilometres from Pretoria's central business district (CBD). In 2011, Metsweding District Municipality (with its two local municipalities Kungwini and Nokeng tsa Taemane) was disestablished and absorbed into Tshwane.

Pretoria, established in 1855, became the administrative capital of South Africa in 1910 and was a typical apartheid city. It had a core made up of the CBD, affluent White suburbs in the east (next to this CBD) and concentric rings of residential areas for the non-Whites which expanded away from its core (Horn, 2020). By 1950, after the

enactment of two pieces of legislation (the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act), the city's spatial structure was well-established with well-defined areas for Blacks - Atteridgeville in the west and Mamelodi in the east. Other areas were later developed for Indians in 1961 (Laudium in the southeast) and Coloureds in 1962 (Eersterust) in the northeast. Industrial buffer zones such as Waltloo and Pretoria West Industrial were established between the townships and the city centre (Horn, 2020).

Although just five kilometres apart, the Temba and Hammanskraal areas, which were part of the Temba-Hammanskraal functional area, were in two "different" countries before 1994. Temba, initially called Sofasonke just after its establishment in the 1940s, later became part of the homeland of Bophuthatswana while Hammanskraal (which was established as a residential area for whites) was in South Africa (Van Huyssteen, 2001).² Although attempts were made to create a viable industrial complex (Babelegi) in Temba, the jobs created could not cater for the growing population. The township's residents were thus compelled to travel daily to Pretoria which offered job opportunities and better amenities such as retail outlets. Temba and Hammanskraal had two different local authorities, the Temba Transitional Representative Council and the Hammanskraal Local Area Committee respectively, during South Africa's local government interim phase (1995 to 2000). However, this report will treat them as one area (pre- and post-2000) as they form part of the present-day greater Hammanskraal area and have always had strong functional linkages (see Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation, 2021).³

Hammanskraal also has land under the administration of traditional authorities – it is home to the Amandebele-a-Lebelo (recognised by the government) and the AmaNdebele-a-Moletlane (not recognised by the government).⁴ Under the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) of 2013, the appropriate authority on land use management decisions is the municipality. However, the actual practice

² The distinction between Temba and Hammanskraal made by Van Huyssteen (2001) is not one that is made by most authors who write about this area in the period leading up to 1995 (see for example Godsell, 2013; Molobe, 2009).

³ The area's population is currently estimated at 250,000 (Mnguni, 2018, p. 3)

⁴ The Amandebele-a-Lebelo were not interviewed in this study. Although they agreed (in writing) to be interviewed for this study, repeated attempts by the researcher to get them to provide details of a suitable location for the interviews were unsuccessful.

in Tshwane (as is the case in many municipalities with traditional areas) is that the traditional authorities allocate and administer land in terms of customary law (Poswa, 2019). In Tshwane, the metro has limited oversight in areas under traditional authorities and it does not levy rates (Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation, 2021).⁵

In the amalgamations of 2000, whose primary aim was the integration of Pretoria's urban core (which in this study refers to Centurion, the CBD and the former White eastern suburbs) with the poor black towns established during the apartheid era, the one-tier consolidated governance model was implemented. Examples of other metropolitan governance models are the one-tier fragmented model which is probably the most popular model in the world (e.g. Los Angeles and Mumbai) and the two-tier model (e.g. London and Dar es Salaam).

In a one-tier consolidated model there is just one local government for the entire metropolitan area. This governance model is supposed to be more efficient and enables more effective decision making compared to the numerous fragmented municipalities in the one-tier fragmented model (characterised by many autonomous municipalities) or two-tier systems with their many lower municipalities and an upper-tier structure.

The governance model selected will often involve important trade-offs between a number of criteria which will, among others, include: economic efficiency; economies of scale; externalities; equity; and access and accountability (Slack, 2019). What follows is a brief description of each of these evaluation criteria in turn.

Economic efficiency exists when there is an optimal allocation of resources. Where differences in local tastes exist, the most efficient way of providing services is through a decentralised governance model that uses small units which are close to citizens and understand their needs (Oates, 1972). Also, competition (for residents and investment) is more likely when there are many small municipalities and this should

⁵ The White Paper on Local Government recognised the tension between municipalities and traditional authorities with respect to functions such as land allocation and administration. Although highlighting the fact that this tension had the potential to hamper development in some rural areas, this was seen as a challenge that primarily faced category B (local) municipalities (Government of South Africa, 1998, p. 63). The White Paper also outlined the role that could be played by category C (district) municipalities. However, the possibility of a metropolitan municipality being saddled with vast tracts of rural land under traditional authorities does not arise in the White Paper.

result in these small municipalities offering the best services to their (relatively homogeneous) residents, to wit more efficiently (Slack, 2019).

Economies of scale are cost advantages that result from an increase in an entity's scale of operation. For example, in a municipality with one library, it will be cheaper (through cost sharing) to provide library services to 300 users compared to providing these services to only 100 users. However, it is important to point out that evidence for scale economies in both the Global North and South has been mixed. The evidence suggests that scale effects depend on contextual factors such as the size of the population and the type of service offered (Blom-Hansen, Houlberg, Serritzlew, & Treisman, 2016; D'Inverno, Moesen, & De Witte, 2020; Drew, Kortt, & Dollery, 2016; Dube & Radikonyana, forthcoming; Tavares, 2018).

Externalities (or spillovers) are indirect costs or benefits to an uninvolved third party that result from another party's actions. An example of a negative externality is that of a river polluted in one municipality that flows through and provides water to another municipality. An important objective in the establishment of many metros is often the internalisation of externalities (positive and negative).

Equity, the evaluation criterion that this study focuses on, refers to fairness in the sharing of costs and benefits in the local government area. The evidence suggests that the one-tier consolidated metros (and merged municipalities in general) resulting from the amalgamation of poor and rich communities tend to result in the equalisation of services in the new entity (Slack, 2019; Slack & Bird, 2013). Here, what we have is essentially a form of redistribution where the taxes from the rich are used to subsidise the poor areas.

Access and accountability refer to not only the ease with which residents can communicate with elected representatives and officials, but also how they can be held responsible for their actions. Evidence suggests that residents of smaller municipalities tend to have better access and are better able to hold their representatives accountable (Smoke, 2015). Table 1 presents a summary of the three governance models and the evaluation criteria used in this study.

Table 1: Three Metropolitan Governance Models

Governance model	One-tier consolidated¹	One-tier fragmented	Two-tier
Main features	One municipal government for the entire metropolitan area which coordinates all services.	Many municipalities with some decision making autonomy in their jurisdictions. Often requires consensus for inter-jurisdictional issues	One upper-tier governing body responsible for region-wide services with one or more lower-tier municipalities. Consensus for inter-jurisdictional issues not required
Evaluation criteria supposedly met	Economies of scale, externalities, equity	Economic efficiency, access and accountability	Lower tiers: Economic efficiency, access and accountability Upper tier: Economies of scale, externalities, equity
City examples	Tshwane, Abidjan, Toronto, Shanghai	Los Angeles, Geneva, Mumbai, Manila	London, Paris, Tokyo, Dar es Salaam,

Source: Adapted from Slack (2019).

¹Tshwane, as is the case with many one-tier consolidated metropolitan municipalities, is divided into seven service delivery regions. Hammanskraal is in Region 2.

Many communities in South Africa believe that being part of a metro is an important step towards better service delivery (through the equity criterion). However, the governance models outlined in Table 1 involve important trade-offs. For example, in a large metro like Tshwane, the benefits of being part of the large metro (in terms of improved service delivery) may result in a loss of political voice, poor access to officials and representatives and poor accountability (the so-called “democratic trade-off”). Also, becoming part of a metro, particularly one that is already struggling financially (as was the case in Mangaung which incorporated Naledi in 2016, see Dube and Radikonyana (2020)), may result in only marginal improvements in service delivery (in poor communities). In other words, communities are likely to have little compensation for the loss of their political voice.

3. THE LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY FRAMEWORK

Chapter 7 of the Constitution is devoted to local government and outlines the legal foundations and aspirations for local government in South Africa. Apart from the

Constitution, four pieces of legislation and a policy document, the 1998 White Paper on Local Government, provide the legislative and policy framework for the developmental, democratic and accountable local government system envisaged by foundational legislation. Two pieces of legislation - the Municipal Demarcation Act (No. 27 of 1998) and the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998 - have an important impact on the MDB's work. While the focus of the study is on these two Acts, they are complemented by other Acts which will not feature prominently in this report. For example, the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 regulates key municipal organisational, planning, participatory and service delivery systems while the Municipal Finance Management Act 56 of 2003 regulates municipal financial matters.⁶

3.1 The Constitution

The Constitution outlines the developmental role of local government which, after 1996, is now seen as a separate sphere of government. Before 1996, local government was a function of provincial government. However, from 1996, municipalities now had the right to govern their own affairs without any interference from provincial and national government (section 151).⁷ According to Section 152 of the Constitution, the five objects of local government are:⁸

- a) to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- b) to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- c) to promote social and economic development;
- d) to promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- e) to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government.

Section 155 of the Constitution deals with the establishment of municipalities. In section 155(3)(b), it speaks of the need for legislation to establish the criteria and procedures for the determination of municipal boundaries by an independent authority. The Constitution specifies the three municipal categories in South Africa:

⁶ Other pieces of local government legislation such as the Municipal Property Rates Act 6 of 2004 and the Municipal Fiscal Powers and Functions Act 12 of 2007, although important, are beyond the scope of this report.

⁷ It should be noted that section 139 of the Constitution allows the provincial government to intervene where a municipality is failing to fulfil an executive obligation in terms of the Constitution.

⁸ For the legislative framework, information is drawn from the specified Acts and is not presented as original work.

- a) Category A: A municipality that has exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in its area.
- b) Category B: A municipality that shares municipal executive and legislative authority in its area with a category C municipality within whose area it falls.
- c) Category C: A municipality that has municipal executive and legislative authority in an area that includes more than one municipality.

The 38 municipal powers and functions are specified in Schedules 4B and 5B of the Constitution while section 229 specifies municipal fiscal powers and functions (i.e. the levying of property rates and user charges).

3.2 The White Paper

After the adoption of the 1996 Constitution, local government had to be structured in a way that gave substance to the aspirations outlined in the Constitution. The 1998 White Paper on Local Government, which still guides government policy, laid out a developmental and transformative vision for the role of municipalities in South Africa (Pillay, Tomlinson and Du Toit, 2016). The developmental vision was based on local government's proximity to communities which would thus allow it to deliver the services and infrastructure using three approaches - integrated development planning and budgeting; performance management; and working together with local citizens and partners.

Apart from the urgent need to deliver services and address apartheid spatial distortions, the White Paper also acknowledges the vast disparities in municipal revenue bases. Although additional sources of revenue are explored in the document, there is a realization that some rural municipalities will find it difficult to be financially viable.

The foundational local government legislation found in the Constitution and the new government's policy on local government (i.e. White Paper) resulted in three important pieces of legislation - the Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998, followed by the Municipal Structures Act of 1998 and the Municipal Systems Act of 2000.

3.3 Municipal Demarcation Act (No. 27 of 1998)

The purpose of the Act is to provide for criteria and procedures for the determination of municipal boundaries by an independent authority; and to provide for matters connected thereto.⁹ Chapter 1 of the Act enables the establishment of the MDB. The Act specifies the MDB's status, functions, powers and composition.

Demarcation criteria are specified in Sections 24 and 25 of the Act. According to Section 24, when the Board determines a municipal boundary its objective must be to establish an area that would:

- a. enable the municipality for that area to fulfil its constitutional obligations, including-
 - i) the provision of democratic and accountable government for the local communities;
 - ii) the provision of services to the communities in an equitable and sustainable manner;
 - iii) the promotion of social and economic development; and
 - iv) the promotion of a safe and healthy environment;
 - a) enable effective local governance;
 - b) enable integrated development; and
 - c) have a tax base as inclusive as possible of users of municipal services in the municipality.

Section 24 of the Municipal Demarcation Act, which specifies the demarcation objectives, is essentially the same as section 152 of the Constitution which outlines the objects of local government. As more fully explained in the methodology section, this report will assess the achievement of the demarcation objectives in the amalgamated municipalities based on this legislation.

Section 25 of the Act looks at the factors that should be taken into account when determining municipal boundaries.

⁹ According to section 155(3)(b) of the Constitution, national legislation must establish criteria and procedures for the determination of municipal boundaries by an independent authority.

- a) the interdependence of people, communities and economies as indicated by:
 - i) existing and expected patterns of human settlement and migration;
 - ii) employment;
 - iii) commuting and dominant transport movements;
 - iv) spending;
 - v) the use of amenities, recreational facilities and infrastructure; and
 - vi) commercial and industrial linkages;
- b) the need for cohesive, integrated and unfragmented areas, including metropolitan areas;
- c) the financial viability and administrative capacity of the municipality to perform municipal functions efficiently and effectively;
- d) the need to share and redistribute financial and administrative resources;
- e) provincial and municipal boundaries;
- f) areas of traditional rural communities.

3.4 Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998

A municipality, according to the Municipal Structures Act (No. 117 of 1998), is defined as the structures, political office bearers and administration of the municipality; a geographic area; and the community of the municipality. According to this definition, a municipality is made up of a municipal institution (political and administrative structures), and the people who live in a particular area. The purpose of the Act is:

- a) to provide for the establishment of municipalities in accordance with the requirements relating to categories and types of municipality.
- b) to establish criteria for determining the category of municipality to be established in an area.
- c) to define the types of municipality that may be established within each category.
- d) to provide for an appropriate division of functions and powers between categories of municipality.
- e) to regulate the internal systems, structures and office-bearers of municipalities
- f) to provide for appropriate electoral systems.

Although the different categories of municipalities are specified in the Constitution, the criteria for determining when an area should have a single category A municipality or

when it should have municipalities of both category B and category C are specified in Chapter 1 of the Municipal Structures Act.

Section 84 specifies the division of the 38 powers and functions specified in the Constitution (Schedules 4B and 5B) between district and local municipalities while section 85 allows the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) for local government, after consulting the MDB, to adjust the allocation of powers and functions between district and local municipalities. Section 85 also specifies the MDB's advisory role, based on its assessment of municipal capacity, before adjustments on powers and functions are made by the MEC.

3.5 Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000

This Act regulates key municipal organisational, planning, citizen participation and service delivery systems. The purpose of the Act is:

- a) to provide for the core principles, mechanisms and processes that are necessary to enable municipalities to move progressively towards the social and economic upliftment of local communities, and ensure universal access to essential services that are affordable to all.
- b) to define the legal nature of a municipality as including the local community within the municipal area, working in partnership with the municipality's political and administrative structures.
- c) to provide for the manner in which municipal powers and functions are exercised and performed.
- d) to provide for community participation.
- e) to establish a simple and enabling framework for the core processes of planning, performance management, resource mobilisation and organisational change which underpin the notion of developmental local government.
- f) to provide a framework for local public administration and human resource development.
- g) to empower the poor and ensure that municipalities put in place service tariffs and credit control policies that take their needs into account by providing a framework for the provision of services, service delivery agreements and municipal service districts.

- h) to provide for credit control and debt collection.
- i) to establish a framework for support, monitoring and standard setting by other spheres of government in order to progressively build local government into an efficient, frontline development agency capable of integrating the activities of all spheres of government for the overall social and economic upliftment of communities in harmony with their local natural environment.
- j) to provide for legal matters pertaining to local government.

Section 73 of the Municipal Services Act deals specifically deals with municipal services:

- 1) A municipality must give effect to the provisions of the Constitution and-
 - a) give priority to the basic needs of the local community
 - b) promote the development of the local community; and
 - c) ensure that all members of the local community have access to at least the minimum level of basic municipal services.
- 2) Municipal services must-
 - a) be equitable and accessible;
 - b) be provided in a manner that is conducive to-
 - i) the prudent, economic, efficient and effective use of available resources; and
 - ii) the improvement of standards of quality over time;
 - c) be financially sustainable;
 - d) be environmentally sustainable; and
 - e) be regularly reviewed with a view to upgrading, extension and improvement.

3.6 Municipal Finance Management Act 56 of 2003

The purpose of the Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act No. 56 of 2003 (MFMA) is to secure sound and sustainable management of the financial affairs of municipalities and other institutions in the local sphere of government. The Act also establishes treasury norms and standards for the local sphere of government.

4. METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

Given the paucity of data at municipal level in South Africa and the argument that is often made about service quality being a subjective experience (see Shin, 1977), this study primarily utilised qualitative techniques to assess the equity criterion (i.e. the extent to which service equalisation has occurred between Tshwane's core and periphery). Although the focus of the study was on water quality, which has featured prominently in media reports, questions also explored the delivery of other services such as electricity, sanitation and refuse removal in Hammanskraal.

To ascertain the existence and nature of the differences in the quality of services between Hammanskraal and the urban core, interviews with a total of 10 participants were conducted: two participants were senior City of Tshwane officials, two participants were community development workers (CDWs) who live in Hammanskraal and six participants were from the AmaNdebele-a-Moletlane Traditional Authority (the Moletlanes). See Appendix 1 for the list of interviewees. These interviews were augmented with data and information from, among others, The City of Tshwane, Stats SA, academic articles and newspapers. Also, a site visit to the Hammanskraal area was undertaken in order to establish the veracity of the service delivery concerns that were raised in the interviews and reports.

Tshwane was chosen because not only is it the biggest metro in South Africa (in terms of geographical area), which should provide a clearer exposition of size effects (if any exist), but also due to the fact that some of its peripheral areas (such as Hammanskraal) also include areas under traditional authorities.

5. RESULTS

The study conducted by the MDB in 1999 that investigated the amalgamation of the municipalities to form the City of Tshwane recommended the exclusion of the Temba/Hammanskraal areas from the new metropolitan municipality. Although not explicitly stated, it can be inferred from the report that the Temba/Hammanskraal areas were not "suitable for metropolitan development in the foreseeable future" (MDB, 1999, p. 3). The areas were viewed mainly as a support centre "for outlying rural

communities to their north” and not as tightly integrated with Pretoria as the other local authorities (MDB, 1999, p. 3). However, the Temba/Hammanskraal areas were incorporated into the new metro the following year. The following municipalities were amalgamated in 2000 to form the City of Tshwane:

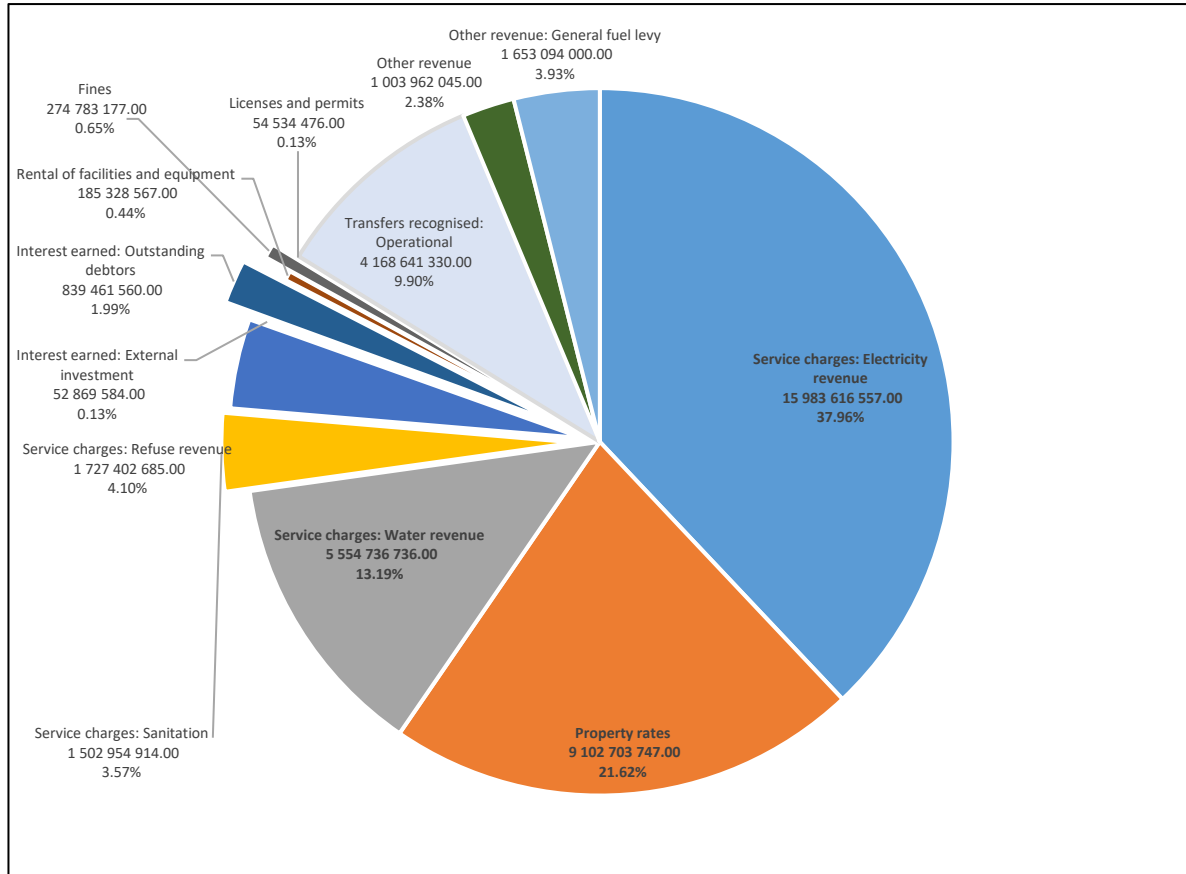
- 1) The Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council
- 2) The City Council of Pretoria
- 3) The Town Council of Centurion
- 4) The Northern Pretoria Metropolitan Substructure
- 5) The Hammanskraal Local Area Committee
- 6) The Eastern Gauteng Services Council
- 7) The Pienaarsrivier Transitional Representative Council
- 8) The Crocodile River Transitional Council
- 9) The Western Gauteng Services Council
- 10)The Winterveld Transitional Representative Council
- 11)The Temba Transitional Representative Council
- 12)The Mabopane Transitional Representative Council
- 13)The Ga-Rankuwa Transitional Representative Council
- 14)The Eastern District Council

Hammanskraal is characterised by a diverse mix of poor residents and middle-income earners. This is reflected in the different residential properties in the area. However, because of its high levels of unemployment, peri-urban nature and huge infrastructure backlogs, the area is regarded as being less developed than the other townships in the metro’s “Far North” such as Soshanguve and Mabopane. Residents have been particularly vocal about the poor service delivery in the area with numerous protests, some of which have turned violent (Mnguni, 2018). See Appendix 2 for Hammanskraal’s demographic information.

For the 2022/23 financial, the metro tabled a total budget of R44,9 billion. This is made up of an operating budget of R42,1 billion and a capital budget of R2.8 billion. Figure 1 shows the metro’s sources of revenue. As is the case with other metros in South Africa, service charges make up the bulk of the revenue with government transfers

making up a small percentage of the municipality’s total revenue (i.e. 9.9%) for the 2022/23 financial year.

Figure 1: Revenue per source 2022/2023



Source: City of Tshwane (2022b)

5.1 Service delivery

Hammanskraal is facing service delivery challenges, particularly in terms of water and sanitation. These are challenges that have been acknowledged by the City of Tshwane (City of Tshwane, 2021; Mnguni, 2018; OUTA, 2021; SAHRC, 2021; Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation, 2021). According to a senior municipal official, the water problems in the area are being addressed. The official mentioned the Temba Treatment Plant which has been upgraded and can now handle 120 megalitres (i.e. twice the original capacity of 60 megalitres) - enough to cover the whole of Region 2. However there are still problems. The official said:

But now the source where we get the water [is] Rooiwal which comes downstream through the Apies River and then goes to a dam and then it's fed here. But the source where we draw water, maintenance has been neglected for years so the quality of water that we get at Temba Treatment Plant...to be purified and washed...doesn't get to the quality that is good enough [for] people to consume. That is why the city took the decision that for drinking, the city is providing water in tanks. So, for consumption, people are using water tankers. And then the water that we provide as the city is only used for secondary purposes such as washing.

Although municipal officials spoke about water trucks being used to deliver potable water to communities, the water provided (according to the residents) has often been inadequate due to the long intervals between deliveries (see also City of Tshwane, 2021). The problems with water quality have existed since 2010, according to a senior municipal official. The issue of bulk infrastructure was not prioritised by successive Councils, according to the municipal officials interviewed, as project prioritization is “within the ambit of politicians”.¹⁰

Another major problem identified by Tshwane officials was that of roads and storm water systems where the backlogs are huge. There is a lack of stormwater infrastructure throughout Hammanskraal (City of Tshwane, 2021). The Hammanskraal area, according to the municipal officials, is flat with a high water table and many of the roads in the area are gravel roads. So this combination of a high water table and the poor stormwater system leads to flooding when it rains and attempts at regravelling the roads are often unsuccessful as the soil just gets eroded. The problem of flooding has been exacerbated by the illegal dumping of refuse which has resulted in blocked drains.

Hammanskraal's residents who were interviewed in this study complained about the poor communication from the municipality regarding power outages. However, senior municipal officials pointed out that electricity was not the competence of the

¹⁰ Some of the residents that were interviewed were of the view that the municipality's neglect of the Rooiwal treatment plant was due to the fact that some officials (and businesspeople supplying the water) were benefiting from the crisis. Solving the water crisis was not in their best interests.

municipality in the Hammanskraal area as this was handled by Eskom. A municipal official also said that although the supply was not reliable (a situation exacerbated by the numerous illegal connections in the area), only informal settlements had problems in terms of access to electricity.

In explaining the challenges encountered in terms of refuse removal, a municipal official touched on an issue that has negatively affected service delivery throughout the Hammanskraal area – that of providing services without the ability to charge many of the residents for the services rendered. The official said:

The city collects [refuse] even though we don't really get the revenue, the revenue does not equate to the service that we provide [as] most of the areas are not formalized. So if the areas are not formalized, or proclaimed, you can't bill them [as] they just look like one stand, one JR, because the area has not been properly formalized where everyone's got title deeds. [With formalized areas] you know that this portion of land belongs to Mr. X and you're able to bill properly. So we try to provide a service because if we were just to say, "no, you're not formalised, so we're not gonna do anything" we'd have a health hazard. So we're just providing a free service. It's not adequate, obviously, [but] it's a very difficult balancing act for the municipality. We do provide some form of waste management service and we also clear the illegal dumping that is happening around the [informal] areas.

Having large tracts of land that are owned by traditional authorities in Hammanskraal has proved to be challenging for Tshwane in terms of service delivery. A municipal official said:

Vast portions of land here are owned by the tribal authority. For example, we've got an area called Marokolong, the city was ready to formalize the area...put bulk [infrastructure] and everything and they just needed a power of attorney from the tribal authority. [It's] been more than five years [and nothing has happened]. It's just to and fro to and fro, you know. [Because] the traditional authority owns the land, the city cannot invest its money on private land [as] that would become an audit query. So that has been the [challenge] in Hammanskraal. Because now, if we don't formalize these areas, then we are unable to invest in them. So these

areas are still using the infrastructure that was used by the Bophuthatswana government which was very limited, so that is the bottleneck. That is the main hindrance. The city must come up with a model agreement with the tribal authority. And because Mshate [the traditional authority] owns some of the land, sometimes they just put people there. Yeah, they put people there. And people expect services, not from Mshate, they expect services from the city. So it plays a huge role in the slow pace of development in this area. Let's start with Marokolong. Let's formalize there and invest in bulk [services]. [Some time ago] the city appointed a developer...a contractor...and they had to cancel the contract. The power of attorney was not coming in from the traditional authority. So it's a hindrance and like I said, vast portions of land are owned by the traditional authority. You know, the city does not own a lot in this area.

The senior municipal official went on to say that of the nine wards in Hammanskraal, five were in areas that were either under the traditional authority or had significant portions of land under the traditional authority. Not only are the traditional authorities allocating land in a manner that does not promote spatial planning for long term sustainable settlement, but there are also many people who have moved into these areas and just erected their shacks without the traditional authority's permission. The municipal official pointed out that these people's basic human rights still had to be respected and that the metro, by law, was obligated to provide services which it could not charge for. More worryingly for the municipality is the fact that, because those living in areas controlled by the traditional authority do not pay service charges and rates, these areas have proved to be attractive to a number of Tshwane's residents (including middle-income earners) who have built their houses there. However, access to water and electricity has been a challenge in this area with some residents resorting to illegal connections.

Hammanskraal, according to the municipal officials interviewed, has huge service delivery backlogs and "needs to invest billions" (particularly for water, road and sewer system infrastructure). Given the fact that many of Hammanskraal's residents commute to Pretoria daily (for a variety of reasons that include work), there is also a need to upgrade the transport network, particularly the passenger rail system between the area and Pretoria which has all but collapsed.

The poor service delivery in Hammanskraal has been acknowledged in a number of the City of Tshwane's own reports (City of Tshwane, 2021, 2022a). For example, the metro's Deprivation Index, reported in the metro's Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP), which measures the residents' level of deprivation on nine (weighted) indicators which include piped water, refuse removal, lighting and sanitation shows that underserved areas such as Hammanskraal, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Soshanguve have the highest levels of deprivation. The BEPP then goes on to emphasize the need to "stimulate economic activity" in areas such as Hammanskraal, the failure of which would "reinforce the spatial inequality of the city" (City of Tshwane, 2017, p. 143). However, it will be difficult to stimulate this economic activity given the poor service provision in the area.

5.2 Service delivery - the core vs the periphery

All of those interviewed indicated that service delivery was much poorer in the periphery (i.e. Hammanskraal) in not only quantitative, but also qualitative terms. The poor quality of the water, the poor road infrastructure, and the proliferation of informal settlements without basic services were some of the challenges cited by respondents which those in the core did not face (to the same extent). The view was that the gap in service provision (and quality of these services) between the core and the periphery was just too vast and service equalization was not something that would be achieved in the near to medium term.

Table 2 shows the metro's capital budget per region. Underserved regions such as Region 1 (Soshanguve, Mabopane, Winterveldt, Ga-Rankuwa and Pretoria North), Region 6 (which includes large portions of Kungwini and Nokeng Tsa Taemane), and Region 3 (which includes Pretoria West) received high allocations. The main funding sources for the capital budget of R2.8 billion in 2022/23 were the Urban Settlements Development Grant (36.3%), Informal Settlements Upgrading Partnership Grant (20.2%), borrowings (17.5%) and the Social Housing Regulatory Authority (7%).

Table 2: Capital budget per region

Region	Draft Budget 2022/23	Draft Budget 2023/24	Draft Budget 2024/25
Citywide and administrative headquarters	581 838 737	648 600 243	1 088 429 420
Region 1	489 140 040	443 691 581	582 675 776
Region 2	152 251 874	150 483 618	330 106 938
Region 3	572 133 640	298 384 467	701 846 626
Region 4	93 867 830	126 300 000	173 230 000
Region 5	168 253 475	271 964 293	286 500 000
Region 6	597 728 212	528 438 393	461 347 560
Region 7	168 266 179	246 009 189	189 500 000
Grand Total	2 823 479 987	2 713 871 784	3 813 636 320

Source: City of Tshwane (2022b)

When asked why there were differences between the core and the periphery in terms of service provision, municipal officials and the residents that participated in this study provided different reasons. The municipal officials, after pointing out that much had been done to address the gap (created by apartheid) in service delivery between the core and the periphery, mentioned challenges in three main areas. Firstly, the need for the City of Tshwane to carefully prioritize projects due to limited funds. Financial constraints and a large municipality with seven regions (some with large impoverished communities) that are all competing for limited resources were issues that were cited by the officials. The City of Tshwane’s budget of R2.8 billion for capital expenditure (Table 2) had to cater for not only Hammanskraal, but also the other poor regions in the “Far North” (e.g. Region 1) that also need roads and the maintenance of infrastructure. According to a senior municipal official, “the perception [among many stakeholders] is that there’s money in metros...but the infrastructure budget that we’re getting is next to nothing...they say the metro is big enough with a big budget to sort itself out”. This focus on the underserved areas has sometimes led to the neglect of facilities such as roads and swimming pools in the urban core, according to the municipal official.

Secondly, the existence of vast tracts of land under traditional authorities was viewed as a serious hindrance to the provision of basic services and the implementation of development projects in these areas. What are supposed to be customary transactions have increasingly become monetized without any of the funds raised from the sales

being ploughed into the provision of services or any types of payments to the metro.¹¹ However, these are areas in which the metro is expected to provide services for which it cannot charge. Residents in these areas also do not pay rates to the municipality. Although cross-subsidization is occurring in Tshwane (with the money generated in the core being used in the periphery), the municipality has limited financial resources as many of those in poor areas such as Hammanskraal do not pay their municipal taxes.

Thirdly, there are differences in the drivers of development in the core and periphery. According to a senior municipal official, an important reason for the differences in the service levels between Hammanskraal and Pretoria's urban core (and an issue that will make service equalization difficult between these two areas in the foreseeable future) has to do with the different drivers of development. When asked about the main reasons behind the different service delivery levels between Hammanskraal and Tshwane's urban core, the official said:

This is where the difference is - in the [suburbs that make up the urban core] development is not driven by the City. The development is driven by the private sector. We've got developers that build shopping centers, and they support those shopping centers with townhouse development and accommodation for the rich. So a lot of development that happens there is market-driven [and] doesn't rely on provincial subsidies. As long as there's infrastructure that people can tap into, they pay bulk contributions to tap into this thing. So they contribute directly towards the infrastructure. But that infrastructure is built out of the income that they make from selling houses and developing these areas. As compared to Hammanskraal it's different. Hammanskraal is totally reliant on government, there are no townhouse complexes that are being developed by the private sector. It's only RDP houses or rooms that are constructed by residents themselves. That is the trend. So a lot of money that has come from government has been through the housing subsidy, allocation to municipalities for human settlement development. And if you look at

¹¹ Participants in the study spoke of the traditional authority charging an "allocation fee" of R500 to locals and up to R100,000 for those from outside Hammanskraal for a piece of land. These prices have proved to be attractive to residents who, in some cases, have gone on to build large houses (i.e. these people are clearly not poor). A concern raised by the participants in this study was that those living on traditional land are not paying any taxes although they expect (and are in some cases) provided with some municipal services.

the number of RDP houses that have been developed over the two decades that we are talking about, it's a lot of infrastructure. This infrastructure...it doesn't just become houses...these are houses that are serviced with water and sanitation, with roads, with land that is reserved for schools and other things. But this is government-driven unlike in the suburbs. And then what we're really saying is that we are spending more money in these particular areas compared to the money we are spending as government in the suburbs.

The higher spending by municipalities in the underserved areas referred to by municipal officials (for example, Table 2 does show higher spending in Region 2 than in Region 4 which contains areas such as Centurion) this is not something that is obvious to the residents. According to the residents interviewed in this study, the main reason for the differences in the provision of services between the core and the periphery was that people in rural/peri-urban areas are not taken seriously by politicians, particularly those living in areas under traditional authorities. Respondents pointed out that the service delivery in these areas was even worse than that in the other predominantly black townships of Pretoria West (where service provision was also poor). A participant from the Moletlanes said:

You didn't take us as family. That's where the problem is. We're still left outside, the same way we were left outside in the North West [Province], hence I'm saying we [might] as well as build our municipality here. That will probably work better...that municipality itself would work for us.

The issue of having their own municipality in Hammanskraal was not supported by the majority of the Moletlanes who participated in this study as only two of the six delegates wanted their own municipality. The other delegates (and the CDWs) argued that Tshwane was in a position to provide services in Hammanskraal. The main problems identified had to do with the municipal officials' incompetence, these officials' poor work ethic, and the deliberate neglect of the area (particularly its water infrastructure).

The consensus among the residents interviewed was that problems with service delivery were largely the result of not only a poor ethic, but also the lack of respect that black people had for each other. The slightly paraphrased version of what a resident said is shown below:

White people always insist on good service. They want their complaints attended to on the same day! In Hammanskraal, that doesn't happen. You go to [municipal offices] in Centurion where there are white people and complaints are attended to, especially where you have white officials. Black people don't respect one another. I don't know what is wrong with us...There are various directors here [Hammanskraal's regional office] but you only get results when you talk to the RED [regional director]. That's when you know there will be a movement. [Otherwise] you report to the officials. Nothing [happens]. An embarrassing [incident] occurred when refuse had not been collected for a month in our street. We pay for this service, you know. People complained and complained but nothing happened. The director was approached and he had to [drive] behind the refuse removal truck to ensure that refuse was collected from all the streets in my area. [Municipal] officials have to be closely monitored to ensure that they're doing their work.

5.3 Service delivery in Tshwane - does size matter?

Tshwane is a large metropolitan municipality. But is there a relationship between metro size and service delivery? To wit, are bigger municipalities (which are often characterized by sprawl) more prone to service delivery challenges than smaller and more compact metropolitan municipalities? The majority of those interviewed, while acknowledging the advantages of having small compact metro areas, pointed out that international trends indicated that metros were constantly expanding, leading to sprawl. However, many of these metros still managed to provide acceptable levels of service. The problem with the City of Tshwane was that it had incorporated very poor areas into the metro, a process that was not accompanied by an increase in financial support from the government. The view, at national and provincial government levels (according to the municipal officials interviewed) was that metros were "stronger" and could provide services to these previously underserved areas without depending on government grants.

The inadequate transport infrastructure for an area whose residents are mainly employed in Tshwane's urban core was an issue that emerged from some of the interviews. The two major roads that link Hammanskraal with Pretoria are the R101 and the N1. The N1, although providing a useful service, is dotted with a number of toll gates between Hammanskraal and Pretoria which, for the average middle-income earner who owns a car, are an unnecessary expense that should be avoided. This, according to a municipal official, has resulted in the use, by many of Hammanskraal's residents, of the alternative R101 route which has led to congestion and numerous accidents on this route. A recommendation by this senior official was that these toll gates have to be moved from the segment of the N1 between Hammanskraal and Pretoria. The municipal officials also pointed out that there is a need to urgently resuscitate the rail service between Hammanskraal and Tshwane's urban core (which has been vandalized and has not been operational for two decades). This would allow for a tighter integration between the core and periphery. It would also not only increase public transport capacity, but also reduce transport costs (i.e. by introducing trains which are a more affordable form of transport) thus increasing the locals' spending power.

6. DISCUSSION

The results from this study suggest that delivering services to the peripheral area of Hammanskraal has proven to be a huge challenge for Tshwane. Overcoming these service delivery challenges will require concerted efforts from a number of stakeholders – residents, traditional authorities, local, provincial and national governments. Hammanskraal, with its vast tracts of land under traditional authorities, was not the type of area forming part of the metros envisioned by the 1998 White Paper on Local Government. It is important to note that the Temba/Hammanskraal area, based on research that was carried out in 1999 by the MDB, did not fit the characteristics of an area that could be incorporated into a metro and the recommendation was that it should be excluded. It was not.

Many of the service delivery challenges that have been reported over the past decade such as water, sanitation, roads and stormwater systems remain unresolved to this

day. Also, the area has, over the past few years, experienced an influx of residents from other parts of the country placing a further strain on municipal services.

Tshwane is a large metropolitan municipality but almost all the respondents in this study pointed out that the metro's size had little to do with the poor service delivery in Hammanskraal. Instead, the participants mentioned three main challenges that have negatively impacted service delivery in the area (and continue to perpetuate the differences in service quality levels between the core and periphery). What follows is an outline of each of these challenges in turn.

The first issue had to do with the financial constraints faced by the metro. There were two aspects to this issue – the provision of services that the metro could not charge for and the limited financial support provided by the national and provincial governments to the metro (considering the huge service delivery backlogs worsened by the influx of residents into the areas under the traditional authority).

However, while there is evidence to suggest that much has been done to address the apartheid legacy, particularly in the area of housing, issues such as water and sanitation have been neglected for a long time in Hammanskraal. This neglect was pointed out not only by residents and municipal officials who participated in this study, but also in the metro's own reports.

The second issue, which was emphasized by almost all the participants (except the officials from the municipality), was that black residents are not taken seriously by municipal officials. Comparisons were made between the way in which complaints were handled by municipal officials in Hammanskraal and the way in which similar complaints were handled in the metro's urban core (e.g. Centurion). Residents living in the formal areas of Hammanskraal complained that reporting such things as potholes, poor refuse collection and water leaks was, almost invariably, a futile exercise. In most cases telephone calls were not answered and municipal offices were often empty (with officials reporting for work but leaving soon afterwards to attend to

their own private affairs).¹² Participants also commented on the deference shown to white residents living in the metro's urban core by black municipal officials and contrasted this with the unhelpful behavior of municipal officials in Hammanskraal. Their argument was that in the absence of appropriate training (and not just empty slogans on "putting people first") and the close monitoring of municipal officials in service departments (i.e. water, sanitation and refuse removal), addressing service delivery challenges in underserved areas was not going to be achieved in the foreseeable future.

Thirdly, the challenge associated with having vast tracts of land under the control of traditional authorities. While the challenge posed by the existence of traditional authorities in a metropolitan area are expected to be, and actually were, a major concern among municipal officials, some of the residents (surprisingly) also expressed negative views about this arrangement. Some of the problems outlined by the participants had to do with the haphazard and uncoordinated allocation of land to residents by the traditional authority, the proliferation of informal housing units on this traditional land, the poor provision of municipal services (since this was private land) and the unwillingness of traditional authorities to meaningfully participate in service provision initiatives in the areas they control (being more interested, according to some participants, in merely collecting money from the land sales).

Despite a modernization discourse, many African countries have struggled to curb the powers of chiefs to administer land (for a Ghanaian example, see Amanor, 2022; for a Zambian example, see Oyama, 2022). However, in many of these African countries, these chiefs administer land in rural areas. The issue of having areas under the control of traditional authorities (i.e. chiefs who have the power to allocate this land independently of municipal authorities) is problematic in any municipality, but particularly so in urban municipalities and metros. What seems to set South Africa's urban municipalities apart from those in other African countries, is the contestation with traditional authorities over land allocation in urban municipalities.

¹² The difficulties encountered by the author in scheduling interviews with the metro's officials lend credence to the participants' narratives.

The unfettered power of traditional leaders to allocate land in urban areas has, according to Buthelezi (2022), had disastrous consequences in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). The recent floods in KZN brought two issues to the fore – “the role of traditional authorities in where and how people settle, and the quality of houses being built in rural and peri-urban areas” (Buthelezi, 2022). Buthelezi argues that traditional leaders sometimes allocate land in areas that are not suitable for human settlement with many of the houses that are subsequently built on this land being of poor quality (i.e. with little if any municipal oversight in terms of spatial planning or quality control). Many of the shortcomings of this land allocation process, he argues, were exposed when these settlements (some of which were close to rivers or built on slopes) were washed away in the floods that occurred in April 2022. He calls for the curbing of the traditional leaders’ powers in allocating land. These issues, although not stated as strongly, were a recurring theme in most of the interviews conducted in this study.

The results of this study on the challenges encountered by the metro in delivering services to the Hammanskraal area provide an opportune moment for both the provincial and national spheres of government to carefully reflect on the continued contestation between municipalities and traditional authorities in the powers over land allocation in South Africa’s urban areas. Land allocation should be (and according to SPLUMA, is actually) a function of local government. This is an issue that affects the equity criterion (Table 1) as those living in traditional areas will get few (if any) services from the local authority. What is missing in South Africa is a bold implementation of the law.

Relatedly, the issue of cross-subsidization (from the core to underserved areas such as Hammanskraal) should be carefully assessed in a metro like Tshwane. While the focus of Tshwane’s capital expenditure (given the huge infrastructure backlogs that exist in the underserved areas) is understandable, a very careful balance must be struck between diverting funds from the previously advantaged areas of the core and the maintenance of acceptable standards in this core. Senior municipal officials indicated that this focus on the underserved areas had, in Tshwane, resulted in little spending on such things as roads, parks and swimming pools (among other services) in the urban core. If not handled correctly (i.e. by providing acceptable service quality levels in the core), the main revenue sources on which this cross-subsidization relies

upon (i.e. residents and companies in the urban core) may shift to municipalities where they can get the acceptable service quality levels. This will have a negative impact on not only revenues, but also employment when companies move to better governed municipalities that actually deliver services (see for example Mashego, 2021).

In terms of the evaluation criteria often used in metros (see Table 1), the evidence from this study does not indicate that there were any efficiencies that resulted from the incorporation of Hammanskraal into Tshwane. Hammanskraal, a large area with over 200,000 residents, is diverse with these residents evincing different preferences (i.e. the needs of those in the peri-urban areas are different from those in the more formalized areas). For example, a major concern expressed by Hammanskraal's peri-urban residents in the recent Integrated Development Plan public participation sessions conducted by the metro in May 2022 had to do with the availability of grazing land (City of Tshwane, 2022b). This is not the kind of issue (i.e. preference) that would concern those residents living in the formal areas.

It was difficult to assess the economies of scale resulting from the mergers of 2000 as the only available reliable data is from the 2011 Census. There has since been an influx of residents into Hammanskraal (especially the areas under traditional authorities) and it is therefore difficult to calculate the metro's expenditure per capita. However, the inability of the municipality to tax and levy user fees on the many (and expanding) informal settlements suggests that there were no cost benefits that resulted from the incorporation of Hammanskraal into Tshwane.

Equity, the evaluation criterion that this study focused on, refers to fairness in the sharing of costs and benefits in the local government area. The metro's efforts in trying to close the gap in service levels between the core and Hammanskraal have largely been unsuccessful due to the factors outlined in this study - the proliferation of informal settlements, vast tracts of land under traditional leaders, financial constraints and the poor work ethic among municipal officials. In Hammanskraal, the lack of equity in service provision can be seen not only between this area and the core but also within Hammanskraal itself (i.e. between the formal and large informal settlements).

In terms of the impact of municipal size on access and accountability, this was not seen as a problem. Participants reported that they had ward councillors and a regional office that covered the whole area and was responsible for such things as refuse removal, repairs and maintenance of municipal infrastructure. The main problem, according to those interviewed, had to do with regional officials and councillors who were incompetent and had a poor work ethic (a problem that, according to those interviewed, had little to do with municipal size).

To what extent does the Hammanskraal area meet the service delivery demarcation objective as laid out in section 24 of the Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998? It does so only to a limited extent, according to those interviewed. Regionalization, where each of the metro's seven administrative regions is supposed to focus on local challenges and monitor operations related to service delivery on a daily basis, has not delivered the hoped-for benefits in Hammanskraal. Although municipal officials bore the brunt of the residents' frustrations, the poor responsiveness and accountability ascribed to the councillors (some of whom did not live in Hammanskraal according to the participants) meant that these municipal officials' shortcomings were not addressed. Councillors have two important roles that have a significant impact on service delivery – representation and scrutiny (Karlsson, 2012; Snape & Dobbs, 2003). In terms of representation (sometimes referred to as *responsiveness*), councillors are supposed to communicate the residents' concerns and serve as a link between the residents and local government. Scrutiny (sometimes referred to as *accountability*) involves holding the municipal officials to account, monitoring policy implementation and the council's conduct (Kerley, Liddle, & Dunning, 2019). The poor oversight exercised by councillors over municipal officials in South Africa has been a recurring theme in the reports from the Auditor-General and the MDB's own research (see AGSA, 2020; MDB, 2020; MDB, 2021).

7. CONCLUSION

In 2000, The Municipal Demarcation Board amalgamated 14 local government authorities to form the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. These amalgamations resulted in one of the largest metropolitan municipalities in the world. Hammanskraal, one of the areas on the periphery of the metro, has experienced

service delivery challenges since it was incorporated into the metro. This study sought to establish not only whether these service delivery challenges still exist, but also the impact of the City of Tshwane's size on service delivery (i.e. whether the City of Tshwane's large size had negatively affected its ability to deliver services to peripheral areas such as Hammanskraal). The study also sought to establish whether there are differences in service quality levels between the City of Tshwane's core (i.e. the central business district and its adjacent affluent suburbs such as Centurion and Faerie Glen) and the periphery (i.e. Hammanskraal).

The findings from this study suggest that the metro's size had little to do with the poor service delivery in Hammanskraal. Instead, three main challenges that have negatively impacted service delivery in the area (and continue to perpetuate the differences in service quality levels between the core and periphery) were identified. The first issue had to do with the financial constraints faced by the metro. The second issue was that black residents are not taken seriously by municipal officials. Comparisons were made between the way in which complaints were handled by municipal officials in Hammanskraal and the way in which similar service delivery complaints were handled in the metro's urban core (e.g. Centurion). Those in the core received better services because they were more assertive and were not black. Thirdly, the challenge associated with having vast tracts of land under the control of traditional authorities.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1) Areas with traditional authorities should not be incorporated into metropolitan municipalities in future.** In Hammanskraal people in traditional areas are not paying rates and settlements in these areas have been established with little municipal oversight. Based on the metros envisioned in the White Paper on Local Government of 1998, the characteristics of category A municipalities (i.e. metros) outlined in the legislation (the Municipal Structures Act of 1998), and the results of this study, the inclusion of traditional areas in South Africa's metros in future would be ill-advised.
- 2) The Board should, as far as possible, endeavour to implement decisions that are based on empirical evidence.** In the case of Hammanskraal, the

recommendation from the MDB's justification report of 1999 was for the exclusion of Hammanskraal from the new metropolitan municipality.

- 3) The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) of 2013 should be implemented.** In terms of SPLUMA, the spatial development frameworks (section 12(h)) and land use management systems (section 24(c)) must be applied in slums, informal settlements, rural areas and areas under traditional leadership. SPLUMA therefore should be applied in both rural and urban areas. However, a phased approach in terms of implementation (which starts with metros) may be more prudent as there is bound to be much resistance from traditional leaders. This recommendation is outside the scope of the MDB but needs attention from national and provincial governments. A modern municipality in the twenty-first century cannot be expected to share its powers with traditional authorities who often have a different agenda from that of local government authorities.
- 4) The need for a service delivery culture in municipalities.** This, as is often stated, is the sphere of government that is closest to the people. There is a need to go beyond empty slogans such as "putting people first" and endless public participation meetings that do not result in better service delivery. The local government sphere's much touted independence notwithstanding, municipalities in South Africa need to be supported and more closely monitored by national government, particularly National Treasury and the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) and. Again, this recommendation is outside its scope but the MDB can highlight these findings (from its research) at meetings that are held with local government authorities, provincial and national governments.

REFERENCES

- AGSA. (2020). *Consolidated General Report on the local government outcomes*. Pretoria: AGSA.
- Amanor, K. S. (2022). Land Administration, Chiefs, and Governance in Ghana *African Land Reform Under Economic Liberalisation* (pp. 21-39): Springer, Singapore.
- Blom-Hansen, J., Houlberg, K., Serritzlew, S., & Treisman, D. (2016). Jurisdiction size and local government policy expenditure: Assessing the effect of municipal amalgamation. *American Political Science Review*, 110(4), 812-831. doi: 10.1017/S0003055416000320
- Buthelezi, M. (2022). KZN floods — the dangerous cocktail of traditional authorities and local government, 24 May, *Daily Maverick*. Retrieved from <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2022-05-24-kzn-floods-the-dangerous-cocktail-of-traditional-authorities-and-local-government/>
- City of Tshwane. (2017). 2017/18 Built Environment Performance Plan. Pretoria: City of Tshwane.
- City of Tshwane. (2021). Hammanskraal - Urban plan precinct development plans and strategy. Pretoria: City of Tshwane.
- City of Tshwane. (2022a). City of Tshwane 2022–2026 Integrated Development Plan. Pretoria: City of Tshwane.
- City of Tshwane. (2022b). Summary of the proposed revision of the City of Tshwane 2022-2026 Integrated Development Plan and the Draft 2022/23-2024/25 Medium-Term Revenue and Expenditure Framework. Pretoria: City of Tshwane.
- COGTA. (2009). *The State of Local Government in South Africa*. Pretoria: COGTA.
- COGTA. (2014). *Back to basics*. Pretoria: COGTA.
- Cox, W. (2013). Rural character in America's metropolitan areas. *New Geography*. <https://www.newgeography.com/content/004088-rural-character-america-s-metropolitan-areas>
- D'Inverno, G., Moesen, W., & De Witte, K. (2020). Local government size and service level provision. Evidence from conditional non-parametric analysis. *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*. doi: 10.1016/j.seps.2020.100917
- Drew, J., Kortt, M. A., & Dollery, B. (2016). Did the big stick work? An empirical assessment of scale economies and the Queensland forced amalgamation program. *Local Government Studies*, 42(1), 1-14. doi: 10.1080/03003930.2013.874341
- Dube, G., & Radikonyana, P. (2020). Municipal amalgamations and service delivery: The case of Kagisano-Molopo and Mangaung. Pretoria: MDB.
- Dube, G., & Radikonyana, P. (forthcoming). Municipal amalgamations and service delivery: The case of Kagisano-Molopo and Mangaung. *International Journal of Public Sector Performance Management*.
- Godsell, S. (2013). Re-hearing the homelands: Hammanskraal stories. *Oral history: Heritage and identity*, 17.
- Government of South Africa. (1998). *White Paper on Local Government*. Pretoria: Government of South Africa.
- Horn, A. (2020). Growth, exclusion and vulnerability: evaluation of the socio-spatial transformation of post-apartheid Pretoria-Tshwane (South Africa). *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*(87).
- Johnson, K. (2017). Where is “rural America,” and what does it look like. *The Conversation*, 20.

- Karlsson, M. (2012). Participatory initiatives and political representation: The case of local councillors in Sweden. *Local Government Studies*, 38(6), 795-815.
- Kerley, R., Liddle, J., & Dunning, P. T. (2019). *The Routledge handbook of international local government*. Routledge Abingdon.
- Mashego, P. (2021). Clover factory can still be saved, says North West government - as mayor hits back, 10 June, *News24.com*. Retrieved from <https://www.news24.com/fin24/Economy/South-Africa/clover-factory-can-still-be-saved-says-north-west-government-as-mayor-hits-back-20210610>
- MDB. (1999). Justification Report - Pretoria Metropolitan Area. Pretoria: MDB.
- MDB. (2020). The impact of amalgamations on service delivery: The case of Kagisano-Molopo Local Municipality and Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality. Pretoria: Municipal Demarcation Board.
- MDB. (2021). *The impact amalgamations on Municipal Service Delivery: The Case of Rand West City Local Municipality and Inkosi Langalibalele Local Municipality*. Pretoria: MDB.
- Mnguni, G. S. (2018). *Service delivery protests in Hammanskraal, Pretoria*. (Masters degree), Nelson Mandela University, Gqeberha
- Molobe, A. M. (2009). *The diary of Hammanskraal: open space: free-mind*. University of Pretoria.
- Oates, W. E. (1972). *Fiscal federalism*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- OUTA. (2021). Hammanskraal drinking water. <https://www.outa.co.za/projects/water-and-environment/hammanskraal-drinking-water>
- Oyama, S. (2022). Renewed Patronage and Strengthened Authority of Chiefs Under the Scarcity of Customary Land in Zambia *African Land Reform Under Economic Liberalisation* (pp. 65-86): Springer, Singapore.
- Poswa, X. (2019). Land use management: Where traditional and municipal governance meet in rural areas. *Local Government Bulletin*, 14(2).
- Ratcliffe, M., Burd, C., Holder, K., & Fields, A. (2016). Defining rural at the US Census Bureau. *American community survey and geography brief*, 1(8), 1-8.
- SAHRC. (2021). SAHRC unhappy with Hammanskraal water quality. <https://www.sahrc.org.za/index.php/sahrc-media/news/item/2810-sahrc-unhappy-with-hammanskraal-water-quality>
- Shin, D. C. (1977). The quality of municipal service: Concept, measure and results. *Social indicators research*, 4(1), 207-229.
- Slack, E. (2019). Metropolitan Governance: Principles and Practice: discussion paper IDB-DP-659 (Washington: Inter-American Development Bank, 2019).
- Slack, E., & Bird, R. (2013). *Merging municipalities: Is bigger better?* Toronto: Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance.
- Smoke, P. (2015). Urban government revenues: Political economy challenges and opportunities. In UN Habitat (Ed.), *The Challenge of Local Government Financing in Developing Countries* (np, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014). Barcelona: UN Habitat.
- Snape, S., & Dobbs, L. (2003). The scrutineer: the impact of overview and scrutiny on councillor roles. *Public policy and administration*, 18(1), 46-62.
- Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation. (2021). Hammanskraal, City of Tshwane - Situational Report. Cape Town: Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation.
- Tavares, A. F. (2018). Municipal amalgamations and their effects: A literature review. *Miscellanea Geographica*, 22(1), 5-15. doi: doi.org/10.2478/mgrsd-2018-0005
- Van Huyssteen, E. (2001). Other experiences of planning for reconstruction and transformation: a narrative of planning and development histories in

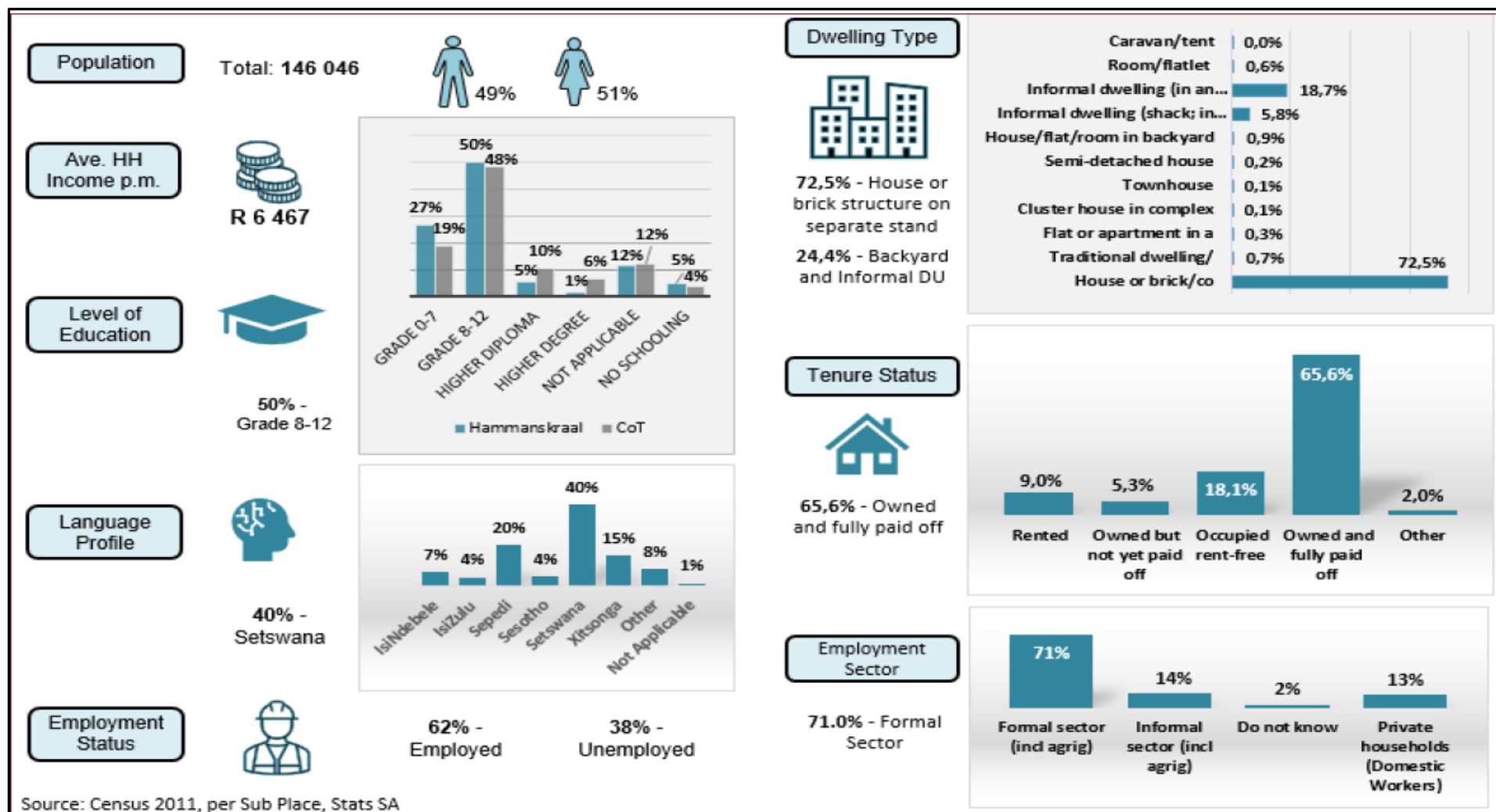
Hammanskraal-Temba. *Acta Structilia: Journal for the Physical and Development Sciences*, 8(1), 33-52.

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

A total of 10 officials were interviewed:

- City of Tshwane Regional Director – Region 2.
- City of Tshwane Director – SDBIP and IDP.
- 6 members of the Amandebele-a-Moletlane Traditional authority (including the chief).
- 2 Hammanskraal Community Development Workers who live in Hammanskraal.

APPENDIX 2: Hammanskraal's demographic profile



Source: City of Tshwane (2021, p. 11).