POLOKWANE
City of resilience and middle class ‘bling’?
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1. Introduction

Polokwane, situated on the Great North road to Zimbabwe, is the capital and largest city of the Limpopo Province. The proximity of Polokwane to the neighbouring countries of Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland makes the city a major economic centre for the area. In addition, with the conveniently short distances from Polokwane to the Kruger National Park and Magoebaskloof, the city serves as a perfect stopover to nearby tourist destinations. The Polokwane Local Municipality comprises a total area of approximately 377 578.99 hectare and is located in the central part of the Limpopo Province. Despite being predominantly rural in nature, Polokwane Local Municipality, located within the Capricorn District Municipality, is both the economic hub and administrative capital (Polokwane city) of the Limpopo Province. The Polokwane Local Municipality area consists of 3% of the Limpopo provincial area and has 170 different settlements ranging from urban to peri-urban and rural settlements¹.

Figure 1.1: Polokwane Municipality²

Overall, the research report makes the following key points in respect of Polokwane as an intermediate city:

• The central and strategic location of Polokwane city, which is complemented further by the N1 highway and Polokwane International airport, has been instrumental in promoting the city not only as an economic hub in the region but also as a logistic hub for provincial exports to local and international markets. The city is seen as a gateway to Africa, particularly for the neighbouring Southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana.

• At the centre of Polokwane’s fast-growing economy is the business services industry. Lack of economic diversification and poor performance by the agriculture sector in particular, could potentially have long-term dire economic consequences, especially in a predominantly rural population like Polokwane Municipality. Thus, while acknowledging the current significant economic contribution of the services industry, there is however, an urgent need to invest in labour-intensive sectors such as agriculture, transport and tourism.

• Since the abolition of apartheid in 1994, Polokwane city has been rated one of the most desegregated cities. Corroborating this is the latest census data (2011) which indicates that in most residential areas there is a diverse presence of different racial groups.

• There is strong evidence to suggest that rural villages with easy access (facilitated by an effective and reliable public transport system) to urban centres (Polokwane city included) could potentially help to relieve the high volume of population in-migration, which more often than not results in the mushrooming of squatter settlements on their outskirts.

Box 1.1: Methodological comments

This research report on Polokwane city is one of six reports that emanated from a national study commissioned to the Centre for Development Support (Free State University) by the South African Cities Network. Although independent of one another, the study comprises six case studies across six provinces of South Africa. Both secondary data sources and qualitative interviews were used to compile the Polokwane report. The opinions of the Polokwane respondents were diverse and not always in line with data interpreted from secondary data. Qualitative interviews were conducted with respondents representing the municipal and provincial government sectors (9), business sector (including private sector consultants frequently used by the municipality) (9), community and not-for-profit sector (7), previous mayors and a city clerk (4) and traditional leaders (2). Throughout the report conscious effort was made to allow the voice of Polokwane respondents to be heard.

2. Profile of existing research

Existing research outputs on Polokwane are available mainly in academic thesis and dissertation format and to some extent in academic journals. From a collection of peer reviewed academic journal articles and theses (mostly at Masters level) completed by students on topics covering the performance of various public sectors in and around Polokwane city, five main themes emerge and are identified as follows:

• Provision of basic services and municipal capacity in Polokwane city and the surrounding rural farms and villages

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• Planning and implementation of anti-poverty community projects in Polokwane city and the surrounding rural farms and villages
• Local Economic Development (LED) environment and small businesses – small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs), smallholder farmers and cooperatives) in Polokwane city and the surrounding rural farms and villages
• Impact of migration in Polokwane city and the surrounding rural farms and villages
• Land uses and spatial planning in Polokwane and surrounding rural areas

3. Historical perspective
The historical context of Polokwane up to the mid-1990s has been well documented. This section provides a short synopsis of the key historical overlapping phases and historical junctures that shaped this intermediate city.


3.1 Colonial history and early apartheid years (1886 to 1960s)

Formally established in 1886, the origin of Polokwane is embedded in a colonial-historical context. During the 1880s, due to conflict with local tribes, Afrikaner pioneers under the leadership of Andries Potgieter abandoned an established settlement Zoutpansbergdorp (100 km north of Polokwane) and moved to the Polokwane area. Polokwane was formerly known as Pietersburg, which had been named in honour of the Afrikaner frontier General Piet Joubert. Like most South African towns, segregation principles were firmly embedded in the town’s social fabric in the colonial period. Before the turn of the 19th century, a small number of Asians and coloured people also settled in the area then known as Pietersburg. After the Anglo Boer war (1899–1902), with the formation of the union of South Africa in 1910, institutional structures were already in place in terms of segregated urban planning and were continued during this era. With the commencement of the apartheid era in 1948, Pietersburg was distinctly segregated in both residential areas and areas zoned for business activities.

3.2 Industrial and infrastructure investment – the entrepreneurial town clerk era (mid 1950s to late 1980s)

In spatial residential terms, development of 1950s and 1960s Pietersburg followed a typical South African segregation route. The institutionalising of the infamous Group Areas Act in 1950 and 1966 ensured spatial development of a whites-only central business district (CBD), peripheral locations as residence for black, Indian and coloured population groups, forceful removals of minority groups in areas designated for white residency, a whites-only owned industrial sector and a typical buffer zone between different group areas. Pietersburg’s formally black segregated townships were named Seshego, neighbouring Mankweng was established as a university town, and Lebowakgomo was set as the homeland capital. In addition, segregated areas were set aside for the coloured population and Asians northwest of the town, which are currently known as the suburbs of Westenburg and Nirvana.

Although Pietersburg’s spatial developments were initially built on distinctive apartheid-style planning, this era also saw the appointment of an entrepreneurial town clerk, Jack Botes (1953–1987) whose ambitious

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10 The union period represents the amalgamation of the former two Boer Republics Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, with British colonies in the Cape and Natal.


town planning interventions influenced the Polokwane city landscape\textsuperscript{13}. Box 3.1 describes the ‘Jack Botes era’ through the eyes of previous municipal officials interviewed.

This town clerk believed that a complementary development approach between the different areas and sectors of the economy in Pietersburg should be pursued. Although industrial development was seen as a key sector for development, he advocated a multi-sectoral approach focusing on natural resources, tourism, infrastructure, industrial decentralisation, agriculture, employment over national borders and investment in ‘local issues’ through development projects within sub regions.\textsuperscript{14} By the late 1980s a number of large businesses and industrial corporations had been established in Polokwane (for example Anglo American Platinum smelter, a silicon mine, Coca-Cola Company, South African Breweries (SAB), and a number of Indian wholesalers). These industrial growth patterns were particularly dominant before 1994, when the National Party still governed South Africa.

\textbf{Box 3.1: The Jack Botes ‘era’– observations from the Polokwane interviews}

Jack Botes, said to be one of the longest serving town clerks with 34 years’ service in the municipality, is described as a visionary, charismatic persona who steered development and stimulated economic growth in Polokwane (then Pietersburg). Various examples exist where Jack Botes head-hunted potential investors to establish themselves in the city\textsuperscript{15}. In particular the city clerk was given credit for:

- Drawing many industrial and large businesses to the area.
- Driving infrastructure development.
- Campaigning for the building and upgrading of the national road.
- Lobbied for both city status and provincial capital city status.
- Invested in the human capital potential by engaging in upliftment work during his time as city clerk.
- Steering long-term racially integrated planning in terms of spatial development.
- Putting development forums in place to act in an advisory capacity to development long before the end of apartheid.
- Giving the city an economic boost and momentum still visible today.

Jack Botes was given honorary citizenship in 1988, being commended for the local development success he achieved in a spatially remote area, situated far away from the large metros and national decision-making structures.

\begin{itemize}
  \item For a detailed description on the manner used by the city clerk to draw investors to Polokwane, see Changuion L and Moolman J. 2008. “So much to do”. The Moolman group of companies: Their first 40 years. Review Printers: Polokwane.
\end{itemize}
3.3 Polokwane as an administrative seat (late 1980s to late 1990s)

From the late 1980s onwards, the then named Pietersburg, started to prepare itself to become the public administrative centre of the province. A number of interviewees from civil, public and business society described how prominent leaders in the town lobbied for transformation from the late 1980s. Most of the interviewees who experienced the transition years, are of the opinion that the transformative years were handled well and contributed to a smooth transition towards new democratic governance models\(^\text{16}\). The town of Pietersburg officially became a city in 1992. With the establishment of the city council in 1994, the historical homeland areas were incorporated into municipal and provincial governance structures. This led to an exponential growth in the number of employees in the public service. Growth in the public servant sector in turn contributed to growth in the private sector, and in the construction sector and service industries. The city’s name changed to Polokwane in 1999, thus eradicating a symbolic layer of the apartheid past\(^\text{17}\).

3.4 Business and service development (late 1990s to present day)

The current phase can be described as the business and service industry development phase. The population growth, in particular in Polokwane city (see Table 4.1), necessitated the growth of the business and service industry. With Polokwane as capital city of Limpopo, many national and large retail businesses opened provincial branches in Polokwane. The development in commercial, retail and business sectors is a contributing factor to Polokwane’s economic boost. New business developments are not only directed at middle income groups. Great scale developments have been implemented in previously disadvantaged areas such as Seshego, Mankweng and Lebowakgomo. The current phase is also characterised by ongoing migration patterns of rural migration to peri-urban areas, and migration from peri-urban areas to urban areas in Polokwane\(^\text{18}\). The media links Polokwane with three events: a) the Zion Christian Church biannual gathering in April and September, b) the 52nd National Conference of the African National Congress (ANC) in 2007 and c) one of the host cities of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. With a few exceptions in the hospitality industry and infrastructure development, most interviewees were of the opinion that these events did not have a significant economic impact on the business and services sectors in Polokwane\(^\text{19}\).

4. Current status and planning

Current municipal planning is driven to a large degree by a quest to address the spatial and socio-economic imbalances of the past. The aim of this section is to provide a status quo analysis of the current development status of the Polokwane Local Municipality. This section discusses first the current development status and strategic planning in relation to the key issues from the history. Thereafter it reflects on the data of planning documents and includes qualitative interview results.

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\(^{16}\) Personal interviews with three previous mayors, an official in the Premier’s Office, a development economist, and previous city clerk.


\(^{18}\) Personal interviews with a previous mayor, a property developer and a development economist.

\(^{19}\) See also Section 4.8.2 for more viewpoints on the impact of the soccer world on Polokwane.


4.1 Demographic and population change

According to the national census of 2011, the population for the Polokwane municipal area was 629,000 compared to 508,270 persons in 2001. According to the census\(^20\), the racial profile of Polokwane consists of 92.9% black, 5.2% white and less than 2% Asian, Indian and coloured population groups. Table 4.1 shows the comparative figures between the Polokwane Local Municipality (split into four: main urban areas of Polokwane City, Seshego, and Mankweng, and rural areas\(^21\)), the Capricorn District Municipality and the Limpopo Province.

Table 4.1: Differential population growth rates in Polokwane Local Municipality\(^22\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polokwane City</td>
<td>86,580</td>
<td>166,403</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seshego</td>
<td>71,835</td>
<td>72,181</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mankweng</td>
<td>23,180</td>
<td>25,869</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Areas</td>
<td>326,675</td>
<td>364,547</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polokwane Total</td>
<td>508,270</td>
<td>629,000</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capricorn District Municipality</td>
<td>1,154,690</td>
<td>1,261,228</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limpopo</td>
<td>5,273,639</td>
<td>5,404,033</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 4.1, the Polokwane population has increased by more than 120,000 over the past 10 years. This implies an average annual growth rate of 2.4%. This is considerably above the average annual growth rate of 0.82% for the Province\(^23\). The next sections elaborate on migration trends, age composition and changes related to the Human Development Index (HDI) of Polokwane citizens.

4.1.1 Migration trends

The migration trends reflected in Table 4.1 show that the urban population, in particular in Polokwane City, is growing much faster than the rural population and the Seshego and Mankweng areas. This is largely due to migration of households from Mankweng and Seshego to suburbs within Polokwane, and migration from rural areas to the city. A contributing factor to this migration is that many government officials have migrated to Polokwane from Lebowakgomo, Thohoyandou and Giyani (administration centres of the previous homelands) during the past 20 years\(^24\). Young adults also prefer an urban environment to a small and remote rural settlements. Increasing numbers are leaving the homes of their

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\(^{23}\) Ibid

\(^{24}\) Personal interviews conducted with development economist and two respondents from the premier’s office.
parents in rural areas and establishing new households in Mankweng, Seshgo and Polokwane City. Some of these young households came from far beyond the municipal boundary.

4.1.2 Age composition

The age composition has current and future growth implications. The age structure of the Polokwane population in 2001 and 2011 is indicated in Error! Reference source not found..

Figure 4.1: Age structure of the Polokwane population²⁵

As seen in the figure above, the age cohort of the population 14 and younger dropped more than 5%, from 35.9% in 2001 to 30.1% in 2011. The active, potential working population of young adults and adults (15 to 64) rose from 59.2% to 68.8% over the one-year period. Only small differences were noticeable in the 65 years and older cohort, where approximately 5% of the population was of this age during the census recording.

4.1.3 Human Development Index (HDI)

The HDI is a conceptual, proportional index that attempts to quantify the extent of human development of a community. The HDI is used to track changes and compare these changes in development levels (life expectancy, literacy, and income per capita) over time. The HDI can assume a maximum level of 1.00, indicating a high level of human development, and a minimum value of 0.00 which represent low levels of human development. Error! Reference source not found. shows a comparison of the HDI between the different racial groups in 1996, 2001 and 2011.

As shown in the figure above, the HDI of the population in the Polokwane Local Municipality and Limpopo Province increased considerably between 1996 and 2011. In the Polokwane Municipality the HDI increased from 0.55 in 1996 to 0.71 in 2011. In addition the HDI recorded for Polokwane was on average higher than the HDI recorded in the rest of Limpopo. The HDI of all population groups increased between 1996 and 2011. However, the greatest differences in HDI increases were visible in the African and coloured populations groups. The African HDI increased with 0.18 points between 1996 (0.51) and 2011 (0.69), and the coloured population group with 0.13 points. Although significant progress has been made with regard to the HDI in the previously disadvantaged population groups, a large discrepancy still exists between the HDI of the white and Asian population groups compared to their coloured and African peers. As shown in the figure above, although the HDI only improved slightly for white and Asian population groups between 1996 and 2011, their HDI figures were still considerably higher than the other population groups (the white population group HDI was 0.89 and the Asian group 0.83 in 2011).

Regional Explorer, IHS Global Insight Data. 2013.
4.2 Overview of Polokwane Integrated Development Planning (IDP)

Currently there are two separate directorates responsible for the IDP and Local Economic Development (LED) strategies in the Polokwane Municipality. However, our study revealed that despite such arrangements, the municipality has been operating without any (LED) strategy since 2008. Currently driving municipal programmes on both infrastructure and economic development projects is an IDP strategy. One of the reasons for the lack of municipal LED strategy is that in 2008 the then Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) for Local Government and Traditional Affairs, refused to approve the LED strategy that the municipality developed through the services of professional consultants. One of the reasons advanced by the then MEC was that the strategy had failed to align its strategic objectives and strategies with those contained in the Limpopo Employment, Growth and Development Plan (LEGDP) and the New Growth Path. Thus, given the lack of a LED strategy, an overview of the municipal IDP strategy is central to the discussion.27

At the centre of the current municipal IDP strategy are several key strategic considerations. Some of these considerations include the following:

- to deepen democracy and promote good governance and public participation
- to ensure basic service delivery and financial sustainability
- to ensure infrastructure development projects and revitalisation of economic and socio-infrastructure to grow labour-intensive job opportunities
- to create an environment that is conducive to the formation of a metropolitan area.

The IDP describes Polokwane city as being ‘The largest metropolitan complex in the north’28. In a similar manner, one of the senior officials boasted that Polokwane is the only municipality in the Capricorn District and probably Limpopo as a whole, with an Executive Mayor, water services authority, and emergency services such as fire and disaster management, and which has created enough internal capacity to manage its public transport. The ambition to eventually become a metropolitan area is also well captured in the description by officials of what the concept Smart City 2030 entails. However, contrary to the international literature which defines the Smart City 2030 concept in terms of level of innovation and creativity, the Smart City 2030 concept described by interviewees is interpreted differently. Certain interviewees believed that Polokwane as Smart City 2030 would be able to access state grants with ease and in turn effectively spend these various grants. In addition, the interviewees indicated that their city is driven by a shared Smart City 2030 vision for the future. The city represents the aspirations of elite groups in the city (rich white and middle-income black individuals) as well as those of a generally highly desegregated local community. Lack of innovation and creativity in the city could to a large extent be confirmed by the remarks made by business and senior municipal officials when they acknowledged that Polokwane city is currently struggling to attract and retain people with skills in scarce areas such as engineering and information technology. At the moment, the few available skilled, innovative and creative people are poached by big companies, particularly in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town.29

29 Interviews with business persons and senior municipal officials
However, in line with the four key strategic considerations listed above, the current IDP strategy differs from the previous one on a number of aspects. Unlike the previous version, the current IDP strategy ensured attainment of the following:

- development of a comprehensive energy master plan in liaison with Eskom

Budgets and time frames are drawn for spatial development, energy, water and sanitation on each project, as specified and indicated in the IDP strategy. The following is an assessment of the current IDP strategy in terms of its positive attributes, weaknesses and potential threats to its execution.

### 4.2.1 Positive attributes

- The IDP serves as a guiding tool to assist the municipality in bridging previous disparities within spatial and infrastructure development between rural communities, former black townships and Polokwane city. Prioritisation of corridor development and an Integrated Public Transport (IPT) system are some of the approved flagship projects (IDP, 2012/13). To a large degree, these objectives date as far back as the late 1990s.
- There is a strong belief among officials that the IDP strategy is neither hindered nor disadvantaged in any way by any of national policies or programmes. Instead, the officials criticised the failure of some provincial departments to effectively implement national policies/programs at local government level. This did not come as a surprise, given the latest decision by the national government to place various Limpopo provincial departments under administration.
- Emphasis was made by the IDP manager and some respondents in the business community that the municipal IDP strategy is a product of inclusive and collective planning process with almost all the necessary structures (e.g. IDP Representative Forum) being established as stipulated in both the IDP strategy and relevant national policies and strategies.

### 4.2.2 Key shortcomings

- The IDP strategy comes across as an area-based development plan focusing on Polokwane city and Seshego. Subsequently, commercial farming areas and rural villages are either directly or indirectly excluded. As expressed by traditional leaders and acknowledged in the current IDP strategy, there are a number of heritage and projects sites (crocodile breeding project) in rural villages not reflected in the current IDP strategy.
- From a land-use management point of view, one of the acknowledged weaknesses in the current IDP strategy is the exclusion of commercial farming areas, rural villages and tribal areas (IDP, 2012/13, p.26).
- It seems to a certain extent that, despite active participation of key role stakeholders in planning processes, lack of capacity building programmes by the municipality for stakeholders other than full-time municipal employees and councillors has negatively affected meaningful participation (during both planning and implementation phases) particularly that of small and informal

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businesses and traditional leaders. Subsequently, some community projects in one of the rural villages visited are being rejected and thus stalled, probably due to lack of meaningful and constructive participation by traditional leaders during those initial phases (design and planning). This has resulted in an absence of buy-in by local communities and their broader tribal councils. Further affirming lack of capacity building tools for stakeholders other than municipal officials could be a skills/capacity development programme that caters exclusively for full-time municipal employees and councillors (IDP, p.65).

4.2.3 Potential threats:

There are three major challenges, in particular, the long-term major projects entailed in the current IDP strategy. First, water scarcity in Polokwane Municipality; second, ageing infrastructure in the older parts of the city; and thirdly, undue external political interference which more often than not seems to have weakened intergovernmental relations with certain provincial departments.  

Box 4.1: The IDP – conflicting observations from interviews

In conclusion, respondents’ opinions of the IDP are diverse and the efficacy of the IDP is a contested subject:

- Some interviewees criticised the fact that an ‘outsider’ company was appointed to compile the IDP. These interviewees felt that local consultants had a better understanding of the development dynamics in the Polokwane Municipality and that the IDP could have been much more relevant and in-depth than it is currently.
- Despite this criticism, most municipal respondents maintain that the municipality did everything in their power, firstly, to align their IDP with all relevant national policy frameworks, and secondly, to set up all relevant local and internal structures required by law for a smooth implementation of IDP strategy.
- Issues related to participatory planning and implementation have been raised by traditional leaders, role-players such as National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), and individuals in the private sector. However, since NAFCOC and traditional leaders confirm the existence of, along with invitations to, invitations to meetings related to municipal structures, we concluded that capacity building programs in the municipality are probably a greater challenge than stakeholder involvement programs.

4.3 Economic analysis

In this section, the focus now shifts to an analysis of various key economic activities of Polokwane city. Two main sub-sections are important to such analysis. The primary discussion covers an overall economic profile of Polokwane city, followed by a more narrow focus and discussion on the services sector. For a number of years, especially since the dawn of democratic dispensation in 1994, the service sectors (mainly driven by public administration) have become a key economic driver for Polokwane city and therefore, a more detailed understanding of this sector is required.

4.3.1 Economic profile

32 Interviews with municipal officials and organised business community

33 Personal interviews with municipal officials, the business sector and traditional leaders
Critical to the analysis in this section will be the economic structure of Polokwane in terms of three main aspects, namely: the relative contribution of the various economic sectors (Error! Reference source not found.); how the proportional contribution of these sectors has changed since 1996 (Error! Reference source not found.); and various growth rates of these sectors (Table 4.2). Although not necessarily a comparative study/analysis, the notion of regional comparison is prominent in our analysis, drawing comparisons between Polokwane and the rest of Limpopo Province, South Africa and the metropolitan areas.

**Figure 4.3: Relative contribution of economic sectors in Polokwane, all metropolitan areas, Limpopo, and South Africa, 2011**

![Graph showing relative contribution of economic sectors in Polokwane, all metros, Limpopo, and South Africa](image)

Figure 4.3 shows that:

- The services sector in Polokwane is proportionally larger than other municipalities in Limpopo, South Africa and metropolitan areas. To a large degree, this could be ascribed to a mass relocation (post-1994) of head offices of almost all the provincial departments and state’s agencies from former homelands to Polokwane city – making the city a service centre.
- The proportional sizes of the trade and finance sectors in Polokwane are comparable with those in metropolitan areas (16% for trade and 23% for financial services). These statistics probably suggest that Polokwane performs a wide regional role in respect of finance and trade. It also emerged from the interviews with business community and municipal officials that all big known national financial institutions (banks, insurance companies etc.), companies and businesses (SAB, Coca-Cola, Enterprise, Telkom, etc.) operating in Limpopo, have their head offices situated in Polokwane city while the rest of the province is serviced by satellite offices or branches.
It further emerged from interviews that Polokwane, as a regional trade and shopping centre, has also managed to expand its business borders to serve other areas, particularly the Mpumalanga province and neighbouring African countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana. For example, Polokwane is currently supplying Enterprise as well as SAB/Coca-Cola products to the rest of Mpumalanga province while informal traders, particularly those from Zimbabwe, are able to come and buy their stock on a regular basis due to the effective transport system.\(^{34}\)

The one area in which Polokwane differs significantly from the metropolitan areas is in its manufacturing economy, which is decidedly smaller than in the metros.

The largely insignificant contribution of agriculture should also be noted. This is in light of the fact that Polokwane is predominantly rural in nature with about 63% of its current population still residing in rural areas. This is probably an indication that significant percentages of the people residing in communal areas are in some or other way linked to the urban economy and not to agriculture (which will most probably be dominated by subsistence farming activities). Based on their local knowledge of the sector, some of the senior municipal officials cited conversion by most local farmers to game farming as one reason for this decline. These officials also blamed a decline in the agriculture sector on a lack of commitment by the Provincial Department of Agriculture to invest and revive agricultural activities and programmes within their municipality.

\(^{34}\) Interviews with business people – Black Management Forum (BMF) and NAFCOC, and LED official
Table 4.2 provides the constant figures and growth figures for the various sectors.

**Table 4.2: Economic growth in Polokwane by sector compared to growth in the rest of Limpopo, all metropolitan areas, and South Africa, 1996, 2001, and 2011 (constant 2005 figures, GVA)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sectors</th>
<th>GVA 2005 constant figures (R 1000)</th>
<th>Annual growth rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>180,056</td>
<td>243,769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>166,123</td>
<td>241,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>607,580</td>
<td>707,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>292,409</td>
<td>312,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>257,330</td>
<td>280,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>1,453,151</td>
<td>1,960,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>979,633</td>
<td>1,840,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>2,410,975</td>
<td>2,693,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>2,877,005</td>
<td>3,593,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polokwane</strong></td>
<td>9,224,262</td>
<td>11,871,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Limpopo</strong></td>
<td>63,910,227</td>
<td>77,881,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All metros</strong></td>
<td>595,946,896</td>
<td>708,520,914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Africa</strong></td>
<td>1,044,970,331</td>
<td>1,191,041,813</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From Figure 4.4 and Table 4.2, the following comments can be made:

- Polokwane’s (3.7%) annual economic growth rate is significantly higher than the Limpopo average (despite new mining developments in the province over the 15-year period under consideration). It seems as if it was especially the period 1996–2001 which recorded the most notable annual growth (5.2% per annum).
- The overall annual growth rate between 1996 and 2001 is only slightly lower than the growth rate for metropolitan areas.
- Significant growth rates have been recorded in agriculture (5.2%) (albeit from a low base) and in transport (7.9%) (largely a national phenomenon over this period), construction (4%) and trade (3.9%). As already mentioned, the growth of trade and construction are probably closely related to the location of the provincial head offices in Polokwane and to a certain extent, the growing demands for private student accommodation. The growth in transport can also be attributable to the city’s commitment (in partnership with Provincial Department of Public Works) to invest in transport related infrastructure such as building new roads, taxi and bus ranks, and regular maintenance of the existing infrastructure and facilities. Further boosting growth in the transport sector could be the city’s central and strategic location in relation to Southern African countries and other small towns of the province. At the moment, Polokwane (via the N1 and Polokwane International Airport) is being used by small towns and commercial farmers as their logistic hub to export their services and products to the rest of South Africa and international markets. However, most exports still have to go through OR Tambo International Airport. The consistent growth in the transport sector also augurs well for future infrastructure development of the city such as BRT and corridor developments as approved already in their IDP strategy and Spatial Planning Projects.
- The proportional decline of manufacturing since 1996 is also not a strange phenomenon for the area and can largely be related to the fact that it is extremely difficult to generate economies of scale in manufacturing outside the main metropolitan areas. It should be noted that despite the fact that manufacturing in Polokwane has decreased proportionally, a healthy 2.4% per annum growth rate was recorded between 1996 and 2001.

In conclusion, it seems as if four aspects have driven Polokwane’s economy over the past two decades. In the first place, Polokwane’s status as capital of Limpopo resulted in provincial government departments as well as certain decentralised national government departments being located in Polokwane. In addition to this injection from government, Polokwane has also become a regional and national shopping hub. Thirdly, the growth in trade can also be related to the contribution of students at the University of Limpopo and branches of the University of South Africa (UNISA) and Tshwane University of Technology (TUT). Finally, these three factors and the establishment of a small but significant manufacturing base in the late 1980s have probably been the main reasons for the growth experienced in Polokwane.

Error! Reference source not found. provides an overview of Polokwane’s economy and more specifically its services sector in relation to the rest of the Limpopo province and South Africa.

**Figure 4.5:** GVA contribution of Polokwane’s services sector and total economy to Limpopo and South Africa, 1996, 2001, and 2011 (real values, GVA)
From Figure 4.5 it is possible to make the following comments:

- To a large extent, the trend is in line with the intention in the IDP to further develop Polokwane city as a vibrant economic hub of Limpopo. This figure also demonstrates how Polokwane’s contribution to the total economy of Limpopo has shown a steady growth between 1996 and 2011, while a similar trend is visible in respect of the city’s contribution to the total economy of South Africa. Between 1996 and 2011, the city’s contribution to the provincial total economy grew by 1% (from 14.4% to 15.4%).

- To a large degree this is consistent with steady growth in the economic contribution of the city’s leading sector services to the economy of Limpopo over the same period (1996–2011). The services sector registered (although minimal) a 0.3% growth between 1996 and 2011 in its contribution to the provincial economy. A similar trend is also evident in the city’s contribution to the services sector in South Africa – with the city’s services sector contribution growing from 1.1% (1996) to 1.3% (2011).

4.3.2 Employment profile

It is important to view the changes in respect of GVA with the changes that have occurred in respect of employment. Table 4.3 reflects the changing employment figures in Polokwane since 1996.
Table 4.3: Employment per economic sector in Polokwane, 1996, 2001 and 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>13 392</td>
<td>13 825</td>
<td>11 848</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>-4.8</td>
<td>-9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>7450</td>
<td>6612</td>
<td>5362</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
<td>-2.1</td>
<td>-2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>849</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>4054</td>
<td>4036</td>
<td>4307</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>10 195</td>
<td>12 116</td>
<td>11 474</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>6047</td>
<td>5584</td>
<td>4561</td>
<td>-1.6</td>
<td>-1.8</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>5651</td>
<td>7462</td>
<td>8618</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>19 825</td>
<td>23 229</td>
<td>34 947</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households</td>
<td>17 695</td>
<td>16 512</td>
<td>20 575</td>
<td>-1.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>85 566</td>
<td>90 690</td>
<td>102 735</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast to significant growth recorded in most of the economic sectors, employment figures are generally in decline. Utilities, construction and finance recorded low growth in employment. Service and households recorded significant growth at 4.2% and 2.2% per annum since 1996. Negative employment growth was recorded for all economic sectors. In addition a few other notes should be made:

- The labour absorption rate of agriculture remains high. This is evident from the fact that only 2% of GVA originates from agriculture compared to its 15.6% of employment share.
- About 8% of jobs in agriculture are in forestry.
- Approximately 12% of the trade jobs are in restaurants and hotels (which have grown as a sub-sector of trade since 1996 despite trade employment having a negative growth rate). Again this is evident of the regional development role which Polokwane city plays.

4.4 Business overview

Polokwane is described as the economic hub of the Limpopo Province in terms of public administration, sport and events management projects, business and service industries. In addition, Polokwane is also seen as the educational and health node of the province. The large employment industries in Polokwane

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are covered by the public service, the business and retail service industries, social industries such as education and health, the trade and transport sectors, and to a limited extent, mining activity. Little growth is evident in manufacturing and the agriculture sector appears to be in decline.36

- **Public service industry:** Government is the most significant sector driving the business economy in Polokwane. Located in the area, along with municipal offices, are the head offices of all the provincial government departments. The public service industry is seen as a steady employer in the city.

- **Business service industry:** The business landscape in Polokwane city is to a large degree currently dominated by local enterprises and companies rather than international companies. Despite its minimal sectoral contribution, interviews with the organised business community revealed that Polokwane city (by virtue of being a regional logistic hub rather than a primary producer) is an exporter (national and international) of agricultural products, particularly fresh produce in the form of potatoes, tomatoes, citrus fruit and avocados (with the Netherlands being the particular destination for their avocado products).

- **Retail sector:** The retail sector, and in particular the Mall of the North, is seen as an economic boost for the area. The target market of the Mall of the North is clientele from all over Africa, thus serving both the local area and bordering countries. The Mall of the North is an investment in black buying power. The intention is to draw neighbouring countries’ retail business away from Gauteng to Polokwane, which is closer in proximity for them.

- **Finance sector:** Furthermore, the significant contribution of the trade and finance sectors should also be noted. The proportional sizes of the trade and finance sectors in Polokwane are comparable with those in metropolitan areas (16% for trade and 23% for financial services). These statistics suggest that Polokwane performs a wide regional role in respect of finance and trade. It also emerged from the interviews with business community and municipal officials that all big and reputable national financial institutions (banks, insurance companies etc.) companies and businesses (SAB, Coca-Cola, Enterprise, Telkom, etc.) operating in Limpopo, have their head offices situated in Polokwane city while the rest of the province is serviced by satellite offices or branches.

- **Social industries:** The educational facilities and to some extent the health facilities (private sector) are commended as being of an excellent standard. The schools in the area do not only cater for local residents, but also for neighbouring areas, including bordering countries. This has resulted in a large number of private schools being established since 1994 and these are seen as employment creators. The private hospital currently caters for 500 patients, with development of a private day care and academic hospital planned for the near future.

- **Logistics hub:** Closely related to Polokwane’s role as a logistical hub for the province, could be the steady growth in the transport business sector between 1996 and 2011. Evidence from interviews with municipal officials revealed that behind the flourishing and booming business environment in the city are targeted joint ventures of the Provincial Department of Public Works and Polokwane municipal interventions to invest and improve road infrastructure and public transport systems. It also further emerged from the interviews with traditional leaders that increased accessibility of Polokwane city due to effective and reliable public transport makes it

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more convenient for rural communities to bypass nearby small towns such as Lebowakgomo (within 10km of some of these communities) to go and do their shopping in the city's various malls, with small rural businesses also buying their products from its wholesalers. In fulfilling this role, Polokwane has become a regional consumer centre for both the surrounding rural and small town communities.

- **Mining activity:** Although some mining operations such as the Anglo Platinum smelter and the silicon mine are active in the area, other districts such as Burgersfort and Steelpoort, are well known for their mining activity in Limpopo. There are some rumours of future expansion of platinum activities in the Polokwane area, but interviewees were hesitant to provide detail or elaborate on the topic.

Despite being comparable to metropolitan areas in terms of trade and finance sectors, the one area in which Polokwane differs significantly from the metropolitan areas is in its manufacturing economy, which has noticeably smaller averages than the metros. The proportional decline of manufacturing since 1996 is also not a strange phenomenon for the area and can largely be related to the fact that it is extremely difficult to generate economies of scale in manufacturing outside the main metropolitan areas. The growth in business sectors such as trade, transport and construction in particular, could probably be related to the dominance of the services sector in Polokwane city. Polokwane is currently fulfilling the role of regional service centre, following the relocation (from former home lands) of head offices of various provincial departments and decentralisation of certain national functions to Polokwane city.

The growth in transport and trade could be ascribed in particular to the city's investment in a public transport system and good support by the Provincial Department of Public Works, along with the city having established a separate Directorate for its public transport system, and most importantly, the central and strategic location in relation to Southern African countries and other small towns of the province. At the moment, Polokwane (through the N1 and Polokwane International Airport) is used as a logistic hub to export services and products to the rest of South Africa. International exports are mainly done via OR Tambo International Airport. Furthermore, growth in trade can also be related to the number of students at the University of Limpopo and branches of UNISA and TUT in Polokwane city.

Finally, apart from the city's strategic central location and that it is ideally situated to be the gateway to various local and international markets, further contributing to growth in business sectors such as trade, finance, transport and construction are probably the sound relationships between municipality and all business structures and agencies in the city. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that through agencies and structures such as Limpopo Economic Development Agency (LEDA), BMF, NAFCOC (which are all represented in the municipal IDP representative forum), the Polokwane Chamber of Business, the municipality and business community are currently working and planning together. To a certain extent, regular business breakfasts and gala dinners, jointly held, further attest to these ties. As suggested, there are challenges, one of which is the existing discrepancy between municipal programmes and support to small businesses. Despite its acknowledgement of a good relationship with local municipality, NAFCOC is still concerned with the slow pace at which the municipality implements some of the collective decisions to mobilise funding and support for small businesses, in particular the SMMEs. NAFCOC is also unimpressed with the pace of municipal assistance towards transformation and integration of SMMEs into the local mainstream economy.

### 4.4.1 Business and local government relations

The general feeling is that an active collaboration exists between business, particularly big corporations, and the municipality, so it is not surprising that the BMF is more satisfied with government than NAFCOC
Senior municipal officials and business representatives agree that an environment is being created that is conducive to the success of business; this is facilitated by the municipality and the local South African Police Service (SAPS), with crime no longer a serious threat to the business community in particular. Apart from municipal structures such as an IDP representative forum, meant to promote maximum participation of all key stakeholders during IDP planning and development processes, other platforms created collectively by business and municipality include regular business gala dinners and breakfast workshops. We were told that either the municipal manager or executive mayor will always be in attendance at these events. The role of LEDA has also been prominent, ensuring that local businesses are assisted and empowered, particularly with regard to penetrating the international business sector. To further promote sound relations, the municipality also resolved, in one of their recent council meetings, to make it mandatory for all senior managers to adopt and share among themselves information about the top 100 biggest businesses (SAB, Enterprise, Telkom, Eskom, Silicon Smelters, etc.) including shopping malls (Mall of the North, etc.) in the city. There is regular feedback on each of these adopted businesses to the council meetings so that if need be, the municipality could intervene immediately. However, despite this sound relationship between municipality and big businesses, there seem to be gaps in the current relationship between the municipality and small businesses, particularly SMMEs. While a representative of these SMMEs appreciated attempts and efforts made by the municipality to put in place all the relevant structures, programmes and policies to support small businesses, the challenge still remains in that the implementation of these is not forthcoming.

It is important to gauge the relationship between business and local government. This relationship appears to differ according to the type of business. For example, in the mining areas, the type of relationship between the local municipality and mine houses (or large industry), varies from the type of relationship with other businesses operating in the area (small enterprises). Interview results indicated that mine houses are inclined to have better relationships with district municipalities than local municipalities – one of the reasons being that mine houses avoid involvement in local politics.

4.4.2 Human resources

Providing human resources for the business sector needs seems to be problematic. Many interviewees agree that there is a mismatch in skills. The educational facilities, in particular the tertiary education, do not fulfil business needs and it is a struggle to find qualified persons for specialised jobs. Particular challenges with regard to human resources in the business sector and the municipality are highlighted:

**Business sector:** Polokwane finds it difficult to draw professional employees from the metros, and professionals in turn, often view Polokwane as a stopover in their career paths before they are promoted and moved to larger cities. In smaller businesses, employees reach a promotion ceiling soon, and in order to further their career paths, they look for greater opportunities outside of Polokwane. Contrary to small and informal businesses, big businesses seem to experience a far lower staff turnover. Many business leaders see Polokwane as a base from which to expand via branches and satellites in other cities.

37 Personal interviews with the business sector, personnel agencies and human resources at the municipality
surrounding towns and provinces, for instance, Mpumalanga. In this way they are able to keep growing their operations even if they feel their Polokwane businesses might have reached full potential or saturation point.

The municipality: With the period of transformation in the early 1990s, much skills transfer and mentoring took place. Unfortunately many of the mentors retired with time and it seems as if the skills transfer process retired with the professionals. The municipality struggles to find candidates qualified for managerial positions and in addition, promising candidates are often promoted too soon – before they are capable of performing the tasks expected of them. Some observations were made that many people, even those with potential, do not have the relevant experience to optimally perform in their work. The lack of continuity in key positions in the municipality has negatively influenced service delivery overall. Although opportunities for skills development are created by the municipality, these opportunities are underutilised. Public workers do not make the most of training opportunities offered by the municipality. Completion rate for training is very low and less than 40% of people enrolled complete these courses.

4.5 Social issues

The following section highlights segregation and migration issues related to social concerns in Polokwane.

4.5.1 Segregation aspects

Key literature indicates that racial segregation was a predominant feature up to the 1990s. Post 1994, the suburbs surrounding the inner-city became more accessible to low-income blacks and foreign (legal and illegal) migrants; a transition which did not present any signs of conflict. Since the end of apartheid, Polokwane has become well known for some aspects of desegregation (black middle classes in former white suburbs). However, prominent features of present-day Polokwane are class-based segregation and re-segregation within gated communities. The city has seen a significant level of black homeowners moving into former whites-only suburbs and the creation of new class-based suburbs. Expectations that house values might decrease in areas where the most integration occurred did not materialise. House prices have kept pace with the normal increase in market values driven by supply and demand factors.

Box 4.2 summarises some of the informants’ viewpoints with regard to racial integration.


The majority of informants agreed that Polokwane’s racial integration and transformation experienced a much smoother transition than in most other cities in South Africa. It seems as if the city’s previous white suburbs had been racially well integrated from the early 1990s. Polokwane currently has an established black integrated middle class population group living in previous white suburbs. However, most respondents agree little integration has taken place culturally in terms of language and race. People still live very much in their own cultural groupings, only co-existing, albeit peacefully, with a high level of tolerance for each other. Current segregation is seldom described in terms of race, but rather in terms of social status and income. Many respondents referred to the gated communities that have mushroomed in Polokwane since the early 2000s. Elitist suburbs, mainly occupied by well-paid civil servants and tender entrepreneurs, are criticised. The Sterpark residential suburb is commonly known among locals as ’Tender park’ – a status symbol that ’you have arrived’. In the words of a respondent, the integration aspect can be summarised as follows:

‘We are doing well with integration – but it will take time to change the mind-set of people. Mentally we are not there yet.’

4.5.2 Migration

Two features of migration are highlighted in this section; firstly, migration and mobility between rural villages, peri-urban areas and urban centres, and secondly, migration related to immigrants.

Migration and mobility in rural villages and urban areas

Like elsewhere in the country’s fast growing cities, Polokwane city is no exception when it comes to different types of migration, particularly rural–urban migration. This type of migration (rural–urban) continues to manifest in various forms, predominantly in the burgeoning informal settlements in and around Polokwane. Disteneng, a notorious informal settlement, is one of the most densely populated (5700 households). Situated on the outskirts of Polokwane city, more than 50% of its dwellers originate from the surrounding rural areas, particularly the villages. One of the phenomena seemingly responsible for rural–urban migration to Polokwane city is that of ’premature de-agriculturisation’ which was largely due to a lack of economic opportunities and infrastructure development in these rural areas.

Despite lacking basic infrastructure (good roads, electricity, water), most villages have experienced some improvement since 1996 through targeted government investment. In particular, those villages referred to

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40 Personal interviews with the business and community sector

41 Interview with a municipal official


in literature as ‘central’\textsuperscript{44} enjoy close and effective transport links with Polokwane city. Our study of two villages adjacent to Polokwane city revealed that most rural–urban migrants originate more from far-lying, small villages than those adjacent to the city. Thus, if the current experience of the two villages is anything to go by, in terms of population migration and mobility within the rural space, it could be appropriate to suggest that villages adjacent to Polokwane City (within a radius of 40km) have successfully managed to maintain their population growths. Despite a continued lack of economic opportunities as in rural communities elsewhere, these villages continue to experience in-migration (rural–rural migration) of people from other small remote rural villages\textsuperscript{45}. While rural villages seemed to experience a decline in general in their populations between 2001 and 2011, there are indications that some (especially those adjacent to Polokwane city) are experiencing population growth. Examples of this are in Moletji Blood River, with an increase from 7006 households in 2001 to 8406 households in 2011, and in Ga-Chuene (one of two villages visited), an increase from 4964 households in 2001 to 5488 households in 2011\textsuperscript{46}. Thus, with the number of incoming individuals seeking accommodation being slightly higher than those leaving the two villages we visited (most probably to Polokwane city), the two tribal leaders expressed their concern, with one of them even pointing to a new emerging phenomenon of informal squatters in his village. Reasons for this, as suggested by the tribal leaders, could be the proximity of these villages to Polokwane City, and particularly, the easy accessibility of the city and its economic and social opportunities. There is an effective and efficient public transport system; all main roads connecting the city and these rural communities are tarred and reasonably maintained. The ability to access urban conveniences such as shopping centres (big retail stores in malls) and job opportunities and to a lesser extent, education and health services, perceived (mostly by the few privileged) to be better, seems to have out-weighed the personal need for reliable and good quality basic services. This undersupply in the basic services continues to be a developmental challenge, even in villages receiving such services. It should however, be noted that it is a government partnership between local municipality and the Provincial Department of Public Works at the centre of the effective, reliable and affordable public transport system linking the rural villages with the city. The existence of this public transport system is facilitated by the partnership’s investment in infrastructure development such as building and regular maintenance of taxi and bus ranks as well as roads infrastructure. At the moment the government’s role (particularly local municipality) in the provision of public transport in this respect is limited to provision and maintenance of facilities (e.g. taxi and bus ranks) and infrastructure (roads) while local taxi and bus associations have taken full responsibility (without any form of financial subsidy by municipality) to provide transport services to these rural communities. Furthermore, owing to an effective public transport system in Polokwane, these rural communities are also, to a certain extent, linked via Polokwane, with the urban economy of metropolitan areas such as Tshwane and Johannesburg. This is evident in that some Polokwane households are dependent on migrant remittances from these areas (although remunerations from Polokwane are currently the most dominant). Most notable in the above scenario should be the fact that rural villages with easy access to urban centres could potentially help in relieving these urban centres of the high volumes of population in-migration which typically results in expanding squatter settlements on the outskirts of most urban areas, Polokwane city included.


\textsuperscript{45} Interviews with traditional leaders

\textsuperscript{46} Statistics South Africa. Census 2001 and 2011.
The full extent of illegal migration to Polokwane is for the most part undocumented. Most citizens are aware of illegal migration, but do not perceive the in- and out-flow of migrants as a threat. The majority of migrants stay in what is described as ‘unpopular sections’, only visited by a few community organisations involved with migration aspects and the police, with odd raids in a futile attempt to manage the ‘migration problem’. The sections occupied by migrants include the New Pietersburg area (also known as Disteneng), Bok Street, Dahl Street and Buite Street. Box 4.3 shows the diverse, often uninformed opinions of interviewees with regard to the issue of city migrants.

Literature confirms the interviewees’ perceptions with regard to labour, which is outlined in Box 4.3. Work is typically performed by immigrants in the informal sector, where their roles include working as hawkers, saloon managers, hair stylists, vegetable sellers or performing other occasional technical work. Male immigrants frequently avail themselves to temporary jobs such as painting, gardening, digging holes, construction and any other tasks that South Africans offer them on a casual basis. Women immigrants tend to be found in the more ‘formal’ industries such as restaurants and clothing shops. The main reason locals prefer to employ immigrants is their willingness to accept low wages.

47 Personal interviews with the community sector


Box 4.3: Conceptualising migrants in Polokwane

Although the CBD and migrant areas are often ‘no-go’ zones for local Polokwane citizens, there are some community organisations, mostly religious in nature, which are very active in the poor immigrant community. The following subcategories summarise the interviewees’ attitudes towards legal and illegal migrants:

- **Types of migrants:** Although most interviewees agreed that migrants are drawn to Polokwane in search of work and as a desperate means to escape poverty, there is not much consensus on the type of migrants coming to Polokwane. Some respondents thought that farm labourer migrants are in the minority. They were of opinion that farm labourers (described as lower class, low-skilled migrants) would rather go to the Musina and Tzaneen areas where agriculture is more dominant. Many respondents believe that the more ‘technically skilled’ and educated migrants can be found in Polokwane. These migrants are working informally, either establishing their own businesses, working in technical fields such as construction or in the service industry; this includes domestic workers. There is also poor white, interprovincial migration, from places such as Pretoria and Richards Bay.

- **Peaceful migration:** Most respondents referred to the in and out movement of people. The influx of migrants is not viewed by most as a noticeable crisis. Despite an influx of international migrants into Polokwane, there is healthy integration with the locals. On the surface it appears as if there is lot of tolerance for immigrants and no conflict; however with closer inspection it is clear that few people in Polokwane are really aware of the number of immigrants or their living conditions. A common joke shared among the locals regarding police raids when immigrants are taken to the border, is that those immigrants return to Polokwane long before the police vans get back. Polokwane is also often viewed as simply a transient place for migrants on their way to Gauteng.

- **Labour related:** Migrants are used because of their lower labour cost and the perception that migrant labourers work harder and have better work ethics than local labourers. One respondent, referring to the negative impact of the labour laws on doing business, stated: ‘We have no problems with the illegal immigrants, if they were not here, who would do the work?’

- **Extent of the migration challenge:** There is no control over international migrants settling or passing through Polokwane and ordinary citizens have no idea of the extent of the immigrant influx in the city. One of the few interviewees working within the migrant community showed us areas where people from Asia, Ghana, Ethiopia, Somalia, Ivory Coast, Eritrea, Kenya, Mozambique, Congo, Iran, Pakistan, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are trading informally. These migrants are living in New-Pietersburg and the CBD in harsh conditions. Business premises are informally sublet and corruption and exploitation among the immigrants is rife. As an example, a missionary working in the Asian community spoke of situations where business premises are sublet with a down payment of R400,000 in cash before trade can start. Houses are also being sublet; we were shown buildings where rooms are divided and sublet according to immigrant nationality. Many of the traders in the CBD sleep on shop doorsteps during the week, migrate back to their place of origin over weekends, and are back for trade on Mondays.

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50 Personal interviews with respondents in the community sector
4.5.3 Community involvement in poverty related issues

There is a large community involvement along with sponsorships from the public and private sectors to address community poverty. A number of feeding schemes for the poor are in place and the Polokwane food bank distributes almost 7000 food parcels monthly among poor households. The community organisation HIEP distributes food parcels among 500 poor households a month. These are only examples of the community interventions, related to us by programme members who were interviewed. The full measure of community feeding schemes is much greater, but we were unable to interview all of the community programmes we were referred to.

A variety of social programmes are in place for the different population groups. During our interviews we visited three low-income community shelters helping approximately 150 poor-white households, various feeding schemes for the poor, community centres for the old, community housing and schooling for displaced children (local and immigrant) and community gardens in Seshgo. The impact made by community organisations and feeding schemes is clearly visible in Polokwane; there are very few beggars on the streets, and we did not notice any street children. Interviews with community organisations confirmed that they have many active programmes in place to run orphanages, keep children off the street and in school while housed in places of safety, along with intervention programmes for troubled youths. Community groups also gave examples of doctors helping patients, lawyers representing the poor and kindergartens taking in poor children, all free of charge. In addition, SPAR distributes food coupons and Pick n Pay sponsors goods for the food bank. Given the limited timeframe for the research we strongly recommend follow up studies to investigate the impact of community organisations in more detail.

4.6 Natural resources and the environment

The greatest natural resource challenge facing Polokwane is access to water for servicing the area. In addition, according to the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) (2010), existing environmental problems include aspects related to waste management: soils, hydrology, geology and topography, vegetation, fauna and birdlife.

4.6.1 Water scarcity

Polokwane has a dry climate and its water resources are stretched almost beyond capacity. The average annual rainfall of the area is only around half a meter, with water therefore transported in from outside its watersheds to meet the city’s needs. Challenges relate to water provision from an overburdened infrastructure, lack of water resources, severe drought, and theft and vandalism involving boreholes. Residential consumption comprises 79% of total water demand, leaving only 21% for industrial and mining consumption. As a part of its water provision the municipality provides free basic water to communities connected to all rural Regional Water Schemes. Free basic water schemes in urban areas are given only to registered indigent households, which are entitled to up to 6000 litres (6kl) of potable

51 Personal interviews with respondents in the community sector


water every month at no cost\(^54\). Paying households using more than 6kl water a month are billed an additional pro rata for their quota of water used. Growth in Polokwane will require an exponential increase in access to water. Personal interviews confirm that Polokwane is steering towards major water infrastructure problems (see Box 4.4). Sections 4.10.3 and 4.10.4 elaborate further on water aspects related to municipal planning.

**Box 4.4: Respondents’ viewpoints of water**\(^55\)

- Although there are plans for the doubling of water pipelines from the Ebenezer dam to boost the failing single serviced pipeline, the planning is based on crisis management rather than forward planning. The water infrastructure is not sufficiently maintained, is well behind schedule and cannot keep up with future growth. Citizens do not often feel the impact of these shortages as Polokwane has priority when it comes to infrastructure provision such as water. In severe droughts, pipelines intended for rural provision are closed and redirected to provide water in Polokwane. This has a negative impact on rural provision of water, especially to the previous homelands.
- Current access to water is fully utilised, and this resulted in a moratorium being put in place in March 2013, halting new developments. There is now little capacity for residential or economic growth or for peak demand spikes. However, the free basic water provided in areas not zoned as urban possibly leads to development outside the urban boundaries where water is provided free of charge and developments are not so closely monitored. Future scenarios do not look positive and it is difficult to foresee that there will be any bulk water to address backlogs or to provide for economic growth.
- National planning by the Department of Water Affairs does not always correspond with provincial and municipal objectives for water infrastructure. The centralised control of water infrastructure is problematic for efficient water provision in Polokwane. Local interviewees feel that their recommendations for water provision are not always implemented or taken seriously by the national department.
- A number of the interviewees highlighted the strict water regulations and the costs related to paying pro rata for quotas of water used.

### 4.6.2 Waste management

Solid waste in the municipal area requires attention. Municipal Refuse collection is only being done at Seshego, Polokwane, Mankweng and Sebayeng. Challenges are experienced in terms of disposal of domestic waste, while medical and hazardous waste is becoming an increasing concern. At present there are no clear indications of where and how such waste is disposed of. In many of the more rural areas (Molepo-Maja-Chuene, Moletje) the municipality is not able to provide refuse services. Points of concern in rural waste management are a) the burning of combustible solid waste (paper, cardboard, plastics), which simply transfers the waste to the atmosphere in gaseous form, and b) that metal and certain glass products which are re-useable and recyclable, are simply buried in mini-landfills in household stands.

### 4.6.3 Soils, hydrology, geology and topography

There is erosion in the landscape due to un-rehabilitated brick fields, industrial sites and mines. This causes serious soil, air and water pollution problems due to dust and suspended particulates. Examples are the Lafarge Quarry, the Silicon Smelters and the Hillary construction premix plant. Dumping of ash

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\(^55\) Interviews with engineering firm, previous city clerk, two previous mayors and respondents in the business sector.
and slag in the southern portion of the Silicon Smelters site is creating a health hazard. Chemicals leach into soils at bulk storage facilities through leaking tanks and pipelines and contaminate the soil and eventually the groundwater. Groundwater pollution also takes place via seepage from gravesites, pit latrines and ventilated improved pit (VIP) latrines in the rural areas. Additional pollution occurs from the raw sewage of sewerage plants and leaking underground chemical and bulk fuel tanks. Drinking water is potentially being polluted by the old asbestos cement pipes used in the municipal area. Asbestos cement ceilings are also still in use. In rural areas (the southwestern corner of the Molepo-Maja-Chuene cluster) sinkholes pose a threat to development and livestock. In addition, lack of crop rotation by commercial and subsistence farmers is depleting the soil’s nutrient base, rendering the soil unsuitable for agriculture or grazing and eventually causing erosion by water and wind.

4.7 Municipal governance and management

Despite challenges raised and acknowledged by all parties (municipal officials, organised business, traditional leadership), the overall impression is that the municipality is on track across various areas of responsibility, with aspects of governance and management included\(^{56}\). In terms of composition, the municipal council currently comprises an Executive Mayor, a Speaker, a CFO, a Municipal Manager, 10 members of mayoral committee and 64 members of council\(^{57}\). The recent permanent appointment of both the CFO and Municipal Manager seems to have brought a sense of stability to all key strategic areas of governance and management, particularly the municipal finances. This appointment also seems—to a large extent—to have inspired confidence from fellow municipal employees, particularly the Executive Mayor, who fellow colleagues regard as a decisive and assertive leader, manager and governor. His decisiveness and ability to provide thorough general overviews of municipal operations, has for the past two years in succession earned him *PMR awards* for being the most progressive mayor\(^{58}\). A further boost to the success of municipal governance could result in the appointing of permanent personnel to the majority of the key strategic positions, which, for the past two years, have been occupied by acting appointees. Subsequently, in recent months, the municipality seems to have succeeded in setting up internal structures to enhance effective involvement and consultation with key local stakeholders. The IDP Representative Forum is one such structure within the broader municipal governance and represented in that structure are, among others, the business community, traditional leaders, and government business agencies as well as district and provincial representatives. The municipality regularly uses these internal structures and other mechanisms to organise events such as workshops, gala dinners and business breakfasts\(^{59}\).

Senior municipal officials alluded to visionary management operational plans and strategies (particularly the IDP strategy and finance policy) that are in development, to be used as guiding tools to enforce management ethics. Another benefit to municipal management could be the fact that all key senior strategic positions within the municipality are currently filled, not only by permanent office holders, but by

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56 Interviews with municipal officials and interviews with organised business


58 Interview with a municipal official

59 Interviews with organised business community; Interviews with municipal officials
skilled, qualified and competent directors and senior managers. Further inspiring and enhancing good management within the municipality is a favourable working environment. Most senior municipal officials have ascribed this largely to what they affectionately refer to as ‘local political stability’. They believe this was skilfully orchestrated and sustained by their local hero, Freddy Greaver, the current Executive Mayor. At the centre of this ‘local political stability’ is an approach of non-interference from local political leadership in internal management roles such as tendering processes. As an indicator of improved municipal management, a senior official cited a growing number of bidders (particularly outsiders) for advertised municipal tenders. This is a refreshing change from the usual and expected form that was in place prior to the current Executive Mayor’s appointment in 2010. The commitment of the municipality to ensuring that correct protocol is consistently followed, particularly with regard to project management principles, is largely cited by municipal officials as a factor in the improvement of management. Recent academic studies have further confirmed this point.

There is however, also a downside to the above-mentioned scenario. Firstly, a need to review and revise some of the key strategic planning municipal documents, particularly the outstanding LED strategy and certain areas of finance and procurement policies, is imperative. Secondly, while water scarcity has been acknowledged and implied by comments from all interviewees as being a serious hindrance, there are also concerns surrounding the inability of what has been referred to as the ‘non-interfering local political leadership to save certain prospective economic projects and plans from being delayed, derailed or stalled by undue outside political interference’, mainly from a specific group of powerful provincial political office bearers. At the centre of this practice is the recurrent diversion of funds to matters not even mentioned in municipal planning documents (e.g. IDP) or advertised in municipal priority lists, so as to serve the vested interests of powerful individual politicians in position of power. When such ‘administrative blunders’ occur, it is customary for the public (especially media and ordinary community members) to blame everything on the municipality, despite it not being the doing of local municipality. In turn this has, to a certain degree, seemed to have hurt intergovernmental relations between the municipality and a number of provincial departments.

4.8 Municipal finance

Polokwane Municipality appears to have two main sources of revenue: government grants and internal revenue sources, with service charges being the main internal contributor. It should however, also be noted, that the current Chief Financial Officer (CFO) for Polokwane Municipality has been in a permanent position for less than a year. Still, she could divulge and expose the much-needed documentation, insight and information concerning municipal finances and performance.

4.8.1 Auditor-General reports

Below is a table on the performance of Polokwane Municipality over the past five financial years.

|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

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60 Interview with a municipal official

61 Interviews with organised business community; Interviews with municipal officials
Over two consecutive financial years (2008/09 and 2009/10), Polokwane Municipality performed well in terms of its finances. Evidence of this can be seen in the unqualified auditor general’s findings on the municipal finances. However, the same cannot be said about the subsequent two financial years, where the Municipality obtained qualified and disclaimed audit reports in 2010/11 and 2011/12 respectively. Some issues contributing to the situation, particularly the auditor general’s report for the 2010/11 financial year, included:

- Municipality liabilities that exceeded their existing assets by R125.3 million
- Practices of unauthorised expenditure to the value of R30.4 million
- Poor internal audit due to a dysfunctional internal audit committee
- As alleged by two of the most senior municipal officials, the absence of a permanent, qualified CFO has also played a great role in the poor financial performance of the municipality and the two financial years that received qualified audit reports.
- While the disclaimer in 2011/12 (as alleged by a senior municipal official), was not the result of financial mismanagement but was instead due to human error, leading to the Auditor-General using a wrong valuation roll which could not reconcile with the current municipal assets register, an error that was discovered after the judgment had been passed.

4.8.2 Income

The total revenue for 2012 stood at R1.787 billion, which is nearly 23.6% more than in 2011 and significantly more than the R1.331 billion in 2008. Annexure A provides a more detailed assessment of the income of Polokwane Municipality over the past five financial years. The largest portion of this income has been generated through services charges (43.3%) with government grants and subsidies (19.5%) and property rates (12.7%) following suit. Error! Reference source not found. provides an overview of the percentage contribution of service charges, property tax and equitable share.
The above figures should be seen against the extensive capital grants the municipality received in preparation for the FIFA 2010 Soccer World Cup. Thus the figures since 2010 are much more reliable in assessing the income streams of Polokwane Local Municipality. Since 2010 the following key trends should be noted:

- A significant increase in the proportional share of service charges to income has occurred. For the 2012 financial year the percentage was around 44%. To a large degree this increase could particularly be ascribed to the 95% collection rate some senior municipal officials referred to in our interview. The sound relationship between municipality and big businesses, which in turn has seen individual senior municipal officials adopting the top 100 big businesses and institutions (SAB, Telkom, Eskom, Silicon Smelters, etc.), could have also played a role in this respect. However, more worrying should be the annual increases in services charges – largely driven by an increase in electricity costs which also have led to an increased dependence on electricity service charges as a source of revenue.

- Although there has also been a significant increase in the contribution of the equitable share, the declining percentages from 2011 to 2012 are expected to continue in the near future.

- Property tax has increased as proportional share of municipal income from about 7% in 2008 to a high of 14% in 2011. The 2012 figure of 12% is significantly smaller than the 24.7% average for metropolitan areas.

As already noted, the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) received for the FIFA 2010 World Cup were significant and in 2009 made nearly one third of the Polokwane Local Municipality’s budget. Other than this significant capital injection, the legacy of the World Cup is expressed with mixed feelings by senior municipal officials. On the one hand, there is widespread acknowledgement of economic and
infrastructural spinoffs that came with this mega sport event, among them being a world class soccer stadium (Peter Mokaba Stadium); improved roads infrastructure and upgrading of businesses (particularly the hospitality industry – hotels, Bed & Breakfast accommodation, etc.) with most attaining between three- and five-star status. On the other hand, a few municipal liabilities were also created in the process; the current challenge being to maintain and sustain this infrastructure (for example, lack of public support coupled by lack of popularity of the newly promoted local soccer club, Polokwane City, being an inhibiting factor for municipality to generate enough revenue required for regular maintenance of Peter Mokaba Stadium). The other challenges are the inability of municipality to maintain infrastructure and repair roads, something totally not catered for by MIG grants, which strictly prioritise funding of new infrastructural developments. One of the reasons that the municipality is probably not able to maintain and repair their existing infrastructure in general could be the depletion of their reserves and their servicing of a current loan of R420-million as a result of the shortfalls experienced during the completion of some of FIFA 2010 World Cup infrastructural projects.

4.8.3 Expenditure and comparison of Polokwane Local Municipality with metropolitan areas

Expenditure for the 2011/2012 financial year stood at just over R1.6 billion, leaving the municipality with a surplus of R175 million for the financial year. Table 4.5 and Annexure B provide a detailed overview of the expenditure of Polokwane Local Municipality 2008–2012. The following key notes should be made in respect of expenditure.

Table 4.5: A comparison of key municipal finance indicators for Polokwane and the metropolitan areas in South Africa, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Polokwane</th>
<th>Highest metro</th>
<th>Lowest Metro</th>
<th>Metro Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area (km²)</td>
<td>3775</td>
<td>6283</td>
<td>1644</td>
<td>2659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>628,999</td>
<td>4,434,827</td>
<td>747,731</td>
<td>2,546,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross value added (GVA) (R b) (2005 Constant values)</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City employees</td>
<td>2600</td>
<td>24,254</td>
<td>3633</td>
<td>13,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total city spending (R)</td>
<td>1,622</td>
<td>28,356</td>
<td>2,017</td>
<td>15,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total city spending on employees (Rm)</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>6,907</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>3,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population density (people per sq. km)</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>2698</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>1213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic density (GVA per sq. km) (R m)</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City employees per sq. km.</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>6.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City spending per sq. km. (R m)</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>7.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee-related spending per sq. km (R m)</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GVA per 1000 people (R m)</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>98.4</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City employees per 1000 people</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City spending per 1000 people (R m)</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee-related spending per 1000 people (R m)</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population served per city employee</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee-related spending per city employee (R)</td>
<td>153,000</td>
<td>330,220</td>
<td>197,844</td>
<td>276,878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City revenue (R bn)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average contribution of property rates to city income (2012)</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average contribution of service charges to city income (2012)</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average contribution of grants to city income (2012)</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average contribution of capital grants to income (2012)</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage spend on maintenance (2012)</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating grants (R value in 2012)</td>
<td>367,484,803</td>
<td>352,000,000</td>
<td>4,553,000,00</td>
<td>1,730,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital grants (R value for 2012)</td>
<td>213,510,998</td>
<td>149,000,000</td>
<td>2,988,000,000</td>
<td>1,317,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property taxes (R value 2012)</td>
<td>229,422,699</td>
<td>463,000,000</td>
<td>5,539,000,000</td>
<td>2,555,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service revenues</td>
<td>2,176,382,626</td>
<td>625,000,000</td>
<td>18,000,000,000</td>
<td>8,100,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following key notes should be made in respect of the expenditure side:

- The percentage of bad debts is very low. This could be ascribed to the good support and relationship the municipality is currently enjoying with the national treasury, with one of interventions by the latter being the creation of a temporary post (funded by national treasury) for
the appointment of a municipal financial advisor to support the recently appointed CFO and the entire finance section.

- Approximately 6% goes towards maintenance, which is largely in line with the average in the metropolitan areas.
- In comparison to the metropolitan areas, the percentage of revenue sourced from property tax is significantly lower.
- Capital expenditure seems to be significant and even higher than in some of the main metropolitan areas, probably due to the fast pace at which the city is growing, requiring further expansion of existing municipal infrastructure and services to accommodate new land development and rezoning currently happening.
- Total city spending and revenue are considerably smaller than the lower-end metropolitan areas.
- Staff expenditure per member is considerably less than the lowest in any metropolitan area.

### 4.9 Spatial planning

In view of Polokwane’s central location in the province, a number of main transport routes converge in Polokwane. Polokwane inter-connects and interrelates horizontally with the adjacent municipal areas. From a residential and urban restructuring perspective, it could be argued that Polokwane is one of the fastest desegregating cities of the post-apartheid era\(^{63}\). Corroborating this further, is the latest census data which also indicates that in almost every ward in this municipality, there is at least a presence of different racial groups. Despite municipal spatial planning programmes (Spatial Planning Manager, Municipal Manager), the other mechanisms or instruments currently being used by the municipality to ensure eradication of any form of segregation is through social cohesion and racial and cultural tolerance, driven mainly by various sport and entertainment programmes such as the annual mayor’s golf tournament and marathon. These strides in racial desegregation and social cohesion are made despite the fact that several municipal plans on urban restructuring or rezoning had to be put on hold or completely scrapped due to serious constraints caused by water scarcity rather than that which land availability usually imposes on municipality. Although not mentioned by either municipal officials or traditional leaders, one of the potential future developmental challenges which could probably stall rezoning, especially in a predominantly (63%) rural municipality like Polokwane, is growing backlogs in land claims\(^{64}\). According to IDP (2012/13), despite a number of land claims being lodged with government, none of these claims is being finalised, forcing prospective developers to seek consent from the respective Land Claim Commissioner prior to undertaking any development in township establishment or change in land use in these areas.

#### 4.9.1 Local Municipalities falling in the Capricorn District Municipality

Municipalities adjacent to Polokwane Municipality include Molemole, Greater Tzaneen, Lepelle-Nkumpi, Mogalakwena and Aganang\(^{65}\) (see Error! Reference source not found.).


The spatial composition description of the municipalities surrounding Polokwane Municipality can be described as follows:

- **Mogalakwena**: The N1 National Road forms the main carriageway from south to north. The main connection between Polokwane Municipality and Mogalakwena Municipality is the Makapan’s Gat Heritage site in the north-eastern part of the Mogalakwena Municipal Area.

- **Aganang**: Agriculture forms the main economic base of Aganang Municipal area. Agricultural produce is transported to Polokwane City. Road D544 and Road D19 form the main links between Aganang Municipality and Polokwane Municipality.

- **Molemole**: Agriculture forms the main economic base of Molemole Municipal area. Agricultural produce is transported to Polokwane City. Road P94/1 and the N1 North form the main links between Molemole Municipality and Polokwane Municipality.

- **Greater Tzaneen**: Road P17/1 (R71 east) forms an important link between Polokwane Municipality and the Greater Tzaneen Municipality. Various tourist attractions exist in the western part of the Greater Tzaneen Municipal Area, e.g. Magoebaskloof, the Wolkberg Conservancy Area and various

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overnight accommodation facilities. Apart from tourism, the R71 is used as a transport corridor for agriculture and mining.

- **Lepelle Nkumpi**: Lebowakgomo (a former homeland area of South Africa), which is the capital of Lepelle Nkumpi Municipality, is located approximately 40km South of Polokwane City. The legislature and other government related functions are located in Lebowakgomo. Road P33/1 forms the main link between Lebowakgomo and Polokwane City. This municipality has a strong mining base. Mining-related goods and services are transported along Road P33/1.

The development directions set out in the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) are indicated in Error! Reference source not found..

**Figure 4.8: Development directions set out in the SDF, 2010**

As shown in Figure 4.8, development directions are set out on the roads from Polokwane to Gauteng, Mankweng and Tzaneen. As shown in the map, former buffer zones are now becoming functional spaces of integration. Other integration measures put in place include densification and infill, corridor development and activity nodes. Main spatial development plans include the following:

- Public Transport Integration Corridor: Due to the proposed realignment of the N1 toll road bypass, the Development Plan for the Public Transport Integration Corridor alongside Nelson Mandela Drive will have to be revised.
- Southern Gateway Development Corridor: This corridor (N1 South, along the western entrance to Polokwane City) is an excellent example of the potential for forward planning of a development corridor. This corridor is viewed as an appropriate land-use example that is essential for the long-term sustainability of the city.
- Eastern Gateway Development Corridor: This is a functional development and involves the Thabo Mbeki and Grobler Streets one-way pair, stretching from Biccard Street to the Savannah Centre.
- Northern Gateway Development Corridor: The corridor starts at Landdros Maré Street extension on the northern border of the CBD and traverses the industrial area (Extension 12), running past the International Airport, and also includes part of Annedale.
- Outer Eastern Link (F5); this is a completely new development area and was proposed because of the amalgamation of the different local council areas. This corridor plays a major role in integrating the Polokwane and Mankweng clusters with one another. This integration should be regarded as a long-term vision. The development area starts where the Eastern Gateway Development Corridor ends. From this point it runs to the area in the vicinity of the Boyne and Ga-Mokwane villages, on the eastern border of the Polokwane Municipality Area.

4.9.2 Hierarchy of settlements

The Limpopo Spatial Development Framework identified a hierarchy of settlements from provincial growth point to scattered settlements. Development interventions are proposed in terms of infrastructure provision and government services in such a manner that the natural economic potential of growth points is further stimulated. Interventions at scattered settlements provide basic services to ensure that the quality of life objective in the Growth and Development Strategy is achieved but prevent over-investment in places that are depopulating. The settlement hierarchy is described in first, second and third order settlement planning. First order settlement planning represents growth points in the municipality, second order settlement comprises population concentration points and third order settlements include local service points. The hierarchy of settlements is shown in the following map (Error! Reference source not found.).

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4.9.3 Land use and land claims

The municipality owns a large number of properties. Disposal of owned land and immovable assets is still a challenge, as the municipality does not have a coherent policy. Council has approved procedures whereby properties are leased at market-related prices. A number of land claims have been lodged with government within the Polokwane area of jurisdiction. As stated in the current IDP strategy, despite this lodging of claims with government, none of these claims is being finalised. The situation in turn causes delays in implementation of some approved municipal plans. An example is in a situation where prospective developers are forced to seek consent from the respective Land Claim Commissioner prior to undertaking any development in respect of either township establishment or change in land. According to the IDP (2012), it is currently not possible to determine the land claims’ likely impact on spatial development. However, there is concern that more unsustainable rural settlements might be established as a result of restitution of land rights.

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4.10 Planning of infrastructure services

This section focuses on planning related to road transport, air transport, water, waste-water treatment, energy, roads and storm water, and social infrastructure.

4.10.1 Road transport

Polokwane Municipality prepared its Integrated Transport Plan in 2007 and is currently reviewed in line with the National Land Transport Transitional Act as a strategic transport plan. In 2009, an Integrated Urban Realm and Movement Plan for Polokwane Municipality (IURMP) was developed. The objective of the IURMP is to provide a strategic overview of the movement patterns for both pedestrians and public transport. The intervention is intended to create a sense of space (hard, open space) attractiveness within the Polokwane CBD. Currently, the municipality has prepared an Operational Plan for the implementation of the Public Transport Strategy in terms of the Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network (IRPTN). A number of respondents in the Premiers Office and business sector mentioned that the IRPTN is to be rolled out soon, but could not provide specific dates. The IRPTN is intended to provide a detailed transport diagnostic, network planning, traffic engineering and operational strategy for implementing public transport. In this regard, the municipality is planning for the implementation of the Bus Rapid Transit proposed area between Polokwane CBD and the Seshego/Moletjie development corridor. From a rural point of view as well, there are several development plans, one major development initiative that the office of the municipal manager passionately mentioned was a future project on rural connectivity – an initiative likely to which would see the municipality succeed in bridging the digital divide between rural and urban areas in the municipality.

4.10.2 Airport

Polokwane has two airports. The Polokwane Municipal Airport in the southern part of Polokwane mainly serves a local and regional market, while the Polokwane International Airport in the northern part of the city serves a national and international market. Various commercial flights enter and exit this airport.

Box 4.5: Respondents viewpoints of the airport

Respondents’ viewpoints of the viabilities and management of these airports differ. The viewpoints can be summarised as follows:

- The military airport was transformed to a commercial airport between 1994 and 1996. Although infrastructure was in place, the airport was viewed from the perspective of work creation without proper planning of its business potential.

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75 Personal interview – provincial government respondent.
76 Personal interview – business sector respondent.
79 Interviews with two respondents from the provincial government; a previous mayor and city clerk.
The potential of the airport is totally underutilised; it could be utilised as:
- an international airport for visitors interested in visiting the area
- a market and cargo airport for exports.

4.10.3 Water

Lepelle Northern Water (LNW) was established as a Water Board in April 1997 to provide bulk water services to the Water Services Authorities and industries in Limpopo. The supply area of LNW covers approximately 80,000 km² comprising 65% of Limpopo Province. It is currently servicing 39% of its supply area with bulk water, which is being reticulated to 52% of the provincial population. Municipal water provision is divided into Regional Water Schemes. There are currently 14 Regional Water Schemes in the municipality, namely: Motlapa RWS; Moletjie East RWS; Moletjie North RWS; Moletjie South RWS; Houtriver RWS; Chuene/Maja RWS; Molepo RWS; Laastehoop RWS; Mankweng RWS; Boyne RWS; Segwasi RWS; Badimong RWS; Sebayeng/Dikgale RWS; and Olifant Sand RWS. Current capacity of these 18 schemes is 363 million litres (ML) of purified water per day. The Ebenezer dam is the largest scheme with a capacity of 175 ML of purified water per day, followed by Olifantspoort with a capacity of 60 ML/day. However, the population count for Polokwane Local Municipality of 629,000 for 2011 is much higher than the projection of the Department of Water Affairs (DWA) number of 597,000. The Municipal Water Services Development Plan (WSDP) is based on the Department of Water Affairs projection, thus the water demand for residential consumption in the Polokwane Municipality is underestimated by approximately 5%. Further putting pressure on limited municipal water sources is the growing official list of registered urban-based (Seshego, Mankweng and Polokwane) indigent households, with the current figure standing at approximately 8000 households. Related to the growing list of urban-based indigent households could be the growing municipal debt due to non-payment of services, which is currently R450,000,000. It should be noted that the above two figures are exclusively for the urban-based population while, in terms of the municipal indigent policy, all households residing in rural areas (farms, villages etc.) are automatically exempt from paying any municipal services. At the moment, the provision of bulk water to these rural villages is funded through a municipal equitable share grant. However, the practice has far-reaching implications on limited municipal water resources. Other than non-cost recovery by the municipality in these areas, another challenge is that of the municipality being unable to measure and thus potentially control consumption by individual households. With provision of free bulk water being made at community level, there is evidence of circumstances where this could possibly be subject to abuse by individual households at the municipality’s expense. For instance, in some villages that we drove through and one that was visited, there are new, typical middle-income housing developments built by individual households that are fully serviced, with water supply being one such service. Given the type of housing they have privately financed and developed, it goes without saying that affordability (either that of municipal bills or mortgage) is probably not an issue and yet, in terms of municipal indigent policy, they are exempt from paying for services and infrastructure in these new housing developments. The reality is that, despite a growing rate of water consumption, at the moment the municipality is (in terms of the indigent policy) prohibited from devising any mechanism to recover costs from these middle-income households.


households. LNW intends to aggressively expand infrastructure within its area of jurisdiction in the next five years. Approval for increased raw water allocation by the Department of Water Affairs is a prerequisite for achieving these plans.\(^{62}\)

4.10.4 Waste-water treatment plant

The municipality has three waste-water treatment plants. The treatment plants are located in Polokwane, Seshego and Mankweng, with the Polokwane waste-water treatment plant the biggest plant of the three, with 28 Ml/day capacity and with the current load at 24.6 Ml/day. Plans are in place with limited budget to construct the Regional Waste-Water Treatment Plant that will carry all of Polokwane’s municipal sewage load and accommodate new developments.\(^{83}\)

4.10.5 Energy

The municipality distributes electricity in the City and Seshego cluster while Eskom is the service provider in the rest of the municipal area. Almost all of the houses in the Polokwane City and Seshego cluster are supplied with electricity. However, electricity provision in rural areas needs improvement. To meet the national target of the electrification of all households within the municipality by 2014, the municipality will have to eradicate the backlog over the next three years at a rate of 7,334 connections per year, costing approximately R80 million per year. Apart from main roads, street lighting is of reasonable standard.\(^{84}\)

4.10.6 Roads and storm water systems

Polokwane Municipality’s radial road network consists of approximately 4,200 km covering its area of jurisdiction. Polokwane is situated at a central point where national and provincial roads converge; from there they radiate in all directions, providing good regional accessibility. However, Polokwane City, Seshego and Mankweng roads are deteriorating due to limited routine and preventative maintenance. With the increased number of road users, congestion has increased in recent years and road safety has become a concern with an increasing number of accidents occurring on municipal roads.\(^{85}\)

4.10.7 Social infrastructure

Polokwane offers a range of educational opportunities and health care facilities, not only for Limpopo, but also for the country and neighbouring countries. Major educational institutions such as the University of Limpopo, TUT and UNISA are located in Polokwane. In addition, social infrastructure in Polokwane includes 310 schools, five libraries, 29 health clinics, one health care centre and three hospitals (provincial, district and tertiary). The municipality has a large number of sport and recreation facilities found in the Polokwane, Seshego and Mankweng areas. The facilities include four cluster stadiums, five community halls, three swimming pools, and numerous combination playing fields and community halls.

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Facilities in rural areas are dismal compared to urban areas, mostly not up to standard and located only by means of gravel-surfaced roads.86

Box 4.6: Respondents’ viewpoints with regard to infrastructure services

- Technical human resources are a huge problem. Lack of experience impacts particularly negatively on the maintenance and development of infrastructure. In addition, the large inflow/outflow of professionals has negative impacts on long-term planning for infrastructure. Social networks between consultants and the municipality are continuously disrupted and discontinued. The days of qualified people working for a minimum of 15 years in departments are gone. There are too many disruptions in departments for grounded planning. Planning tends to be reactive, based on crisis management instead of being proactive, growth-orientated management.
- The ever growing demand for the development of new infrastructure seems to have conquered the urgency for municipality to invest and increase expenditure on repairs and maintenance of ageing infrastructure, resulting in the slow pace at which the municipality is currently responding to the challenge of ageing infrastructure. While it is estimated that it would cost the municipality in the region of R450 million to refurbish and overhaul the existing infrastructure, it has also been acknowledged by senior municipal officials that it would be a while before they could raise such an amount. With a number of key heritage sites and project sites (as seen first-hand and mentioned by traditional leaders) in the two adjacent rural villages visited not featuring anywhere in the current IDP strategy, it could be appropriate to argue that the current municipal planning is, to a certain extent, urban biased. A point – not only strongly raised as one of the major concerns by traditional leaders, but also acknowledged and cited in the current IDP strategy – is the lack of an updated database of existing heritage sites.
- Urban bias to municipal planning is expressed by business communities. Big, organised business communities whose constituencies are exclusively in urban areas, seem to be satisfied with the current municipal planning of business affairs. There are however those with most of their constituencies (SMMEs) still residing in rural areas who have expressed dissatisfaction at the rate and scale at which municipal planning and programmes are being expanded and rolled out in these areas.

4.11 Management of the rural hinterland

Polokwane city is the administrative capital of Polokwane Local Municipality, which is predominantly rural and mainly comprises tribal communities and leadership. It is estimated that about 63% of the municipal population still reside in rural surroundings.88 Despite a decline from 73% in 2001,89 the current 63% figure is still significantly high and could thus have far-reaching implications for the overall management and planning of this vast rural population by the local municipality. Large numbers of these rural communities currently reside in rural villages rather than farmsteads. The existing linkage between rural communities and Polokwane city will be critical to the discussion in this section. To discuss the linkage

87 Interviews with municipality officials, the business sector and community sector
between Polokwane city and rural communities residing within the jurisdiction of Polokwane Municipality, emphasis will be put on the following: working relations between tribal leadership/councils and local government leadership; provision of municipal services; migration; and mobility.

4.11.1 Tribal and local government leaderships

In municipal planning documents (IDP strategy in particular), it seems that proper and due democratic processes have been followed to seek inputs and contribution from tribal leaders residing within Polokwane Municipality. For example, tribal leaders are represented in the IDP Representative Forum. However, a number of concerns remain. Firstly, several academic studies done in various villages in Polokwane Municipality seem to suggest a weak working relationship between tribal leadership and ward councillors. Secondly, there is a range of land-related disputes between the municipality and tribal leadership. The process of land identification, earmarking and allocation for planned municipal developments is at times neither smooth nor conflict free. Past experience in Polokwane Municipality indicates that a possible contribution to such tension could very likely be the absence of a common system between local municipality and tribal councils to allocate land earmarked for development initiatives in rural villages. This poses a threat to the government’s agenda on rural development, particularly provision and expansion of basic infrastructure and services. One example is a disagreement between the municipality and tribal council on the use of a local dam, where the local community felt the dam should be rehabilitated and used for a crocodile-breeding project. Thirdly, it seems as if basic communication between rural communities and the municipality is weak. There are widespread allegations by rural communities that they are regularly informed, without prior consultation, of projects which are to be implemented in the future, regardless of whether the projects to be implemented are in the interests of or correspond to the needs of the local community. In one of the villages visited for this study, it was found that the inability by local municipality and a tribal council to amicably resolve their differences/disagreement in terms of how a community project should unfold, led to a municipality following a legal route to obtain a restraining order against the tribal leadership and local government.

90 Interviews with municipal officials and traditional leaders


93 Interview with a traditional leader

community members opposed to the project. This compromised the sense of belonging and ownership among local community and tribal leadership\textsuperscript{95}. This is despite claims by several municipal officials that Polokwane Municipality is currently doing well in terms of deepening and widening participatory planning across communities within their jurisdiction. As indicated by one senior municipal official, to ensure community participation by all key stakeholders including traditional leaders, the municipality has implemented two levels of planning: municipal-wide planning and ward-level planning\textsuperscript{96}.

4.11.2 Provision of municipal services and infrastructure development in rural villages

The uneven distribution of basic services and infrastructure development between rural and urban spaces of the predominantly rural local municipality of Polokwane continues to exist, with rural areas being undeniably the hardest hit\textsuperscript{97}. Currently, about 45% of rural villages in Polokwane Municipality are effectively without access to water, except when the municipality periodically uses trucks and tractors to transport and supply water to these communities\textsuperscript{98}. One of the harsh realities being that in one of the villages we visited, the community is supplied with water only once or twice a week\textsuperscript{99}. Despite being largely the legacy of an apartheid system, several post-apartheid factors seem to have also been further perpetuated from the imbalances of the past. Thus, notwithstanding the strides made since 1996, provision of basic services such as adequate and reliable water, electricity, sanitation, proper roads and streets in most rural villages especially those far from Polokwane City still remains a serious challenge: some of these communities still use bushes and pit latrines to relieve themselves and use dams, stagnant water and river streams for household consumption\textsuperscript{100}. In most cases, where water is supplied, it is usually through distant (further than 100m) communal taps. While acknowledging the growing backlogs in the provision of basic services and infrastructure development, most municipal officials we spoke to blamed the situation on financial constraints and scarcity of natural resources, particularly water sources, which seems to be a municipal-wide challenge. Hence, in their view, interventions in mitigating challenges of sanitation and water supply in both rural and urban Polokwane will require more than just municipal intervention; they will also require external intervention from other relevant departments such as the Department of Water Affairs. Furthermore, most infrastructure development projects in both rural and

\textsuperscript{95} Interview with a traditional leader

\textsuperscript{96} Interview with a municipal official


\textsuperscript{98} Interview with senior municipal officials and traditional leaders

\textsuperscript{99} Interview with a traditional leader

urban communities of Polokwane Municipality had to be either put on hold or permanently scrapped due to water scarcity faced by the municipality\textsuperscript{101}. Further compounding the problem and compromising the municipal ability to provide reliable water supply, is widespread theft and vandalism of boreholes and reliable surface water\textsuperscript{102}.

It should also be acknowledged that, in terms of the current status quo, only ESKOM is licensed to supply the rural areas with electricity while Polokwane Municipality is licensed to supply the urban areas\textsuperscript{103}. Thus, with about 63\% of the total population still residing in the rural sections of Polokwane Municipality, there is currently no form of revenue generation (cost recovery), from either water supply (in terms of municipal indigent policy all households residing in rural areas are exempt from paying for water) or electricity, which is currently the mandate of ESKOM. This is likely to have far-reaching economic implications, especially for the long term financial sustainability of the municipality’s reduced municipal tax and revenue base.

Despite these and other challenges believed to be beyond the capacity and control of local municipality, traditional leaders seem to be of the view that the rate at which services are currently being supplied to their communities is slow and does not keep up with the rate at which their villages are currently growing. They have also criticised the current municipal provision of services for being urban biased and thus merely paying lip service to a rural development agenda. While they (traditional leaders) also acknowledge the constraints already cited by the municipal officials, they are at the same time adamant that much could still be done by the municipality to improve in certain areas such as transparency and proper consultation with tribal councils. Of great concern to traditional leaders (also acknowledged by municipal officials) is the limited or complete lack of access to information regarding government programmes, plans and existing opportunities such as support for their rural communities to start, for example, their businesses\textsuperscript{104}. Despite future plans already under development by the municipality, to build a one-stop shop and an organised business community, until now both the government and organised business sectors seems to have done little to expand these services. For instance, from a business point of view, traditional leaders are not convinced that existing business opportunities in their villages are being fully exploited by either the government or the city business community, citing failure by these sectors to develop, among others, heritage sites with historical significance, wildlife projects (one of them being a crocodile breeding project) and massive infrastructure for a game resort, which is currently lying fallow. This is confirmed to a large degree by the acknowledgement (see also IDP, p.59) of a limited and out-of-date municipal database on existing heritage sites within its jurisdiction. Furthermore, the failure by municipal and business community to promote and invest in rural entrepreneurs and enterprise

\begin{thebibliography}{99}

\bibitem{101} Interviews with municipal officials
\bibitem{103} Personal interviews with municipal officials

\end{thebibliography}
development has also been acknowledged as a serious challenge in the Limpopo Employment, Growth and Development Plan\textsuperscript{105}. However, despite these backlogs, these traditional leaders have also acknowledged the fact that due to probably proximity (within a 40km radius) to the city, their communities are being slightly better serviced by the municipality than those communities further away from Polokwane city. Some areas where traditional leaders believe that their villages are being reasonably served by government programmes are in the provision of amenities such as schools and clinics. The two villages that we visited gave the impression, via these traditional leaders, that an adequate number of schools (both primary and secondary) and clinics with (enough health professionals) are being built. It would therefore be appropriate to assume that a somewhat insignificant number of local community members in these villages may still be travelling to Polokwane city to access these basic services and these (if any) would most probably be villagers seeking private sector services. It seems that, for the adjacent villages in particular, Polokwane city plays a key role as a regional shopping and employment centre rather than a centre where basic public services such as school education (primary and secondary) and health (primary health clinics) are accessed.

5. Synthesis

In one phrase Polokwane can be described as a City of resilience and middle class ‘bling’. The Polokwane portrayed in the media descriptions (with its frequent references to the politician Julius Malema and the 52nd ANC conference of 2007) differs from the city we visited in 2013. At first glance the city seems insignificant, nothing aesthetically pleasing nor noteworthy to mention. It is precisely in this insignificance that the uniqueness of Polokwane can be found. Not one specific sector drives the economy or development in Polokwane. It is not dependent on one particular factor for its growth or decline. The diversity of the different business sectors and lack of dependence on one single business sector makes Polokwane a city more resilient to challenges influencing growth and development. Polokwane is described by the majority of the residents interviewed as a city of middle-class bliss. Through the eyes of the Polokwane interviewees and casual conversations with residents (including the poor and many illegal immigrants) it is a unique place because:

- **Polokwane is a place of progressive change:** A large number of respondents described how the character of Polokwane changed from being a conservative, Afrikaner-based bastion (before the 1990s) to that a well-integrated environment, steered by a flourishing middle class. Polokwane’s diversity is mentioned as a key factor in its existence and growth. There seems to be a large distribution of wealth among the middle class. The small, but significant industrial base and administrative capital status of Polokwane in the Limpopo led to the growth of middle-class, black citizens. This growth is mostly experienced as a positive change, and with a small number of respondents mentioning negative aspects related to race.

- **The people of Polokwane make the city unique:** ‘Our biggest positive aspect is our human capital and the potential of the black population group\textsuperscript{106}. The people of Polokwane see themselves as the largest asset to the city. Neighbourhoods seem racially integrated. However, some respondents admitted interactions seem to still be separated according to class and culture. Although the demographic changes are generally experienced as positive, a small percentage of


\textsuperscript{106} This statement from a previous mayor of the transition years sums up the mutual sentiments of most of the people we interviewed.
people did mention that they no longer felt a sense of belonging in the city. Nevertheless, these feelings of displacement were mostly based on problems associated with growth of cities such as urban sprawl, traffic-related problems and a general loss of small town living.

- **Polokwane is a place of safety**: Although some respondents admitted that crime is rising, all the residents we spoke to still pride themselves on living in a safe environment. Polokwane is described as a particularly safe environment to bring up children.

**Box 5.1: The uniqueness of Polokwane as an intermediate city through the eyes of Polokwane residents**

The uniqueness of Polokwane as an intermediate city can be summarised in the words of one respondent:

> 'If you want to 'sell' Polokwane, do not compete with the metros. Rather ‘sell’ Polokwane as a:

- safe city
- clean city
- city that is affordable to live in
- city with efficient services
- consumer friendly city
- place of excellence.'

The national importance of Polokwane is that this city can be seen as an example of the value of advanced town planning. Admittedly, much of the forward planning was done during the apartheid years. However, many positive outcomes related to the decades of investment in infrastructure, spatial development planning and business development are still visible in the Polokwane city of today. The city is geographically centrally located and infrastructure is in place for Polokwane to be used as an administrative capital and service centre for surrounding areas. Polokwane city mediates an administrative and political role in a mostly rural area where traditional leadership is acknowledged as a viable governance model. Much is to be learned from the Polokwane case study and the relations between various municipal structures along with the connections between urban and rural hinterland (previous homelands). In addition, Polokwane serves as a transport node (road and air) for many local and international destinations. Although much is to be learned from Polokwane, especially in terms of human capital, there are a number of challenges still needing to be addressed in order for Polokwane to function at its optimal potential. These challenges relate to:

- **Environmental aspects**: The greatest difficulty hampering growth in this city is related to water. Scarcity of water resulted in a moratorium being placed on all new developments. The success of the moratorium is questionable. Severe restrictions on water use are placed on paying residents in urban areas. However, non-paying residents in rural areas have free access to water. The moratorium on water may halt growth in urban areas but development is likely better redirected to developments in peri-urban and rural areas than stopped completely. The scarcity of water as a resource was mentioned in early town planning documents and is an ongoing concern.

- **Municipal governance**: Evidence suggests that the urban middle class are in general satisfied with service delivery from the municipality. In addition, interviewees in the community sector were positive regarding the assistance they receive from the public sector towards continuing their community activities. Satisfaction with municipal service delivery is also shared by many of the urban poor and residents in rural areas. While the current mayor is said to have good management structures in place with a turnaround strategy for the municipality, it is still too soon
to evaluate the success of this governance approach. Five departments in the Limpopo Provincial Government were placed under national administration in 2011. National and provincial politics negatively influence service delivery in Polokwane. A number of interviewees raised concerns about political interference in municipal matters. Politics has a subjective influence on the municipality and has impacts on service delivery. A number of respondents felt strongly that the two functions (politics and municipal service delivery) should be separated. The lack of forward planning in the municipality was also criticised. Forward planning is hindered by a lack of continuity of key personnel in strategic municipal positions. In addition, the municipality is criticised for inadequate innovation and support of business growth.

- **The potential of Polokwane underutilised**: Although the significant growth of Polokwane city is visible, many respondents voiced that Polokwane’s real potential to be a city of excellence is underdeveloped. Of main concern were the underutilisation of the airport and lack of investment in youth. The international status of the airport is not fully exploited and generally, export and tourism activities that could be controlled locally are redirected to Oliver Tambo International Airport. The city does not seem to have much to offer its youth and within both social and employment spheres, it is difficult to keep young people in Polokwane.

Within the above context of challenges a number of risk factors should also be mentioned:

- Economic recovery in Zimbabwe might have a negative impact on the current trade relationships with this neighbouring country.
- Policy directions that might affect the provincial capital status (for example a redrawing of provincial boundaries).
- The role of trade and the growth of the public sector as main drivers in the growth of the town can also be seen as long-term risk factors. These sectors are not renowned for innovation and forward planning and thinking, and Polokwane may remain dependent on these sectors for the foreseeable future.
- The limited water supply, which pushes development onto the surrounding tribal land, would lead to decreased urban densities and long-term viability problems.

Polokwane resembles an intermediate city with the following key points:

- The city is located nearly 300km away from South Africa’s economic heartland, Gauteng.
- The city provides service (public and private) and products to its surrounding rural areas as well as to the larger rural hinterland of Limpopo.
- The city has very few international linkages despite the presence of an international airport, university and agricultural activities that attract international visitors.

Policy lessons to be learned from the Polokwane case study relate to centralisation of infrastructure planning; separation of governance functions; long-term planning and environmental concerns. The impact of centralisation of power in infrastructure planning (e.g. water, airport) needs to be investigated further. Evidence seems to suggest that these national centralised governance functions have negative impact on service delivery and potential business growth related to tourism and export of goods. Separation of political functions from governance functions is imperative in order for the municipality to provide optimal service delivery. In addition, long-term municipal planning is essential to assure development growth. Lastly, of great concern is access to scarce resources such as water: these environmental concerns should be taken much more seriously.
Annexure A: Overview of the income of the Polokwane Local Municipality, 2008–2012

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<tr>
<td>Property and other taxes</td>
<td>229,422,699</td>
<td>211,929,612</td>
<td>173,595,064</td>
<td>159,348,303</td>
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<td>Service charges</td>
<td>781,281,433</td>
<td>20,813,560</td>
<td>533,025,613</td>
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<td>Equitable share</td>
<td>350,705,000</td>
<td>358,908,609</td>
<td>246,638,411</td>
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<td>Other operating grants</td>
<td>16,779,803</td>
<td>51,049,128</td>
<td>117,717,633</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL OPERATING REVENUE</strong></td>
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<td>329,976,994</td>
<td>756,337,412</td>
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<td>Interest</td>
<td>17,678,491</td>
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<td>32,206,208</td>
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<td>Other non-operating revenue</td>
<td>189,111,074</td>
<td>75,898,399</td>
<td>138,595,733</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL REVENUE SOURCES</strong></td>
<td>1,798,489,499</td>
<td>1,454,885,953</td>
<td>1,571,755,656</td>
<td>1,732,564,634</td>
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ANNUAL CHANGE (%)

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<td>Equitable share</td>
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SHARE OF TOTAL REVENUE (%)

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<td>TOTAL ALL REVENUE SOURCES</td>
<td>781,281,432.88</td>
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<td>533,025,613.00</td>
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Service charges

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<td>Water revenues</td>
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<td>105,647,778.00</td>
<td>105,586,573.00</td>
<td>86,814,368.00</td>
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<td>556,892,475.89</td>
<td>434,520,160.00</td>
<td>354,547,529.00</td>
<td>270,574,605.00</td>
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<td>44,289,851.00</td>
<td>40,972,883.00</td>
<td>30,601,429.00</td>
<td>32,856,589.81</td>
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<td>Cleaning revenues</td>
<td>47,227,905.15</td>
<td>36,355,770.00</td>
<td>31,918,628.00</td>
<td>36,430,033.00</td>
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Percentage contribution

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Annexure B: An overview of expenditure for the Polokwane Local Municipality, 2008–2012

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<td>20,614,731.47</td>
<td>19,778,889.00</td>
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<td>Surplus</td>
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**PERCENTAGE**

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### Expenditure Item

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### Expenditure Item

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# Annexure C: Interviews

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<td>Business sector 1</td>
<td>Black Management Forum &amp; International Marketing manager for Limpopo Economic Development Agency (LEDA)</td>
<td>Mr S Maloka</td>
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<td>Business sector 2</td>
<td>NAFCOC Provincial Treasurer – Limpopo</td>
<td>Mr Livhuyo</td>
<td>25/9</td>
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<td>Business sector 3</td>
<td>Polokwane Chamber of Business – president 2012/2013</td>
<td>Percy Mongale</td>
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<td>Community 1</td>
<td>Anglican Church – Limpopo head office</td>
<td>Martin, Pat, Solomon</td>
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<td>Community 2</td>
<td>Radio Jacaranda</td>
<td>Dewaldt Hattingh</td>
<td>25/9</td>
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<td>Community 3</td>
<td>Pastor of reformation church</td>
<td>Ds Dopper Erasmus</td>
<td>26/9</td>
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<td>Community 4</td>
<td>NGO HIEP – Help in Every Burden</td>
<td>Adriaan Fourie</td>
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<td>Community 5</td>
<td>Foodbank Polokwane</td>
<td>Pollet Mphuma</td>
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<td>Community 6</td>
<td>NGO helping the aged</td>
<td>Mary Polo</td>
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<td>Glen Steyn</td>
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<td>Louis Blom</td>
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<td>Consultant 3</td>
<td>Personnel Link – Human resources</td>
<td>Mignon Newham</td>
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<td>Previous mayor (1991/92)</td>
<td>Nick van Oudshoorn</td>
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<td>Previous mayor (1993/94) / Property magnate in Polokwane</td>
<td>Jannie Moolman</td>
<td>7/10</td>
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<td>Previous Mayor 3</td>
<td>Previous mayor (1995/96)</td>
<td>Eileen Schofield</td>
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<td>Previous city clerk</td>
<td>Previous city clerk (1987–1999)</td>
<td>Attie Vermaak</td>
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<td>Municipality 1</td>
<td>Spatial Planning</td>
<td>Ms Molatemo</td>
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<td>Assistant manager for LED</td>
<td>Mr Thabana</td>
<td>26/9</td>
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<td>Manager: Revenue</td>
<td>Mr Shokane</td>
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<td>Mrs Mametja</td>
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<td>Mr Mpkathe</td>
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<td>Office of the Premier – Senior General Manager: Planning and Coordination</td>
<td>Maylene Broderick</td>
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<td>Office of the Premier – General Manager: Limpopo Employment Growth and Development Plan</td>
<td>Christopher White</td>
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<td>Chief Economist – Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism</td>
<td>Jaco Mostert</td>
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<td>Mr Moloto</td>
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<td>Traditional leader 2</td>
<td>Traditional Leader – Ga-Chuene traditional village</td>
<td>Mrs Chuene</td>
<td>25/9</td>
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