

Spatial Restructuring in South Africa: How has South Africa performed since 1994?

Peter Bikam

Department of Urban and Regional Planning,
School of Environmental Sciences, University of Venda,
Thohoyandou, South Africa.

ABSTRACT

When the African National Congress (ANC) came to power in 1994; their goal was to correct the spatial imbalance of pre-1994 in terms of the provision of basic and services. The provision of Free Basic Services (FBS), like water, electricity, and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), were the first spatial re-structuring programmes introduced to achieve access to basic services linked to time bound targets. This paper is an analysis of the trend in the provision of basic services to the poor. A critical discussion on the success and failures of programmes like the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) and the National Development Programme (NDP) to address the spatial imbalance in towns and regions with respect to service delivery. A deductive method of analysis was used to unpack the 1996, the 2001, the 2011 census and the Community Survey of 2007 figures on the provision of water, electricity, water and sanitation and solid waste management. Much has been archived, since 2014, but spatial re-structuring shows that there are backlogs that have not been eradicated. The findings point to a slight improvement for previously disadvantaged segments of the society i.e. access to basic services from 1994 to 2015. Serious inequalities remain to be addressed by policy makers in terms of poverty reduction but the problems of spatial imbalance have not been fixed. Similarly, the cost of replacing aging infrastructure is becoming very high in many townships. In conclusion, a pragmatic approach to urban model of development as opposed to ad-hoc densification model should be encouraged in growth point municipalities.

Keywords

Access, free basic service, delivery targets, spatial restructuring

1. INTRODUCTION

The first democratic elections held in South Africa in April 1994 gave the African National Congress (ANC) the mandate to restructure the economy for the benefit of the citizens. In order to transform the economy after many years of the apartheid regime the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was introduced after the 1994 democratic elections to address the spatial imbalances of the past. This was followed by the introduction of GEAR, ASGISA and the NDP. The RDP identified five major policy programmes outlined in the White Paper on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1995) i.e. the creation of a strong, dynamic and balanced economy;

development of human resource capacity of South Africans. In addition to this, the programme was to promote training to develop skills; develop prosperous, balanced regional economy, and undertakes a spatial re-structuring programme to redress past imbalances. This policy was aimed at addressing the inherited gross inequalities of apartheid, socially, economically and spatially, (Bhorat et al 2008).

The RDP is said to be successful in areas such as social security where the government established a welfare system. The system catered for the aged, disabled, children in need, foster parents and those who were too poor to meet their basic social needs. Free health care programmes were also introduced for pregnant women and small children, as well as free meals were provided and between 3,5 to 5 million school children benefited. Although the RDP was supposed to be the cornerstone of government's spatial development policy, it did not deliver in all areas because the policy was more towards economic growth than spatial planning. At the beginning of the programme there were challenges due to the poor fiscal and economic legacy, the ANC inherited after fifty years of Apartheid and twenty years of inadequate spatial organizational planning. When faced with these constraints Government introduced a macroeconomic policy framework called the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 1996 to stimulate faster economic growth required to provide resources to meet social investment needs of South Africa. GEAR was also aimed at reducing fiscal deficits, lowering inflation, maintaining exchange rate stability, decreasing barriers to trade and liberalizing capital flows into South Africa. Until the introduction of GEAR, fiscal deficit, inflation and government consumption targets were all slightly reversed, 2.2%, 5.4% and 18% respectively by the end of 2000, bringing about greater macroeconomic stability, better reporting and increased accountability. Similarly, the management of public finances improved substantially under GEAR and the only success seen with regard to GDP was that the negative growth rate of the early nineties was reversed, (Hirchowitz and Orkir 1997).

When GEAR did not produced the desired results, by 2005 the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) was introduced as a further development on the first two developmental strategies that followed post 1994. ASGISA was aimed at reducing poverty by 2010, and bringing down unemployment by half by 2014 from the 28% in 2004 to 14% by 2022. While there were some levels of success, the level of Implementation and future of the programme was uncertain because there was eminent change at the helm of government of the republic, (Bhorat et al 2000). In 2013 the government introduced the National Development Plan (NDP)- vision 2030 as South Africa's long-term socio-economic development

programme. Currently, this policy is viewed as the blueprint for eliminating poverty and reducing inequality by 2030. The goal - post for achieving spatial re-structuring fell short of the target by 2012. The NDP was introduced to reduce the obstacles to achieving spatial restructuring by providing via a long-term strategic framework within which more detailed planning can take place in South Africa, particularly at the municipal level of governance. **guidelines.** In essence, we ask you to make your paper look exactly like this document. The easiest way to do this is simply to down-load a template from [2], and replace the content with your own material.

2. METHODOLOGY

The method of approach used to unpack trends of spatial restructuring in South Africa was based on a deductive approach and analysis of the successes and failures of government policy programmes such as the RDP, GEAR, ASGISA and the NDP vision 2030 with respect to service delivery. This was undertaken to enable us make meaning out of the 1996, 2001, 2011 census and 2007 community survey figures in terms of how the programmes featured with respect to the targets set for service delivery to the poor. This was followed by analyzing the implementation of the programmes in terms of service delivery to the poor. Literature reviewed on the Group Areas Act. Of 1950 No. 41 of 1950 were analyzed followed by looking at the trends of events shortly before 1994. Discussions of success or failures were undertaken principally to demonstrate the results of the programmes in terms of the provision of pipe-borne water, land reform, Free Basic Service (FBS) and employment. The paper concludes by indicating that a growth point urban model of development may be what is needed to achieve spatial restructuring in towns by investing in growth points and development corridors at the local levels of planning.

3. BACKGROUND TO SPATIAL STRUCTURAL IMBALANCES IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's history of urbanization is linked to colonial legislations, for example, the 1913 Land Act, the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act No 41 of 1950) was created to split racial groups into different spatial areas in a given town. In addition to this, the influx control policies also produced a highly unequal spatial settlements development pattern where residents were separated based on race. As a result of this, urban settlement patterns developed in the form of unbalances and inefficiencies in terms of service delivery, rise in informality and persistent segregation and the urbanization of poverty in the townships grew rapidly (Zulu and Sibanda 2005).

From 1994 to 1999, the public service was characterized by challenges of transition and practical policies and framework aimed at bringing balanced and sustainable human settlements because many skilled personnel exited the civil service. This approach was aimed at providing meaningful delivery of basic services to the people who needed them most – especially the previously disadvantaged communities during the apartheid period. One of the key challenges to this imbalance has been to implement spatial planning programmes and projects that will bring about effective and efficient ways of correcting the imbalance. In certain areas there were improvements. For example the government made a strong commitment to high service standards and to high levels of investment subsidies to achieve

service delivery. Some progress with regard to improving access to water supply was made. It reached universal access to an improved water source in urban and in rural areas and as a result of this, those with access increased from 66% to 79% from 1990 to 2010. According to Harch (2001), “to a certain extent the number of access to electricity connections by households increased from 32% in 1996 to 70% in 1999 to 85% in 2001”. Generally access to sanitation improved from 49% to 63% in 1996 and 2001 respectively and access to pipe borne water increased from 60% in 1996 to 85% in 2001. Despite these gains, a huge backlog in social services delivery remains unresolved. For example the number of people in settlements with poorly developed sites and services without access to neither electricity and water and sanitation reduced slightly. According to Althfeldt (2012), “poverty exists and there is imbalance when an individual or household's access to income, job opportunities and infrastructure services is inadequate or insufficient to prevent access to full services and opportunities”, (Butler et al 1978).

According to (Butler et al 1978) about 275 of the urban population in South Africa live in informal settlements and/ or structures. Donaldson (2001) indicated that between 1996 and 2001, there was a net increase of 735627 informal dwellings excluding backyard shacks buildings. He added that the number of households without shelter increased by 264649 between 1996 and 2001. Similarly, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) indicated that 6 million people in South Africa did not have access to land in 2001 and only a little over 1% of agricultural land had been redistributed through the land redistribution programme. Hence, by 2003 Visser (2004) indicated that only 2,3% of agricultural land had been actually redistributed. This means that since the 1913, Land Act subsequent apartheid policies remained almost unchanged to the extent that the ratio of land ownership in 2002 was 87% to 13% in favor of white citizens of South Africa, (Bulender 1999).

3.1 Trends shortly before 1994

Since the Land Act was enacted in 1913, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and other laws included the Bantu Authority Act 68 of 1951. These legislations paved the way for the establishment of Black homelands and regional authorities, with the aim of creating greater self-government, and the promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, Act 46 of 1959. In view of these developments, urban planning and management was based on the principle of “segregated city” sometimes called the “apartheid city” where political economy of space was based on twin policies; a racially based spatial planning and a type of spatial development planning that favored a certain group over the other. There was fragmentation of space and the system reserved specific land for the residential location of specific races and a certain social class. This means that human settlement types and locations were ultimately determined by the level of access to sites and services and places of economic opportunities. Cities were deliberately designed to push poor black and white citizens to the peripheries of the cities where sites and services were inadequate. As a result of this, the poor urban dwellers mostly blacks were geographically distanced from areas of economic opportunities and advantages. Privileged locations of the city were well resourced, well serviced and well located in areas where access to transportation was much easier. According to a report by Marias in 2001 it was indicated that, under the apartheid policies, urban management strategies affected the lives of the urban poor in the following ways: (Marias 2001).

- There was forced removals of people and the under the Group Areas Act of 1950, and it brought about the destruction of the social cohesion which most people depended on for social interactions.
- One of the features of urban planning and management that affected many human settlements under the apartheid era was “cross subsidization” of services to the rich by the poor. For example, residents from informal settlements paid higher cost of transportation because they resided in the peripheries of the towns and worked in the inner cities. This meant that the location of townships far from centers of economic opportunities resulted in the residents paying more for transportation, (DWAF 2004).
- Zoning and planning laws like the Free State – Townships Ordinance No 9 of 1969, the Eastern Cape - Cape Land Use Planning Ordinance No 15 of 1985, the North West – Cape Land Use Planning Ordinance No 15 of 1985 etc. Placed restrictions on commercial activities like trading and retailing in townships whereas, modern commercial activities were located in rich affluent areas, (Hemson and Ndozie 2005).
- There was inadequate provision of services like educational facilities for the training of professional personnel not located in townships hence the skills needed to access gainful employment were unavailable. According to the South African city networks 2001, in 2001, only 26.95 of the residents of South African townships had matric certificates and only 115 had tertiary education, (Census 1996, 2001, 2011 and Community Survey 2007).
- The design and layout of townships had adverse effects on cost of transportation i.e. no street names and inadequate waste water treatments and solid waste management.

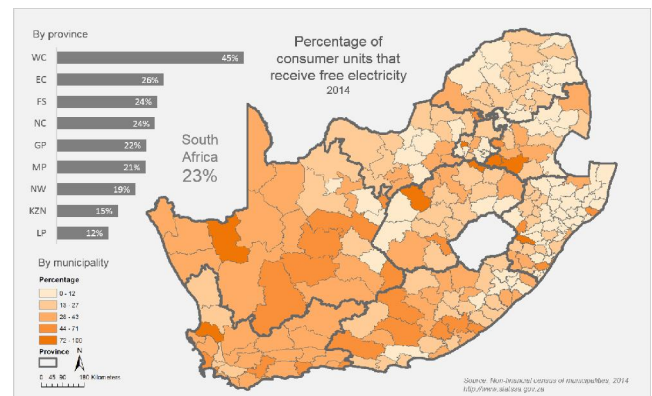
In view of the issues discussed with respect to pre 1994 planning the problems spilled over to post 1994 because the backlogs could not be eradicated overnight. This explains why twenty one years after 1994, sites and services backlogs have not been eradicated. Similarly, it was predicted that aging infrastructure in many towns will put pressures on the provision of new sites and services and demand for more funds to replace old ones if not carefully planned, (Fulton 2012). In addition to this, the location of townships far from economic areas of opportunities meant that distance to places of economic opportunities will cost more in terms of long travel times, traffic congestion, and peak hour delays.

The issues discussed in the preceding paragraphs demonstrate a clear picture of the imbalances and inefficiencies created during the apartheid era. The issues raised illustrate the dysfunctional and unsustainable strategies of human settlement planning and urban management whose consequences led to fragmentation of urban space in South Africa. Although in 1994 the government made a commitment to address such imbalances and spatial disparities, inequalities still exist in the township. Since 1994, a number of measures have been introduced ie planning legislations like the Development Facilitation Act No 67 of 1995 (DFA) (repealed), the Municipal Property Rates Act 6 of 2006, The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA) to mention a few, were aimed at correcting the past imbalances

however, there are still service delivery disparities between affluent urban areas in the South Africa urban space, (SPLUMA 2013).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The proceeding sections are the analysis and discussions of the research findings in terms of what was archived with respect to spatial restructuring and the provision of basic services in South Africa in post-1994. This section of the analysis postulates that despite increases in the provision of basic services, there were decreases in the number of units receiving free basic services for electricity, water, sewage and sanitation and solid waste management three of the four services provided. Compared with 2013, 495 164 fewer consumer units received free water in 2014; 163 525 fewer consumer units received free electricity; and 56 746 fewer consumer units received free solid waste management services. However, 43 126 more consumer units received free sewerage and sanitation services in 2014 compared with 2013. Figure 1 from non- financial census of municipalities in 2014 is an example of the spatial disparities in South Africa with respect to electricity provision. Note that WC is the abbreviation for Western Cape, EC for Eastern Cape, FS for Free State, NC for Northern Cape, GP for Gauteng Province, MP for Mpumalanga Province, NW for North West, KZN for Kwazulu Natal and LP for Limpopo Province.



Source: Nonfinancial census of municipalities 2014 available at <http://www.statsa.gov.za>.

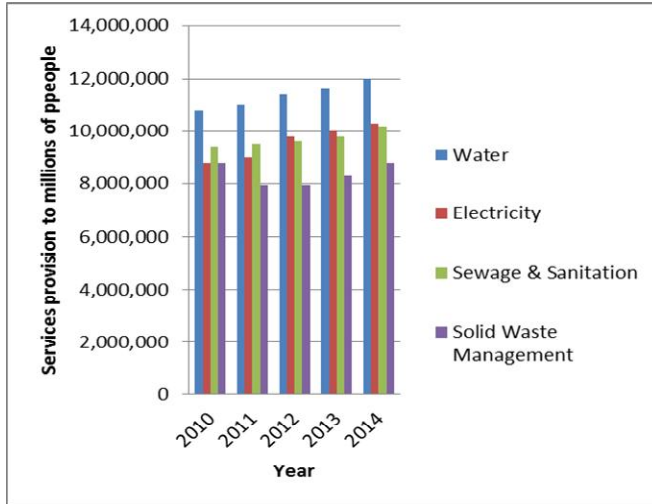
Fig. 1. Percentage of consumer units that received free basic electricity in 2014.

A look at the provision of water, electricity, sewage and sanitation and solid waste management show that in 2010, water supply accounting for an average of 11 million beneficiaries. However for solid waste management, the performance was low because only an average of 8 million consumer units received such from 2010 to 2014.

It is important to note that Municipalities use different mechanisms to determine if consumer units qualify for free basic services or not. In many cases, the decrease in the consumer units receiving free basic services can be attributed to municipalities switching from a broad-based approach to an income-based self-targeting approach and this fluctuates from time to time. Figure 2 shows the graphic representation of the provision of water,

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electricity, sewage and sanitation and solid waste management from 2010 to 2014.



Source: Non-financial census of municipalities for year ended June 2014:

Fig. 2. Number of consumer units that received basic services: 2010-2014

Over a five-year period, using water as an example, the percentage of consumer units receiving free water (as a percentage of total water) shows no increase. In most provinces, the percentage decreased.

5. Successes of Post 1994 Spatial Restructuring Planning Initiatives

Since 1994 the government in South Africa instituted several settlement planning legislations and/or instruments to correct the past imbalances of the past. One already mentioned was the Development Facilitation Act No. 67 of 1995 (DFA) which was meant to harmonize planning legislation and bring about even services delivery to all but the DFA was repealed because it failed to harmonize spatial planning applications and reduce the imbalances. Although section 26 of the constitution states that “everyone has the right to adequate housing”, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was introduced mainly to address the housing shortage among the poor. Proponents of the RDP argue that the programme noted that there were major advances in dealing with South Africa's most severe social problems: Fig. 2. is an example of RDP housing programme in Soweto in 1998, (African Statistical Journal 2013).



Source: Johannesburg RDP report on Soweto 1998

Fig. 3. Example of RDP Housing in Soweto in 1998

From 1994 and the start of 2001, over 1.1 million cheap houses eligible for government subsidies had been built, accommodating 5 million of the estimated 12.5 million South Africans without proper housing. In some instances, RDP housing delivery led to violent conflicts within communities because some residents did not benefit from the roll out.

Clean water: Success of the RDP Programme at the national level by the beginning of 1998, were the provision of standpipes within 200 meters of the dwellings and since 1994 about 1.3 million rural people have benefited. By August 1998, the then Minister of Water Affairs indicated that since taking office more than 2.5 million people had been given access to fresh safe water. By 2000, a total of 236 projects had supplied clean piped water to nearly 4.9 million people, most of whom were inhabitants of former homelands, (ANC 1994), (MaDonald and Pape 2002).

Electrification: Between 1994 and May 2000 around 1.75 million homes had been connected to the national grid, but the proportion of rural homes with electricity grew from 12% to 42%, (Zama 2010).

Land reform: By 1999 some 39,000 families had been settled on 3,550 square kilometers of land. Authorities claimed that 250,000 people had 'received land' within four years, (Zama 2010).

Healthcare: Between April 1994 and the end of 1998, around 500 new clinics gave an additional 5 million people access to primary health care facilities. Under the polio-hepatitis vaccination programme that began in 1998, 8 million children were immunized within two years, (Mbeki 2004).

Public works: A community-based Public Works Programme provided employment of over five years to 240,000 people on road-building schemes and the installation of sewage, sanitation facilities and water supplies, (Jain 2010). Table 1 shows a summary of the trend in percentage access to selected services based on the 2001 Census, 1996 Census, and the 2007 Community Survey (CS) of Statistics South Africa.

Table 1: Access to basic services according to various censuses censuses 1996– 2007 (%)

| Census years | Basic services provided | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Formal Housing | Piped Water | Basic Toilet | Electricity |
| 1996 census | 64.4 | 81.2 | 50.0 | 57.6 |
| 2001 census | 68.5 | 84.5 | 57.6 | 69.7 |
| 2007 community survey | 70.5 | 88.6 | 64.4 | 80.0 |
| Total average | 67.8 | 84.8 | 57.3 | 69.1 |

Sources: Stats SA 1996, 2001 Census & 2007 Community Survey.

From table 1 we can see that the provision of formal housing, piped water, basic sanitation and electricity improved from 1996 to 2007. However, access to electricity showed the biggest percentage improvement, rising from 58% in 1996 to 80% in 2007, but the provision of formal housing showed the least improvement over the same period. The figures should be observed more prudently because of the fact that households were increasing at a far more rapid pace than the overall population increase in South Africa. The increase in the number of households and the rising demand for services puts enormous pressure on local municipalities in terms of infrastructure to meet the demand for water, housing, sanitation etc. (Hemson and O'Donovan 2006).

5.1 Successes of the provision of basic services at local government level

The provision of basic services such as water went up by 6,4% between 2011 and 2012 nationally. The highest provincial increases were recorded in Western Cape (19, 6%) and Gauteng (7,2%), (Linzer 2013). The provision of basic water increased nationally by 6,4% between 2011 and 2012, with the highest provincial increases being recorded by municipalities in the Western Cape(19,6%) and Gauteng (7,2%). Over the five-year period (2008 to 2012), Gauteng had the highest increase in consumer units (from 2,4 million in 2008 to 3,0 million in 2012). The single highest municipality increase over the 2008–2012 periods were recorded by the City of Tshwane (from 558 510 consumer units in 2008 to 940 997 consumer units in 2012); this was due to new developments in and around townships and suburbs of Tshwane, (Fulton 2012). The number of consumer units that received electricity went up throughout the country from 8,1 million to 9,5 million over the five-year period (2008 to 2012), with North West recording an increase of 36,9% during the five-year period. The increase in electricity provision in municipalities enabled many communities to have this facility in their houses for the first time. The number of consumer units receiving sewerage and sanitation increased nationally, from 8,6 million in 2008 to 9,7 million in 2012. The report shows that there has been a steady

decline in the number of bucket toilets supplied by municipalities, from about 86 705 in 2008 to about 68 143 in 2012. Municipalities in Free State had the highest number of consumer units using bucket toilets (29 546 in 2012). Similarly, solid waste management services to consumer units went up from 7,5 million in 2008 to 8,1 million in 2012, with municipalities in Gauteng recording the largest increase (from 2,4 million in 2008 to 2,6 million in 2012), (Census 1996, 2001, 2011 and Community Survey 2007).

5.2 Indigent policy and provision of free basic services

The introduction of the indigent policy, was aimed at alleviating poverty in disadvantaged communities by providing free basic water (at least 6 kiloliters per month), free basic electricity (at least 50 kWh per month), and subsidized sewerage and sanitation as well as solid waste management (up to R50 per month or 100% subsidy to indigent households), was useful in assessing progress in this regard, (census 2011). The 2011 census statistics showed that 4, 3 million consumer units receiving free basic water from municipalities during 2011/12 period, with municipalities in Western Cape and Eastern Cape reporting the largest proportions of households receiving free basic water (recording 66,8% and 44,5% respectively). However, over a five-year period (2008 to 2012), municipalities in Mpumalanga reported the highest increase in consumer units receiving free basic water (from 342 915 in 2008 to 424 285 in 2012). At the national level, the municipality with the largest increase in consumer units receiving free basic water over the five-year period (2008 to 2012) was Polokwane (from 69 750 consumer units in 2008 to 115 082 consumer units in 2012), (Census 2011), (Polokwane SDF 2013). With regards to electricity, there were 2,4 million consumer units that received free basic electricity from municipalities during the 2011/12 period, with municipalities in Western Cape and Mpumalanga reporting the largest proportions of households receiving free basic electricity (43,6% and 39,5% respectively). However, over a five-year period (2008 to 2012), municipalities in Mpumalanga had the highest increase in consumer units receiving free basic electricity (from 220 106 reported in 2008 to 279 044 in 2012). The municipality that reported the largest increase in consumer units receiving free basic electricity during 2012 was Thembelesile Hani Local Municipality (from 0 in 2011 to 69 822 in 2012). This service was provided for the first time during the 12 months ended 30 June 2012, (Statistics South Africa).

Looking at the municipal provision of sewerage and sanitation services, Census 2011 figures show that there were 2,5 million consumer units that received free basic sewerage and sanitation from municipalities in 2012 (from 2,7 million in 2011), with the highest increases recorded in Western Cape (67,7%) and Eastern Cape (43,1%). Over a five-year period from 2008 to 2012, municipalities in the Limpopo reported the largest increase in consumer units receiving free basic sewerage and sanitation (from 155 780 reported that in 2008 to 270 108 in 2012). On a national scale it was reported that the largest increase in consumer units received free basic sewerage and sanitation over the five-year period from 2008 to 2012, was from 17 041 in 2008 to 69 908 in 2012, (Statistics South Africa).

The provision of free basic solid waste management services to consumer units went up by 31,1% in the 2011/2012 period on a national scale, with the highest provincial increases recorded in

KwaZulu-Natal (55,2%) and Western Cape (47,8%). Over the five-year period (2008 to 2012), municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal had the largest increase in consumer units that received free basic solid waste management (from about 94 040 in 2008 to 803 061 in 2012). In South Africa, the municipality that recorded for the largest increase in consumer units that received free basic solid waste management over a five-year period from 2008 to 2012 was Polokwane (from 30 700 to 91 338 consumer units). This increase was due to the awareness campaigns that were run in villages, leading to more residents reporting and registering for free basic services at the municipality, (Census 2011), (Polokwane SDF 2013).

6. Failures of Post 1994 Spatial Restructuring Planning Initiatives

In spite of the achievements discussed above, critics have questioned the scope of change represented by many of the statistics, and have argued that realities on the ground signify a far more modest improvement than the government claims. They criticize in particular, the quality of housing and water delivery, healthcare improvements and partially successful land reform policy and agricultural reforms, (Linzer 2013). For example critics of the RDP point to poor housing quality as the main problem faced by government because in 2000 only 30% of new houses complied with building regulations. Critics also note that new housing schemes were often vague in their planning and layout to the extent that they often strongly resemble the building programmes of the Apartheid government during the 1950s and 60s, (Fulton 2012).

Clean water: Critics of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) targeted in particular government's assertions regarding the provision of clean water, citing a number of problems and complications with RDP policies that led to their partial or full failure during the implementation stage. For example water projects, in many cases, had severe design faults that led to unworkable problems on the ground. Subsequently, the percentage of households relying on rivers, streams and dams for their water actually increased slightly between 1995 and 1995 and in 2014, while the percentage of households using piped water only increased slightly. In 2000 the government announced a major change in policy by providing Free Basic Allowances (FBA) of 6,000 liters per month, solving the financial restrictions of the rural poor in accessing water, but placing even more doubt in the financial sustainability of the schemes, (Powell and Naidoo 2004).

Land reform: The number of families that benefited from land reforms under the RDP was aimed at resettling families on 300,000 square kilometers of land. In reality just over 1% of this goal was achieved. In addition to this, advances in many other areas of public services came partly through the removal of agricultural subsidies which subsequently created huge job losses. Between 1994 and 1998 the number of workers on commercial farms declined from 1.4 million to just 637,000. Thus the number of people employed in the agricultural sector actually declined substantially under the RDP, (Department of Agriculture and Rural Development 2012).

Healthcare: At the local government level there is the argument that the provision of RDP houses and access to healthcare only improved slightly under the RDP and that, even with moderately improved access, standards at many medical institutions declined rapidly. They indicated that usage of healthcare facilities

increased by only 1.6% between 1995 and 1999, and that even these modest increases were overshadowed by the AIDS pandemic and other health issues such as malaria. This is because between 1995 and 2015 the life expectancy of South Africans fell from 64.1 years to 53.2 years, however, the number of AIDS patients on retroviral program has increased since 1994, (Actuarial Society of South Africa 2006).

7.1 Low level of employment at the municipal level

In terms of municipal employment, the increase was from 277 024 in 2011 to 284990 in 2012. There were 19156 people occupying posts at management level (including mayoral and councilors positions) in all South African municipalities (excluding vacancies), with 12 632 of these posts filled by men while women occupied the remaining 6 524 posts. There was a slight drop in the number of funded vacant posts (from 35 831 in 2011 to 35 672 in 2012). The highest number of unfilled positions in the technical areas was in the electricity departments (19%), and both the roads transport and waste management departments reported vacancy rates of 17% each. The above summary highlights just a few areas where increases in the provision of basic services and employment were experienced in municipalities, (Statistics South Africa 2011).

7. SUGGESTION AND CONCLUSION

From the discussions in the preceding sections of this paper, we have seen that since 1994, laudable strides were made in balancing the spatial imbalance in South Africa. Successes were recorded, however, the main criticism has centered on the backlogs in service delivery not yet achieved. It has also been indicated that spatial planning and development projects did not focus on the establishment of a growth point urban spatial structure. We indicated that ideally, 40% of new development should be consolidated and focused around major growth points and public transport corridors. This is because a pragmatic approach to urban growth point model of development as opposed to a blanket compact development model should be encouraged in urban nodes as opposed to holistic compact developments. The idea of encouraging development in high density residential neighborhoods should be tackled in relation to nodal and corridor development instead of a central and top down development approach. Spatial restructuring should therefore, be in line with corridor development or phase by phase approach i.e. where development is focused around a small number of priority nodes and corridors in order to create a functional network density that can promote the establishment of agglomeration advantages and the desired population thresholds around key spatial restructuring elements. Hence, municipal Spatial Development Frameworks should clearly indicate the areas by phasing development projects in urban nodes where most rural dwellers migrate to look for job opportunities.

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