

**ENHANCING SERVICE DELIVERY AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL:  
CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN**

**by**

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**A research report to the School of Government of the University of the Western Cape in Partial  
fulfilment of Masters Degree in Public Administration (MPA)**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Contents</b>	<b>Page</b>
<b>Dedication</b>	
<b>Declaration</b>	ii
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	iii
<b>Abbreviations</b>	iv
<b>Abstract</b>	v
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	
<b>Introduction</b>	1
<b>Guiding statement for the study</b>	5
<b>Objectives of the study</b>	6
<b>Organization of the study</b>	6
<b>Significance of the study</b>	7
<b>Rationale for the study</b>	8
<b>Methodology and sources of data</b>	8
<b>Delimitation of key Terms and Concepts</b>	9
<b>Capacity development</b>	9
<b>Democracy</b>	10
<b>Development</b>	10
<b>Local Government</b>	11
<b>Local Governance</b>	11

Local authority	12
-----------------	----

## **CHAPTER 2**

Background to the amalgamation undertaken by the City of Cape Town.

Introduction	13
--------------	----

The Cape Metropolitan area (CMA)	13
----------------------------------	----

Amalgamation Process undertaken by the City of Cape Town and	14
--	----

An outline of the National Framework (RSA Constitution; Local Government Transition Act (LGTA), the White Paper on Local Government and other relevant National legislation within which local Government operates.	17
---	----

Summary	23
---------	----

## **CHAPTER 3**

Review of Service Delivery within the City of Cape Town

Introduction	24
--------------	----

Review of Service delivery within the City of Cape Town	25
---	----

Factors inhibiting service delivery in the City of Cape Town	28
--	----

Summary	35
---------	----

## **CHAPTER 4**

Recommendation to improve Service delivery in City of Cape Town  
and Conclusion

Introduction	37
--------------	----

What must be done to improve Service Delivery in the City of Cape Town	37
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	47
<b>APPENDICES</b>	52

## **DEDICATION**

**This report is dedicated to Miss Ethel Nabe, my mother.**

## DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Master Degree in Public Administration at the University of the Western Cape.

I further testify that it has not been submitted for any other degree or at any other University or institution of higher learning.

.....

**THEMBELA W NABE**

**JULY 1999**

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>BLAs</b>	-	<b>Black Local Authorities</b>
<b>CBOs</b>	-	<b>Community Based organizations</b>
<b>CMIP</b>	-	<b>Consolidated Municipal infrastructure Program</b>
<b>IDPs</b>	-	<b>Integrated Development Plans</b>
<b>LGTA</b>	-	<b>Local Government Transition Act</b>
<b>NGOs</b>	-	<b>Non Governmental Organizations</b>
<b>RSCs</b>	-	<b>Regional Services Councils</b>
<b>WLAs</b>	-	<b>White local authorities</b>



## ABSTRACT

The process of amalgamating the previously racially-based municipalities in terms of the provisions of the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA), was executed very differently in the various municipalities throughout South Africa. In several instances the structures and systems of the more established municipal administrations - usually former White Local Authorities (WLAs) - were merely adopted to co-opt staff from the smaller and usually weaker administrations such as the Black Local Authorities (BLAs). Admittedly, this approach reduced the level of administrative disruption, but in several instances it did not give rise to more effective and equitable systems, and more importantly, improved service delivery. In essence, many new local authorities are still plagued with the weaknesses and inequities of the old administrative system. In this regard, the Cape Town municipality, which is the focus of this study, is no exception.

This study will firstly provide a brief background to the amalgamation process undertaken by the Cape Town municipality. Secondly, the study will outline the national framework (RSA Constitution, Act 108 of 1996, LGTA, the White Paper on Local Government and other relevant national and provincial legislation) within which local authorities have to operate, particularly in terms of service delivery. Thirdly, a review of service delivery within the Cape Town municipality area will be provided, with particular emphasis being placed on some of the challenges facing the municipality. This chapter will also critique the current service delivery approaches of the Cape Town municipality. Fourthly, the study will put forward recommendations to enhance service delivery in the Cape Town municipality area.

The amalgamation process was essentially concerned with addressing technical problems. Very little attention was paid to a major rethinking of the basic principles on which the administrations should be organised. In this regard, capacity building within the various municipalities has been overlooked and new administrations are still clinging to traditional and outdated approaches to service delivery. This study is an attempt to fill this void, and will hopefully provide some meaningful alternatives to improving service delivery in local authorities in general, and the Cape Town municipality in particular.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background

South Africa is undergoing a period of profound and momentous change. For the first time South Africans have the opportunity of building a nation founded on a democratic ethos. During the transition period and after, there is likely to be increased public participation in major areas of national and local life.

The most distinctive feature of South African local government under apartheid was the existence of a racial division of powers which co-existed with a geographical division of powers. Needless to say, apartheid local government did not represent the majority of South Africans. Local authorities provided services to citizens according to race. The white local authorities were the most favorably endowed in terms of resources, facilities and services. They were situated near commercial and industrial areas, whilst the other three racially classified local authorities were all inferior and were not financially viable since only some of the facilities and services could be duplicated in these areas. Their residents were discriminated against in many ways. This prevented them from developing to their full potential.

In most communities local Councils were elected in separate racial elections. These elected governments as Cloete (1995) maintains did not enjoy the support of the majority of residents in their areas. This was evidenced in the low voter turnout at the time of the local elections. The discriminatory policies of the past government resulted in the negligence of improving the quality of life in disadvantaged communities.

During the apartheid years, the South African government was characterized by a strong centralist bias. One of the reasons might have been that, the government wanted the policy of apartheid implemented at local government level. Also some of the reforms initiated by the nationalist party regime involved local government policy changes which attempted to legitimize illegitimate structures. For example, colored and Indian management committees; Black local authorities and Regional Services Councils (RSCs) were established

At a seminar on policy aspects of local government in South Africa, Khosa (2000:11) highlighted the fallacy of apartheid and the concomitant challenges facing metropolitan councils in particular the Cape Town municipality as follows:

**The poor majority was forced to reside some distance away from the City, with long distance to travel and poor roads and poorly constructed transport modes and facilities to workplaces. There is virtually no services, facility or infrastructure which cannot be declared underdeveloped or of poor quality in outer districts.**

Since the late 1980s, the system of local government in South Africa was constantly under pressure to deliver services in an equitable manner. By 1992 the system of local government in Black areas was in a state of total collapse. These structures [Black local authorities (BLAs) and Regional Services Councils (RSCs)] were ill equipped to provide the necessary social, physical and economic services to the communities they were supposed to serve. Thus, there was a need for an alternative workable local government system. Given the state of BLAs and the ongoing rent and service boycott, the Local Government Negotiating forum (LGNF) was established in March 1983. The LGNF was significant in

formulating principles for the eventual establishment of a non-racial and democratic local government system in South Africa. The settlements reached at the negotiations talks was that all racially structured local authorities should be integrated. Thus ensuring that local authorities have a common vision for their jurisdiction.

However, the compromises reached at the LGNF could have a negative impact on social and economic development by sustaining spatial arrangements. For example, Cloete (1995), argue that historical imbalances of service infrastructure between White Local authorities (WLAs) and Black Local authorities (BLAs) would tend to dictate and appeal to newly formed structures of local government to follow the absorption option. The process of amalgamating racially based municipalities in terms of the provision of the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) within existing management structures and systems of WLAs may in effect, perpetuate and broaden old organizational forms, which in turn would retard effective service delivery. In fact, a number of new local authorities in the Western Cape are still plagued with weaknesses and inequities of the old administrative system. In this regard, the Cape Town municipality, which is the focus of this study is no exception. In this connection Khosa's assertion (2000: 25) is instructive:

**Local Government in a class divided society is not a neutral institutional form, and generally serves to reinforce and preserve ruling class hegemony.**

It may therefore appear that a radical change in attitude has to occur within local government structures which would likely enhance the participation of disadvantaged communities in the formulation,

implementation and monitoring of service delivery in general. There is ample evidence to suggest that the absence of community participation can negatively impact on service delivery. Thus, this may lead to the status quo created by the previous ruling party. With the unfolding of the transformation process, it is expected that local government structures may have to play a more constructive role in managing service delivery to historically - disadvantaged communities. It has been recognized internationally that the function of and role of local government is to deliver services to the people.

The main objective of this study is to review service delivery in the Cape Town municipality. This study will look at the challenges facing the municipality, and put forward recommendations to improve service delivery - in local government generally, and the Cape Town municipality in particular.

#### **Guiding statements for the study**

The aforementioned issues, form the basis on which the following broad assumptions can be made as a guide to this study:

- (1) Historically, local government structures were undemocratic, fragmented and unresponsive to the basic needs and demands of communities they were supposed to serve
- (2) The existing organization and management systems in the Cape Town municipality are not suitably designed and structured to meet the basic needs and demands of historically - disadvantaged communities;
- (3) Maximum community and other stakeholder participation is of crucial importance to address effective service delivery; and

- (4) Project aimed at uplifting standards of historically disadvantaged communities have not been very successful because of a lack of co-operation with the Cape Town municipality, between and amongst others, civic organizations, representatives of community forums as well as the private sector.

### **Objectives of the study**

It is the opinion of this author that, local government structures were used merely as instruments of Central Government to exclude the vast majority from service delivery. Service delivery has been skewed in favor of certain race groups. The objective of this study is to enhance service delivery in the Cape Town Municipality by putting forward recommendations to improve service delivery.

### **Organization of the study**

In order to meet the study objectives, this study is divided into four chapters.

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <b>Chapter One</b> | <b>This is a general introduction to the study.</b>   |
| <b>Chapter Two</b> | <b>Background to the amalgamation process undertaken by the City of Cape Town, and<br/>An outline of the National framework (RSA Constitution Act 108 of 1996;<br/>Local Government Transition Act (LGTA), The White Paper on local</b> |

**Government and other relevant National and Provincial legislation) within which Local Government operates.**

**Chapter Three : Reviews service delivery within the City of Cape Town.**

**Chapter Four : *Rasson* Puts forward recommendations to improve service delivery in the City of Cape Town and concludes the study.**

### **Significance of the study**

As a result of apartheid policies, the majority of South Africans have been disadvantaged and locked into a cycle of poverty from which many of them cannot escape. The lack of service delivery could directly be attributed to the type of development perpetuated in apartheid South Africa which was based on segregation, hence benefiting the minority and wealthy.

The process of transformation and democratization bears important ramifications for local government decision makers. It is therefore envisaged that this study will be beneficial to decision makers in the City of Cape Town in improving the quality of the disadvantaged communities as well as other stakeholders. The dictates of democracy could be enhanced through effective community participation at a local level to achieve sustainable economic development. Thus, participation and initiative on the part of local communities and individuals could serve to accelerate social change and generate economic growth.

It is the opinion of this author that there have been little improvements in terms of service delivery in the City of Cape Town. This failure is reflected in the lack of community participation at local level. But are



citizens receiving services? The municipality could claim that services are being delivered despite the lack of participation.

### **Rationale for the study**

During the last three decades urban and rural problems had a profound impact on South African politics. The collapse of Black local authorities; rents and services boycotts, the flight of squatter settlements and the general acceptance by all stakeholders that a democratic system of local government should be implemented, all testify to the crucial importance of local government. The issues highlighted above merely represent some of the problem areas being experienced at the local level. This research is undertaken to enable and possibly ensure that a useful contribution is made to the broader and continuing debate on democratic local government in post apartheid South Africa.

### **Methodology and sources of data**

The method used in this study is a descriptive analysis of events as recorded in speeches, documents and reports. Sources of data are both primary and secondary. Primary data include government documents and speeches. Secondary data include books, journal articles, research papers and interviews.

Existing literature constitute an invaluable aid and source of knowledge; therefore the collection of the

study begins with a literature study. This allows the researcher to become acquainted with the thinking and ideas of previous researchers and authorities. Literature consist of books; journal articles, reports, unpublished sources such as theses, dissertations and research reports, as well as other documentary sources such as archive documents, office reports and minutes.

Since it was too costly and this could have been overcome by using focus groups to interview many people in the City of Cape Town. The researcher managed to interview few people. For example, the manager of the City of Cape Town, a Councillor from Langa and representative of the Langa development forum (LDF). (refer to appendix (A, B, C).

### **Delimitation of key terms and concepts**

The author has no intention to legislate the use of terms and concepts. It was, however, felt that an indication of how they were used in this study was in order.

### **Capacity Development**

Capacity development refers to the process and activities that incorporates the following components the outcome of which may be tangible as well as intangible. The components are non-material, the contents of a development capacity enhancement capacity mismatch, community participation, education, training, organizational development and matching different capacities.

## Democracy

Democracy is a system of government whereby public leaders are held accountable by citizens for their actions or non actions. It involves a commitment to procedures, tolerance, majority rule, transparency, responsiveness or some variant or combination of the above norms.

## Development

Despite the wide use of the concept development, different meanings have been advanced by policy makers as well as scholars. One of the arguments is that growth should be a prerequisite for development to take place, which in effect would mean the perpetuation of racial inequalities. According to Olowu (1988: 10) the consensus of opinion that is widely amongst development scholars; policy makers and multinational agencies was that development is related to the ability of nations to manipulate its physical environment to its advantages

The concept development is further clarified by Roberts (1996: 277 - 278) as:

one that promotes fairness and opportunity for all not just the privilege programmed areas for actions that include housing (which requires) an enabling approach and co-operation with a wide range of public, private and community partners in the pursuits of sustainable development. Thus, the role of local government in realizing developmental, challenges would require a consultative and an interactive process with all stakeholders.

## Local Government

South Africa has a three sphere of government, with the third sphere being local government. Metropolitan Councils and substructures bear the definition of local government with varying degrees of decision-making power being vested upon them. Therefore, the process of Transforming and democratizing local government would in effect mean that it would be primarily concerned with matters affecting those inhabitants within the demarcated boundaries. It is thus the duty of local government to eliminate the existing imbalances in society by structuring programmes to deliver and upgrade essential services. An important contribution could be made to the socio-economic and political development of historically disadvantaged communities

## Local Governance

The shift in emphasis from government (the power to govern) to governance (the act of governing) is linked to the global acknowledgment that organs of civil society need to be empowered to share the responsibility of governance. In essence, government institutions require a new citizens oriented management approach. In this sense relationships and partnerships have become much more important for local government than was the case in the past.

## Local authority

A local authority is an organization comprising elected and appointed officials which operate within a

specific geographical area to provide services to its local community. This type of authority has a relatively well defined area of jurisdiction and Local populace. It has a right to govern on its own initiative but is subject to constitutional provisions as well as central and provincial legislation.

## CHAPTER 2

### **BACKGROUND TO THE AMALGAMATION PROCESS UNDERTAKEN BY THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN**

#### Introduction

Apartheid has undoubtedly left its imprint on South Africa's human settlements and municipal institutions. However, the outcome of the LGTA of 1993 was significant, which are the old apartheid structures were abolished, transitional ones were established; the provinces were empowered to determine the powers and functions of local authorities. Thus it prepared for the first democratic local government elections in 1995 (held in 1996 in Cape Town and Kwa Zulu Natal). The 1993 Act did not solve all the burning issues facing local government. In the Western Cape, for example, the National Party led government resisted the new boundaries of local authorities, especially the inclusion of former Black local authorities (BLAs) areas into wealthy ones.

#### The Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA)

In the Cape Peninsula we used to have 39 local authorities that we structured on racial basis. The local Government Transition Act 1993 which was negotiated in Kempton Park set out steps by which local government would change from exclusive apartheid structures to new inclusive democratic structures.

With the purpose of wiping out boundaries based on race and ethnic separation between communities and providing a more cost effective form of local government. As a result of this Act the 39 local areas within the Cape Metropolitan area (CMA) became the 6 metro local councils (MLC) and the Cape Metropolitan Council (CMC). The 6 metro local Councils (MLC) are as follows.

<b>Metropolitan Local Councils</b>		<b>Population</b>
City of Cape Town	1 050	880
City of Tygerberg	927	060
City of South Peninsula Municipality	336	950
Oostenberg Municipality	240	020
Blaauwberg Municipality	127	390
Helderberg Municipality	125	410
<b>Total population for the CMA</b>	<b>2 807</b>	<b>710</b>

#### The Amalgamation process undertaken by the City of Cape Town

The process of amalgamating the old race-based municipal administrations, initiated by the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA), proceeded very differently in different municipalities in particular the City of Cape Town. In many cases the structures and system of more established municipal administrations (usually former white municipalities) were adopted and extended to absorb staff from the smaller administrations usually the former Black Local Authorities (BLA). In the city of Cape Town this

approach, did not result in new, more effective or more equitable ways of working. This author is of the opinion that minimal changes were made to organizational structures. Thus, in many instances the amalgamation process undertaken by the city of Cape Town, disadvantaged the staff of former Black Local authorities (BLA), as they were slotted into jobs evaluation systems which weighed formal qualification above job experience. (White Paper on Local Government, 1998: 91)

In the City of Cape Town, the amalgamation process reproduced inequity and made little attempt to enhance staff performance. In essence the inherited weaknesses of the old administrative system remained intact. Thus, the City of Cape town used the amalgamation process to initiate a more fundamental review of their administrative organization (White Paper on Local Government, 1998: 92).

According to the White Paper on local Government (1998), some municipalities undertook participative process which drew across-section of staff into the process of designing new organizations. Thus, innovative approaches to strategic management were introduced and processes of staff communication and cultural changes were also initiated. These approaches resulted in some meaningful administrative changes.

However, the City of Cape Town has experienced difficulties in consolidating these gains because of high levels of uncertainty experienced during the transition period. In the City of Cape Town, the amalgamation process was largely concerned with addressing technical problems. Very little attention was paid to a major rethinking of the basic principles on which the administrations should be organized. In particular,



new administrative capacities have not been built and administrative operations have remained locked in traditional approaches to service delivery. The potential skills and energies of the majority of the work force have not been harnessed for transformation

It is important for this author to mention that there were some problems which were experienced during the amalgamation process. For example, there was resistance against deployment, some officials especially those who came from the BLAs felt that they were going to lose their jobs. Also, some officials from the former White local authorities (WLA) were resistant to change and they had a negative attitude against their counterparts. The former WLAs did not want to co-opt staff from the smaller and usually weaker administrations such as the former BLAs. Thus, the level of uncertainty during the amalgamation process was also very high.

**An outline of the National Framework (RSA Constitution; Local Government Transition Act (LGTA), the White Paper on Local Government and other relevant National legislation within which local Government operates.**

### **RSA Constitution**

The constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996, places certain development and responsibilities on local government. Section 153 of the Constitution makes reference to developmental duties of

municipalities by stipulating that they should meet the basic needs of society, and that they should be engaged in national and provincial development programmes. Interpreted broadly, this section places municipalities in particular the City of Cape Town which is the focus of this study at the heart of development. This author is of the conviction that, as apartheid was most effective at local levels, the success of democracy in addressing the needs of all will be judged by the ability of the City of Cape town to promote socio-economic development of its communities.

Among other things, developmental activities will entail:

- Developing and delivering quality services

- Maintaining and replacing infrastructure

- Attracting investment and economic growth and raising levels of employment

- Proper project planning and implementation

- Reprioritizing spending practices

- Proper planning and efficient use of land resources

- And engaging community enhancing programmes in collaboration with the private sector, NGOs and CBOs

The RSA Constitution also states that the local government is responsible for promoting the social and economic development of communities. This provides the City of Cape Town which is the focus of this study with the mandate to provide special economic services to assist other agencies with the provision of such services.

The Constitutional framework and other legislation will be the key instruments for eradicating the apartheid legacy of social recreation and unrepresentativeness (RSA Constitution; 1996: 83).

### White Paper on Local Government

According to the White Paper on Local Government (1998), under apartheid there was a systematic under-investment in municipal infrastructure in Black areas. Thus, this deprived the millions of people access to basic services, including water, sanitation, refuse collection and roads. Developmental local government has to address this backlog. Its central mandate is to develop service delivery capacity to meet the basic needs of communities. The City of Cape Town have a range of delivery options to enhance service provisions. It needs to strategically assess and plan the most appropriate forms of service delivery for its areas. Its administrations need to be geared to implement the chosen delivery options in the most effective manner and to ensure maximum benefit.

The White Paper on local government (1998), states that in choosing the delivery options for their areas, municipalities in particular the city of Cape Town should be guided by the following principles.

**Accessibility of services:** The City of Cape Town must ensure that all citizens regardless of race, gender or sexual orientation have access to at least a minimum level of services. Imbalances in access to services must be addressed through the development of new infrastructure and rehabilitation and upgrading of existing infrastructure. The consolidated municipal infrastructure program (CMIP) has been established to provide capital grants to assist municipalities (City of Cape Town) in funding bulk and connector infrastructure for low income households and so extend access to services. Accessibility is not

only about making services available, but also about making services easy and convenient to use. The City of Cape Town should particularly aim to ensure that people with disabilities are able to access municipal services and amenities (White Paper on Local Government; 1998:96)

**Afford ability of services:** The City of Cape Town can ensure afford ability through.

Setting tariffs which balance the economic liability of continued service provision and the ability of the poor to access services.

Determining appropriate service levels. For example service levels which are too high may be economically unsustainable and jeopardies continued service provision. Accountability for services: whichever delivery mechanism is adopted by the City of Cape Town, municipal councils remained accountable for ensuring the provision of quality services which are affordable and accessible to people.

**Integrated Development and Services:** The City of Cape town which is the focus of this study should adopt an integrated approach to planning and ensuring the provision of municipals services. For example this means taking into account the economic and social impacts of service provision in relating to municipal policy objectives such as poverty eradication, spacial integration and job creation through public works.

### **Local Government Transition Act**

This Act aims to provide for the development of local government by ensuring that local authorities work towards achieving the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), such as

providing basic services, capacity building and redistributing public resources. The Act also seeks to address inequalities, structural deficiencies and financial legitimacy problems at local level, by introducing a new dispensation in line with the stipulations of the new constitution (Reddy; 1995, in Ismail et al 1997: 68). The Local Government Transition Act serves to strengthen the position of local government by making provision for restructuring so that local authorities can operate on a non-racial and representative basis as well as lobby for their own interest. In terms of the LGTA, local government restructuring has to undergo distinct phases of transition.

The phases are:

The pre-interim phase; which serves to integrate the previously divided local authorities.

The interim phase; beginning with municipal elections and lasting until a new local government system has been designed and legislated upon.

The final stage; when new local government system will be established.

We are now in the interim phase. The LGTA has effectively deracialised the system of local government through the amalgamation of former racially - based structures. However, real transformation has yet to occur. The weakness of the LGTA is its urban bias and the lack of structured support processes to enable municipalities to manage the change process, are reflected in our current municipal system. This author is of the conviction that, the transition process has already shown that delivery on new municipal mandates cannot be achieved within the existing institutional framework (White Paper on Local Government; 1998). A provincial committee for local government was established in terms of this Act, to allow for the co-ordination between the provinces and local authorities to facilitate effective and efficient

delivery of services

### **National Council of Provinces (NCOP)**

The NCOP is related to local government in two ways: Firstly, as part of the national legislature it debates and scrutinizes national laws, including those affecting local government, before they are passed into Acts. The roles of the NCOP are to ensure that local government development issues are correctly presented at National level by persons representing local government. The 1996 constitution stipulates that not more than 10 part-time representatives chosen by organized local government may participate in the NCOP deliberations but without voting powers. These representatives should represent different categories of municipal councils. Composed as it does of delegates from provinces, the NCOP cannot avoid local government issues over which the constitution has designated provinces to immediately oversee (Ismail et al; 1997: 69).

### **Summary**

The process of amalgamating the previously racially based municipalities in terms of the provisions of the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA), was executed very differently in the various municipalities throughout South Africa. In several instances the structures and systems of the more established municipal administrations - usually former White Local authorities (WLAs) - were merely adopted to co-opt staff from the smaller and usually weaker administrations such as the Black Local authorities (BLAs).

Admittedly, this approach reduced the level of administrative disruption; but in several instances it did not give rise to more effective and equitable systems, and more importantly, improved service delivery. In essence, many new local authorities are still plagued with the weaknesses and inequities of the old administrative systems. In this regard, the city of Cape Town, which is the focus of this study is no exception.

The legislative framework, most notably the stipulations contained in the constitution as well as other parliamentary Acts, play a decisive role in intergovernmental relations, especially where local government is concerned. The above constitution allocates functional areas of competency to each sphere and regulates the interaction between them.

## CHAPTER 3

### REVIEW OF SERVICE DELIVERY WITHIN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN, AND CHALLENGES FACING IT.

#### Introduction

By 1993, the collapse of administration, service delivery and municipal infrastructure in many of the former BLA's in South Africa and the widespread non-payment of service charges resulted in a nationwide crises in local government. The collapse of service delivery in many of the former BLA's resulted in hardships to affected communities. Many of the communities within the jurisdiction of the BLA's suffered extreme hardships and were exposed to high public health hazards due to the chaotic nature of service delivery systems and the collapse of infrastructure, particularly cleaning sewerage and storm water. The financial positions of most of the BLA's was also in a state of chaos. Communities refused to pay for services. The BLA's were not able to pay bulk services suppliers for services such as water, sewerage treatment and electricity. Increasing arrears, cash flow defeats, exhausted reserves, empty stores and widespread department, characterized the financial positions of many of the Black Local Authorities (BLA's). This deprived millions of people access to basic services including water sanitation, refuse collections and roads. The City of Cape Town which is the focus of this study has to address this backlog. Thus it's central mandate is to develop service delivery capacity to meet the basic needs of communities.

When the first democratic Council was elected in 1996, it marked the end of racially segregated local



government. For the first time communities from the most neglected areas of Cape Town were given the opportunity to determine spending priorities and to transform fundamentally the ethos of municipal governance. At last after decades of apartheid segregation the legacy of unfairness and unequal distribution of resources could be tackled by a Council in which all residents of Cape Town were represented. The challenge was, and still is, immense; in some areas of the City, infrastructure and basic services were non-existent. This included water supply, electricity, street lighting and other infrastructure, as well as municipal amenities such as libraries, community halls and clinics. There is also a severe housing crisis worsened by high levels of poverty and unemployment. In the metropolitan area, about a third of people are living below or just above poverty line, without jobs adequate housing or basic services and amenities. Thus, this Chapter reviews service delivery within the City of Cape Town, with particular emphasis being placed on some of the challenges facing it.

### **Review of service delivery within the City of Cape Town**

Interviews and visits to the city of Cape Town suggest that there is little improvements in terms of service delivery. The majority of people in our communities such as (Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga) which are black areas in the Western Cape, are still complaining about poor services which are provided by the City of Cape Town. There is still no routine maintenance of infrastructure. Roads are still breaking up, sewerage and storm water reticulation systems are extremely blocked and water networks are also not maintained

Very little has been done and achieved to provide sustainable housing for the vast majority of people in

Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga East. The inability of the City of Cape Town to keep up with demand for formal housing, especially in these townships (Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga) has led to a serious shortage of dwellings for a major part of the population. This in turn has led to the mushrooming of squatter settlements and overcrowding. This situation is quite prevalent in Langa and Guguletu where it is common to find two families sharing one plot.

The proliferation of shacks within the vicinity of Langa and Guguletu has created innumerable problems for the present and potential investors. For example, if there is a robber, it would be difficult to apprehend robbers who disappear in a maze of shacks. While accepting that the lack of service delivery, homelessness and informal settlements is a manifestation of past actions/inactions of the apartheid regime, community based organization (CBOs) representatives are of the opinion that an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is the only viable solution. It is thus expected that the IDP would encourage an even spread of development which in turn would have the effects of creating jobs.

In the City of Cape Town, there is extremely limited engagement by the private sector. For example, the delivery of housing is hampered by political interference from a wide range of quarters including individuals and organizations purporting to represent beneficiaries. Thus the current delivery patterns do little to improve the functioning of the City as a whole. The current situation in the City of Cape town is characterized by institutional confusion with roles and responsibilities constantly blurred. The capital subsidy is utilized as the only source of low cost housing (Kotze; 1998: 90). The year 2000 has been declared the year of delivery in Cape Town. Its a year in which the Council aims to improve all aspects of service delivery to City residents.

To kick off this initiative, and find out where the most urgent improvements need to be made. The Council interviewed people from all areas of the City to find out how they felt about the services they were receiving. The result of this customer needs survey is very relevant to Cape Town employees as it tell us what the Council is doing right and where need to improve their performance. The result varied significantly across different areas. People from poor areas felt that the services they receive had not improved in the past two to three years. While most people from higher income areas also felt that services had not improved. They were however, relatively satisfied with the services they received. This also proved that, there are little improvements in terms of service delivery.

The survey which was done by the Council showed very importantly that the Council has not achieved in shifting resources from wealthier to poorer areas. A large number of residents are still dissatisfied with the Council=s performance. According to these residents, the Council can address this by continuing with improvements in service delivery and by better communication and marketing of project and service improvements. Councillors, CBOs and officials are also saying that, there are little improvements in terms of service delivery. According to them, many people are still complaining about the services which are delivered by the Council.

#### **Factors inhibiting service delivery in the City of Cape Town**

The City of Cape Town still has no formal strategic plan for service delivery and housing. Past attempts at creating policies failed because no effort was made to assess the aspirations, need and resources of the various groups needing services and housing. For as long as no strategic plan and no housing policy exists, the City of Cape Town will continue to act tentatively and will be inclined to vacillate.

Pn. 178  
J. WILLIAMS

## The Political environment

This author is of the opinion that, councillors have an important role to play in firstly, tempering political policy to local aspirations and secondly, mustering sufficient political will to expand programs from their current modest proportions to a scale which is consonant with the migrated of demand. However, the power struggle between the ANC and NP councillors has negatively influenced service delivery. According to Momelezi Skweyiya (an ANC councillor who is also a resident of Langa), the NP has used its minority position within the council structures to oppose the GNU on service delivery and housing policy. Thus, it has been perceived by the people that service delivery is being used as a political tool to the detriment of the disadvantage poor

## Challenges facing the City of Cape Town

The City of Cape Town is facing immense challenges in developing sustainable settlements which meet the needs and improve the quality of life of local communities. From swimming pools, sports fields and libraries to health education and youth leadership programmes the City of Cape Town seeks to build a better quality of life for all residents. The challenge is enormous given the limited resources available and the need to extend existing services to areas that have suffered decades of neglect. In addition the City has a role to play with other private and public stakeholders, in promoting economic development and job creation through policies that encourage, investment and facilitate business activity, including better management of business districts. As a forward thinking progressive and efficient organisation and one of

the employers in the region, the City is in a position to influence the development of Cape Town to benefit all its residents. Ultimately it is through innovative thinking and growing the income base of the City that a real improvement in the lives of the poorest residents will take place.

The City of Cape Town has inherited many problems and some very disadvantaged areas but, in a new democratic system based on equity and fairness this situation cannot be allowed to continue. In terms of the white paper on local government, the City is also charged with playing a major developmental role. To meet these challenges the city has come up with seven strategic priorities designed to make the most of every rand and to meet the needs of residents in the most effective way.

These include:

- Integrating a city developed by apartheid
- Achieving equity in service delivery and redistributing resources to the most disadvantaged areas
- Targeting zones of poverty in a holistic manner
- Tackling the low-income housing crisis
- Supporting economic development and job creation and
- Promoting community safety

To ensure these commitments are translated into real visible improvements a number of special projects that help fulfil one or more of the priorities have been chosen for a fast-track process. The challenges facing the City of Cape Town are enormous. Not least is the plight of tens of thousands of people who face this winter without adequate housing. Services are inadequate in some of the areas that have just

been incorporated and facilities are almost entirely lacking. At the same time, the infrastructure in developed areas need to be maintained. Better management of business districts, promotion of economic growth and financial discipline are just some of the objectives that the council has set for itself. According to the Manager Andrew Boraine, residents have also an important role to play too. A democratic local government system that treats everyone fairly brings responsibilities as well as rights. No matter how difficult one's personal circumstances are, it is up to us to contribute to keeping the City running. This means paying rates, electricity, water and service charges and taking responsibility for not littering and damaging council's property.

The City of Cape Town belongs to all who live in it says Boraine. AOne of our most important mission is to build a sense of civic pride and involvement@. Thus, if the City of Cape Town is to deliver better services it needs to change. Together with a financial strategy for unintentional transformation (commitment to Cape Town; 1998:1). The City of Cape Town need to change and change what staff do in the organisation for example, the city can't pursue these resources. The existing staff and financial resources will have to be used to do different things and in different ways. Communication is also a priority. The City does not communicate well enough either with it=s employees or the public. If the City of Cape Town is to make the changes required it needs to take the people along with it. This means consulting and informing people.

Historically, local authorities(e.g. City of Cape Town) in South Africa have concentrated on service delivery. However, in terms of the Local Government Transition Act(LGTA), in addition to their traditional service delivery role, local authorities are now required to play development role. During 1998 the City of

Cape Town established an integrated development planning (IDP) and management process, which involved medium to- long term strategic planning. The executive Committee (EXCO) and the executive Management Team (EMT) agreed on a vision, mission and values for the city to help shape its strategic focus.

The City of Cape Town has a responsibility to promote economic development of the municipal area and together with other role-players, the region as a whole. Much of this work is carried out by the Planning and Economic Development sections. In terms of economic development, the focus is on initiating projects aimed at job creation, skills development and generating higher levels of economic growth, facilitating the development of such projects, and co-ordinating, economic development projects and activities within projects and promoting a healthy economic climate in the City. This involves supporting small, medium and micro-enterprises and key sectors in the economy of the city. The Council is also involved in a partnership with the metropolitan and provincial authorities to develop a world-class convention centre on the foreshore, which will boost business trade and the tourism industry.

Economic development is a new and major responsibility for local government. As one of the largest employers in the region with a budget running into billions, the City of Cape Town needs to develop policies that boost economic growth and efficiency and encourage investment. The provision of public housing is traditionally a municipal responsibility. However, in the case of the City this has been negatively affected by the apartheid policies of the previous government. This has resulted in badly managed, neglected public housing stock, an estimated 31 000 families on the waiting list for houses in the former Cape Town City Council area (and many thousands

more within the new City boundaries) and rapid growth of informal settlements. Until 1970, the former Cape Town City Council concentrated on building about 30 000 mainly sub-economic housing units for >coloured= people removed from the suburbs of Areas Act. When a shift began from the rental to ownership in public housing in the 70s and 80s, the Council concentrated on providing economic housing in areas such as Mitchell=s Plain. Very little, if any provision was made for other communities, especially the African people who were forced to settle illegally in the Cape Town area.

The provision of affordable housing for the millions of people is a major national challenge, and for the City is a key quality of life issue. One way of tackling this is through a presidential lead project, the Integrated Service lead project which aims to develop 28 225 sites within the City of Cape Town area. Against this background, the City faces the challenge of implementing an effective housing policy that will deal with both erasing housing stock and the delivery of new low-cost housing.

Decisions taken everyday impact on the future development of the City; which is why a long term view needs to be developed. The City's Planning Directorate is responsible for the vital task of preparing spatial planning, urban design, transportation planning and environmental management frameworks and programmes for the City. This is a particular challenge, given the apartheid planning of the past, which divided people along racial lines. This has resulted in a serious lack of integrated planning within the City and the need for major equity and redistribution strategies. The City of Cape Town is facing immense challenges in developing sustainable settlements which meet the needs and improve the quality of life of local communities. To meet these challenges, the City of Cape Town would



need to understand the various dynamics operating within its area, the City of Cape Town need to develop a concrete vision for realizing and financing that vision in partnership with other stakeholders (White Paper on Local Government: 70).

The IDP is a process through which the City of Cape Town can establish a development plan for short, medium and long term. It (IDP) will enable the City of Cape Town to align its financial and institutional resources behind agreed policy objectives and programs. The IDPs serve as a basis for engagement between local government and the citizenry at local levels with various stakeholders and interest groups. IDPs will help the City of Cape Town to weigh up its obligation and systematically priorities programmes and resource allocation. For example, in context of great inequalities, IDP's serves as a framework for municipalities (City of Cape Town) to prioritize their actions around meeting urgent needs, while maintaining the overall economic and social infrastructure already in place.

In terms of the LGTA (1996) second amendment, the City of Cape Town is obliged to formulate and implement a metropolitan integrated Development Plan, taking into account the development, needs and priorities. This plan should further incorporate land use planning, transport planning and the promotion of integrated economic development.

## Summary

The demand for effective delivery of services like housing and social amenities especially in formerly underprivileged areas will plague local authorities for some time to come. Transition from apartheid to democracy may carry little meaning if the majority of people do not receive expected services and this have implications for political problems in the country. This chapter has showed that there are serious problems in provision of services to the majority of people in the Western Cape. Also investment in Social services, including housing provision has stagnated and the City of Cape Town seems to ignore the specialized needs of the poor and their inputs in policy related matters. Up to now, no significant steps have been taken by the municipality to adopt a reasonable approach to address service delivery in the Western Cape. The subsequent chapter advances recommendations to improve service delivery in the City of Cape Town.

It is internationally recognised that the demand for services is continuously on the increase, whilst the capacity to finance, provide and manage new services from a public sector perspective, is on the decline, or at least not increasing at the same rapid rate as demand. Expenditure demand is simply outstripping income. It is in this regard, clear that the infrastructure and service backlogs in our country require urgent and even drastic steps to ensure that a better standard of life for the millions of poor and previously disadvantaged people in our country

## CHAPTER 4

### RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE SERVICE DELIVERY IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN & CONCLUSION

#### Introduction

Both politico-administrative issues and financial provisions have implications on the delivery of local government services. One of the task of the democratic government is to change the modes, quality and quantity of service delivery from the old racially fragmented and inefficient delivery system to the one that is integrated, efficient and effective - at the moment many municipalities in particular the City of Cape Town are too engrossed in transforming themselves that they consume much of their resources and time on internal changes.

#### What must be done to improve service delivery?

A major effort is required to improve service delivery in the City of Cape Town. During the apartheid era, local government was not given enough money and resources. Now that we have a democratic government, the central as well as provincial governments must make sure that local government have enough resources as well as revenue to perform its function. According to Cloete (1995: ) in the same way that an individual needs money to live, a local authority requires money to perform its function. Thus, the availability of sufficient resources is probably one of the most important preconditions for a self-

sufficient system of local government.

The system whereby local government has been financed in our country in the past have ensured that resources flowed predominantly into white areas. A new system should be able to change that quite significantly and bring about noticeable improvements in the lives of the majority of South Africans. Capacity building on the other hand is very important in order for local government to deliver services effectively and efficiently. For example in the past, training was given only to white officials, no training was evidenced in any of the BLA's. This is the area which need to change. This author is of the conviction that, every officials appointed by the City of Cape Town must be trained especially black official so that they can improve service delivery in their areas.

During the apartheid era, the majority of people especially blacks, boycotted paying their service charges because local government was not responsive to their needs. However, the same people must now be encouraged to pay for the services, because we now have democratic local structures. With these resources local authorities in particular the City of Cape Town will be able to address the problems of the disadvantaged communities. Services standards also need to be set such that the cost of providing these are affordable to the public.

For example some people are able to afford more than others and this also need to be taken into account. For the City of Cape Town to improve service delivery, there must be reallocation of resources, thus implying that more money must be spent in disadvantaged areas. Projects that are labor intensive must be identified so that the disadvantaged communities can benefit in terms of employment.

The City of Cape Town should consider including community Based Organizations (CBOs) and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in partnership with public or private institutions. In such partnerships for example, the private sector contractor provides access to equipment and training and the CBOs provide functions such as recruitment and management of local labor community liaison. This will enable the transfer of skills, create employment and provide effective service without drawing municipal capacity. The City of Cape Town can also explore innovative partnerships agreements, for example partnership with the post office for the collection of municipal revenue.

These partnerships make it easier for citizens to pay their municipal bills and decrease the strain which revenue collection places on municipal capacity. This author is of the conviction that, substantial benefits can be derived from public partnerships and this author would like to encourage the City of Cape Town to explore these options as individual organization and through organized government associations.

The White Paper on Local Government (1998) states empathically that public private partnerships provide a mechanism for attracting private investment in municipal infrastructure, and mentions seven delivery mechanism which municipalities (e.g., City of Cape Town) can consider:

- building existing capacity
- corporatisation
- Public - Public partnerships
- Partnerships with CBOs and NGOs

- Contracting out
- Leases and concessions (Public - Private partnerships)
- transfer of ownerships (privatisation)

The City has to some degree enlisted the support of private companies. The City of Cape Town must use Public Private partnerships because they provide the mechanism for effective delivery within the parameters of existing budgetary and other constraints, while it also ensures that the risk be shared amongst different participant. Public private partnership will also make it easy for the City of Cape Town to steer away from bureaucratic behavior in service and infrastructure delivery. Public private partnerships (PPP), therefore, makes it possible for the public sector to concentrate on service needs and requirements, rather than service delivery.

Public private partnerships can be found all over the world with successes in countries varying from United Kingdom to the Ivory Coast to Chile. The Municipal Systems Bill of (1999) also provides for a regulatory framework for municipal service partnerships and states emphatically that municipalities (City of Cape Town) must either provide a municipal service itself or make other arrangements for the provision of that service.

Chapter 8 of the municipal Systems Bill, will the moment it takes effect, regulate the procedures of these alternative ways of ensuring service delivery, including the following mentioned options of service delivery agreements with:

- other municipalities

- other organs of state
- municipal business enterprises
- companies registered in terms of Section 21 of the Company act, and;
- Private sector business enterprises.

This author encourage the City of Cape Town to use these partnerships. Public private partnerships (PPP) can, therefore be seen as very important tool to add to the City of Cape Towns success story by enhancing delivery and the upliftment of the people of the Western Cape region.

Current thinking is that major services, such as water and sanitation, and electricity should be delivered through separate utility companies with an arms length relationship to the City of Cape Town. The trend is also towards public/private partnerships in the delivery of services, which would lead to better, more efficient and cost-effective service delivery. A key issue is that this time around strategy must determine structure. The City of Cape Town must not repeat past mistakes, which simply amalgamate administrations. If Cape Town is to fulfill its potential as a truly world-class City then it must fundamentally change the way it does business and provide services.

The unicity gives the City of Cape Town an opportunity to do this and it must capitalise on it. One metropolitan authority would be in a better position to address the urgent development needs in the Peninsula in a holistic, effective way, using the resources of the entire metropolitan area, instead of just some section of it, as it happens at the moment. Housing, basic services and amenities are needed urgently if Cape Town is to enjoy a stable and prosperous future.

At the moment in the metro area, 50% of African people live below the poverty datum line and 48% of colored people just above it. This is a total of 65% of the population living in poverty without incomes, basic services or amenities. Economic development, boosting the metropolitan economy and creating a climate for investment and job creation are major challenges for local government and will be better tackled by a single body which is the unicity. The ward committees in the unicity system will provide civic and ratepayers organisations with a far more influential powerful and direct access to the Councillors and Council structures. It is an opportunity to strengthen civic participation and ensure that the new Council is held firmly accountable to all its citizens.

Various stakeholders must be involved in the development of local government policy. This will increase the likelihood of local authorities meeting their objectives.

To improve service delivery, the City of Cape Town must use new service delivery principles which include the following:

### **Public Participation and Accountability**

It is important for the City of Cape Town to engage communities in the choice of delivery options, pricing and evaluation. Thus, the public must be given an opportunity to debate and evaluate service delivery options, they must also evaluate the performance of service providers. The City of Cape Town must also account for organizations involved in the provision of services it has leased contracted out. Clear standards of product quality and service delivery must be established by the City of Cape Town and these must be used in evaluation and accountability reports. Public participation must also work to ensure that



the values of honesty and transparency in contracting out and leasing are upheld (Ismail & Mphaisha; 1997: 90).

### **Accessibility**

Municipalities like the City of Cape Town, are directed to render services impartially in accordance to constitutional provisions, that is without discriminating on grounds of gender, race, the conditions of being handicapped. The problem to be addressed here is that of covert and systematic discrimination in the provision of services. The City of Cape Town is still characterized by old racial divisions and more developed sections get better services. Nonetheless, much can be done to remove obvious discrimination tendencies of the old system.

### **Quality of Product and Services**

Product and service quality are affected by their appropriateness, convenience, safety and time of their delivery. The City of Cape Town must determine levels of quality products of services on the basis of the cost, otherwise too high a quality might be costly and jeopardize the socio economic ideals of municipalities themselves. For example poor quality and late delivery can cause communities to mobilize against municipalities, a good example is that of poorly designed houses allocated on the basis of long waiting list. This can serve to anger user communities.

## **Multi-sectoral approaches to service delivery**

The City of Cape Town has a range of delivery options to enhance service provision. It needs to strategically assess and plan the most appropriate forms of service delivery for its area. Its administration needs to be geared to implement the chosen delivery options in the most effective manner and to ensure maximum benefit to its communities. The City of Cape Town will need to seek appropriate methods of service delivery options. Thus, the choices should be guided by a clear criteria such as coverage, cost, quality and the socio economic objectives of the municipality

## **CONCLUSION**

The City of Cape Town is seriously lagging behind in addressing a legacy of unmet needs. According to the evidence presented in this study, the inadequate provision in service delivery in the area of study has prevailed since the apartheid era. Yet it was accepted that, under the new dispensation service delivery to the disadvantage communities would improve. Operation Masakhane, which was essentially aimed at accelerating the delivery of municipal services remains a policy framework; as the real task of implementation has not been carried out by the existing organization and management structures in the City of Cape Town. In this regard, no significant programmes has been implemented to improve the position of historically disadvantaged communities interims of service delivery. Given the absence of strategy in service delivery and housing, the backlog has resulted in severe overcrowding and continuation of squatting in Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga.

The City of Cape Town has failed to address in very concrete and practical ways the involvement of community and other stakeholders in formulation and implementation of policies and projects. The demand for effective service delivery of services like housing and related social amenities especially in formerly under-privileged areas will plague the City of Cape Town for some time. Restructuring and rechanneling services from To poor local communities is one of the solution to this problem. The transition from apartheid to democracy may carry little meaning if the majority of people do not receive expected services and this have implications for political problems in our country as well.

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

Interview with Mr Boraine, Manager City of Cape Town:

Would you say that (since 1994) there has been improvements in terms of service delivery?

There are improvements in service delivery. The good news on service delivery is that a concrete improvements were achieved during 1999. These can be directly attributed to our staff and include:

66% of our customers said they were satisfied with the services we deliver.

There was general improvement in inter cluster and inter disciplinary work.

The leaks in 6000 houses were fixed through the water leaks project.

There is drastic reduction in flooding due to improve drainage.

- Electricity has been provided to 691 dwellings in KTC

The Cape Community housing company was launched and the first houses were handed over in Hanover Park.

There has been reduction in fatal accidents and vandalism of parking meters has been wiped out. Well done to those who made difference in 1998. We must maintain our strong focus on service delivery and the development of the City@.

**Does the City of Cape Town has policy on:**

**(a) squatting**

**(b) Informal**

There is no uniform policy for the City of Cape Town. Policy makers are busy at the moment formulating such policies.

**Does the municipality have sufficient professionals and administrative capacity to deal with service delivery generally?**

Yes. My organisation do have skilled people who are dealing with service delivery. Internally, we have introduced a transformation and human resources development programme, which has helped achieve greater representivity among our staff of just 10000 people and opened new opportunities. All these changes are aimed at effecting service delivery and making real improvements in the quality of life of the people of this city, especially the poor. This is what local government is all about. Changing the lives of people for the better, making our neighbourhood safer, giving children access to books, providing clean water, houses, vital, vibrant and the opportunity to dream of a better future for us all.

**What is the relationship between your organization and CBOs with respect to service delivery?**

There is no relationship between my organization and CBOs in terms of service delivery. They don't even attend meetings and are not involve in decision making.

**Besides financial constraints, are there other challenges and obstacles which your organization faces in service delivery?**

Lack of vision and strategy

Lack of staff capacity

Administrative transformation process

Political interference on projects

Since the City of Cape Town is an amalgamation of various administrations, a need exist to formulate a policy which is going to deal with service delivery to the disadvantaged communities.

**What role do you see CBOs playing?**

Education of community

Participation in policy formulation and decision making.

Providing feedback to their community needs

Mediale conflicts, watchdog role, promote Masakhane campaign and prioritize development project.

## APPENDIX B

**Interview with representatives of the Langa Development forum (LDF).**

**Chairperson : Mzwamadoda Kulati**

**Secretary: Thamsanqa Marawu**

**Can you provide a brief background of your organization and its involvement in service delivery and housing since 1994?**

The LDF was established in 1994 as a development arm consisting of Community Based Organizations (CBOs). It was formed by the majority of organizations in Langa. These organizations include civics; political formations and sport.

After the 1994 elections, the LDF was formed in January 1995. As a sectoral forum of LDF a workshop was convened to deal with service delivery. Emanating from the workshops were a number of resolutions. These resolutions were forwarded to the Transitional Local Council for adoption and implementation.

**Your views on service delivery since 1994?**

There is no improvement in terms of service delivery?

Since 1994 the issue of service delivery has been politicized. As is commonly understood, the City of Cape Town is controlled by the National Party. They don't care about the needs of the disadvantaged

group. It is also clear that the City of Cape Town does not have a policy which deal with service delivery and housing.

## APPENDIX C

### **Interview with Councillor Momelezi Skweyiya - Ward 2 Langa.**

#### **Would you say that (since 1994) there has been improvements in terms of service delivery?**

There are no improvements in terms of service delivery. Roads in Langa are breaking, and if you go to new Flats and old flats in Langa, the toilets are blocked.

#### **What is the perception of peoples feeling towards service delivery carried out by the City of Cape Town?**

The majority of people from Langa have the perception that the Council is using service delivery in general as a political tool. In seeking recognition, political parties are using the issue of service delivery at the expense of the disadvantaged people. The National party for example is using its minority seats to effectively oppose the ANC led governments policy of achieving a better life for all citizens. In opposing the ANC=s policy the NP is dragging its feet on service deliver.

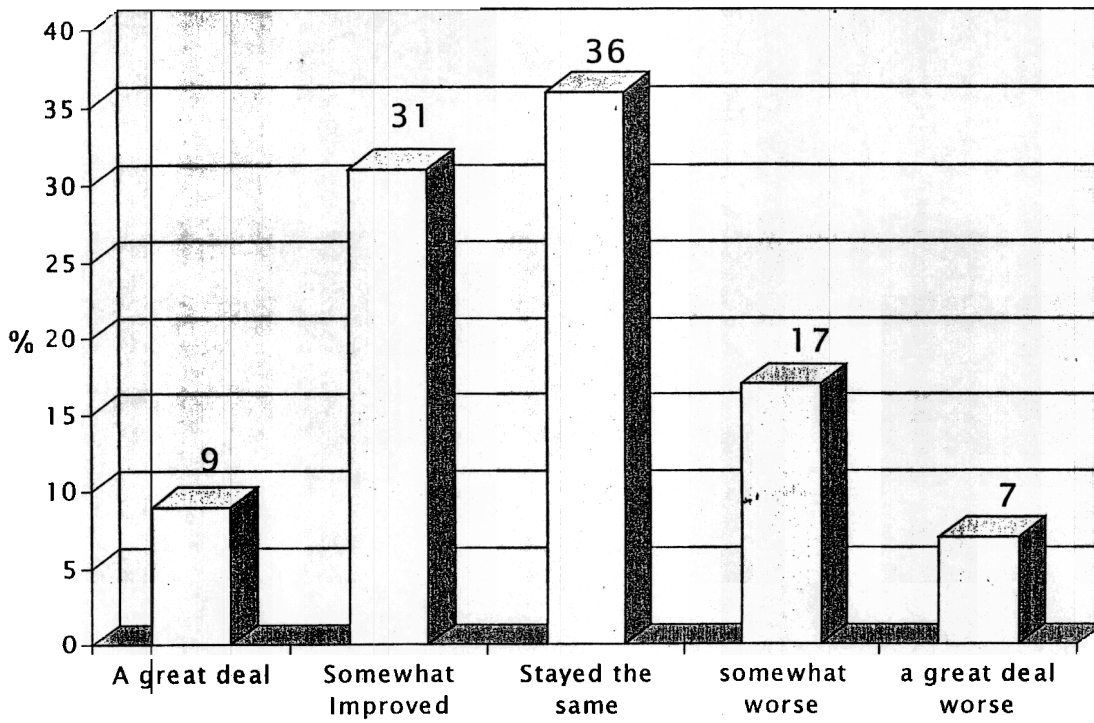
#### **To what extent do you think CBOs should be involve in terms of service delivery?**

Firstly, CBOs should be involve in the formulation of policies. Secondly, they should also be involve in all aspects of delivery.

**How receptive is the City of Cape Town towards working with CBOs?**

The bureaucracy within the City of Cape has acted very slowly. It is only of recent that there seem to be some positiveness and this could be attributed to the restructuring process.

# PERCEPTIONS OF IMPROVEMENT IN OVERALL SERVICE DELIVERY





# PERCEPTIONS OF IMPROVEMENTS IN SERVICE DELIVERY BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP

□ % SAYING SERVICE DELIVERY HAS IMPROVED SOMEWHAT OR A GREAT DEAL

