

## Limits to low-cost housing provision in South Africa: Cooperative governance and inter-governmental relations perspective

Mathebula Ntwanano Erasmus  
*University of Venda, South Africa*

### Abstract

The aim of this paper is to critically unpack issues related to Intergovernmental relations (IGR) and cooperative governance within the context of low-cost housing provision in South Africa. The paper argues that synergy amongst the three spheres (Local, Provincial and National) of government is of paramount importance if coordinated efforts to deliver houses for the 'poor' and underprivileged is to be attained. Currently, the modalities for the delivery of low-cost houses by each sphere of government are skewed in that each sphere operates in vacuum and isolation. This paper is theoretical and depends solely on secondary data gathered, synthesised and analysed through systematic literature review and figures. It is not the aim of this paper to propose any new delivery model but to point out to the importance of IGR and cooperative governance. In line with this, the paper concludes by providing for the roles and functions of each sphere of government in exercising the low-cost housing function.

**Keywords:** Intergovernmental Relations, Cooperative Governance, Low-Cost Housing, Housing Policy.

### Introduction

The article seeks to interrogate the South African social housing system within the auspices of cooperative governance and IGR. In so doing, the South African housing legislative and policy frameworks are outlined as well as stumbling blocks limiting the realisation of the current housing strategies of the country. The paper further discusses the notion of IGR, the framework and the South African model for IGR and finally questions the role of the various spheres of government in carrying out the low-cost housing function. South Africa has since the advent of democracy in 1994 promulgated numerous policies and regulations to deal with the housing backlog inherited from the apartheid regime (Mathebula, 2014a). However, this has not yielded the desired results as housing needs continue to frustrate government's ambitions of providing sustainable human settlements for the poor and middle class. It must however be underscored that South Africa is doing relatively well when compared to other African countries and developing countries around the globe (Mathebula & Sebola, 2019). The aim of providing social housing which in this article is referred to as low-cost housing was an attempt to reduce poverty and improve the quality of lives for the citizens (Chigwenya, 2019). The vision of the South African government is to provide sustainable housing and urban environment as articulated in the National Housing Code of 2001. The Department of Human Settlements in this regard is

responsible for determining finances, coordination, communication, monitoring and implementation of policy for the purposes of human settlements. Furthermore, the National Housing Policy sets out guidelines and serve as a framework within which low-cost housing is to be carried out. The three spheres of government are then responsible for ensuring the realisation of the roles and responsibilities vested upon them. Other State institutions have also been established to assist in this mission.

### **Constraints in the current housing policy**

The South African democratic regime has since 1994 strove to ensure the building of social houses with a view of redressing the imbalances of the past. However, there are challenges prevalent in an attempt to realise that aspirations. In this section, various constraints inhibiting the realisation of the housing targets are discussed below.

#### **Mobilising finance for low-cost housing**

Despite the establishment of numerous financial institutions to assist in financing housing to the low-income groups such as the National Housing Finance Corporation, the Department of Human Settlements continues to struggle in the mobilisation of private sources of finance for housing delivery (Rust, 2016). Savings, formal credit and private sector investment are not mobilised in a significant way to complement the subsidy that exists (Tomlinson, 2014). Adjustments to the housing policy on financial matters have been within the range of the original approach, through agreements between government and banks (Rust, 2016). The South African Government vowed to ensure law and order and enforce a 'culture of payment', and to 'cover accredited lenders if they were unable to repossess properties via normal legal channels once default had occurred' through the Mortgage Indemnity Fund (Tomlinson, 2014). With this and other related challenges, it is clear that successful low-cost housing delivery necessitates a properly harmonized financial approach.

#### **Land and integration dilemma**

Spatial development and land planning in South African municipalities is realised through the Integrated Development Planning Process (Mathebula, 2015; Mathebula, 2018; Mathebula & Sebola, 2019). Integrated Development Planning is a process that seeks to produce the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). According to Mathebula, Nkuna and Sebola (2016), IDP refers to a plan aimed at integrated and coordinated planning by a municipality for the purposes of ensuring the aiding of service delivery within its area of jurisdiction. Gaining access to well-located land is a major obstacle to low-cost housing development in South Africa (Rust, 2016). In terms of the National Housing Code, most housing provided through the capital subsidy has typically been situated on cheap land and in peripheral locations - in areas previously designated and labelled as "black" or "coloured". The consequence of the above is that little progress is being made in restructuring, deracialising and desegregating apartheid towns and cities through new housing developments (Mathebula, 2014b). To a large extent, housing projects are also being carried out in isolation and including the range

of necessary public facilities and amenities (Tomlinson, 2014). Integration in terms of social facilities is being achieved largely only in the few projects that have been able to access special presidential grant funding (Department of Human Settlements, online). Several explanations are offered for the lack of provision of social, educational, commercial and recreational in the new housing developments. These include a lack of co-ordination between and within different state bodies (interdepartmental, between different spheres of government and between ministries); a paucity of complementary funding for other social facilities; and inadequacies in the conducting of integrated budgeting at national, provincial and local government levels.



Figure 1: Low-cost houses clustered

### **The political nature of development and the empowerment challenge**

Another challenge with the housing policy which originates in part from its supply-side focus is that the delivery of housing is largely perceived as a technical process premised on the crafting of agreements, rules, procedures, and protocols. Related to the politicised nature of development, is the issue of 'beneficiary' and 'community' empowerment. The Housing White Paper (1994) stresses the empowerment of beneficiaries through the housing delivery process and at the project level the concept of 'social compacts' was put in place as a mechanism to ensure the meaningful participation of beneficiaries and local communities (Mathebula, 2015). Every stakeholder had to commit to the project and agree to individual roles and responsibilities with respect to its implementation. Inasmuch as low-cost houses are delivered as another mechanism of uplifting and developing the livelihoods of rural citizens, political interference in the processes hinders the aim (Mathebula & Munzhedzi, 2017; Mathebula, 2018).

### **Challenges to local government**

To date, majority of government service beneficiaries are the lowest income groups. Whether the same groups actually benefit in the longer term from government goods and services is a matter for debate and possibly further scientific research. However, majority of low-cost housing beneficiaries are unable to afford the costs of other services such as water and electricity (Cewuka, 2013). Some South African municipalities which majority are rural local municipalities have adopted indigence

policies which are often not fully enforced (Mathebula, Nkuna & Sebola, 2016). Ironically, many of those with the best record of housing delivery are experiencing the most severe financial burden (Sithole & Manthosi, 2017). Municipalities have expressed several concerns in this regard particularly as it has a direct bearing on their financial viability (Balkaran, 2013). While municipalities in South Africa are providing services to five times more people than they did in the past due to rapid population growth they have peripheral increases in revenue (Mabeba & Mathebula, 2018; Chauke & Mathebula, 2019). Unsurprisingly, one of the burning issues relating to the current role and capacity of local government is that of 'unfunded mandates' (Basdeo & Sibanda, 2013). Ninety percent of local government revenue in South Africa is now expected to be derived from local sources rather than the equitable appropriations by National Treasury. It is with no doubt that South African municipalities is confronted mainly by delivery challenges due to its nature and close proximity to the citizenry. This directly impact on the capability to deliver essential basic services such as low-cost houses.

### **The evasive discourse on squatting**

The Department of Human Settlements is increasingly recognising the importance of people's own innovation in solving the housing problem in South Africa (DHS, online). However, one of the challenges inhibiting the realisation of this aspiration is necessitated by the fact that many people who have 'innovated' in the form of illegal land invasions or 'squatter' settlements (Logan, Zhang, Turner & Shertzer, 2015). While few informal settlements upgrading projects are on-going (such as Cato Manor in Durban), the current housing policy, through the housing subsidy scheme, has proved inflexible and not conducive to the promotion of settlement upgrading (Frydenholm, 2014). To date, there is no policy clause that either explicitly acknowledges the reality of 'squatting', or considers forms of intervention.



Figure 2: Informal settlement

### **Quality of end product and citizen satisfaction**

The 'ghettoisation' of new housing developments appears to have been caused by several factors, which include, lack of access to well-located land; relatively low levels of infrastructure provision; poor maintenance on the part of local authorities compared to more middle class suburbs; the lack of consolidation or improvement

of minimal starter houses; and very importantly, the poor quality of the end product (Logan, Zhang, Turner & Shertzer, 2015). According to the former Minister of Housing Lindiwe Sisulu, more than half of the 600 000 houses built for the poor since 1994 are 'substandard' (Tomlinson, 2014). The Minister has vowed to blacklist several of the construction companies that used an estimated R5.9 billion in subsidy money to construct the 396 000 houses that are either too small or badly built. The introduction of new housing standards and the National Home Builder's Registration Council are designed to address some of these problems. Whether these legislative and institutional interventions will result in greater beneficiary satisfaction with the housing product will depend on effective management, monitoring and adequate funding (Msindo, 2018). Feedback from across the country indicates that the quality of the housing provided is very poor and the size of the house very small (Bailey, 2017).

### **Gender insensitivity of the housing policy**

The critique levelled at the existing housing policy from a gender perspective essentially derive from research findings that although policy represents an advance in gender terms, the specific needs of women are not sufficiently addressed and accommodated (Kjeldstad & Lappegard, 2012). Specific concerns include the absence of formal mechanisms to promote consultation with groups of women and monitor the impact to ensure that women are benefiting from housing policies. The present policy is based upon the concept of a partnership with developers and communities but women's relative lack of power within the private sector, and often within patriarchal community structures, adds to their weak bargaining position (Mathebula, 2014c). The weak economic position of women may negatively impact upon their ability to save. Women are disproportionately represented amongst the poor. If the policy is having a negative impact on poverty, women are often the most affected. If the policy has a negative impact on gender relations within the household, women are most likely to be adversely affected.

### **Intergovernmental relations in the South African context**

The notion of Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) in the South African context is premised in the discourse of ensuring that the three spheres of government cooperate with one another in good faith (Malan, 2005). This is unequivocally expressed through chapter 3 of the South African 1996 Constitution. IGR involves all the complex relations existent in the three spheres of government for the purposes of a coordinated public policy, reporting requirements, finance, and communication matters among officials (Phillimore, 2013; Senoamadi, 2014). We are however warned that each sphere of government in this relationship has to maintain its independence, autonomy and distinctiveness. Ile (2010), defines IGR as relations between; national, provincial and local government that facilitates the delivery of goods and services through cooperation. This is in line with Thornhill's (2002) thinking that IGR consists of all actions and transactions that politicians and officials engage in for the attainment of

common purpose. It can therefore be concluded that, IGR is a combination through a relationship of all administrative and political processes for the purposes of ensuring that government realise its principal mandate of uplifting the socio-economic wellbeing of the general citizenry.

### **The Development of IGR in the South African environment**

The current system of IGR in South Africa continues to be influenced by the Dutch and the British apartheid system (Thompson, 1990). It was in the 1650s when the Dutch East India Company established a settlement in the Cape (Keegan, 1996). The outpost grew and by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century covered an area that led into a settlement (Du Toit & Giliomee, 1983). The development quickly necessitated that there is an administrative colony established. Apart from the Cape settlement, the Orange Free State, Transvaal and subsequently Natal were established (Wilson & Thompson, 1969). During the period that South Africa was colonised, mainly through the established settlements, the country was characterised by centralised power and authority (Tapscott, 2000). This in simple terms meant that administrative powers were only vested to the central government though some political powers were deconcentrated. Policy formulation and implementation, regional agents were established as lower levels of government (Kahn, Madue & Kalema, 2011). This essentially meant that municipalities only had the limited power delegated by central government.

The Constitution of the Union of South Africa (1909) established the three spheres of government but gave them little power and authority. The provincial councils were subordinates to the national legislature. However, this sphere of government possessed some powers to make laws and decisions pertaining to provincial matters (Omer-Cooper, 1994). Inasmuch as this was the case, municipalities were also given to some extent, powers subject to the approval of provinces and the national government. This according to Kahn *et al* (2011), symbolised a centralised form of IGR. Essentially, central government strictly controlled provinces and provinces controlled municipalities. According to Marks and Trapido (1987), the relationship between the three spheres displayed rigid control and was hampered by restrictive controlling systems.

### **The South African model of IGR and cooperative government**

As said in the paragraph above, IGR is mainly defined in terms of a model prescribed by section 40 of the 1996 Constitution which states that all spheres must be distinct, interdependent and interrelated.

#### **Distinctive**

Distinctiveness in the context of IGR and intergovernmental relations refers to the legislative and executive autonomy of each sphere of government (Senoamadi, 2014). Practically, each sphere of government ought to exercise discretionary powers to legislate on affairs concerning its area of jurisdiction (Layman, 2003). It must be borne in mind that in the process of legislating, there cannot be an overlap and duplication with existing laws in other government spheres including the 1996 Constitution. Section 41 (1) of the 1996 Constitution demands that the constitutional status of

each sphere of government must be respected. Simply put, no sphere of government may directly interfere unless by virtue of the constitution to the business of another sphere (Ile, 2010). These powers are however limited to an extent that municipalities cannot interfere into the affairs of both provincial and national governments in the same way that provincial government cannot intervene into the workings of national government. In other words, local government cannot be dictated to by either provincial or national government in exercising its powers and functions. Hence section 41 (e) of the 1996 Constitution states that; each sphere of government must exercise its powers and functions in a manner that does not impinge the operations of another sphere of government. This is to say each sphere of government exists for serving its intended purpose that can best be performed by that particular sphere.

### Interdependent

Interdependence emphasises the relationship that must exist between the three spheres of government which places a duty amongst the spheres to empower and monitor one another (Malan, 2005). Inasmuch as the three spheres of government must be distinct, section 41 (h) of the 1996 Constitution, prescribes that there must be cooperation's if matters of national interest are to be achieved. To ensure that this is possible, there must be communication, consultation and support for one another (Layman, 2003; Ile, 2010). This is to say that; no sphere of government can operate in a vacuum without the assistance of each other. Hence there are matters in different Schedules of the 1996 Constitution which some are exclusively for one sphere while others are issues of concurrent jurisdiction.

### Interrelated

Interrelatedness means that each government sphere has a responsibility to cooperate with one another and avoid litigation (Malan, 2005). The point Malan is underscoring is that no sphere of government can function effectively without cooperating with other spheres. Section 49 (a) of the 1996 Constitution stipulates that the functioning of each sphere of government in part of wholly contributes to the effective, efficient and functioning of a government system. This is expressly stated in the Constitution when it is said that the three spheres of government must provide effective, efficient, transparent, accountable and coherent government for the Republic as a whole (Senoamadi, 2014). With this being said, it is clear that each sphere of government has a crucial role to play in the realisation of the overall objective of government through different contributions to the system.

### **Key elements and principles underpinning intergovernmental systems**

There are elements and principles that ensures the realisation of the spirit of IGR and cooperative government. Such include accountability, transparency and good governance, redistribution, revenue-sharing, and broadened access to services.

### Accountability

Mathebula (2020) states that the concept of accountability has its history and tradition

from the fields of financial accounting and political science. In this article, accountability is viewed in the context of political science and public administration. John Locke premise the notion of accountability by underscoring that it is only possible when the governed are removed from the governors. In terms of Schedules 4 and 5 of the 1996 Constitution, all three spheres of government have specific defined powers, functions and responsibilities. In the context of IGR, national government has the power to intervene in provincial matters, while provinces can intervene in local government matters (Malan, 2005; Ile, 2010). The interventions are a clear indication that there is a sense of supervision and accountability amongst the spheres of government. Mathebula and Munzhedzi (2017) argue that the national government is precluded from accountability and checks and balances by the other spheres of government.

### Transparency and good governance

Mathebula and Munzhedzi (2017) are of the view that, one needs to study 'governance' as an epistemological foundation of what came to be known as good governance. Of course, governance is either 'good' or 'bad'. The concept of governance has its origins in philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle and Aquinas. The World Bank (1994) defines governance as the exercise of political, administrative and legal authority in the management of public affairs. This in the South African context mean such exercise of powers in all the three arms of the state. Most importantly, such exercise of authority has to be good. Hence Mathebula and Munzhedzi (2017) define good governance as the exercise of governance that is democratic, participatory, transparent, responsive, equitable and people-oriented. Put simply, good governance is the skill and art exercised for the achievement of the 'socio-economic-politico' wellbeing of the general citizenry. Therefore, each sphere of government and arms of state must be able to see and scrutinise the affairs of each other. This can be ensured through proper and credible systems of reporting. Mathebula (2020) thinks that transparency is another democratic principle that seek to aid accountability in government affairs.

### Redistribution

According to the South African Human Research Council, South Africa is one of the most unequal country in the world with 64% blacks, 41% coloured, 6% Indians and 1% white people living in poverty (Modise, 2018). Some of the reasons for this scourge of widening wealth inequality gaps can be blamed on the reluctance by government to implement affirmative actions and equity in the workplace (Modise, 2018). Gous (2018) holds that more than half of South Africans live below the national poverty line of R992 per month. The redistribution function is mainly vested in the national sphere of government. Another reason for provincial and local governments to not participate in redistribution is their financial viability and the effects on the fiscus. As said above, low-cost housing initiatives that were provided for by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) was another government's attempt to achieving redistribution after the adverse effects of the apartheid regime.

## Revenue sharing

In South Africa, revenue sharing is guided by the provisions of the Division of Revenue Act which is passed on yearly basis to determine how funds will be allocated to various organs of State. Provincial and local governments generate their revenue through own revenue, equitable shares, conditional and unconditional grants (Maake, 2017). One of the challenges confronting South African municipalities is the expectation that they deliver certain goods and services without being allocated the funds to do so (Chauke & Mathebula, 2019). This is what Basdeo (2012) refers to as unfunded mandate which affects the capacity of mainly local government to provide sustainable services to communities. It is therefore crucial to take into cognisance the fiscal capacity and functions assigned to each sphere of government in the process of revenue sharing across the three spheres of government.

## Broadened access to services

The 1996 Constitution and other policy frameworks requires and expect all the spheres of government to design and execute acceptable levels of services. This is to ensure that services are delivered to the citizenry in a fair, equitable, efficient, effective and impartial manner (Mathebula, 2014b; Mathebula, Nkuna and Sebola, 2016). In this regard, innovation and partnerships with private sector institutions becomes crucial of acceptable levels of goods and services are to be delivered as required. According to Gqoli (2004), public private partnerships aid service delivery initiatives as they provide better, most cost-effective services while the private sector gets new business opportunities; "all in the interest of the nation". IGR in this context therefore presents a window of opportunities whereby the private sector can well become a role player in cooperation with the three spheres of government.

## Roles and functions of the spheres of government in low-cost housing allocation

This section of the paper outlines the different roles and functions of the three spheres of government within the auspices of IGR and low-cost housing.

### **The role and functions of national government in housing**

Section 26 of the 1996 Constitution places the responsibility on national government in particular to ensure that housing as a basic right must be fulfilled. This function must however be executed with cooperation from both provincial and local government. The National Housing Code of 2001 provides the functions of national government in relation to housing provision as follows:

- To provide support to local government for the purposes of capacity building in for the purposes of empowering municipalities with knowledge and skills to implement, monitor the housing development plans and processes;
- To promote consultation on matters relating to housing developments between national government and civil society, stakeholders, sectors and sub-sectors that supply and finance housing goods and services, provincial and local government in housing development. This is in line with the spirit of section 195 (1) (e) of the 1996 Constitution which requires government to encourage participation in decision-

making processes;

- To ensure that effective communication and information in relation to the housing development is accessed; and
- To facilitate the process of developing service delivery goals for all three spheres in consultation with both provincial and local government.

With the above being said, it is clear that national government is a major stakeholder through the Department of Human Settlements if South Africa's housing needs are to be realised. It is worth noting that the roles played by the national government must be done in line with the spirit of cooperative government and IGR if it is to succeed. That is to say both provincial and local government have a role to play in the provision of services in general and low-cost housing in particular.

### **The role and functions of provincial governments in housing**

Provincial governments have a duty to facilitate and promote housing needs of all provincial residents. For example, the Limpopo Provincial Government must strive to meet the housing needs of the residents residing within the Province through the Department of Cooperative Governance, Human Settlements and Traditional Affairs. However, a national housing policy and legislative framework has to be regarded in carrying out the functions. The Housing Code lays out the following functions vested to provincial governments in relation to housing:

- To determine the provincial housing policy in line with the 1996 Constitution and other national policies and pieces of legislation in respect of housing development;
- To promote the adoption of provincial legislation to ensure effective and efficient housing delivery;
- To take necessary and reasonable steps in supporting municipalities to exercise their powers and functions in housing development; and
- To provide mechanisms for oversight in order to ensure that executives are accountable to provincial legislatures.

Inasmuch as national government oversees and support provincial governments to exercise their powers and function in relation to housing development, provincial government must do so to municipalities. In this regards, housing becomes a function of all the spheres of government through cooperation and coordination of functions and activities in line with the IGR system.

### **Roles and functions of local government in housing**

Municipalities are at the centre of service delivery by virtue of being closer to the people. Basic services such as water, electricity, sanitation and refuse removal are provided by municipalities. Section 153 of the 1996 Constitution mandate municipalities to play their developmental roles. It unequivocally states that municipalities must structure and manage administrative and budget processes in order to give priority to the basic needs of communities, promote socio-economic development for such communities. Different in size, scope and jurisdiction, the South African 1996 Constitution stipulate that there are three categories of municipalities; local, district and metropolitan municipalities. It is through municipalities that municipal communities can have a

direct input in the decision-making processes pertaining to local affairs.

In order to ensure that municipalities provide services efficiently, effectively and economically, IDPs in consultation with local communities and other stakeholders must be developed and implemented (Mathebula, 2016; Mathebula, Nkuna & Sebola, 2016). The National Housing Code of 2001 requires municipalities to take reasonable steps within national and provincial framework underpinning housing to ensure that the right to housing is realised. The National Housing Code of 2001 lays out the following roles and functions for every municipality:

- To ensure the removal of unsafe and unhealthy conditions. This is in line with the provisions of section 152 of the 1996 Constitution which requires municipalities to provide for a safe and healthy environment;
- To ensure that services such as water and sanitation, electricity, municipal roads, cemeteries, drainage, sewage and transport are provided economically and efficiently;
- To set housing delivery targets and goals in their areas of jurisdiction;
- To identify and designate land for housing development. However, this is a major challenge particularly in rural areas where tribal authorities and leaders are custodians of land;
- To create and maintain an environment conducive for housing development;
- To promote the resolutions for managing conflict arising in housing developments; and
- To plan and manage land use and development.

### Conclusion

The aim of this article was to unpack issues related to cooperative governance and intergovernmental relations in relation to low-cost housing allocation. Literature unequivocally established that national, provincial and local government have equally important roles to play if the housing backlog in South Africa is to be dealt with. Although policy and legislative frameworks clearly lays a path to be followed in performing the low-cost housing function, government officials who ought to be custodians disregard the law. This leads to (un)ethical dilemmas in the allocation of low-cost housing. This in most instances is caused by the loss in synergy amongst the three spheres of government. It is therefore critically important that IGR and cooperative governance remains and ideal and pillars within which low-cost houses must be delivered in South Africa. This however will not necessarily deal with challenges inherent in the current housing policy but at least minimise the inherent adverse effects .

### References

Bailey, S. 2017. RDP housing: success or failure? *Briefing Paper* No. 432. [www.cplo.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/BP-432-RDP-Housing-May-2017.pdf](http://www.cplo.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/BP-432-RDP-Housing-May-2017.pdf). Accessed on 18 October 2018.

- Balkaran, S. 2013. Gender inequality and power relations in Limpopo Province's municipalities. *The 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference Proceeding of SAAPAM Limpopo Chapter*, 15-16 August 2013, The Ranch Protea Hotel, Polokwane, South Africa.
- Basdeo, M. & Sibanda, O.S. 2013. The dilemma of unfunded mandates for local government in South Africa. *The 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference Proceeding of SAAPAM Limpopo Chapter*, 15-16 August 2013, The Ranch Protea Hotel, Polokwane, South Africa.
- Basdeo, M. 2012. The impact and dilemma of unfunded mandates confronting local government South Africa: a comparative analysis. *Africa's Public Service Delivery & Performance Review*, 1 (2): 51-66.
- Cewuka, G.T. 2013. The Reconstruction and Development Programme on post-apartheid South Africa: a study of public perceptions of the housing service delivery in Chris Hani Park Block 3 Township, East London. Mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree Masters in Rural Development. University of Fort Hare.
- Chauke, O.R. 2019. Local government service delivery expectations and prospects at the Collins Chabane Local Municipality, Limpopo Province. *International Conference on Public Administration and Development Alternatives*, pp 289-297.
- Chigwenya, A. 2019. Low income housing problems and low income housing solutions: opportunities and challenges in Bulawayo. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 34: 927-938.
- Du Toit, A. & Giliomee, H.B. 1983. *Afrikaner Political Thought: Analysis and Documents*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Frydenholm, N. 2014. Informal settlements upgrading: how is it done? [www.makingofcities.org/journal/how-is-informal-settlements-upgrading-done](http://www.makingofcities.org/journal/how-is-informal-settlements-upgrading-done). Accessed on 18 October 2018.
- Gous, N. 2018. SA most unequal country in world: poverty shows Apartheid's enduring legacy. *Times Live*. 24 April 2018.
- Gqoli, S. not dated. Public Private Partnerships in South Africa. <https://www.oecd.org/investment/investmentfordevelopment/35624345.pdf>. Accessed on 5 June 2019.
- Ile, I.U. 2010. Strengthening intergovernmental relations for improved service delivery in South Africa: issues for consideration. *Journal of US-China Public Administration*, 7 (1): 51-57.
- Keegan, T. 1996. *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip Publishers.
- Khan, S., Madue, S.M. & Kalema, R. 2011. *Intergovernmental Relations in South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Kjeldstad, R. & Lappégard, T. 2012. How do gender values and household practices cohere? Value-practice configurations in a gender egalitarian context. *Discussion Papers No 683*. <https://www.ssb.no/a/publikasjoner/pdf/DP/dp683.pdf>. Accessed on 18 October 2018.
- Layman, T. 2003. Intergovernmental Relations and Service Delivery in South Africa: A Ten Year Review. Commissioned by the Presidency. <https://sarpm.org/documents/d0000875/docs/Layman,%20Tim.pdf>. Accessed on 5 June 2019.
- Logan, J.R., Zhang, W., Turner, R. & Shertzer, A. 2015. Creating the black ghetto: black residential patterns before and during the great migration. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 660 (1): 18-35.
- Maake, K.R. 2017. Causes of unspent municipal infrastructure grant in the Capricorn District Municipality: a case of two selected municipalities. Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Public Administration. University of Limpopo.
- Mabeba, S.J. & Mathebula, N.E. 2018. Investigating the causes and impact of inconstant water supply on the wellbeing of communities: a case of Molemole Local Municipality. *International Conference on Public Administration and Development Alternatives*, pp 378-385.
- Malan, L. 2005. Intergovernmental relations and cooperative government in South Africa: the ten-year review. *Politeia*, 24 (2): 226-243.

- Marks, S. & Trapido, S. 1987. *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*. London: Longman.
- Mathebula, N. 2014a. Public sector financial management, morality, culture and law. *Journal of Public Administration*, 49 (3): 936-945.
- Mathebula, N. 2014b. Service delivery in local government through socio-economic programmes: successes and failures of the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP). *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(20): 132-140.
- Mathebula, N. 2014c. Fairness and equity in employment: a case study of a South African municipality. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5 (20): 592-595.
- Mathebula, N. 2015. Community participation in the South African local government dispensation: a public administration scholastic misnomer. *International Public Administration Review*, 13 (3-4): 185-199.
- Mathebula, N.E. & Munzhedzi, P.H. 2017. *Trias politica* for ethical leadership and good governance: praxis of checks and balances in the South African context. *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, 14 (2): 7-17.
- Mathebula, N.E. & Sebola, M.P. 2019. Evaluating the Integrated Development Plan for service delivery within the auspices of the South African municipalities. *African Renaissance*, 16 (4): 113-131.
- Mathebula, N.E. 2018. Integrated Development Plan implementation and the enhancement of service delivery: is there a link? *International Conference on Public Administration and Development Alternatives*, pp 563-571.
- Mathebula, N.E. 2020. Public broadcasting in South Africa: the hatred of foreigners in perspective. *African Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*, 9 (2): 103-117.
- Mathebula, N.E., Nkuna, N.W. & Sebola, M.P. 2016. Integrated Development Plan for improved service delivery: a comparative study of municipalities within the Mopani District Municipality, Limpopo Province. *International Journal of Business and Management Studies*, 8 (1): 70-85.
- Modise, K. 2018. SAHRC: SA is most unequal country in world. *Eye Witness News*. 12 July 2018.
- Msindo, E. 2018. Human Settlements Budget Brief. Public Service Accountability Monitor, Eastern Cape, South Africa. <http://psam.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/Human-Settlements-Budget-Brief-May-2018-1.pdf>. Accessed on 18 October 2018.
- Omer-Cooper, J.D. 1994. *History of Southern Africa*. Cape Town: Phillip.
- Phillimore, J. 2013. Understanding intergovernmental relations: key features and trends. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 72 (3): 228-238.
- Republic of South Africa. 1996. *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996*. Government Printer: Pretoria.
- Senoamadi, J.M. 2014. *Intergovernmental relations: sustainable human settlements in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in Gauteng Province*. Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Administration. University of South Africa.
- Sithole, S.L. & Manthosi, N.L. 2017. Accreditation of municipalities to administer housing programmes: the decentralisation dilemma. *The 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual International Conference on Public Administration and Development Alternatives*, 26-28 July 2017, Tlotlo Hotel, Gaborone, Botswana.
- Tapscott, C. 2000. Intergovernmental relations in South Africa: the challenges of co-operative government. *Public Administration and Development*, 20 (2): 119-127.
- Thompson, L. 1990. *A History of South Africa*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Thornhill, C. 2002. *An overview of Intergovernmental relations in Africa: Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)*. Pretoria: SAFPUM.
- Tomlinson, M. 2014. South Africa's housing conundrum. *The Policy Bulletin of IRR*, 4 (20): 1-19.
- Wilson, M. & Thompson, L. 1969. *The Oxford History of South Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.