

3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN METROPOLITAN JOHANNESBURG

The transition in South Africa can perhaps best be described in terms of urban developments and debates. This is especially so in the biggest urban conglomerate in South Africa, Greater Johannesburg.

In order to solidify political and social transformation urban areas need to address some crucial issues. Increased urban economic growth is a prerequisite for the maintenance of national economic growth.

Urbanisation levels remain high in South Africa and appears to be increasing. This factor is causing a high demand on the urban structures delivering basic services such as water and electricity.

The socio-economic challenges are linked to the creation of urban democracy, thus ensuring that all communities have a say in the running of their affairs. These factors formed the background to urban apartheid which was the driving force behind the transformation of local government.

In order to fully comprehend the need for metropolitan government, apartheid urban structures will be briefly discussed. Once an historical background has been established, the role of the Local Government Negotiating Forum and the drafting of the Local Government Transition Act will be dealt with.

3.1 APARTHEID ERA

Apartheid, as applied to urban areas during the previous dispensation, can simply be described as social engineering aimed at the prevention of black

The above research approaches and methodologies are to be used as a package, and as such to ensure that the methods will jointly produce a clear and reliable research report.

The standard definitions for both methods are accepted as applicable to this research report. Induction is based upon observations made of an occurrence and then concluding that some form of relationship pattern exists.¹

Deductive statements are done using propositions as the premises for the deriving of conclusions. Regarding the interactive nature of the two types of scientific reasoning, Mayer and Greenwood (1980: 34) writes that:

"... by engaging in induction ... scientists derive generalizations they can subsequently use as premises to engage in deduction. And it is by the process of induction that they test the factual truth of conclusions arrived at by deduction".

In the context of this research report, the review criteria and area variables represent the deductive scientific reasoning. The inductive process will be the application of the review matrix to metropolitan local government in Greater Johannesburg, thus testing the factual truth of the level of generic descriptiveness of the review framework.

Documentary analysis will also be employed to illustrate and define the specific contents of the evaluation criteria and the area variables.

Bryman (1989 : 189) developed a classification of the types of studies using documentary sources for research purposes. Four broad categories are used : A document can either be quantitative or qualitative and either recent or historical. The documents to be used in this research report are classified as being recent and qualitative.

Documents to be used include internal sources such as annual reports, committee reports and discussion documents. External documents include all sources not published by the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council.

¹ For a discussion on John Stuart Mill, see Cohen, M.R. and Nagel, E. *An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method*. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931.

2. RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

The research approach to be adopted will be a combination of approaches. As a first departure point, this research report represents the usage of applied research.

By definition, applied research is focused on a specific problem, for which solutions must be found and recommendations made thereon. As an applied research exercise, the review framework must not only describe the macro functioning of metropolitan local government, it must also be indicative of the explanations for the described phenomena.

Mayer and Greenwood (1980:21) support the above process by writing:

"There are thus two types of social science research : pure research, the intent of which is to expand our understanding of social processes, and applied research, the intent of which is to make us capable of influencing these processes."

The test for the functionality of the review framework will thus be its capability to influence the dynamics of urban governance. This capability rests not only on the extent of conceptual clarity obtained within the review framework, but also upon the political acceptability thereof.

The last mentioned can be seen as an independent external factor, but the first mentioned is controllable and thus achievable.

The types of scientific reasoning to be used in the development and application of the review framework will be both inductive and deductive.

The set of area variables will focus on the size of metropolitan areas, historical development patterns, socio-economic spatial manifestations, infrastructure and services networks and urban economic integration.

The above specifics will be applied to three generic models of local government in metropolitan areas, in order to establish an indication of the relative effectiveness of each model in relation to the other. These relationships of effectiveness will be illustrated in the review matrix.

This research report will commence with a discussion on research approach and methodology, followed by an analysis of historical developments and a motivation for the review of metropolitan local government in Greater Johannesburg.

The development of a review framework will then be undertaken. Once the review framework has been drawn-up, it will be applied to the Greater Johannesburg region. The conclusion will include future research questions.

1. INTRODUCTION

The title of this research report resorts under the Urban Management field. The study of the functioning of metropolitan local government in Greater Johannesburg was chosen because, in many respects, the developments undertaken in this region represent groundbreaking achievements in the democratization of local government in South Africa.

The issue of metropolitan local government has long been the source of much differing opinions. Over time the debate has altered between various types of models. Whilst it is true that the urban dynamics ultimately determine the nature of the system of local government within a particular city, it is also true that certain generic characteristics have emerged from practice, allowing for the categorisation of the types of metropolitan government.

Included in this grouping of the systems of government, are the distinguishing components thereof. Due to the nature of urban government, which necessitates the addressing of urban needs, the distinguishing characteristics lend themselves to objective analysing. Describing the components of metropolitan local government is potentially a big undertaking. For this reason, the main research problem will be limited to the development of a review framework, created in the form of a matrix, considering only macro dynamic elements such as evaluation criteria and area variables. The main aim in this process will be to ensure the ultimate applicability of the review framework to metropolitan areas within South Africa. The research sub-problems will be contained in the specific elements of the evaluation criteria and area variables.

The evaluation criteria will consist of conflict management procedures, utilisation of resources, redistribution and development, community participation opportunities, internal and external communication and institutional complexity.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BLA	Black Local Authority
CWMC	Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber
CWRC	Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council
GJMC	Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council
GJTMC	Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council
JCC	Johannesburg City Council
JNC	Joint Negotiating Committee
LDO	Land Development Objective
MLC	Metropolitan Local Council
MSS	Metropolitan Substructure
NLGNF	National Local Government Negotiating Forum
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
TPA	Transvaal Provincial Administration
WLA	White Local Authority

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DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other University.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Adrian Carstens', is written over a horizontal line.

ADRIAN CARSTENS

15 December, 1997

ABSTRACT

This research report develops a review framework for metropolitan local government in Greater Johannesburg and South Africa, through the extrapolation of the key aspects of three generic models of metropolitan local government.

These models are classified as confederal, tow-tier and unicity type of city government. The need for the review of local government in Greater Johannesburg is illustrated through an historical overview of events in the transformation of local government since 1990.

The crucial elements of the generic models are also described in terms of metropolitan evaluation criteria and area variables. Evaluation criteria are defined as essential strategic indicators of performance, whilst area variables are seen as those factors which contribute to the specific structure and nature of metropolises in South Africa.

The generic models are compiled in the format of a review matrix, which take the crucial elements thereof, as well as the evaluation criteria and area variables into account.

Compatibility with the evaluation criteria are measured as being either low, medium or high. The conclusion is made that either an integrating two-tier system of metropolitan government or an unicity with limited delegation to community councils represent the optimal alternative for Greater Johannesburg.

**A FRAMEWORK FOR REVIEW
OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT
IN GREATER JOHANNESBURG**

ADRIAN CARSTENS

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management).

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Khan (1994 : 7) explores the question of the size of municipalities further by writing that, in the absence of metropolitan government, the number and size of traditional local governments led to fragmented service delivery systems. These systems caused no individual government to have the authority or capacity to metropolitanise functions and services where local councils were too small to be functionally effective or viable. Inter-municipal differences disallowed the setting of universal minimum service delivery levels.

These practical political problems created two poles within the ANC. The once school of thought propagated that, in order to improve service delivery, the MSS's had to be increased in size. The second grouping argued the reasons for metropolitan government along the lines of the need for the integration of the city, reallocation of resources and technical views such as better economies of scale to be achieved when metropolitanising functions.

As the debate continued, the Premier of Gauteng issued Premiers Proclamation 35 of 1995, the main purpose of which was to allocate powers and functions to the GJTMG and MSS's based largely on Schedule 2 of the Local Government Transition Act, 1993.

This Proclamation did not add any value to the powers and functions debate, because Schedule 2 of the Act was meant as a generic list of functions, that could be substituted by a local agreement.

Proclamation 35 began to give an indication as to the future of the C'WMC' agreement. For all intents and purposes, the detailed C'WMC' process was ignored and dispensed with.

"Just when the JNC was close to reaching an agreement, the issue of MSS boundaries was re-opened. The issue of demarcating MSS boundaries effectively halted progress in the JNC. No politician would agree to an allocation of powers and functions without knowing the size and jurisdiction of the MSS's. And it soon became clear that the issue of demarcation would not be easily resolved.

The debate over boundary options raged on, receiving wide press coverage. Eventually, it became clear that the local deadlock could not be mediated, and the demarcation issue was referred to the national Special Electoral Court. While the debate raged, tension between the TMC and MSS's grew. This political tension vibrated through the organisation and staff uncertainty and demoralisation increased.

In September the Special Electoral Court reached a decision, and promulgated the existence of four metropolitan Substructures. Because it was close to elections, energy was focused on demarcating wards within these substructures to enable elections."

The boundary issue was the manifestation of a more fundamental philosophical political debate within the ANC. The relevance of the internal boundaries lies herein that the size and number of MSS's, in relation to the GJTMC, determine their relative strength versus the metropolitan government.

The international case for metropolitan local government is based on the universal reality of urban governing structures not being able to adequately provide services to the ever increasing metropolises of the world.

management philosophy and the creation of guidelines for budgetary allocations to the MSS's.

The development phase would ensure that each management plan contained a budget, an organisational structure, the necessary resources, an implementation plan and a motivation in terms of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Once the management plans were completed, they were simultaneously presented to the JNC on 15 June 1995.

During the post-presentation phase the four management plans of the MSS's would be harmonised, resulting in an equitable allocation of resources. The fourth phase would result in the implementation of the management plans.

A discussion document on the GJTMCC on (1995 : 4) states that:

"Although the JNC process mobilised capacity around a coherent change process with the potential of ensuring an equitable outcome, the process failed. The JNC process collapsed when the JNC suspended negotiations on powers and functions, and re-visited the issue of demarcation. It was felt that powers and functions cannot be resolved until the demarcation is final. The delay in resolving the allocation of powers and functions meant that the JNC process stalled – it was not possible to develop detailed budgets and organisational structures in the absence of clearly defined powers and functions. (The budgets and capacity required are required to fulfil particular functions. Until it is clear what those functions are, it is not possible to work out what capacity and resources are required."

The suspension of negotiations on the allocation of powers and functions was due to an intense political debate raging with the ANC. An undated ANC briefing document describes that process as follows:

The second is the management plan that each MSS had to produce, in order to draw down powers and functions from the GJTC'.

The permanent integrated organisational structures deal with the administrative reallocation of human resources to both the GJTC and the substructures.

The approach adopted was one of structure following function. The motivation for this approach being that the allocation of powers and functions would determine the organisational structures needed to implement the given competencies.

As will be seen later, the powers and functions debate has been ongoing, resulting in an ongoing organisational review process.

The production of management plans heralded the establishment of the Joint Negotiating Committee (JNC) on 15 March 1995. The JNC had two major tasks to complete: Firstly it had to oversee the development of the management plans. Secondly, once the management plans have been completed, it had to agree on the allocation of powers and functions to the GJTC and the MSS's.

A process was decided upon by the JNC to achieve the two tasks. As far as the management plan development was concerned, four phases were identified.

The pre-development phase would see essential inputs into the development of management plans. Five key inputs were identified, namely clarity on the allocation of powers and functions, agreement on human resources matters, the development of an administrative model and

- an important innovation was the provision that further decentralisation to MSS level was possible by way of a mechanism that required MSS's to develop a strategic management framework as a basis for requesting the transfer downwards to MSS's of powers and functions located at GJMC level with the proviso that this framework must be motivated in terms of predetermined criteria built into the agreement and that the GJMC can only deny the request by giving adequate reasons in terms of these criteria;
- and finally, a sophisticated change management approach was built into the agreement that defined the process and principles that were to be adhered to when transforming the former administrative structures and systems to fit in with the newly established constitutional structures and to be more developmental in nature."

Thus was created a document of law, which had its origins in ad hoc interaction between initially hostile parties.

The above agreement of the negotiating forum for the Central Witwatersrand, was then forwarded to the Premier of the Gauteng Province for proclamation in terms of section 10 of the Local Government Transition Act, 1993. This proclamation became known as Premier's Proclamation 24 of 1994.

Proclamation 24 established the GJTC and seven Metropolitan Substructures, dissolved the racially based local authorities, allocated powers and functions to the GJTC and the MSS's, transferred all assets and liabilities, including staff, to the GJTC and established an Interim Industrial Council for purposes of regulating the conditions of services of staff members.

Two concepts were introduced by Proclamation 24, which gave an indication of future political and administrative dynamics. The first of these is the "permanent integrated organisational structures" for the MSS's to be established through a change management process.

With elected local government political representatives in place, the interim period commenced in November 1994. The interim period lasted until the adoption of the final Constitution of South Africa during 1996, when local government was incorporated into the new three-tier system of government.

A final phase would continue until the 1999 General Elections, during which time further adjustments to local government are to be made. Turning the attention again to the deliberations of the C'WMC during the pre-interim phase, an Urban constitutional model was adopted which provides for a two-tier system of metropolitan local governance. The model falls within the category of a federal model, that is, a model where the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council (GJMC) was awarded the most important powers and functions, with the transitional metropolitan substructures being responsible for decentralised service delivery.³

Swilling and Boya (1994 : 16) succinctly summed the C'WMC agreement up as follows:

- "all pre-existing local governments were dissolved and all policy control over their administrative structures, staff, assets and liabilities were transferred to the 'TMC';
- the 'TMC' was given a 120 member Council appointed by the MC, and an Executive Committee with an Executive Chairperson elected by the Council;
- the 'TMC' appointed a Chief Executive Officer who, in turn, established a core metropolitan administration;
- while it was agreed that powers and functions should be distributed between the metropolitan and sub-metropolitan levels, metropolitan-wide powers and functions such as bulk infrastructure, planning, financial policy, economic development, environmental management and transportation were reserved for the 'TMC'.

³ See the C'WMC Agreement for the Establishment of a TMC and MBS's in terms of Section 2(1)(b)(ii) of the Local Government Transition Act, 1993, dated 15 August 1994.

ineffective to produce agreement on core political issues such as the integration of the city.

The National Local Government Negotiating Forum (NLGNF) was established in early 1993. The main negotiating parties involved in the NLGNF were the National Government, organised local government, and political parties other than the ANC, which led the Tripartite Alliance, consisting also of the trade unions and civic organisations.

A framework for guiding local government was negotiated, which was enacted as the Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993. This Act transformed the CWMC into a statutory forum with a legal mandate to negotiate the so-called "local option."

The appropriate local option for each city and town consisted firstly of negotiations on the area of the forum, which later was to become the external local government boundaries. A second set of negotiations had to deal with the establishment, in a metropolitan area of a transitional metropolitan council with transitional metropolitan substructures, and in a rural area of a transitional local council.

Further to the above, the powers and functions of the new structures had to be established, as well as the determination of the number of seats per new structure.

Finally, the nomination of political representatives as members of the transitional structures had to be done.

This set of agreements and appointments would only last for the pre-interim period. This was the period between the appointment of political representatives and the first non-racial municipal elections.

local government bodies in the Central Witwatersrand area, and five civic associations. "The political parties were not initially invited to participate because by that stage the ANC in particular had not yet established itself internally within the country as an above-ground political organisation."

On average, the CWMC had 25 members, consisting of 15 local government and 10 civic associations, as well as 32 official observer bodies, including trade unions, parastatals, residents groups, educational institutions and organised business.²

The strategic vision of the CWMC³ was as follows:

"To transform the Central Rand metropolitan region so that the standard and quality of life of the people can be improved, and political participation ensured by establishing a legitimate system of local and metropolitan government that is based on non-racialism, democracy and a common fiscal base, and is capable of promoting constitutional economic, institutional, physical, financial and social development."

Six working groups were established to investigate and make recommendations on each of the abovementioned development aims. The six working groups reported to a Joint Technical Committee and the CWMC, it being the political representative body.

The decision-making was based on consensus, the reason being that none of the political representatives nominated to represent the various constituencies, had been elected, and could therefore claim an electoral mandate.

It soon became clear that a national framework for local government transition was needed to replace the consensus decision-making process, which allowed for the facilitation of diverse political views, but was

² See the Second Annual Report (1992/3) of the CWMC for further details.

"Local forums became the schools of the new South African democracy. This is where networks and relationships were built, mutual learning took place and a new culture of governance and consensus building developed. It was also to support social movements involved in these forums that a network of technical assistance NGO's emerged across the country that provided these movements with information, technical advice, training and policy options. Although imperfect and fraught with tensions and instabilities, these local forums became the model for similar structures that emerged at regional level and, eventually, at national level in the form of the Negotiating Council that finally negotiated the national constitutional settlement in 1993-1994. The first and most well known of these local forums was the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber."

3.2 LOCAL GOVERNMENT TRANSITION ACT, 1993

As the transition gained momentum during 1990 onwards, negotiations also progressed well. On 24 September 1990 the Soweto Accord was signed. The Soweto Accord represented the final agreement reached by signatories on the ending of the Soweto Rent Boycott.

The Soweto Accord consisted of a triangulation of agreements between the TPA, the B.L.A's and the civic organisations of the major townships in Greater Johannesburg such as Soweto, Dobsonville and Alexandra.

In terms of the Accord, the National Party Government agreed to all the demands of the civic, as listed above. More than R1 billion in rental arrears were written off during this process.

The Accord also called for the establishment of a negotiating forum, to be called the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber (CWMC).

Swilling and Boya (1994 : 11) writes that:

"The CWMC was not established in terms of any statute. It was established by agreement between stakeholders as a policy-making body that made decisions by consensus. The initial signatories were the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the

These negotiations initially focused on demands made by the various civic organisations. Coovadia (1991 : 337) lists the short-term and long-term civic demands as follows:

"Short-term demands have included:

- the right to organize and to report back;
- no cut-offs of services;
- the writing off of arrears;
- the resignation of councillors
- the appointment of an administrator acceptable to all parties involved in the negotiations for a specific period; and that
- WLA's take on certain financial and administrative responsibilities during the interim period.

Long-term demands have included:

- non-racial municipalities based on one tax base;
- the upgrading of services and conditions in the townships;
- the provision of more land;
- the provision of houses for low-income groups;
- the transfer of rented houses to the people;
- the upgrading and conversion of hostels, and
- affordable service charges."

The demands by the civic organisations rapidly led to a situation where, in order to give effective content to the technical negotiations, the need for a more structured approach to the local negotiations within the Greater Johannesburg became stronger. This need was the result of the financial implications of the writing off of arrears, the demand for the resignation of councillors, as well as the crucial non-negotiable of non-racial local government and the one-city, one-tax base argument.

In this regard, Swilling and Monteiro (1995 : 15) wrote that:

These racial structures were unacceptable, from inception, to the majority of the then disenfranchised.¹

As part of the process of sustaining BLA's, the regional services councils were established through the Regional Services Act, 109 of 1985

For Greater Johannesburg, the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council (CWRSC) was established.

These services councils were based on consociational principles, that is, the White Local Authorities (WLA's) were afforded proportional representation, in relation to the size of their budgets. According to this formula, the then Johannesburg City Council (JCC) had the most seats. The other WLA's in Greater Johannesburg such as Randburg Town Council, were also represented.

The services council's main source of income was derived from the levies claimed from businesses, which in turn was based on a percentage of turnover.

This triangle of separatist structures were in place, although the BLA's were subjected to a nationally co-ordinated payment boycott, creating a financial crises that had to be absorbed by the WLA's.

During 1990, the crisis in local government in the old Transvaal province deepened, causing the Nationalist provincial government, the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) to start negotiating with the civic organisations.

¹ For a history on the BLA's, see Heymans C and Totemeyer, *GI Government by The People*, Juta and Co., Ltd, Cape Town, 1989

urbanisation, classifying the existing black urban population as temporary in nature and planning for separate racial spatial planning.

Bernstein (1991 : 323) describes the broad historical urban apartheid policy as follows:

- "homeland development and homeland urban growth supported by the industrial decentralisation policy;
- the pass-laws – a pivotal component of the policy designed to control the movement;
- settlement and location of African people throughout the South African space economy;
- controls over the movement of TBVC citizens coupled with restrictions on the development of housing of scale in the white urban areas;
- constraints on the economic growth and spatial expansion of the large metropolitan and other urban areas, supported by politically based decentralization and urban deconcentration policies;
- statutory residential segregation, segregated amenities, facilities and institutions, and other discriminatory policies confining African settlement, economic development, and use of facilities to restricted, isolated parts of all urban areas; and
- the forced removals policy, the land acts, and homeland consolidation, all of which combined to exclude Africans from ownership and occupation of large portions of the South African land area."

In spite of all attempts by the previous order, the disadvantaged communities in the urban areas became increasingly permanent. In keeping with the tradition of separate development, local government structures were created to reflect the race groups they were to govern. To this extent, Black Local Authorities (BLA's) were established through the BLA Act, of 1982.

It is necessary to properly contextualise the creation of the Committee of Ten against the background of the debate within the ANC, the non-payment for services in the previously disadvantaged areas and the rates boycott in the BMLC.

The MEC instructions have two main components. The first being financial management intervention and the second, of a far more subtle nature, preparation for the introduction of a federal system of metropolitan local governance with limited decentralisation. In other words, the scene is being set for the establishment of strong metropolitan government.

The first dimension has already partially been dealt with. Over and above the obvious reduction in expenditure, preparations to deal with the anticipated lower payment levels, and thus income, and the restructuring of financial management, the Committee of Ten interventions have further impacts as well.

Sections 229 and 230 of the Constitution of South Africa, 1996, grants local government taxation and borrowing powers. These powers are, however, curtailed by the proviso that all taxation at local level cannot unreasonably prejudice national economic policies and activities.

The taxation structures in South Africa need to be co-ordinated to minimise an already heavy taxation burden. This factor has led the Green Paper on Local Government to define seven policy objectives in relation to financial management (Green Paper, 1997 : 77).

The first, producing revenue adequacy and certainty is by default, in the process of being addressed via the Committee of Ten process.

budget was R1.7 billion. The original joint operating budget amounted to R7.6 billion.

The revised joint capital budget provided totals R645 million and the revised joint operational budget provides R7.1 billion. Reductions of R1.05 billion to the capital budget and R500 million to the operational budget were affected.

The measure used to approve capital expenditure is to use a conservative definition of committed expenditure. The definition simply states that committed expenditure is seen as those projects for which a legal contract has been signed and entered into with contractors by the five Councils.

Local government budgeting procedures call for proposals to be called for first, followed by a tendering process before a final decision on the allocation of work can be made. This has resulted in numerous contracts having to be scrapped.

A cut of R1.05 billion to the joint capital budget represents more than a 50% cut in expenditure. The effects of these cuts are currently being investigated, but it can be assumed that a 50% cut will at least cause a similar reduction in infrastructure creation.

The implications may be more comprehensive than a halving of capital expenditure. Capital works programmes are complex issues, many of which have a lifespan of more than one financial year. Should work be interrupted in a particular year, it impacts on costs and the overall capital implementation plan, leading to further delays and costs. The instruction of the MLC has certain covert and fundamental repercussions for metropolitan local government.

The report deals with the non-billed and billed income of the GJMC. The report notes that the GJMC has collected income in the form of licenses, bus fare incomes, zoological gardens, and most importantly, the old "RSC" levies.

Non-billed income can thus be described as income derived on a levy basis and which is not based on income generated from a specific service that was provided.

Billed income is based on bulk charges that the GJMC bills the MLC's for the delivery of bulk gas, water and electricity.

In order to improve billing systems, the report recommends that consultants be appointed to assess the effectiveness, accuracy and reliability of the current billing systems and arrangements. The effectiveness of payment arrangements, that is, the availability of payment points and the administration needed to keep accurate records of payments received, must also be looked at.

Lastly, a medium and long-term plan for uniform billing throughout the metropolitan region must be devised by the consultants. Strengthening the theme of uniformity, the report also proposes the joint preparation by the GJMC and the MLC's of a common credit control policy for the metropolitan area.

The recommendations contained in the report indicates a review of institutional and operational measures with a view to the creation of an improved financial management environment.

The Committee of Ten announced its budget cuts and the results appear to be quite drastic. The original budget provisions for the joint capital

typically associated with the operating budget include salaries and allowances, administrative costs and the payment of sundry creditors.

Revising the operating budget has the effect of impacting directly upon the executive capabilities of the GJMC and substructures. In addition to revising the operating budget, the Committee also has to revise the capital budget. The capital budget provides for expenditure on the establishment of infrastructure such as the building of roads, laying of water pipes and purchasing of buses. Cutting the capital budget has the effect of reducing the levels of service delivery in terms of the number of projects implemented on ground level.

Associated with the capital budget cuts, is the formulation of credit control policies and practices.

The rationale for this need is the fact that the reduction of income has led to a cash flow problem being experienced.

A press release by the Chairperson of the Committee of Ten describes the extent of the financial crises as follows:

"Following presentations by all five Councils and after studying the relevant documents, it has become apparent that indeed the financial situation constitutes a crisis. It is estimated that unless immediate corrective steps are taken the situation may deteriorate by about R130 million per month."

This requirement led to the establishment of an internal task team to deal with income, billing and credit control. A report thereon served before, and was approved, by the Executive Committee of the GJMC on 7 October 1997 (Item 9).

loan. The Star states that: "The loan will be used to pay off Eskom, which is believed to be owed more than R100 million in arrears and its other suppliers. This comes at a time when the council is beset by financial woes, with creditors growing by the day, services being neglected in favor of others, and supplies needed for maintenance and repairs dwindling rapidly."

Shortly after the appearance of similar press reports, Sicele Shiceka, the Gauteng MEC for Development Planning and Local Government, on 5 October 1997 issued a directive in terms of Section 10G 2)(m)(i) of the Local Government Transition Act, 1993.

The directive instructed the GJMC and the MEC's to establish a "Committee of Ten", which Committee has executive powers to implement its mandate.

The Committee consists of two councillors each of the five local government bodies. Decisions of the Committee are taken by a majority of the members present.

The Committee also had to appoint a technical task team, consisting of technical expertise in municipal finance as well as institutional, operating and capital budgetary procedures. Councillor Mhla was elected as chairperson of the Committee.

The task of the Committee is to revise the 1997/98 operating budgets of the GJMC and substructures within three weeks of establishment in order to provide for a working capital reserve sufficient to finance the anticipated shortfall in payment of rates and service charges for the 1997/98 financial year. This is an important consideration and needs expansion. In local government parlance, the operating budget is that part of the financial expenditure relating to the daily running of affairs. Costs

the DP will challenge the centralised system in submissions to provincial authorities next week. She says that while the concept of a metropolitan umbrella structure is useful when dealing with matters that could gain from economies of scale, interactions with citizens are best handled at a local level."

The combination of the number of directly elected seats and proportionally representative seats, allowed the DP to deny the EMLC the two-third majority it needed in terms of the Local Government Transition Act to approve its budget.

A public political debate between the DP and the ANC ensued, with the DP arguing the above case and the ANC supporting the need for the redistributive reallocation of financial resources to be redirected towards the lower income areas.

The political stalemate continued until the Premier of Gauteng intervened and approved the budget of the EMLC in terms of his powers as contained in the Local Government Transition Act.

The action of the Premier led to a rates boycott being instituted in the wealthiest eastern areas of Greater Johannesburg.

The budget called for R400 million to be paid over by the EMLC to the GJMC as part of the metropolitan levies described by the Local Government Transition Second Amendment Act, 1996.

The rates boycott and payment levels in the formerly disadvantaged areas stagnating at around 30%, led to a financial crisis for all five local government bodies in Greater Johannesburg.

The financial crises manifested itself in a lack of operating funds. The Star (1997, October 2) reported that the GJMC applied for a R500 million

The proposed rationalisation must be directed in such a way to ensure a very definite developmental role for local government, within the framework of new institutional structures designed to fully serve the new aims.

The Green Paper is open for comment until 1 December, whereafter a National Conference on the Local Government White Paper is to be held on 4 – 5 December 1995

Once the White Paper has been finalised, it will be submitted to the National Cabinet for approval and will then be published for comments in February 1998.

After comments have been received, the White Paper will be subjected to the Parliamentary Public Hearings, after which the drafting of new local government legislation will be commenced with.

4.1 CURRENT ISSUES IN GREATER JOHANNESBURG

Early in 1997 the internal political debate of the ANC went public. On 16 February 1997 (Sunday Times) the Gauteng MLC for Local Government and Developmental Planning stated that:

"It is clear that the present system of metros and substructures does not work. They spend 95% of their time fighting over who should do what or duplicating one another's work."

This statement followed the non-acceptance by the Eastern MLC of the 1996/97 budget of that Council. The main protagonists in this process were the Democratic Party (DP) and the ANC.

The DP has expressly stated its opposition to metropolitan government. DP Councillor Kendall stated in *The Star* (1997, November 16) that "...

needs through an audit and prioritisation of implementation strategies and programmes.¹

Integrated planning takes cognisance of all related planning and management aspects, such as financial planning, environmental and transportation planning and performance management, to create a clear picture of the needed urban policies and interventions.

Importantly, institutional systems are also dealt with and the categories of local government, as described in the Constitution, are listed. Category A refers to a free standing local municipality, Category B being a metropolitan local council and Category C representing a metropolitan council.

Mention is also made of four types of proposed metropolitan models. These models will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5. The important factor at this stage is that a formal basis has been set to review the current structure of metropolitan local government in Greater Johannesburg.

Using the above selected overview of the Green Paper as a basis for the motivation for the review of the Greater Johannesburg model, it can be stated that the form of governance structures to be created must allow for a distinctive sphere of government that should be rationalised to achieve a more equitable rate of input costs versus deliverables.

This must be achieved facing challenges of a predominantly financial and administrative nature, in that a general lack of finances and skilled human resources exist to implement the new vision.

¹ See Fabos, J.C., *Land-use Planning: From Global to Local Challenge*, New York : Chapman and Hall, 1985, for a full discussion on integrated planning.

The challenges faced by local government are listed as follows: (Green Paper, 1997 : 12);

- costly and complex administrative reorganisation
- the need to focus energy and capacity inwards, rather than towards delivery or innovation
- prolonged uncertainty (over which types of municipalities will be legislated, final boundary demarcations and allocation of powers and functions)
- increasing demands and expectations on delivery
- unfunded mandates (having functions and responsibilities to perform without the necessary resources)
- awkward realignment with a range of sectoral policies and programmes; and
- inadequate information and capacity.

The developmental role of local government is then defined as maximising economic growth and social development, integrating cities and towns and democratising development, that is, promoting civil society participation.

Four interlinked approaches towards the developmental role of local government are proposed. Integrated institutional management, managing the growth of local settlements, ensuring effective service delivery and linking growth and development.

Using the above overview as a statement of enablement, the Green Paper then highlights aspects of local government that will have to be addressed in order to give effect to both the vision and developmental role identified.

Integrated development planning is proposed as one of the fundamental implementation approaches. It is defined as the determination of community

- b) Local government represents the prime developmental institution within the overall governmental structures (Section 152).
- c) Local economic development is a prime responsibility of local government (Section 152).
- d) All of the actions of local government is to be directed towards the integration of the urban environment (Section 153).

At present, this ideal remains to be achieved. Acknowledgment is widely given that the current model of local government is at least partly inappropriate.

Boraine (1996 : 10) lists the main issues the local government White Paper process must deal with as:

- "(i) the extent to which local government should be uniform or differentiated form of government;
- (ii) continuation of the existing two-tier model, or introduction of a single-tier system;
- (iii) assessment of the elected mayor/chief executive model;
- (iv) rationalisation of the numbers of municipalities and councillors; and
- (v) the relationship between elected structures and institutions of traditional leadership."

The Green Paper contains a vision for local government which states that it should be developmental, that it is a distinct sphere of government, inter-dependent and interrelated with the national and provincial governments.

A co-operative system of governance, mandates local government to provide local democracy, to ensure sustainable service delivery, to promote socio-economic development within a safe and healthy environment and the involvement of communities.

An historical overview is then given, followed by a description of the current state of local government.

4. MOTIVATION FOR REVIEW OF GREATER JOHANNESBURG MODE

The tensions between the five local government bodies in the Greater Johannesburg region continued. This factor, coupled with the need for further legislation to replace the Local Government Transition Act, led to the Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development embarking upon a process to create, firstly a Green Paper on Local Government, and then a White Paper.

Introducing the Discussion Document on South African Local Government, Boraine (1997 : 2) defines the purpose thereof as:

"The White Paper will be used to spell out a vision for a new system of local government. A White Paper will move us beyond the transition process and will focus on the transformation of local government. It will be based on the framework created by the new Constitution, and will add detail of this framework. The White Paper will be followed by legislation that will prepare us for new local government elections during or after 1999.

Normally, a White Paper deals with a function or duty of Government, e.g. housing, health or education. However, local government is a sphere of government, not a functional area. This White Paper will in effect provide the "new Constitution" for local government. It will set out how local government will interact with the other spheres of government, and will influence our system of government as a whole."

The direct result of the acceptance of the new Constitution of 1996, is that a fundamental shift is taking place in the conceptualisation of the role of local government.

A first analysis of the new Constitution reveals the following vision of local government:

- a) Local government is the instrument through which local democracy representation and decision-making must be effected (Section 151).

Due to the generic nature of Proclamation 35, Premiers Proclamation 15 of 1996 added metropolitan planning competencies to the GJTMC. Simultaneously with the above process, the boundary debate within the CWMC was referred to the National Special Electoral Court, set up to deal with electoral disputes in the run-up to the 1994 elections.

The parties to the CWMC put their cases to the court, and a final decision was awarded on four metropolitan substructures.

With the establishment of four big MSS's, the scale swung away from the federal two-tier system of metropolitan governance, as contained in the CWMC agreement.

Based on the court ruling, Premiers Proclamation 42 of 1995 demarcated new internal boundaries. The MSS's were given the status of local authorities, in terms of the Local Government Ordinance, 1939.

As a further measure, the management plan mechanism was removed, thus ending co-operative governance within the Greater Johannesburg region, as there was now no incentive on the substructures to engage in further negotiations.

Premiers Proclamation 14 of 1996 allowed for the further division of assets, liabilities, rights, duties and obligations, as well as the deployment of human resources.

The strategic direction, was however set, and 1996/97 saw a period of confrontational governance by the renamed Metropolitan Local Councils and the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council.

The city of San Francisco offers a further perspective on confederal metropolitan local government.

Barlow (1991 : 266) writes that:

"The San Francisco case exemplifies the US response to the problem of governing the metropolis. In the face of insurmountable obstacles to formal metropolitan government it is a response that emphasizes joint action by local governments, involves extensive utilization of special purpose authorities at a variety of scales, and requires initiatives and coercion on the part of higher level governments. The nature of this response has provided observers with the concept of 'metropolitan governance' as an alternative to metropolitan government : a system of governing rather than a structure of government. Metropolitan governance involves a large number of governments differing in type (special-purpose and general purpose), scale (sub metropolitan and metropolitan), and level (local, state and federal); and it requires an intricate web of inter-governmental relations in order to achieve the necessary area-wide co-ordination and functional integration at the metropolitan scale."

San Francisco typifies the single or multi-purpose delivery institutions approach, with some elements of the metropolitan legislature approach.

The complex inter-governmental relationships provides a policy-making discussion forum for metropolitan-wide issues. An interesting concept introduced by Barlow is that of metropolitan governance. This concept is based on institutional specialisation and role specific definition. The co-operative nature of governance creates a symbiotic governmental relationship, that is pragmatic usage of metropolitan government strong points without actual commitment to the form of government itself.

5.2.1 CONFEDERAL MODELS OF METROPOLITAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Confederal models of metropolitan local government are characterised by a high degree of fragmentation. The cities of Chicago and San Francisco serve as examples.

Dolan (1990 : 29) explains the local government structures of Greater Chicago as:

"The metropolitan area of Chicago alone had more than 1 200 units of local government within its boundaries.

The State of Illinois makes provision for municipalities (including all incorporated cities, villages and towns), townships, which are defined as stand alone dormantary developments and special districts which are similar to the service councils areas in South Africa, being semi-urban in nature."

Dolan (1990 : 34) continues by saying that : "Little has been done to eliminate local government fragmentation or to provide the legal capacity to overcome local government fragmentation. No structure has the authority to overcome the overlapping jurisdictions or duplication of services that exists in Illinois Local Government."

The overlapping jurisdiction referred to is the crux of the confederalist nature of Greater Chicago. It does not accommodate the economic and social unity of the Chicago metropolitan area. In addition to fragmentation, unequal development across the metropolitan area allowed for, a condition that Dolan (1990 : 34) describes as the co-existence of both urban growth and decline within the same neighbourhood. This does not create a good platform for social justice, because of the disparities in income generation as a result of unequal development.

The distributive mechanism is also more pronounced, and occurs through both the reallocation of the old RSC levies and a metropolitan levy charged out to the MLC's by the metropolitan tier.

The fourth structural option is a single city of metropolitan government. The essentials of this option are a single elected political entity vested with all local government powers and functions and the existence of a single administration for implementation purposes. This option is very similar to smaller municipal structures, such as that of Greater Benoni.

Provision may be made for the decentralisation of some powers and functions to MLC's for administrative purposes. The nature of the MLC's depend on the extent of their powers and functions.

It is noteworthy that the two-tier and single city model of metropolitan government have degrees of manifestations, leading to a lesser or more true adherence to the basic model.

For purposes of classification, the first two structural options, that of a metropolitan legislature and a single or multi-purpose delivery institutions will be classified as confederal models of metropolitan government and discussed hereunder.

The third structural option, that of a two-tier system of metropolitan government and its two variations, are classified as a federal model of metropolitan local government. The fourth option, the single city model of metropolitan local government is also known as a unicity model, and these terms are seen as being synonymous and will be used as such.

elected council. It attempts to preserve maximum autonomy for MLC's, whilst exploiting metropolitan economies of scale.

The above two structural options constitute extremely weak forms of metropolitan governance. For this reason they are merely included for the sake of completeness, but can be combined due to the fact that their confederalist nature allows for it.

A third model of metropolitan government is called a two-tier system. In this system both metropolitan and local levels exercise legislative, executive and administrative powers and functions. Issues of metropolitan-wide significance are addressed at metropolitan level and issues of local significance at local level. Such a system of metropolitan government has variations which exhibit itself in two basic trends.

The first variation is called a co-ordinating metropolitan tier, where this level co-ordinates metropolitan powers, such as transport planning, and which allow for limited metropolitan intervention at local level.

MLC's in this variation are seen as the primary local government bodies and are accorded large degrees of autonomy.

The second variation is the integrating metropolitan tier. In addition to its co-ordination and redistributive role, this variation calls for the metropolitan tier to undertake a range of powers and functions, including bulk service delivery, land-use planning and regulation and other services deemed necessary to achieve integrated development and management of the metropolitan region.

5.2 GENERIC MODELS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

The intent of this research report is not to develop new definitions of generic metropolitan government models.¹

Attention will be focused on Category B (M.L.C.'s) and Category C (Metropolitan Councils), type municipalities, as defined by the Constitution.

Category A and B are jointly discussed by the Green Paper (1997 : 38-4) under the heading of metropolitan government.

Four structural options for metropolitan government are proposed, and the definition of each will suffice as descriptions of generic models of local government in metropolitan areas. Each generic model is briefly defined and will then be dealt with in greater detail. A confederal model is defined as the establishment of a metropolitan legislature, with no statutory executive powers and indirectly elected political representatives. This model is dependent upon inter-municipal collaboration on issues of metropolitan-wide significance, which, in turn are translated into executive decisions by the constituent local councils. This model represents a weak system of metropolitan government.

A second model is the establishment of single or multi-purpose delivery institutions at the metropolitan level for the delivery of bulk infrastructure and other services. This is a limited system of metropolitan government, making use of metropolitan utility companies, governed by an indirectly

¹ See Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, State and Metropolitan Area Data Book 1991 for comprehensive description of the various models of metropolitan government.

7. Interdependence of and community of interest between residents in respect of residency, work, commuting and recreation.
8. The integrated urban economy as dictated by commercial, industrial and residential linkages.

The basis of the criteria is that each geographical area of South Africa must be reviewed in a holistic way, taking into consideration all aspects that contributes towards the creation of an integrated urban economy, society and political system.

Briffault (1996 : 1144) sheds new light on the debate on the definition of metropolitan areas when he writes that:

"The public choice school is comfortable with both the emergence of metropolitan areas and the role of local boundaries in them. For public choice theory, the metropolitan area solves a major problem of governance by providing an efficient mechanism for matching public goods and services to citizen preferences and for enhancing citizens' capacity to monitor government performance. Indeed, the allocative efficiency that public choice finds in the local government system is actually contingent on metropolitanisation because only metropolitan areas have both a large number of small localities in close proximity to each other and a general separation of work from residence, so that households can move relatively easily from one locality to another without changing jobs."

Using the legal guidelines and the public choice theory in combination, a metropolitan area can be defined as an economic, functional and financial area, bounded by specific topographical and physical characteristics and populated by a permanent population base who creates complex patterns of political and socio-economic interactions. By definition, this applies only to large urban areas.

Lastly, a metropolitan area contains specific physical geographical features, which specifically impacts upon the nature of infrastructure, such as the alignment of water, electricity and road networks.

In the case of Greater Johannesburg, the central ridge, running in a east-west direction, determines a south-north classification of the water and waste water network, due to the natural flow of the water on the Witwatersrand.

The above needs were identified when the Local Government Transition Act was written. Schedule 6 of the Act lists criteria to be taken into account by the Local Government Demarcation Board when demarcating, inter alia, metropolitan areas:

1. Topographical and physical characteristics of the area concerned.
2. Population distribution within the area concerned.
3. Existing demarcation of areas pertaining to local government affairs and service, including existing areas of local government bodies and areas existing before 1971 as areas of such local government bodies (if any) as well as areas of regional services councils and joint services boards.
4. Existing and potential land usage, town and transport planning, including industrial, business, commercial and residential usage and planning.
5. Economy, functionality, efficiency and financial viability with regard to the administration and rendering of services within the area concerned.
6. Development potential in relation to the availability of sufficient land for a reasonably foreseeable period to meet the spatial needs of the existing and potential residents of the proposed area for their residential, business, recreational and amenity use.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF A REVIEW FRAMEWORK FOR GREATER JOHANNESBURG

A comprehensive overview has been given and the need for the development of a review framework has been clearly indicated. In proceeding to develop the review framework, use will be made of the existing definitions of generic models of metropolitan local government. This is done in order to obtain greater conceptual clarity. Clarity of definitions are of great importance when using them as the basic building blocks of a framework to be used for review purposes.

5.1 DEFINITION OF METROPOLITAN AREA

A first necessity for the application of a review framework, is that a specific geographical area for its functioning must be described

Metropolitan government is only applicable in urban centres, it is therefore incumbent upon the review framework to obtain and provide guidelines on the physical location of metropolitan areas in South Africa.

The definition of a metropolitan area also relates to both the size of the metropolitan area itself and those of the substructures, as described earlier.

The relationship lies therein that a metropolitan area must be sufficiently large, to allow for the accommodation and facilitation of typical metropolitan services such as bulk water and electricity supply. This principle is also applicable to other areas of local government, such as the creation of large enough taxation as to ensure adequate income generation sources.

In the final instance, the Committee of Ten process can be described as a particularly creative political and administrative manipulation of a situation that had the potential to undermine the richest city in Africa. The process also provides a strong motivation for the review of the Greater Johannesburg metropolitan local government model, in that it has caused, and initiated, a review process that has reached the point of no return in terms of initiatives already undertaken, and has been further sustained by a legislative process that is in synchronisation with the Greater Johannesburg process.

The second perspective of the instructions of the MEC relates to preparatory work done for the creation of effective metropolitan government.

The second perspective's most important element is that the Committee of Ten has been given executive powers. In practice, this means that the Committee may, and has, overridden the Executive Committees of both the GJMC and the substructures. The seat of political power has been shifted temporarily away from the elected structures. Two factors somewhat softens the blow. Firstly, elected political representatives are being utilised by the MEC to implement the required amendments. This fact disallows arguments of unrepresentativity and possible legal actions stemming from such actions.

The second factor is that specific time frames have been established, thereby establishing political certainty with regard to the mandate given to the Committee.

A further important element of the second perspective is the strategic significance of budgetary control. It is common cause in the public sector that budgetary control equals de facto operational control due to the fact that financial resources in most instances dictate service delivery.

Through budgetary revision, operational control over local government in the Greater Johannesburg has been re-established at a central level.

The third element considers an administrative review of the existing bureaucratic structures. It is the logical extension of the shift in political power and the attainment of budgetary control, to re-align administrative structures to, not only implement the new budget priorities, but also to concentrate on core business issues in a more effective manner.

The three main policy directions pertaining to financial equitability and redistribution, namely targeted subsidies, cross-subsidisation and local choice on the extent and manner of implication, are exactly those elements made impossible by the impasse between the GJMC and substructures.

Central co-ordination and determination of budgetary priorities were removed once five independent local government bodies were created. It is perhaps only human nature that, when one has access to a substantial budget, to then spend that money on projects that are of immediate local concern, without taking into consideration the overall needs of the region.

This situation led to instances where bulk suppliers such as Rand Water and Eskom not being paid in lieu of other, and smaller creditors of the substructures.

With the redirection of expenditure patterns by the Committee of Ten, at least a partial restoration has occurred in the establishment of metropolitan-wide priorities.

The last two financial management policy objectives, development and investment and macro economic investment, are of a more longer term nature. In investigating mechanisms for an effective economical and more efficient performance of their functions and through identifying core functions to be performed by local government, the process will provide a more stable and predictable investment environment within which private sector funds can be used. At the same time macro economic policies can be served through the metropolitan co-ordination of financial investments, which will both aid local economic development and national policies.

The second policy objective, financial sustainability, is also part of the mandate of the Committee of Ten. This objective states that municipalities need to ensure that budgetary income covers expenditure. A complexity is added to this by the Green Paper when it states that services are to be provided at affordable levels whilst full service cost recovery must occur.

Expenditure control and reduction are the only practical way of ensuring the needed delicate balance between financial sustainability on the one hand and affordable service delivery and full cost recovery on the other hand.

The price of financial sustainability is high. A cost control environment necessitates service reduction, which in turn will impact upon all urban communities, more so on the poor due to the lack of basic services.

Effective and efficient resource usage is another by-product of the Committee of Ten process. This principle must become the prime operational dictum in ensuring optimal cost sensitive service delivery.

Accountability, transparency and good governance have greatly increased through the Committee of Ten initiatives.

Equity and redistribution is one of the more direct results of the Greater Johannesburg intervention. On this issue, the Green Paper (1997 : 78) proposes that:

"The equitable share of national revenue which local government is entitled to should be used primarily for targeted subsidies to poorer households. In addition, municipalities can cross-subsidise between high and low income consumers. How much to cross-subsidise is a local choice that needs to be taken carefully, with due consideration for the impact on the local economy."

metropolitan council will be similar to the existing arrangement. All community council decisions will be endorsed by the metropolitan council, unless a two-third vote against a decision is recorded.

In the case of partial delegation, various options between the two extremes exist. A common agreement must be reached on the point of division between the metropolitan council and community councils. The management of parks and recreation sites, site-specific official plan and rezoning applications, neighbourhood traffic control plans and such local issues are to be decided by the community councils. The concept of a megacity council is now introduced. The megacity council would deal with issues of megacity-wide significance, such as planning by-laws for the whole of the megacity region. If no delegations are made to the community councils, this will only give advice to the megacity council but not make any final decisions.

The community councils will also take on the role of the present South African local government committee system in debating reports, hearing deputations and making recommendations. Most recommendations made by the community councils to the megacity council will be accepted, unless a majority of megacity councillors disagree.

In an extreme case, even the powers that the Act allows the megacity council to delegate to the community councils, will be kept by the full megacity council.

The discussion on the Toronto case study clearly indicates that current developments, in South African local government, as

A transition team is provided for, which will oversee the transformation process until the end of January 1998. A Financial Advisory Board will monitor the last budgets of existing municipalities.

The transition team are busy preparing a package of recommendations. The role, functions and methods of choosing neighbourhood committees are being investigated. It must also hire the senior executives of the new city.

A new budget must be proposed based on the tax stability and community of services to be adopted or modified by the new council.

The transition team also has to consult with the public and recommend to the city council on the powers and functions of the new community councils.

The team also must recommend the best way to deliver services in the new Toronto. The allocation of the powers and functions with respect to the new city council and community councils must still be finalised. The City of Toronto released a Discussion Document on 31 July 1997 on this subject.

Degrees of delegations to the community councils are proposed for discussion. Delegation is proposed to either be total, partial or no delegation. Total delegation implies that each community council will deal with issues within its boundaries except those which clearly affect outside areas. The roles of the community councils will be similar to those of the previous municipalities and the

public expenditure. The proposed act provides for three categories of municipalities. The lower tier municipalities include cities, villages or townships that form part of an upper-tier municipality.

An upper-tier municipality consists of either a county, regional or district municipality. A single-tier municipality provides for a municipality that does not participate in a two-tier system.

As a first step in the restructuring of the Greater Toronto Area the Ontario Government passed the City of Toronto Act, 1997, and in so doing, created the Fourth Metropolitan Government.

In terms of this Act, the existing six local and one upper-tier municipalities in Metropolitan Toronto will be replaced by a single tier municipality on 1 January 1998.

The Fourth Metropolitan government can be seen as the re-metropolitanisation of Toronto. It will have a population of 2.3 million and be governed by a council of 56 councillors and a mayor. The 56 councillors will be elected along current ward boundaries during November 1997. To cater for greater community participation, the Act provides for two mechanisms. Six community councils based on the boundaries of the abolished areas of municipalities are the first. Secondly, the new city council may institute neighbourhood committees for specific local areas.

The community councils will be constituted by the relevant city councillors within the boundaries of the old area municipalities. Each community council will elect a chairperson, who will, together with the mayor, constitute the executive committee of the city.

and the operating of grants for libraries. Some functions of public health and welfare services are also being devolved.

A transition fund has been established that will provide a capital fund for a period of four years, for use by local government for the improvement of the capital stock of the services currently being handed over. In order to maintain services and to keep taxation down, local government is required to improve efficiency through contracting out to the private sector and competitive bidding for service provision contracts. An uniform provincial taxation on property rates, the mill rate as it is known, was also introduced.

In August 1996 a new municipal act was proposed based on the legal concept of the running of local government affairs in terms of natural personal powers. Natural personal powers refer to the principle where local government would no longer need authorising legislation for the administrative aspects of their business. It is proposed to give municipalities the same authority a person has in engaging in legal actions.

The necessity for this stems from the fact that, unless a piece of legislation explicitly allows for local government to execute a function, it is not allowed. The result of this is a complex set of legislation, which inevitably leads to bureaucratic delays.

Doing away with it will certainly emancipate local government to a large extent. A negative aspect will be that public accountability and transparency will not be as easily attainable. A possible provision for such accountability would be to incorporate private sector operating principles related to expenditure. This will allow for more efficient creativity in service delivery and to keep track of

Local municipalities should be strengthened by giving them additional powers and functions for delivering a wider range of local services.

The Report also called for the streamlining and simplification of local government services and powers and functions. A call was also made for a new municipal act allowing local government to become more entrepreneurial and competitive.

The rationalisation proposed by the Golden Report meant that metropolitan tier representatives were reduced from 134 to 30.

In 1995 a new provincial government was elected. It appointed a Greater Toronto Review Panel to test the Golden Task Force recommendations through a public consultation process.

After the completion of the process, the provincial government embarked upon a reform process, based upon the realignment of powers, functions and duties, the writing of a new municipal act and the creation of fewer local municipalities with more powers.

In order to clarify and redefine the power relationship between the provincial and metropolitan government, the provincial government appointed a panel of politicians and consultants to investigate the delivery and funding of government services in Ontario. As a result, additional powers and responsibilities are in the process of being assigned to municipal government. The additional powers are the responsibility for policing, the subsidisation of public transportation, highways, septic systems

In 1988 the Metropolitan Council was restructured to be comprised of 28 full-time councillors distributed from evenly sized wards throughout Toronto. The powers and function were apportioned in terms of three principles.

Regional matters, such as major roads, were allocated to the metropolitan government and local matters such as the smaller local roads, were allocated to the area municipalities.

Wholesale functions, that is, functions that are better performed at a large scale, such as water purification, were given to the metropolitan tier. Retail services, those services provided directly to the consumer, such as water distribution, were managed at a local level.

The main responsibility of the metropolitan government is social services, police and ambulance services and public transportation. Local municipalities deal with services to properties, such as water and electricity supply.

The recession of the early nineties, and voter dissatisfaction, prompted the provincial government to appoint the Task Force on the future of the Greater Toronto Area in 1994, under the chairpersonship of Anne Golden. The Golden Report was submitted in 1996. Fundamental changes were proposed.

The Task Force proposed a model which consisted of the replacement of the five existing regional governments, including Toronto Metropolitan Government, with a single Greater Toronto Government, that has clear responsibility for planning and co-ordination on matters of region-wide interests.

The basic powers and functions agreement provided for area-wide needs to be provided by the metropolitan government and the individual municipalities their own needs.

As in the case of the first metropolitan developments in Houston described above, the First Toronto Metropolitan Government also represented a compromise between local interests and metropolitan initiatives.

The first metropolitan received a mixed report during its first ten years of existence. In 1963 the Ontario province appointed a further commission to review the Toronto system, which produced the Goldenberg Report in 1965. The report recommended that the metropolitan system be retained, and that the thirteen municipalities be consolidated into four cities. The provincial government accepted the recommendations in principle, but introduced some further aspects.

The Second Metropolitan Toronto Government was created by the Metropolitan Toronto Amendment Act of 1966. It contained most of the Goldenberg Report recommendations. Political representation on the metropolitan council was amended to allow for the biggest amount of representation for the suburbs (20 - 12 seats in favour of the suburbs).

The Second Metropolitan Government received the additional power to impose a metropolitan-wide levy, which resulted in the welfare costs of the inner city areas being carried by the metropolitan region.

areas of East York, Forest Hill, Swansea and Long Beach. This created the scene for local government reorganisation in the 1950's.

In 1949 a planning advisory board, the Toronto and York Planning Board, published a report calling for the amalgamation of Toronto and seven suburban municipalities.

Opposition against this proposal continued and in 1953 the Ontario Municipal Board was appointed and produced the Cumming Report (after its chairman).

The Cumming Report proposed a two-tier federal metropolitan model. A central authority, to provide metropolitan services, and the continued existence of the existing thirteen municipalities, to provide local services, were further proposed.

The central authority would be governed by a political metropolitan council consisting of local council representatives.

At this stage the provincial government, the Ontario Legislature passed the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act, 1953, based on the Cumming Report recommendations. This piece of legislation created the first Toronto Metropolitan Government.

Under this arrangement, the thirteen municipalities retained responsibilities for local services and facilities, while the new metropolitan municipality was responsible for those basic services which transcended the boundaries of the local municipalities.

narrowing of political views was obtained by billing the third alternative as a "win-win" situation which addresses the need for local autonomy and metropolitan services. Political Management plays a disproportionately big role in an evenly balanced power relationship between a metropolitan tier and substructures, such as the Houston model partially proposes.

It is not contended that a well run political process plays an important role in any governmental scenario, it is merely contended that that role should take place within its proper place and be undertaken in terms of informal rules that should not impact negatively upon service delivery. The two issues must be allowed to coexist and flourish.

In conclusion it must be added that the balanced, or slightly less than balanced, power relationships prevalent in a coordinating metropolitan model, only provide political and administrative stability that is subjected to externalities having (unpredictable) impacts upon the political process. This dynamics indicate longer term metropolitan models to be the products, not of practical necessities, but rather political agendas. To fully comprehend the Toronto integrating two-tier system of metropolitan government, and because of its prime position in the development of international metropolitan local government in Toronto will be given first.³

The modern history of Toronto begins in 1928 when the City stopped using annexation as a method of growth. After this date urban expansion was dealt with by means of municipal incorporation. There followed a series of incorporations of the

³ See Barlow, *supra*, pp 189-219 for a full historical overview of developments in Toronto.

over certain services, including police, fire, and use of parks and recreation. The point is argued that these services are labour-intensive and that local preferences are most strongly vocalised.

The other part of the equation is the allocation of metropolitan services. In this regard, it is considered that capital-intensive goods and services, including roads, solid waste collection and disposal and water and sewerage should be allocated to the metropolitan tier.

Political representation is proposed for both the local and metropolitan tiers. Local representation is foreseen to be directly elected, whilst an indirectly elected system is proposed for the metropolitan tier.

The split in the allocation of powers and functions, indicate that local municipalities will be large enough to ensure efficient service delivery.

At the metropolitan tier, coordination and redistribution will occur through the investment of bulk services which are a prerequisite for residential and commercial development and upliftment.

A key political undertone is the facilitation of opposition towards metropolitan government. Communities are instinctively suspicious of what is perceived to be external trespassing on their local rights.

Simultaneously, technical, financial and practical considerations point toward a "regionalisation" of services. At first sight, these two schools of thought would seem to be irreconcilable. A

The criteria used was equity, efficiency, accountability and representation. Equity is defined as "the condition where taxes paid are commensurate to the benefits received."

Efficiency "refers to maximizing outputs for a minimum amount of input", whilst accountability and representation accounts for the "responsiveness of governments to the preferences of their citizens and the specific methods governments employ to respond to policy demands of their residents." (Discussion Paper 1997 : 2).

After applying the criteria to the three alternatives during the public involvement exercise, a groundswell opinion emerged in favour of the third option.

The public opinion expressed considered it to be a constructive middle ground, being a combination of the most desirable elements of both a consolidated and fragmented metropolitan governance structure.

The Discussion Paper (1997 : 3) goes on to say that: "This approach can best be described as an urban federal system – a way of allocating powers and responsibilities that provides for effective, equitable, responsive, and accountable government." The paper then deals with the allocation of powers and functions to the correct tier of metropolitan government. Correctness in this context is determined by optimisation of the criteria applied. Powers and function allocations are thus prescribed by practical, rather than, political considerations.

This method creates a coordinating metropolitan tier. The Discussion Paper suggests that the local tier should have autonomy

5.2.2 FEDERAL MODEL OF METROPOLITAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The federal model of metropolitan local government is the most prevalent of metropolitan models. This is so because the federal nature of the model allows for degrees of implementation that corresponds to local conditions, making this a extremely attractive option for most of the bigger metropolises of the world. The city of Greater Houston provides a good example of a co-ordinating metropolitan tier. Toronto is the best international example of a pure metropolitan government in the form of an integrating two-tier system.

A discussion document issued by Houston (1997 : 1) proposes three alternatives which faces Houston in making a decision on its future:

1. Consolidate the governance structure of the Houston region (unicity).
2. Fragment the governance structure of the Houston region (confederalism), or
3. Provide a middle ground governance structure which maintains the best features of a consolidated and fragmented structure.

A public participation process was agreed upon during which the three alternatives were evaluated in terms of a common set of criteria.

The communication criteria includes information strategies on political, institutional, community developments and service delivery related issues. All forms of media are included, be that electronic, print or matter or verbal.

A further factor to be included is the regularity of communication actions used and the subjects covered therein.

Institutional complexity as an evaluation criteria describes the ability to deal with service delivery in an economic and efficient manner.

Esman (1991 : 40) succinctly describes the world that bureaucrats enjoy to operate in:

"Bureaucratic organisation is likely to remain the basic structure within which development managers function and through which management affects society. Ideally, bureaucracy performs like a disciplined machine, converting laws and policies efficiently and predictably to outputs as contemplated by the military model or the rational-legal ideal propounded by Max Weber."

With the linkages between and the definitions of evaluation criteria clarified, it remains to give added information, in order to provide for a more meaningful understanding of the purposes of the criteria.

The variations in the role of the political leadership, or the ability to manage conflict, can be reduced to the question of how to best ensure democratic political leadership and control over the administrative structures of local authorities which are tasked with the implementation of political decisions and the daily management of services and systems.

shift the need (e.g. by privatisation). In the new form of governance one can see a shift from unilateral (government or society separately) to an inter-actionist focus (government with society). The growing realisation of interdependencies may lie behind such efforts. In a more theoretical perspective one could speculate that in these new forms of governing and governance – which we call social-political as stated earlier – more fundamental characteristics of modern societies are (finally?) being (taken somewhat more serious). By this I mean that the growing realisation of the enormous complexity, dynamics and diversity of social-political sub-systems (such as health care, education, transportation, environmental protection and social welfare) should not be left alone but somehow and in some respects have to be 'governed'."

The joint need between government structures and civil society, is also discussed by Tomlinson (1994 : 115). After rejecting a World Bank view that community groupings are not preferential players in the urban scene, he continues:

"This stance is both benign and unambitious. In the first instance, civics in South Africa have a decidedly more radical conception of their role as advocacy organisations than the Bank acknowledges. Secondly, CIOs, as an example of what civics could evolve into, often play a role in employment creation and influencing a city's economic strategy. Indeed, civics should promote urban policies which more directly serve their constituents, and should themselves wish to intervene as development agents."

In the final instance, community participation is seen as the broadening of responsibility for the ongoing development of solutions to urban problems, from the sphere of local government to that of civil society.

The evaluation criteria of communication is divided into external and internal communication. External communication refers to communication patterns, actions and methods between the GJMC and the communities at large within the Greater Johannesburg region.

Internal communication are those methods applied to inform staff members of current developments within the organisation.

Esman (1991 : 15 – 17) concentrates on the level of management encountered in the next evaluation criteria, that of redistribution and development. Esman mentions macro management redistributive and developmental actions, focussing on economic policy frameworks and on specific policy instruments by which economic incentives are believed to be enhanced and economic behaviour is regulated and disciplined.

A next level of management involves concrete policies and programmes by which the state provides public services and promotes and regulates certain forms of economic and social behaviour, while maintaining the institutions and instrumentalities of government. Included in this is a range of state expenditure relating to public works, agriculture, education, health, sanitation and urban affairs.

The third level of redistributive and developmental management, is at the micro level of management. It refers to the actions of both the private sector and those of local government. This is the level of management that most directly affects the great majority of people in their daily lives.

Micro management is either positively or negatively affected by macro economic policies. Redistribution and development need a well managed concrete policies and programme environment, as well as a micro management system conducive to development.

Community participation has direct relevance to the emergence of the concept of governance. Koolman (1993 : 35) sheds some light on the new role of civic participation:

"Empirically we see around us that capacities of political/administrative governing systems either have crossed the threshold of diminishing returns (policies cancelling each other's effects) or are quite close to these boundary (implementation difficulties). In this situation governing systems try to reduce the need for governing (e.g. by deregulation) or

"The themes of dual accountability and optimal responsiveness cannot be treated simplistically. Both concepts involve internal tensions. Responsiveness to publics involves a beneficial change in emphasis in the direction of instrumental efficiency and consumer satisfaction, and it sets the reconditions for the realisation of co-production. Responsiveness, however, can seldom if ever be complete. Some demands from some elements in the public may be so unreasonable, so self-regarding, indeed so contrary to law and policy as to be totally unacceptable - to be heard but not heeded. More-over, there are necessary boundaries, varying from program to program, that must constrain the ability of field-level staff to modify rules and procedures in the interest of responsiveness and satisfying consumer demand. For these reasons, the concept of optimal responsiveness is appropriate; this means greater responsiveness than is now practiced or permitted in most bureaucracies, but responsiveness that is limited by the legitimate requirements of system wide equity and responsibility."

The consideration of both legitimate demands and structural dictates, such as budgetary regulations, necessitates the consideration of the utilisation of resources.

Tomlinson (1994 : 114) highlights the resource utilisation problem by writing that:

"South Africa is, after all, a labour-surplus middle-income country with a GNP per capita of \$2 470 (in 1989) and limited technical and financial resources. Planaet, for one, has demonstrated the non-viability of one-tax-base solutions; that is, analyses of this sort make it perfectly clear that with the present distribution of functions and revenue sources, most new local authorities will not be viable. Planaet maintains that these analyses take no account, for example, of the capital expenditure required to upgrade services in predominantly African parts of town, and the extent to which the financial viability of white local authorities is dependent on selling electricity to African local authorities."

The utilisation of resources are aimed at the achievement of a dual objective. The first objective is to protect the current income base of a city. The second objective is to implement new services and upgrading existing services, focusing on the previously disadvantaged areas.

most obvious linkage is that between local government politics and administration. A basic premise is that local democracy implies that local administrative structures serve the political instructions of elected representatives.

In the case of Greater Johannesburg, it can be argued that, if not physically, then in organisational culture, present administrative systems do not fully conform to the new democratic agenda. It is, however, exactly in the ability of the political forces to amend and shape administrative structures, that lies the relationship between the two. The administrative structures are no more than a political management tool.

The inter relationship of the evaluation criteria is further demonstrated by their impact upon one another. Conflict management, or the lack thereof, influences resource utilisation, which in turn causes either an improvement or deterioration in the redistribution of resources and development. Community participation opportunities are either provided for or not, in terms of external and internal communication structures.

Above all, the level of institutional complexity determines the ability of metropolitan local government to strike a balance between the ability to address complex issues and the ability to operate in terms of a lean and cost-effective service delivery structure.

The definitions of the six evaluation criteria are contained in the linkages existing amongst them.

Conflict management relates to the ability of the political management structures to effectively identify, contain and deal with conflict. Eisman (1991 : 68) describes conflict management as:

criteria. The evaluation criteria thus represents operationalised values that are translated into logical and identifiable categories for use in the review matrix.

The level of the criteria are all at the level of strategic management. At this stage it will be wise to keep the words of Fitzgerald, et. al., (1994 : 4) in mind:

"Matching the vision to the resources is never an easy task. There is a natural tendency to equate the desperate need to overcome dire poverty and unacceptable living conditions with a belief that acceptable standards can be achieved by a certain date. Setting the targets so precisely, as was the case with the original African National Congress RDP document, is a commendable act of political bravery. Whilst undoubtedly welcomed by constituencies and communities, it may be rather less comfortable for the people in government whose job it is to achieve those targets and who stand accountable to the electorate when the inevitable deadline of the next election comes in 1999."

It can be stated that the aim of the review framework is to achieve sustained development Fitzgerald, et. al., (1994 :8) give this view thereon:

"Good development management means not just managing sectors, but ensuring effective co-ordination and integration between sectors. We now live in a world where partnership is required between the government, civil society and the private sector. This also holds for co-operation between the different tiers of government from national, to provincial to local levels.

Greater sensitivity is required to other actors and stakeholders, to the environment and to the social and organisational context surrounding decisions and activities, diverse forces need to be channeled into programmes and campaigns, building capacity through the formation of coalitions. Management has to become a developmental tool, building capacity in society to sustain a process of social and economic improvement."

The basic need for an holistic approach in the application of the evaluation criteria has the result that links between the various criteria do exist. The

5.3 DEVELOPMENT OF EVALUATION CRITERIA

The role of evaluation criteria is to serve as a benchmark for the composition of a view on the effectiveness of metropolitan local government in Greater Johannesburg in specific and South Africa in general.

For purposes of economy, certain parameters have been set, which it is hoped will focus on key strategic indicators of performance and non-performance.

The criteria have two main sub-components. Resorting under the political component are conflict management, community participation and internal and external communication.

The administrative component covers utilisation of resources, redistribution and development and institutional complexity.

In choosing the listed six evaluation criteria, common themes encountered in the three generic models of metropolitan local government have been grouped and reduced to headings that will facilitate their application to a review matrix, based upon the contents of the review framework. The matrix will be used as a qualitative indicator of the relative performance of metropolitan government.

The evaluation criteria represent the values of the political roleplayers taking part in the debate on urban governance restructuring, as manifested in the three generic models. A linkage, in the form of physical local government structures, exists between the core values and the evaluation

the community councils. As the differences between various types of two-tier systems can be described in terms of the roles of both tiers, the distinction between a two-tier system of metropolitan local government and an unicity becomes less than certain.

Rather, the model of government to be decided upon by a city must be decided on by means of the applying of imperatives that will best address local conditions.

These imperatives have to conform to key commonalities encountered in the three generic models of local government in metropolitan areas. The growing body of international knowledge on metropolitan governance plays an important role in extrapolating generic elements that causes metropolitan government to function.

It is also important to understand why the generic elements have been successful. This not only contributes towards possible local application, but also provides for a scientific base on which to build projections of future operating scenarios.

Once developed in this manner, the imperatives become transformed into a review framework that will add value, not only to a particular city, but also to other cities broadly within the same cycle of development.

The evaluation criteria discussed in the next section will contain strategic categories of commonalities of all three generic models discussed.

5.2.3 UNICITY MODELS OF METROPOLITAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

As can be deduced from the definition of an unicity, it can be seen as the opposite of confederal models of metropolitan local government.

The need for the consideration of the possibility of the creation of an unicity lies therein that the experience of the past few years shows that problems do exist within the overall structuring of metropolitan local government.

The, by now, over familiar powers and functions debate has not reached finality in many international instances. It adds further complexities to an already complex urban structure, which delays the composition of firm urban solutions.

If only one tier of local government exists, the debate on powers and functions would be avoided and energies could be spent on other issues needing attention.

Fiscal relationships are often strained, as was pointed out in the discussion on the other two models. The nineties have been years of increasing governmental responsibilities with income bases that can not cope with the needs. A reduction in local government expenditure should contribute towards a more focused manner of service delivery. The rationalisation of local government is the most important way to reduce expenditure.

Currently, no pure model of an unicity exists. This will, however, be the case if Toronto decides that no delegations will be made to

"As a knowledgeable analyst of metropolitan government in the United States, I regard South Africa's progress with awe and admiration."

It is further stated that only Anchorage has a true metropolitan council at present. The rest of the cities are divided into "elastic" central cities, that is, cities that regularly stretch their boundaries to annex new growth.

Examples of such cities are Albuquerque, Charlotte, Indianapolis, Houston and Jacksonville.

Inflexible cities are those that do not embrace growth and thus stagnates. Cities such as Hartford, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit falls into this category. Detroit is singled out as a good case study of the result of the lack of metropolitan government:

"The worst example would be the Detroit Metropolitan area which has four million residents. Some 239 independent municipalities and 115 separate school systems surround the city of Detroit. Having been cast in the role of regional poorhouse, the once-great city now contains only 25 percent of the region's black poor, but barely six percent of the region's property tax base! It is no wonder that greater Detroit is the U.S.'s most racially and economically segregated metropolitan region".

This scenario forms a stark contrast with the more innovative initiatives being undertaken in adjoining Canada.

The Toronto debate has wetted the appetite for a look at further details of the unicity, which will be done in the next section.

municipalities, the outcome of the debate on delegations are left open ended. It is not implied that political power may not be yielded, only that such an approach provides room for a more pragmatic solving of problems likely to be encountered during the transition. Transitions are extremely dynamic events and it is not always possible to foresee all problems and consequently provide for solutions.

The establishment of a transition team is also important. For the management of sensitive and specific transitional issues, political representatives need to have the security to appoint the correct persons to key positions. Added to this, the existence of a transitional team creates a centralised point of control over the administrative issues of the transition. Responsibilities are assigned and deliverables can be quantified. These are scarce commodities in a transitional phase.

The structure of the City of Toronto Act, 1997 is non-specific, in that it gives broad outlines on issues such as the allocation of powers and functions. This provides a legal parameter within which meaningful and democratic political debate can occur. This is done whilst the present unacceptable municipalities have been disbanded and are replaced by a single tier municipality.

The above combination was effectively used by the Ontario Government to override local opposition to changes, by simply enacting legislation that facilitates a change of process rather than providing final answers.

A revealing American view was recently published in the press, (Sunday Times, 1997, December 7). In it D Rusk writes that:

contained in the Green Paper, are keeping abreast of international developments.

The recurrent issue in the political debate on a two-tier system of metropolitan government is the question of a balance between local political representation and service delivery and metropolitan representation and services.

Lessons to be learnt by Greater Johannesburg from the Toronto experience firstly relates to the relationship between provincial and metropolitan government.

True inter-governmental relationships need to be established if successful provincial and metropolitan governance are to be created. The two levels of governments must have clarity on their respective powers and functions. This has to be supplemented by adequate financial arrangements.

One of the difficulties encountered in the Toronto process is the issue of unfunded mandates. The Ontario government is accused of devolving responsibilities to local government level without the associated funds.

A second lesson lies in the political management being applied in the Canadian case. The range of political debates are opened up for public consumption. This aspect is formalised during the transition process, which allows for the opportunity for communities to take ownership of developments.

Further to this, despite the existence of a political mandate, gained through an electoral victory, to reduce the number of

Urban economic integration is the area variable that causes an urban region to utilise its economic resources to integrate the city. This means that all communities must have access to areas of opportunities.

Financial resources must also be channeled into capital investments which will lead to community upliftment.

Economic integration also includes the combination of all the economic strengths and possibilities, to create an integrated urban economy. In practice, this implies that the whole of a metropolitan region contributes to its economic base. Conversely, economic decline in part of the region will impact negatively on the other communities. Decline must therefore be combated as a common restraining factor.

In order to illustrate the possible generic application of the area variables to other metropolitan areas in South Africa, Cape Town and Durban will also briefly be dealt with.

The size of metropolitan areas, though large, differ in characteristics. The demarcation of local government areas is complex and dependant upon factors mainly related to existing spatial patterns being the product of historical developments.

In Cape Town local authorities emerged during the eighteenth century and followed the geographical outline of the Greater Cape Town area. Later developments centered further inland towards the present Belville area, creating a bi-polar metropolis. The developments in the False Bay region

The second category covers the infrastructure and services networks area variable.

Due to the increased international focus on the urban economy, and the role it plays in globalism, the urban economic integration area variable has been isolated as a third category.

The size of metropolitan areas are defined as the physical boundaries of local government, as prescribed by the relevant legislation. An in-built assumption of this definition is that metropolitan areas need to be large, in order to qualify.

Historical development patterns as an area variable refers to the causal influences that have shaped a particular urban area. It is to be distinguished from spatial manifestations, in that the focus is more on historical trends.

Socio-economic spatial manifestations are considered to be those physical manifestations of the urban forum.

Sociological spatial manifestations refer to the sub-urban and township settlement patterns, whereas the economic areas are the dominant economic activities corridors throughout the Greater Johannesburg.

Infrastructure and services networks are the technical infrastructure systems. Primary and secondary networks are identified. Primary networks are those of bulk services including water, electricity, sewerage, roads and transportation networks. Secondary service networks create local services, such as local water pipes and roads.

The evaluation criteria have thus been the products of an urgent need for the determination of the state of the nation within Greater Johannesburg.

5.4 METROPOLITAN AREA VARIABLES FOR METROPOLITAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN GREATER JOHANNESBURG

Metropolitan area variables can be defined as those factors which contribute to the specific structure and nature of metropolises in South Africa.

Again, for purposes of economy, area variables of a strategic nature were chosen. They represent an amalgamation of the most important externalities impacting upon the urban scope.

The relevancy of the area variables emerges as the detailed description of the environment within which the system of metropolitan local government must function.

The extent of that functioning, within a specific urban setting, is to be tested by the application of the review criteria.

The review framework thus essentially tests two aspects of local government, that of its ability to effectively deliver services through competent political and technical management and the success of its relationship to the immediate environment.

Three main categories were identified. The first component is comprised of mainly urban planning matters. The area variables resorting under this category are the size of the metropolitan area, historical development patterns and socio-economic spatial manifestations.

Institutional structures can now be focussed on metropolitan governance methods and procedures that will have as a new set of priorities the democratic agenda of redistribution and development:

A further implication for institutional complexity lies therein that local government in Greater Johannesburg is beginning to adhere to government policies of privatisation and reduction of governmental expenditure.

It has also made provision for a bigger role for community participation. This is engineered through both the traditional consultation processes, such as community forums, and through greater involvement in joint ventureships. (The R92 million initiative embarked upon by GJMC during the pre-interim phase is a prime example of this. Emerging contractors were used to employ labour intensive methods to construct roads, upgrade facilities and install bulk services).

The Land Development Objective (LDO) process, instituted in terms of the Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995, also proved the value of community consultation. In terms of the LDO process, local government had to consult communities on their essential priorities and ways of achieving them. This resulted in capital budgets to be realigned per sectoral LDO. It was backed by the development of project and human resources plans to serve as implementation instruments.

External communication throughout this process played a crucial role in keeping communities informed. Internal communication was effected by printed formats, such as the memorandum on organisational review quoted above, and electronic communication. This is done through an internal intranet called the Metronet.

By centralising control over the totality of local government budgets in the Greater Johannesburg region, something of the spirit of the Joint Negotiating Committee (JNC) agreement is resuscitated.

One of the key roles of metropolitan government is to reallocate income across the urban social spectrum, and in so doing, addressing developmental needs in a coherent fashion.

In order to be effective, such fiscal federalism must have access to central funds, these funds being the basis of equitable distribution across the region. The Committee of Ten has succeeded to complete the first step in the creation of a single, integrated Greater Johannesburg local government budget.

This was achieved, firstly through the actual budgetary revision, and secondly through the prioritisation and setting of new expenditure patterns. The utilisation of resources are clearly the focus of the short-term mandate of the Committee. The combination of a function analysis and the introduction of more effective service delivery mechanisms, provides an ideal evaluation criteria by which not only current performance, but also future performances can be measured.

The identification of core local government functions as well as outsourcing initiatives, goes to the heart of the institutional complexity evaluation criteria.

Concentrating on core local government issues will have a dramatic effect in Greater Johannesburg, more so if combined with a joint ventureship approach. Institutional complexity will be taken towards a next step, after the original creation of metropolitan local government.

technical, and administrative/management capacity. It is not intended to lead to staff cuts and retrenchments."

The important paragraph to be noted is the last one. This communication was issued to staff prior to the intervention by the Premier. It was intended to be a "mid-term" review, aimed at increasing the effectiveness of service delivery cuts.

The longer term mandate of the Committee of Ten and the mid-term organisational review contain the embryonic elements of a review framework for metropolitan local government in Greater Johannesburg,

The contribution made by, what began as a conflict management exercise, lies mainly in the provision of the evaluation criteria selected for this research report.

The first evaluation criteria, conflict management, has been extensively dealt with.

Utilisation of resources figures prominently in both the Committee of Ten process and the mid-term organisational review. Current developments suggest that the organisational review is beginning to focus more on management capacity and performance, as it relates operational, technical and administrative functions. The short-term mandate of the Committee of Ten automatically broadens the scope of the work to be undertaken. It is contended that, through the revision of the operating and capital budgets of the GJMC and substructures, and by establishing credit control policies and programmes, a firm contribution is being done to the redistribution of resources across the region and the development thereof.

On 1 July 1997, the following memorandum was issued to all staff members of the GJM and sub-structures:

"The situation in each of the administrations and the arrangements between them is causing overlaps in responsibility, inefficiencies and a waste of effort, capacity and resources. The situation impacts negatively on cost efficiency and the effectiveness of local government in the Greater Johannesburg area.

Further, budget limits imposed by national level of government require better organisation and much more efficient and well targeted use of available staff capacity. It is clearly evident that the filling of the posts in the five new organograms would lead to exceeding the budget on staff salaries and wages, in the long term.

In the light of this, the five councils have resolved to embark on a mid-term review intended to make better and more effective use of available operations, technical and administrative/management capacity, with the view of improving performance and enhanced service delivery as well as to meet community needs as identified in the IDO processes. Given the present level of capacitation, it is unlikely that this exercise might lead to staff cuts and retrenchments.

The Organisational Review will examine the work that is being done and how it is managed internally at each level particularly between the Metro Council and the Local Councils and check this against existing staff structures, the number and distribution of vacancies and the key result documents (job descriptions).

It is intended that the review will be conducted by external consultants but with active support and involvement of management, unions and politicians.

The work will be organised in stages, on the basis of functional clusters of the Metro Council and the Local Councils.

Staff will be kept informed of progress on a regular basis and information sessions with all staff will be held over the next few weeks.

Please note this exercise should not be given the status of a re-structuring but more of a mid-term review intended to make better and more effective use of available operational,

with a view to reduce operating costs. The committee must also introduce mechanisms for an effective utilisation of personnel, and the economical and more efficient performance of all functions of the GJMC and the sub-structures, as well as the management of their affairs.

A further crucial task of the Committee is to identify the core functions that need to be performed by local government, including those functions that will generate income/profit for the GJMC.

The Committee must also identify those functions that can be out-sourced. Items falling under this category include the fresh produce market, the metropolitan bus service, the Rand Airport and fleet management.

A written report must be produced by the Committee, that will indicate compliance with all instructions by the Premier, within the necessary time frames, as determined by the Premier.

The product which this Committee will deliver will be very valuable. Once scientific methods have been employed to analyse functions, introduce mechanisms for effective functioning, core local government issues identified and out-sources opportunities investigated, a factual basis will have been provided for the future of the political debate.

More importantly, several options will have been provided to the political decision-makers, thus assisting informed decisions.

An interesting prelude to the longer term mandate of the Committee, has been a simultaneous initiative undertaken by the five Chief Executive Officers of the Greater Johannesburg region.

The practical application of the six evaluation criteria within the GJMC must also be explained.

Conflict management in Greater Johannesburg can best be described in terms of the Eastern Metropolitan Local Council crises and the megacity debate within the ANC.

As was indicated, the main moments in the EMLC debate were official budget meetings of the EMLC, together with the Executive Committee meetings of that body. Once a deadlock was reached, a public debate between the ANC and the DP followed. The intervention by the Premier of Gauteng settled the issue and also provided an indication of the type of conflict management techniques to be used.

The EMLC intervention can be classified as a top-down act done in terms of legislative powers given to the Premier. It is an example of a legitimate unilateral political management action.

The same applies to the appointment of the Committee of Ten, as described above. A further element of conflict management can, however, be added to the Committee of Ten. That element is to manage conflict process.

With the approval of the EMLC's budget, the debate within the ANC on the megacity concept did not cease. In order to manage the overt need to find democratic answers to the pressing issue of the future of Greater Johannesburg, the Committee was given a short-term mandate (the balancing of the books) and a longer term mandate.

Within six months of the establishment of the Committee, all existing functions performed by the GJMC and the substructures, must be analysed

Institutional structures exist for the sake of the utilisation of resources with the aim of achieving redistribution and development, being the results of pressure brought on the new democratic local government structures.

The utilisation of resources and redistribution and development is organised within complex institutional structures in terms of specific allocation of responsibilities. Such differentiation and specification of tasks increase as the operational hierarchies expands downward and horizontally.

Ensuring a continuous successful engagement of complex urban problems, a constant institutional monitoring system must be put into place by local government.

Institutional complexity must allow for the revision of procedures and methods and for motivational reform. The revision of procedures and methods applies to the application of all six review criteria and their dynamic natures. Local government cannot remain stagnant and ignore the changes brought about by urbanisation and the growth of the urban form.

Motivational reform deals with the organisational culture prevalent within an organisation. The psychological needs of staff in an ever changing local government, remain high and needs to be managed. Concerns and fears need to truthfully dealt with and inclusive solutions must be found in creating career opportunities.

Obstructionism and opposition to new political mandates must be identified and managed, firstly by collaborative methods and in extreme cases, by the ending of employment.

On the other hand, the organisational structure of local administrations is adopted to provide for a greater role by democratically elected representatives.

It is clearly a case of finding the right balance between professionalism and democratic control. To ensure stability and effective service delivery, the political structures and administrative mechanisms employed by society ultimately must be an expression of the dominant political culture in any society.

In order to provide for effective conflict management procedures, such procedures must be both formal and informal.

The formal procedures are those occasions when properly elected political representatives engage and intervene in conflict situations. In terms of the three generic models of metropolitan government, conflict can occur over local issues or issues of metropolitan significance.

Other than conflict management being conducted through the official channels, provision must also be made for informal conflict management.

Informal conflict management is spontaneous by nature, in that interest and pressure groups can form and recede as issues of conflict come into being and are resolved.

It is also clear that institutional complexity, utilisation of resources and redistribution and development and conflict management are inverse products of each other.

As conflict management's ability is based upon political control, various approaches have been adopted in relation to the focus of control over the administration.

The possibility of an executive mayor exists. This means that a directly elected politician becomes both the political and administrative head. The Green Paper on Local Government (1997 : 59) calls this a Mayor – Council form of political structure. This political structure provides for a clear separation of powers between the executive mayor and the council, which forms the legislature. Executive powers are statutorily vested in the office of the mayor, and are not dependent on delegation from the council.

An advantage, from a conflict management point of view, is that the mayor has central control of the political control as the head thereof.

The Green Paper also makes provision for the Council-Manager form of political structure. It is characterised by unity of powers. The council acts as both the legislature and executive. The council appoints a chief executive officer as head of the administration. The council usually appoints an Executive Committee and delegate executive powers to this committee. The mayor is the chairperson of the council and the ceremonial head of the municipality.

These different approaches to the role of the mayor in particular, and the direct involvement of politicians in local administration have both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand it is agreed that too much power may be concentrated in one position and that specialist management is required to ensure efficient service delivery.

Due to the bigger role played by the metropolitan tier in both the political and service delivery fields, conflict management can better be dealt with, whilst redistribution and development are improved because of the integrating nature of this form of metropolitan government.

Community participation and communication are also high because local communities also have responsibilities for some functions.

Institutional complexity is a borderline case, depending on the type of agreement reached on allocation of the powers and functions. As a general guideline, both political and practical considerations must be taken into account, to produce a balanced outcome. If common sense prevail, the compatibility level might well increase to high.

Model 3 (unicity) appears to be most suitable for the Greater Johannesburg region. Conflict management capabilities are high because of the bigger centralisation of political power.

Resources utilisation and redistribution and development are undertaken with a view to serve all the needs of the metropolis.

Community participation could be lower because of communities. This can, however, be rectified by the addition of specific community participation structures.

It is anticipated that communication will be improved because of the centrality of decision-making simplifying the details to be communicated. Institutional complexity can be engineered to create the necessary balance between economies of scale and focus on prioritised service delivery.

6. APPLICATION OF REVIEW FRAMEWORK TO METROPOLITAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN GREATER JOHANNESBURG

An analysis of the review matrix, which is based on the discussion of the three generic models of metropolitan government, indicates certain trends emerging in the options available for the future of local government in Greater Johannesburg.

The first clear deduction to be made, is that model 1 (confederalist models) is unsuitable for conditions in Greater Johannesburg. Its main weak points are firstly the low ability to deal with conflict management, due to the fact that a number of independent municipalities coexist within the same geographical area, causing a stalemate in the execution of political power.

Secondly, redistribution of resources remain at low levels because integrating mechanisms to be weakly developed due to the conflicting political agendas of higher and lower income areas, a fact pointed out by the recent EMLC debate.

Because resource distribution and development are low, the institutional complexity is not geared towards the delivery thereof. Duplication of functions also lead to larger and less cost effective institutional structures, as was identified in Greater Chicago.

The second deduction is that some form of model 2 (two-tier metropolitan systems) would be more suitable for Greater Johannesburg. The above statement can be further refined by adding that an integrating two-tier metropolitan local government represents the higher level of compatibility of model 2.

Evaluation Criteria	Generic models of metropolitan local government		
	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3
Conflict manage- ment	Low	Medium	High
Utilization of resources	Medium	High	High
Redistribution and development	Low	High	High
Community parti- cipation	High	High	Medium
Internal and exter- nal communication	Medium	High	High
Institutional complexity	Low	Medium	High

Included in the three models are the area variables that characterize each area. It can thus be assumed the area variables will cater for each metropolitan area, irrespective of the model functioning therein.

The three models are listed in numerical column format. The evaluation criteria are listed to the left of the three columns, along the vertical axis. Details thereof are included in the review matrix to assist the reader in relating the opinion expressed per model to the original criteria used.

A subjective rating of compatibility is given to each of the model. Compatibility in this context refers to the level of performance, political viability and financial sustainability thereof. Compatibility ratings of high, medium and low in respect of each model is given.

A high compatibility would indicate that for the particular evaluation criteria, a generic model exhibits close conformity to the ability to execute the function under scrutiny. Medium compatibility means less conformity to the evaluation criteria and low compatibility unacceptable conformity.

The five area variables find expression in the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of Greater Johannesburg. Appendix G shows the overall spatial development framework for Greater Johannesburg.

It is to be noted that the areas identified for densification and infill, including opportunities for job creation and mixed use development, dominates the central northern and southern areas.

The economic corridors are also indicated as well as areas for economic development and densification. The IDP provides a panoramic overview of the variables active in the Greater Johannesburg area. The application of the evaluation criteria, in conjunction with the area variables, become evident if the characteristics of the IDP are taken into account. A large urban area, still divided into lower and higher income areas, with the associated differing service standards being applied to a relative wide urban spread.

5.5 DEVELOPMENT OF REVIEW MATRIX

The joint application of the metropolitan evaluation criteria and area variables are to be done in a matrix fashion. The matrix is described as a graphical illustration of the influence of the review framework on Greater Johannesburg.

The three generic models of metropolitan local government, as described above, are classified as follows: Confederal models of metropolitan local government (model 1), two-tier system (model 2) and unicity (model 3).

The GJMC is to ensure the creation of beneficial partnerships for the management of the Infrastructure and services networks area variable. This is to be supplemented by the creation of supportive financial mechanisms that allow for dynamic application of financial resources.

Application of the urban economic integration area variable in Greater Johannesburg occurs through six major strategies.

Serving as a basis for implementation, is the development of a common economic vision linked to the area variables of the region.

Development priorities must foster and promote, not constrain, requirements sought by international investors.

A close relationship between national, provincial and local government, with regard to policies, strategies and legislation pertaining to economic development, must be fostered.

Delivery strategies must also be aligned to the economic strengths and opportunities of the region. Of interest is that the GJMC proposes that its next strategy should be the implementation of an active credit management system, so as to ensure effective local government income control.

The co-ordination of economic development across the metropolitan area is also a prerequisite of urban economic integration. This is to be achieved through the establishment of economic database systems containing all relevant information, creating mechanisms to co-ordinate economic issues that straddle MLC boundaries and the creation of structures to facilitate joint ventures.

Greater Johannesburg region represents the Greater Soweto area. It is isolated from the growth nodes and development corridors. A high level of land use management is needed to integrate these parts into the overall city.

The infrastructure and services networks are shown in appendixes E to F.

In terms of the LDO process, three main strategies were identified to deal with infrastructure and services networks needs. Firstly, an overall strategy must be developed to upgrade informal settlements in order for them to comply with the basic service standards.

Redistribution criteria need to be formulated to effectuate this task. Furthermore, a redefinition of the basic service standards must be done that will more accurately reflect affordability levels of the communities.

A cost benefit matrix must also be developed which will reflect the costs thereof to the consumer and to the GJMC.

The next strategy is to explore alternative partnerships for the provision and maintenance of services across the region. These initiatives need to focus on the development of a bulk outfall sewer in the southern areas of Greater Johannesburg. Communities need to be trained and educated in the details of entrepreneurial and repair skills in order for them to participate in the ongoing infrastructure maintenance.

A third strategy would be to engage with the Provincial government of Gauteng and lobby for the development of appropriate legislation that facilitates the creation of public private partnerships.

From there, a second corridor extends towards the north-west, including areas such as the former Roodepoort the western suburbs of the former Johannesburg municipal area, heading towards Krugersdorp.

A new and third manifestation is in a northerly direction, past the previous Randburg and Sandton areas, linking up with Midrand.

Social spatial manifestations can best be described in terms of housing and settlement patterns.

There are at present a total of approximately 670 000 housing units in the form of houses and multiple units in the GJMC area. Accommodation is provided for a further 83 000 individuals in private and public hostels. Geographically, the concentration of housing is in the Southern MLC. It can be said, therefore, that the South of Greater Johannesburg traditionally offers residential opportunity to newcomers to the urban environment.

	FORMAL HOUSE	FLAT/ TOWN- HOUSE	HOSTEL BEDS	INFORMAL UNITS	TOTAL
EMLC	78 468	63 935	10 043	21 142	173 588
NMLC	75 798	28 920	12 694	29 621	147 033
SMLC	111 494	66 515	38 775	93 780	310 564
WNLC	48 314	27 156	21 261	24 407	121 138
TOTAL	314 074	186 526	82 773	148 950	752 323
Source : GJMC Population database (1995); Urban Dynamics - Present Delivery					

The fact that the greater concentration of housing is in the SMLC, indicates the effect of apartheid. The south western quadrant of the

residential areas and the latter non-white. Appendix D gives an overview of socio-economic spatial manifestations in the Greater Johannesburg region.

Economic spatial manifestations are divided into the following three sectors:

Primary	1	The heavy industry and manufacturing located in the east / west mining belt.
Secondary	2	The light industrial areas producing consumer goods such as Wynberg, Strijdom Park and Kya Sands
	3	Manufacturing and light industry located in and around the Inner City.
	4	The hi-tech, "clean industry" located in Midrand
Tertiary	5	The white collar employers in the Mining, Financial, Institutional and Public Sector located in the Johannesburg Inner City.
	6	Businesses providing an intellectual, service orientated product in the decentralised / or satellite nodes.

The first economic spatial manifestation is the existing east-west axis, beginning in the Goldenhuys/ Devon area and continuing to Baragwanath.

projection, it is expected that the population of the area in 2001 will be approximately 4 100 000.

It is of interest that the population of the GJMC area represents 40% of the total population of Gauteng and 7% of the total population of the country. This high percentage arguably relates to the perception of the area as a haven of urban opportunity. It is unlikely that this trend will decline, especially if the amenities and facilities within the area are maintained and improved.

A map contained in Premier's Proclamation 42 of 1995, attached as appendix A, sets out the area for the GJMC.

As can be seen from appendix B, the birth of the city originated in the central business district and moved into a westerly direction, following the mining belt and thus creating a primary east-west development corridor. A secondary south-north corridor was also being created from Natalspruit northwards towards Germiston. The jurisdiction of mining commissioners are also prevalent through the ownership of land that was not built-up areas.

Appendix C provides a macro perspective on regional specialisation and the historical Growth of the metropolitan area of Pretoria – Witwatersrand – Pretoria in 1950, through the classification of land use zones.

It will be noted that industrial areas now constituted a major east-west and north-south axis. A gold mining belt existed just south of the east-west industrial corridor.

The beginnings of apartheid can also be seen in the classification of residential zones into inner and outer zones, the former being white

"Apart from the formal townships built with Government funds, Haarhoff has identified three basic types of settlement, which reflect the process of urbanisation. Tribal land were originally occupied by umuzo, or kraals consisting of groups of circular huts on clearings among cultivated lands. Incipient urbanisation takes the form of rectangular, westernised buildings which are usually erected where there is good access to the city, for example roads. Settlement becomes progressively more intensive, and it may develop into a dense mass of dwellings made of wattle-and-daub or scrap materials. Such settlements are also developed directly on freehold land leased or rented to settlers. The latter form is found in the Pinetown area, at Inanda and along the North Coast. Many – sometimes the majority – of the residents of these close settlements are not rural immigrants but people who grew up in the townships but are unable to obtain a house there".

In Greater Johannesburg, the discovery of gold in 1886 led to the rapid creation of a smaller world city in just under a century. Details thereof are contained in the Integrated Metropolitan Development Framework (IDF) of the Greater Johannesburg, produced on 30 September 1997. Details thereof are set out hereunder. Developments began in the central business district and moved outwards, establishing adjoining municipalities such as the previous Randburg, Roodepoort and Sandton.

Various racially segregated townships, including Greater Soweto and Alexandria were also established, leading to the boundaries of the present day GJMC.

The current population of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC) area is estimated to be in the region of 3 800 652. This figure is arrived at by projecting the 1995 population figure as well as taking cognisance of the newly released Gauteng statistics from the 1996 Census. An annual average growth rate of 3.4%, which allows for a 2.4% natural increase in population determined by the Central Statistics Services as well as a net migration rate of 1%, is assumed. Using this

has added a third thrust and direction to the size of the Cape Town metropolitan area.³

Rapid urbanisation without adequate provision on terms of land use planning, the identification of appropriate land for informal settlement and service provision, has resulted in rapid and uncoordinated urban growth, often sprawling beyond municipal boundaries and into environmentally sensitive areas. This has meant that local government responsibility for the establishment of new areas on settlement has been confusing and that the urbanisation process, despite the intentions of the 1986 White Paper, continues as an unmanaged and chaotic series of expedient interventions with the minimum of public consultation and community involvement.

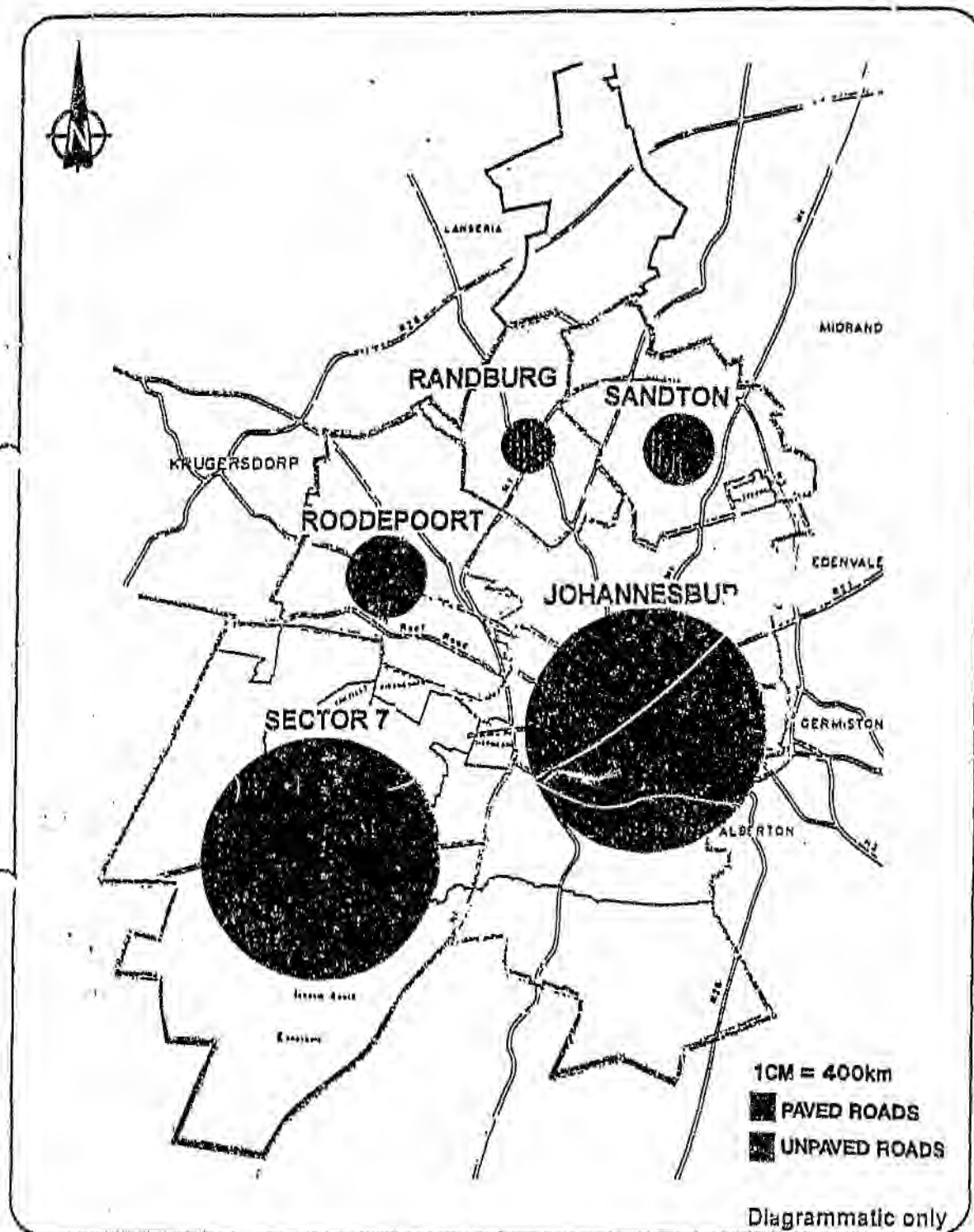
In the metropolitan area, it has become indisputably obvious that a metropolitan tier of local government is imperative if these and other issues are being effectively addressed. Overall physical and development planning for the metropolitan area must be undertaken at the metropolitan level, setting the macro-policy guidelines for its constituent parts.

Among the various local authorities in Cape Town, there are massive disparities in wealth and amenity and in the level and standards of service provision. The One City, One Tax Base principle now enjoys universal acceptance and it is generally acknowledged that revenues from the functional metropolitan tier should be pooled and re-allocated according to community need.

Pistorius (1983 : 24) gives the following summary of the development of Greater Durban:

³ A position paper of the then Cape Town City Council (1993 : 4) gives an overview of the debate within Cape Town.

ANNEXURE 'E'



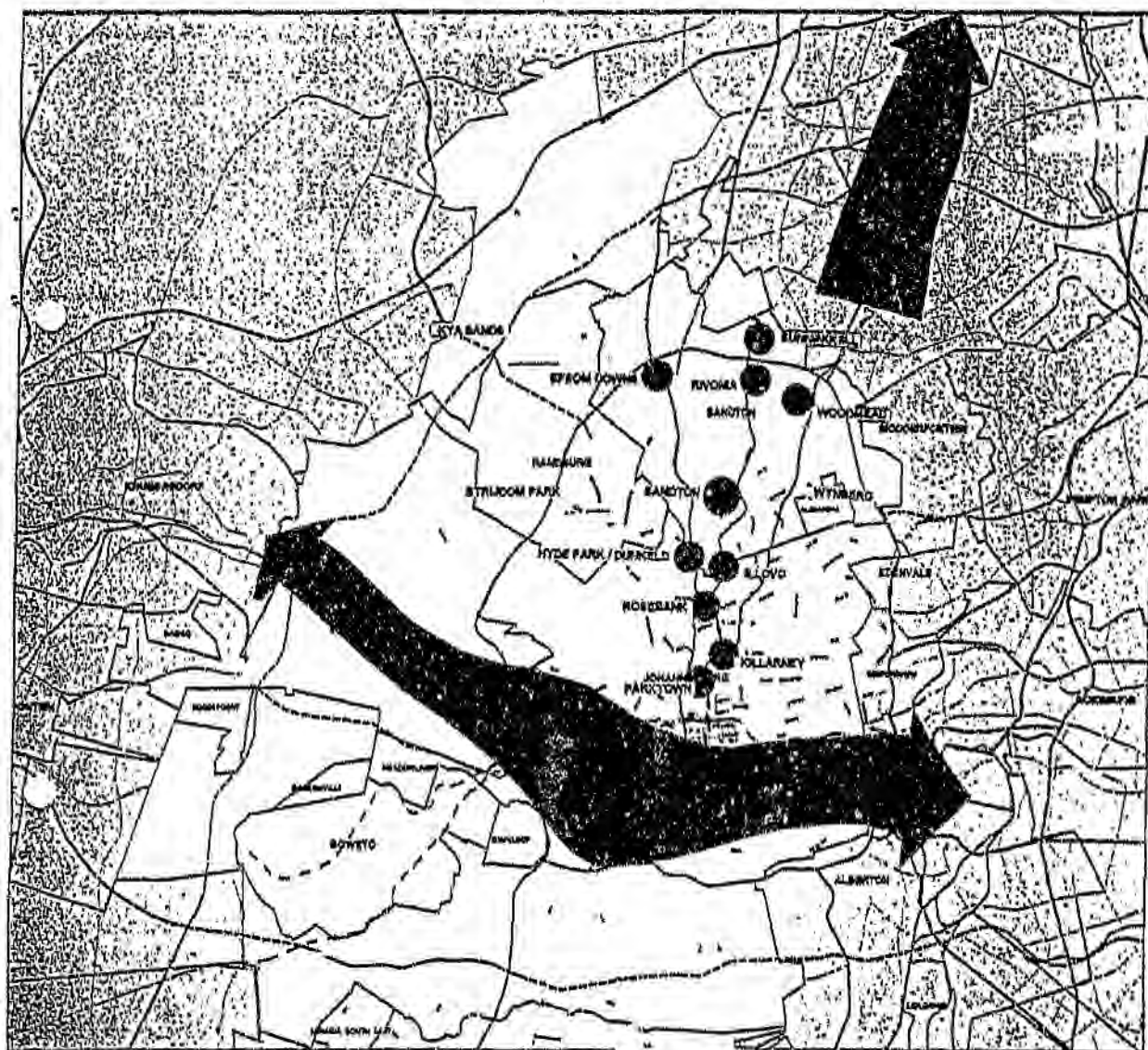
	DISTRIBUTION OF ROAD NETWORK -PAVED AND UNPAVED- IN GREATER JOHANNESBURG	Proj97/049
		Fig. 2.3
STANWAY EDWARDS NGOMANE ASSOCIATES (PTY) LTD		

ANNEXURE 'D'

THE "PICTURE" OF THE TERTIARY SECTOR AND THE DOMINANT ELEMENTS OF THE SECONDARY AND PRIMARY SECTORS REVEALS THE EXTENT OF "REGIONAL SPECIALISATION" AS WELL AS CENTRES FOR COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY IN THE CITY. THIS IS ILLUSTRATED IN THE GRAPHIC HEREUNDER.

MACRO CITY PERSPECTIVE : REGIONAL SPECIALISATION

Metropolitan Context : Structure & Organisation



LEGEND

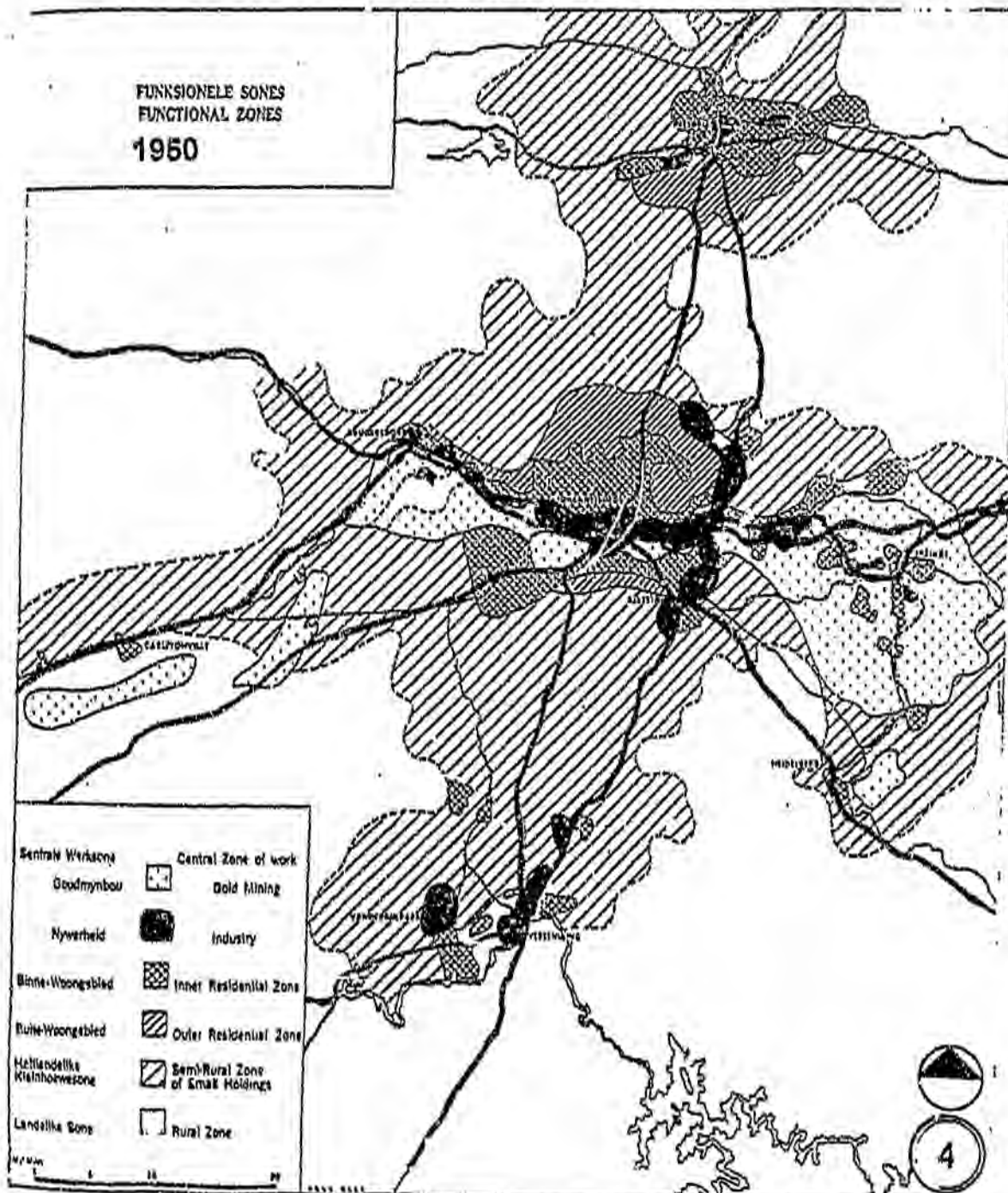
-  East / West Belt of Heavy Industry & Manufacturing
-  Light Industry
-  Decentralised Nodes
-  Johannesburg CBD
-  Hi-Tech Clean Industry - Midrand to Pretoria
-  Major Arterial



MACRO CITY PERSPECTIVE : REGIONAL SPECIALISATION

Historical Growth of the Metropolitan Area Pretoria - Witywatersrand - Vereeniging in 1950

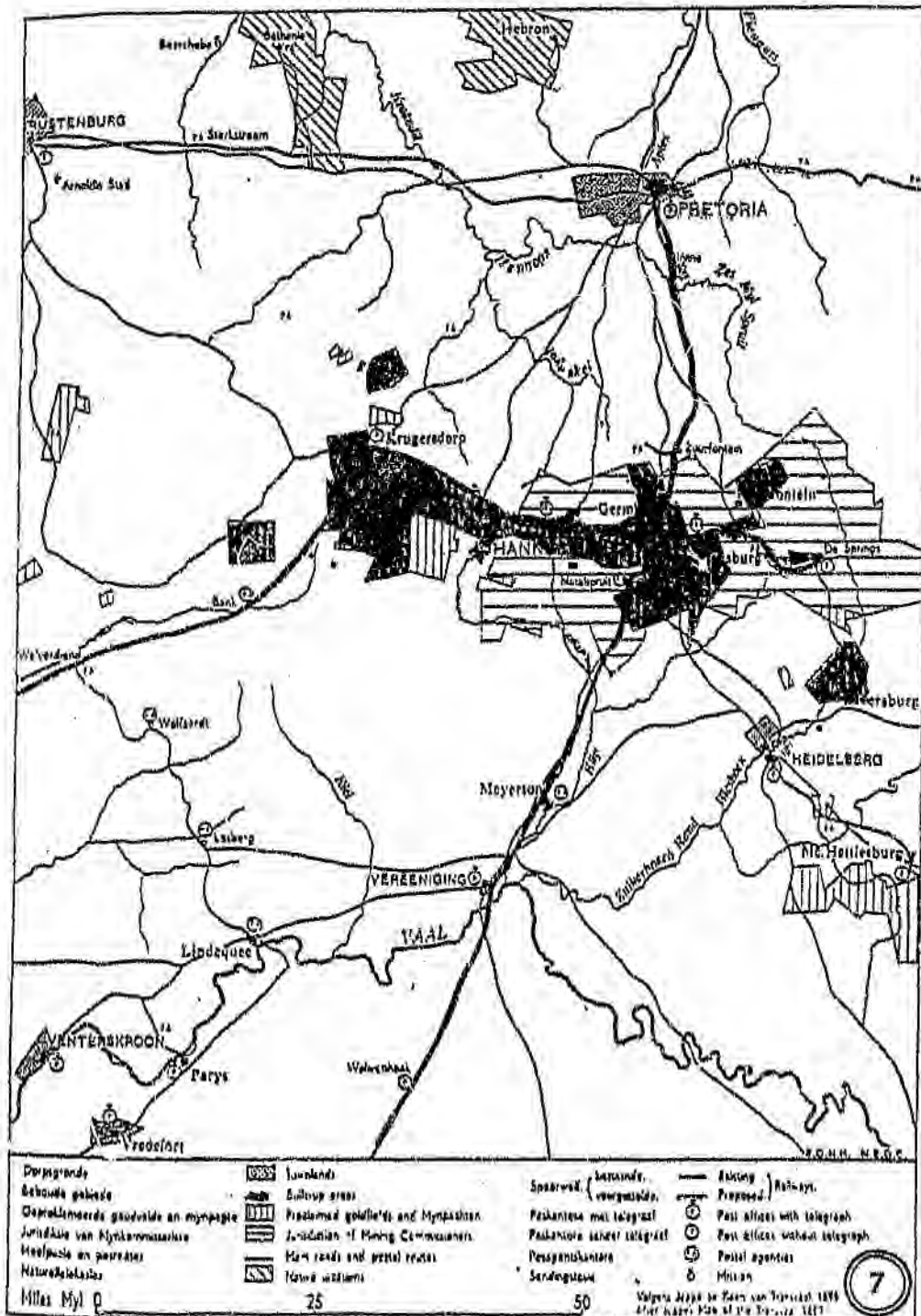
Land Use Zones



ANNEXURE 'B'

MACRO CITY PERSPECTIVE : REGIONAL SPECIALISATION

Historical Growth of the Metropolitan Area Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vereeniging in 1899



ANNEXURE A



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7. CONCLUSION

This research report set out to develop a review framework for metropolitan local government in Greater Johannesburg. It was done through the description of the need for the review of local government, which consisted of the identification of the main current problems being experienced.

Three generic models of metropolitan local government were then discussed. The models, confederalist, two-tier and unicity, were further explained by giving practical examples thereof.

Evaluation criteria, serving as efficiency measurement mechanisms, were developed. They deal with key strategic performance areas of metropolitan local government and are applicable not only to the Greater Johannesburg region, but also to the other metropolitan areas of South Africa.

Area variables were identified. Their purpose are to describe the physical characteristics of the metropolitan area within which the evaluation criteria are to be applied.

Once the elements of the review framework were completed, they were tabulated in the form of a review matrix, which indicated that the best option for Greater Johannesburg possibly lied in the creation of an unicity with some delegations to the local councils. Future research questions need to answer the questions pertaining to the further details of an unicity model with specific reference to cost improvement mechanisms, local community involvement and service delivery options.

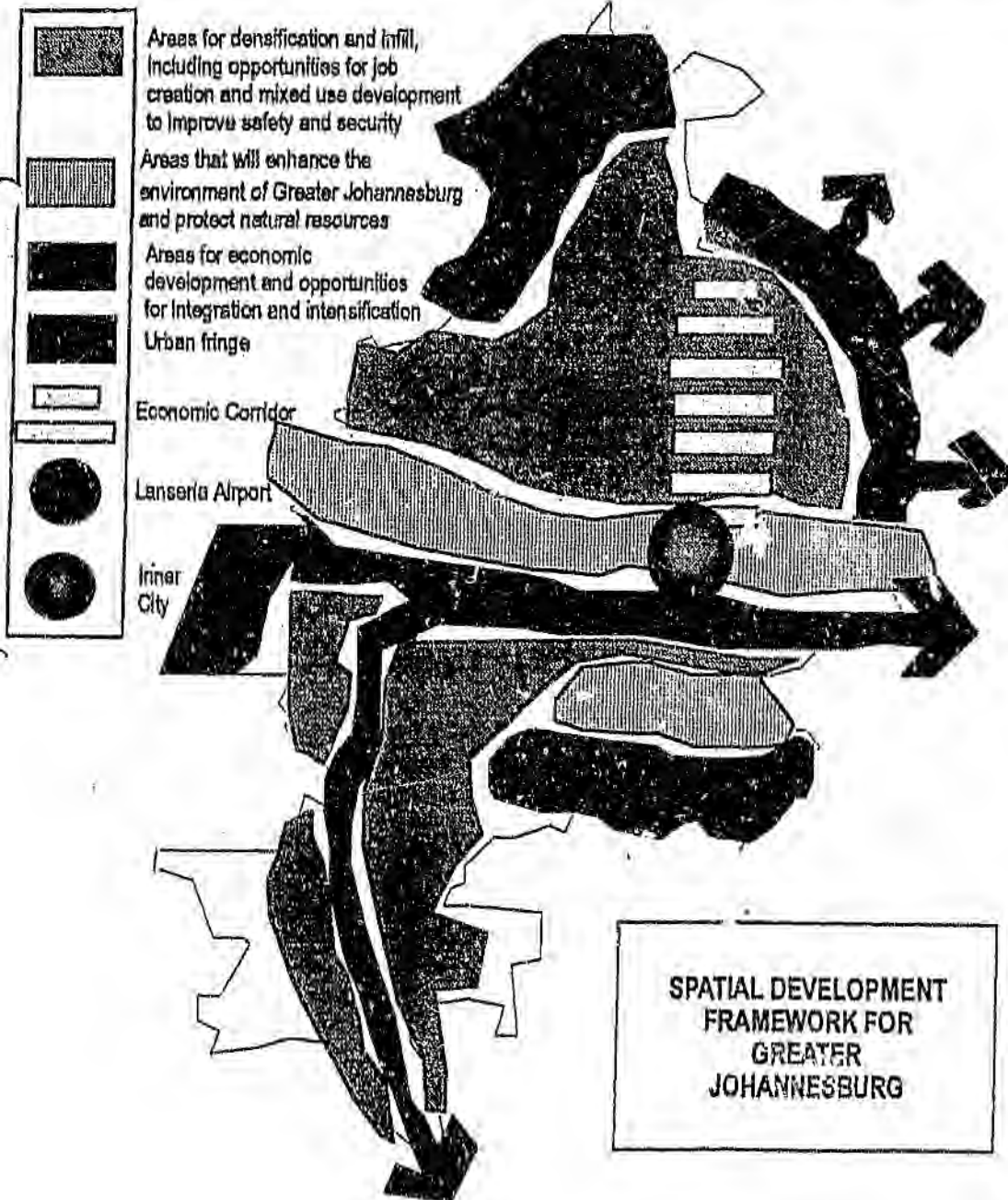
A final conclusion to be made from the review framework for metropolitan local government in Greater Johannesburg, is that the final option lies somewhere between an integrating two-tier system of metropolitan local government and an unicity with some delegation to the local councils.

It is contended that the implementation of a combination of these two models, inter alia, an unicity with some delegation to the local councils, will produce a consistently high compatibility in relation to the evaluation criteria.

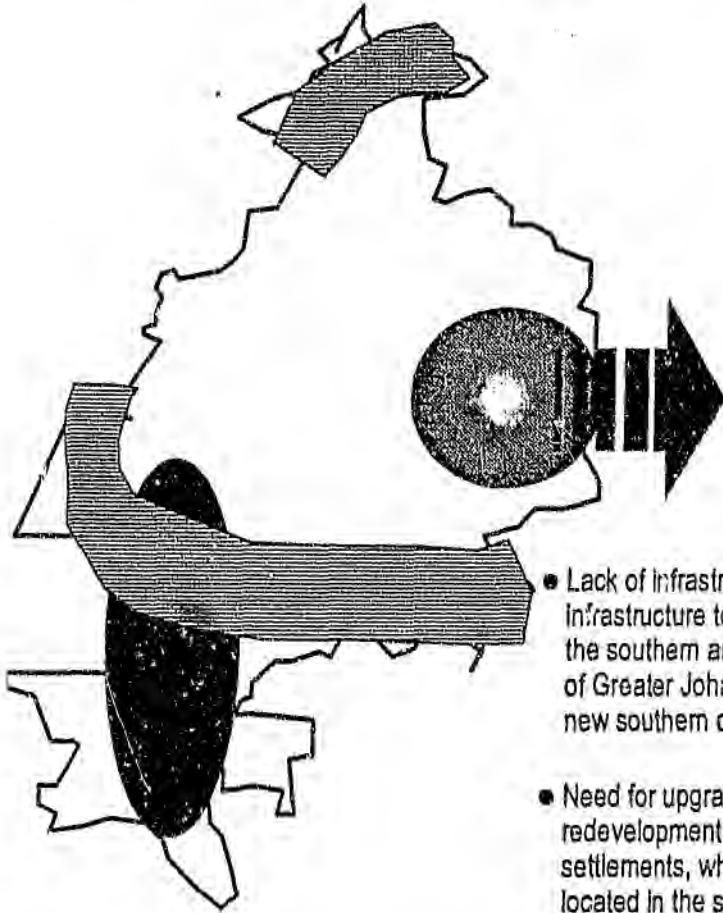
ANNEXURE 'G'

INTEGRATED METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT PLAN UNDERSTANDING OF GREATER JOHANNESBURG

1N



INFRASTRUCTURE



- Lack of infrastructure and infrastructure to capacity in some of the southern areas and in the far north of Greater Johannesburg. Need for a new southern outfall sewer.
- Need for upgrading and redevelopment of the informal settlements, which are predominantly located in the southern areas.
- Major cost of provision of infrastructure, which is inhibiting for development.
- Development opportunities in the eastern corners of Greater Johannesburg and linkages with other regions.

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